THE INFLUENCE OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN AUTHORS ON
THE WRITINGS OF MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO

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CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHY OF UNAMUNO AND PURPOSE OF THE THESIS

Miguel de Unamuno, widely acclaimed as the most versatile Spanish writer of his day and one of the foremost exponents of "the generation of '98", was born in Bilbao in the Basque Provinces on September 29, 1864. His family on both sides was Basque, and the influence of the harsh, combative temperament of this race on him is evident throughout his life.

Unamuno was still a small boy during the Carlist wars, and he witnessed much of the actual fighting in and around Bilbao during its siege in 1872. This fighting made a great impression on Unamuno, and he recorded many of these scenes, as well as other impressions of his early childhood and youth, in Recuerdos de niñez y mocedad (1909).

It was in Bilbao also that he obtained his early schooling. Here he was first introduced to the German philosophers and especially to Kant and Hegel, who were so greatly to influence his later thought.

Unamuno continued his education at the Universidad Central in Madrid, and in 1883 he received the degree of Doctor de Filosofía y Letras. After four attempts to earn a university position, he finally succeeded in obtaining a professorship in Greek language and literature at the
University of Salamanca in 1891. Here he spent the rest of his life, with the exception of the six years of his exile.

Unamuno always had a strong love for his home and family. His family was a large one, and it was for Unamuno a place of solitude and escape from the thoughts and worries of the world. One of his greatest complaints during his exile was that he could not be near his family and, until his death, he retained these close ties with his family.

Soon after receiving his university position, Unamuno published his first series of essays, *En torno al casticismo* (1995). They were in the true restless, criticizing manner of "the generation of '98" and typified the work which he was later to do. After ten years at the university, Unamuno was made rector, but his opposition to the monarchy and his involvement in politics caused him to lose this position thirteen years later. Unamuno was a tireless fighter for the Republic, and his many essays and speeches undoubtedly were a great aid to its final formation.

Soon after being released from the university, Unamuno was sentenced to sixteen years in prison for his political views, but the sentence was suspended. Later, in 1924, he was sent into exile on Fuenterventura in the Canary Islands because of his criticism in a Buenos Aires newspaper of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. The fact that Unamuno was so widely read and that his cause was so well
known made his exile a great psychological defeat rather than a victory for his enemies. Many friends visited him from all parts of the world, and letters of protest and articles defending him appeared in many countries.

Numerous legends grew up about Unamuno's exile and his unwillingness to act in the way expected of him. One of these tales was that he refused to pay his hotel bill on leaving Spain and would take no money with him into exile. He even gave away his small change, saying that the exile was not of his own choice, and if the government insisted on supporting him, it would have to do so completely.¹

About four months later M. Dumez, the director of a Paris newspaper, aided Unamuno in escaping to France. He did not like Paris and moved into a small town in the Basque section of southern France. Here he continued to write and kept up his crusade for a more enlightened Spain. Unamuno could have returned home to an uncertain future any time after he left Fuenteventura because the government granted him a pardon soon after his escape. He did not choose to return, however, until many years later when Primo de Rivera resigned, and he knew he would be able to express his views without fear.

On the fourteenth of April, 1931, Unamuno's hopes were finally realized and the Republic was formed. He was restored to his university professorship and was made a diputado in the new government.

Little is known concerning Unamuno's last days, and there is some difference of opinion concerning this. He was relieved of his university position soon after the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, and died in December of 1936. Most authorities suggest that he died of an overburdening sadness and a broken heart at seeing his beloved Spain, so close to its dream of democracy, once again in the bitter conflict of civil war.²

Unamuno's life presents to us the same contrast and paradox as does his writing. He was, at the same time, the sentimental, home-loving professor of Salamanca, the inspiring orator and essayist to whom all the Spanish-speaking world was drawn, the intellectual student of languages and literatures, and the philosopher.

On one side, Unamuno was able to feel the very spirit and essence of the Castilian landscape and had no other desire than to be surrounded by his family and friends in what he lovingly called mi Salamanca. Nevertheless, his

mind went out to every part of his nation, and he criticized without mercy what he did not like. He was consistently critical of the evil in all political regimes, changing sides frequently. In spite of his constant criticism of Spain's governments, he was always very influential, and Angel del Río wrote of him, "His trips to Madrid and his speeches always had political repercussions."^{3}

Unamuno was an ardent student of languages, but his greatest accomplishments were in literature and philosophy. He cultivated all the fields of literary endeavor with great skill; however, he is most widely recognized for his essays and his poetry. His novels and dramatic works, although not so widely known, are excellent representatives of the Unamuno way of thought. Of his seven novels, only one, Paz en la guerra, attempts any realism of detail or form. Of the others, he himself says, "No he querido distraer al lector del relato del desarrollo de acciones y pasiones humanas."^{4}

They are, indeed, almost always bare of any devices or detail which might subtract from the main theme which is almost always a study of human passion.^{5}

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^{3}Ibid., p. 9.

^{4}Miguel de Unamuno, Paz en la guerra (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1923), Prologue to the second edition, p. 6.

^{5}Angel del Río, op. cit., pp. 15, 16.
His three dramas were seldom performed and are similar to his novels in style and form. Although they are of fair quality, they are counted among the least important of his works.

Unamuno, in much of his work, tended toward the poetic, and thus it is logical that poetry itself should have been among the best of his endeavors. The emotion and feeling developed is the important thing in his poetry; however, the content is much the same as in his other works. The only thing really distinctive about these ideas, so familiar to the reader of Unamuno, is that they are now in verse. His poetry contains that same impassioned searching for truth for which he is so famous. The influence of foreign authors on his work can also be readily noticed in this field. The Italian writers, Leopardi and Carducci, and especially the nature poetry of Wordsworth had great influence on Unamuno's poetry.

By far Unamuno's most important field of literary endeavor, his essays cover a multitude of different subjects, and not a few times do we find different and even contrasting views on the same subject. It is in the essay


that Unamuno thinks, philosophizes, and reasons out the problems and ideas which concern Spain and, indeed, the eternal and fundamental ideas of the world. This point is emphasized by Valbuena Prat thus:

Todo el pensamiento español va a parar a él, para ser sometido, expresado, repetido. . . . es la cristalización . . . en ensayo, de las ideas eternas, de los fundamentos de la raza.

The style of these essays contains little of the neatness and order of most philosophers; but they are, instead, the impassioned cry of the poet, full of illusions, digressions, paradoxes, and ingenious plays on words.  

However, Unamuno is no more paradoxical than the world of ideas from which he drew his thoughts. Since he was a student of many languages, it is natural that this interest should draw him deep into the literature and philosophy of these languages. He read English, as well as many other languages, quite well. The influence of Greek and German literature on him was tremendous and is readily recognized by most authorities. German literature enjoyed wide popularity in Europe during this time, and the philosophy of

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many of the German writers was particularly interesting to Unamuno. He has been called by some the little Nietzsche. Since he was a professor of Greek, his interest in that literature came about quite naturally. This study of the world’s great languages and literatures also brought the ideas of the whole world to him and undoubtedly contributed vastly to the final summation which became Unamuno.

Unamuno’s philosophy is not a simple one. It was gradually brought forth over a long period of time, during which he constantly was evolving new ideas, refuting old ones, and elaborating on others. The essays are Unamuno’s tools for the construction of these ideas. It is here that he discusses new ideas and theories, often digressing to consider in his own mind whether they might be worthy of inclusion into a larger concept.

If any single work of Unamuno’s might be said to contain his over-all philosophy, it would certainly be the series of essays, *El sentimiento trágico de la vida*. The main theme of these essays is what Unamuno calls the hunger for immortality. This is not the belief in or the assurance of immortality, but simply the hunger to become immortal. This, above all, is the central core of every man’s life,

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Bell, op. cit., p. 238.
whether this man be a scientist, philosopher, or even an atheist. Thus, when each man proceeds to build his own philosophy, he must believe, because of his hunger for immortality, that immortality is at least a possibility. Unamuno states it in this manner: "Si a alguna creencia pudiera estar ligada la consecución de la felicidad eterna, sería a la creencia en esa misma felicidad y en que sea posible."\(^{11}\)

This belief that immortality is possible is only a starting point, however, and from there, Unamuno begins the building of what he calls the authentic life. This is a life which starts from within itself and then proceeds outward to concern itself with all the world. It is profoundly personal in all its aspects. A man must take himself and everyone else as persons and be vitally concerned with their well-being.

Unamuno believes that the religious thought of his time is inadequate because it does not take into consideration the many cultural, historical and scientific discoveries which were then destroying man's faith. Also, he believes religion, in confining itself to dogmas, liturgy, and other

irrational tenets, is becoming disconnected from the normal areas of the daily and personal lives of men.

It is for this reason that Unamuno declares that each man must develop in himself this real and authentic life and must live in constant personal anguish and concern for the immortality of all men's souls. It is a basic point in Unamuno's belief which he quotes from the French writer, Senanour, in the last chapter of this series, El sentimiento trágico de la vida:12

L'homme est périssable. Il se peut; mais périssons en résistant, et, si le néant nous est réservé, ne faisons pas que ce soit une justice.

Thus, it is the fight that is the important thing for Unamuno. It is the fight which ennobles man and makes him worthy of eternal life.

It will be the purpose of this thesis to examine the extent of the influence made upon Unamuno by British and American literature and especially by those authors from whom he took particular ideas and philosophies. It was to this end that the essays were chosen as the most personal expression of the man and from which can be drawn his daily thoughts and his problems. The material for this study

12Translation: "Man is perishable. That may be; but let us perish fighting back, and if nothingness is the fate in store for us, let us act so that it may seem an unfair fate."
would be tremendous, if available. The thousands of articles written for the daily press, his many reviews, and some essays have never been compiled. However, in three volumes, over a hundred fifty of Unamuno's essays were available for this study. Some of these are brief and disconnected; others are much longer and follow a central theme to a concluding argument. All contain the thoughts and emotions, many times inspired momentarily, for which Unamuno remains most alive for us today.

In any publication of Unamuno's work, his essays are always separated into certain distinct groups. Although each group has its own title, the essays therein may or may not follow a common theme. For example, in the first series of essays, *En torno al casticismo*, the first five essays are directly related. Some of the essays which follow also concern the same theme as the first five. Other, however, are on wholly unrelated subjects. In yet another series, *El sentimiento trágico de la vida*, each essay is directly connected to a central theme, and they must be considered as a group. In other cases, although the subject of the essays may at times vary considerably, each group does reflect a certain stage in Unamuno's thought and writing. In the series, *Contra esto y aquello*, the grouping was made to bring together the best of those essays which Unamuno wrote for newspaper publication, most of them for *La Prensa* of Buenos
Aires. In any case the grouping is logical and, for the most part, chronologically correct although no dates are now available for many of Unamuno's essays.

The editions used for this study are two volumes by Unamuno entitled *Ensayos*, published by José Ruiz Alonso, Madrid, 1945, and one volume entitled *Unamuno, Obras completas*, published by Afrodísio Agudo in Madrid, 1950. In the following pages reference will be made to these volumes by the word "*Ensayos*" with the volume and page number, or by the words "*Obras completas*" with the page number.

Thus, before 1900, it is quite natural that Unamuno's most important discovery among these various units should have been William Shakespeare. Also, this discovery must have come early in his career, since many of his first essays are filled with references to the works of Shakespeare and a quite elaborate praise of Shakespeare as an author. But the impression made upon his unconscious of these new sensations suggested in Unamuno by Shakespeare resided throughout the chronological range of his essays. As paper used by Unamuno to support or help develop his
CHAPTER II

BRITISH WRITERS BEFORE 1800

In examining Unamuno's knowledge and use of the writings and ideas of British writers, one will begin with those authors whose principal work came before 1800. Since they cover a wide range of time, they naturally vary considerably in their style and methods of writing. There are, however, no writers of the medieval period represented in this group. Unamuno's complete lack of reference to their work in his essays seems to indicate that he was either unfamiliar with them or that they held little interest for him.

Thus, before 1800, it is quite natural that Unamuno's most important discovery among these various authors should have been William Shakespeare. Also, this discovery must have come early in his career since many of his first essays are filled with references to the works of Shakespeare and a quite elaborate praise of Shakespeare as an author. Nor was the impression made upon him one of short duration, for the ideas and emotions suggested to Unamuno by Shakespeare reappear throughout the chronological range of his essays. They are used by Unamuno to support or help develop his own
ideas and are almost always mixed with his own ideas and emotions.

Shakespeare is for Unamuno much more than a great literary figure to be admired by all. In his desire to give new life and stimulus to the literary and cultural life of Spain, Unamuno uses Shakespeare as a model of greatness and his works as the ideal peak of literary achievement. In his essay, *El espíritu castellano*, he compares the dramas of one of his country's most famous authors, Calderón de la Barca, to those of Shakespeare. Calderón comes out badly in the comparison. His major criticism of Calderón is that, while Shakespeare put his ideas into the form of men, thus making them real and alive, Calderón had only ideas, empty and bare of feeling (*Obras completas*, p. 50). Also, he prefers the combination of two or more actions, which Shakespeare used in the same plot, to what Unamuno calls the dull insistence of only one action in most of Calderón's plays. He goes so far as to say that, because of this single action plot, Calderón is, at times, boring (*Obras completas*, p. 50).

The philosophy of *La vida es sueño* by Calderón de la Barca had great effect on Unamuno and he mentions it often in connection with various subjects, but the deepest impression on this subject was probably made upon him by Shakespeare. In *The Tempest*, Act IV, Shakespeare wrote, "We are the stuff
which dreams are made on." To Unamuno, this statement is the most tragic of all, for while Calderón said that only the world and the exterior happenings in the lives of humanity were dreams, Shakespeare said that each individual himself was nothing more than a dream. He says, "El inglés nos hace también a nosotros sueño, sueño que sueña" (Ensayos, vol. II, p. 743).

These thoughts are recorded in Unamuno's essay, El hambre de inmortalidad. He says that it is this hunger that makes our greatest thinkers cry out that life is a dream or that we ourselves are dreams for, like Martius, a character from Coriolanus, Unamuno says, "he (man) wants nothing of a God but eternity" (Ensayos, vol. II, p. 743). And so he must ask himself the question which Hamlet asked, "To be or not to be" (Ensayos, vol. II, p. 743). To Unamuno, the question is really to live eternally or not to live at all. It is not even a question of eternal death, for if life is not eternal, then life is not even real; it is then as Calderón and Shakespeare say, only a dream. Unamuno expresses the thought thus: "Lo que no es eterno, tampoco es real" (Ensayos, vol. II, p. 743). It is then this hunger for immortality, indeed even the hunger for God that Unamuno calls "El sentimiento trágico de la vida". While the philosophy here is obviously not that of Shakespeare,
Shakespeare is nevertheless Unamuno's constant companion in the proof and formation of this philosophy.

Unamuno is always at odds with what he called the literatos and eruditos of his day, and in the essay, Literature y literatos, he passionately defends Shakespeare against the suggestion that perhaps his basic material could be improved upon by a modern author (Obras completas, p. 1283). It is, in fact, this very tendency toward strictly intellec­tual literature that Unamuno thinks is to blame for the poor state of Spanish drama in his own day. He believes that literature and especially drama should be both a personal expression of the author and an expression of the emotions and feelings of the public as a whole. He believes that an author's or a philosopher's greatest duty is to think for others who do not think for themselves. To think is for Unamuno a social duty, and he expresses this idea in his essay, Escepticismo fanático, in these words, "Pensar es pensar para los demás. Pensar es una función social" (Obras completas, p. 943).

In his essay, La regeneración del teatro español, Unamuno mentions the fact that Lope de Vega has suffered much criticism from the literatos for writing too much to please the common people. He defends Lope against this criticism by once again using Shakespeare as an example. He says of Shakespeare that he had to revise several of his
best works many times until they could be made to please the public. And in these revisions, according to Unamuno, many of Shakespeare's works were improved. His knowledge of this subject and of Shakespeare's works is evident when he writes, "De la comparación de las ediciones de Hamlet resalta la manera que tenía de reformar Shakespeare hasta sus obras más personales y preciados" (Obras completas, p. 140). Unamuno agreed with this idea of writing to please the public and, although he wrote for a comparatively select public, he always strove to be close to and aware of the ideas and desires of his public. In his essay, Soliloquio, which is an introspective search by Unamuno into his own writing, he again mentions the fact that Shakespeare had to write for his public and reasons that he, Unamuno, also is and in fact ought to be influenced by his readers (Obras completas, p. 456).

In Intelectualidad y espiritualidad, Unamuno precedes his own thoughts with a passage from Hamlet which sums up the main ideas of the essay. "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horacio, than are dreampt of in your philosophy" (Hamlet, Act I, Scene 5).

In the essay, El caballero de la triste figura, Unamuno talks about the idea of Cervantes that those attempting to paint the figure of Don Quijote should first become very close to the character of the man. Cervantes believed
that the physical appearance of a man should tell something of his soul. Unamuno agrees with this idea, but he is quick to bring Shakespeare in once again as a model and point out that this idea would not be approved of by Shakespeare. He uses this quotation from Macbeth, Act I, Scene 4: "There's no art to find the mind's construction in the face" (Obras completas, p. 172). Shakespeare believed that the physical appearance of a man was no indication of his personality.

Unamuno's feeling for Shakespeare can best be told by Unamuno himself when in Soliloquio, Unamuno lists Shakespeare among those who have given him his greatest consolation. He writes (Ensayos, vol. II, p. 561):

¡Qué fuente de consolaciones y de arrestos no es el trato con los gloriosos muertos cuya obra es inmortal! ¡Qué vivientes efluvios de paz del alma irradián de aquellos espíritus que, como los de Homero, Platón, Vergilio, San Agustín, Shakespeare, Descartes, Spinosa, Dante, Kant, Goethe . . .

He continues by saying that Shakespeare is more modern than some of those that pass among us today as moderns.

Although Shakespeare is by far Unamuno's favorite in the earlier period of English literature, there are many others whom he also greatly admired. In the Conclusión to this same series of essays, El sentimiento tráctico de la vida, Christopher Marlowe takes on importance in Unamuno's thought. In Marlowe's Faust, he finds a perfect symbol of the dependence on science and reason that he believes draws
men from their faith. To Unamuno this symbol was Helen. Faust had sold his soul and so had no hope of salvation. However, from Helen, who is the symbol of science and learning, he hoped to receive immortality. Unamuno believes that many people in his own day also base their lives on the answers that they hope science will be able to give them. There was no salvation for Faust, however, and so Unamuno concludes that any desire for immortality through science and learning is always hopeless. Unamuno says he much preferred the Faust of Marlowe to that of Goethe because he did not like the element of salvation in the latter (Ensayos, vol. II, p. 976).

Writers of Fiction

Daniel Defoe is important to Unamuno chiefly because of his Robinson Crusoe. It is Unamuno's idea that culture is independent of civilization and that often civilization becomes decadent and a hindrance to culture. Thus, it is necessary for culture to permit or even bring about the fall of a decadent civilization and survive to implant itself in the new (Obras completas, pp. 267-71).

Johnathan Swift is probably not one of Unamuno's favorite British authors, but in his essay, Malhumorismo, he calls Swift the most bitter and caustic of all humorists in any language (Obras completas, p. 1020).
Another author who offers a particular insight into the influence of British literature upon the thoughts of Unamuno is Isaac Walton. A complete essay is dedicated to Walton, and its title, El perfecto pescador de caña, is Unamuno's own translation of The Compleat Angler. Unamuno discovered Walton through a sonnet which Wordsworth wrote in praise of this work. He translates this in the beginning of the essay, and points out that on reading such words from Wordsworth, the first thing that occurred to him was to take note of the author and the work so as to read it at the first opportunity (Obras completas, p. 512). In this essay, Unamuno tries to transmit to his readers the inspiration which he found in Walton. The whole essay tries to instill in the reader the idea of patience and faith in "the goodness of the God of Nature" (Obras completas, p. 523). This is clearly a completely different side of Unamuno's character and may come as something of a surprise to the reader accustomed to the passion and impatience demonstrated in many of his other works. However, Unamuno many times admits the paradox and inconsistency in his writings and in his own character. This inconsistency seems to him to be a result of arriving at many different truths by different roads. Also, this essay offers us a sort of insight into the basically romantic nature of Unamuno, which will be discussed in a later chapter on the Romantic poets.
Among the favorites of Unamuno is probably John Milton, whom he calls the "gran luchador" (Ensayos, vol. II, p. 963). In one of the essays in the series entitled Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, he again talks of the eternal fight of man for immortality, but also suggests that there are many ways for each man to carry on this battle within himself according to his own personality. He makes his point directly from Milton's sonnet on his blindness, which closes with the statement: "They also serve who only stand and wait." However, Unamuno adds that they must wait "apasionadamente, hambrientamente, llenos de anhelo de inmortalidad en El" (Ensayos, vol. II, p. 963).

Horace Walpole enters briefly into Unamuno's writings in the conclusion of Del sentimiento trágico de la vida. Walpole's statement, "Life is a tragedy for those who feel and a comedy for those who think" is given an odd twist by Unamuno. Unamuno agrees that this may be true for life but, in death, he says the thinker experiences both the tragedy and the comedy. Life has been a comedy for the thinking man, and when his reason and logic fail him, he dies as he has lived. Thus, having based his life on a false promise, his death is also the most truly tragic moment of all (Obras completas, p. 989).
Philosophers and Religious Writers

Among the philosophers whose work appeared before the nineteenth century, David Hume is probably the most important to Unamuno. In *La disolución racional*, one of the essays in *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida*, which deals with reason and logic and their importance to human understanding, Unamuno condemns what he calls the *escépticismo y fenomenalismo* of Hume and points out that it is this very overemphasis on reason and logic that brought about his (Hume's) most profound scepticism (*Ensayos*, vol. II, p. 806). However, beginning the essay is a quotation from Hume in which he says that in the light of reason alone it is impossible to prove the immortality of the soul (*Ensayos*, vol. II, p. 794). This is Unamuno's point exactly, and he develops this idea throughout the essay for the purpose of pointing out the complete failure of science and reason to complete our lives. It is this failure of reason which becomes one of the important facets of Unamuno's tragic sense of life.

In speaking of Joseph Butler, an Anglican bishop and religious writer (1692-1752), Unamuno merely points his philosophy out as one of the ways in which men try to prove logically the immortality of the soul. Butler sought to remove the faith in the immortality of the soul from the faith in God because even an atheist, according to Butler,
could believe that the soul continued on after death without believing in God. The independence of these two thoughts was not agreeable to Unamuno, but he points it out among other philosophies in order to demonstrate the uselessness of trying to prove such things by reason (Ensayos, vol. II, p. 719).

Among the writers whose work appeared before 1800, Shakespeare stands out as obviously the most important to Unamuno. He represents the ideal in literary style and in philosophy. Christopher Marlowe's Faust is also important for its philosophy; and Isaac Walton, particularly in his essay The Compleat Angler, with its emphasis on the easy meditative life and its praise of nature appeals to Unamuno's basically romantic nature. Various other authors of lesser importance to Unamuno are also mentioned.
CHAPTER III

THE ROMANTIC POETS

Unamuno makes many references in his essays to the Romantic poets. There is ample evidence to lead us to assume that Unamuno found the Romantic period of English literature particularly interesting, and that he found in its philosophy a restatement and an affirmation of many of his own thoughts and ideas.

The Romantic poets were of particular interest to him, and his essays are filled with praise for these poets. In his essay on the suicide of José Asunción Silva, the Colombian poet, he tells us that Silva was too much concerned with the sad and depressive poets like Baudelaire, and that if he had known the English Romantic poets, who for Unamuno were much superior to the French, they might have inspired Silva and lifted his spirit as much as Baudelaire had depressed it. The following quotation concerning Silva’s death should illustrate this and also point out Unamuno’s admiration for the poetry of this period:

Porque es seguro que de haberlos conocido, de haberse familiarizado algo con la maravillosa poesía lírica inglesa del pasado siglo—tan superior, en conjunto, a la lírica francesa, en el fondo, lógica, sensual y fría—, habría encontrado otros tonos. ¿Qué no le hubieran dicho a Silva Cuyper, Burns, Wordsworth, Shelley, lord Byron . . . Keats y, en general, todo el
espléndido coro lírico de la poesía inglesa del siglo XIX. Es muy fácil que le hubieran levantado el ánimo tanto como Baudelaire lo deprimió y abatió (Obras completas, p. 1154).

In Unamuno's essay La imaginación en Cochabamba, he writes that it is his opinion that there is no more truly poetic, imaginative or exquisite poetry in the world than that of the English Romantic poets (Obras completas, 1160). However, although he enjoys what he calls the cosmopolitan poetry of Keats and Shelley, Unamuno prefers the more rural or regional sentiments of Wordsworth and Burns because it is to him more truly poetic and emotional (Obras completas, p. 1179).

Since Unamuno, in all his works, is more concerned with feeling and emotion than with reason, it is natural that his favorite English poet during this period should be Wordsworth.

Wordsworth's love of nature and his insistence on personal feeling as more important than reason greatly impresses Unamuno. Almost always when Wordsworth's name is mentioned, Unamuno precedes it with the adjectives dulcisimo or nobilisimo.

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1This essay was inspired by the book, Pueblo enfermo, by Alcidez Arguedas which made special reference to the Bolivian town of Cochabamba and the characteristics of its people.
In his essay, *Ciudad y Campo*, it is easy to see the influence which Wordsworth has on Unamuno's thoughts. In this essay, Unamuno discusses the characteristics of life in the city and in the country. He seems to weigh both sides, but his contention is that the country life adds something spiritual to a man although that man may be without education or refinement. The city, on the other hand, may refine a man to hardness and leave him without feeling or spirit. Unamuno would have a little of refinement if only to be able to enjoy nature better. He cites Wordsworth as an example of this and uses ideas and quotations from Wordsworth's writings throughout the essay to point out further the glories of nature (*Obras completas*, p. 326).

In his essay *Intelectualidad y espiritualidad*, Unamuno discusses three types of men. These are the physical, intellectual, and spiritual men. For Unamuno, the most important is the spiritual, who does not bother with reasons or explanations but uses his emotions and feelings. He says most of the great poets were of this type and uses Wordsworth as the outstanding example of this type of man.

Also, it was through a sonnet by Wordsworth that Unamuno was first introduced to *The Compleat Angler* by Isaac Walton. After reading Wordsworth's praise of the work, Unamuno obtained it as soon as possible. In this same
essay, he tells us plainly, "Es uno de mis poetas favoritos, el dulcísimo Wordsworth" (Obras completas, p. 512).

Unamuno admires the works of Burns for many of the same reasons that he admires those of Wordsworth. He particularly likes those writings which are in Scotch dialect because they seem to him more common and regional in their sentiment. He also praises Burns' subject matter, which almost always concerned things of a common nature, and he is impressed with the sincerity of style with which Burns approaches these subjects.

In La regeneración del teatro español, he speaks of the need of dramatists and, indeed, of all writers to concern themselves with the common problems of life and to address themselves to the common people, not to the literate or educated people (Obras completas, p. 160). In this essay he uses Burns as an example of this type of writer. Although Burns probably was not a favorite of the uneducated of his day, his poetry almost always did concern itself with common and rural ideas. This impresses Unamuno very much, but he is distressed by Burns' later life and thinks that Burns was ruined as a poet by his contact with the life of the city. He expresses this thought in his essay, Ciudad y campo, with these words, "Ahora me acuse a la memoria el terrible ejemplo del pobre Burns, devorado por la vida ciudadana" (Obras completas, p. 326).
Also, in Unamuno's essay, *Conversación primera*, he uses a quotation from Burns on which all his later thoughts in this essay are based. Unamuno speaks of two types of men which are in conflict in his own personality. One of these is a warrior, who desires constant action, and the other is a peaceful type, who wants only security and repose. In speaking of this, he begins with Burns' words, "I am my own worst enemy," and continues using Burns' thoughts on this subject to illustrate his own (Obras completas, p. 962).

To Unamuno, this is as it should be, for the active man agitates him and inspires him to reach out beyond himself and take a personal interest in others and be concerned with their well-being. The contemplative man, on the other hand, demands repose and the self-analysis which is so necessary for what Unamuno calls the real, authentic life. These thoughts will later take on more concrete form when in *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida*, he brings together his ideas and crystalizes his formula for this authentic life. Here, as in many other essays, his digressions and random thoughts can be seen forming themselves into what will later become a positive statement of belief.

Lord Byron seems to be another of Unamuno's favorites among the writers of the Romantic period. In *Amor, dolor, compasión y personalidad*, Unamuno takes one of his main ideas from Lord Byron. By use of some of the ideas expressed
in Byron's *Cain* and several quotations from this work, Unamuno reasons out his main point. He speaks here again of the hunger or anticipation for immortality. His thought here is that suffering, either mental or physical, is one of important steps by which men arrive at this anticipation of immortality. Thus, since suffering is unavoidable, all men experience at some time this hunger or anticipation (*Ensayos*, vol. II, pp. 305-31). Also, in this same essay, he points out that Cain, in Bryon's work, says that the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is a lie since all man learns is death. But Unamuno points out that death is the means by which we obtain knowledge and then adds his own thought that the greatest intellectual is really the devil. He has power but not happiness, and man needs only to do the will of God to be happy, not actually requiring knowledge of any sort.

In Act II, scene 1, of *Sardanapalus*, Bryon makes the point that laziness can in fact be a means of inspiration. Unamuno takes this idea and in his essay, *En defensa de la haraganesía*, uses it to preface his own thoughts. He believes that all poets are naturally lazy, and that this laziness is really the means by which they receive their inspiration. He advocates a little idleness for all, so that they may have time to think and dream the dreams which make life beautiful (*Obras completas*, p. 1046).
In another essay, *Ciudad y campo*, Unamuno brings up a quite similar point. He says that he admires the idea of accomplishing a mental labor of whatever type by living like a man in comfortable repose, studying calmly, producing at a slow pace, and most of all living "far from the maddening crowd" (*Obras completas*, p. 320). From the context of the essay, these words from Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* evidently made a sufficient impression on Unamuno to set him thinking along these lines.

Unamuno was probably introduced to Samuel Coleridge through a poem by Shelley (*Obras completas*, p. 991). He explains this in *Soliloquio* without mentioning the exact name of the poem, but goes on to call Coleridge, "tu muerto amigo, aquel maravilloso Coleridge." This essay is an intensive search by Unamuno into his own thoughts and feelings, and Unamuno translates a long quotation from Coleridge in order to emphasize the personal nature of poetry, especially contemporary poetry as an expression of the individual (*Obras completas*, 991-95).

In *El caballero de la triste figura*, there is a slight reference to the idea that truth is beauty and beauty is truth. Keats' name is not mentioned, but from the use of the phrase, it is probably safe to assume that this idea did indeed come to Unamuno through the poetry of Keats (*Obras completas*, p. 172).
The Romantic period is, without doubt, Unamuno's favorite period of English literature. Wordsworth is particularly important to Unamuno and he praises Wordsworth highly. Burns is also mentioned because Unamuno admires his emphasis on rural subjects, and Lord Byron appealed to him chiefly through his philosophy. Keats, Shelley, Gray and Coleridge are also briefly mentioned.
CHAPTER IV

POST-ROMANTIC POETS

In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that the period of English poetry which most impressed Unamuno was that of the Romantic poets. However, Unamuno's love for British poetry did not stop with the Romantic period. He read widely and obtained a thorough knowledge of the whole scope of English poetry. There are in his essays an especially large number of references to the poetry of the Post-Romantic period. He states that he believes this to be superior to any other poetry in the world at that time (Obras completas, p. 1154). These references are of a general nature, however, and it is probable that Unamuno did not find the personal inspiration from these authors that he did from the Romantic poets. This lack of references to the individual poets of the Post-Romantic period is understandable though when one realizes the nature of Unamuno's concern with foreign authors.

Unamuno was at heart a philosopher and a romantic; and, although his reading was varied, he always preferred the philosophical and romantic types of literature. In his essays, he refers only to those authors from whom he has gained a definite inspiration or to those with whom he is in disagreement. The very nature of Post-Romantic poetry was
probably not such that it impressed Unamuno too much. Nevertheless, he does have certain favorites among these poets, and their importance to his thought must not be minimized.

One of the ever-recurring ideas in Unamuno's essays is his philosophy that religious faith can not and, in fact, must not be based upon reason or logic. To Unamuno, faith is a thing which is acquired as much by doubt as by reason, for no amount of reason can really prove the existence of anything in the world. On the other hand, doubt prompts the individual to have faith. Unamuno himself says that the very purpose of many of his essays is simply to instill doubt in the reader's mind, and thus to lead the reader toward faith.

Unamuno, in his essay *El punto de partida*, gives credit to Alfred Lord Tennyson for the formation of many of these ideas on doubt and faith. In Tennyson's *The Ancient Sage*, Unamuno found much to substantiate his idea that nothing can be proven. He points out Tennyson's very words to the reader when he quotes, "for nothing worthy proving can be proved, nor yet disproved." Also, when Tennyson says, "you can not prove the nameless," Unamuno adds that it is impossible to prove the existence of the world or even of oneself (*Ensayos*, vol. II, p. 743).

This thought, obtained from Tennyson, must have been very important to Unamuno, for in yet another essay, *Sobre*
la europeización, he uses the same quotation from *The Ancient Sage*. This time he continues the quotation which reads, "be thou therefore wise, cleaver to the sunnier side of doubt, and cling to Faith beyond the arms of Faith" (*Obras completas*, p. 799). From this quotation, Unamuno now goes further than just to say that nothing can be proven. Using Tennyson as his authority, he now is ready to bring forth his ideas on doubt and its importance to faith. The advice offered to him by Tennyson is the same which he now ready to give to his readers. He says that, since to doubt is the natural fate of man, there is no cause to let this doubt lead us to despair but, instead, we should let it lead us to faith. To Unamuno, a man must first doubt before he can obtain faith.

Again, in *La disolución racional*, he quotes from Tennyson’s *Locksley Hall* when he says, "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers." Unamuno suggests that here knowledge represents science and the will to prove, and wisdom represents faith. Knowledge can be obtained by all, but faith must be found in the individual conscience, and thus is not so easily obtained (*Ensayos*, vol. II, p. 805).

In *Viejos y jóvenes*, Unamuno uses this idea of Tennyson "from death to death through life and life." This is to Unamuno a beautiful statement and to him it points out the fact that each man that has ever lived is a separate creation and completely unique. He comes from death and returns
to it, and no man can ever take his place completely because no man will ever be completely like him (Obras completas, p. 381).

As Unamuno continually reexamines his ideas on the interdependence of faith and doubt, he uses references from all of the world's literature to aid him in clearing up his points. Robert Browning helps him sum up his ideas in El fondo del abismo. Unamuno believes that the reliance on reason brings ultimate unbelief. Thus, all man has gained by his unbelief is as Browning says in Bishop Blougran's Apology, "a life of doubt diversified by faith, for one of faith diversified by doubt" (Ensayos, vol. II, 814). Unamuno reasons from this that unbelief brings no gain at all, but only further discontent and torment for the individual.

Continuing along the same line of thought, Unamuno says that all find salvation who want it and search for it. However, those who do not really desire salvation in the depths of their hearts, will never find it. He uses a quotation from Browning to illustrate this idea, "As is your sort of mind--so is your sort of search" (Ensayos, vol. II, p. 932).

In The Flight of the Duchess, Browning speaks of the emotional and spiritual power of two people who are united by love. Unamuno applies this idea to religion in his day
and argues for the true unity of purpose for all of Christianity. It is his belief that this unity, if brought about by love, can bring spiritual power to the church that it has not known before (Obras completas, p. 937). Also, in the same essay Unamuno tells us that he is very impressed with Browning's thoughts on love. To Unamuno, love is synonymous with God or divinity. He says that without love there can be no God and that anyone who is capable of love approaches God. He agrees with Browning that, "the loving worm within its clod were diviner than a loveless God" (Ensayos, vol. II, 947).

Robert Louis Stevenson enters briefly into Unamuno's thoughts when in his essay, Los naturales y los espirituales, he speaks of two basic types of men. Unamuno believes some men are naturally of a spiritual mind and that others are materialistic by nature. The essay takes the form of a dialogue between these two types. Unamuno argues for the spiritual man, and when the argument touches on poetry, he uses Stevenson's ideas on how a poet is able to teach men things that science or logic can not touch upon. He points out by quoting from Tennyson that all abstract thoughts, such as love or faith, must be dealt with through personal experience and individual feeling, and the scientist can not even approach these subjects by means of reason alone (Obras completas, p. 947).
In the essay, *La educación*, Unamuno speaks of the importance of religion and religious training for young people. He very much favors continuing the Catholic training of youth and is very critical of the British viewpoint that secular education should be separate from religious training. He refers to Mathew Arnold's idea that the ideal of English education is to form what Arnold terms a Christian gentleman. Unamuno says this is not enough, especially for Spain. He points out that all Spanish history, its laws and traditions, and, to a great extent, the philosophy of the people are directly tied to the influence of the Catholic church. Thus, whether a Spanish youth becomes a good Catholic or not, he needs a thorough knowledge of the church and its teachings to understand either himself or his country (*Obras completas*, p. 298).

Although Unamuno tends mostly toward the romantic, he often finds interest in ideas which display a profound scepticism. In his essay, *Escepticismo fanático*, he talks about scepticism in general and quotes a poem by Cristina Rossetti. He says of this poem, "No hay cosa más terrible," and yet the subject also intrigues him somewhat as he goes on to refer to her as a *delicadísimo espíritu* (*Obras completas*, p. 947).

Unamuno found his only interest in sceptical and pessimistic poetry in what he would call the passion which
must inspire such poetry. To Unamuno, poetry of this nature points out a certain disappointment and even frustration with the world on the part of the author. He also mentions Swinburne as being this type of poet. All poets of this cynical nature, according to Unamuno, have lost themselves in their pessimism, and he claims that they afflict most of society with their illness and discourage idealism and faith in society.

Unamuno does not make reference to a great number of the poets of this period, but certain ones, however, are very important. Tennyson, Browning, Stevenson, and Arnold all have a definite appeal for Unamuno through philosophical points which he found in their poetry. He also exhibits a passing interest in the sceptical poetry of Rossetti and Swinburne.
CHAPTER V

PROSE WRITERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND LATER

During this period in English literature, men of science began entering the literary field, and the influence of science and scientific thought upon the literature and philosophy of the period was indeed great. Science and reason became all important in the minds of most of the thinking men of the day. This emphasis on reason was a direct change from the Romanticism and the elaborate metaphysical thinking of the previous periods. Spain, however, was late to grasp this change and, to some extent, many of its writers never did accept this dependence on logic and reason. Unamuno was, from the first, aware of this new power in literature and certainly did not watch its rapid growth with apathy or disinterest. He recognized its basic implications to philosophy and religion and was keenly interested in exploring its very foundations. Although Unamuno was basically of a romantic nature, he was perhaps not so critical of science as most of the educated people of Spain at that time. Unamuno read widely of the English scientists and philosophers and became thoroughly familiar with their theories and their logic. In many cases, their ideas became his own, and in others he was unrelenting in his criticism of them. In fact, Unamuno's violent
disagreement with many of these theories often resulted in new inspiration to his own philosophy. As always, he borrowed from all and the resulting combination, together with his own personal feelings, resulted in a completely individual view of man and nature.

**Scientists and Philosophers**

Of all the scientific writers of the period, Charles Darwin was probably the most important. His book, *The Origin of Species*, made a lasting impression on English philosophical thought. Unamuno was thoroughly familiar with this book, and felt prompted in all of his thinking to refer to many of the ideas and concepts presented therein.

In spite of the furor caused by the appearance of this book on the literary scene, Unamuno never found anything in Darwin's theory of evolution which was particularly offensive or ruinous to his faith. To be sure, he did not agree with many of the ideas which he encountered here, but he saw in them an honest search for truth, and as such they were good (*Obras completas*, p. 745). To Unamuno, it is this search and the passion with which a man enters into it that is the all-important factor in life. The answers are not particularly important; it is the search that makes a full man.
Many times Unamuno feels that he must defend Darwin from the attacks of radical thinkers whether they be for or against these theories. To Unamuno, it is these radicals on both sides of the controversy concerning evolution who have done the damage. He says that Darwin sought for simple physical truths about man and never really concerned himself with the philosophical or religious implications of these truths. He never said that there was a God or that there was not; nor did he ever seek to refute the Bible or any religious teachings on the basis of his conclusions. Unamuno declares that it is the radicals who, feeling insecure and not being able to fit Darwin's ideas into their beliefs, felt the necessity to disprove or disgrace him at any cost. Also, the fanatics on the opposite side, the agnostics and unbelievers, through Darwin's theories, now had a means by which they thought they could defeat and disprove religion, and they used it to the full extent of their fanaticism, ascribing to Darwin ideas and thoughts that he never expressed and in fact did not believe (Obras completas, 1197). Again, in his essay, Conversación tercera, he lashes forth in a well expressed and certainly emotional defense of Darwin and a criticism of those who misuse him when he says:

Aquel santo y sabio hombre que se llamó Darwin, espíritu sereno, ecuánime y magnánimo si los ha habido, debió de sufrir, sin duda, por la necia guerra de dictatorios, burlas e inecias que los teólogos, tanto
católicos como protestantes, armaron contra él; pero
no sufría menos al ver qué uso hacen de sus nobles y
meditadas enseñanzas los ateólogos y los sectarios del
otro extremo. En sostener y defender que el hombre no
puede venir de un mono pusieron los teólogos aquellos un
ardor y un empeño que nada tenían que ver con el amor a
la verdad, y en sostener y defender que del mono viene
el hombre suelen poner muchos de estos otros un ardor y
un empeño también que tampoco tiene nada que ver con el
amar a la verdad. Ni unos ni otros pelean por la
verdad (Obras completas, p. 980).

Here again, Unamuno places himself squarely in the middle of
the controversy and does not fear to be at odds with both
sides when he believes injustice to be done. At times Unamuno
openly states his admiration for Darwin's capacity for
strictly scientific thought (Obras completas, p. 1197).

However, Unamuno is not to be tricked into defending
views in which he does not believe simply because he feels
he must defend the man who expresses them. He also has much
criticism for those features about Darwin with which he is
in disagreement. Unamuno is strongly personal in all his
thoughts, placing the individual feeling above all. He has
a natural aversion to the impersonal attitude which is char-
acteristic of Darwin, and of scientific thought in general.
Science seems to deny or at least disregard the individual
character of each man, which is so important to Unamuno, and
deals with him as only a part of his larger environment.
Unamuno states that this impersonal attitude troubles him
greatly lest the individual, who is always a departure from
the norm, be forgotten entirely (Ensayos, vol. II, p. 849).

In his essay, La Educación, Unamuno is openly critical of science for science's sake and what he calls the evil of specialization. He argues that the fascination of many men with the applied sciences and specialization causes a loss of universality of knowledge which is so important to maintain our appetite for life and our motive for living (Obras completas, p. 297). This concern for universality of knowledge seems to be a typically Spanish idea, and contributed to the difficulty for the full expression of scientific thought in the cultural life of Spain.

The writings of Edmund Spencer, a philosopher and social scientist of the late nineteenth century, were also quite familiar to Unamuno. He did not like Spencer's approach to philosophy, however, and is openly critical of his methods. He says that Spencer is too systematic in his reasoning and is closer to an engineer than to a philosopher. He compares Spencer with John Stuart Mill, another philosopher whose works slightly preceded Spencer's. Unamuno admits that once he was profoundly influenced by their writings, but now he very much dislikes them both (Obras completas, p. 1249). In fact, Unamuno freely admits that there was a period in his life when he was enamored with science and scientific thought, but after having explored this field fully, he realized its
failings and placed it in its proper place as a rather minor part of his philosophy. However, when Unamuno feels that Spencer has made a worthy contribution in any field, he is not reserved in his praise of the man. In speaking of the fields of mathematics and science and their relation with languages, he applauds Spencer for his description of the evolution of the various sciences (Obras completas, p. 10). Also, in his essay, Cientificismo, Unamuno defends both Spencer and John Stuart Mill from attacks by various other authors (Obras completas, p. 938).

Unamuno's main criticism of Spencer is about the same as is his criticism of Darwin. He does not like the impersonal approach to philosophy and feels that the philosopher must first deal with the emotions of men, and these often defy all reason. He disregards scientific thought by saying that it is the emotions and men with strictly emotional ideas and theories who rule the world, and that these men must be dealt with as individuals, who by their very nature defy reason (Obras completas, p. 406).

Historians

Along with philosophy, Unamuno displays a very deep interest in history. However, he has certain distinct ideas about the style in which he believes a history book should be written. For Unamuno a good history should contain elements
of philosophy and of all the arts. It should be a personal interpretation by the author of the events presented therein, and its style should approach as nearly as possible that of the novel. He lists Green, Carlyle, Gibbon, and Macauley as the British historians who most nearly meet these standards (Obras completas, p. 1274). These were the historians which concerned themselves with personalities and, instead of presenting only facts, added their own interpretation of these facts. Of these four authors, Carlyle was undoubtedly Unamuno's favorite. He devotes an entire essay, entitled Maese Pedro, to the praise of Carlyle and his works. In the essay, he tells that he first became aware of Carlyle while reading a book by the French author Taine, entitled L'idéalisme anglais, étude sur Carlyle. Unamuno did not like Taine as an author, but he was prompted by Taine's book to read something by Carlyle. The first thing he attempted by Carlyle was The French Revolution, A History, and this book so impressed Unamuno that it became the basis for his essay on Carlyle. Unamuno lists a number of reasons in this essay for his fascination with Carlyle. The most important reason is the style of the book. It was to Unamuno as if Carlyle were speaking directly to him alone. Also, the frequent digressions made by Carlyle to point up his own feelings about events and the realism of the people portrayed all combined to form a history such as Unamuno says he had never read
before. Later, he went on to read most of Carlyle's works and to become thoroughly familiar with his philosophy. Unamuno's later essays contain many references to Carlyle (*Obras completas*, pp. 307-15, *passim*).

In his essay, *Contra el purismo*, Unamuno speaks of the type of English used by Carlyle. Although Carlyle's English is good and without error, it is to Unamuno a free and easy type of expression which is more conversational in tone than he usually encounters in most histories. Carlyle borrowed words and phrases from other languages and, at times, invented new ones. In referring to this style of writing, Unamuno brings out his own idea that all language and Spanish in particular should be allowed to change more freely and not be confined to a narrow set of grammatical principles and accepted usages. This brings about, according to Unamuno, a language which is more colorful and which is able to express itself more fully (*Obras completas*, p. 365).

In *Sobre la Soberbia*, Unamuno uses Carlyle as a final proof for his opinion of most of the philosophers of his day. Unamuno is weary of philosophers who constantly concern themselves with trying to figure out the exact nature of man, and their elaborate and, to Unamuno, absurd generalizations about man. He translates for his readers a paragraph from Carlyle's book, *Past and Present*, which says,
Largo tiempo te ha atormentado ese tú mismo; nunca llegará a conocerlo, estoy seguro. No es tu tarea la de conocerte a tú mismo; eres un individuo inconocible; conoce lo que puedes obrar y óbralo como un Hércules (Obras completas, pp. 547-48).

This sums up Unamuno’s thoughts, but he says further that only the worst type of vain pride makes a man seek to dissect himself and understand his innermost workings.

In his essay, Esepecticismo fanático, Unamuno expresses a horror at what ignorant or superficial people are often able to do to a person of real spirit and feeling. He gives the example of Robert Burns and how he was ruined by the Edinburg society (see above, p. 27). He gives Carlyle credit for the observation, however, and says that he read of this in Carlyle’s book on hero worship (Obras completas, p. 948).

Unamuno likes Carlyle’s ideas on hero worship and also what Unamuno considers his basic idealism. In the essay, Vulgaridad, Unamuno points out that Carlyle once expressed the idea that if the world were completely good, it would be also completely useless; for it is only in an evil world that man can show his true heroism and his true greatness. This is a challenging thought to Unamuno, and during the course of his essay, he gradually comes to agree with Carlyle and admits that there is something in this idea that gives him great courage and the will to continue to fight the many evils which he sees in the world (Obras completas, p. 1081).
Another historian whom Unamuno particularly liked was John R. Green, and in the essay, *La casta histórica*, in which Unamuno criticizes the Spanish for their preoccupation with past glories and their inability to live with present-day problems, he makes mention of Green's *A Short History of the English People*. Using this book as a basis for his judgment, Unamuno says that the English were aware of their defeats and failures, but were also aware of and even rejoiced in the good that they felt many times came with their defeats. However, he says the Spanish only bemoan their losses and live as if in a tragedy, never seeing cause for inspiration or renewed vigor in the face of defeat (*Obras completas*, p. 32).

Unamuno was also familiar with the works of James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, the great British scholar of Spanish literature. Fitzmaurice-Kelly in his *History of Spanish Literature* also gave Unamuno a basis for his arguments on the potentialities of Spanish literature. Fitzmaurice-Kelly pointed out that Spanish literature had good possibilities of becoming one of the world's greatest literatures because of its individual nature. He says it is individuality which is most prone to change and thus to continued improvement. Unamuno agrees with this thought and is unrelenting in his criticism of the writers of his day who he feels resist any change and thus do great harm to Spanish literature (*Obras completas*, p. 630).
Novelists and Dramatists

Unamuno makes little mention of the novelists of the nineteenth century in his essays. His interest seems predominately to lie with the philosophers and essayists. It is of course possible that Unamuno read widely in the field of the British novel and simply found no cause to mention the individual authors and their works in his essays. There are, however, a few who seem to have made a sufficient impression on him to warrant mention.

Unamuno expresses, in the essay *Naturalidad del enfasis*, a great deal of admiration for the novels of Dickens. He speaks here of the nature of the Spanish people and their likes and dislikes in literature and especially of the French influence on Spanish literature which was taking place in his day. He says that the Spanish people are, among all countries, the least capable of penetrating into the spirit and the ways of thinking of other nations. They are the people that live most pridefully enclosed within themselves. Unamuno believes that Spain needs to look to the literature of other nations for inspiration, but does not think that France should necessarily be the chosen one. On the contrary, he thinks that the nature of French literature and indeed of French thought is such that it can never penetrate very deeply into the Spanish sentiment. He points to the
English, German, and Italian literatures as having much that would appeal to the Spanish nature. Unamuno believes that Spain should not seek ideas and concepts which run contrary to her basic nature and strive to assimilate them into her own culture, but instead that Spain should seek those ideas from many cultures and literatures and assimilate those which are most in agreement with the basic sentiments of the Spanish people. He expresses the opinion that this is really inevitable in the long run and any attempt to force French literature on the Spanish mind will eventually fail.

Unamuno lists Dickens as an example of an author whom the Spanish can understand. Unamuno says that Dickens' methods of thought and expression have and will continue to have a great appeal to the Spanish mind. He goes on to say that, long after such authors as Maupassant and Zola are no longer read in Spain, the novels of Dickens will still be read and, in fact, will grow in popularity with the years (Obras completas, p. 934).

Unamuno also mentions George Eliot's book, Adam Bede, and uses Eliot's statement from the book, "this polish was one of the signs of hardness" in discussing his own attitude toward the influence of city life on the individual. Unamuno's idea is that city life, with its emphasis on manners and formality, adds a certain polish to most people, but this polish is not an advantage for it is superficial in nature.
and represents a deep hardness and even brutality which is only thinly covered by the polish of formality and false courtesy (Obra comple tas, p. 326). Here again Unamuno's concern for sincere and personal associations with people can easily be seen.

Unamuno makes two brief references in his essays to George Bernard Shaw. In one, he mentions Shaw's statement, "He that can, does; and he that can not, teaches" (Obra comple tas, p. 921). This idea is far from agreeable to Unamuno, who was himself a teacher, and it causes him some concern. However, he does not elaborate on it, and passes it by as something which might be expected from a personality like Shaw's. In his essay on Malhumorismo, in which he discusses humor in its various forms, especially the more bitter and caustic types, he again mentions Shaw and calls many of his dramas fero ces in their humor (Obra comple tas, p. 1022). Shaw was by no means a favorite of Unamuno, but he does express some passing interest in this particular type of humor.

During this period in English literature, Unamuno is definitely impressed by the scientists and philosophers who are heralding the entrance of the new scientific era. Darwin and Spencer leave a particular impact on his mind. Also, certain historians, because of their style, particularly
interest him. He mentions Carlyle, Green, and Fitzmaurice-Kelly as favorites. The philosophical ideas represented in some of the works of Dickens, Eliot, and Shaw are also brought out by Unamuno.
CHAPTER VI

AMERICAN WRITERS

Unamuno, in his constant search for new thoughts and ideas in the world's literature, found much of interest in the writings of many American authors. The references to these American writers are not so numerous as are those concerning the British writers, but there are certain ones which make a lasting impression on Unamuno's mind. As always, Unamuno tends to favor the philosophers and essayists, and they constitute the major portion of the American writers who are mentioned in his essays.

Philosophers and Essayists

William James, the psychologist, is undoubtedly the most important of the American authors with whom Unamuno was familiar. His book, The Will to Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy, made a particular impression on Unamuno, and most of the references to James are in connection with this work. Unamuno lists James as the most outstanding of the modern pragmatists and freely admits the influence that this book had on his thoughts (Obras completas, p. 826).

Of the essays, The Will to Believe by James, the one most often mentioned by Unamuno is Great Men and their Environment. The question of what makes a man or even a
nation great is an especially interesting one to Unamuno. Several times, when the subject arises, Unamuno mentions James' essay, and often digresses from the subject of an essay simply to point out James', which are also Unamuno's, ideas on greatness. It is Unamuno's belief that environment is the single most important element in a man's life. He even says that most men are to a great extent products of their environment. However, he adds that truly great men do not fit into this pattern. They are the producers of environment and not the products of it. They are able to rise out of their environment and change it, but the common man is usually its victim. This is essentially James' idea, and Unamuno is quick to recognize his indebtedness and refer directly to it in each case (Obras completas, pp. 371, 377, 475).

In his essay, Sobre el rango y el mérito, he applies James' ideas on greatness in order to determine what makes a great nation. His main concern is with Spain, however, and how it can overcome its difficulties. He says that the minds of great men are constantly in a state of evolution and change. Their ideas are often even contradictory. So, he argues, must any great nation always be in a state of evolution and change for, if it ceases to change, it becomes stagnant. Unamuno believes Spain is stagnant both in its government and in its culture and points out that any change
is desirable because it is only by this means that a gradual evolution can improve things (Obras completas, p. 667).

In the essay, El Rousseau de Lemaître, Unamuno again uses James' ideas on greatness. He has just read a criticism of Rousseau by the French author Lemaître with whom he very much disagrees. He refers his readers to James' essay, Great Men and their Environment, in his defense of Rousseau. Unamuno compares Rousseau to Aristotle in greatness, and then uses James' essay again to criticize Lemaître (Obras completas, p. 1202).

In the essay, La disolución racional, Unamuno discusses one of James' lectures in the Lowell Institute in 1907, in which James spoke rather critically of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Unamuno, here, is quick to disagree with James and come to the defense of this doctrine. He says that this lecture of James' is "la más débil de toda la obra del insigne pensador norteamericano—algo excesivamente débil." Unamuno says of this doctrine of transubstantiation that it is really only one logical step from the belief in the immortality of the soul. It is, in fact, the reflection of the belief and the mystical proof to the believer that he can enjoy God eternally. For by saying that the bread contains the substance of Christ, that is even his soul, one affirms his very belief that the soul has
substance and persists after it leaves the body (Ensayos, vol. II, p. 787).

Another author whom Unamuno admired greatly was Ralph Waldo Emerson. In his essay, Sobre la soberbia, he speaks of the need of all men for true humility. He points out that Emerson once said that it is easy to live in the world and do as the world does, and it is also easy to live alone and do as we like, but the great man is one who is able to live with the world and still maintain the independence of solitude. Unamuno then adds that his own conception of perfect humility is the man who is able to maintain the true humility of a monk even though he must live in the world of everyday problems (Obras completas, p. 542).

Unamuno was often accused of inconsistency in many of his thoughts. He recognizes his inconsistency, but is not troubled by it. He points out that those things for which he is accused of inconsistency were true and sincere statements of his belief when they were made, and if since then his opinions have changed, he says he would rather be sincere than consistent. In the preface to the group of essays entitled En torno al casticismo, he points out that he was tempted to revise many of his essays and correct them. He says he resisted such a temptation and left them intact for this reason:
Los dejo, pues, tales y como salieron de mi pluma en distintos periodos de mi vida mental y con las íntimas contradicciones a ello inherentes. No va el que hoy soy yo a corregir al que fui (Obras completas, Advertencia preliminar).

Also, in his essay, Sobre la consecuencia, la sinceridad, he again defends himself from the criticism that there is much of paradox and inconsistency in his work. Here he quotes for his readers a passage from Emerson's essay, Self Reliance, in which Emerson criticizes people who expect consistency before all else. Unamuno especially likes Emerson's line which reads, "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds." The very title of this essay, Sobre la consecuencia, la sinceridad, points out that Unamuno is more concerned with explaining to his readers his sincere problems and feelings than with developing a consistent philosophy which might leave questions unanswered in his own mind (Obras completas, p. 742).

In the essay, Sobre la soberbia, Unamuno gets involved in what he says will appear to many to be a rather forced paradox. He says that most of the time there is a basic love at the foundation of most hatred. Those people who seem to hate each other the most, actually do so because of a deep-rooted respect and mutual admiration. In order not to be alone in this seeming paradox, Unamuno then points out two statements made by Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau expressed the idea that there is no one whom we have more right to hate
than a friend. In the other statement, Thoreau expressed the opinion that it would be a treason to our love and even a sin against God to try to erase even one drop of a true and impartial hatred. Unamuno gives credit to Thoreau for these ideas but does not mention the exact source in which he read them (Obras completas, p. 540). However, having found someone to substantiate his paradox, Unamuno leaves it as an assumed truth while he goes on to make the same comparison between pride and humility, and he develops his essay along lines which further point out the interdependence of pride and humility.

Unamuno took thoughts and ideas from many different sources in his criticism of Spain and Spanish life and in his efforts to improve his country. Oliver Wendell Holmes enters briefly into his discussion of Spain in his essay, El individualismo español. Here, Holmes lends him a definite idea on which to base his essay. Holmes once spoke of three Johns, who were actually one person. One was the John that the person believed himself to be; one was the John that others believed him to be, and last was the John that he was in reality (Obras completas, p. 389). Unamuno begins his essay with the thought that there are also three Spains. One is the Spain which Spain itself thinks it is; another is the Spain that the outside world thinks of, and last is the Spain that exists in reality.
Religious Writers

The only American religious writer to whom Unamuno makes reference in his essays is William Ellery Channing (1780 - 1842). In at least two cases, Unamuno found ideas in Channing's philosophy that he could apply to his own writings. Although Unamuno is often very critical of the Catholic church and especially of the clergy and their involvement in politics, he is nevertheless a good Catholic in his basic beliefs. When Channing mentions the willingness of Unitarianism to accept many ideas, ignoring their basic conflict, Unamuno is quick to point out that Catholics insist on the belief in either all of their doctrines or none. He also adds that the greatest weakness in Protestant theology is that so many people, because of the lack of strict doctrine eventually come to believe in nothing with sincerity or, worse yet, they accept everything they hear as truth. Unamuno points out that believing too much is the greatest of all evils and this is what Unitarians do when they accept a great many beliefs which, to Unamuno, have very little in common (Ensayos, vol. II, p. 782).

In the essay, Scientificismo, Unamuno points out that Channing believes that if Catholicism fails to recapture Europe, atheism will eventually result. Unamuno accepts this theory without question. He says that false doctrines
always breed disillusionment and scepticism sooner or later in their followers, and being a sceptic is to Unamuno only a short step from agnosticism and even atheism. As proof of this, he refers to many of the scientists of his day, whose blind belief in the sciences have led them to eventual atheism (Obras completas, p. 938).

Poets and Writers of Fiction

Walt Whitman's name is mentioned many times in Unamuno's essays. Unamuno admires him most of all for the character and personality which he expresses in his writings. He says that he has known a few men like Whitman personally, although they were not quite on his level. Their personality created an atmosphere which affected all who surrounded them. It was not so much the things they said, but their way of saying it, their tone of voice and gestures that impressed others. He says the secret of that intimate authority of Whitman's is his seriousness about everything. Even humor is a serious matter to this type of men. They are the exact opposite to what Unamuno calls the stupid señoritos, who are enamored with superficialities and idle gossip. On Whitman's lips, says Unamuno, even the most vulgar of thoughts could be transformed into the most noble of sentiments (Obras completas, p. 1277).
In the essay, *El fondo del abismo*, Unamuno digresses from his main thought to tell his readers that the conclusions which will follow have not been arrived at by reason, but from life. For this reason, he will have to rationalize somewhat in order to present them to the reader. Most of the following, he admits, cannot be reduced to any logical system or theory. In fact, he wants no school of thought or theory to be based on his philosophy, and he quotes Whitman's *Myself and Mine*, "I charge that there be no theory or school founded out of me" (*Ensayos*, vol. II, 325).

When once again Unamuno is accused of inconsistency, he brings Whitman to his defense and translates his words thus, "¿Que me contradigo? Pues, bien: me contradigo. Soy amplio, contengo muchedumbres." Then Unamuno adds that those who never contradict themselves must indeed have only simple thoughts, for even chemically speaking, the more simple the body, the more inalterable it is (*Obras completas*, p. 743).

Unamuno was also familiar with the writings of Edgar Allen Poe, and in his essay, *Sobre el ajedrez*, Unamuno finds cause to bring in some of Poe's thoughts. In this essay, Unamuno is very critical of the game of chess and its supposed intellectual nature. In the preface to *Murders of the Rue Morgue*, Poe wrote a rather lengthy commentary on chess with which Unamuno agrees exactly, and he translates this
for his readers. It is Unamuno's idea, and also Poe's, that the game of chess is not the intellectual game that most of its devotees claim it is. In chess, Unamuno says, complexity is often mistaken for profoundness, a mistake which is common in many phases of life. It is not deep nor profound, but simply complicated, and it demands the maximum of concentration to avoid error. For this reason, it is often not the most intelligent person who wins, but the one with the most concentrative mind (Obras completas, 1256, or 1257).

It should be obvious that there are few subjects which can long hope to escape commentary by Unamuno. The essay, Conversación tercera, is written in the style of a dialogue in which Unamuno is able to discuss a subject with himself, giving answers to his own questions and questioning his own statements. There are three essays of this type, and Unamuno covers a wide range of subjects in each. At the end of the third, he expresses fatigue at the questions and thoughts which still plague him, but he says that there are no conclusions to be made. Like Poe's raven, he will never be able to conclude anything for sure, "Never, never, nevermore" (Obras completas, p. 982).

Of the American writers, William James and, in particular, his essay on Great Men and their Environment, gives Unamuno definite inspiration in the formation of his ideas. Emerson,
Thoreau, and Holmes are also important for their philosophy. Whitman and Poe are praised as the finest of American writers. Also, Unamuno displays interest in the philosophy of William Ellery Channing.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Miguel de Unamuno, through his essays, has left a rather remarkable record of his life and thoughts. His essays cover a wide variety of subjects, and not a few times contain apparent inconsistency and even paradox. However, the essay is for Unamuno a means of forming his own thoughts and opinions as well as a means of expressing them. They all have in common a basic sincerity and an intense search for truth, which is so characteristic of all of Unamuno's work. This basic sincerity was, in fact, probably one of the reasons that he enjoyed such wide popularity during his life. His essays were read and commented upon throughout the Spanish-speaking world. Unamuno's knowledge of many different languages and his interest in literature made it possible for him to refer, in these essays, to a wide range of ideas and different philosophies. He used these ideas which he gained from other literatures often in support of his own arguments and, indeed, even in the formation of his own ideas and philosophy.

Unamuno's philosophy is not a simple one and it represents an all-encompassing view of the world's culture. Through his reading, he became aware of the national trends in religion and politics, the cultural achievements and
scientific discoveries, and the many schools of philosophy throughout the world. This awareness not only gave him an unlimited source of ideas, but it also gave him a certain universality of knowledge which made it possible to place these ideas in proper perspective and to formulate a philosophy which, while being based on the best of the world's ideas and hence, universal in character, was also intensely personal in nature.

The ideas which Unamuno drew from British and American literature cover a wide range of subjects. He read English quite well and was familiar with almost all the important authors up to and including his day. However, Unamuno's treatment of the various British and American authors never follows any definite pattern. He refers to their ideas whenever they seem pertinent to the thought of the essay.

Of the many authors with which Unamuno was familiar, Shakespeare and Wordsworth seem particularly to be his favorites. He considered Shakespeare as one of the greatest literary figures of all time, and his dramas were, for Unamuno, the ideal peak of literary achievement, both in style and content. Also, Unamuno admired many of the philosophical references which he found in Shakespeare. Many times these became permanent parts of his own philosophy.

Because of Unamuno's basically romantic nature, the Romantic period of English literature was also particularly
interesting to him. Among these writers, the lake poets were his favorites, and he was especially impressed by the poetry of Wordsworth.

Being very interested in religion and philosophy, Unamuno naturally devoted much of his time to literature of this type, and he gained a first-hand knowledge of many of the religious and philosophical ideas which were peculiar to England and America during the first part of the industrial revolution. In fact, Unamuno found the vigor and energy of the English and American peoples very fascinating. He was always quick to point out his disagreement with many of the concepts which were being advanced during this period, but its resourcefulness and vitality greatly impressed him. Unamuno often expressed the feeling that he would like to see such restlessness in the Spanish people. Change was, to Unamuno, necessary for any progress.

In the English historians, Unamuno also found this spirit of pride and optimism. He found that the English people took inspiration from their past as well as from the present, and he regretted that the Spanish people did not do the same. The personal style in which many of these histories were written also impressed Unamuno very much.

Unamuno, in his essays, used the ideas which he discovered in the various British and American writers as a sort of focal point from which he developed them along
lines which best suited him personally. He probably never adopted any of these ideas without some change. Many were, however, very important to him, and once they underwent the basic alterations necessary to suit his individual requirements, they often became permanent parts of his philosophy. Fundamentally Unamuno was always basically Catholic in belief and Spanish in nature.
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