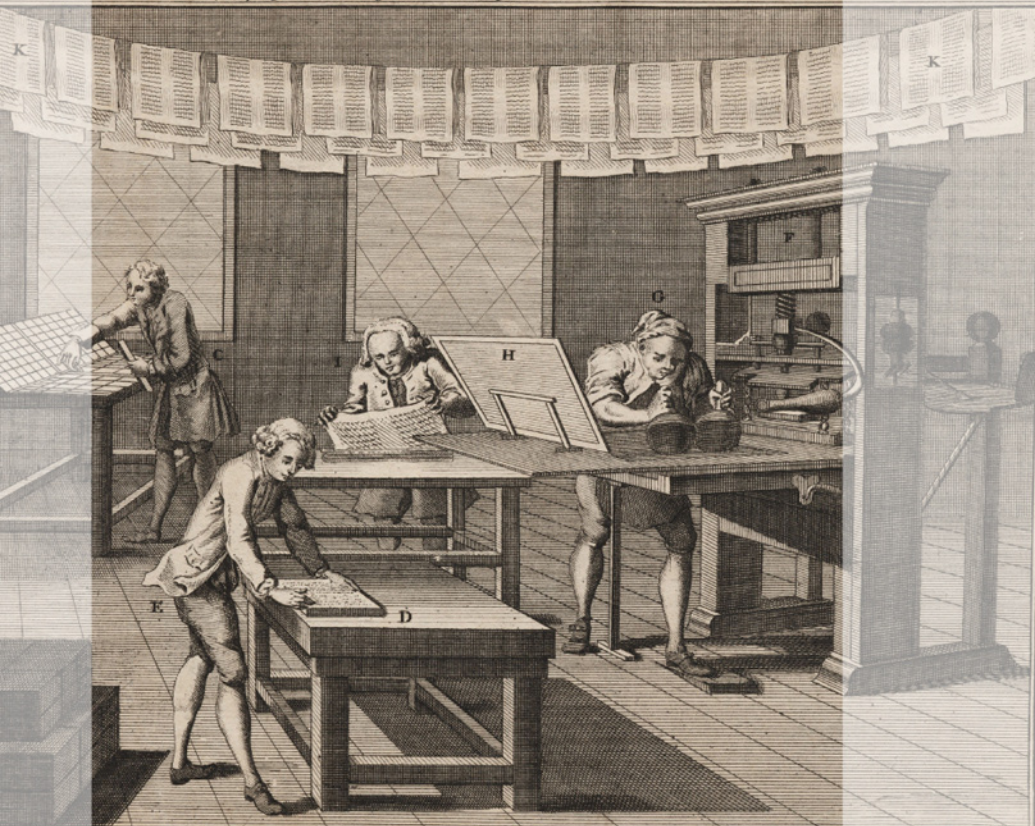


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For Richard and Erica

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Series Editors' Foreword

Over recent decades the traditional 'languages and literatures' model in Spanish departments in universities in the United Kingdom has been superseded by a contextual, interdisciplinary and 'area studies' approach to the study of the culture, history, society and politics of the Hispanic and Lusophone worlds – categories that extend far beyond the confines of the Iberian Peninsula, not only in Latin America but also to Spanish-speaking and Lusophone Africa.

In response to these dynamic trends in research priorities and curriculum development, this series is designed to present both disciplinary and interdisciplinary research within the general field of Iberian and Latin American Studies, particularly studies that explore all aspects of Cultural Production (inter alia literature, film, music, dance, sport) in Spanish, Portuguese, Basque, Catalan, Galician and indigenous languages of Latin America. The series also aims to publish research in the History and Politics of the Hispanic and Lusophone worlds, at the level of both the region and the nation-state, as well as on Cultural Studies that explore the shifting terrains of gender, sexual, racial and postcolonial identities in those same regions.

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It has taken me much longer than I expected to complete this book, and, as a result, I have many people and institutions to thank.

I am fortunate that the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas (UT) at Austin has a complete set of the *Semanario Erudito* and I was able to spend many days in the reading room studying it. I also consulted issues, particularly subscriber lists missing from the Ransom Center volumes, in the Hemeroteca Municipal in Madrid. The Perry Castañeda Library and the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, also at UT Austin, both hold copies of other works that Valladares wrote or edited, which enabled me to work with them as well. The correspondence between Valladares, the censors and the Consejo de Castilla, which I cite extensively, is housed in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. Finally, I examined many manuscripts and printed copies of Valladares's works in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid. I am grateful to the staff members in all these archives and libraries for their help and willingness always to be of assistance.

Research funding is essential to a project such as this, and I am happy to acknowledge the support I have received for it. A Research Grant from the Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain's Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports and US Universities allowed me to carry out my initial research in the Archivo Histórico Nacional and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. A Mellon Fellowship awarded by the Harry Ransom Center combined with a Dean's Fellowship from UT's College of Liberal Arts gave me time to immerse myself in the *Semanario Erudito* and its world. I accomplished further work, both in Austin and in Madrid, during a later Dean's Fellowship and a College Research Fellowship. A Special Research Grant from the Office of the Vice President

for Research was helpful, as were travel grants from the Office of the Vice President and Dean of Graduate Studies, which enabled me to share my work at conferences and discuss it with colleagues. I also appreciate the additional travel funds provided by the Department of Spanish and Portuguese. A Summer Research Grant from the Center for European Studies helped defray the cost of a final trip to Madrid to review and check sources. The Department of Spanish and Portuguese provided funding to facilitate publication. I am indebted to the deans, department chairs and centre directors whose support over the years made this funding and these research and writing opportunities possible (in alphabetical order): Jossianna Arroyo, Leo Bernucci, Douglas Biow, Randy Diehl, Sheldon Ekland-Olson, Richard Larivere, Jorge Pérez, Jill Robbins and Nicolas Shumway.

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Unless otherwise noted, all English translations in the book are mine. I acknowledge the use of ChatGPT from time to time to assist with translations of passages from the *Semanario Erudito*.

In closing, I would like to recognise my tremendous debt to the two people to whom this book is dedicated – my husband, Richard Meier, and our daughter, Erica Meier.

Part I

Valladares and the *Semanario Erudito*

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Introduction

The periodical press was one of the most important channels of enlightenment in eighteenth-century Europe. In Spain, the first periodicals appeared in the mid-seventeenth century, but it was in the mid-to-late eighteenth century that this new genre began to achieve its potential to inform and enlighten. This book is a study of one important late eighteenth-century Spanish periodical, the *Semanario Erudito*, and its editor, Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor, who explicitly took upon himself the mission of informing, enlightening and thereby bettering his nation. Although the significance of the *Semanario* has long been recognised, no monographic study of it has been undertaken until now.

As we will see in the pages that follow, Valladares was well-established as a dramatist when, in the early summer of 1786, he began making arrangements to produce a periodical. The *Semanario*, which he published between April 1787 and February 1791, was born out of the tradition of the literary or erudite press established in Spain by Francisco Mariano Nipho's *Cajón de Sastre*¹ (1760–1). While a number of editors followed in Nipho's footsteps, Valladares was far more successful in this enterprise than his predecessors or contemporaries.

In the almost four years in which the *Semanario* was published, Valladares brought out thirty-four volumes, each approximately 280 pages in length. The subscriber lists show he had loyal readers who regularly renewed their subscriptions, one factor that contributed to the publication's longevity. Among his loyal readers was the king, Carlos III.² More than half of the subscribers lived in Madrid, but the *Semanario* was read throughout Spain and copies were also sent overseas. By late 1790, there was even a subscriber in Quito. So, it was neither a lack of subscribers nor other financial

concerns that compelled Valladares to stop publishing. Rather, the *Semanario* fell victim to the Royal Decree of 24 February 1791, which ordered the suspension of all private periodicals.³ This law was a reaction to the French Revolution and an attempt to protect the Spanish monarchy in its wake.

Valladares's goal in publishing the *Semanario* was to teach his readers the history of their country, particularly the history of the seventeenth century, a task he undertook with energy and dedication. It was his conviction that the Spanish nation could find solutions to the problems it faced by understanding its past and by taking as models the men who had the courage to confront similar problems a century or more earlier. In each issue, he offered his readers letters, reports, essays, chronicles and other historical documents that he believed would be of value to them because they illuminated the past. In carrying out this project, Valladares was the first to publish and thereby preserve a number of historically and politically significant works. Francisco de Quevedo's *Grandes anales de quince días* and *Discurso de las privanzas* and José Pellicer de Tovar's *Avisos históricos* are just three of the most well-known examples of important seventeenth-century texts that appeared in print for the first time in the pages of the *Semanario*. Valladares was also the first to publish a number of tracts by Melchor de Macanaz, who Henry Kamen has characterised as 'the first great reformer and the most prolific political writer of Bourbon Spain'.⁴

This study is divided into two parts. Part I is made up of three chapters. Chapter 1 is an overview of Valladares's life and works and includes discussions of significant individual texts that he authored or published over his long career. Chapter 2 provides a history of the *Semanario*, a detailed discussion of Valladares's project as outlined in his 1787 *Prospecto* ('*Prospectus*'), information on his various printers and book mongers, and a section on his subscribers. Chapter 3 considers printing laws and censorship and focuses on the correspondence between Valladares and the Consejo de Castilla and on the reports to the Consejo from the censors (primarily Ignacio López de Ayala and Santos Díez González).

Part II looks at what Valladares published in his on-going project to teach Spaniards their history. The Introduction discusses the *Semanario* as an archive and examines what it included, classifying works by time period, genre and author. From the outset, Valladares emphasised the necessity of understanding the seventeenth

century, so many of the texts that I discuss in the second half of the book are either from the seventeenth century or focus on that period. Chapter 4 looks at seventeenth-century eyewitness accounts of historical events, reflections on the decline of the Spanish monarchy, and correspondence by important figures of the time. Chapter 5 examines tracts by seventeenth century *arbitristas*, economic reformers who sought to diagnose and cure the problems that the Spanish nation suffered from, and their eighteenth-century counterparts the *projectistas*. Chapter 6 studies three of the eighteenth-century intellectuals whose writings figure prominently in the *Semanario Erudito*: Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, Andrés Burriel and Martín Sarmiento.

All passages from the *Semanario Erudito* are cited as they appear in the periodical. I have not modernised or corrected spelling or punctuation. Passages from historical documents have also been left untouched.

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Chapter 1

The Life and Works of Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor

Introduction

Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor was a professional man of letters. A prolific dramatist who claimed to have written over 100 theatrical works, he also translated and adapted French and Italian plays for the Spanish stage. He worked in prose as well, composing a nine-part novel and a four-volume miscellany. In addition, he was an editor of books and periodicals. In 1787, he published the first issue of the *Semanario Erudito*, arguably his most famous work, and widely regarded as an important channel of enlightenment in late eighteenth-century Spain. That periodical is the subject of this book.

In this first chapter, I present what we know of Valladares's life and follow his professional trajectory from the earliest works that he published in the mid-1760s to the projects that he was working on at the end of his life, many decades later, in 1820.

Early Years, Early Works

Lorenzo Antonio Domingo Valladares de Sotomayor was born in Rianxo (Galicia) on 30 July 1737. He was the eighth child of Don Diego José Valladares y Sotomayor, *escribano de Su Majestad* ('His Majesty's notary'), and his wife Doña Angela Domínguez de No-boa. The family belonged to the lesser nobility, something that

Valladares mentioned frequently in his correspondence. We know nothing of his early years except that his father, and presumably the family also, left Rianxo in 1745.¹ Where and by whom Valladares was educated are a mystery, though he clearly felt an attraction to the world of letters from an early age. It appears that he wrote his first theatrical work when he was eighteen.²

By 1760, he was in Madrid, beginning what would be a long, and at times difficult, literary career.³ It was a propitious time for a young writer to arrive in the capital. Fernando VI had died without an heir in 1759, and his brother Carlos had succeeded him as king. Jerónimo Herrera Navarro describes the time as 'un momento en que el nuevo monarca Carlos III inspiraba nuevos proyectos ilustrados, y un joven emprendedor dotado de ingenio, de cierta preparación y – se supone – que de algunas recomendaciones, podría abrirse camino en el mundo de las letras' ('a moment in which the new monarch Carlos III inspired new enlightened projects, and an enterprising young man endowed with intelligence, a certain preparation, and – one assumes – some recommendations, could make his way in the world of letters').⁴ This was exactly what Valladares set out to do.

His earliest extant publications date from the mid-to-late 1760s and are short compositions published in *pliegos sueltos* ('chapbooks') through which he could make his presence known in Madrid.⁵ Some of these works appeared under his true name, while others were published under pseudonyms, all of which were anagrams of Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor. He would continue to use pseudonyms throughout his life.⁶

To me, the most interesting and important of his early works were published in 1766. Following the *Motín de Esquilache* ('Mutiny of Esquilache'), an uprising that occurred in Madrid on Palm Sunday (23 March) of that year, Valladares wrote a panegyric to the king praising him for the merciful way in which he treated his subjects in the aftermath of the riot. The text is called a *relación*, which, in this case, means an account or a narrative composed in *romance* form: octosyllabic lines with assonant rhyme in the even-numbered lines. It is 208 lines long and was printed in chapbooks by Madrid printer Josef Francisco Martínez Abad.⁷ The title follows:

Verdadera y Gloriosa Relación; Que expresa las rendidas reverentes gracias que à nuestro augusto, benignissimo, Catholico Monarcha, y

Señor D. CARLOS TERCERO, (que Dios guarde) dân sus Vassallos en esta Corte, por la regia, soberana piedad que con ellos usò en perdonarles el ruido que fomentaron, pidiendo à su Magestad la baxa del Pan, y demas viveres, como lo concediò su nunca bien celebrada Real clemencia, con otras circunstancias dignas de oirse. Compusola Don Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor.⁸

True and Glorious *Relación*; which expresses the submissive reverent thanks given to our august, benevolent, Catholic Monarch and Lord Don Carlos III (may God protect him) by his vassals in this Court, for the royal, sovereign mercy he showed in pardoning the noise they made, begging His Majesty to lower the price of bread and other provisions, as his never sufficiently celebrated royal clemency granted with other circumstances worthy of hearing. It was composed by Don Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor.

Valladares clearly wished the reading public to know that he was the author as his name is included at the end of the title. Of course, his most important reader and the person he most wanted to know his name was the king, who is also the subject of the account. The text relates what happened when the citizens of Madrid appealed to their monarch for relief from the high price of bread and other basic foods. Here, as he often does, Valladares uses the word *Corte* ('Court') to mean Madrid.⁹ The title understates what took place, referring to the events as *ruido*, which means noise or racket, while the word *alboroto*, meaning riot, rampage or commotion, is used in the text itself. Valladares writes:

Es cierto Rey, y Señor,
es cierto, que repitiendo
ruidosos gritos, profundas
voces, y crecidos ecos,
toda la Corte pidiò
à tu Magestad consuelo,
en lo subido que estaban
los viveres; pero es cierto
tambien, que el grande alboroto
perturbò vuestros excelsos
Reales oidos, dudando
qual sería su fomento.

It is true, King and Lord, it is true that by repeating noisy shouts, deep voices, and loud echoes, all of the court begged Your Majesty for comfort, given how high the prices of provisions were; but it is also true, that the great commotion disturbed your sublime royal ears, wondering what would be its cause.

The focus of the poem is not the disorder – the lines just cited are the entire description Valladares gives of the event – but rather, the king's reaction to it. Being a just and compassionate ruler, he immediately understood the needs of the people. Rather than sending in forces to quell the disturbance, he attended to his subject's needs just as a merciful father would.¹⁰ He lowered the price of bread and pardoned the rioters: 'y ademas de aquel ruido / el inmediato yerro / perdonasteis, gran Señor' ('and in addition to that noise, you pardoned the immediate error, great Lord').

The personal and political agendas that inspired Valladares to write are easy to see. As I have suggested, Valladares must have hoped to make himself visible to the king and others in positions of power. His composition presents a particular vision of a serious instance of internal disorder, one that celebrates the restrained reaction of the monarch. Surely, such a presentation would please Carlos III and his ministers. Since the composition was published in a chapbook, it had the potential to reach a wide audience, ranging from the popular classes who might not have the means to buy it but could hear it read aloud, to readers who were more well-to-do and could purchase it. On a political level, Valladares was also signalling his admiration for the king and a desire to participate in future projects he championed. Valladares would do so more explicitly twenty years later in the Prospectus for his periodical.

During the late summer and autumn of 1766, Valladares ventured into periodical production for the first time. He started a weekly publication titled *El Dichoso Pensador* in which he sought to defend women and show that they were intellectually equal, if not superior, to men. Once again, Martínez Abad was his printer. Like *El Pensador* – the weekly edited by José Clavijo y Fajardo between 1762 and 1767 – Valladares's publication employed the format of the *pensamiento* ('thought') with the aim of addressing a different topic in each issue. He was aware of the debates and discussions surrounding the status of women taking place in the public sphere in periodicals such as *El Pensador* and less long-lived publications

such as *El Hablador Juicioso y Crítico Imparcial* (1763) and *La Pensadora Gaditana* (1763–4). As an astute observer and entrepreneur, he must have sensed that there was a market and so began a periodical directed specifically to a female readership and with women as the subject of discussion. The address to the reader in the first issue, dated 25 August 1766, shows this:

A QUIEN LEYERE. Escucha, Muger, que para ti de ti escribo. Yà he alcanzado gran parte de mi deseo si me tienes en tus manos; falta prosigas el favor mirandome con ojos tuyos, quiero decir, con buenos ojos. Lee enteramente este, y los demás Pensamientos, y los hallaràs labrados de glorias tuyas, y fortunas mías; aquellas, por lo que mereces à tu ser; y estas, por lo que disfruto en expressarlo, que es el honor de servirte, y la dicha de complacerte, que por esso me doy el nombre (bien merecido por tan esclarecida empresa) de dichoso Pensador.

TO WHOMEVER READS THIS: Listen, Woman, I write for you and about you. I have already achieved a large part of what I desire if you have me in your hands; what is lacking is that you continue the favour, looking upon me with your eyes, I mean to say, with favourable eyes. Read this and the other thoughts in their entirety and you will find them fashioned with your glories and my fortunes, those that you merit by your being, and these that I enjoy expressing, which is the honour of serving you, and the good fortune to please you, and for that I give myself the name (well-deserved for such a lofty enterprise) of fortunate thinker.

Like the Abbot Langlet and Beatriz de Cienfuegos, editors of *El Hablador* and *La Pensadora*, respectively, Valladares sought to defend women from attacks such as those made by Clavijo. Emilio Palacios Fernández, author of *La mujer y las letras en la España del siglo XVIII*, evaluates Valladares's efforts negatively, saying he defends the feminine cause 'con menos gracia y conocimientos' ('with less elegance and knowledge') than Langlet and Cienfuegos, offering flattery but adding nothing of substance to the debate.¹¹

As is the case with the ballad about the *Motín de Esquilache*, we see in this early publication characteristics that will resurface in Valladares's later works, here his view of women. He believed that women were equal to men in intellectual capacity, was an advo-

cate of the education of women, and consistently created strong female characters in both his theatrical works as well as his novel, *La Leandra*.¹²

One other early work of Valladares's is worthy of mention for what it reveals about his life and, more specifically, about whom he may have known in Madrid. This is the elegy and accompanying poems written on the occasion of the death of the Duque de Medinaceli in 1768.¹³ Valladares's name appears on the chapbook, showing not only that he wanted people to know he was the author but also that he wished to be associated with the late duke. Herrera Navarro sees the piece as an indication Valladares had 'alguna relación' ('some relationship') with the deceased.¹⁴ The duke may well have been one of the important contacts to whom Herrera Navarro supposes Valladares was referred when he first arrived in Madrid and may have helped him as he was trying to establish himself in the capital. In the elegy, Valladares writes, 'Mereci à S.E. muchas honras; acreditado conmigo, como con todos, sus piedades; suficiente motivo para sentir, como siento, su muerte, y para llorar tal pèrdida' ('I received many honours from His Excellency; he was merciful with me, as with everyone, sufficient reason to feel, as I do, his death and to weep over such a loss').

Even in his earliest published works, we see qualities in Valladares that will continue to surface as time goes on. In addition to his positive view of women, his loyalty to the monarch is another constant. He especially admired Carlos III, as is evident in later projects, particularly the *Semanario Erudito*. In the dramatic works that Valladares wrote during the Peninsular War this admiration extended to Carlos IV and Fernando VII as well.

Writing for the Theatre

After his early forays into poetry and periodical publication, Valladares settled into what was to be his livelihood for many years – writing for the stage. With the exception of the already mentioned *Nunca el rencor*, he appears to have started working as a dramatist in the mid-1770s. *Cual más oligación es la del padre o la del juez*, which reworks Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos's *El delincuente honrado*, and *Por defender a su rey derramar la sangre es ley: La Dircea*, which is similar to Vicente Antonio García de la Huerta's *Raquel*, both date from

this period. In 1778 two *comedias* were printed that show Valladares collaborating with two other dramatists, Juan José López Sedano and José Ibáñez.¹⁵ *Tener la fama de fiera y las acciones de no serlo*, also known as *Laomedón en Siria*, was cowritten by the three, with López Sedano authoring act one, Valladares act two and Ibáñez act three. Acts one and three of *No hay trono como el honor. Alejandro en Macedonia* were written by López Sedano, while Valladares wrote the second act.¹⁶ He proved to be a prolific and popular dramatist. By May of 1786 he had, by his own reckoning, written eighty-two *comedias*. By 1814, that number had risen to 102.¹⁷ In addition to his *comedias*, during this period Valladares also composed many shorter dramatic works known as *sainetes*.¹⁸

In the eighteenth century, the theatre was not simply a form of entertainment; it also had a moral and didactic function. Herrera Navarro believes that Valladares constructed his plays with two primary objectives in mind: 'Predicar el valor de la virtud' ('To preach the worthiness of virtue') and 'Exaltar la figura del Monarca y la fidelidad a él debida' ('To exalt the figure of the Monarch and the loyalty owed to him').¹⁹ In addition, his *comedias sentimentales* ('sentimental or lachrymose plays'), which are the best known and most studied of his theatrical works, also reflect on the social and political issues of the day and promote the enlightened reforms championed by the king.²⁰ One important reform reflected in his works is the dignification of a number of professions previously considered dishonourable that was announced in the *Real Cédula* ('Royal Decree') issued by Carlos III on 18 March 1783:

Real Cedula de S.M. y Señores del Consejo, por la qual se declara, que no solo el Oficio de Curtidor, sino tambien los demas Artes y Oficios de Herrero, Sastre, Zapatero, Carpintero y otros á este modo, son honestos y honrados; y que el uso de ellos no envilece la familia, ni la persona del que lo exerce, ni la inhabilita para obtener los empléos municipales de la República en que estén avecindados los Artesanos ó Menestrales que los exerciten.

Royal Decree by His Majesty and the Members of the Council, by which it is declared that not only the trade of tanner, but also the other arts and trades of blacksmith, tailor, cobbler, carpenter, and others of this type, are honest and honourable; and that these occupations do not debase the family, nor the person who practices them,

nor make him ineligible to obtain municipal employment from the republic in which the artisans or craftsmen that practice them live.

Valladares and other dramatists were quick to respond to this change. María Jesús García Garrosa notes that less than a year and a half after the law was promulgated, seven theatrical works were being performed in Madrid in which work was the central theme.²¹ Five of the seven *comedias* she singles out were by Valladares: *El vinatero de Madrid*, *El carbonero de Londres*, *El trapero de Madrid*, *Las vinvanderas ilustres* and *El fabricante de paños*. The other two works were Cándido María de Trigueros's *Los menestrales* and López Sedano's *El huérano inglés*.

In these works, the social and economic issues of the day are played out through the story of two young people of different social classes who fall in love, thus setting up a potentially unequal marriage (*casamiento desigual*).²² In general, *comedias sentimentales* resolve this conflict in one of two ways: either it is revealed that the poorer member of the couple is in fact from a noble and/or wealthy family, or the king bestows a title on the poorer member thereby raising him or her to a higher social rank. Valladares opted for the first resolution in *El vinatero de Madrid*. Near the end of this play, Tío Juan Pérez, the wine maker of the title, reveals that he is the noble Don Juan de Lara, a member of the Order of Santiago. This announcement coupled with a pardon from a benevolent monarch creates a happy ending. In *El carbonero de Londres*, Valladares employed the device of royal intervention; here the king of England makes the humble, virtuous and wise coal seller a member of Parliament and gives his son a military position. Such dénouements do raise questions, as García Garrosa has observed, about the ultimate message conveyed by the works. Although these plays may have been composed in response to the decree issued in 1783, the ideology that underlies them (as well as other works from the same period) is, in the final analysis, not in the spirit of the new law because it is the true identity and social standing of the characters that resolves the conflict, not their virtue.²³ García Garrosa criticises the happy endings further on the grounds that they violate not only the dramatic logic of the work but verisimilitude as well.²⁴

Valladares's *comedias sentimentales* enjoyed enormous popularity. *El vinatero de Madrid* tops the list and may well have been his most

successful dramatic work. It debuted at the Teatro del Príncipe in Madrid on 12 November 1784 and played for twelve days. It returned to the stage of the Teatro del Príncipe in July 1787, August 1788, May 1791, January 1793, September 1794, September 1795, August 1797, December 1800 and May 1802. In addition, it was performed at the Teatro de la Cruz in June 1796 and at the Caños del Peral in February 1806.²⁵ Extant printed copies further confirm its popularity; inspection of the catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid reveals that *El vinatero* went through at least four editions between 1784 and 1802.

During the early 1780s, Valladares also composed a number of successful *comedias de magia* ('magical plays').²⁶ Three of them are considered by scholars to be among the best examples of the genre: *El mágico de Serván* from 1781, and *El mágico de Mogol* and *El mágico de Eriván* both written in 1782. The *comedia de magia* came out of the theatre of the seventeenth century. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it bore some resemblance to both the *comedias mitológicas* ('mythological plays') and the *comedias de santos* ('plays of saints' lives') of the preceding century. As time went on, and certainly by the time that Valladares was writing, these similarities had disappeared. Magic, as we find it in the works of the later eighteenth century, has no tie to religion; rather, it is a science learned through study. Moreover, the characters with magical powers – who may be men or women – are not saints but ordinary people. Their magic is always put in the service of good, as Álvarez Barrientos explains:

Los personajes con poderes se sirven de ello para conseguir los reinos perdidos, para restaurar en ellos a los legítimos príncipes herederos, para solucionar las cuitas amorosas de los amantes condenados a no encontrarse por la maldad y el interés paternos, para defender a los inocentes de la acción de los poderosos.²⁷

The characters with powers use them to reclaim lost kingdoms, to restore legitimate royal heirs to power, to solve the romantic problems of lovers condemned to be apart because of evil and parental interest, to defend the innocent from the action of the powerful.

Part of Valladares's skill as a dramatist lay in his ability to reach beyond the confines of genre and to tell stories on the stage in a dif-

ferent way. This talent is clearly on display in his *comedias de magia*. In *El mágico de Mogol*, he took elements from his historical drama *Aben Said, emperador de Mogol* and fashioned them into a *comedia de magia*. In *El mágico de Eriván* he added an unequal marriage and a dramatic revelation of identity, essential ingredients of the *comedia sentimental*, to elements more typically found in the *comedia de magia* – the recuperation of a lost kingdom and the restoration of the legitimate ruler.

Despite official disapproval of the *comedias de magia* as a genre, the public flocked to them. The stagecraft and special effects as well as the stories that unfolded on the stage must have amazed and delighted theatregoers.²⁸ His play *El mágico de Astracán* was the biggest hit of the theatre season in 1781–2. It played for twenty-four days at the Teatro de la Cruz, beginning on 25 December 1781 and ending on 17 January 1782. *El mágico de Mogol* was the last work presented that season and also enjoyed great success, opening on 31 January 1782 and closing almost two weeks later on 12 February.²⁹

In addition to composing original works for the theatre, during the 1780s Valladares translated and adapted plays for the Spanish stage. García Garrosa attributes Spanish versions of sixteen French works and three Italian works to him.³⁰ To give just a few examples of his work in this vein, his 1782 play *Curar los males de honor es la física más sabia* is an adaptation of *Il medico olandese*, a work by the Venetian playwright Carlo Goldoni, while *El fabricante de paños o el comerciante inglés*, which dates from 1783, is a substantially reworked Spanish version of *Le fabricant de Londres* by Charles G. Fenouillot de Falbaire. Valladares's 1784 work *La escuela de las mujeres* is an adaptation of a play by Molière of the same name, *L'École des femmes*. Although not by a foreign author, one other notable work appears among Valladares's adaptations, *Las bodas de Camacho*. On the first page of the manuscript, Valladares writes, 'El suceso es sacado del Capitulo 21 del tomo 2 de la Historia de don Quixote' ('The subject is taken from Chapter 21 of volume 2 of the History of Don Quixote').³¹

Audiences in Spain were not the only ones who enjoyed Valladares's theatre. His *comedias* were performed on the other side of the Atlantic as well. *El vinatero de Madrid* was presented in the Coliseo in Mexico City in June 1790,³² in the Coliseo in Havana in

December 1791³³ and in Lima's Coliseo in August 1792.³⁴ During this same period, other plays were also staged in these cities. In 1790, *El católico Recaredo*, *Las vivanderas ilustres*, *La Emilia* and *El carbonero de Londres* were performed in Mexico City.³⁵ The following year eight of his plays were staged there.³⁶ Fifteen years later, his works were still being performed in Mexico City. In 1805–6, the theatre offerings again included *El católico Recaredo* and *La Emilia*, as well as *El galeote cautivo* and *El emperador Alberto, ó la Adelina*.³⁷ In February 1791, theatregoers in Havana saw *Las vivanderas ilustres* and in May attended *Por defender a su rey derramar la sangre es ley*.³⁸ In Lima, Valladares's translation of a work by Goldoni, *Las cuatro naciones y portugués enamorado* played in February 1791 and his own play, *El emperador Alberto, ó la Adelina* was performed in May.³⁹

A Temporary Stay in Osuna

Both Herrera Navarro and El Sayed have found evidence that in the mid-to-late 1780s Valladares lived in the Andalusian town of Osuna.⁴⁰ In 1785, he was a *socio numerario* ('regular member') of the local Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, a title that indicates he was a resident there. The subscriber lists that he regularly published in the *Semanario Erudito* confirm his presence there in 1787 and 1788, as well as his position as *Administrador de la Renta de Correos* ('Postmaster'). In 1789, however, his own name is no longer included among the subscribers. It appears that he opened an office for the *Semanario Erudito* in Madrid late in 1788.⁴¹ A likely scenario is that he moved back to the capital once his periodical had achieved some degree of success.

Why would Valladares, who had established himself as a dramatist in Madrid, have been the Postmaster in Osuna? While this might have been a position that he was appointed to as a result of his family's social position – his subscriber lists include someone who is probably another family member with the same title in Ronda – the appointment might also have been intended to support him while he was working as a playwright and/or as an editor. This brings us to a discussion of what it meant, economically, to be a writer or a 'man of letters' in the eighteenth century.

The Economics of Writing and the Move to Editing

As literature became a commodity to be bought and sold – a transformation that was well underway by Valladares's time – the situation of writers began to change. They were no longer individuals who created works of art for a patron, but rather professionals who produced objects to be sold in the marketplace. The Spanish theatre in the later eighteenth century provides ample evidence of this phenomenon, which Álvarez Barrientos calls 'el nuevo carácter mercantilista de la literatura' ('the new mercantilist character of literature').⁴² Although dramatists were often better paid for their works than other writers, their situation was far from easy. At the time Valladares was writing, the going rates were 1,500 *reales* for a three-act *comedia* and anywhere from 200 to 600 *reales* for a *sainete*.⁴³ Valladares's correspondence with the Consejo de Castilla (which will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3) often makes painfully clear the difficulties that he endured as he sought to earn a living as a writer in the later eighteenth century.

Many *ilustrados* were well aware of the economic challenges facing writers and were concerned to find ways to support them or to provide them with employment that was compatible with writing. Gregorio Mayans y Siscar (who will be discussed in Chapter 6) wrote about this problem and proposed that it was the duty of the king to maintain the man of letters 'con la debida decencia, concediéndole el ocio que es razón, esto es, libertad de usar del tiempo sin imponerle ajenas ocupaciones, i destinándole una anual i moderada pension' ('with the decency he is owed, giving him reasonable leisure, that is, the freedom to use time without having unrelated jobs imposed upon him and paying him a moderate annual pension').⁴⁴ In the 1770s, writers began to solicit these pensions or *prebendas* as well as other forms of employment appropriate for a writer. The positions were generally funded by the *rentas de Correos* ('postal revenues') or *rentas eclesiásticas* ('church revenues'). Middle and low-level administrative posts were typical occupations, as were positions working in archives and embassies or as secretaries and interpreters.⁴⁵ Valladares's administrative post would seem to fit with the kind of employment that a writer of his time would have while pursuing a literary vocation.

By 1786, Valladares seems to have concluded that playwrighting was no longer a profitable occupation. Although the details of his

personal life are not known to us, his correspondence shows that he was struggling economically and having trouble supporting his large family with income from his plays. He decided to try something new, and in a letter to the Conde de Floridablanca, written in May 1786, he outlined the project that was to become the *Semanario Erudito*.⁴⁶ His decision to begin a periodical was well-timed, as the periodical press represented what Álvarez Barrientos has called 'el primero o uno de los primeros casos de rentabilidad económica de la cultura' ('the first or one of the first instances of a cultural product that was profitable').⁴⁷

Since the history of the *Semanario Erudito* will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, here I will consider Valladares's other projects, specifically his work as a book editor and publisher, which coincided with his tenure as editor of the *Semanario* (1787–91). Many of the works that he published in book form appeared first in the pages of his periodical. His decision to publish them separately is perhaps an indication of their popularity with the reading public.

Among the most important publications that fall into this category are a number of unpublished works by the baroque writer Francisco de Quevedo, which filled almost the entire first volume of the periodical. Valladares republished the collection under the title *Obras morales, políticas y jocosas de Don Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, Caballero del Orden de Santiago, Señor de la Torre de Juan Abad; que publicó en el Semanario Erudito Don Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor. Y ha separado de el para la instruccion comun el mismo editor*. The title page notes that the volume could be found in the main office of the *Semanario* on the Calle de León, but the place of publication, printer and date of publication are not mentioned.⁴⁸

A series of letters by the Jesuit historian and intellectual Andrés Burriel (1719–62) was also published in book form after first appearing in 1787 in volume two. (These letters will be discussed in Chapter 6.) Blas Román, who took over printing the *Semanario* with volume three (probably in the summer of 1787), printed the first edition of the letters with the title *Cartas eruditas y críticas del P. Andrés Marcos Burriel, de la extinguida Compañía de Jesús*.⁴⁹ In 1789, in volume sixteen of the *Semanario*, Valladares published a more authoritative version of one of the letters – that written to Don Juan de Amaya – and tells us that this version was an autograph copy belonging to Jovellanos.⁵⁰ After Valladares obtained Jovellanos's

copy, he published a second edition of the *Cartas*, this one printed by the Viuda é Hijo de Marín.⁵¹

In addition to letters by Burriel, volume two of the *Semanario* included another work that Valladares later published separately, *Fragmentos históricos de la vida de D. Gaspar de Guzmán Conde de Olivares*.⁵² The author of this work was Don Juan Antonio de Vera y Figueroa, Conde de la Roca.⁵³ The Conde-Duque de Olivares, *valido* ('minister-favourite') of Felipe IV, was a figure of interest to Valladares and was the subject of several works that appeared in the *Semanario* as part of his project to reconstruct the history of the seventeenth century.

The life of the Spanish statesman Josef Patiño (1666–1736), who served Felipe V in numerous capacities, appeared in 1790 in volume twenty-eight. It was entitled *Fragmentos históricos de la vida del Excelentísimo Señor Don Josef Patiño, Secretario que fue de Estado, Hacienda, Marina é Indias, en el Reynado del Señor Don Felipe V*. In his Editor's Note, Valladares recommended it to his readers and announced that he would be publishing it separately as well:

Las noticias históricas que ofrece la pureza de su estilo, y lo cierto de todo su relato, son circunstancias tan apreciables, que no solo nos obligaron á incluirla en nuestro periódico, sino á hacer otra nueva impresion separada de él, á fin de que no carezcan de ella los que no tengan el semanario.⁵⁴

The historical information that the purity of its style offers, and the truth of all that is related, are such estimable circumstances that they did not just compel us to include it in our periodical, but also to publish it separately so that those who do not have the *Semanario* will not be without it.

Antonio Espinosa, who was printing the *Semanario* at this time, printed the book in 1790.⁵⁵

Valladares offered his readers letters written by the scholar Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar (1699–1781) in volume seventeen of the *Semanario*, printed by Blas Román in 1789. These letters were reprinted separately as *Cartas eruditas y críticas de Don Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar*. Although Valladares's name figures on the title page, no information as to printer, place or date of publication was given in the volume that I consulted.⁵⁶ Like Burriel, Mayans was also

of interest to Valladares because of his work recovering Spanish history.

In 1788, Valladares published four works that had not appeared previously in the pages of his periodical: *Defensa crítica de la Inquisición* by Melchor Rafael de Macanaz, *Historia geográfica, civil y política de la isla de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico* by Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra, *Vida y sucesos prosperos y adversos de Don Fr. Bartolome de Carranza y Miranda* ('*Life and Prosperous and Adverse Events of Don Fr. Bartolomé de Carranza y Miranda*') by Doctor Salazar de Miranda and *Vida interior del rey Felipe II* ('*Interior Life of King Felipe II*'), a work attributed to various authors. In producing these books, Valladares worked with three different Madrid printers. Antonio Espinosa printed the works by Macanaz and Abbad y Lasierra; Joseph Doblado was responsible for the biography of Carranza y Miranda; and Andrés Ramirez brought out *Vida interior del rey Felipe II*.

Valladares was the first to publish a number of works by the political theorist and champion of regalism Melchor Rafael de Macanaz (1670–1760). In addition to the *Defensa crítica de la Inquisición* and *Auxilios para bien gobernar una monarquía católica*, the latter was also published in volume five of the *Semanario Erudito*, other writings by Macanaz appeared in volumes seven, eight, nine and thirteen. Publishing Macanaz was a somewhat tricky proposition, as we will see.

The censor Santos Díez González approved the *Historia de Puerto Rico* for publication on 1 December 1787.⁵⁷ The author, Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra (1745–1813), was a Benedictine monk who lived in Puerto Rico from 1771 until 1778. His book touches on a wide variety of subjects: for example, the discovery of the island, its early inhabitants, Ponce de León and his search for the fountain of youth, the land and the climate, the birds, minerals and trees found there, the contemporary inhabitants of the island, their society and customs, as well as the natural disasters such as hurricanes, earthquakes and illnesses that had beset Puerto Rico. Valladares presents the book to his readers as follows:

La Historia Geográfica, Civil y Política de la Isla de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico, que presentamos al Público, creemos conseguirá de éste todo el aprecio que merece. La exactitud, discrecion, verdad, y esmero con que está escrita; las ciertas, y agradables noticias que ofrece de aquel Pais, tanto del genio de sus naturales, antes, y despues de su conquista, como de las exquisitas producciones con que la

favoreció la naturaleza: su fina locucion, puro estilo, y otras infinitas preciosidades con que está enriquecida, componen un objeto el mas precioso, y deleytable.⁵⁸

The Geographic, Civil and Political History of the Island of San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico, which we present to the public, will, we believe, receive all the appreciation it deserves. The exactitude, discretion, truth and care with which it is written; the certain and pleasant information it offers about that country, both the nature of its original inhabitants, before and after their conquest, as well as the exquisite products with which nature favoured it: its fine locution, pure style, and other infinite treasures with which it is enriched, make up a most precious and enjoyable object.

This 403-page work was important as it was one of the few studies of Puerto Rico that had been written by the late 1780s.

Bartolomé de Carranza y Miranda (1503–76), whose life was at certain points linked to Felipe II and the court, belongs to the Spanish history Valladares hoped to teach his readers. In fact, Carranza is one of the figures Valladares names specifically in his *Prospecto*, which is discussed in Chapter 2. When the future Felipe II went to England in 1554 to marry Mary Tudor, Carranza y Miranda also went and, according to his biography, worked on behalf of the faith and opposed the heretics that he found there. Later, he was present at the first and second Councils of Trent (1545–8 and 1551–2). In 1558, he was consecrated Archbishop of Toledo. He was also, according to his biography, present at the death of the emperor Carlos V in that same year. Carranza's luck soon took a turn for the worse, something we might expect from a title that mentions *sucesos prósperos y adversos* ('prosperous and adverse events'), and in 1559 he was arrested by two inquisitors and taken to Valladolid. In 1566, he was moved to Rome. He died in 1576, having spent sixteen years in the prisons of the Inquisition. The Consejo de Castilla granted Valladares a license to publish the biography but with the proviso that he include a note to his readers. Thus, at the beginning of the book, we find the following:

Nota que manda poner al principio de esta Obra el supremo Consejo de Castilla. Para evitar qualquiera mala inteligencia que se quiera dar á esta Obra, ha acordado el Consejo, que se advierta al Público, por

medio de esta nota, que solo se le debe dár aquella que merecen los documentos históricos que refiere.⁵⁹

Note that the supreme Consejo de Castilla ordered be placed at the beginning of this work. To avoid any misunderstanding that might arise regarding this work, the Consejo has agreed that the public be warned, by means of this note, that it should only be given the meaning the historical documents it refers to merit.

Valladares's introductory *Nota del Editor*, which follows, also calls attention to the care with which the book should be read: 'Es fuerza advertir á algunos de sus lectores, que no olviden la inteligencia segura que deben dar á sus clausulas, teniendo presente la nota que mandó poner en ella el supremo Consejo de Castilla, que tan sabiamente procura la ilustracion del Público' ('It is necessary to warn some readers not to forget the assured meaning they should give its clauses, bearing in mind the note the supreme Consejo de Castilla, which so wisely seeks the enlightenment of the public, ordered be placed before the work').⁶⁰

In Valladares's day, the authorship of the *Vida interior del rey Felipe II* was uncertain, as the title page indicated 'Atribuida comunemente al Abad de San Real, y por algunos al célebre Español Antonio Perez, su Secretario de Estado' ('Commonly attributed to the Abbot of San Real, and by some to the famous Spaniard Antonio Pérez, his Secretary'). Pedro Martín Gómez, the editor of a facsimile edition published in 1998, states that neither the abbot nor Antonio Pérez was the author. Rather, the biography was written by the French historian and poet Pierre Matthieu, or Pedro Mateo (1563–1621), and was included in the *Histoire de France* published in Paris in 1607. Although it was translated into Spanish early in the seventeenth century, Martín Gómez believes Valladares was the first to publish it.⁶¹

In 1789 Valladares published two more works that had not appeared previously in the pages of his periodical. The first was Jerónimo Gascón de Torquemada's *Nacimiento, vida, prision y muerte de D. Rodrigo Calderón*, which was printed by Blas Román.⁶² Gascón de Torquemada was a prolific writer who recorded important events that took place in Madrid between 1605 and 1637. He was also employed by the blind men in the capital to write *relaciones* about current events, which they would then sell.⁶³ The second work was

the *Compendio de la doctrina moral y canónica*, a Spanish translation of extracts from the writings of Pope Benedict XIV that had been compiled by Juan Domingo Mansi, the Archbishop of Lucca. This book was printed by Antonio de Espinosa. In his Editor's Note introducing the text, Valladares recommended it strongly: 'No hay clase de personas para quienes no pueda ser muy conveniente este copioso Índice ó Epítome de la Doctrina Moral y Canónica; y sería superfluo el detenernos en su recomendacion' ('There is no class of persons for whom this copious Index or Epitome of Moral and Canonical Doctrine is not appropriate and it would be superfluous to dwell on recommending it').⁶⁴

As I will explain in more detail in Chapter 2, Valladares's goal in producing the *Semanario* was to teach his readers the history of Spain, especially the history of the previous century, and to make them aware of the ideas put forward by great Spanish thinkers and statesmen of the past. The books he chose to edit and publish were clearly an extension of this project. Publishing these books was also an easy way to expand his market by diversifying the products that he offered his customers. Readers of more limited means could read, say, Quevedo's works in weekly instalments in the periodical, while more monied readers could afford to buy the entire bound volume.

Hard Times in the 1790s

Things were going well for Valladares as the 1780s drew to a close. His periodical enjoyed official approval and had a stable, loyal readership. The numerous book projects he oversaw seem to have been well received and would have brought him additional income. He was optimistic about the future and was planning to publish several more volumes of the *Semanario* when he made what would be a disastrous decision to invest in more paper and a large number of manuscripts. The prohibition of private periodicals in February 1791, which quickly followed this large outlay of funds, was a terrible blow to him, one from which it seems he never fully recovered.⁶⁵

Valladares's correspondence with the Consejo de Castilla during the 1790s shows the economic stress that he was under at this time. Although he was granted permission to begin publishing again in

the summer or autumn of 1792, almost four years later he was still attempting to locate documents that he had previously submitted for censorship. In his 23 February 1796 request for help directed to the Consejo, Valladares speaks of what it cost him to put together his collection of manuscripts and mentions that he must fulfil his obligations to his subscribers, who had paid for issues in advance.⁶⁶ He makes these same points again in enquiries in February 1797 and January 1798. In an appeal dated 28 March 1799, and speaking of himself in the third person, he describes being in 'la situacion mas lastimosa' ('the most pitiful situation') and explains that some of his subscribers are threatening to take action against him: 'estàn solicitando algunos arruinarle con execuciones y venta de sus M.S. y muebles' ('some are seeking to ruin him by seizing and selling his manuscripts and furniture'). In this letter he also asks that his creditors be told to give him three years to repay them.⁶⁷

With the success of his earlier theatrical works and the *Semana-rio Erudito* well behind him, and with debts to be paid, Valladares turned to a new genre – the novel. In 1797, he published the first volume of a multivolume work he titled *La Leandra*. Herrera Navarro describes Valladares's project as follows: 'Valladares concibe una novela de larga extensión . . . variada y amena, para asegurar el éxito, y cargada de buena moral, en el sentido más ortodoxo, para evitar cualquier contratiempo inquisitorial' ('Valladares conceived of a long novel . . . varied and pleasing, to insure its success, and full of good morals, in the most orthodox sense, to avoid any contretemps with the Inquisition').⁶⁸ Comprising nine volumes, the work was, indeed, 'de larga extensión'. The first four volumes came out in 1797, but the fifth did not appear until 1801. Volume six was published in 1803, followed in 1805 by volumes seven and eight, and in 1807 by volume nine. At that time, he announced a tenth and final volume, but there is no proof it ever appeared. García Garrosa believes that Valladares never finished it because the response by the reading public was not what he had hoped for.⁶⁹

Although he had not worked in prose fiction prior to writing *La Leandra*, the prologue to the first volume shows that Valladares had definite ideas about what a novel should be and what elements it should contain. It was essential that it be both moral and entertaining, and in his expression of this idea, we see a writer imbued with

the ideas of his time: 'La moral de la Novela ha de ser tan fina, que corrija deleytando' ('The moral of the novel must be so refined that it corrects while delighting').⁷⁰ The plot should be believable yet contain the element of surprise: 'Nada debe ser mas verosimil, que la trama y lances que presente; y éstos, tan inesperados, como fuertes: pero dispuestos con tal arte, propiedad y sutileza, que embelesen al lector sin que pueda penetrar su fin hasta que llegue à él' ('Nothing should be more plausible than the plot and the adventures it presents; and these, as unexpected as intense: but prepared with such art, propriety and subtlety, that they bewitch the reader without him being able to guess the ending until he gets to it').⁷¹

He goes on to explain that some works by Spanish authors do contain the qualities essential to a successful novel, and notes that Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana*, Cervantes's *Persiles y Segismunda*, Lope's *La Dorotea* and all works by Quevedo are worthy of distinction. However, it is the English who have outdone everyone and written the best examples of the genre: 'parece que la naturaleza se puso en sus plumas de intento, y que por ellas nos habla' ('it seems as though nature purposefully placed itself in their pens and through them it speaks to us').⁷²

Although England is the setting of some of his *comedias sentimentales*, this is the first time that Valladares has shown an acquaintance with English literature, especially the sentimental novel, and Richardson's *Clarissa* in particular. Published in 1748, the novel was translated into French by the Abbé de Prévost in 1751, and again in 1785–6 by Le Tourneur. The later French translation served as the basis for the Spanish translation by Joseph Marcos Gutierrez, which was published in 1794. We know that Valladares subscribed to the Spanish translation, which was titled *Clara Harlowe*.⁷³

The subtitle that Valladares gave to *La Leandra* was *Novela original que comprehende muchas* ('Original Novel that Encompasses Many'). It was an accurate description for, in creating *La Leandra*, Valladares combined elements of different novelistic genres in much the same way that he melded theatrical genres in his *comedias de magia*. Like the enormously popular *Clarissa* (or *Clara Harlow*), *La Leandra* is an epistolary novel. It is made up of eighteen letters written by two women: Leandra, who is an actress, and her friend Aniceta. In addition to this frame,

Valladares incorporates characters and narratives more typical of two popular seventeenth-century prose genres, the *novela bizantina* ('byzantine novel') and the *novela cortesana* ('courtly novel'), both forms of short fiction that recount tales of love and adventure. Álvarez Barrientos, who also notes the appropriate nature of the subtitle, writes that in *La Leandra* he 'sintetiza todos los estilos y maneras de la narrativa' ('synthesizes all the narrative styles and manners') of the period, particularly the story within a story:

El formato de las muñecas rusas le permite contar unas historias dentro de otras, pero también pasar fácilmente de un tipo de relato a otro, del costumbrista al de aventuras, por ejemplo, sin perder de vista la exposición de las tribulaciones amorosas, las reflexiones sobre el papel de las mujeres en la sociedad o los conflictos que planteaba la difícil realidad española de entre siglos.⁷⁴

The Russian dolls format allows him to tell stories within stories, but also to move easily from one type of story to another, from a *costumbrista* story to an adventure story, for example, without losing track of the development of romantic tribulations, reflections on the role of women in society, or conflicts posed by the difficult Spanish reality of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

While he was at work on *La Leandra*, Valladares continued to edit and publish other books. In 1798, the Imprenta de la Vega y Compañía in Madrid printed *La única religión verdadera, demostrada contra todos los sectarios opuestos á la Iglesia Romana*. The publication is attributed to Valladares as the title is followed by the sentence, 'La da á luz D. A. V. S.' ('It is published by D.A.V.S.'). The following year, he edited and published *Colección de seguidillas o cantares . . . enriquecida con notas y refranes . . . se ilustran con anécdotas, apólogos, cuentos y sentencias morales*, which was printed in Madrid by Franganillo. Two more edited works appeared in 1806, both published in Madrid by the Imprenta de la Calle de Relatores: *Colección de algunas obras inéditas críticas, eruditas, históricas y políticas de nuestros mejores autores, antiguos y modernos*; and *Epítome de los hechos y dichos del emperador Trajano*, written by Luis de Morales Polo and originally published in Valladolid in 1654.

The Peninsular War and a Return to the Theatre

The Napoleonic invasion in 1808 and Spain's ensuing struggle for independence took Valladares back to writing for the stage.⁷⁵ During and immediately after the conflict he wrote *comedias patrióticas* ('patriotic plays'), dramatic works with a clear political and propagandistic end in mind, to celebrate great heroes and victories and encourage resistance to the French invader.

Valladares was not the only playwright to cultivate this new kind of theatre. A number of his contemporaries wrote plays with similarly propagandistic ends. Among them were Félix Enciso Castrellón, Gaspar Zavala y Zamora and Francisco de Paula Martí. Our record of this particular theatrical genre is far from complete as many were composed anonymously. Given the environment in which they were written and performed, it also seems reasonable to assume that a certain percentage did not survive.

Copies of three *comedias patrióticas* written by Valladares are extant: *El triunfo mayor de España por el Gran Lord Wellington*, *El sitio de Calatayud por el Marte Empecinado* and *Nuestro rey Fernando 7º en el complot de Bayona*. There is also an unfinished work from this period titled *Los franceses generosos*, a *comedia sentimental* set against the backdrop of the Peninsular War.

El triunfo mayor celebrates the victory of the combined forces of Spain, Portugal and England under the command of Lord Wellington in the Battle of Vitoria on 21 June 1813. It was performed in Madrid just over a month later for five successive days, from 29 July to 2 August. That same year it was published in Valencia by the Imprenta de Estevan. It is notable that Valladares's name does not appear on this imprint. A year later, the play was published in Madrid by Vega y Compañía under a slightly different title, *La gran victoria de España en los campos de Vitoria* and this time, Valladares was credited as the author.

El sitio de Calatayud por el Marte Empecinado recreates an earlier victory in the struggle to expel the invaders. From 26 September until 4 October 1811, bands led by José Durán and Juan Martín Díez, known as *el Empecinado* ('the stubborn or obstinate one'), successfully besieged a French garrison in Calatayud. The title refers to Díez as Mars, the god of war. This play apparently exists only in manuscript form in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.⁷⁶ Whether it was ever performed or printed is not known. On the last page

of the manuscript we see the *licencia de representación*, which shows that on 18 October 1814 the Conde de Casillas gave permission for it to be performed. Valladares signed this play using the pseudonym Don Atanasio Valderosal y Montedoro.

Nuestro rey Fernando 7º en el complot de Bayona also exists in a single manuscript in Madrid in the Biblioteca Nacional.⁷⁷ It is Valladares's imagined recreation of events leading up to the Abdications of Bayonne in 1808, primarily conversations between members of the Spanish royal family and discussions between Fernando VII and Napoleon. In a letter that accompanies the manuscript, dated 20 August 1814, Valladares dedicates the work to the king, 'al mejor de los Reyes el Señor Don Fernando 7º' ('to the best of kings, Señor Don Fernando VII'). He also relates the problems the play encountered with the censors when he first submitted it for approval, which suggests that it was composed some years earlier.

El gran triunfo and *El sitio de Calatayud*, like Valladares's *comedias de magia*, have elaborate sets, which he describes in detail, and stage directions that call for music and dancing. The Spanish audiences liked seeing the important figures of the day on the stage, and *El gran triunfo* featured the Spanish general Longa, to whom the work was dedicated, in addition to the great hero Lord Wellington. The enemies have their time on the stage in these works as well. Joseph Bonaparte and the French commanders Laval and Gazan appear in *El gran triunfo*, while their compatriots Muller and Chillot (Guillot) are characters in *El sitio de Calatayud*. Napoleon plays a major role in *Nuestro rey Fernando 7º*.

One aspect of these works that is notable is that Valladares does not adopt the stereotypical negative portrayal of the French found in other *comedias patrióticas*. The French generals and the soldiers under their command are all skilled, dedicated, loyal professionals. Valladares also seems to have decided against the usual portrayal of Joseph Bonaparte as a drunkard. However, Spaniards who sided with the French in the conflict are painted in a decidedly negative way, as fully deserving fates far worse than those meted out to them at the end. In all these plays, Valladares makes it clear that the real enemy of Spain is the person whose thirst for power brought the horror and destruction of war on the Spanish nation – Napoleon.

Herrera Navarro believes that where Valladares stood with regard to the Napoleonic invasion of Spain is unclear, pointing out

that in 1801 he had dedicated the fifth volume of *La Leandra* to Napoleon's brother, Lucien, who was then France's Ambassador to Spain.⁷⁸ Indeed, the bilingual dedication (Spanish and French texts on facing pages) is effusive in its praise of Lucien and also extolls Napoleon, who Valladares refers to as 'Héroe de nuestros siglos' ('Hero of our centuries').⁷⁹ In Valladares's defence, it must be remembered that European artists and intellectuals in general viewed Napoleon as a hero in the beginning, only to be disillusioned later.⁸⁰ Although the French soldiers and commanders in these plays, as well as in *Los franceses generosos*, are portrayed positively, there is no ambivalence whatsoever in the way Valladares draws Napoleon; he is a tyrant. In *El gran triunfo*, Wellington describes him using precisely that word (*tirano*) and then calls him 'cruel opresor de la humanidad e inexorable destructor de quanto tiene relación con la razón, la justicia, la tranquilidad de los pueblos, con los derechos y la paz de los hombres. Todo lo ha turbado' ('cruel oppressor of humanity and inexorable destroyer of whatever is related to reason, justice, the tranquillity of peoples, with the rights and peace of men. He has upset everything'). In *Nuestro Rey Fernando 7º*, Valladares goes so far as to have the actor who plays the part of Napoleon come on stage at the end and apologise to the audience and the king for the role he played: 'El papel de Napoleon / estube representando, / y a nuestro gran Rey Fernando / le tengo en mi corazon' ('I was playing the role of Napoleon and I carry our great King Fernando in my heart').

Valladares also made his patriotic stance in the conflict clear in his last published work, *Tertulias de invierno en Chinchón*, which will be discussed at the end of this chapter. The first volume appeared in 1815, a year after the Peninsular War ended. He dedicated it to his friend Don Cayetano Miguel Manchon and referred to the events of 2 May 1808 as follows:

Pero en la época de la confusion, en el día dos de Mayo de 1808, día de terror y espanto para esta heroyca corte, y el mas célebre y felicísimo para España, pues fué el que dió principio á nuestra gloriosa revolucion: ¿qual de los dos creeria que yo habia de hacer á Vd. esta dedicatoria? . . . Vd. y yo unidos aquel día á los valerosos Madrileños que defendian los justos derechos de nuestro amadísimo Rey y patria contra los satélites del perfido destructor del género humano, expu-

simos nuestras vidas, sacrificando algunas de los enemigos, á nuestro honrado furor.⁸¹

But in the confused time, on the second of May of 1808, a day of terror and fright for this heroic court, and the most celebrated and happy for Spain, because it gave a beginning to our glorious revolution: which of us would have thought that I would write this dedication to you? . . . You and I united that day with the brave residents of Madrid who defended the just rights of our most beloved king and country against the satellites of the perfidious destroyer of the human race, we risked our lives, sacrificing some of the enemies to our honourable fury.

1818: An Investigation by the Inquisition and an Appeal to the King

In the spring and summer of 1818, Valladares, who by this time was over eighty years old, was investigated by the Inquisition. He is described on the front page of the archival file as ‘de oficio Librero’ (‘bookseller by profession’).⁸² The reason for the investigation is also noted: ‘por proposiciones’ (‘for statements’). The case began in early April, when a former neighbour, who was at that point living in Granada, brought to the attention of the Holy Office there some comments that she had heard Valladares make several years earlier. The words of his accuser, María García Acosta, wife of Josef Seiguero, were set down as follows on 6 April 1818:

aviendo estado en Madrid, en tiempo de los franceses, frequente, un poco tiempo, la casa de Don Antonio bayadares de Sotomayor, este componia libros, y comedias, y tenia imprenta, bivia, arimado a el convento de la Merced no me aguerdo, del nombre, de la calle, ni del numero de la casa, por aber, se 15 años que me vine, era biudo i tenia una mosa, que decia, era sobrina; e este tal, Don Antonio, le oi algunas cosas escandalosas, de nuestra relijion, decia que no abia infierno, ni purgatorio, que el sesto mandamiento, no era pecado, y que los franceses avien, echo bien, de quitar los conventos porque los Frailes, tenian la culpa, de que uviera tantos, tontos; este onbre, presumia de gracioso, i todo esto lo decia, en bufonada, y lo tenian,

muchas personas por que estava, un poco de mente; yo no se, su interior, qual seria; y lo declaro, pa descargo de mi consciencia.

having been in Madrid at the time of the French occupation, for a little while I frequented the house of Don Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor, he put together books and plays, and had a print shop, he lived right up against the Convento de la Merced, I don't remember the name of the street or the number of the house because it's been 15 years since I came; he was a widower and had a girl who he said was a niece, and I heard this don Antonio say scandalous things, about our religion, he said that Hell didn't exist, or Purgatory, that the sixth commandment wasn't a sin, and that the French had done well to get rid of the convents because it was the friars' fault there were so many stupid people; this man thought he was funny and said all these things in a jesting way, and lots of people thought his mind wasn't all there, I don't know what he feels in his soul; and I declare all of this to unburden my conscience.

On 19 May 1818, the Inquisition asked Valladares's parish priest in Madrid to look into the matter. This request contains more specific information as to where Valladares was living at the time. It describes him as 'Impressor o Librero . . . vive calle de Sta. Ysabel pasado el Cuartel Grande de Guardias Españolas, segunda puerta, quarto segundo' ('Printer or Bookseller . . . he lives on Calle de Santa Isabel, past the large barracks of Spanish Guards, second door, second room').

On 2 August 1818, Ciriaco Arrieno, the interim priest in the parish of San Lorenzo, reported back, stating that Valladares:

tiene por ejercicio la composicion de varias piezas periodicas, historicas, y dramaticas, que en edad es octogenaria, sus accidentes gota, sus costumbres honestas, su Religion parece ser la Catolica, apostolica, romana, sus potencias parece estan en todo su vigor a pesar de su Edad, que no consta tener el vicio de la embriaguez, y que en su conversacion parece buen Cristiano y adicto al Rey y a la patria.

his profession is the composition of various periodicals, historical works, and dramatic pieces, he is an octogenarian, he suffers from gout, his habits are honest, and his religion appears to be Catholic, apostolic and Roman, he is in possession of his faculties in spite of

his age, he is not a drunkard, and in his conversation appears to be a good Christian, loyal to the king and to the country.

On 17 August 1818, unable to find out anything more and lacking anyone else to interview except the niece, who was thought to be unreliable, the Inquisition closed the file.⁸³

At the same time his former neighbour was unburdening her conscience in Granada, in Madrid, Valladares was requesting a pension from the king and seeking permission to begin two new periodicals: the *Diario cortesano Historico* and the *Nuevo Almacen de frutos literarios*. In addition to his petition, Valladares also submitted a prospectus for both periodicals, as well as a letter of support for the project from Agustín de los Arcos, whose letter was written from the Real Hospital in Madrid on 3 April 1818.⁸⁴

Before entering into a discussion of Valladares's proposal and the king's response, it is important to note that the paper that this request is written on is different from that which Valladares, and Antonio de Parga writing on his behalf, had always used before. Over the years, Valladares's correspondence with the Consejo de Castilla and other authorities was on *papel de cuarto*, a page that is one quarter of a large sheet, and was stamped with the seal of the king, the year and the price, as the law required.⁸⁵ The paper used this time is the usual size, *papel de cuarto*, but has the phrase 'Para pobres de solemnidad quatro mts' ('For *pobres de solemnidad* four maravedís') stamped at the top, something we have not seen before.

What does the different paper and Valladares's status as a *pobre de solemnidad* mean? What was his situation at this point? Working with marriage records from Seville in 1680, Rafael M. Pérez García defines the term *pobre de solemnidad* as:

[E]l desposeído, el que carece de toda propiedad. Pero también un trabajador, no un mendigo. Vive de su trabajo, del que le sustenta . . . [Los pobres de solemnidad] experimentan que su trabajo no basta, a su pesar, para proporcionarles un mínimo suficiente de subsistencia material.⁸⁶

[T]he dispossessed, one who owns no property. But also a worker, not a beggar. He lives off his work, which sustains him . . . The experience of the *pobres de solemnidad* is that their work, regrettably, is

not enough to provide them with a sufficient minimum of material subsistence.

Since *pobres de solemnidad* were in dire economic straits, they were allowed to pay a much-reduced price for paper. For purposes of comparison, when Valladares was editing the *Semanario* and corresponding with the Consejo de Castilla, he paid twenty maravedís a sheet for *papel de cuarto*; by 1818, that price had doubled.

In addition to requesting permission to begin new periodicals, Valladares also petitioned the king for a pension, yet another indication of his poverty. Unfortunately, on 12 April 1818, José Manuel de Arjona, an adviser to the king, recommended the request be denied, basing the suggestion on the Royal Decree of 30 May 1817, which had announced that no new pensions would be granted. Arjona also advised denying Valladares's request to edit the *Diario cortesano* as it would be too much work for someone of his advanced age. Arjona did, however, recommend that Valladares be granted permission for the second project, the *Nuevo Almacén de frutos literarios*, and went on to say that he was the ideal person for such an undertaking. A new periodical would, moreover, provide him with an honourable way of supporting himself:

Pero lo creo el sugeto unico para desempeñar la redaccion del 2º papel, esto es, del nuevo almacen de frutos literarios. Valladares posee una gran coleccion de obras ineditas, entre las cuales debe sin duda haber muchas merecedoras del olvido en que yacen, pero muchas tambien dignas de ver la luz pública . . . Valladares es sugeto religioso y buen vasallo, y puede con la ocupación de publicar periodicamente obras ineditas que posee facilitar la propagación de los conocimientos utiles y encontrar medios de proporcionarse una subsistencia honrosa i independiente.⁸⁷

But I think he is the only person to undertake the editing of the second paper, this is the *Nuevo almacen de frutos literarios*. Valladares owns a great collection of unedited works, among which there doubtless are many deserving of the oblivion in which they lie, but many also worthy of being seen by the public . . . Valladares is a religious subject and a good vassal, and with the job of periodically publishing unedited works that he owns will facilitate the spread of useful knowledge and find the means of providing an honourable and independent means of subsistence.

On 27 April 1818, Valladares was granted permission to publish the proposed continuation of the *Almacen de frutos*. A few weeks later he wrote again, asking for an advance, but the request was denied on Arjona's advice that it was best not to give money that might not be paid back. Valladares was able to make a go of it nonetheless and published eight volumes (forty-eight issues) of the *Continuación del Almacen de frutos literarios*. The last issue is dated 5 July 1819, and includes an index of the periodical's content as well as the following statement: 'Consideraciones importantes nos obligan á suspender por ahora este papel, que nos proponemos continuar en otra ocasion' ('Important considerations force us to suspend this paper, which we propose to continue on another occasion').⁸⁸ Valladares eventually sold the printing licence he had for this project as well as the manuscripts.

Final Years and Final Projects

Valladares's final project was a miscellany entitled *Tertulias de invierno en Chinchón: Conversaciones crítico-políticas, morales, é instructivas*. It was published in four volumes; the first two appearing in 1815, the last two in 1820. *Tertulias de invierno* is similar in structure to the collections of *novelas cortas* ('short novels') that were so popular in the seventeenth century. The frame story is reminiscent of a work like the *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* of the eponymously named María de Zayas y Sotomayor, in which friends pass the time on successive winter evenings telling stories. In Valladares's work, a widow and her three daughters leave Madrid in December and go to their house in Chinchón to escape the sadness of mourning. There they meet the others who will participate in the nightly gatherings – the *tertulias* of the title – organised by the town's priest. Assuring the participants that the nights will not be long but 'agradables y cortas' ('agreeable and short'), the priest lays out a plan for various nights and assigns each member of the group a subject. For example, 'El Viérnes mi sobrino Baltasar nos explicará algunas noticias críticas é instructivas. Seguirá Doña Polonia refiriendo algunos rasgos de la humanidad y beneficencia, que deleiten al paso que instruyan' ('On Friday my nephew Baltasar will explain some critical and instructive news to us. Doña Polonia will follow, referring to some characteristics

of humanity and beneficence, which will delight at the same time they instruct').⁸⁹

Valladares mined a number of sources for material for this miscellany. Four of his own theatrical works – *Los criados embusteros*, *La maleta*, *El preso por amor o el real encuentro* and *El carbonero de Londres* – are recast as stories that the characters tell one another. He also appropriated the works of others for his collection. A discussion of rings and their properties in volume three includes a summary or retelling of *El anillo de Gíges*, a popular *comedia de magia*. García Garrosa has shown that three stories – 'La mujer singular', 'Clemencia de Entragues' and 'Los príncipes de Armenia, o el grito de la naturaleza' – are Spanish adaptations of works included in the *Contes moraux* by the French writer Jean-François Marmontel.⁹⁰

The last volume of the collection ends with a series of quotations and famous sayings by ancient and modern philosophers, 'Sentencias y dichos célebres de filósofos antiguos y modernos'.⁹¹ We clearly hear the voice of the editor of the *Semanario Erudito* in the last piece of advice offered: 'Se cometan tantos hierros [yerros] por ignorar lo pasado, como por no saber lo futuro' ('As many errors result from disregarding the past as from not knowing the future').⁹² At the bottom of the page, Valladares, clearly hoping to publish more, writes, 'Fin del tomo cuarto, y de esta obra, hasta tiempo mas oportuno' ('End of the fourth volume, and of this work, until a more opportune time').⁹³ But a more opportune time was not to be, and these lines would be his farewell to all his readers.

Valladares was eighty-two or eighty-three years old in 1820, when the last two volumes of *Tertulias de invierno en Chinchón* were published. We do not know the exact date of his death, but he was an indefatigable writer and publisher, out of necessity as well as dedication, so the fact that nothing bearing his name came out after 1820, strongly suggests he died in that year.