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THE POST-ROMANTIC DRAMA IN PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL

by

COLIN M. PIERSON

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Comparative Literature in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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PREFACE

Although there have been extensive analyses of certain periods and writers in the drama of Portugal and Brazil, a cursory survey of Luso-Brazilian drama as a whole leads one to the conclusion that very little writing of a critical nature had been done on the period which goes from the end of the Romantic movement in the nineteenth century to approximately the first decade of the twentieth century. Although it may be readily conceded that the drama is not the most fecund literary genre developed by either the Portuguese or the Brazilians, it appeared that a systematic critical study of the post-Romantic period and all succeeding periods to the beginning of the twentieth century would be very helpful in shedding more light on those forces influential in molding the philosophical ideas of the time.

Since the Luso-Brazilian drama of the period is a product of and a contributor to Western European drama, and the Aristotelian dramatic concept of a well-made play (that is, one with a beginning, a denouement and an ending, and which depends greatly on the dialogue) was still in force, the written content of the play is of utmost importance. Therefore, this study was made, using all plays accessible by the playwrights of the period, by grouping the subjects within

certain broad general categories such as content, attitude, and artistic form: how and when they changed, disappeared, reappeared, or when new subjects emerged. The analysis deals with various groupings of dramatists in as near a chronological order as possible. This allows for a much clearer perspective of the whole, particularly of those themes and techniques which were retained from Romanticism. Because the Portuguese dramatists were almost always more advanced, at least in relative terms, than their Brazilian counterparts and, also, because Portugal had a great cultural influence on the Brazilian nineteenth-century theater, the sections on Portuguese playwrights, which correspond to those in Brazil, are usually placed first.

In dealing with each section on the plays selected, an attempt is made to show how dramatic concepts changed or remained unaltered. In effect, this dissertation tries to answer certain questions on the drama of the period. What were the changes in theme, plot, characterization and style? How did the playwrights present their ideas and how were they different from those that had come before? What were the changes or modifications in technique, if any?

The main source of material was the New York Public Library, which contains one of the world's great collections of nineteenth-century Portuguese and Brazilian drama. The other important source of both plays and reference material was the Paul Klapper Library at Queens College of The City University of New York. It has an excellent collection of

both Portuguese and Brazilian plays and reference works. Between the New York Public Library and Klapper Library, nearly all of the research was gathered. The rest was compiled with the help of the Interlibrary Loan Office at Queens College which ordered books, mainly from the Library of Congress; and with the help of the copying service of the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon.

Among the many books on theater in general which were helpful both in placing nineteenth-century Luso-Brazilian drama in perspective to the development of Western European drama and in defining the limits of drama itself were Bernard Beckerman's Dynamics of Drama, Ronald Peacock's The Art of Drama, Francis Fergusson's The Idea of a Theater, Marjorie Boulton's The Anatomy of Drama and Northrop Frye's An Anatomy of Criticism. Other somewhat more specialized studies were of great help in understanding certain periods or in suggesting how to deal with specific plays. Among these were Georg Lukacs' The Historical Novel (which includes an excellent analysis of the drama of the period), Thomas F. Van Laan's The Idiom of Drama, William York Tindall's The Literary Symbol, Paul M. Levitt's A Structural Approach to the Analysis of Drama, Alan Downer's The Art of the Play and Gustav Freytag's Die Technik des Dramas.

The most helpful theoretical criticism dealing specifically with the Portuguese drama consisted of two articles by G. Saviotti, "Teoria de Teatro em Portugal, de Garrett aos Nossos Dias" and "Teoria de Teatro em Portugal: Tendên-

cias Contemporâneas."

There were a number of works which contained good bibliographical and biographical information, such as Luciana Stegagno Picchio's História do Teatro Português, Inocêncio Francisco da Silva's Dicionário Bibliográfico Português, the Dicionário de Literatura, edited by Jacinto do Prado Coelho, J. Galante de Sousa's O Teatro no Brasil, Raimundo de Menezes' Dicionário Literário Brasileiro, Sacramento Blake's Dicionário Bibliográfico Brasileiro, Lafayette Silva's História do Teatro Brasileiro and Teófilo Braga's História do Teatro Português.

A number of other books and articles which were often as factual as those listed above but whose literary criticisms or theoretical speculation were found to be most useful in understanding the nineteenth-century theater in both Portugal and Brazil were Raymond Sayers' The Negro in Brazilian Literature, Sabato Magaldi's Panorama do Teatro Brasileiro, Luiz Francisco Rebello's Preface in Teatro Português, Décio de Almeida Prado's João Caetano, R. A. Lawton's Almeida Garrett, l'intime Contrainte, A. Crabbé Rocha's O Teatro de Garrett and Vitor de Aguiar e Silva's O Teatro de Actualidade no Romantismo Português (1849-1875). There were some excellent articles, also, on Portuguese theater in Estrada Larga, A Evolução e o Espírito do Teatro em Portugal and Bulletin d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais (the latter collection contains the two articles by Saviotti mentioned previously). Other works which gave interesting perspec-

tives of the period under study but not specifically of the theater were Alberto Ferreira's Perspectiva do Romantismo Português, Vitorino Nemésio's Relações Francesas do Romantismo Português, Victor de Sá's Perspectivas do Século XIX and Augusto da Costa Dias's A Crise da Consciência Pequeno-Burguesa.

It seemed that it would be interesting to include whenever possible criticisms or viewpoints by Portuguese or Brazilian dramatists and their contemporaries, who were not always playwrights, of either their own plays or those of others. Sometimes these opinions comprised a defense of a certain play, an attack on the play of another, a theory of how drama should be written and even an explanation as to why one dramatist avoided writing drama. Opinions and criticisms by Almeida Garrett, Machado de Assis, Alexandre Herculano, José de Alencar, Artur Azevedo, Mendes Leal and Ernesto Biester among others were included. One hopes that their criticisms will cast another ray of light on the present attempt to depict as nearly as possible the temper of the times with respect to the theater.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION--PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A. Economic and Political Developments

The theater, perhaps more than any other form of art, has always reflected the society in which it was created. This was particularly true of the nineteenth century theater in Europe. New political and social ideas which were closely tied to vastly new economic developments influenced the dramatists of the period. Both Portugal and Brazil, while certainly not leaders or innovators in any of the major dramatic movements of the period, were profoundly influenced by them and mirrored the philosophical, political and social ideas then current in Europe. Both countries, owing to their own peculiar socio-economic conditions, which in turn were greatly influenced by geographical considerations, more often than not, received these ideas when they had already begun to wane, or had disappeared completely, in the country in which they originated. The reflection of these ideas was, however, not merely an imitation or plagiarism, but represented more often an attempt to adapt or "nationalize" them to suit the unique national circumstances which both countries confronted.

1. Portugal

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Portugal was essentially a semifeudal country, with a landed aristocracy and a largely illiterate, superstitious peasantry whose economy was, for Europe of the time, very primitive. This economy was gravely damaged by the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal and the subsequent English occupation which resulted from it. The armies of Napoleon practiced what amounted to a scorched-earth policy, the results of which were such that, "tanto a agricultura como a indústria da nação encontravam-se quase completamente paralisadas e as devastações produzidas pelos exércitos de Napoleão eram tão profundas que, como é natural, exigiam uma reparação demorada e difícil de levar a efeito."[1] To make matters still worse, Portugal had been forced, because England's help was needed so desperately during the war, to sign a commercial treaty with her in 1810. England received highly preferential treatment for all her goods entering both Portugal and Brazil, to the almost complete exclusion of those of other countries. Portugal's trade monopoly with Brazil was broken and her goods at home could not compete with English ones. Portuguese capital, which had fled the country during the war was replaced with English capital. Industrial recovery was stifled as factories and shops closed down and unemployment grew. The results of the treaty were almost as prejudicial to Portugal's economy as those of the war itself; and

together they constituted an economic disaster of enormous proportions.[2] In 1809 William Carr Beresford became the commander-in-chief of the Portuguese army. This made him, in effect, the real ruler and power in Portugal since the royal family had fled to Brazil in 1807 where it would remain until 1821, to escape Napoleon's armies. The Prince-Regent, who became D. João VI upon the death of his mother, Maria I, was in no great haste to leave the relative tranquillity of Rio de Janeiro for the turmoil that most certainly awaited him in Portugal. Beresford ran Portugal with an iron grip and his policies further added to the economic misery, as Oliveira Martins pointed out, "Não havia quem trabalhasse: Beresford fizera soldados todos os que não eram frades, nem desembargadores, nem cônegos e capelães, cantores, ou castrados. Não havia cultura, nem indústria, nem gado, nem pesca."[3]

The years from 1820 to 1834 were filled with more turmoil for the Portuguese. A revolt by liberal Portuguese officers in 1820 against Beresford, who had gone to Brazil to force D. João VI to return to Portugal, led to the Constitution of 1822. This date has been considered a key to all Portuguese politics for the remainder of the nineteenth century since a struggle for power developed between supporters of the Constitution and its opponents.[4] D. João VI died in March of 1826 and a prolonged war developed between his two sons, D. Miguel and D. Pedro. D. Miguel represented absolutism while D. Pedro was champion of liberalism. Miguel was definitively defeated in 1834 and sent into exile. D. Pedro,

acting as regent for his daughter, abolished many titles, hereditary privileges and expelled the Jesuits. In effect, the middle class had triumphed, a fact which had consummate importance for the Portuguese theater. Pedro died in 1834, several months after effecting his reforms and his daughter became Maria II. Her father had promulgated a charter in 1826 which provided for a parliamentary regime by authorization of the monarchy that was not based on popular sovereignty. Maria II tried to defend this charter from those who demanded a constitution like that of 1822. In September of 1836, the Septembrists, as they were later called, seized power. The Chartist leaders rebelled and were exiled. A great deal of civil strife took place during the constant power struggle between the Chartists and the Septembrists until General João Carlos de Saldanha took over the government from 1851 to 1856. The period of peace allowed the country to settle down somewhat. Much of this constant shifting of power between opposing groups of the middle class had little or no support from the illiterate peasantry of the country. In fact, many of the essential industrial and public health reforms, that were supported earnestly by all parties were hindered by the passive or active resistance shown by this suspicious class; such as the popular uprising of the movement of Maria da Fonte in May of 1846.

As can be seen from the "Maria da Fonte" example, it was imperative for the middle class in Portugal to promote

the growth of general public education as quickly as possible both as a means of social betterment for itself and in order to thwart the influence that the landed aristocracy held over the illiterate peasantry whose tradition-bound conservatism made it almost always hostile to any new political or social reforms that were attempted. In speaking of the reforms of 1834, for instance, and the reforms which were initiated, Oliveira Martins said, "Na sua grande massa o povo não compreende a nova religião . . . ."[5] An educated public would lend more political stability to the country and aid in the process of industrialization. Strides were certainly made in public education but they were slow and tortuous. For example, between 1809 and 1820 the Junta dos Estudos was able to open only twenty-one schools both primary and secondary.[6] In Portugal, public education had always been closely tied to religious and political considerations and the revolution of 1820 created a favorable climate for public education. On the other hand, the absolutist reaction of 1823-1826 and 1828-1834 showed antipathy for it while the revolution of 1834 again created a favorable climate. Thus, the power struggle amongst various political factions was to seesaw back and forth throughout the century, much to the detriment of education, in general, in Portugal. Even putting aside such financial considerations as shrinking public coffers caused by civil strife, the proponents of public education themselves often dealt it crippling blows with parliamentary intrigues including fights concerning

centralization or decentralization of the system and acrimonious arguments about religious versus secular education.[7] Despite all good intentions, by 1878, with a population of approximately four and a half million, Portugal had an illiteracy rate of 82.4 percent while by 1900, with a population of almost five and a half million, the illiteracy rate had only dropped to 78.6 percent.[8] Fewer than one out of every four Portuguese could read or write at the turn of the century. This lack of a solid and broad base of support for political stability and evidence of antipathy on the part of the masses led to the disillusionment of a portion of the literate middle class near the close of the century which then sought escape from reality by creating a mystical world of its own.[9]

Maria II died in 1853 and was succeeded by her eldest son Pedro V who in turn died of typhoid fever in 1861. He was followed by his brother who reigned from 1861 to 1889. Portugal appeared to be recovering from the Napoleonic invasions, civil war and political strife. Ever so slowly, industrialization began to appear. Portugal was one of the last countries in Europe to have a railroad; and the first small stretch of track was laid in 1853.[10] Economic development had been very slow to evolve in Portugal because of lack of capital and the domination of competition by foreign industry until about 1875 when the steam engine made its appearance and factories could be moved to urban centers away from their traditional dependence on water power.[11] On the

political scene the parties had changed their names; that is, the radicals were known as the Historicals and the moderates were called Regenerators, but the constant alternation of governments continued apace. They gradually ceased to reflect popular opinion and in the last years of Luis's reign, republicanism gained a great deal of ground. Carlos I was king from 1889 until his assassination in Lisbon in 1908. The serious republican agitation which had begun near the end of Luis's reign continued in Carlos'. A serious dispute with Great Britain concerning Portugal's possessions in Africa led to a British ultimatum in 1890. Portugal had to accede to Britain's demands, thus causing for many what amounted to a grave affront to national honor and adding fuel to the anti-monarchical republican cause. The monarchy outlasted Carlos' death by only two years when a military revolt led to Portugal's being declared a republic in 1910.

2. Brazil

During the same period, Brazil began as nothing more than an enormous, docile colony whose main function was to serve the economic needs of Portugal.[12] Portugal had maintained a complete trade monopoly with Brazil and the royal coffers were enriched by the two major cycles of wealth during colonial times: sugar and gold. The sugar industry was concentrated mainly in the northeast and required a large capital investment in land, machinery and slaves. Use of the latter became a bitterly disputed issue as the nineteenth

century progressed. The arrival of D. João VI and his court in Brazil in 1808 altered the entire relationship between mother country and colony. One of D. João's first acts was to open Brazil's ports to ships of other countries, particularly those of Britain, which ended Portugal's commercial monopoly. Industry was encouraged for the first time and many necessities of royal administration, such as a council of state, supreme court, royal mint, royal printing press and royal library had to be established. Rio de Janeiro, a sleepy, backward provincial town had suddenly become the seat of government for the Portuguese empire. All these activities while prejudicial to Portugal's economy, as has been stated earlier, were very beneficial to Brazil's. This new economic freedom has been seen as marking the de facto, if not the de jure, independence of Brazil since the political act was inevitable and only a matter of time.[13]

D. João VI was persuaded to return to Portugal in 1821 and he appointed his son D. Pedro, as regent. The short-sighted Cortes in Lisbon tried to force Brazil back to its former colonial status and thus greatly antagonized the Brazilians. They also ordered Pedro to return to Portugal. He refused and in 1822 declared Brazil independent. The first years of Brazil's independence were extremely difficult ones for both the country and the new emperor. There were uprisings in the provinces, a disastrous war with Argentina and an increasing alienation between D. Pedro I and his subjects. Finally, he abdicated in 1831 in favor of his son who was

then only five years old. A regency was constituted which lasted from 1831 to 1840. Although it was ably administered by such men as Diogo Antônio Feijó, a priest, and Pedro de Araújo Lima, the situation in the country continued to deteriorate. At last, hoping that the new emperor would be a symbol of unity for the whole country, parliament declared in 1840 that Pedro de Alcântara was now D. Pedro II. The act was a success, for Pedro II reigned until his abdication in 1889.

Brazil began to prosper economically. Industry was fomented and cotton and coffee, using slave labor, vied with sugar as the leading cash-producing, export crops. With prosperity, however, came agitation for the abolition of slavery and growing republican sentiment for the elimination of the monarchy. The war with Paraguay (1864-1870), while a financial drain on the treasury, did not disrupt everyday Brazilian life. However, it caused the military to feel rejected and unrewarded for the many hardships that it had endured for the nation. Friction also developed between the church and the monarchy concerning civil matters which the church considered its own province of authority. By 1885, large numbers of European immigrants began arriving in Brazil and helped to lessen her traditional dependence on slave labor. Several laws had been promulgated throughout the years, such as the Queiroz law of 1851, and the Rio Branco bill of 1871, which had eliminated various aspects of slavery and categories of slaves, but in 1888, the institution was

abolished completely. While it was a humanitarian act, it alienated the slave owners since they were not compensated for their loss of "property." In the following year, 1889, all the dissatisfaction of the various dissident factions came to a head and Pedro II was deposed by a military revolt in Rio de Janeiro. He went into voluntary exile in Europe and Brazil was transformed into a federal republic. A constitution was adopted in 1891 and Brazil entered into a new political era.

The theater, then, in the nineteenth century developed in, and was subject to, the vast political, social and economic upheavals which took place. The middle class rose to power and took over the theater, changing it according to its own needs and desires. To appreciate better this important transformation, it would be best to examine the state of the theater in the eighteenth century.

B. Trends in the Luso-Brazilian Theater

1. The Eighteenth Century as Background in Portugal

The Italian opera became the dominant influence in the Portuguese theater in the eighteenth century. The royal court and its courtiers bestowed their patronage on and entertained themselves exclusively with the opera, which in turn, catered to their aristocratic tastes. The fact that they were able to afford this luxurious entertainment was partly due to the filling of the royal coffers during the reign of D. João V (1706-1750) by the discovery of gold in

the province of Minas Gerais in Brazil in 1693, and of diamonds in 1728. Mainly, though, the opera owed its predominance to the fact that of the four greatest writers of the century in Italy, three were dramatists and each of them in turn was the master of his particular specialty; that is, Pietro Metastasio in opera, Carlo Goldoni in comedy, and Vittorio Alfieri in the tragedy. Fernando Lucas Alvim (Ameno) and Nicolau Luís were the two main Portuguese translators and adapters of the Italian works, primarily of Metastasio, of the period that has been called the "Golden Age" of Italian theater.[14] The Italian opera was introduced into Portugal originally as entertainment for the court at weddings, anniversaries and so forth. As the century progressed, the aristocrats' desire for Italian opera reached enormous heights. In the theatrical season of 1764-1765, for example, the number of Italian productions performed in Portugal was one hundred seventy-five.[15] Almost all the works that the aristocratic public saw performed had sumptuous scenery and ornate costumes with the finest Italian singers. Some productions reached the proportions of spectacular extravaganzas. For example, no sooner had D. José been crowned in 1750 than he ordered the construction of the most spectacular opera house of the time, the "Ópera do Tejo" that seated almost six hundred people. The première of the first opera, "Alexandre na India," on April 2, 1755, saw the curtain rise on a cavalry troop of twenty-five horses led by the picador, Carlos Ferreira, on a magnificent stallion, all parading in

unison, with Antonio Ràaf, the most famous tenor of the period, as the leading singer.[16] Seven months later, on November 1st, the theater, as was much of Lisbon, was destroyed by an earthquake and it was not until 1793 that the last great opera house in Lisbon was inaugurated, the S. Carlos. It was elliptical in form, having five categories of box seats of the most sumptuous elegance and acoustics which were unrivalled in excellence anywhere in the world; the theater, itself, had been modeled after the S. Carlos opera house in Naples by the famous architect, José da Costa e Silva.[17] The audience that frequented the S. Carlos to listen to the great Italian singers such as Bruni, Beneventano, Volpini, Pascal-Daniani, Fricci and so many others, actually formed a large, intimate family of friends. Everyone knew everyone else and the gossip concerned who was sick, on a trip or other social trivia. The public came to see operas that were known to all by heart so that, these occasions were, in fact, gala social events. Thus, the performances, themselves, held no great surprises for anyone.[18] Owing largely, then, to the economic and social backing by the monarchy of the Italian opera, Portugal remained, in effect, without a national drama of its own. There were, however, forces at work outside of Portugal which would come to have a great effect on the country and its theater. Napoleon's invasions of Portugal, although economically and socially disastrous, as previously discussed, brought with them, also, the concepts of the French Revolution; that is, of republican ideas

and ideals which profoundly affected the middle class in Portugal.

2. The Middle Class enters the Theater

From mere entertainment for the wealthy aristocrat in the eighteenth century, the theater was slowly transformed at the beginning of the nineteenth century into a forum for political and social ideas for an emerging new class in Portugal, the bourgeoisie. From the French invasion onward, and even during the harsh military hegemony of the British in Portugal, the theater flourished as a medium for republican ideas, even though initially this had to be accomplished more often than not by means of allusion and inference on the part of the playwright. For example, J. A. Correia Henriques, using Voltaire as a model, wrote a play, Revoluçao de Portugal, published in 1808, which was supposedly about the expulsion of the Spanish from Portugal in 1640. In the preface, however, the dramatist advises the reader to read between the lines, seeing the Tyrant as Napoleon, Spain as France, Olivares as Talleyrand and so forth.[19] Under British rule what little there was of Portuguese theater suffered even more. The British troops (including officers), who spoke no Portuguese and had no interest in the language, all but closed down the theater by demanding only Italian opera and ballet. When they did not obtain what they demanded they physically disrupted the performances by stamping their feet, booing and even jumping on the stage itself to chase

the actors.[20] The eighteenth century had imitated Corneille and Racine to appreciate better the beauty of Classical literature while the early nineteenth century copied Voltaire better to propagate and understand the liberal ideas of the period. The theater was becoming an instrument for social propaganda and change. Teófilo Braga pointed this out:

> No século XVIII abundavam os teatros mas não existiam dramas; o vazio da arte e a esterilidade de creação eram supridos com a riqueza assombrosa das decorações; no princípio do século XIX, ia-se ao teatro para vitoriar os liberais, para saudar a aurora da república. Traduziam-se e imitavam-se as tragédias filosóficas de Voltaire; mas avançara-se muito, porque se alentava o teatro da baixeza de uma distracção cesarista à altura de uma instituição social, começava-se a ligar-lhe seriedade diante do espetáculo de uma multidão que se achava possuida pelo mesmo pensamento de fraternidade.[21]

There existed now in Portugal, in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, a new theater-going public with a feeling of camaraderie, anxiously awaiting the arrival of every new idea which would herald and trumpet its rise to power and its secret yearnings. However, just as Racine, Corneille and the Italian opera were not Portuguese, neither was Voltaire. In effect, there was still no Portuguese theater in Portugal but the appearance of one man changed all that.

3. Almeida Garrett--Leader of Romantic Movement

Almeida Garrett (1799-1854), the founder of the Romantic movement in Portugal, had to go twice into political exile

(in 1823 and again in 1828) in England, where he came into contact with English Romanticism in general, and Byron and Walter Scott in particular. The liberal government made him its chargé d'affaires in Brussels from 1834-36, where he studied German literature and took a special interest in Goethe. In 1836, the revolutionary government of Passos Manoel asked Garrett to propose a plan for the founding of a National Theater, and a National Conservatory and the creation of a repertory of Portuguese plays.[22] All this was accomplished with no little difficulty, he himself being the main contributing dramatist. At last, however, even though the literatures of other countries had been a major factor and influence on Portuguese drama, there came into being a truly Portuguese theater.

The results of the efforts of Garrett to found a national theater are not to be taken lightly, for many of the original participants in the first playwriting contest that was held by the National Conservatory later became the group of playwrights known as the ultraromantics and went on to write many plays. This classification was due to their exaggeration of some of the more characteristic traits of Romanticism; such as an excess of emotion, an exaggerated concept of good and evil, exotic settings and so on. The most important of the contestants was Mendes Leal (1818-1886) whose entry was his archetypal, ultraromantic play, Os Dois Renegados[23] (1830). As has been pointed out, A. Garrett and his Romantic drama were greatly influenced by English and German

literatures; however, although other literatures and literary ideas would continue to influence the arts in Portugal, beginning in the mid-eighteen thirties, the French theater held complete sway over the ultraromantics in Portugal, and later writers as well, for the remainder of the nineteenth century. A renowned French theatrical company had come to Lisbon in December of 1835 and for the next two years they staged an impressive array of French plays by Scribe, Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas.[24]

4. Beginnings of Theater in Brazil

Because of Portugal's colonial policy, Brazil in the last half of the nineteenth century had remained almost completely isolated from the rest of the world. The arrival of D. João VI and his court in Rio de Janeiro in 1808 was a great incentive for the betterment of the theater in Brazil. In a decree on May 28, 1810, D. João himself recognized that the theater needed improvement:

> Fazendo-se absolutamente necessário nesta Capital que se erija um teatro decente, e proporcionado à população e ao maior grau de elevação e grandeza em que hoje se acha pela minha residência nela, e pela concorrencia de estrangeiros e de outras pessoas que vem das extensas províncias de todos os meus Estados, fui servido encarregar o doutor Paulo Fernandes Viana, do meu Conselho e Intendente da Polícia, do cuidado e diligência de promover todos os meios para êle se erigir.[25]

The first printing press also arrived with D. João which meant that for three centuries not a book or pamphlet including plays, theatrical criticism and playbills had been

published in Brazil. There had been theaters in Brazil before the arrival of D. João. However, owing in part to the lack of printing facilities, information about these theaters and about the plays performed in them is woefully incomplete.

In the second half of the eighteenth century in Brazil, there was regular theater. The first buildings destined exclusively for theatrical representations (Casas da Ópera) were constructed and permanent acting companies were formed. In Rio, for example, as early as 1748 there is mention of a Casa da Ópera named the Ópera dos Vivos. It is thought to have burned down in 1769. Shortly thereafter, the Teatro de Manuel Luís was built which existed until the inauguration of the Real Teatro de São João in 1813. In fact, it was the Manuel Luís which D. João found to be not "decente" in his decree. There were other Casas in Ouro Preto, Diamantina, Recife, São Paulo, Porto Alegre and Bahia.[26]

Information concerning both Brazilian playwrights and their plays is also very sketchy. Luís Alves Pinto (1719-1789) wrote a three-act comedy in verse, Amor Mal Correspondido, which is considered the first comedy written by a Brazilian and presented in a public theater.[27] Inácio José de Alvarenga Peixoto (1744-1793) wrote a drama, Enéias no Lácio. The only complete text by a Brazilian dramatist from this period is that of O Parnaso Obsequioso by Cláudio Manuel da Costa (1729-1789).[28]

5. Brazilian Romantic Drama and Local Color Comedy

Gonçalves de Magalhães (1811-1882) began the truly Brazilian theater with his play, Antônio José ou o Poeta da Inquisição which was written in 1838. He was, as a dramatist, a transitional figure between the Neo-Classical and the Romantic period. The most prominent dramatist in Brazil during the Romantic period was Martins Pena (1815-1848), who, although he wrote serious plays, is mainly remembered for his "realistic comedy." Depicting rural life and often poking fun at social institutions, they are characterized by a realism that is extraordinary for the period. They have been considered the only really unique and original contribution that the Brazilian theater has made to drama.[29] Although Brazilian dramatists of later periods such as Joaquim Manuel de Macedo (1820-1882), França Júnior (1838-1890) and Artur Azevedo (1855-1908) were to use the realistic comedy as a model, other Brazilian dramatists of the Romantic period such as Gonçalves Dias (1823-1864), Casimiro de Abreu (1839-1860) and Agrário de Menezes (1834-1863) did not do so.

6. The Thesis Play in Portugal

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the historical play began to wane in popularity.[30] In France a new subgenre was in vogue created by Alexandre Dumas fils and Emile Augier and was soon seized upon by a confident middle class in Portugal. It was the social thesis play. Mendes Leal, who had been at the forefront of the ultraromantic movement,

now became the leader of the socially-oriented dramatists in Portugal. He had written the drama Pedro[31] in 1849 which, although it was not produced until 1861, must be considered the first play of this genre. It deals mainly with the inequality of the class structure in Portugal; that is, the unfair privileges of the aristocracy. Other dramatists of the period such as Gomes de Amorim (1827-1891), Ernesto Biester (1829-1880) and Augusto Lacerda (1829-1903) were also occupied with this theme, as well as others which were common to this type of play, such as usury and forced marriages.

7. The Thesis Play in Brazil

In Brazil, the thesis play found its leading proponent in José de Alencar (1829-1877). Just as in Portugal, the Brazilian dramatist sought his inspiration in French models. His intention was to expose vice and the evils that existed in society in order to correct them. The theater was to be, for Alencar, a moral lesson which would have a civilizing effect on the audience.[32] Until its complete abolition in 1888, slavery had been the cornerstone of the Brazilian economy.[33] It is not surprising, therefore, to find Alencar to be the first dramatist to deal with the evil effects of this institution on Brazilian life. Joaquim Manuel de Macedo tended to vacillate in his drama between the thesis play and the realistic comedy in the tradition of Martins Pena.[34] Other playwrights, such as Pinheiro Guimarães (1832-1877), wrote of conventional themes, while Castro Alves (1847-1871) took a

more political bent, concerning himself with republican ideas.

8. The Geração de 70 in Portugal

By the beginning of the eighteen-sixties in Portugal, the older generation of Romantic writers plus some young aspirants had become firmly entrenched as the ultimate arbiters of literary taste and discretion. Writers, such as Mendes Leal, Tomas Ribeiro (1831-1901), Pinheiro Chagas (1842-1895) and António Feliciano de Castilho (1800-1875), the gentle, almost blind poet who was the mentor of the group, passed judgment on what was acceptable or objectionable concerning style and content in literature. The literary career of a writer all too often depended on the favorable opinion of this "society" or as some called it, Escola do Elogio Mútuo[35] or mutual admiration society. Aided by the new scientific spirit that was spreading in Europe, a group of young dissidents centered mainly at the University of Coimbra began a series of critical assaults on the older Romantic generation's self-proclaimed supremacy. The first major incident occurred with the publishing of a poem, D. Jaime by Tomas Ribeiro in 1862. In August of the same year, Ramalho Ortigão (1836-1915) attacked the style and content of the poem in the Jornal do Porto. Between 1862 and 1865 there was constant tension between the two factions.[36] Thus a seemingly trivial occurrence, some remarks made by Castilho in a carta-posfácio to the poem, Poema da Mocidade by Pinheiro Chagas in 1865,

touched off a battle of pamphlets from both sides. Although it may appear on the surface to be a purely literary war of words, the literary themes were actually marginal for the most part.[37] It was far more of a moral question than a literary one. Many of Castilho's followers represented stylistically an overly sentimental Romanticism and he himself had developed his own personal form of neoclassicism. What the dissidents most objected to in Castilho, however, was that morally he represented for them a society in which the intellectuals, dominated by the state, exchanged their critical independence and artistic liberty for the approbation of the bourgeoisie. What the young dissenters really wanted was not so much the abolition of Romanticism, for they were most often Romantics themselves, but rather, a certain amount of liberty to form their own standards. On a personal plane they wished to follow their own individual inclinations while at the same time using scientific bases for their concepts.[38] Aesthetically, the "Questão Coimbrã," as it became known, was not so much an assault on Romanticism, per se, as an assault on a certain type of Romanticism by another.[39]

It is important for the theater to note that none of the leaders or outstanding writers of this group, which became known as the Geração de 70, was primarily a dramatist. Eça de Queirós (1845-1900) was a novelist, Ramalho Ortigão an essayist, Oliveira Martins (1845-1894) an historian, Antero

de Quental (1842-1891) a poet and Teófilo Braga (1843-1924) a cultural historian. The result was, not surprisingly, that the drama continued to use, at least stylistically, many Romantic theatrical conventions.[40] However, in 1875, the same year in which the first work of fiction of the realistic movement appeared, O Crime de Padre Amaro by Eça de Queirós in the Revista Ocidental, the play Os Lazaristas[41] by Antonio Enes (1848-1901) was performed. Because of its vitriolic, anticlerical tone and revolutionary fervor it can be separated in spirit from the former group of social thesis plays by authors such as Mendes Leal and Ernesto Biester. Enes did not attempt to construct an edifying moral lesson but rather sought reality in the shock waves caused by the clash of antagonistic religious and social ideas.[42] This led to other plays with the same hypercritical tone, for instance, the strong attack on the political system and its corrupt nature in Portugal by Guilherme de Azevedo (1839-1882) and Guerra Junqueiro (1850-1923) in their play, Viagem à roda da Parvónia[43] (1879).

9. Brazilian Drama in Last Third of Nineteenth Century

Brazilian drama in the last third of the nineteenth century, even though there was a great deal of political ferment and turmoil, had, surprisingly enough, a relatively apolitical outlook. Of course, there were exceptions like Gonzaga ou a Revolução de Minas (1867) by Castro Alves (1847-1871). It saw the appearance of individual dramatists, who wrote

more according to their own individual tastes than to those of a literary movement per se. Machado de Assis (1839-1908), Brazil's most famous writer, the author of several, world-renowned psychological novels, developed the drawing-room comedy. Machado's plays were light in tone, meant to have a moral and educational value and marked more by a serene elegance of manner than by any display of unbridled passion whether the theme was amorous, political or social.[44] The plays, themselves, being very short in length, were probably never intended for large theater audiences but rather small, intimate gatherings.[45] França Júnior wrote plays satirizing problems of contemporary manners such as As Doutoras[46] (1889). He is probably best remembered, however, for his continuation of the realistic comedy in the tradition of Martins Pena.[47] Artur Azevedo, during his lifetime, was one of Brazil's most popular and prolific playwrights. He wrote plays of social criticism on such themes as slavery as an evil institution and the marriage of convenience, but he, too, developed the realistic comedy, describing contemporary Brazilian life in a light, comic vein. Coelho Neto (1864-1934), the last writer to be discussed in the scheme of nineteenth century Brazilian dramatists, was a playwright of extremely varied tastes, seeming to encompass all the literary ideas of the Brazilian theater of the period. His best work is often considered to be the plays in the Brazilian tradition of realistic comedy[48] but he also wrote plays of social criticism and was also influenced by symbolism. His dramatic

production, which consists of six volumes, has been judged a true picture of Brazilian national life and of the turmoil that was found in it at the turn of the twentieth century.[49]

10. Portugal in Closing Decades of Century

The closing decades of the nineteenth century in Portugal saw the emergence of a great diversity of theatrical tendencies. The historical drama in verse, for example, came back into vogue while other works were influenced by naturalism, realism and symbolism, to some degree. The thesis drama dealt in stark terms with the economic problems facing the proletariat, and also, with divorce, social climbing, social hypocrisy and other aspects of middle-class life and mores. Abel Botelho (1856-1917), perhaps the only major dramatist who was greatly influenced by naturalism,[50] had a very pessimistic view concerning the decadence that he saw in the society around him. Eduardo Schwalbach (1860-1946), who wrote a great number of comedies, is best remembered today for his comedies of political satire and contemporary manners which faithfully depicted everyday life in Lisbon. Gervásio Lobato (1850-1895) wrote farce-comedies, in the same vein as Schwalbach, based mainly on misunderstandings and caricatures, that also described life in Lisbon. Lopes de Mendonça (1856-1931) and Marcelino Mesquita (1856-1919), while both very prolific writers of historical dramas, left a lasting contribution to the Portuguese thea-

ter with their thesis plays concerning social problems that existed in Portuguese society at the time. The works of D. João da Câmara (1852-1908) cover a very wide range of styles and influences. He wrote plays which can be classified as historical, critical, psychological, symbolic, poetic and realistic. The playwright was one of the most innovative in the history of Portuguese drama and his creative efforts resulted in new thematic directions that were followed by other dramatists.[51] With his play, Os Velhos[52] (1893), for example, he is credited with introducing realism into the Portuguese theater.[53] Manuel Laranjeira (1877-1912) wrote thesis plays in the same socially critical manner as Mesquita and Lopes de Mendonça but with a more impassioned tone, causing his characters to become symbolic for the social and economic classes they represented. This can be seen, for example, in his short play, Amanhã[54] (1902) which has been considered a symbolic poem of social protest.[55] Certain dramatists of this period, however, such as Eugénio de Castro (1869-1944) in his play, Constança (1905), for instance, instead of using drama as a means of social protest, employed it rather as a means of escaping from the harsh realities of the present, as was stated earlier, into a fantasy world of his own making.[56]

C. Luso-Brazilian Drama in Historical Perspective

Portuguese drama is, of course, an integral part of Western European drama and must be viewed in the context of

the whole historical development of this genre. Aristotle's discourse on many aspects of drama in his Poetics became very important in European theoretical ideas on the subject. He saw tragedy, for instance, as "an imitation of an action that is complete, and whole, and of a certain magnitude. A whole is that which has a beginning, a middle and an end . . . . A well constructed plot, therefore, must neither begin nor end at haphazard, but conform to these principles."[57] This has become, in Western tradition, the basis for the theoretical idea of the "well-made play." As for the source of the plot material, Aristotle states, "It clearly follows that the poet or 'maker' should be the maker of plots rather than verses; since he is a poet because he imitates and what he imitates are actions."[58] Aristotle gives no clear, single and precise definition of what he means by "action" but rather leaves the word open to a multitude of interpretations[59] as indeed happens with other definitions of his. Aristotle's purpose in writing the treatise has been seen as the codification of the distinguishing characteristics of a specific type of drama; that is, of the drama of his time. His aim was to describe and catalog the specifics of this genre as they functioned for the Greek drama.[60] It has been argued, quite correctly, that, since many aspects of his analysis such as that of plot, were designed to explain the workings of a specialized theater that was the result of many factors peculiar to that time and place, the resultant conclusions cannot be directly applied to subsequent forms

of drama, in general, or to those of the present, in particular.[61] Nevertheless, throughout the centuries in Western Europe the practice of greater and lesser dramatists has been to follow the general requirements of Aristotle's analysis of the form of representation. Each one discovered and formed in his own way his ideas on such matters as to what it was that constituted a good "plot," for instance; with none having denied Aristotle's fundamental importance.[62] Even within the past century, although there has been a revolution in form and content in drama, the concepts of dramatic form have changed little; and that which is expected of a play and how its salient features are identified are still refractions to a greater or lesser degree of Aristotle's Poetics.[63] Thus Aristotle holds the prime position of dramatic theoretician in the Western world, if for no other reason, for the fact that his general descriptions of the art of drama, and his principles of investigation, in the opinion of some, are still the best that we have.[64]

With Aristotle's basic, general influence in mind, a closer look at the nineteenth-century drama in Europe, and the revolutionary change which occurred within it is in order. The salient fact which emerges is that artists in the nineteenth century consistently utilized contemporary life as a story source to depict social relationships. When the source was religious myth, the story immediately established a communal frame of reference for the individual experience. When

the source was romance and Renaissance history, as in Shakespeare's day, the story promised the audience adventure. However, in the nineteenth century when realism triumphed, audiences came to see the stories as documentary cases subject to the test of personal credibility.[65] This had important ramifications in regard to the stylistics of the dramaturgy of the period. The ensuing use of natural activity as a story source led the dramatists to two possible choices in the structural shaping of the plot; to wit, the plot either dealt with crucial final events or a series of three or four crucial periods during the play.[66] This leads, now, to an examination of Portuguese drama with particular attention to the nineteenth century.

Although Portugal has produced several dramatists of world renown such as Gil Vicente (1465-1536) and Almeida Garrett, most students of Portuguese literature have recognized the fact that drama as a literary genre, has held a comparatively weak position in Portugal in relation to the development of other forms of art. There were many periods of long duration with almost no national theater whatsoever.

There was, of course, drama in the nineteenth century in Portugal which was often, as stated earlier, the late recipient of "new" dramatic ideas from the rest of the Continent, mainly France. Still, this tardiness in arriving does not explain such unique particulars as why Romantic form in the drama lingered on for so long a period or why the historical drama in verse, long in disrepute in the

rest of Europe, made a vigorous reappearance toward the end of the century in Portugal. A plausible explanation for the tendency on the part of Portuguese dramatists either to cling to "tried and true" stylistic formulas or to revert to them when confronted by "strange" and disturbing new ideas or techniques, plus the public's puzzlement, and often open hostility, toward that which was innovative, is that there existed in Portugal no coherent and cohesive philosophical guidance from the drama critics of the era. This lack of theoretical insight on the part of the drama critics, themselves, in the nineteenth century in Portugal, greatly prejudiced the formulation of a clear concept of the art of drama; that is, of the philosophical and theoretical contemplation of the esthetics of the dramaturgy of the period which, in turn, would have afforded the dramatists a better sense of direction for their work.[67] Portuguese literary journals and books, therefore, were not able to guide the playwrights or interpreters of foreign plays or to educate the public at large to accept and appreciate the vast changes which were occurring in the European drama of the century.[68] The result of this lack of direction caused by the absence of sound critical theory is not to be taken lightly, but, rather, may have serious consequences, as Beckerman pointed out:

> Theatrical performers are among the first to express contempt for generalized ideas about theater. But unthinking practice does not avoid theory. It merely acts upon old-

> fashioned 'theory,' even though such 'theory' may be no more than a residue of unexamined premises and reflex habits. Theory is inescapable because fundamental propositions always underlie accumulated artistic practice . . . It is never a question of whether or not theory shall interpret experience. Rather, it is only a question of which theoretical outlook shall prevail.[69]

The veracity of this statement was evidenced time and again in the Portuguese drama of the nineteenth century.

With regard, for instance, to the Romantic movement in Portugal, Almeida Garrett accepted from Romanticism and made a basic tenet of his dramatic philosophy the idea that literature should have a national character. He interpreted this to mean the necessity of producing historical dramas with Portuguese plots. This central point in his philosophy, coupled with his enormous prestige and influence, plus the all important fact that there was no critical analysis that pointed in any other direction, did much to keep many facets of Romanticism alive in Portuguese drama, long after they had been abandoned elsewhere.[70] Again, the effect of this same lack of critical analysis can be seen as having helped to cause, and most certainly to compound, the philosophical "spiritual" confusion that existed in the movement of the Geração de 70. The movement was torn by a clash between disorderly, Romantic sentimentality on the one hand and the cold, science-oriented ideas of positivism on the other. The divisive confusion caused by this "spiritual duality" and the lack of any clear, dramatic criticism that emanated from it,

led the movement to view the drama, mistakenly, as little more than an extension of the novel, in some cases, or as the mere ability to ratiocinate, in others.[71]

As a concluding example of the confusion which may result from a lack of sound theoretical criticism, realism was introduced into Portugal in the eighteen-nineties, although the way for it had already been paved, not by critics or dramatists, but rather by Portuguese actors, who traveled as far as Paris to bring back with them their interpretations of foreign plays. When, in fact, Portuguese playwrights such as D. João da Câmara, began to write realistic plays, they did so by giving a regional setting, which signified in itself a very timid approach. So it was then, that Câmara's play, Os Velhos, for example, went all but unnoticed by critics and public alike. As critics in Portugal at last began to examine this new dramatic idea with serious intent, they did so with confused and contradictory feelings that were full of preconceived notions. Thus, a great portion of the blame for the timid and faltering appearance that realism made in Portugal can be attributed to a lack of sound dramatic theory, and, therefore, understanding on the part of the Portuguese critics.[72]

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER TWO

THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL

A. Introduction--Romantic Tenets in Theater

The years between 1820-1834 saw the internal strife and foment in Portugal become a definitive triumph for the bourgeoisie.[1] Almeida Garrett was a product of and a participant in the struggle. Garrett was also greatly influenced culturally and philosophically by the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century in Portugal and particularly its emphasis on the idea of universal human progress through the free use of reason. Romanticism, generally speaking, unlike neoclassical art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe, lacked a clearly defined philosophical basis. In Portugal, the beginnings of Romanticism witnessed the emergence of two basic literary attitudes: one that rejected the spirit of Enlightenment completely, and another that attempted to adopt some of its general precepts. Thus it was that some writers found support in the philosophical tenets of the Enlightenment while others found support in negating them. In both cases, however, writers felt that they had found, in the definition of Baudelaire, "a new way of feeling."[2] Garrett always held as a basic tenet the possible effectiveness of theater as a means of popular instruction, as he said in his Memória ao Conservatório Real in 1843:

> Este é um século democrático, tudo o que se fizer há-de ser povo e com o povo (. . .) Os leitores e os espectadores de hoje querem pasto mais forte, menos condimentado e mais substancial; é povo, quer verdade. Dai-lhe a verdade do passado no romance e no drama histórico--no drama e na novela da actualidade oferecei-lhe o espelho em que se mire a si e ao seu tempo, a sociedade que lhe está por cima, abaixo, ao seu nível--e o povo há-de aplaudir, porque entende: é preciso entender para apreciar e gostar.[3]

In his early, neoclassical plays, particularly Catão (1821), he employed drama to instruct the audience on the virtues of honorable and self-sacrificing conduct in order to combat tyranny. Later, in such Romantic plays as O Alfageme de Santarém (1842), he used Portuguese history to give the bourgeoisie as a class a sense of historical continuity in the development of Portugal as a nation. With the exception of his few comedies, copied from French models, at the end of his dramaturgic career he always looked to the past with the view in mind of finding an object lesson for his own contemporaries.[4] Garrett's basic view of the theater as a place for both the aesthetic and political instruction of the masses, preferably with the creation of an intellectual elite to lead them, combined with a moral and philosophical purpose garnered from the Enlightenment gave his Romanticism a certain ideological vigor and most certainly a strongly militant character.[5]

Partly because of Garrett's preference for forming and instructing an elite, the drama that followed him in Portugal entertained an ever more restricted and isolated group

of aficionados. This in turn led to the abandonment of Garrett's idea concerning the role of drama in contemporary society as a means of popular instruction.[6] Once again, political circumstances as well as cultural influences played an important part in determining the course of Portuguese drama. The progressive revolution of 1836 (and later that of 1846-1847) had, in the eyes of the lower and middle middle class, become a failure. This failure coincided with the wave of sentimentality and abandonment of the present that became popular in literary circles. This overly sentimental Romanticism or ultra-romantismo as it was called in Portugal, whose writers were mainly from the lower middle class or pequena burguesia, sought an escape into the past from the harsh realities of the present. In drama, this escape took the form of a spiritualized and extremely idealized redemptive Christianity with a marked preference for certain romanticized values of the Middle Ages, an age when things were simpler and more easily defined whether they were good or evil. Except for the settings, these plays were structured not at all unlike the standard American western film of not too long ago. In principle, it was the same sort of idealized Paradise Lost which would be created, later, at the turn of the nineteenth century by the neogarrettianos and was a direct repudiation of Garrett's optimistic and progressive Romanticism.[7] Mendes Leal and Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877) were the leading proponents of ultra-romantismo in drama.

On a philosophical plane, Garrett employed history as an object lesson for his time and history was always present as a basis for the subject matter of his plays. On the other hand, the sentimental Romantics who followed him used history as a means of escaping from the present, and the world they created was often gloomy, desperate and seemingly without hope. They actually had no themes, if the word is to be used to connote social awareness, but rather employed plots which emphasized isolation, longing, despair, disillusioned love and dashed hopes.[8] The cornerstone of their philosophy was the arousing of emotion in the audience whether it was to be joyful or fearful and all their dramatic techniques were employed with that single goal in mind. Since their purpose was to depict and therefore engender great emotion on a strictly personal level rather than in a social context, it is not surprising that the love plot, be it fulfilled or unrequited but always idealized, was the favorite one for sustaining the action of the play. The use of the emotional love to entirely sustain the plot action was at sharp variance with Garrett's use of the plot to further his moral and political themes. Garrett did use, at times, love-oriented subplots to keep the interest of his audience, but he always did so sparingly and judiciously, and, one sometimes feels, much against his will and inclination.

In terms of characterization, the ultra-Romantics depicted their personages in a Manichean manner of good versus

evil but only on a personal level. Unlike Garrett, they never presented characters as representing any social or political forces. Garrett, also, employed a concept of good and evil but it was almost entirely politically motivated, that is, the middle class represented certain virtues such as patriotism and hard work while the aristocracy represented vices such as sloth and greed. Nevertheless, the characters of ultra-Romanticism were in a sense symbolic; symbolic of a less complicated period in which all the evils of the world could be personified in one or several characters and often definitively destroyed with his demise. Of course, so too conversely could good triumph.

Garrett was the first dramatist in the nineteenth century in Portugal to eliminate the neoclassical requirement of verse on the stage and write in prose. However, the prose he employed in his Romantic plays could hardly be termed everyday speech. It was certainly influenced by his classical training and while forceful would surely appear to the modern reader as being rather oratorical. The ultra-Romantics on the other hand were trying to create great emotional fervor and the characters' speeches were filled with pregnant pauses (usually indicated by suspension points in succession), many exclamation marks and similes and metaphors (a heart became a seething volcano ready to erupt) which would make a modern reader blush were he asked to take such allusions seriously. Lest the viewer not perceive, for instance, the evil designs of a malefactor in the normal

course of the dialogue, he was informed or reminded time and again by the constant use of direct asides, usually not even disguised as monologues or thinking aloud, although there was also a great deal of that.

It is important to note that as comical and artificial as the style and techniques of the ultra-Romantics may appear to the modern reader, it was precisely these techniques with slight variations and few exceptions which would hold sway on the Portuguese stage until the eighteen-nineties.

Stylistics aside, the social significance in a broader sense of the ultra-Romantics' artistic posture was that by confusing spontaneity of sentiment and emotion with a true dramatic philosophy or purpose they developed a very passive attitude toward their own society.[9] Despite Garrett's promising beginning, this attitude helped relegate Portuguese drama, which during its finest moments always led a rather tenuous existence, to a sort of artistic limbo for much of the nineteenth century, a situation similar to that of the drama of the English-speaking world.

B. Almeida Garrett--His Founding of Romantic Movement

The name of Almeida Garrett is synonymous not only with the Romantic movement in Portugal but also with the theater's revival in its modern form. Before Garrett the Portuguese theater had sunk to an abysmal state of neglect. Whatever his shortcomings both as dramatist and as theoretician may be when viewed from the relative safety of the present, his

enormous, single-handed effort to revive the theater in Portugal is an astounding feat.

1. His Life

Almeida Garrett was born in 1799 in the city of Porto but lived his very early years on two small, isolated farms just to the south of the city. He was taught "romances populares" and superstitious stories by an old mulatto woman, Rosa de Lima, and also by his maid, Brígida. At the age of twelve, he was sent to Terceira Island where a radical turnabout took place in the substance of his education. He was introduced to classical literature, particularly Homer and Euripides by an old teacher, Joaquim Alves. Shortly thereafter, his uncle, D. Alexandre, who was the bishop of Angra, induced him to read eighteenth-century Italian drama, especially Maffei, Goldoni and Metastasio.[10] The influence of this early classical and neoclassical education was very important in Garrett's life, for although he founded the modern Portuguese theater and introduced Romanticism into Portugal, he never completely broke with the past, that is, the eighteenth century. He consistently attempted to reconcile classicism and Romanticism in the general field of ideas, trying always to attain an enlightened equilibrium, especially in regard to socio-political and philosophical ideas.[11] Garrett repeatedly praised the simplicity and muted elegance that he regarded to be the esthetic foundation of classical writing. In his "Carta a um Amigo" which was inserted in the first edition of Catão in 1822, he said:

> O gênero romântico, de que Shakespeare foi o criador entre os seus, e que era o próprio da cena inglesa, tem grandes defeitos, mas grandes formosuras: falta-lhe a beleza da simplicidade e regular elegância, mas sobeja-lhe a do ornato e enfeites ingénuos, conquanto demasiadas. O gênero clássico tem outras qualidades e caracteres, entre os quais em primeiro lugar, a regularidade e simplicidade. O misto que principalmente se deve a Voltaire e a Ducis, participa das belezas dum e doutro, sem cair nos defeitos do romântico, aformoseia visìvelmente o clássico.

Garrett, however, wrote for a middle-class public which imposed its taste and will on the playwrights. Since as a public it was artistically illiterate, it preferred and paid for melodrama and plays of passion. What it wanted to see was human intrigue and the emotional unfolding of unbridled human passions. The last thing it yearned for was a moral or pedagogical lesson.[12] This demand by the public for titillation was often at variance with Garrett's own purpose in fostering Romanticism in Portugal. He wanted, primarily, to extol the glories of patriotic events of the past in order to propagate amongst his contemporaries old and seemingly abandoned virtues, such as honor and personal sacrifice for political ideals which he thought had once existed in other ages but had been lost in his own. The Romanticism that he wanted to introduce into Portugal was a kind of "renationalization" and popularization of literature both to inspire and to disseminate these ideals amongst the people as a whole so as to make them conscious of their own power.[13] That this emancipating civic and pedagogic purpose failed was partly owing to the type of public the plays did and did not reach[14]

and partly to the fact that the only constant in his dramatic philosophy was the central idea of freedom of action both for the individual and the artist which led to a great diffusion of tastes in the second half of the nineteenth century.[15]

2. His plays

There are several general factors which distinguish Garrett's neoclassical plays such as Catão from his Romantic ones. In his neoclassical plays, Garrett used history, but not Portuguese history, to exemplify general virtues including honor, honesty and self-sacrifice that were politically symbolic. In his Romantic plays, he used events from Portuguese history to give the middle class in Portugal more specific and thereby more pertinent examples of patriotic conduct from its own past. The plots were also quite different. His Romantic plays had some form of a love plot that to varying degrees was used to sustain the action. However, his plays in the neoclassical tradition were often devoid of any love plot. Catão is a good example of this for not only had it no love plot at all, but there is not a single woman in it. This is so in spite of the fact that in Addison's Cato (1715), upon which Garrett based his play, there were two women and a very complicated love plot, at least in the opinion of the Portuguese dramatist. Regarding the language, the neoclassical plays were written in verse whereas his Romantic plays were written in prose. The final point is the fact that Garrett's neoclassical plays all began near the climactic moment thus preserving the unity of time to some

degree. His Romantic plays on the other hand often covered a much longer period of time. O Alfageme de Santarém historically spanned almost two years. Even so, Garrett, unlike the ultraromantics who followed him, preferred to create the illusion of continuous action even at the expense of falsifying historical dates.

The first play to be studied, Mérope, was written when he was eighteen years old in 1818, and was inspired by his reading of Alfieri and Ducis.[16] The theme of the play has been viewed both as a maternal one, that is, a type of authentic maternal drama with minor religious overtones that cause it to be a discreet apology for religion,[17] and as a mere literary exercise, albeit a well-written one.[18] There is no doubt that Mérope, the deposed queen, is almost exceptional in Garrett's work since she is portrayed more as a mother than as a queen.[19] There are, however, certain obvious political allusions in the play which, while not as important or central to this play as in later works, show quite clearly this nascent tendency. This can be seen in the closing speech of the play by Egipto who has just become king upon the overthrow of the wicked Polifonte:

> Egipto-- . . . sou feliz--e reino.
> Vem recordar-me--e vós lembrai-mo
> todos a todo o instante--que subi
> ao trono
> Precipitando dele a tirania.
> Maior obrigação, dobrado encargo
> Tenho de ser bom rei, maior castigo
> Mereço, e mais atroz, se for tirano
> (Mérope, V, 3).

Garrett said, himself, that he was more interested in the

classical form of the play than in any other facet. It should be noted that he wrote the following comment in a later preface to the play in 1841 when he was already a mature artist, and yet, his preference for classical form was still very pronounced:

> As formas são clássicas: eu não concebia outras; --ainda hoje me parece que são as melhores: --o resto não sei o que é, é uma coisa de criança em todo o sentido, e como tal deve ser avaliada.
> (Mérope, Preface, 1841).

Garrett goes on to state in the same piece that the play was never performed but was interrupted by the revolution of 1820, and that he then began to write Catão.

The play is written entirely in verse and consists of five acts which observe the unities of time and place. The setting for the play remains the same for all five acts and is interesting in that it shows immediately the types of principal characters that will appear, and also lends itself to setting the austere and solemn tone of the play:

> No fundo, um peristilo de templo cujas portas devem ser espaçosas de modo que, abertas, se veja claramente o interior do templo; à direita um mausoléu; à esquerda, o palácio real. --É a mesma vista em todos os actos.
> (Mérope, Act I).

One is led to believe that noblemen and priests will be the main characters. Since the play takes place in the space of a day, there is need for a great deal of exposition in order to inform the viewer as to what has already happened so as to lead him up to the culminating events he will witness. Garrett chooses to have the high priest relate all the back-

ground directly to the audience. In the opening passage, the serious and austere tone of the play is set as well as the background given. Note should be made of the stage directions, also.

> Sacerdote (Abrem-se as portas do templo: por elas sai e desce gravemente as escadas do peristilo até meio da cena, antes de falar).-
>
> Enfim aprouve ao Céu colmar de todo
> Nossas desditas já. --Prostrou-se o trono,
> Sucumbiram as leis, o altar vacila,
> E o crime triunfou . . . --Os deuses justos
> O quiseram assim! Oh, não me atrevo
> A perscutar seus eternais decretos . . .
> (Mérope, I, 1).

The high priest goes on to give the whole story of how the former king (. . . nosso pai . . .) was murdered by Polifonte (. . . o traidor, o ingrato, o monstro . . .) who now wants to marry Mérope (. . . rainha infeliz, mísera esposa. Mais desgraçada mãe . . .).

There is a great deal of dissimulation in the play and, in fact, the play actually represents in terms of plot a constant battle amongst various dissimulators.[20] Most of the deceptions revolve around a favorite and recurring plot device in Garrett: the son who is ignorant of his origin.[21] All these various dissimulations lead to a seemingly impossible situation for Egipto when his servant, Polidoro, after telling him that he is really Mérope's son, finds they cannot escape and says:

> Aonde hei -- de esconder-te,
> Como salvar-te às iras despiedades
> De tua propria mãe? -- Se lhe descubro,
> Se lhe digo . . . perdido és para sempre.

Se lho não digo, a desgraçada mata-te
Sem piedade.
(Mérope, IV, 2).

This is the culminating point in the play. Egipto makes known his identity and the play proceeds on to its happy ending, the dethroning of Polifonte and the enthroning of Egipto as the rightful heir to the throne.

There is very little character development, per se but rather exposition of the characters' past. One personage, the sacerdote, is worth mentioning because he represents the "good" priest. Garrett, unlike some of his contemporaries, always portrayed the church and priests in a very favorable light in his plays. He was more interested in showing them as he thought they ought to be than as he, perhaps, thought they really were.[22] They are always on the side of good, always willing to give good counsel. In this case the sacerdote is against Polifonte who has just arrested him:

Sacerdote -- . . . o déspotas da Terra!
Tens para o coração também algemas?
Tens grilhões que a razão ferrolhem n'alma?
Débil punhado de coroada cinza,
Quem és tu?
(Mérope, II, 2).

Mérope shows quite clearly three characteristics that Garrett's classical education impressed upon him: sobriety and elegance of dramatic construction; the perplexity in the souls of the characters which is brought to the surface; and the existence of an omnipotent fate which scorns man's puny efforts to escape its dictates.[23]

The play, Catão, which was first performed in Lisbon in

1821, was written for a specific audience, namely, the upper, middle-class merchants, military men, magistrates and intellectuals who were the prime movers of the revolution of 1820. By evoking the heroes of the Roman republic and the gravity of the Senate with its sober and righteous attitudes concerning God and country, Garrett exalted and gave voice to what this bourgeois aristocracy considered to be its own political ideals and goals.[24] The political moralizing is so prevalent and evident in the play that it has been called "a nova tragédia republicana."[25]

Garrett received his idea for Catão from a play of the same name by Addison. He did a great deal of literal translation, almost to the point of forcing one to the conclusion that the whole work is nothing more than a literal translation.[26] There is, however, one very important difference between the two works in regard to the main themes that are presented, which is best expressed in the author's own words in his preface to the second edition in 1830:

> Os namoros de Addison tecem, movem, enredam e desatam todo o fio de seu drama. Os mais nobres afectos do coraçãõ humano, a amizade, o amor paterno e o filial, a devoçãõ cívica, o falso e o verdadeiro patriotismo, o entusiasmo cego, e o ilustrado zelo da liberdade, -- com todas as paixões revolucionárias em seus variados graus e matizes, sãõ o único móvel do Catão português, de todos os seus caracteres, cenas, -- da fábula inteira.
> (Catão, Preface, 2nd ed.).

Garrett in this quotation, also shows his dislike of or lack of interest in the standard love theme which was to become a mainstay of his followers. In terms of love, he mentions

only that which is paternal and filial and as for passion, it is politically oriented and revolutionary. Until he wrote the play Frei Luís de Sousa in 1843, Garrett tended to cater more and more to his public, even though it might have been against his wishes. He did this mainly because he had come to believe that his artistic talents should be used for the good of change and, certainly, he needed to gain the sympathy of his audience if he was to further his political goals.[27]

Catão is a five-act play in blank verse which preserves the unity of time but not of place. The first act takes place in a Roman plaza; the second in a dilapidated old building; the third act returns to the setting of the first; the fourth act takes place at night at the city gates; and the final act is in a long portico with ships and the sea in the background. All the acts, though, occur within the same city, Utica. The settings, themselves, now become important to the dramatic action of the play. That the main purpose of the play is to be political allegory is made quite clear by the author in the prologue which he, himself, read the first time the play was performed before an intimate group of friends and family acquaintances:

> Romanos estes são, -- mas vós sois Lusos:
> E de romano a português que dista?
> Foram livres aqueles, -- vós sois livres;
> Cidadãos, -- vós o sois; homens, --sois homens;
> Pelos campos da glória e liberdade
> Onde o Tibre correu, corre hoje o Tejo.
> (Catão, Prologue).

The dramatic action of the plot evolves less from the

actual situation at hand than the presence amongst the senators of a traitor, Sempronio. It is another case of dissimulation though with a slightly different emphasis from that found in Mérope. The dissimulator in this play is politically motivated, wanting nothing more than to be on the winning side regardless of its ethical or moral reprehensibleness. He also has a personal dislike of the protagonist.[28] He is quite honest about his intended skulduggery in a monologue to the audience:

> Sempronio-- . . . E eu? . . . Sou cobarde,
> mais cobarde do que ele: não me iludo.
> Mas pode mais que a cobardia o ódio
> Neste peito ralado da acre sede
> Da inveja. Meus projectos têm falhado
> Com a estúpida plebe: . . .
> (Catão, I, 4).

Garrett employs certain stage properties and entrances of players to heighten the dramatic effect more than he did in Mérope. The device of a letter is used to inform Brutus that he is really Caesar's illegitimate son and Cato merely raised him because Brutus' mother was his sister. This is an interesting historical twist in itself, showing the idea of the inexorability of fate in Garrett's dramatic philosophy, since Brutus must now commit parricide to avenge his true mother, Rome.[29] An emotion-charged entrance scene takes place when Garrett has the body of Cato's dying son brought on stage. The importance that Garrett placed on it can be seen in his exacting stage directions:

> (Porcio deitado em umas andas formadas de escudos e lanças, aos ombros de soldados númidas, e guardado por considerável número de cavaleiros númidas, vem lentamente apro-

> ximando-se da porta da cidade; passa por entre as legiões de Juba, que lhe abrem alas. Ouvem-se gemidos, e o lamentar discorde dos Romanos, de Númidas e do povo que vai acudindo).
> (Catão, IV, 4).

Not only has the dramatist heightened the theatrical effect of his entrances since Mérope, but he now employs a greater number of people as extras for more visual realism. One last technique which Garrett took from French classical drama and used with great effect to intensify the immediacy and impact of the action was to have a character describe, not what had happened but rather what was actually happening at the moment off stage:

> Juba-- Daqui . . . oh, daqui vejo Marco Bruto
> Só, impávido, e firme como o Atlante,
> Em pé sobre um acervo de ruínas,
> De pedras -- cimentadas com cadáveres
> E sangue!
> (Catão, V, 6).

In his characterization of the personages, Garrett wanted the audience's entire interest to be centered on the protagonist, Cato, as he stated in the prologue to the second edition:

> . . . convergem todos (os raios de interesse) para o protagonista, em que, --- todo quanto é, o drama se concentra.
> (Catão, Preface, 2nd ed.).

Cato is depicted as a man whose superhuman control over his own emotions in order to attain his political ends and whose calm presence of mind tend to make him appear more of a literary figure than a man of flesh and blood.[30] The presentation of the calm equilibrium in the personality of Cato is meant to portray a specific and certain type of political

attitude as do, also, the unreflecting impetuosity in the personality of young Brutus and the prudent hope found in that of old Manlius.[31] Sempronio, as well as being a catalyst for the action in the play, and, perhaps, the best developed character in human terms,[32] also serves as a contrast for the personality of Cato. The fact that Sempronio can do nothing but deceive emphasizes even more forcefully the fact that Cato can do nothing that is not open and frank.[33]

It should be noted that Sempronio, the political traitor, becomes an important type of personage in Garrett's later, political plays. Juba, the barbarian, is also portrayed in quite human terms; that is, he commits treason but then very humanly repents. He is shown, also, as being continually plagued by a feeling of inferiority because of his race.[34] As a collective character, o povo, shows quite an interesting change of attitude in the author from Mérope in which he painted it in complimentary terms. In Catão, Garrett displays a growing disillusionment with "the people" whose whims and fancies change with the political winds:

> Cato-- -- O que é o povo?
> O que são homens! -- Ontem expulsastes
> A Coriolano, porque ousou negar-vos
> Os baldios comuns; hoje, fugindo,
> Abandonais à furia dos patrícios
> Graco que vo-los dava!
> (Catão, IV, 3).

Garrett had many political lessons to teach in Catão; such as wariness of tyrants, elimination of a tyrant does not mean elimination of tyranny, personal sacrifice is necessary

for liberty, and so forth. The major theme that connects all these political ideas, though, is that of moderation in all political stratagem.[35]

In 1838 Garrett wrote Um Auto de Gil Vicente in which, for the first time in centuries in the Portuguese theater, one sees a return to the use of everyday language in dialogue that has shaken off the shackles of the rhetorical speech of Greek drama.

Not only did Garrett abandon verse in this three-act play but it was here also that he began to employ examples from Portuguese history. This play is one of Garrett's least didactic and most Romantic in the sense that history is employed less as a pedagogical example for the middle class than as an excellent setting for the love plot which dominates the play. The plot is an emotional story of unrequited love in which Dona Beatriz, the king's daughter, loves the poet Bernadim Ribeiro who in turn loves Gil Vicente's daughter, Paula Vicente. The ending of the play is typically Romantic with Ribeiro leaping to his death from a boat and D. Beatriz dying. The king ends the play with the words, "Meu Deus, se eu matei a minha filha." Garrett employed the technique of a "play within a play" of both Shakespeare and Gil Vicente, himself, and constructed a play that was truly "new" in nineteenth-century Portuguese drama.[36] The play though was an example of the Romantic love of great periods of the national past, but it carried no message for the nineteenth century. It presented no

central problem and lacked organic unity while the characters seemed nothing more than decorations or mere illustrations of the court of D. Manuel.[37] It was, despite its shortcomings, the first Romantic play produced in Portugal.[38] An important factor concerning the influence of this play on those dramatists that followed Garrett is its date, 1838. This was just one year prior to the playwriting contest held by the National Conservatory in which many young dramatists participated who were later to become the leaders of ultra-romantismo. The original but sentimental Um Auto de Gil Vicente served in part as their model rather than Garrett's more didactic historical plays which he began writing in 1840.

Garrett followed this play with a trilogy of historical dramas: Filipa de Vilhena (1840), O Alfageme de Santarém (1843), and Frei Luís de Sousa (1843), all of which dealt with some aspect of Portugal's long struggle with Spain. The existence of an uncomfortably close and often hostile neighbor lent itself perfectly to Garrett's concept of patriotism and of drama's role in society.[39]

Chronologically Filipa de Vilhena deals with the last historical episode to be treated in the three plays; that is, the eve of the Portuguese overthrow of Spanish rule in 1640. It is based on the traditional story of the Countess of Atouguia, who armed her two sons to fight for their country. The play, whose original title was Amor e Pátria, was not only intended to exalt Portuguese patriotic sentiment,

but also to flatter the house of Bragança.[40]

The three act play preserves the unity of time but not of place. The first and third acts occur in a large room in the house of Rui Galvão, the traitor; the second act takes place in the house of Filipa de Vilhena. Her traditional patriotism is quite evident from the setting which is important in establishing the mood:

> (Sala antiga em casa de Filipa de Vilhena. -- As paredes são adornadas de retratos grandes em corpo inteiro de guerreiros, donas, bispos, frades. A um lado, um dossel com um bufete coberto, e uma cadeira de espaldar, como é estilo nas casas dos grandes do reino. Debaixo do dossel pende uma grande moldura dourada, que em vez de painel tem um pano preto. -- No fundo, uma larga porta fechada, ou coberta com tapeçarias.
> (Filipa de Vilhena, II).

The main purpose of arousing patriotic feelings and calling forth an intense national pride in the accomplishments of the Portuguese people is present throughout the play. It is often expressed, as the following example illustrates, in language that, at times, becomes rather affected and rhetorical.[41]

> Povo (de fora --Viva D. João IV! Viva a nossa liberdade! D. Jerónimo--Minha mãe! Minha Leonor! Senhores, ouvis estes bravos? Vedes como andam juntos na boca e no coração dos Portugueses o amor do seu rei e da sua liberdade? Não se encontra um sem o outro, um se aumenta com o outro. Meus amigos, viva a Casa de Bragança que nos restitui a santa monarquia de Ourique, em que o povo sempre há-de amar os seus reis, porque os seus reis hão-de sempre amar a liberdade. E senão . . .
> Todos --Senão, não.
> D. Jerónimo --Senão, não. Viva a casa de Bragança! Viva a nossa liberdade!

Todos --Viva!
(Filipa de Vilhena, III, 12).

The dramatic action centers on a family love entanglement. The love of Leonor for Jerónimo, Filipa's son, and her impending mariage de convenance to a Spaniard which her uncle Rui Galvão is forcing upon her to satisfy his debts to the Spanish, form the nucleus of the action. The love plot is intimately linked with the outcome of the political situation which, itself, is the author's symbol of unity of the destiny of the house of Vilhena with that of Portugal.[42] Thus, Jerónimo's love for Leonor will triumph when the Portuguese do:

> Custódio (doido de alegria) --Nenhúm. -- Esta noite, ao mesmo tempo?
> D. Jerónimo (com entusiasmo) --Sim. Ambas ao mesmo tempo, a esposa e a pátria.
> (Filipa de Vilhena, II, 4).

The use of stage properties becomes very important in this play, particularly, the sword with which D. Filipa arms her sons at the culminating dramatic moment in the play. The sword almost acquires a symbolic role of its own in the play:[43]

> D. Filipa -- . . . Arma-vos vossa mãe, filhos, e sereis tão bons cavaleiros como os que vos precederam, porque eu tenho fé (com força) porque chamo por Deus em cujo nome vos dou estas armas, . . . Tomai esta espada, e não vos sirvais dela senão para defender a Religião, a Pátria, a liberdade do Povo e os vossos legítimos réis.
> (Filipa de Vilhena, II, 6).

The use of direct asides to the audience is noticeable in this play, particularly to underscore the villainy of Rui Galvão. Most of the asides come in the first act in the dia-

logue of Custódio, the servant, with Galvão, his master. The device was used to elicit the sympathy and enthusiasm of the audience for the Portuguese cause:

> Rui Galvão-- . . . Agora Vilhenas, Ataides, esses parentes degenerados . . .
> Custódio (aparte) --Degenerados, porque ficaram portugueses!
> Rui Galvão-- Disso nada, já não são meus parentes: renego-os à face do Céu e da Terra.
> Custódio (aparte) --De Cristo regenerás tu se te pagarem, perro.
> (Filipa de Vilhena, I, 3).

Filipa de Vilhena as a character, becomes a symbol of all self-sacrificing Portuguese mothers who offer their sons in the struggle for the good of their country and then remain in their abandoned homes to guard the torch of liberty.[44] Not only is she a strong, symbolic mother but she is, also, the spokesman for many of Garrett's favorite political and social ideas; for example, when she tells her son, Jerónimo, about the real meaning of the word "nobility":

> D. Filipa --Fidalguia ou nobreza não está no sangue, meu filho, está na criação, está nos sentimentos da alma. O que está no sangue é obrigação de ser nobre. Quando se diz de um homem, de uma família que é muito nobre, muito ilustre, quer dizer: que tem obrigação de o ser. E tanto maior é a obrigação, quanto é mais honrada a fama daqueles de quem vimos
> (Filipa de Vilhena, II, 2).

Leonor, the young fiancée of Jerónimo, is almost the complete opposite of Filipa. She is the pattern for the stereotyped, young, Romantic girl, apolitical and passive, in Garrett's Romantic plays.

The personage of the political traitor becomes a very fundamental one both in this play and in O Alfageme de San-

tarém. Rui Galvão represents the type of degenerate Portuguese nobility, that, in Garrett's mind, sells itself to Portugal's enemies for a price. It is a nobility that is corrupt, venal, cowardly and opportunistic and has power, due only to an unjust system of hereditary privileges.[45]

The play, in general, has been considered one of Garrett's weaker ones. The dramatist had very little to do with it originally, save to sketch a general outline, and the dialogue was written mainly by the director of the Italian company, Cesar Perini, for the audience at the Conservatory. Thus it was that Garrett was unable to write personally or amend much of the declamatory dialogue in the play.[46]

O Alfageme de Santarém is a play based on a popular national legend in Portugal that tells of a simple and solitary armorer who develops, in his solitude, certain ideas concerning liberty and equality, and helps D. João I of Portugal to defeat the Spanish at the battle of Aljubarrota on August 14, 1385. Garrett made certain changes in the legend to suit the thematic purpose of the play. The most important change occurs in the person of the protagonist, the Alfageme (armorer) who is portrayed not as a simple rustic in a small workshop but as the owner of a factory employing numerous people and who is both rich and insolent.[47] In this political allegory, the Alfageme represents the nascent industrial class of property owners and merchants in Portugal that was the main support of the Septembrists but that was overpowered by Costa Cabral and the large capitalists.[48] The Alfageme espouses

the ideals and the prejudices of the class he represents. The concept of hard work as a moral virtue can be seen in the very first statement that the armorer makes in the play:

> Alda --Bons dias, vizinho. --Muito ocupado estais hoje.
> Alfageme --Hoje e sempre: é o meu ofício, é a minha vida, é o para que vim a este mundo --para trabalhar. Já que é sina, quero cumpri-la alegremente.
> (O Alfageme de Santarém, I, 3).

This unaristocratic attitude toward hard work, and also, the earning of social rank rather than the mere inheritance of it, must place the protagonist at odds with the goals of the aristocracy, as, indeed, it does. Garrett emphasizes this basic antipathy between the two classes throughout the play; for example, when he is speaking to Nuno Álvares, the great national hero who was of a distinguished family, he says:

> Alfageme-- . . . eu sou Fernão Vaz, o Alfageme, o homem do povo. A vossa causa é a do vosso príncipe cujo sois, a minha a da terra em que nasci. Bem vedes que diferentes andamos. --E contudo, por diversos que sejam nossos fins . . . Deus faça triunfar o mais justo!
> (O Alfageme de Santarém, II, 3).

When the Alfageme speaks of being one of the people, what he really implies is that his class is better able to lead the people than the aristocracy for he, himself, does not really hold them in very high regard as can be seen in this conversation with Alda:

> Alfageme--. . . O cantar do povo anda com as acções de seus amos. O povo é como as crianças
> (O Alfageme de Santarém, I, 10).

Even the setting for the play, which remains the same for all five acts, is symbolically very important in the play,

in that it shows the opposition, again, of the degenerate aristocracy and the hard-working middle class:

> (À esquerda uma casa antiga, apalaçada, com vestígios de grandeza senhorial, mas muito arruinada
> . . . À direita uma casa abarrada mas vasta e bem reparada, em que estão os armazéns e serralharias do Alfageme, cujas forjas acesas e trabalhando são visíveis para o espectador.)
> (O Alfageme de Santarém, Act I).

The play, while keeping the unity of place, does not preserve the unity of time. The first three acts take place twenty months before the battle of Aljubarrota. The fourth act probably occurs on the eighth of August, while the last act transpires on the fifteenth of the month, the day following the battle.[49] All the events that occur in the play, particularly those in the last act, could not possibly do so within the actual time allotted. Garrett telescopes the events into his own dramatic time which gives the effect of a more fluid continuity, and also permits an extreme concentration of the action for a dramatically more forceful result.[50]

While the theme is political, the action revolves around various love plots. In the prologue to the first edition, Garrett wrote of the love plot:

> O amor é essencial parte do drama, porque o drama é vida, e o amor é essencial parte da vida. Em Alda está o amor puro, e estreme de vaidade, muito menos raro na mulher que no homem, mas sempre raro. Em Guiomar o comum dos amores vulgares cuja base de composição é a vaidade . . .
> (O Alfageme de Santarém, Prologue, 1st ed.)

To what extent Garrett believed in the importance of the love

plot in drama or to what extent it was an expedient he employed to hold his audience's interest in order to expound his political ideas, cannot be known. Certainly, in this play, which demonstrates some of the worst defects that were to appear in those of his followers,[51] the love plots are so complicated and heterogeneous in nature and, at times, so lacking in motivation, that the action becomes rather ponderous and difficult to follow. For example, Alda, the heroine, has three suitors while Guiomar loves the Alfageme who loves Alda who loves Nuno Álvares who has an official fiancée somewhere else.[52] This is not to say that the love in question is shown as being a deeply passionate one. In fact, the opposite is often true; namely, it is love pure, Platonic and passionless. The Alfageme describes his love for Alda, thus:

> Alfageme-- . . . Quem me há-de impedir que ela aceite o meu amor? Um amor sem paixão para que dure -- sem remorsos para que nunca amargue -- (O Alfageme de Santarém, I, 7).

Garrett added a technique in this play, the use of the ballad or "romance," one, entitled the "Conde de Alemanha," that is sung by the people and plays an important part in setting the mood at the very opening of the play.[53] Another ballad, "Canção do Alfageme," best typifies Garrett's ideas concerning both the necessity of having the popular support of the people and of having someone to lead them. The ballad is sung entirely by a voice of the people and the chorus which represents the people itself. One sees from the lyrics that the alfageme or middle class is looked to for leadership:

Uma Voz — Assopra, assopra, ó alfageme,
E não descanses de assoprar:
A quem tem alma, a quem não teme
Não pode este fogo queimar.

Coro — A quem tem alma, a quem não teme
O nosso fogo não pode queimar

Voz — É o fogo que a espada tempera
Quem tempera nosso coração:
O Alfageme, se a pátria o espera,
Se ela arvora seu nobre pendão,
Deixa a forja -- e à pátria, que espera,
Leva a espada! -- leva o coração!

Coro — Alfageme, a pátria te espera
Deixa a forja! -- leva o coração

Voz — O Alfageme, que faz a espada
Com que a glória se vai ganhar,
Também lhe pode a mão crestada
Levá-la ao campo a triunfar.

This ballad helps to demonstrate, as previously stated, the markedly militant tone that Garrett often employed in plays of this type. These ballads gave the play a popular, operatic flavor which, no doubt, added to its audience appeal.[54]

In characterizing his personages, Garrett does show some change or development in certain of their personalities, particularly in the case of Alda, who in the first three acts is the stereotyped, young girl of the period, full of graciousness and ignorance. In the following acts, as the Alfageme's wife and mother of his child, she is depicted as a strong and mature woman, capable of making decisions.[55] Basically, however, Garrett's main interest in his characters in this play, lies not in their psychological development, but rather, in their use as symbols for the two opposing political forces in the middle class. Nuno Álvares, the good aristocrat, and

Mendo Pais, the degenerate aristocrat, are opposed to the symbolic saviour of the country, the Alfageme, who represents the middle class allied with the people.[56]

The last play in the historical trilogy, Frei Luís de Sousa, is based on a well-known and popular historical occurrence; the disappearance of the king of Portugal, D. Sebastian, together with a great number of his troops, after they rode into enemy lines at Alcácer Quibir in 1578 and were never heard from again. The belief in the reappearance, someday, of the king or Sebastianismo was very popular and plausible in Portugal and is a key and basic element around which the theme and plot are structured.[57] This messianic theme was a popular one with Portuguese writers in the nineteenth century with individual variations. It was even employed in this century by such an author as Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935). Garrett changed certain historical facts as well as facets of the legend which had grown up about the event, such as having D. João de Portugal, himself, appear in the play as the pilgrim and he created the character of Telmo Pais.[58] Garrett foresaw any criticism on the point of historical inaccuracy when he said in his Memória ao Conservatório Real in 1843:

> Escuso dizer-vos, Senhores, que me não julguei obrigado a ser escravo da cronologia nem a rejeitar por impróprio da cena tudo quanto a severa crítica moderna indigitou como arriscado de se apurar para a história (Memória ao Conservatório Real, 1843).

Unlike the other two historical plays already studied:

Filipa de Vilhena and O Alfageme de Santarém, the importance of the historical and political aspects is very restricted since it is the general knowledge of the legend which is most important. The play takes place sometime after the Spanish occupation of Portugal in 1580, but Garrett, who has become very pessimistic, politically speaking, in effect turns his back on the middle class in this play. He describes instead, the tragedy of an honorable, aristocratic family, thereby making its fall to disgrace even more poignant.[59] Nevertheless, Garrett has a political message in the whole idea of the ruin that the Spanish occupation brings upon the land being cause for revolt. This is dramatically emphasized by Manuel de Sousa's patriotic act of burning his own house. Although his act of self-sacrifice is of a secondary nature to the main plot,[60] it does make a superb Romantic ending for the first act of the play.

Although it appears to the modern critic that the overall effect of this play is that of a personal or intimate tragedy in a classical vein, in which questions and conflicts found in honor and fidelity form the basis of the theme rather than being a political allegory,[61] the dramatist felt quite the opposite to be true as he stated in his Memória:

> . . . Revesti-los [os factos do homem] das formas mais populares e derramar assim pelas nações um ensino fácil, uma instrução intelectual e moral que, sem aparato de sermão ou prelecção, surpreenda os animos e os corações da multidão, no meio de seus próprios passatempos -- a missão do literato, do poeta.
> (Memória ao Conservatório Real, 1843).

The play consists of three acts and preserves neither the unity of time nor of place. The settings are all closed places: a room in a house or an even smaller chapel, for instance, which add to a narrowing or focusing of concentration on the characters, themselves.[62] One technique in the use of scenery, which Garrett had never employed before, was a change of place in an act without even having the curtain drop. This takes place in act three, scene ten where a change from the palace of D. João to the Church of Saint Paul is instantly realized. A curtain is pulled at the rear of the stage and the audience is transported to the church. Garrett did not want to lose an instant in the train of suspense that he had built up. The instructions for the settings of every act are very detailed in their description for they are extremely important in setting the mood. Asides, although relatively few in number, are very important for communicating to the audience the basis for each mystery that is to be unravelled. Those of Telmo Pais are particularly significant in acts two and three for this purpose.

The plot, except for the burning of Sousa's house, is all but actionless. The denouement revolves around the clarification of certain personal mysteries or secrets which are related to unknown happenings in the past and the presentiment of future misfortunes.[63] For instance, Madalena says to Telmo Pais:

Madalena-- . . . E és tu que andas, con-

> tinuamente e quase por acinte, a sustentar essa quimera, a levantar-se esse fantasma, cuja sombra, a mais remota, bastaria para enodoar a pureza daquela inocente, para condenar a eterna desonra a mãe e a filha.
> (Frei Luís de Sousa, I, 2).

Garrett was not interested in action, per se, or in the complicated human intrigues and love plots he had invented in his previous historical plays:

> Nem amores, nem aventuras, nem paixões, nem caracteres violentos de nenhúm gênero. Com uma acção que se passa entre pai, mãe e filha, um frade, um escudeiro velho, e um peregrino que apenas entra em duas ou tres cenas -- tudo gente honesta e temente a Deus . . .
> (Memória ao Conservatório Real, 1843).

Instead of conveying dramatic intensity in the action, Garrett tried to do so in the gripping sobriety with which he portrayed his characters, a technique he had come to esteem in Greek drama. They are humanly tragic figures, living out their foreordained destiny in the shadow of uncompromising fate.[64] He pointed out his classical concept of the characters in the play when he wrote in the Memória:

> As figuras, os grupos, as situações da nossa história . . . parecem mais talhadas para se moldarem e vazarem na solenidade severa e quase estatuária da tragédia antiga, do que para se pintarem nos quadros, mais animados talvez, porém menos profundamente impressivos, do drama novo . . .
> (Memória ao Conservatório Real, 1843).

Perhaps on no other character does fate cause such conflicting demands to be made as on Garrett's own creation, Telmo Pais, the squire to D. João de Portugal, who has been considered the nucleus of the conflict in the play.[65] He

suspects that the pilgrim is his long-lost master and that his reappearance will now cause the disgrace of his beloved charge, Maria. The irony of the situation is that he was the only character that always believed in his master's return. The decision he might have to make between his love and duty for both of them, is tearing him asunder:

> Telmo (só) --Virou-se-me a alma toda com isto: não sou já o mesmo homem. Tinha um pressentimento do que havia de acontecer . . . parecia-me que não podia deixar de suceder . . . e cuidei que o desejava enquanto não veio. -- Veio, e fiquei mais aterrado, mais confuso que ninguém! . . .
> (Frei Luís de Sousa, III, 4).

Although it would appear that Telmo has a choice, which would not fit into Garrett's basic dramatic concept of man's helplessness before an omnipotent fate, it has been pointed out that Telmo's decision was, itself, already foreordained and decided for him.[66]

Unlike O Alfageme de Santarem or Um Auto de Gil Vicente, in 1841, Garrett complained of the tendency of Portuguese dramatists at the beginning of the nineteenth century to copy French models:

> Estas poucas e deslavadas tragédias que se fizeram -- clássicas puritanas da gema, -- eram francesas na mesma alma, não tinham de português senão as palavras . . . algumas -- uma ou duas, apenas o título e os nomes das pessoas. . . . Nada; não renascia; ou pròpriamente, não nascia o teatro nacional.
> (Um Auto de Gil Vicente, Introdução, 1841).

How strange it is that the founder of the modern Portuguese theater should end his creative career in dramatic writing by doing exactly what he thought was prejudicial to the

interests of a national theater only a few years before. He began writing comedies, usually of the one-act, family situation variety; such as Tio Simplício (1844) and Falar Verdade a Mentir (1845), a proverb play, that were mere adaptations of French plays of that genre. Garrett, though a dramatic genius, showed little talent during his career for plot innovations, preferring to search out those that were ready made for his purpose.[70] Falar Verdade a Mentir, for example, was taken directly from Le Menteur Véridique (1823) by Scribe. It is to Garrett's credit that he did introduce some marvelous play on words and piquant, everyday slang expressions that gave these plays a lively tone. On the other hand, he set a precedent whereby his imitators, who possessed no such talent, would merely change place and character names, creating a weary succession of dreary imitations.[71]

C. The Ultraromantics--Followers of Garrett

Both Garrett and Alexandre Herculano were in the forefront of the struggle in Portugal against the feudal and monarchical absolutism that dominated Portuguese society in the first decades of the nineteenth century. They struggled to legitimize a system of representative government in popular, traditional thinking.[72] Garrett attempted, as already mentioned, to use the theater to this end. Beginning in approximately 1838 and extending until the controversy of the Questão Coimbrã in 1865 and thereafter, certain external

aspects of Garrett's techniques began to be copied and exaggerated by his followers. This resulted in the so-called "ultraromantic" theater in which the fantastic, the exotic and the picturesque were all portrayed in conventional themes with melodramatic and declamatory oratory.[73] However, both Herculano, who criticized these tendencies and Garrett, who laughed at them, did, themselves, exactly what they chided others for doing. They appeared to be unable to escape from writing plays in almost the same fashion.[74] In regard to his criticism of the growing, ultraromantic tendency, Herculano wrote in 1841:

> Ora, enquanto se forceja para elevar e restaurar literária e até materialmente o teatro nacional, vemos o drama decair, prostituir-se moralmente cada vez mais. Cresce todos os dias a indignação da gente honrada contra os espectáculos que sobem à cena, orgias da arte, se arte se pode chamar a quadros onde há, não o sublime de paixões mais ou menos perversas, o sublime do horrível, mas o torpe, o asqueroso dos vícios mais vis. Cumpre que a imprensa seja orgão desta indignação: que busque a origem e o remédio do mal. A sua mais alta missão é contribuir para que a sociedade se melhore e civilize, e o teatro pode ser um poderoso instrumento de civilização.[75]

1. Herculano's Contribution to Ultraromantismo

Only two years earlier, in 1839, at the same time that Garrett was writing the play, Um Auto de Gil Vicente, Herculano wrote a three-act drama, O Fronteiro de África.[76] With this play, Herculano shows that he, himself, employed the Romantic, historical subgenre and so, it is not surprising that the young playwrights who participated in the contests

held by the Conservatory all emulated the examples set by the more prestigious members.[77] Garrett, even in his most Romantic moments, had always shown relative constraint in his style and language, owing to the bom senso and bom gosto of his classical training.[78] Herculano was under no such constraint and his play resulted in one that was not very different from those of the playwrights he later criticized. It would be instructive to examine a few highlights of the work.

O Fronteiro de África, a three-act play, takes place during Spain's successful invasion of Portugal in 1580-1581 which was led by the Spanish general, the Duke of Alba. The fronteiro or commander of a frontier detachment, D. Pedro da Cunha, is still fighting in the southern region of Portugal, the Alentejo, although the Portuguese cause seems almost lost. Because of the trickery of D. Pedro's friend, Paulo Afonso, who is a Portuguese traitor in the pay of the Duke of Alba, his lands have been confiscated and his wife, D. Isabel, is living in the Bairro de Alfama, a poor section of Lisbon.

The theme of the play seems to be an effort to arouse in the audience a certain feeling of patriotism, albeit a rather general one. Herculano, however, did not consistently attempt to engender this patriotic fervor throughout the play or so it would seem to the modern reader. Even when he did attempt to do so, it was accomplished in such an emotionally-charged manner as to make it appear that his primary

purpose was to elicit a tumultuous response from the audience rather than give it a clear and concise message as did Garrett. This can be seen in the following passages from the second act that takes place in an inn in the Alentejo in which the fronteiro is talking with his servant, Mendo, who wishes to flee:

> Mendo --Mas, senhor, meu amo, também me parece que seria bom que fugíssemos.
> D. Pedro --Dize a tua cobardia. Fugir! que vale fugir? é assim que ergueremos do pó o velho Portugal? Combates a todo o instante nos esperam. Pelejaremos: Deus dará a vitória a quem lhe aprouver. Mas nós ao menos não cairemos com infâmia! Enquanto El-Rei sustenta a guerra do Norte, eu salvarei o Alentejo, ou morrerei na demanda . . . (tirando meia espada) Ó! quando terás tu, minha boa espada, o teu banquete de sangue! Quando poderei eu dizer: Eles também fugiram?! Oxalá que para isso a Providência me aparelhasse este dia!
> (O Fronteiro de África, II, 2).

What great emotional bombast is created by talking to one's sword concerning its "banquet of blood"! This passage, however, was merely a preparation of the audience for the fronteiro's only monologue in the play, which occurs two scenes later. In this case, this favorite Romantic technique was the emotional apogee of the vague patriotic theme:

> D. Pedro (so) --Amigo?! é a um tal homem que D. Pedro deve dar este nome? . . . e que importa! É um salteador que vós, cortesãos, ireis ver voltear no patíbulo, para cuspir escárnio e afrontas sobre a sua memória; mas este salteador, este assassino é mais nobre do que vós! . . . Ele ao menos não é parricida; e vos assassinastes a Pátria; vós comprastes as honras, as riquezas e o repouso com o sangue de vossos irmãos, com a liberdade da terra em que nascestes! Eu chamarei amigo ao salteador, pronto a morrer pelo seu Rei natural, mas nunca darei este nome aos cor-

> ruptos servos do Estrangeiro! Que sou eu hoje? -- um homem banido, despojado da herança paterna, vendo todos os dias sobre a garganta o cutelo do algoz. Emparelhado corro por tanto com Rodrigues pelo caminho da vida; arremesso-me com ele para um futuro medonho. Mais medonho ainda para mim, que busco inspirar esperanças . . . e que não tenho aqui dentro nenhuma! Nenhuma . . . , que até parece que Paulo Afonso se esqueceu de mim! Há já tantos dias que me não escreve! Acaso interceptariam a minha última carta . . . Mas isso não lhe obstava a escrever-me: ela não ía assinada . . . e eu segui o seu conselho . . . Quem, se não ele, podia entender essa carta misteriosa?! Ó! minha Isabel! Ó! meus filhos! Por vós, eu não morrerei morte de cavaleiro! Buscarei salvar uma vida aborrida para vos ganhar, mendigar talvez o pão do desterro! . . . Choras, Fronteiro de África? Chora! . . . já que te não é dado espirar sobre o cadáver da tua pátria; chora, porque os dias do prófugo se prenderão a tua existencia, como um pesadelo infernal! Enquanto o meu Rei combater, combaterei eu também . . . depois . . . às ocultas . . . como um vil assassino, terei de fugir! fugir deixando entregues à vingança dos tiranos os desgraçados que me seguem! . . . Fatal hora essa em que fui marido . . . mais fatal a em que fui pai . . . Se o não fosse, poderia morrer . . . cair com glória . . . mas a glória já não é para mim! . . . (fica encostado à mesa com a cabeça entre as mãos).
>
> (O Fronteiro de África, II, 4).

It is difficult for the modern reader to conceive of the popularity of such a long, bombastic tirade with its many pregnant pauses (. . .) and exclamation points. It must be remembered that these pauses and exclamations plus the high-flown metaphors were really the stuff of which Romantic drama was made, a fact which cannot be overemphasized. The Romantic actor's task, like the dramatist's, was to create people and speech that were in essence bigger than life. The power of a word, a long sardonic look, a grandiose gesture on the part of the actor was the crowning triumph that

brought the audience to its feet in wild applause.[79] Actors, of course, are always important to a play, but as realism began to make its appearance, their task was to interpret the dramatists' words as closely to "real life" as possible while during the Romantic period, the actors were to replace normal delivery as much as possible with oratorical effect. The more grandiloquent he was, the better the actor. Keeping this in mind, it would be interesting to see what a contemporary critic of Herculano, Andrade Ferreira (1823-1875) said after viewing the play, and particularly his enthusiastic enjoyment of the fronteiro's monologue:

> Quando não fossem outros os dotes do drama do Sr. Herculano, bastava o enérgico monologo do Fronteiro abraçado com a sua 'bela espada de África,' para ainda nos fazer palpitar de calorosas sensações patrióticas, a nós outros que o escutávamos em religioso silêncio, e cobríamos de aplausos as inspiradas frases do poeta.[80]

The key phrase is "fervent, patriotic feeling" for what the audience demanded and what the ultraromantic dramatists gave it was the sensation of unbounded exaltation. Nowhere is this more evident than in the plot which is separated from the infrequently occurring theme.

The plot is one of love and intrigue, primarily the latter. D. Isabel loves her husband and is true to him, but they have been separated by the war. In fact, D. Pedro does not see his wife in the play until the great, ultraromantic climax in the final act. The main action that sustains the plot is Paulo Afonso's lust for D. Isabel and the manner in

which he schemes in order to seduce her. As previously stated, all characters in the ultraromantic plays represented, in an exaggerated manner, either good or evil with no possibility of any nuance in between the two extremes. Thus, the fronteiro is a superpatriot, D. Isabel is a paragon of virtue and Paulo Afonso is the epitome of evil. Since each character could only represent either virtue or vice, and also, since the primary purpose of the plot was to engender great emotion, it was important to establish both these facets of a play as quickly and as clearly as possible. For example, in the first act which takes place at night in D. Isabel's room, "sala desadornada e pobre" in Lisbon, Paulo Afonso defines both his role, Isabel's role and the plot outline. D. Isabel has momentarily left the room, so Paulo Afonso directs this thinking-aloud type of monologue to the audience:

> Paulo Afonso --Vai, mulher soberba! heroína de cancioneiro: já cedes! já tens lágrimas que não sejam de cólera?! . . . Mais terás que chorar. Enodoei-te como uma serpente! És minha; mas o meu amor, que devia rodear-te de um mundo de felicidade, será para ti como um hálito do inferno! E que me importa? O vulcão, comprimido aqui (pondo a mão sobre o coração) há seis anos, deve, na sua erupção, chamejar labaredas de morte! Trocaste-me pelo soldado! . . . a mim, que te adorava, a mim, cujo amor aceitares! Mulheres?! . . . vil o que nelas crê! há alguma neste mundo que não seja traiçoeira e fingida?
>
> (O Fronteiro de África, I, 8).

It was in scenes such as this which involved love either fulfilled or unrequited in which the ultraromantic dramatists waxed most emotionally poetic. Still it is very difficult

for the modern reader, no matter how objective he might try to be, to perceive how an audience could listen with seriousness and no doubt great interest to rhetorical dialogue in which a heart is described as a "compressed volcano spewing flames of death." Besides its great emotional impact it is important, also, for it hints quite strongly at the type of ending the play will have. As for Paulo Afonso's role, no one in the audience could miss his role of seducer. It must be remembered though that he depicted himself as evil through and through. With his simile of the "serpent" and the "breath from hell" one could hardly fail to see him as a sort of devil incarnate. This type of direct character presentation to the audience in which the character himself (or herself) does the presenting was a characteristic of the ultraromantics. The thesis play dramatists who followed would, at least, couch the same type of character presentation in the form of a conversation between characters. In the ultraromantic play other characters merely reaffirm later what a character has told the audience himself. Isabel does this some scenes later as she realizes the treachery afoot and repulses Afonso's advances in equally bombastic terms:

> D. Isabel (erguendo-se com energia) . . . Afasta-te, homem vil e refalsado! hipócrita, que me enganaste com tua dissimulada amizade . . . O amigo era um sedutor! . . . do fundo de um abismo de desventura queres arrojar-me em outro ainda mais negro, o da infâmia e do crime? Este corpo que aqui ves perdeu o seu Senhor . . . herda-lo-ão os vermes . . . talvez em breve . . . mas não será deshon-

rado . . .
(O Fronteiro de África, I, 18).

Not only does Isabel reaffirm Paulo Afonso's self-professed evil nature, she also makes a statement concerning the type of ending. Her statement, "the worms will inherit my body . . . perhaps shortly . . . ," is, in the pattern of the ultraromantic play an indication of the Götterdämmerung to come. Presentiments from the characters are almost unnecessary for each act in this type of play had a subtitle. The subtitle for the third act is "A Justiça de Deus." As the play moves toward its great Romantic climax the patriotic theme that was touched upon from time to time appears to become lost in the personal intrigue plot. There certainly appears to be no clearly defined object lesson as was the case with Garrett's historical plays. It will be shown later that this same lack of a clearly defined philosophical goal was to cause the socially-oriented themes of the thesis-play dramatists also to be submerged or overwhelmed by the standard love plot.

Just as in Frei Luís de Sousa, however, the play ends with a sort of grand finale of repentance, forgiveness and death. The final scenes take place in the torch-lit chapel of the fronteiro's castle at midnight. To heighten the already foreboding and gloomy effect there are two stone sarcophagi off to the side of the stage. D. Isabel has taken poison because Afonso has tricked her, but her husband, alas too late, is willing to forgive her:

> D. Isabel --Que dizes?! . . . tu podias esquecer-te do passado?! . . . Desgraçada! . . . Que fiz eu?! . . . toda a capela anda á roda!!! . . .
> D. Pedro --Oh! por piedade, Isabel! . . . que queres dizer?! . . .
> D. Isabel --Estou . . . eu . . . envenenada! . . . (cae com a cabeça sobre o sepulcro.)
> D. Pedro, D. Fernando e Leonor. --Envenenada! . . .
> D. Pedro (abraçando-se com o cadáver) --Não há quem me livre da vida?! . . . (cae de joelhos aos pés do corpo da mulher arquejando)
> Paulo Afonso (vindo para diante com passos mal seguros) --Oh! vingança! . . . eu morro . . . e pouco me importa! . . . porque também ela morre! . . . Odioso rival! . . . desonreite! . . . e tu a perdes! . . . basta-me! . . .

There is a bit more discussion of various topics of vengeance and intrigues and then Afonso utters the last words of the play:

> Paulo Afonso (inclinando-se para o chão, e escutando) --Que vozes sao estas, que soam? É o chamar dos demônios! . . . lá vou . . . (cae).
> (O Fronteiro de África, III, 18).

There is in this work more histrionics, particularly in the language employed, than in Garrett's plays and it comes very close to being, in plot, dialogue and theme that which Herculano was so critical of in the Portuguese theater. The type of play that caused Herculano's ire and Garrett's ridicule is best exemplified in the archetypal, ultraromantic play, Os Dois Renegados by José da Silva Mendes Leal.

2. Mendes Leal--Principal Dramatist and Theoretician of Movement

Anachronisms, verbose and overemotional dialogue and a penchant for rhetorical bombast that included the use of

many archaic words are what constituted, in general, the exterior dramatic form for which the followers of Garrett showed great predilection.[81] It fell to the lot of Mendes Leal to be considered the principal villain in the new movement for having corrupted the work of Garrett in the theater.[82] It was a certain myopic interpretation of the esthetic philosophy propounded by Victor Hugo which led Mendes Leal and his contemporaries to their dramatic concept of envisioning the world as divided into good and evil, and all things and people belonged to one category or another. This irreconcilable dichotomy of good and evil, vice and virtue, produced what appear today as rather stilted cardboard characters, uttering truculent and unreal dialogue.[83] That Mendes Leal owed much to the influence of the French writers for the idea for his play, Os Dois Renegados is evident from what he wrote in the prologue to the play:

> As idéias profundas e arrebatadas de Victor Hugo, as ricas e formosas cenas de Dumas, as magnificências sublimadas de Casimir De Lavigne, produziram-me na alma um sentimento indefinível, um desejo indistinto, que mesmo se quisesse eu não pudera explica-lo. Houve por muito tempo em mim um pensamento vago e inaplicado que foi pouco a pouco tomando corpo, vestiu as formas da realidade e de este pensamento nascido, apareceu por fim o drama--Os Dois Renegados. (Os Dois Renegados, Prologue, 1839).

The prologue, itself, is an extremely articulate and interesting source of the esthetic and philosophical ideas concerning the form and function of drama at that time as viewed and realized by the ultraromantics. One reason, perhaps, for Mendes Leal's place as leader of the movement was

his being its most outspoken theoretician. He believed that a drama was a poem, written in a lofty style that needs to express lofty things even if it is written in prose. He wrote in the same prologue:

> Ninguém há hoje que negue ao drama as honras da poesia. Não carecemos, . . . de argumentos para provar que a poesia não consiste no verso . . . . Intimamente convencido de esta verdade busquei dar ao meu estilo toda a altura e riqueza que a minha pobre imaginação me podia fornecer. Se alguém houver que me censure de demasia, responder-lhe-ei que o drama é um verdadeiro poema, e que a poesia bem longe está da trivialidade e baixesa do estilo ordinário. --- mas sim que o drama sendo um poema, carece de cousas grandes e sublimes, como diz Horácio, ainda mesmo quando escrito em prosa.
> (Os Dois Renegados, Prologue, 1839).

The question of what this dramatic poetry would consist was answered by the author in the same prologue:

> Na cena as paixões são grandes, fortes, e sublimes: devem comover todos os corações, abalar todas as almas, chegar a todas as inteligências. O nexo do drama interessa e prende: o maravilhoso do estilo fere as cordas do sentimento, arrebata, entusiasma---
> (Os Dois Renegados, Prologue, 1839).

Mendes Leal wanted his dramaturgic ideas to take form in such a manner as to elicit the maximum emotional response from his audience. The arousing of great emotions became the foundation of ultraromantic drama.

It is important to note that while many of Garrett's important ideas on what drama should be were not carried on by his followers,[84] those of Mendes Leal, for better or worse, were put into practice for several decades, in one

form or another, in the Portuguese theater.

Os Dois Renegados then was the archetypal ultraromantic play. As might be expected it was full of overstatement in technique and subject matter. It is a five-act play which consists of seven "quadros" or major changes in place and setting. The settings, themselves, take on a great importance in fixing the mood for the action and are described by the author in great and lengthy detail. A good example is a portion of his instructions for the fourth "quadro" in act three:

> (A Sala do Julgamento, armada de negro--Ao fundo um estrado sobre o qual está uma mesa coberta também de negro, em roda assentos rasos para os Inquisidores, e, no topo, cadeira de espaldas para o Inquisidor principal, aos lados do estrado tocheiras com grossos brandões de cera amarela acesos . . . Estas cenas e as seguintes devem de ter uma aparência de mistério e magestosa solenidade)
>
> (Os Dois Renegados, III, Q. IV).

Each act is accompanied not only by a subtitle: "A Leitura da Bíblia," "O Noivado," "O Julgamento," "Um por Outro," and "O Ressuscitado" as in Herculano, but also, by an appropriate passage from the Bible, Metastasio, Bundeto, Voltaire and Homer.

The element of time changes radically between acts. Between acts one and two there are only three hours while between two and three, six months have passed. Acts three and four are the same day but acts four and five are separated by two months time.

The basic action consists of a complicated love plot

concerning Samuel, a Jew and Isabel, a noble, Christian girl. The play takes place during the time of the Inquisition and persecution of the Jews in Portugal. Plots set in the Middle Ages in Portugal or thereabouts were favorites of the ultraromantic writers.[85] A short summary of the plot would be instructive to show the great emphasis placed on romantic love as both the theme and action for the plot. Samuel's family, which is Jewish, wants to escape from the Inquisition in Portugal. Lopo, a Christian nobleman, who has been converted to Judaism to marry Esther, Samuel's sister, betrays the family. Samuel, in the meantime, falls in love with Isabel, an aristocratic Christian. He is about to marry her but during the wedding ceremony, he is again denounced by Lopo as a Jew and is thrown into prison. Isabel is forced by her father to marry Lopo. Samuel converts to Christianity to escape the Inquisition and returns for vengeance on Lopo. Samuel appears out of nowhere, at night, in Isabel's room. The following dialogue between Samuel and Isabel exemplifies the emotional type of dialogue used:

> Isabel --Ah!
> Samuel --Horrorisas-te! . . . Amaldicoas-me também! . . . (soluçando) Mulher ingrata e cruel! Foi por teu respeito, foi por ti, somente por ti que me entreguei à perdição.
> Isabel (com amor) --Samuel!
> Samuel --Ah já me conheces, D. Isabel da Silva, já me conheces? - Já sabes que sou Samuel, o Judeu atraiçoado, vendido aos tormentos, avexado de insultos, pelo Cristão honrado, zeloso, carregado de benções e de favores! . . . . (sempre em exaltação)
> (Os Dois Renegados, IV, Q. V, 5).

If this were not an ultraromantic play, one might expect that the subject matter, as briefly outlined, would lend itself to either some sort of social criticism or character development, especially in the conflict caused by Samuel's conversion or Lopo's seemingly constant conversions back and forth. This, however, is not the case. The plot exists, just as Mendes Leal stated it would, to give rise to great feelings and strong passions, which in essence are the lifeblood of the play. When an audience becomes unwilling to accept the fact that these same passions can be the sole motivating force for all the characters' actions, to the exclusion of everything else, then, of course, this same lifeblood is pumped out of the piece, and a rather hollow-sounding shell is all that remains.

Since passion and love are the main and exclusive elements of both the theme and plot in plays of this type, it is interesting to consider the denouements. They are often abrupt. The plot does not necessarily have to be brought to a logical conclusion stemming from previous actions as much as a rapid one so as to preserve the high pitch of emotion which has been sought throughout the work. In this last scene in the play, it should be noted that the Povo is calling for the death of Lopo who has been carried off stage:

> Pedro Gonçalves (com intenção) --Afonso, duas vezes me salvaste a vida. -- (a Frei Gil.) Heis de amanhã celebrar nesta capela um casamento!
> Isabel (com ternura) --Afonso!
> Samuel --Isabel! . . . Isabel! . . .
> (Caindo-lhe aos pés, soluçando de amor e pra-

zer. -- Ouve-se vindo da parte superior, o rumo do povo.)
O Povo (bradando) --Morra o Judeu! o renegado!
(Os Dois Renegados, A. V, Q. VII, final scene).

The public grew weary of this emotion-filled type of drama and turned to the social thesis play that had become popular in France. The way for this new interest was paved in good measure, no doubt, by the socialist press of the Generation of 52 in Portugal.[86] The leader of this new movement against the sentimental excesses of the melodrama would be none other than--Mendes Leal.

D. Romantic Movement in Brazil--Magalhães and Pena

It is, of course, quite proper to associate Brazil with Portugal because they both share a common language but the influence of Portugal on Brazilian drama in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries went far beyond this common bond.

The original impetus for interest in modern drama in Brazil was the moving of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro to escape Napoleon's armies. The Portuguese geographically were much closer to the centers of literary ideas in Europe which, with regard to the drama in the nineteenth century in both Portugal and Brazil, meant mainly France. It is not surprising, therefore, that Portuguese dramatists, while themselves almost always years behind their French counterparts, had a continuing influence on Brazil in the last century. If Portugal always seemed a bit behind in em-

ploying new ideas and techniques, the Brazilians were even further behind because many innovations were filtered through Portugal. In fact, Brazilian theater as a whole from its inception until World War I really never freed itself from Portuguese domination.[87] This domination by Portugal was not limited merely to dramatists and their plays but included acting companies as well. The first great Portuguese acting company, which included the famous actress Ludovinha Soares, came to Brazil in 1829 with the help of D. Pedro I.[88] This was merely the first of a long line of foreign companies, Portuguese as well as others, that came to perform in Brazil and were centered mainly at the reconstructed Teatro de S. Pedro.

It was not until 1833, that João Caetano dos Santos (1808-1863), Brazil's greatest Romantic actor, formed a national acting company that was composed entirely of Brazilian actors. One of the major reasons for Caetano's forming the company was that he felt slighted and insulted by the performers in the Portuguese company. For nearly three decades of its existence that followed, Caetano's group was in almost constant competition with one foreign company or another. Despite the friction between Caetano and his Portuguese colleagues, his entire repertoire came from Portugal until 1836, either in the form of Portuguese plays or translations made in Lisbon mainly of French plays.[89] There was one more very important Portuguese element which certainly had an influence, in a commercial way, as to what was or was

not produced on the Brazilian stage in the last century: the Portuguese business colony in Rio de Janeiro which formed a significant and vocal portion of theatergoers. Some Brazilian playwrights were quite dissatisfied with an audience they felt was dominated by Portuguese interests. For instance, writing about the failure of his last play, O Jesuíta (1861), which was not produced until 1875, José de Alencar gave as a principal reason:

> A platéia do Teatro de S. Pedro, então como hoje, não suportaria semelhante reivindicação histórica. Dou-lhe toda razão: é portuguesa na máxima parte; e tanto deve comprazer-se na comemoração de suas glórias nacionais, como aborrecer-se dos confrontos desfavoráveis.[90]

As late as 1890, to cite another example, the comedy, Portugueses às Direitas (1890) by França Júnior was produced and was a failure mainly because of the displeasure it caused the Portuguese colony living in Rio.[91] It is rather more difficult to gauge this group's influence when it was pleased with a play but in any case it was quite substantial.

It can be seen that from its modern inception in the nineteenth century the Brazilian theater, for better or worse, was very closely allied in all facets of its existence to the development of the drama and dramatic techniques in Portugal. The intangible result of all this was that the Brazilians, despite some infrequent protests, always held Portugal somewhat in awe. In a manner of speaking, Brazil always dealt with Portugal by deferentially lowering her voice out of respect and fear of being thought the fool.[92]

It was the same type of relationship that existed between the United States and England except that when one examines what Brazil accomplished with no long tradition of theater to support her (or Portugal either), one concludes that her inferiority complex was far less justified.

1. Gonçalves de Magalhães--Transition from Neoclassicism to Romanticism

Brazil had no tradition of theater to guide her dramatists. It is not surprising then that Magalhães, Brazil's first major Romantic dramatist, received his Romantic influence during his stay abroad in Paris. The thirteenth of March 1838 marked a milestone in the history of the Brazilian theater. It was the date of the première of the play, Antônio José ou o Poeta e a Inquisição,[93] which was the first tragedy with a national theme written by a Brazilian.[94] The author Gonçalves de Magalhães was a figure of great importance in the transition from the neoclassical to the Romantic drama.[95] His early education in Brazil, under the tutelage of Frei Francisco de Mont'Alverne, a famous clerical orator and professor of philosophy, was conservative and classical with an emphasis on the fundamentals of religion.[96] Trained in medicine but with a marked preference for literary and diplomatic pursuits, Magalhães arrived in Paris in 1833 and encountered a literary atmosphere far different from that to which he was accustomed in Brazil. He was impressed with the Romantic movement and founded the magazine Niteroi Revista Brasiliense to promote the Romantic

reforms in Portuguese literature.[97] As was the case with Garrett, Magalhães received a neoclassical education as a boy and then came into contact with Romantic ideas as a young man. Also, the Romantic reform in Brazilian drama, just as it was in Portuguese drama, was accomplished by an author whose first play was based to a great extent on the principles of classical poetics.[98] In his preface to Antônio José he stated his independence of any "school" of dramatic ideas:

> Não faltarão acusacões em todos os gêneros. Talvez tenham razão, sobretudo se quiserem medir esta obra com o compasso de Aristoteles e de Horácio, ou vê-la com o prisma dos românticos. Eu não sigo nem o rigor dos clássicos, nem o desalinho dos segundos; não vendo verdade absoluta em nenhúm dos sistemas, faço as devidas concessões a ambos; ou antes, faço o que entendo, e o que posso . . .
> (Antônio José, Preface, 1839).

Although the dramatist felt himself free to pick and choose the dramatic elements from both movements which he felt would best suit his purpose at the moment, he was quite adamant in referring to his plays as "tragédias" and not "dramas." This was such an important distinction at that time for an author who was so jealous of his dramatic ideas, that it almost is in itself an indication of his classical bent.[99] In 1841 in his prologue to a later play, Olgiato,[100] he stated emphatically:

> Tragédia e Drama são cousas diferentes; cada qual pede sua crítica especial . . . Posto seja mais difícil compor uma tragédia com assunto simples e poucos interlocutores . . . é mister para a beleza do poema grandeza de caracteres, sublimidade de pensamentos, energia de estilo, pureza de linguagem, e movimento necessário; e de certo tudo isto demanda

> maior gênio, e um verdadeiro entusiasmo.
> (Olgiato, Prologue, 1841).

Magalhães' plays, like those of Garrett, were saved from the more extreme, melodramatic aspects of the Romantic movement by the author's almost congenital classical tendencies. His classical education imposed a certain amount of restraint, which did not, perhaps, make him a truly great dramatist, but did, most certainly, prevent him from committing the more flagrant excesses of the period.[101] Like Garrett, he too came to criticize these excesses in very strong terms:

> Não posso de modo algum acostumar-me com os horrores da moderna escola; com essas monstruidades de caracteres prenaturais, de paixões desenfreadas e ignóbeis, de amores licenciosos, de linguagem requintada, à força de querer ser natural; enfim, com essa multidão de personagens e de aparatosos coups de théâtre, como dizem os franceses, que estragam a arte e o gosto, e convertem a cena em uma bacanal, em uma orgia da imaginação, sem fim algum moral, antes em seu dano.
> (Olgiato, Prologue, 1841).

The play, Antônio José, consists of five acts written in decasyllabic verse and is based on an event in Portuguese history; namely, the death at the stake of the dramatist Antônio José da Silva, of Jewish background, which took place in Lisbon in 1739 by order of the Inquisition. It does not preserve the unity of place but three of the acts take place in the same house, that of Mariana, the heroine.

A basic theme in all of Magalhães' plays is his protest against all forms of injustice. Antônio José demonstrates Magalhães' Romantic desire to depict the helplessness of man

when faced with the overwhelming power of an unjust institution. In this play, Antônio José, the protagonist, becomes the helpless and impotent victim of the unjust Inquisition, not because of what he had or had not done but because of what he was.[102] Relatively speaking, there is a good deal of social and political criticism in the play, particularly in the first three acts: criticism of the Church and society's lack of Christian spirit, governmental incompetence and even some class unrest caused by social differences. Not surprisingly, most of the criticism comes from the persecuted Antônio José as can be seen from the following dialogue between him and the Conde de Ericeira:

> Antônio José -- . . . Os frades bem se importam
> Que eu faça o povo rir. Tomaram eles,
> E todos os mandões que nos governam,
> Que o povo só procure divertir-se,
> Que viva na ignorância, e não indague
> Como vão os negócios, e que os deixem
> A seu salvo mandar como eles querem.
> Contanto que os impostos pague o povo,
> Que cego e mudo sofra, que obedeça,
> E viva sem pensar, eles consentem
> Que o povo se divirta.
> (Antônio José, III, 2).

The basic action of the plot is the persecution of Antônio José by Frei Gil, a representative of the Inquisition. It is not a question, however, of a religious fanatic denouncing a Jew, rather the venality of a human institution.[103] Frei Gil wants to seduce the actress, Mariana, who is Antônio José's friend. When he fails in his scheme, he denounces Antônio José in a fit of vengeful anger. The characters are not portrayed in terms of good or evil, but

rather, as being capable of making a mistake and then regretting the action and the damage it caused. This is the case with Frei Gil, since he is pictured as having regretted his denunciation of Antônio José, and, although the damage is irreparable, he is truly sorry and asks Antônio for his forgiveness:

> Frei Gil (Ajoelhando-se)
> Oh palavras de Deus! elas derramam
> Na minha dor um balsamo suave . . .
> Eu não mereço tanto . . . Mas ditoso
> Quem escuta, Senhor, vossas palavras
> Nos dias de aflição, e de amargura!
> Ah, possam elas inflamar minha alma
> De fé, e de esperança; e os meus remorsos
> Purificar a nódoa do pecado;
> E como um doce orvalho saciar-me
> Neste ardor, com que o crime me devora! . . .
> Oh Mariana! do céu onde desfrutas
> A palma do martírio, e a paz dos justos,
> Meu perdão condoída pronuncia.
> (Antônio José, V, 2).

Gonçalves de Magalhães' role in the Brazilian theater was to create a national awareness and provide orientation for the literary group that introduced Romanticism into Brazil with the object of discovering the intimate yearnings and aspirations of the country. He deserves recognition for his pioneering endeavors in the theater although, again somewhat like Garrett, he was not enthusiastically received by his successors even though his historical importance in the Brazilian theater is undeniable.[104] Still, although styles and techniques were to change radically, Magalhães' sense of justice and his penchant for social criticism were to be carried on.

2. Martins Pena--Creator of the Realistic Comedy

On the fourth of October in the same year, 1838, that Antônio José was produced, an unheralded, one-act farce entitled, O Juiz de Paz da Roça[105] by Martins Pena had its première.[106] The appearance of this comedy of manners or realistic comedy, along with that of the tragedy of Magalhães, marked, if not the founding of the Brazilian theater in a strict historical sense, at least its beginnings in modern form. Pena, much more than anyone else, was the principal factor and moving force in the development of this truly Brazilian theatrical movement.[107]

Pena, himself, tried his hand at writing drama, attempting six in all, five of them being complete. Of the five complete dramas, which were all written when the author was no more than twenty-five years old and far from dramatic maturity, only Vitiza ou o Nero de Espanha was produced on stage and none of them added to his fame as a dramatist.[108] Pena's fame rests entirely on his comedies, which were for the most part one-act pieces extremely realistic depictions of the customs and morals of the period. It has been said that if all of the written documents concerning the nineteenth century were to be lost and only the comedies of Pena were to remain, it would be possible to use them to achieve a faithful reconstruction of the mores of the period.[109] Although Pena was writing in the Romantic period in Brazil, his realistic comedies made him, in a manner of speaking, a precursor of realism, particularly in the language he employed which captured the flavor of the spoken language of

the period.[110] While the dialogue of the following rustic character might seem normal and not very innovative today, it would be well to keep in mind the portions of dialogue from Antônio José, cited earlier, to compare the two contemporary styles:

> Domingos José --Muito mal vamos nós neste ano! As enchentes tem aprodrecido as canas; o café tem morrido no pé e secado; o arroz, nisso não falemos! Está tudo alagado, entende o senhor? Não bastava para afliçāo de um pobre fazendeiro as enchentes, secas e o mais; era também preciso que sofresse a falta de pagamentos de seus foreiros. Os diabos os levem, juntos com as suas choradeiras. Não pagam o fôro dous, três anos, e no fim das contas safa-se com um filhinho, que é mesmo uma lesma, e a senhora que seja madrinha! Não se dá maior desafôro. Minha comadre pra cá, minha comadre pra lá, seu afilhado pra aqui, seu afilhado pra acolá, e com estas e outras choromingadeiras . . . .
> (A Família e a Festa da Roça, I, 1, 1840).

In his comedies, Pena focused his attention, in general, on lower middle-class society.[111] He did so, however, by observing and presenting only those peculiarities and foibles which were visible on the surface. They were comedies of local color and Pena had no intention of making them otherwise. He was not in any way a philosophical dramatist and his observations, while realistic, were only skin deep, for he satisfied himself and his audience with a jest, a sight gag, a comical situation, a play on words.[112] Sometimes the puns would border on the risqué but would never be really coarse or gross:

> Clemência (para Júlia) --Como é mesa em francês?
> Júlia --Table.
> Clemência --Braço?

Júlia --Bras.
Clemência --Pescoço.
Júlia --Cou.
Clemência --Menina!
Júlia --É cou mesmo, mamã; não é primo? não é cou que significa?
Clemência --Está bom, basta.
Eufrásia --Estes franceses são porcos. Ora veja, chamar o pescoço, que está ao pé da cara, com este nome tão feio.
(Os Dous ou o Inglês Maquinista, I, 11, 1845).

It was a propitious time in Brazil for Pena's type of comedy. He was a civil service employe for the government of the Second Empire that was entering a period of relative calm and tranquillity after many stormy years of civil strife. Rio de Janeiro was still a provincial, colonial capital with an uncomplicated society, still fairly isolated from nineteenth century Europe. Pena was able to poke fun at certain aspects of this society, while at the same time appealing to its awakening sentiment of national pride in things Brazilian and nothing in the theater was ever, either before or since, more wholly Brazilian than Pena's comedies.[113]

The exact sources of Pena's realistic comedy cannot be ascertained with great certainty, one reason for this being the author's reluctance to enter into theoretical discussions of his plays.[114] Diverse elements of his comedies show that he was familiar with Molière although he differed from him in many important basic aspects.[115] Perhaps, he was influenced by both old and new authors of comedies of manners, such as Gil Vicente, Antônio José da Silva and Scribe or by those foreign travelers like Debret and Luccock, who wrote picturesque travel books about the marvels of nineteenth cen-

tury Brazil.[116] Other possible sources for Pena are the Portuguese opera and low comedy which were brought to Brazil by foreign companies; the very same type of low comedy that Garrett and the Romantic reformers tried to eliminate in Portugal.[117] Together with these sources as possible influences on Pena, one must not forget the likelihood also of the Italian commedia dell'arte.

Pena's comedies were often curtain raisers, almost skits, that accompanied or followed longer, more "serious" dramas on the stage and the first such efforts did not even mention his name as being the author.[118] The author had to accomplish his comic purpose in quick order for he had, generally, only one act with which to work. His successful formula was essentially the creation of a situation comedy; that is, the type of comedy in which stock character types were placed in certain situations upon which the entire action of the play would depend. The theme, plot and characterization of personages were all subordinate, and at times often nonexistent, in relation to the importance of the situation, itself.[119] For example, O Juiz de Paz da Roça is a series of various tranches de vie of the rural countryside of the period. The difficulties and hard life of the farmer and his country habits are depicted realistically. Even the costumes and properties are given great care in detail by the dramatist:

> (Entra Manuel João com uma enxada no ombro, vestido de calças de ganga azul, com uma das pernas arregaçada, japona de baeta azul e des-

> calço. Acompanha-o um negro com um cêsto na cabeça e uma enxada no ombro, vestido de camisa e calça de algodão.)
> (O Juiz de Paz da Roça, I, 4).

Later on he has peasants enter the office of the justice of the peace, dressed in appropriate garb:

> (Entram todos os lavradores vestidos como roceiros; uns de jaqueta de chita, chapéu de palha, calças brancas de ganga, de tamancos, descalços; outros calçam os sapatos e meias quando entram, etc. Tomás traz um leitão debaixo do braço.)
> (O Juiz de Paz da Roça, I, 10).

The dramatist, as well as showing country life, is critical also of certain aspects of the judicial process as it is administered in the provinces in a scene which is as extraneous dramatically as it is charming documentarily.[120] After doing almost nothing either legally or constitutionally with his constituents, the justice answers the notary's question:

> Escrivão --Vossa Senhoria não se envergonha, sendo um juiz de paz?
> Juiz --Envergonhar-me de quê? O senhor ainda está muito de cor. Aqui para nós, que ninguém nos ouve, quantos juízes de direito há por estas comarcas que não sabem aonde tem sua mão direita, quanto mais juízes de paz . . . E além disso, cada um faz o que sabe.
> (O Juiz de Paz da Roça, I, 21).

What happens, of course, in a great many of Pena's twenty-two comedies,[121] where the situation is of prime importance, is that, when the dramatist felt that the play had served its purpose, in other words, that he had wrung every laugh possible from the situation, he needed to end it, or better, to extricate himself from it. This did not mean that

the ending needed logically to follow or be a result of the previous action of the plot.[122] In the play, O Juiz de Paz, there is a concentration or telescoping of events which all happen with almost unbelievable rapidity and are ended by the justice of the peace ordering a dance. Presumably any loose ends in the action will be overlooked in the merrymaking:

> Juiz --A menina não perde ocasião! Agora, o que está feito está feito. O senhor não irá mais para a cidade, pois está casado. Assim não falemos mais nisso. Já que estão aqui, hão-de fazer o favor de tomar uma xícara de café comigo, e dançarmos antes disto uma tirana. Vou mandar chamar algumas pessoas para fazerem a roda maior. (Chega à porta.) O Antônio! Vai à venda do Sr. Manuel do Coqueiro e dize aos senhores que há pouco saíram daqui que façam o favor de chegarem até cá. (O Juiz de Paz da Roça, I, 22).

Another favorite and much used technique is that of ending a play in a deus-ex-machina fashion which sometimes bordered on what might be termed black humor.[123] In O Diletante, for instance, Pena has been poking fun at one of his favorite types of character: the Brazilian who is enamored of all foreign culture but who looks upon anything Brazilian as unworthy and even uncivilized. With the opportune arrival of a letter, Pena ends the play and the character:

> Pajem --Esta carta que acabam de trazer para o senhor (Entrega a carta.)
> José Antônio, abrindo a carta --Com licença. (Lendo em voz alta:) "Meu amigo, dou-lhe a mais triste e infausta nova que se pode dar a um diletante." (Deixando de ler:) O que será? (Lendo:) "Feicha-se o nosso teatro e a Companhia Italiana vai para Europa." (José Antônio acaba de ler a carta; fica por alguns instantes trêmulo, levanta os braços, dá um pungente gemido e cai morto.)
> Todos --Ah! (Merenciana abaixa para so-

correr Antônio. Grupo.)
Gaudêncio, de joelhos junto de José Antônio --Está morto!
Todos --Morto! Que desgraça! (Grupam-se em redor do corpo de Antônio e cai o pano.)
(O Diletante, I, 21).

Pena makes use of many of the situations and techniques traditionally employed by the farce so it is not surprising that his characters are merely sketches of certain types, the targets of his lampooning barbs which would cause the audience to roar with laughter when it recognized these types, and even itself, from everyday life. Perhaps though, they are not even so much types as stereotypes or even caricatures.[124] One must keep in mind, of course, the fact that Pena did not intend his characters to be anything but caricatures when he created them. Thus, one can readily accept their lack of passion or emotion. These traits of human behavior appeared only in rare cases such as that of José Antônio in O Diletante and his "passion" for Italian opera.[125] There are, of course several instances when Pena transcends his theatrical creation of types to introduce glimmers of psychological development; for instance with a truly jealous personage in Os Ciúmes de um Pedestre ou o Terrível Capitão do Mato (1845), but even in this exceptional case he was specifically trying to satirize the type of tragedy that the great Brazilian actor, João Caetano (1808-1863) had helped to put into vogue.[126]

Several of Pena's stock characters would be used by his followers with great success. One of them was the foreigner in Brazil who is used to point up certain disa-

greeable aspects of foreign presence in the country.[127] Pena's technique for eliciting laughter against the foreigner from the audience is to have this type of character invariably speak a sort of pidgin-Portuguese:

> D. Clemência, entrando --Estou contente com ele. Oh, o Sr. Gainer por cá! (Cumprimentam-se.)
> Gainer --Vem fazer meu visita.
> D. Clemência --Muito obrigada. Há dias que o não vejo.
> Gainer --Tenha estado muita ocupada.
> Negreiro, com ironia --Sem dúvida com algum projeto?
> Gainer --Sim. Estou redigindo uma requerimento para as deputados.
> Negreiro e Clemência --Oh!
> Gainer --Pois não! Eu peça na requerimento uma privilégio por trinta anos para fazer açucar de osso.
> (Os Dous ou o Inglês Maquinista, I, 5, 1845).

Needless to say, the foreigners are only in Brazil to make money with some odd financial scheme or other which the Brazilians take seriously merely because they believe anything foreign to be superior.

Pena also classifies his types by the region of Brazil from which they come. In general, those characters from the provinces are portrayed as being naive and rustic but at the same time more Brazilian and basically, more solidly moral. Those characters from the city, while more refined and better educated, are shown as more decadent and subject to corruption and, certainly, far less sympathetic to Brazil.[128] Pena tends to show a basic sympathy for the provincial character as can be seen in the following dialogue between Marcelo from São Paulo and José Antônio from Rio:

> Marcelo --Enfim, na Rua do Ouvidor é confusão de coisas e de gentes a passarem de baixo para riba e a fazerem uma bulha tal, que me fizeram tonto. Tomara-me já em S. Paulo! (Senta-se no sofá)
>
> José Antônio --Homem, goze primeiro os prazeres da Corte. Não queira enterrar-se em vida no sertão. Vá ao teatro ouvir Norma, Belisário, Ana Bolena, Furioso.
>
> Marcelo --Não acho graça nenhuma. Umas cantigas que eu não percebo e que não se pode dançar. Não há nada como o fado.
>
> José Antônio --Que horror, preferir um fado à música italiana! (à parte:) O que faz a ignorância!
>
> Marcelo --É o que o senhor ainda não ouviu um fadinho bem rasgadinho e bem choradinho. (Pega na viola e afina, enquanto José Antônio fala.)
>
> José Antônio --Nem quero ouvir! Não diga isto a ninguém, que se desacredita. A música italiana, meu amigo, é o melhor presente que Deus nos fêz, é o alimento das almas sensíveis. (<u>O Diletante</u>, I, 4, 1845).

There is a progression or evolution of the action in Pena's comedies, going from the countryside with its careful descriptions, its "slice of life" depictions to the city with more animated movement and theatricality on stage. This evolution from comedy-of-manners plays to outright farce is rapid since he produced his comedies at a prodigious rate. In 1845 alone, ten new plays were produced. With each succeeding play, the amount of animated movement increased, with actors jumping in and out of closets and chasing each other around the stage until at the end of each work, it seemed as if everyone was pursuing or being pursued at an unbridled gallop.[129] One of the principal stage properties that the author would use in many farces to

augment the helter-skelter action was the closet (armário) that made its first appearance in the play, Os Irmãos das Almas (1844). For example, as scene seventeen opens, the armário is full of people:

> Cabo, entrando --Que gritos são esses?
> Mariana --Temos ladrões em casa!
> Cabo --Aonde estão?
> Eufrásia --Ali no armário!
> Luisa (à parte) --No armário! Que fiz eu? Está perdido . . . (O cabo dirige-se para o armário com os soldados. Mariana, Eufrásia e Luisa encostam-se para a esquerda, junto a porta.)
> Cabo (junto ao armário) --Quem está aí?
> Jorge (dentro) --Abra com todos os diabos!
> Cabo (Sentido) --camaradas! (O cabo abre a porta do armário; por ela sai Jorge, e torna a fechar a porta com presteza. O cabo agarra-lhe na gola da casaca.) Está preso.

But it is the wrong man:

> Cabo --Pois abra (O cabo diz estas palavras a Jorge porque ele conserva-se enquanto fala, com as costas apoiado no armário. Jorge abre a porta, sai Sousa; o cabo segura em Sousa. Jorge torna a fechar o armário e encosta-se. Sousa e o cabo que o segura caminham um pouco para frente.)

Wrong man again!

> Eufrásia --Não explico isto! (Jorge abre a porta do armário; sai por ela, com impetuosidade, Felisberto. Atira com Jorge no chão e foge pela porta do fundo. O cabo e os dois soldados correm em seu alcance.)
> Cabo --Pega, pega! (Sai, assim como os soldados. Jorge levanta-se.)
> (Os Irmãos das Almas, I, 17, 1844).

The quick moving, almost slapstick air of Pena's farcical, one-act comedies does not signify that he did not attempt longer works in the same vein. He wrote several three-act comedies: As Casadas Solteiras (1845), O Usurário (1846)

and O Noviço (1845). As Casadas Solteiras was an imitation of French models while O Usurário remained unfinished. O Noviço is unique in Pena's repertoire in that it consists of three acts, and has an equilibrium and balance between form and content that shows a certain moderation in the farcical aspect.[130] Pena seemed to have in mind the Roman comedies, particularly those of Plautus. In spite of the balance and uniqueness of this longer comedy, Pena was to return to the one-act comedy, the form in which he felt most at ease, until his death.[131]

Pena's popularity during his lifetime was enormous. As many as three of his comedies were performed in different theaters in Rio de Janeiro at the same time. He became famous, first in the capital, and then in the outlying provinces, until his name became a living legend with the theater-going public.[132]

A word must be said about the third person who was so instrumental in fomenting interest in the nascent national theater at the time: João Caetano, the greatest actor of the period. In 1833 he organized the first truly Brazilian theatrical company, for in it the principal actors and actresses were Brazilians and not foreigners.[133] Caetano was really the link between the two so totally different playwrights: Pena and Magalhães, and while their careers lasted but a relatively short time, he remained the dominant feature of the Brazilian stage for twenty-five years.[134] For instance, the enormous success of Antônio José was due in no small measure

to the acting ability of Caetano.[135] In the preface of the play, Magalhaes paid him homage by saying:

> Tal acolhimento esteve bem longe dos meus pressentimentos. Ou fosse pela escolha de um assunto nacional, ou pela novidade da declamação e reforma da arte dramática (substituindo a monótona cantilena com que os actores recitavam seus papéis, pelo novo método natural e expressivo até então desconhecido entre nós), o público mostrou-se atencioso, e recompensou as fadigas do poeta.
> (Antônio José, Preface, 1839).

Even more of a contribution, perhaps, than being a bond between two different playwrights or making a popular success of a work, was Caetano's enormous prestige which served as an impetus for the writing of plays. His prestige stimulated interest in the theater and encouraged artists to write for it[136] as Magalhães noted in the preface to his translation of Othelo[137] (1842):

> Traduzi esta tragédia em poucos dias para comprazer ao insigne actor João Caetano dos Santos, que ardentemente, e com toda a brevidade desejava representá-la em seu benefício
> . . .
> Fazendo esta declaração sinto prazer em escrever ainda uma vez o nome desse grande artista brasileiro, que tanta vida deu ao nosso teatro, que hoje por ele chora.
> (Othelo, Preface, 1842).

E. Other Brazilian Playwrights of Romantic Period

The Romantic drama in Brazil was formed by dramatists who for the most part were considered (or considered themselves) more as poets than as playwrights.

1. Gonçalves Dias--Brazil's Indianist Poet

Gonçalves Dias (1823-1864), the great poet of the Brazi-

lian Indian, wrote four plays that were passed over in his lifetime but came to be highly thought of later, a rather rare occurrence in the theater, the most socially oriented of all genres. For instance, his play, Leonor de Mendonça[138] (1847) in three acts and five "quadros" was never produced in Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo, the main theatrical centers, in his lifetime and was for the most part overlooked by the critics. It would be hard to recognize this "poeta indianista" from the theme and content of his plays if one were not familiar with the historical drama then in vogue.[139] Dias carried on Magalhães' ideal to fight against injustice in any form. In this case, Leonor de Mendonça demonstrates the unfair treatment and position of woman in a man's society. As the author wrote in his preface to the play:

> Há aí também outro pensamento sobre que tanto se tem falado e nada feito, e vem a ser a eterna sujeição das mulheres, o eterno domínio dos homens. Se não haveria o casamento, nem a luta, nem o crime. Aqui está a fatalidade, que é filha dos nossos hábitos. Se a mulher não fosse escrava, como é de fato, D. Jaime não mataria sua mulher. Houve nessa morte a fatalidade, filha da civilização que foi e que ainda é hoje.
> (Leonor de Mendonça, Preface, 1847).

The dialogue in Dias' plays was rather reserved considering the Romantic era in which he was writing.[140] The characters are made to seem real and the playwright elicits sympathy for them by having them speak in a relatively low key. For example, Leonor, who is about to be executed by her husband, says:

> A Duquesa (Só, nos degraus do altar) --Não

> posso orar! . . . O meu coração não pode despregar-se da vida, minha alma não pode elevar-se até Deus, e a religião me não pode consolar! . . . Quisera ter alguém que me falasse, porque me parece que isto é um sonho! Um sonho horrível que me está sufocando . . . O duque é bem cruel e todavia eu sou fraca, morrerei porque sou mulher! . . . Deus foi misericordioso para comigo em me não ter dado uma filha; que se eu a tivesse, por muito que a amasse, e ainda que ela fosse a única . . . meu Deus! cometeria hoje um crimem . . . matava-a . . . seria talvez condenada por toda a eternidade, porém, ela seria livre no céu!
> (Leonor de Mendonça, III, Q. V, 1).

2. Álvares de Azevedo--A Poetic Dream

Álvares de Azevedo (1831-1852) attempted to engender great emotional response with his play, Macário[141] (1852). However, instead of using a love plot to accomplish this end, he dealt primarily with a man facing death in a fantastic dream.

The play is a poetic dream divided into two "episódios." The first episode takes place at a roadside inn and the second on a road in the mountains of Italy. It is doubtful that the author ever intended the play to be produced on stage.[142] In fact, he makes this statement in the preface:

> Quanto ao nome, chamem-no drama, comédia, dialogismo; não importa. Não o fiz para o teatro; é um filho pálido dessas fantasias que se apoderam do cranio e inspiram a Tempestade a Shakespeare, Beppo e o IX Canto de D. Juan a Byron; que fazem escrever Annunziata, e o Canto de Antonio a quem é Hoffmann, ou Fantasio ao poeta de Namouna.
> (Macário, Preface, 1852).

The author goes on to state that he would study Shakespeare, Marlowe, Calderón de la Barca, Lope de Vega, Euripedes, Goethe and others and then tells what would be the basis of

the action of his drama:

> A vida e só a vida! Mas a vida tumultuosa, férvida, anelante, às vezes sangrenta--eis o drama. Se eu escrevesse, se minha pena se desvairasse na paixão, eu a deixaria correr assim: Iago enganaria o Mouro, trairia Cássio, perderia Desdemona e desfrutaria da bolsa de Rodrigo. Cássio seria apunhalado na cena. Otelo sufocaria sua Veneziana com o travesseiro, escondê-la-ia com o cortinado quando entrasse Emília; chamaria sua esposa--a whore--e gabar-se-ia de seu feito.
> (Macário, Preface, 1852).

3. Casimiro de Abreu--Nostalgic Romanticism

Casimiro de Abreu (1837-1860), who was less violent but just as poetic, was sent to Novo Friburgo, where he studied at school when he was only fifteen years old to learn the intricacies of commerce. An extreme nostalgia for the city of Rio de Janeiro caused his stay to be quite unpleasant, so he was brought home and put to work. Upon falling ill, he was sent to Portugal in 1853 where his nostalgia for Brazil caused both sorrow and a feeling of pride and patriotism for his native land and may even have hastened his death.[143] In the preface to his play, Camões e o Jau[144] (1856), he stated:

> Depois, mais alguns dias de balancear monótono sobre as águas, e pisei terra estranha. Era este Portugal velho e caduco que hoje dorme um sonho longo à sombra dos louros que ganhou outrora; . . . era este Portugal, pátria de meus avós, mas não minha pátria . . . Como o índio, prefiro a Portugal e ao mundo inteiro o meu Brasil, rico majestoso, poético, sublime. Como a planta dos trópicos, os climas de Europa enfazem-me a existência, que sinto fugir no meio dos tormentos da saudade.
> (Camões e o Jau, Preface, 1856).

Considering that this one-act play was the first and only one by an extremely young Brazilian, it was a modest

success when presented in Lisbon.[145] It consisted of poetic dialogue between Camões, Portugal's great poet and his Javanese servant. The dialogue is the sole action, so to speak, in the play and is not what may be termed realistic by any manner or means.[146] Here for instance is Antônio, Camões' poor, humble Javanese servant, speaking:

> Antônio (a parte) . . .
> Era só para Camões, Mas eu não posso,
> Não posso abandoná-lo um só momento
> Tão fraco; até lhe custa a dar um passo!
> Eu vou de porta em porta, a mão estendo,
> Peço, pão, não p'ra mim, mas pro poeta . . .
> E só parece que a rochedos falo,
> Ninguém atende à súplica do pobre!
> De dor eu choro que peço esmola
> E vejo que ma negam tão sem alma.
> Filhos de Portugal, ó portugueses!
> Viveis entregues aos festins malditos
> Sem vos lembrar que na miseria triste
> Enfermo geme, moribundo quase,
> Um português também, um vate ilustre?
> (Camões e o Jau, one act, 1856).

Just as occurred in Portugal, the Brazilian public tired of the Romantic poet-playwrights and the thesis play came into vogue, finding its leading exponent in José de Alencar.

FOOTNOTES

1. Victor de Sá, Perspectivas do Século XIX (Lisbon: Portugalia Editora, 1964), p. 17.

2. Ferreira, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

3. Almeida Garrett, "Ao Conservatório Real" in Obras de Almeida Garrett (2 vols.; Porto: Lello and Irmão--Editores, 1966), pp. 1086-87. (After identifying the text from which the play or quote was taken, all succeeding references will only be identified as such. Direct quotes of passages from plays will be identified only as to act and scene).

4. Ferreira, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

5. Ibid., p. 192.

6. António Saraiva, "A Evolução do Teatro de Garrett--Os Temas e as Formas," in Evolução e Espírito, II, 47.

7. Ferreira, op. cit., pp. 141-50.

8. Ibid., p. 138.

9. Ibid., p. 152.

10. Braga, op. cit., IV, 121-32.

11. Coelho, "Garrett perante o Iluminismo," in Estrada Larga (3 vols.; Porto: Porto Editora, 1959), I, 360-1.

12. Saraiva, op. cit., pp. 45-6.

13. Coelho, "Garrett perante o Romantismo," in Estrada, I, 304-6.

14. Saraiva, op. cit., pp. 72-3.

15. João Pedro de Andrade, "Garrett, Dramaturgo," in Estrada, I, 313.

16. Braga, op. cit., p. 134.

17. A. Crabbé Rocha, O Teatro de Garrett (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1954), pp. 79-80.

18. Saraiva, op. cit., pp. 58-9.

19. R. A. Lawton, Almeida Garrett, l'intime Contrainte (Paris: Librairie Didier, 1966), p. 220.

20. Ibid., p. 54.

21. Ibid., p. 70.

22. Ibid., pp. 338-41.

23. Saraiva, op. cit., p. 59.

24. Ibid., pp. 48-9.

25. Braga, op. cit., p. 145.

26. Rocha, op. cit., pp. 96-7.

27. Ibid., p. 92.

28. Lawton, op. cit., p. 53.

29. Saraiva, op. cit., p. 63.

30. Rocha, op. cit., p. 106.

31. Lawton, op. cit., p. 306.

32. Rocha, op. cit., p. 104.

33. Lawton, op. cit., p. 54.

34. Rocha, op. cit., p. 104.

35. Ibid., p. 108.

36. Picchio, op. cit., p. 232.

37. Saraiva, op. cit., pp. 50-1.

38. Rebello, op. cit., Preface, xix.

39. Rocha, op. cit., p. 136.

40. Braga, op. cit., pp. 186-87.

41. Rebello, op. cit., xx.

42. Lawton, op. cit., p. 68.

43. Rocha, op. cit., p. 146.

44. Picchio, op. cit., p. 233.

45. Rocha, op. cit., p. 147.

46. Picchio, op. cit., p. 232, and Braga, op. cit., p. 187.

47. Braga, op. cit., pp. 194-96.

48. Lawton, op. cit., p. 289.

49. Rocha, op. cit., p. 139.

50. Lawton, op. cit., p. 19.

51. Saraiva, op. cit., p. 51.

52. Rocha, op. cit., p. 139.

53. Braga, op. cit., p. 196.

54. Andrade, op. cit., pp. 310-11.

55. Rocha, op. cit., pp. 142-43.

56. Lawton, op. cit., pp. 305-7.

57. Ibid., pp. 301-3.

58. Braga, op. cit., pp. 206-7, and Lawton, op. cit., p. 526.

59. Rocha, op. cit., pp. 167-69.

60. Lawton, op. cit., p. 290.

61. Rocha, op. cit., pp. 172-73.

62. Ibid., p. 167.

63. Lawton, op. cit., p. 71.

64. Augusto de Castro, Garrett e o Teatro Português (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1954), p. 44.

65. Saraiva, Para a História da Cultura em Portugal (Lisbon: Centro Bibliográfico, 1946), p. 44.

66. Saraiva, "Evolução . . . Garrett," pp. 64-5.

67. Saraiva, op. cit., pp. 56-60.

68. Lawton, op. cit., p. 354.

69. Braga, op. cit., p. 213.

70. Rocha, op. cit., p. 184.

71. Braga, op. cit., p. 214.

72. Dias, op. cit., p. 259.

73. Coelho, "Ultra-Romantismo" in Dicionário de Literatura, II, 1124-25.

74. Saraiva, op. cit., p. 53.

75. Alexandre Herculano, "Teatro-Moral-Censura, 1841" in Opúsculos (10 vols.; Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, n. d.), I, 120.

76. _____, O Fronteiro de África (Rio de Janeiro, 1862).

77. Braga, op. cit., pp. 182-83.

78. Coelho, "Garrett . . . Romantismo," p. 302.

79. Prado, op. cit., pp. 216-17.

80. Inocêncio Francisco da Silva, Dicionário Bibliográfico Português (24 vols.; Lisbon: Impresa Nacional, 1858-1938), XXI, 479.

81. Braga, op. cit., p. 285.

82. Ibid., p. 286.

83. Picchio, op. cit., pp. 257-58.

84. Saraiva, op. cit., p. 47.

85. Coelho, "Ultra-", 1124.

86. Sá, op. cit., pp. 197-211, and Ferreira, op. cit., p. 156.

87. Décio de Almeida Prado, João Caetano (Sao Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 1972), pp. 139-40.

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116. Antônio Soares Amara, "Martins Pena ante as Fontes de seu Teatro," Dionysos, p. 22.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE THESIS PLAY IN PORTUGAL

A. Introduction--Analysis of Thesis Play

1. Political and Social Aspects of Period

Internal politics once again played a part in changing the atmosphere of the theater and the taste of the theater-going public. In 1851 the autocratic regime of Costa Cabral, which itself had kept a close watch on the content of plays, was toppled by a liberal-democratic government which marked the beginning of a political period called the Regeneração. Not only was there a freer climate in which to write but an economic adjustment was attempted that was designed to bring about economic improvements and raise the standard of living in the nation as a whole. This in turn brought to light many of the then current social and economic problems that faced the country but which had not been reflected in the theater. This new interest in contemporary social and economic problems caused a rapid decline in the appeal of the melodramatic oratory and mighty heroics of the ultraromantic drama with its fondness for settings in the long dead and distant past. What mattered in Portugal in the mid-nineteenth century was not what had or had not happened many centuries before, but rather, what was taking place or should take place at that very moment. Suddenly, all the great passions and senti-

ments, the heroics and histrionics of the ultraromantic, historical drama lost its meaning to a great extent. Economic forces were at work, such as growing industrialization and great concentrations of capital, even in Portugal, on the political as well as the economic scene. At the same time in external politics, Marx and Engels had published their Manifesto in 1848 and the first Workers International was formed in 1864. Thus, socio-economic classes were starting to clash and socialistic ideas were being propounded and spread throughout Europe. All these factors helped lead to a new theatrical outlook on the part of the Portuguese dramatists.[1]

The group of socially-oriented dramatists that began writing plays of social protest, or social consciousness at the very least, was led by none other than the former leader of the ultraromantics, Mendes Leal. His lead was followed by Ernesto Biester, César de Lacerda, Gomes de Amorim, Camilo Castelo Branco (1825-1890) and others. Emile Augier and Dumas fils were the leaders in France of this social drama which dealt with middle or working class surroundings. However, with writers of lesser stature like Guilbert de Pixérécourt, the initial force of the social implications had faded and what remained was a rather arbitrary opposition between good and evil. The important point is that it was upon such writers as Pixérécourt that the Portuguese dramatists, with the usual lag in time, modeled their thesis plays.[2] With the sort of melodramatic pedagogy advocated by Pixérécourt, they

combined the sententious character of the drama of Kotzebue and the lachrymose and optimistic tone of the comedies of Madame Ancelot to devise a mixture which approximated contemporary society, keeping always in mind the goal of transforming the substance of the drama into a moral object lesson for society.[3] It was, of course, Romanticism that prepared the way for and stylistically influenced the thesis play. However, there were also certain attempts, like those of Garrett, which were acceptable to the eclectic atmosphere of the period, to borrow from classicism its tone of "bom senso e bom gosto" in order to halt the torrent of Romantic excesses.[4]

Conflicts of honor and of work are the main themes that came to prominence in the thesis play.[5] Great passions were replaced by more low-keyed and tender sentiments in these plays, which were placed, in general, in contemporary, middle-class surroundings.[6] These tender and affectionate sentiments, in turn, were portrayed by characters who, though closer to actual flesh and blood personages in language and behavior than those found in the ultraromantic, historical play, were still delineated in a rather unilateral fashion. As the general themes and settings became more clearly defined, it is not surprising to witness the appearance of certain stock character types: the innocent, naive girl was the very shy heroine; the sometimes cynical, sometimes overaffectionate and solicitous romantic hero; the hardhearted usurer.[7] The thesis play was pervaded by a general, moralizing tone which allowed moments of pertinent, and often

harsh, social and political criticism. However, this criticism was, more often than not, gently submerged in the overall intention of trying to propound an edifying moral lesson concerning the triumph of good and the defeat of evil.[8]

2. New Themes and Techniques

One recalls that the ultraromantics treated no social themes in their plays and that the plots and language employed had the sole purpose of engendering a great emotional response in the audience. Proponents of the thesis play attempted to impose socially-oriented themes, which usually took the form of discussions, on a plot structure that was essentially still Romantic, in most cases, one that employed some form of love story. The result was that the social themes were never fully integrated into the plot and thus never actually had a role of primary importance in the thesis play as a whole. Unlike the ultraromantic play which relied entirely on emotion and action to sustain interest, the typical thesis play, which took place for the most part in elegant, upper middle-class salons, had almost no action and relied almost entirely on conversational type dialogue. Such popular social themes as usury, class distinctions, dishonesty in politics and journalism were, when viewed in relation to the whole play, usually only touched upon in passing by characters of like mind. The one exception to this lack of confrontation was, generally speaking, the usurer, a favorite character type. Even in his case, however, the tone of the confrontation was always maintained on a high level of

civility. Thus, unlike the ultraromantic play, in the typical thesis play, good did not so much confront evil as it talked about it. As a general rule, the majority of these conversations concerning social problems came at the beginning of the play. Little by little during the play, as the development of the love plot became increasingly more important, the conversational criticisms of certain aspects of society diminished. The real weakness of the thesis play lay in the fact that the great majority of the social aspects were never developed beyond the conversational stage. The modern reader comes to the conclusion, usually somewhere in the middle of one of the thesis plays, that the dramatist felt that he had done his social duty by briefly discussing certain popular social themes, and it was now his duty to continue with the love plot, which in the eyes of the playwright at least, was really the most important aspect of his play.

The basic plot structure in the thesis play is one of the characteristic features that kept it essentially Romantic in nature. The plot usually evolved around an impetuous but solicitous young hero and an ingenuous heroine who in the end overcome any and all obstacles and will, one assumes, live happily ever after. There was also the type of Romantic ending in which marriage or simply life was impossible for one reason or another and the character simply died. For example, Ernesto Biester used this type of plot in Os Homens Sérios (1858) but it was the exception rather than the rule.

The thesis-play dramatists, like their audiences seemed to prefer the "happy ending" approach. As in the case of the ultraromantic play, the denouement of the plot in the thesis play did not depend on any internal sequence of events leading to a natural-appearing climax, as would happen with realism. In both the ultraromantic and the thesis play an external event such as the arrival of an unexpected letter or the news of a stock market crash was usually the catalyst providing a rather abrupt ending. Less often a thesis play would end without even the aid of some sort of deus ex machina. In either case, the abruptness of the ending in Romantic plays in general tends to give the modern reader, who has come to expect a certain logical and sequential order of events leading to a denouement, the feeling of being left suspended in midair. This is all the more true when certain details of the plot often appear to have been forgotten or left unresolved. Perhaps the Romantics were closer to being realistic than were the realists if we consider that a man's life as a whole might be much more a matter of chance than an orderly progression of events, but even nowadays one still generally prefers not to think so.

The result of the reliance on the Romantic plot with its variation of good discussing evil at times was that the characters in the thesis play never really required any depth analysis. They were essentially the same from the beginning of the play to the end. Certain "evil" characters, the usurer in particular, were allowed to repent at the end but this

repentance was an abrupt decision usually brought on by news of financial ruin at the end of the play rather than by any subtle change in his personality. Subtlety of character analysis was not a forte of the Romantics, for it was not who a character really was in a personal sense that was important to them but rather the type he represented.

What the characters represented for the thesis-play dramatists was some virtue or vice of middle-class society. The young hero represented much of what was good in the middle class: a penchant for hard work and self-betterment as well as willingness to fight for (or perhaps more correctly, to talk about fighting for) certain necessary reforms. The heroine who was pretty but ingenuous was afforded a very small role in the thesis play, even smaller it would seem than she was afforded by the ultraromantics. This applied only to the unmarried, bride-to-be heroine. The married or widowed heroine was often given a much more central role in the thesis play but she appeared in only a small percentage of plays. It seems that married or widowed women, particularly if they had children, always acquired far more status in nineteenth-century Romantic drama in Portugal than did their unmarried, bethrothed counterparts. Being a wife or mother was infinitely more important in Portuguese plays than being a fiancée. Later in the century such dramatists as Abel Botelho and D. João da Câmara gave unmarried women very important roles. In the thesis play, however, the heroine's dramaturgic fate was to be pretty, alluring, cap-

tivating, but above all, almost silent. It was left to the young hero to expound on all the important social topics of the day.

The so-called evil characters that did appear in the thesis play were not personally as imbued with evil as were those depicted by the ultraromantics; they rather represented some defect in the bourgeoisie. The usurer or the young wastrel who had squandered an inherited fortune were depicted most often as necessary evils, or even less harshly, necessary defects in an otherwise just, middle-class system. In other words they had succumbed to excesses in the economic system and were therefore allowed or required to repent at the end.

One general characteristic, shared by ultraromantics and thesis-play dramatists alike, was that the audience was not allowed to deduce anything about the characters themselves from internal events in the play. The ultraromantics who created a much more direct type of character confrontation, used a great many direct asides to the audience, as well as its variation, the "thinking-aloud" monologue, if there were no other characters on stage. The villain would appear and inform the audience of his intended wrongdoing. Then, more likely than not, the character to whom he was speaking would also inform the audience of his or her suspicion of treachery. This was often done not once but repeatedly lest the audience forget for a moment what was afoot and thus lose the impact of the great emotional mo-

ment. Because there was much less confrontation of characters in the thesis play, less use was made of direct asides, yet nothing was left to the imagination of the audience. A character stated his ideas concerning society, his life history or whatever was deemed important in the form of a dialogue. For instance, one character would ostensibly ask a leading question concerning some facet of society and another character, usually the young hero, answered with what was often a barely disguised monologue, or more exactly, a long speech on the subject.

The dialogue, as stated above, particularly when it pertained to social questions, consisted of long, very erudite monologues disguised as conversation. The sentences which formed the monologue were not only erudite in terms of vocabulary but were very long and consisted often of many subordinate clauses in which one metaphor was not sufficient to make a point when three or four were thought to be that much more forceful. There was no heated emotion expressed in these long diatribes but rather a pompously ornate logic which was never interrupted by other characters, much as if the speaker had the floor in a meeting. This kind of dialogue appears, in fact, to be quite like a formal, parliamentary speech or one-sided debate on a given topic in which the speaker tries to impress his peers not only with the correctness of his argument but also with his great recondite knowledge. Even the more romantic, emotional moments in the thesis play, as for instance the denouement of the

love plot, seemed to have been influenced by the long parliament type of speech. Although the sentences in such cases were shorter and full of pregnant pauses, they constituted uninterrupted paragraphs which seem to go on interminably in comparison with the ultraromantics.

Mendes Leal was by his own account the first dramatist to write a thesis play, Pedro, in 1849. This play was, however, in several points of style quite different from what has previously been described as the archetypical thesis play. The play had a great deal of physical action on stage: for example, the hero, Pedro, races into a burning building to rescue the heroine. Also, there was often direct confrontation with evildoers, usually young aristocrats. Pedro once saved the heroine from being raped by these young ruffians, an act which showed them to be personally evil as well as representing the hated aristocracy. Finally there is a change in scenery in each act to denote a deterioration in the economic status as well as the mental state of the heroine's father, an aristocrat. In general, in the thesis play, the elegant salon showed the social class of people who were to converse there and nothing more. When there was a change of scene, it was generally from one salon or drawing room to another. Mendes Leal himself did not develop any further the interesting use of scenery shown in Pedro but followed the more conventional practice of the drawing room ambience that was used almost constantly by Ernesto Biester.

Although Biester was not the initiator of the thesis play in Portugal, he was by far its most energetic and fecund exponent, especially since Mendes Leal stopped writing thesis plays relatively earlier. It was actually Biester who did the most to develop the archetypical thesis play with all the stylistic attributes discussed previously: the love plot, the upper middle-class salon and its elegant people and pompous rhetoric.

The only time he varied from his standard formula was with Os Operários (1865). Even in this case, however, although the setting is proletarian, the characters act and speak exactly as do their counterparts in the salon. The author did not portray the life of the proletariat as it was but rather as the middle class wished it were. César de Lacerda was the third member of the trio of typical thesis-play dramatists. He also followed the standard pattern of the thesis play as to plot, characterization and language plus the discussion of certain social themes. The only variation he introduced was to arrange for his hero to return from a period in some exotic place: in Mistérios Sociais (1858), the hero had been a slave in New Mexico. Because of Lacerda's fondness for exotic, romantic places, his heroes often touched on social themes that were not a basic component of social consciousness. Gomes de Amorim displayed an interest in questions of black slavery and "white slavery" (the exploitation of Portuguese immigrants by Brazilian entrepreneurs) in Brazil, thus setting his thesis

plays apart from the others. He did not simply mention these questions in passing but based whole plays on them. Amorim's interest in such problems came no doubt from his having spent his adolescence in Brazil.

As a general rule, not only the thesis-play dramatists but all Portuguese writers in the nineteenth century showed little interest in black or white slavery or any other issue which they thought to be primarily a Brazilian problem. Except for some direct translations of French comedies by Garrett and several other dramatists, which by and large were not major efforts in relation to the rest of their work, the Romantic drama in Portugal was almost completely devoid of humor. The stage was treated as a place of learning, of instruction, and in a mild way, of demagogy on behalf of the middle class. Camilo Castelo Branco has been included in this section not because he was a thesis-play dramatist but rather because he wrote two excellent, very humorous plays satirizing the typical style of the thesis-play dramatists. These satires, however, were mainly literary and were directed against the style of the Romantics. Pinheiro Chagas must also be included for although he did not write a typical thesis play, his Morgadinho de Valflor (1869) was influenced by some of the social themes such as the unfairness and artificiality of class distinctions upon which the thesis-play dramatists touched in their conversational dialogues.

B. Mendes Leal--Transitional Figure from Ultraromantic to Thesis Play

The fact that Mendes Leal, the leader of the ultraromantics, became the spokesman and acknowledged leader of the socially-oriented group of thesis-play dramatists is peculiar in itself, but the fact that he was also a political reactionary, made it even more so. For instance, he had been a party to the dictatorship of Costa Cabral and was to go on to hold high office under the liberal regime. He seemed to be, both politically and artistically, a very versatile and pragmatic man.[9]

He was born in Lisbon either in 1820 or 1822 where he was the chief librarian at the National Library for many years. Mendes Leal was a deputy in the Cortes in 1851 and again in 1858 as well as a member and secretary of the Royal Academy of Sciences, the Royal Conservatory and many other prestigious scientific and literary associations in both Portugal and Brazil. He was on the king's council and was Secretary of State in 1869 and 1870. He was also a minister plenipotentiary for the Portuguese government in both Paris and Madrid. For his distinguished service, Leal received many foreign decorations, including the Grande Cruz of Brazil and a personal award from King Leopold of Belgium. Not only was he a prolific writer of plays, poetry and even novels but he was also a journalist of great repute, having been the editor in chief of the newspaper, Jornal do Comércio and for many years helped edit Comércio do Porto. In addition, he collaborated with and contributed to many of the principal and most influential literary journals in Portugal and Brazil

at that time.[10] In brief, Mendes Leal was not just a government functionary who wrote plays, as was Martins Pena, for instance, but a high government official who was very important in the actual political life of his country as well as an influence in the literary and intellectual circles of his time.

Mendes Leal's first attempt at writing a thesis play was Pedro[11] which was written in 1849, first published in 1857 and not staged until 1861. As the author states, with all due modesty, in his preface to the first edition, written in 1857, it is a drama that almost preceded chronologically any of the French models on which it was based:

> Não era ainda bem distinta em França a predileção pelo drama de actualidade, já eu tinha formulado esta primeira tentativa, e procurado esboçar na vida coetânea um quadro em que vivesse a paixão como se não supunha ainda plausível.
>
> Se algum pequeno mérito há nesta obra é só ter adivinhado, e quase precedido, o movimento de uma escola, que hoje, com a celeridade que leva o século, está feita e vigorosa, mas que então balbuciam incerta no meio dos debates que a recebiam ao nascer!
>
> (Pedro, Preface, 1st. ed. 1857).

With the prominent mention of the word passion as a key element in Leal's concept of what should constitute a drama de actualidade, the reader might suspect that the author has taken the hero and heroine from the dark, lugubrious castle, toned down their speech somewhat and placed them in a middle-class setting in Lisbon. This, of course, would mean that many of the thematic and stylistic credos of the ultraromantic movement as seen, for instance, in Os Dois Renegados

would now be carried on and that the change in substance of the plays was more theoretical than actual. It has been pointed out that there was a basic contradiction in a dramatic philosophy which tried to create actuality by using exasperating Romantic passions as its base, particularly, since in a great many cases, the former was sacrificed for the latter.[12] This contradiction can be seen even more clearly in Leal's idea of realism in the drama as a beautiful and noble thing, untouched by any sordidness or cynicism. He stated this concept quite clearly in Apontamentos para uma Questão de Arte, his preface to the play, A Redenção,[13] written by Ernesto Biester in 1856. In it he attacked the French authors Henri Murger and Champfleury (nom de plume of Jules Husson) for their cynical view of reality:

> Esta outra escola de um realismo cínico, à frente da qual estão H. Murger e Champfleury, corrompendo as sãs doutrinas que fizeram entrar a arte no seu actual caminho, cava-lhe debaixo dos pés o mesmo abismo em que se afundaram os outros sistemas. É igual aí senão maior o perigo. É a exageração promovendo o descrédito. É o eterno verme que ataca a flor, como para lhe provar que ela é humana.
>
> Falemos, digamos, representemos a verdade; mas a verdade bela, a verdade nobre, a verdade instrutiva: para as sombras a verdade contraste; para dar em útil holocausto à sátira, a verdade censurável e punível. Paremos porém, aí.
>
> (A Redenção, Preface, 1856).

Thus Mendes Leal's search for truth in the social drama emphasized the positive aspects of bourgeois society. He wished to impart to it a certain dignity and nobility, in the figurative sense of the word. Actually he was presenting a one-sided view of the middle class by extolling its virtues

and overlooking its vices, which is what he really means when he criticizes the "cynical realism" of Murger and Champfleury. Leal placed his view of an idealized form of social drama with its tendency toward moralizing in direct opposition to the more cynical drama of writers like Murger and Champfleury.[14] In many ways it was the realism of uplift, of good versus evil. Leal's dramatic ideas or philosophy on the subject of this type of drama are extremely important for they influenced to a great degree Biester, Lacerda and the other dramatists of the drama da actualidade.

The main social theme in Pedro can be defined as the problem of the abolition of the special privileges of the traditional nobility. He deemed the hereditary nobility a decadent caste whose anachronistic, mental and moral outlooks were hateful obstacles to the popular aspirations and legitimate rights of those men who did not possess aristocratic blood.[15]

Pedro is a very early thesis play, in fact the first of its kind. It is a transitional play from ultraromantismo to the typical thesis play. As such it is not really an attack on a social problem but represents a typical bourgeois situation and bourgeois resentment against the pretensions of the nobility. Pedro, the protagonist, represents the hard-working middle class that feels a certain social frustration when confronted with the supercilious aristocracy. The play does not come to grips, however, with those social problems confronting the middle class itself nor with its shortcom-

ings, something that later thesis plays attempted to do despite their obvious deficiencies.

The play's theme revolves around Pedro, the poor but well-educated son of a servant to the Conde de Santiago and the Conde himself, a decadent nobleman given to compulsive gambling. Leal stated this theme in the preface to the first edition, in rather poetic tone that in itself is an indication of the language to be employed in the dialogue:

> Dois homens partem de polos contrários, aproximam-se encontram-se, distanciam-se, e cada qual vai acabar na extremidade donde o oposto viera. Não está nisto cruzando-se em lances a abolição dos privilégios, e a degeneração das castas, que a justifica--a aspiração popular, e a decadência das instituições envelhecidas? É a vida coeva nas suas condições mais características parece-me.
>
> (Pedro, Preface, 1st. ed., 1857).

At the very beginning of the first act, Pedro states his social bitterness while seated alone during a ball in the Conde's residence. Pedro has just delivered more money to the Conde in order that he may continue gambling:

> Pedro (só) --Tantas alegrias ali! E aqui tamanha tristeza! Para que me havia de meu pai dar este fatal presente da educação? Se ela me não soltasse as asas à fantasia, não iriam estas imaginações delirantes descobrir outro horizonte, devassar outras regiões, ambicionar outra vida! (Reflectindo.) E porque me não há-de ser permitido ganhar o que os outros apenas herdaram? Porque não poderei conquistar da fortuna o que tantos acharam no acaso!
>
> (Pedro, I, 6).

It can be seen that, in a certain way, this speech, and others like it, are really monologues serving as a vehicle for Leal's opinions. The Conde, in this play, is never real-

ly anything more than a shadow figure whom Pedro uses as an excuse to expound on the true worth of his class, the middle class, frustrated, in part, by the power and prestige of the old aristocracy.

The plot of this five-act play covers the years of the rise of Pedro from a humble servant's son to a minister of state. First he writes a famous and well-received play, then he is a journalist and finally a minister. His ascent to power takes a rather "romantic" route but, in all fairness to Mendes Leal, it has been pointed out by Andrade Ferreira (1823-1875) and Teófilo Braga that there is quite a good deal of autobiographical material in the play since Leal, himself, rose to prominence in almost the same manner.[16] Although the opposition between Pedro and the Conde allows Leal to make his main social point as well as several others, the basis for the action in the plot, the real motivating force, is love; namely, Pedro's undying love for the Conde's daughter, Maria (the heroine). In act one, Maria, in effect, turns up her nose at Pedro. In act two, the Conde's mansion is burning down and Pedro races through the flames to save Maria. In act three, one year later, just as the Conde's new, much more modest home is going to be repossessed, Pedro arrives to pay off the mortgage by pretending to lose the exact sum to the Conde in a card game. In act four, Maria and the Conde are now living in a hovel. A group of gallants who had chided Pedro because of his humble origin in the first act, appear with the intent of violating Maria,

but Pedro comes in the nick of time to save her. In act five, Maria finally realizes her love and gratitude for Pedro, and presumably, they will get married.

What is most important in terms of the plot action, is not whether Pedro's very timely appearances or whether his idealistic love for Maria are plausible but rather that his actions are motivated primarily by his love for Maria rather than his antipathy for her father. The potentially powerful social theme becomes subordinated to a rather unimportant and niggardly contrived plot based on "romantic" love. Since the basic theme and the basic plot often follow divergent paths, the result is that the force of the theme is diluted as the audience is once again asked to believe that love for a woman is the fundamental motivation for the actions of a man.[17] One feels transported, at least in terms of the basic plot, back to Os Dois Renegados. The use of the love plot as the basis for the action in the play is an important consideration, for it will be employed time and again by the dramatists of this type of play in Portugal who followed Leal's lead.

In this play, Mendes Leal also criticizes other institutions besides the nobility. The venal press with its lack of personal integrity is one of his favorite targets[18] as it would become for some of his contemporaries and followers:

> Pedro -- . . . A imprensa não é o altar de uma religião, é o ecúleo de um martírio. Não há sacerdotes, há lictores; não há intérpretes, há verdugos. A moralidade e as qualidades individuais desaparecem para só dar lugar ao julgamento suspeito e parcial dos bandos. O

> bem e o mal são ou não são a vontade das paixões
>
> - - -
>
> D. Francisco --Tem razão.
> Pedro --O combate enérgico e franco das opiniões, entendo eu; esse jogo vil de interesses não, não o compreendo. A imprensa é hoje uma arma poderosa, e um nobre sacerdócio; por isso mesmo tanto mais indigno e vil é prostituí-la à mentira.
> (Pedro, III, 6).

Leal also attacks those men in government who lack the self-sacrificing patriotism to place the good of the country above their own petty ambitions, in order to unite all parties in a single goal instead of splintering them into quarreling factions:

> Pedro --Perdão se me exaltei. É que eu olho e não vejo em torno de mim senão as hostilidades dos interesses, a hipocrasia dos sentimentos, a rivalidade das ambições, a luta repugnante das vaidades egoístas: nunca a honrosa comunidade da pátria. Todas as faculdades se consomem nestas porfias ignominiosas e inúteis. À base de cada glória de um dia há o verme fatal que a rói pelo pé, e a precipita no dia imediato no próprio abismo donde surgiu. E vem outra, e outra, e outra . . . E todos morrem do mesmo modo, sem futuro para se, nem proveito para ninguém. Um triunfo é o epitáfio de outro triunfo, e todos eles e necrológio do país!
> (Pedro, III, 6).

In spite of the introduction of the middle class into this play, it can still be placed in the Romantic tradition. The plot is still basically one of love, of young lovers overcoming all obstacles to live happily ever after. The characters are still good or evil, black or white and they present themselves to the audience in a direct fashion, usually in long, bombastic tirades replete with learned words and pretentious metaphors. Pedro is different, however, from

the typical thesis play and closer to the ultraromantic ones since it contains a good deal of action.

In 1854 Mendes Leal published a new drama da actualidade, Os Homens de Mármore,[19] which was modeled primarily after Les Filles de Marbre (1853) by Théodore Barrière and Lambert-Thiboust and La Dame aux Camélias (1852) by Alexandre Dumas fils, which were works that depicted the venality and misery of fallen women respectively. Leal's intent was slightly different since he tried to portray the insensitivity and moral prostitution of certain types of men in contemporary Portuguese society, men who were products of the materialistic, middle-class milieu of mid-nineteenth century Portugal. The play was so successful and generated such interest that Leal made it the first in a trilogy of similar works which included: O Homem de Ouro (1855) and Os Homens de Bem.[20]

Although Pedro possessed many elements typical of the thesis play, Os Homens de Mármore was the more archetypal play for this genre. It is in such actionless plays that conversational dialogue must sustain the action and the setting is shifted to the elegant drawing room. In Pedro there had been physical action, such as Pedro's saving of Maria from the burning mansion, and also vastly different settings ranging from an elegant ball in a mansion to a hovel. In Os Homens de Mármore the setting becomes almost exclusively that of the upper, middle-class salon. There is very little detail in the directions for the setting, presumably because the producer and director were familiar with what the author

wanted. For example, the first act is described as: "Uma sala interior. Luxo aristocrático. Reposteiros com armas, etc."; while the second act is merely a: "Sala elegante." The action of the plot becomes, in the settings, almost entirely conversational; that is, it is reduced to a series of parlor debates. This can be seen in the following conversation between several of the "men of marble" which also points up another technique whereby the characters describe themselves rather than having their characters unfold in the action of the plot:

> Estevão --Admiro-o, e confundo-me. Vejo que para obter e dominar a fortuna . . .
> Diogo --É preciso ser de mármore . . . sirvo-me da comparação e da idéia que está em voga . . . pesado, como ele, para não ser abalado no pedestal . . . insensível, como ele, para não sucumbir às condições humanas. As mulheres de mármore provocam as catástrofes domésticas; os homens de mármore produzem as catástrofes das nações!
> Doutor --Fala como experiente. Nunca teve paixões?
> Diogo --É provavel que tivesse: não me lembro delas.
> Estevão --Amou alguma vez?
> Diogo --Como tive bexigas. O amor, ou ocupa a vida, ou deixa em cinzas o coração. Apagado o vulcão, quando se sopra a cratera extinta, empoeira os olhos mas não se lhe ateia uma faísca. É então que da lava se extrae a pedra. (A Estevão) Talvez lhe sirva esta lição. (Entra Simplício).
> (Os Homens de Mármore, II, 4).

Not only do the characters describe themselves directly to the audience and continually indulge in high-flown metaphors but there is often an attempt at epigrams. In the case of this play the key epigrammatical expression has to do with "homens de mármore" and is used constantly throughout the

work. Fernando, the artist-hero of the play who is poor in money but rich in sensitivity and is symbolic of the "new" man in Leal's vision of romantic-bourgeois idealism,[21] concludes the play with the same succinct speed. Although this stylistic device appears rather obvious and at times rather tiresome to the modern reader, the repetitious use of the epigrammatical expression was very popular with thesis-play dramatists:

> Diogo (Baixo a Simplício) --Refleti. Retiro os projetos.
> Simplício (Sorrindo) --Isso sabia eu.
> Diogo (à parte, com um gesto desesperado) --Onde se quebra a vontade humana!
> Simplício (Com orgulho--à parte) --Ele tem o poder, e eu dirijo-o! O ouro é rei! (toma um jornal e percorre-o com os olhos).
> (D. Luís e Beatriz conversam a um lado. Fernando e Inêz ocupam o meio).
> D. Beatriz (a seu pai) --Amanhã retiro-me a um convento. Minha irmã fica sua herdeira.
> Simplício (Do outro lado, caindo numa cadeira fulminado) --Oh! . . . (Movimento de curiosidade geral. Os grupos ficam porém distintos).
> Diogo --Que é?
> Simplício (Com voz desfalecida) --Estou perdido!
> . . . A casa Schwart e Companhia de Londres . . . quebrou!
> Fernando (Indicando os três) --A estátua, com ser de mármore, não resiste ao raio
> D. Inês --Só lhe resiste o coração . . . que Deus fortifica! (Cai o pano).
> (Os Homens de Mármore, V, 13).

This sort of abrupt ending with its complete reversal of fortunes for the personages involved, is of the same general type, stylistically speaking, that was so popular with the ultraromantics. It was a favorite technique in the thesis-play group for ending plays.

Many of the characters that would become stereotypes in

succeeding plays of this kind were created in this one. There is the cynical, opportunistic aristocrat, Estevão de Moura, who tries to recoup a lost fortune by fraud; the corrupt politician, Diogo Travassos; the Doutor, who represents a science that is insensitive to man; D. Luís, the hateful, decadent aristocrat; and Simplício, the usurer, who controls them all until his downfall. As Leal states, each will represent an evil aspect of his society:

> Assim, cada excesso tem em se mesmo o germe do seu castigo. É debaixo de este ponto, que na actual composição, o cubiçoso--e esse antes de todos--sucumbe sob a própria cubiça; o ambicioso sob a própria ambição; o especulador sob a própria especulação; o usurário--que o autor levantou no alto do grupo, como símbolo vivo do ouro, a realeza do século--o usurário, diz, sob a própria fortuna em ruínas! Tudo estava morto naqueles homens, menos a dobra oculta em que velava a paixão petrificante e dominadora de cada um. Só ali podia ser ferido; só aquela paixão podia feri-lo. É o que sucede.
> (Os Homens de Mármore, Prologue, 1854).

Thus the moral lesson was that each character would be punished by that very sinful facet of his personality which gave him life in the play. However, to condemn some "good" characters, who, in a moment of weakness, happened to make a venal mistake, would dissipate the force of the moral lesson. Therefore, perdition or redemption would depend on the character's repentance, or lack of it:

> Nos caracteres afectuosos, o raio de esperança irrompe natural de entre as próprias catástrofes. Naqueles, que aprenderam na culpa o arrependimento e não se endureceram no crime, das consequências do erro saem os elementos da expiação. Nas organizações em parte petrificados, tocado o ponto vulnerável, o desastre é completo.
> (Os Homens de Mármore, Prologue, 1854).

Mendes Leal ended his work in the field of the drama da actualidade in the same way that Garrett ended his dramaturgic career, by imitating directly, or more precisely, by translating French dramatists, a danger that he, himself, like Garrett at an earlier date, had warned against only two years before:

> Cumpre advertir, porém, de um perigo em que podem cair os mais distintos espíritos, por outro gênero de atracção imitativa. O costume de escutar e ler exclusivamente o francês como que tende a fazer esquecer, e quase renegar, as graciosas galas da nossa pura e formosa língua.
> (A Redenção, "Apontamentos para uma Questão de Arte," 1856).

In 1858, he offered the play, A Pobreza Envergonhada,[22] an imitation or translation of Les Pauvres de Paris by an unidentified author. In the play, Leal calls attention to the insufficient wage scale of many lower echelon employes both in private industry and government service. It depicts the usual recourse to usury, the shame involved in poverty and the attempts to conceal it and ultimate suicide. The fact, though, that it is almost a direct translation, tends to lessen greatly its interest as a truly Portuguese dramatic contribution.[23] The interest lies once again in the theory that Leal wrote in a postscript to the play. After expounding his idea of the main theme, "O desequilíbrio entre as posições, os salários e as subsistências . . . " he states:

> Diligenciei desenvolver em uma acção dramática, terrível e comum, patética e verosímil, esta idéia capital. Não fora essa a do drama

> francês, nem o podia ser, porque em França o estado social é outro . . .
> Quis evitar o escolho de provocar os ódios entre as classes. Em toda a parte é perigo: em Portugal seria injusto.
> (A Pobreza Envergonhada, Postscript, 1858).

What Leal and his followers did in their thesis plays is stated in the last paragraph. They avoided any real, direct confrontation between their ideas on social ills and the established order of things. There was, in Leal and his followers, less of a direct presentation of their social complaints than an indirect presentation by upper, middle-class personages in bourgeois dressing rooms. In effect, the social and economic ills would be debated by others than those who were suffering from them.

C. Ernesto Biester--The Champion of the Thesis Play

Ernesto Biester, who was greatly influenced by the dramatic ideas of Mendes Leal, beginning in 1853 with his play, Rafael, was for many years the most prolific and representative dramatist of the group that wrote thesis plays. In fact, he became the dominant factor in the Portuguese theater with his dramas da actualidade, particularly in the eighteen-sixties.[24]

Biester was born and raised in Lisbon. He subsequently became very important and influential in literary and artistic circles in the capital. He was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences in 1862 and was made a cavaleiro of the prestigious Ordem de Santiago in 1865. He contributed many literary and critical articles to the im-

portant, literary magazines of his time such as O País, A Opinião, devoted to poetry, O Panorama and A Ilustração. In April of 1859, the first issue of the prestigious literary magazine, Revista Contemporânea de Portugal e Brasil, appeared for which Biester was a director and a contributor. He later was the owner of the magazine until its closing in 1865. In the magazine, he wrote a monthly series of articles entitled, Crónicas literárias.[25] The Revista Contemporânea had a nucleus of important theatrical writers, such as Rebelo da Silva (1822-1871), A. Pedro Lopes de Mendonça (1826-1865) and Andrade Ferreira (1823-1875), as well as Biester, himself.[26] Biester then, like Mendes Leal, was an important drama critic as well as an important dramatist.

Biester's general purpose in his drama da actualidade was to try to paint a faithful picture of Portuguese society of his time by focusing his attention on its customs, habits and most characteristic human types that would serve, as it were, as a sort of chronicle of the era for future generations . . . As he stated in the Revista Contemporânea de Portugal e Brasil:

> Sempre foi opinião nossa, arreigada e íntima, que o teatro deve ser a reprodução verdadeira dos costumes contemporâneos, da vida do nosso tempo, da sociedade actual, pintando assim uma época, que pode mais tarde servir à crónica fazer-se por ele uma idéia completa, ou pelo menos aproximativa, dos hábitos e das tendências do século, seguindo de perto os vestígios da história social ou familiar, e reconstruindo-se pelo pensamento uma civilização eclipsada.[27]

Once again just as was the case with Mendes Leal, Biester

found it necessary to come to grips with the problem of "realism" as he intended to present it on stage. As might be expected, because of Mendes Leal's influence on him, the thesis play did not mean for Biester the "cynical" type written by Henri Murger and Champfleury about which Leal complained. Biester, like Leal, preferred to present a sort of romantic and idealized bourgeoisie in which social questions were discussed from time to time but were never really an integral part of the theme. Even in a play such as Os Operários (1865) which supposedly dealt with the proletariat, Biester never really presented the problems of the workers other than by showing how they aspire to be bourgeois gentlemen. In fact, their artificial and ostentatious speech shows them to be middle-class gentlemen disguised as proletarians. Thus he allowed the moral and social problems to be submerged and lost in the love plots so as not to mar or disfigure his main artistic credo of idealized sentiment and emotion.[28]

The upper middle-class salon was the principal setting for most of the plays of Biester's dramatic world. There is always something rather sumptuous about the milieu. For instance, in Os Homens Sérios,[29] acts one and two take place in:

> Um salão elegante e ricamente mobilado. Janelas à direita; portas no fundo. Entre as janelas, fogão. Do lado esquerdo duas portas e no centro o retrato de Amélia Travassos.
> (Os Homens Sérios, I and II, 1858).

In the play, Os Homens Ricos,[30] the first act is described

> Uma sala ricamente mobilada. Fogão, sofás e jardineira. Portas à direita; portas à esquerda; janelas ao fundo. Da esquerda ficam as salas do baile. É noite, a sala está brilhantemente iluminada.
> (Os Homens Ricos, I, 1864).

It was a world in which the purity of maidens and the fidelity of wives were sorely tempted in the seductive atmosphere of a ball and where malicious gossip and double-edged puns were the weapons of insult and calumny. It was also the world of financial duplicity and swindle, of unbridled, financial speculation and usury, all of which were common phenomena during the Regeneração in Portugal's affluent social circles. In brief, Biester depicted faithfully the unstable political and social world of the mid-nineteenth century Portuguese liberal.[31]

Biester touched on various social themes in his thesis plays. One of his main targets, a favorite also with Mendes Leal, was the lack of public spirit and fairness in some segments of the press. In one scene António is talking with Alberto in Alberto's elegant study:

> António --A que manifestaste depois tão brilhante, --a do talento. Pelo amor de Deus, não te compares comigo. Na primeira ainda encontraste espinhos, nesta só colhes flores.
> Alberto --Estás enganado, António. Nunca sofri tantas e tão pungentes decepções como agora. A imprensa é uma elevada e nobre instituição, mas entre os seus apóstolos, há almas perdidas que vendem a difamação, exploradores ignóbeis, homens sem fé que degradam o encargo. Neste tonel das Danaides, chamado jornal, tudo se escôa confundido o justo e o injusto, o bem e o mal, a sinceridade e a malquerença, a ilusão e a verdade, a austeridade da consciência e os rigores postiços de político sem crença. Quem o paga é o povo

> que se apaixona e se engana. É triste e revoltante ver indivíduos que a sociedade condena e o pudor expulsou, ousarem falar em moralidade e em honra defendendo ao mesmo tempo os falsos moedeiros, os negociadores de carne humana e os traficantes encartados . . .
> (Os Homens Sérios, III, 6).

Alberto continues on at greater length but this portion of his dialogue shows not only Biester's criticism of the press, but also a favorite technique he employed quite frequently to express whatever social or political criticism he desired, whether it was usury, the mariage de convenance or corrupt politics. On the pretext of having a conversation with another individual or a group of personages, a character merely embarks on a long speech on the subject or subjects and proffers his opinions in what becomes almost an oratorical diatribe. Rhetorical dialogue of this type constitutes the main source of social criticism in Biester's actionless plays.

In all of Biester's plays, the action of the plot consists of various and varied love episodes. These love plots are usually very entangled and complicated and run the entire gamut from young love's despair and desperation to a sort of languishing morbidity.[32] Whether there is an incredibly complicated unraveling of the previously unknown and unrevealed, true familial identities of the young lovers, and thus, a happy ending as in Os Homens Ricos or a lengthy, drawn-out death scene as in Os Homens Sérios, the plot action is always based on a love motif of one type or another, thus subordinating the importance of the socio-political

criticism. A small portion of the concluding death scene in Os Homens Sérios shows that very little has changed stylistically, particularly in the emotional language employed, except for the setting, since O Fronteiro de África. Amélia, who is dying, has already conversed at length in what may be termed a philosophical manner as she concludes:

> Amélia --Maria . . . filha . . . a tua mão . . . (Pondo-lhe em cima da de Alberto). Cumpri a minha promessa e também a minha -missão na terra. (Maria e Alberto ajoelham beijando-lhe as mãos). Condessa, é mais obra tua do que minha . . . devo-te a lembrança. (Apertando-lhe a mão). Foste a minha única e verdadeira amiga.
>
> Condessa --Também não tive outra.
>
> Amélia (Vendo António) --E o meu irmão não me dá hoje um abraço? Não teres tu a cabeça como tens o coração! Estou rodeada de todos os que me estremecem deveras . . . Ai! que bem me sinto! . . . E . . . bem dizia eu . . . é outro mundo isto. Era um purgatório o outro . . . Aqui . . . aqui respira-se, dilata-se o peito, é uma consolação . . . Maria, dá-me . . . um beijo, mas . . . (Desfalece-lhe a cabeça para o lado).
>
> Maria --Ó minha mamã!
>
> (Os Homens Sérios, IV, 9).

Biester has many of the stock characters of this type of play: the heroine, the hero and the decadent aristocrat, all of whom remain within the narrowly defined psychological and emotional range that the thesis dramatists imposed upon them. However, one type of character, the usurer (o agiota), although similarly restricted, takes on a special significance in Biester's plays. While depicted as a "man of marble," stone-hearted and obsessed with the vision of ever more wealth, he is, in effect, a symbol of the effective and triumphant power that reigned in the society of that period.

The politically impotent aristocracy and the young, effete wastrels deliver themselves, in a Faustian manner, to the lucrative connivances of the agiota. On a moral plane, characters like Luís Travassos in Os Homens Sérios and Próspero in Os Homens Ricos are extremely important for they serve as the personification of evil, the promoters of satanic principles. These men are the exact opposite of all that encompasses virtue and dignity.[33] In this scene Lourenço draws out Próspero's lust for money at any cost:

> Lourenço --Mas não é o de tua mulher?
> Próspero --Qual! O sistema de ela, é dar muito e nada receber. Que tolice, ou antes que escândalo. O juizo está em receber muito dando pouco.
> Lourenço --Em bom português: emprestar dinheiro, e com boa hipoteca, a 15, 20, 30 e 50 por cento--ao mes.
> Próspero (Esfregando as mãos). --Isso, meu amigo, isso; e não faltam ocasiões.
> Lourenço --Quando há ânimo para as aproveitar. És o rico de alma mais pobre que eu conheço. Às vezes chego a duvidar que tenhas coração.
> Próspero --Se o não tivera ganhava menos dinheiro. Gosto de os ouvir falar. Parece que sou eu que vou bater por essas portas, para que me peçam dinheiro emprestado! Dá-se exactamente o contrário. Esses que são os primeiros a censurarem-me é que me não largam a campainha.
> (Os Homens Ricos, II, 6).

One of Biester's favorite social themes was the integration or transformation of the classes in Portugal on a fair and equitable basis. However, in only two plays, Fortuna e Trabalho (1863) and Os Operários[34](1865), did the dramatist leave the middle-class salon to set the plays in the actual surroundings of the class about which his personages had so often debated, the proletariat:

> A casa de entrada da fábrica. A porta da rua fica à esquerda do espectador. O fundo é de vidraça com uma porta larga ao centro. Através da vidraça vêem-se diferentes máquinas espalhadas, e nalgumas, operários trabalhando. Do lado direito há uma pequena casinha também de vidraça que é o escritório do administrador . . .
> (Os Operários, Directions, Act I).

Yet the mainstay of the plot action consists of the usual sentiments of love and the struggle between good and evil, so that the problems of the proletariat and the proletariat itself are treated in only a very marginal fashion.[35] The proletariat is mainly spoken of but when it does speak, it utters moralistic homilies in language that could not be considered typically proletarian:

> Carlota --E como conta enriquecer?
> Paulo --Pelo meu trabalho. Verá, menina Carlota, verá o que pode a vontade. O estudo há-de conquistar-me um lugar distinto entre os primeiros homens da minha classe. Da oficina para a aula é a minha vida. O que aprendo na aula aplico na oficina. Oficina e aula não hão de, pois, tornar-me um operário completo, operário a par do progresso industrial, operário a par da civilização moderna.
> Carlota --Que entusiasmo!
> Paulo --Preciso tê-lo, devo tê-lo, quero tê-lo. O entusiasmo redobra-me as forças.
> Carlota --Sossegue, que eu não pretendo tirar-lho.
> Paulo --Nem podia tirar-mo, se é quem mo inspira.
> (Os Operários, III, 10).

It is no wonder that the censor wrote in a postscript to the play:

> Em conclusão, este drama é positivamente da actualidade; para nós tem toda a novidade; e corresponde à missão que o teatro moderno deve desempenhar.
> (Os Operários, Postscript, 1865).

D. César de Lacerda--Third Dramatist in the Triumvirate

César de Lacerda was not only an author, but also a professional actor. After practicing his profession in Lisbon for some years, he emigrated to Brazil where he continued to earn a living by acting for many years.[36] It is not surprising that the third member of this triumvirate of thesis-play dramatists followed the general dramatic tenets that had been propounded by Mendes Leal and Biester, the moral imperative of punishing vice and evil while rewarding virtue and goodness. As was also to be expected, he followed the same outlines of theme, plot and characterization while looking on the drama as a means of conveying moral instruction and spiritual inspiration.[37] In Mistérios Sociais,[38] the author's settings were mainly the elegant, upper middle-class salon, as in the first act:

> Gabinete mobilado com gosto e riqueza: portas ao fundo e aos lados, com reposteiros. (Mistérios Sociais, Directions, I).

The third act is:

> Um gabinete elegante, mas mobilado com simplicidade. Portas ao fundo e aos lados. (Ibid., III).

And again in act four, the setting is:

> Um gabinete riquíssimo. Portas ao fundo e aos lados. (Ibid., IV).

Lacerda touches on the usual social themes of the thesis-play dramatists: unscrupulous fortune hunting, the mariage de convenance and the rectification of unfair class distinctions. His plots consist of the standard surprise

ending of who is whose son or daughter and so forth. They are very complicated and are based on the usual love motif.

Lacerda's characters are of the typical good versus evil type that have been examined already in Mendes Leal and Ernesto Biester and they profess their ideas on social ills in the same declamatory manner. The characters present themselves and their ideas directly to the audience. The rhetorical dialogue used by the characters makes the modern reader regard them as caricatures. In the following example, Frederico is expounding on the evils of the marriage of convenience:

> Frederico (Seguindo-os com a vista e com profunda tristeza) . . . Só se for algum mercado de infâmias, ou na praça de esse mundo dos casamentos de conveniências! Mas aí a venda é uma burla, porque o objeto é fingido; a compra uma indignidade, porque é a escravatura das mulheres que tiveram a desgraça de nascer em altas posições sociais! Depois de vendidas muitas vezes por um especulador de pergaminhos a um especulador de dotes, o isolamento do coração continua, e quando esse isolamento cessa, ou vem a desgraça, ou vem a deshonra! (Depois de pausa) Decididamente não é o ouro que dá a verdadeira felicidade!
>
> (Mistérios Sociais, III, 8).

Thus there is neither anything new nor unique about Lacerda's works that would set him apart in any way from the previous two dramatists.

E. Gomes de Amorim--Exotic Brazilian Settings

This dramatist spent his childhood in Brazil and was profoundly influenced by the country's romantic setting both real and imagined. His plays were popular with Portuguese

audiences mainly because of their novelty. Some of them were thesis plays.

Gomes de Amorim was born in the northern province of Minho in 1827. He worked as chief-assistant in the payroll master's office for the Department of the Navy where he held the rank of lieutenant. Amorim was a member of the Royal Academy of Science as well as numerous other scientific and literary organizations. For some years he collaborated in the editing of various political journals, such as O Patriota, Regeneração and A Reforma. Amorim was also editor and co-owner of the literary magazine, O Jardim Literário from 1848 to 1851 and the correspondent in Lisbon, for some years, for the newspaper, O Diário da Bahia. During this same period, he collaborated in producing the prestigious Archivo Pitoresco. Several articles he wrote for this latter journal: Últimos Momentos do Grande Poeta Português Almeida Garrett and Apontamentos Biográficos e Críticos became the basis for the authoritative, three-volume biography of Almeida Garrett: Memórias Biográficas de Garrett (1881-1884). The most important biographical aspect in the life of Gomes de Amorim, as regards his work in the theater, was the fact that he spent much of his adolescence in Brazil. He arrived in Brazil in 1837, when he was ten years old and returned to Portugal in 1846, when he was nineteen.[39]

The factor that sets Gomes de Amorim apart from the three previous dramatists is the exoticism of his thesis plays which were set in the lush tropical surroundings of

the Brazilian jungle. His stay in Brazil as a youth had caused him to be deeply impressed with these exotic surroundings whose flora, in particular, he described in minute and authentic detail in his plays.[40]

The importance that the settings and costuming had in the plays of Gomes de Amorim can be seen in the minute detail with which he described them. They are as detailed in description as will be found anywhere in Portuguese dramatic literature. However, the author usually confined his long descriptions to things that were novel to Portuguese audiences and, therefore, they cannot really be considered an important contribution to the development of the drama. The dramatist was interested in entertaining his audience with his descriptions of the Brazilian Indians and their exotic costumes. To the modern reader, at least, some of Amorim's descriptions seem to be exaggerated. However, in some of his books he has many pages of notes describing his sources--often Brazilian travel books--and so he can be said to be very well documented. In any case, it is certain that the kind of dialogue employed by his Indians was artificial. For example, they refer to themselves in the third person. It is the same kind of Indian speech made popular by Chateaubriand and Cooper and subsequently used by José de Alencar in his Indianist novels in Brazil. As regards costuming, for example, in his Indianist play, O Cedro Vermelho[41](1856), he describes what is to be worn by Lourenço, the Indian protagonist, in only the first two acts of this long five-act play:

> Vestidura de penas de arara, papagaio e tucano, sem mangas, descendo até aos joelhos, cingida ao corpo, e alargando em forma de saial da cintura para baixo; os buracos por onde saem os braços, bem como o do pescoço, debruados com juncos e penas curtas, de diversas cores, levantadas para fazer grossura; colares de contas variadas; brincos triangulares, de vidro branco; cabelo preto, comprido, apartado ao meio e caído para tras; cocar ou diadema de penas vermelhas e amarelas, tendo na frente duas mais altas; pulseiras de missanga e penas de peito de arara e papagaio; o mesmo enfeite nas curvas das pernas e nos artelhos; sem barba, nem pinturas no rosto; descalço; cor de bronze escuro.
> (O Cedro Vermelho, Costume Instructions).

The settings are as important in Amorim's plays as are the costumes and are also treated as a novelty. For example, in the same play, the setting for the first act is described in all its lush, tropical splendor:

> Margem meridional do lago Curumú. À direita do espectador começa uma floresta, destacando-se dela algumas araucárias e palmeiras de mediana grandeza. À esquerda, casa térrea, coberta com folhas de palmeira pindoba, já velhas, e vestida em partes de jasmineiros floridos e outras trepadeiras; as paredes da casa são de barro; as portas e janelas, de pau, com venezianas amarelas. Em torno da habitação, ananazes e bananeiras com fruto; rosas mogorins, açucenas, jasmins brancos e jasmins de Cayena em florescência. À frente da casa, um largo terreiro com mangueiras, laranjeiras, coqueiros, goiabeiras e cuieiras, todas com frutos. Ao fundo, o lago, sobre cujas águas se debruçam dos arvoredos grandes festões de maracujá. Além do lago avista-se vagamente a floresta da margem oposta. Duas redes atadas nas mangueiras; uma esteira no chão, com objetos de costura em cima; uma banca de madeira tosca e bancos à roda.
> (O Cedro Vermelho, Directions, I).

It is not surprising that such plays by Amorim as O Cedro Vermelho, Ódio de Raça (1854) and Aleijões Sociais[42] (1870) were so enthusiastically received by the Portuguese

critics and public alike.[43]

As might be expected, the social themes that Amorim touches on are quite different from those encountered in the dramatists mentioned above since they deal mainly with Brazilian problems. In O Cedro Vermelho, for instance, his exaltation of the concept of the pure and "noble savage," which is comparable with the theme of the Indianists in Brazil--like Gonçalves Dias--is counterbalanced by his view of Portugal as a declining civilization. This view of Portugal as a decadent, and at times even comically absurd, society runs generally throughout Amorim's plays.[44] Nowhere is this idea more prevalent than in O Cedro Vermelho. For example, Braz, an untutored Indian is speaking with Matilde, the heroine. The reader will note the amazing rhetorical abilities of an uneducated Indian:

> Braz (com ira concentrada) --Obrigado; rejeito a sua generosidade forçada. Os seus parentes insultaram-me; e o seu amante desafiou-me! O tapuio vinga-se como e quando pode. (Apontando para a floresta). Ali acaba o domínio dos brancos; de aquele mato para dentro não ha rei nem lei; é homem contra homem e astúcia contra astúcia! Começa à beira de este bosque o país da minha Independência! Com que direito entram em ele os que nasceram nas cidades? Quem os chama? Quem lhes pede a sua civilização, os seus costumes, os seus inventos e o seu governo tiránico? Querem instruir-nos e só nos ensinam a conhecer quanto somos infelizes! Civilizam-nos . . . costumando-nos a sua aguardente, para nos dominarem! . . .
> (O Cedro Vermelho, III, 14).

This passage illustrates the use of the long, and sometimes rambling type of monologue so prevalent in the drama da actualidade as well as the erudite language employed through-

out Amorim's plays. However, Negro slaves do speak in a type of dialect: João-Bom ôio . . . e dedo no gatio! Pae sinhô não dize porque mete dedo em gatio! (O Cedro Vermelho, II, 11). It will be noted that the speech of the Negro slave represents phonetic change. He says ôio for olho, gatio for gatilho and sinhô for senhor. This last example, together with sinhá for senhora, became a conventional device in the speech of Negro characters in Brazilian plays even though they might otherwise use perfect diction.

In Ódio de Raça, Amorim deals with the inherent evils in the Portuguese system of black slavery. In the play, Aleijões Sociais, whose original title was, Escravatura Branca,[45] the white slavery dealt with was the exploitation of Portuguese emigrants to Brazil. The dramatist wished at least to warn his countrymen of the lurking dangers and deprivations that faced them:

> Sem desconhecer quão útil tem sido à mãe pátria o dinheiro laboriosamente ganho no Brasil por alguns dos nossos patrícios, julgo que é um verdadeiro serviço a vulgarização de todos os sucessos odiosos, que digam respeito à emigração para aquele império; . . . (Aleijões Sociais, Introduction).

This other rather sordid aspect of Brazilian society which directly affected a certain number of Portuguese themselves, was directly portrayed in this five-act play rather than discussed in drawing rooms. Here, for example, white slavery is discussed in a large warehouse. Eugénia is the heroine and Domingos the hero:

> Matias --Numa palavra?

> Dionísio --Numa palavra? Quem me der seis centos mil réis . . .
> Matias --É meu o homem.
> Domingos (Saindo para fora do balcão) --Os senhores tratam da minha compra e venda sem eu ser ouvido? É justo; um escravo não tem voto em matéria que respeita a sua liberdade!
> Eugénia (indignada) --Oh! papá! . . . que o senhor Matias o fizesse, vá! Dizem que é homem sem alma e sem . . . mas vossemecê! vender um branco como quem vende um preto!
> Dionísio e Matias (rindo da indignação de Eugénia) --Ah! ah! ah! ah!
> (Aleijões Sociais, III, 5).

Although Gomes de Amorim's plays had an extremely exotic flavor and dealt with themes that were primarily Brazilian in nature, stylistically speaking he followed essentially the same pattern as Biester, Leal and Lacerda. It has been pointed out also that his plots, although more diffuse than those of the other three thesis-play dramatists, are often lost in a complicated maze of rather extraneous subplots or incidents.[46] Perhaps, he felt that any incident in the play, whether related or not to the main plot, would be of some interest because of its novelty.

F. Camilo Castelo Branco and His Caricature of the Thesis Play

Humor of any sort was a relatively rare commodity throughout all of nineteenth-century drama in Portugal. This is true of all of Camilo's own plays except for two social satires or farces in which he created the character of the morgado or country gentleman in order to spoof not only contemporary bourgeois society in Lisbon but also the type of literary drama it produced.

Born in Lisbon in 1826, Camilo Castelo Branco wrote with great fecundity and his production spanned almost the entire gamut of literary movements in Portugal in the nineteenth century, until it was abruptly ended by his suicide in 1890. He was a member of the Royal Academy of Science in Lisbon but was refused membership in the prestigious Instituto de Coimbra in 1862. Camilo, as he is affectionately called by the Portuguese, was best known as a novelist in his time and was not highly thought of either as a poet or a dramatist. His fame and popularity were enormous and he was the first, and almost the only artist in Portugal in the nineteenth century, able to earn his living solely by the fruits of his artistic talent.[47] In almost all of Camilo's dramatic production he revealed the same Weltanschauung as in the previous thesis dramatists; that is, a sort of Manichean opposition of good versus evil and love versus hate.[48] The two outstanding exceptions to this dramatic philosophy are his farces: O Morgado de Fafe em Lisboa[49](1860) and O Morgado de Fafe Amoroso[50](1863) which Camilo employed as a mirror for his society, in order to depict those characteristics and defects which the dramatist deemed most ridiculous.[51] This is satire and in a very real sense it is mainly literary satire. Although Camilo pokes fun at the middle class in Lisbon, he does so primarily as it appears in other dramatists' plays. One recalls that the social themes of the thesis-play authors were usually lost in the love plot. Camilo has no social themes but he exaggerates the love plots.

The country gentleman (morgado) is the target for a marriage to a young, very romantic girl. She is full of idealized, romantic notions concerning love and her ideal mate. There are also one or several young heroes who have similar ideas. As might be expected, the morgado, who has been spared a middle-class upbringing in the metropolis with its accompanying déjà vu cynicism and de rigueur mores, is an extremely earthy character. He possesses an insight into human nature which allows him to speak his mind. While the Romantic characters use the pompous, rhetorical type of speech discussed previously, the morgado uses simple speech and often earthy expressions. What Camilo does, in effect, is to ridicule the Romantic ideals of bourgeois society during the Regeneração.[52] All the action in both plays centers upon the antics and ideas of the morgado whose role in both plays is delineated in his first appearance:

> Morgado --Cheguei há três dias pela estrada a vapor e acho que é bem engenhada aquela idéia. (Os dois ficam gesticulando).
> Leite (Às damas a meia voz) --O meu amigo é um puro provinciano, minhas senhoras. V. Ex.as terão a sufocar algumas vezes o riso, porque o morgado tem a rústica franqueza da ignorância, e entra pela primeira vez em uma sala ceremoniosa.
> (O Morgado de Fafe em Lisboa, I, 2).

Despite the fact that in Camilo's time many of the famous actors, starting with Anastácio Rosa (1812-1884), only emphasized the more buffoonish aspects of the character of the morgado, something which Camilo consistently railed against, his intention was more to caricature the mores of

contemporary, conventional society:[53]

> Morgado --Pois aí tem! O senhor cuidava naturalmente que eu vinha à capital aprender falar às senhoras! . . . Nós, lá em Fafe, estamos civilizados.
>
> Leite --Pois em nome da civilização de Fafe, é que eu peço a V. Sª que modere a sua língua.
>
> Morgado --Pelo que vejo, quem vem a Lisboa há-de moderar a língua! Acho que o diz bem, e que o faz melhor, sr. Leite. É por isso que o senhor, desde que entrou nas cortes, não disse palavra. Há-de ser por isso. O meu amigo sr. Leite, quando falava aos CONVICIOS populares, lá na nossa terra, falava pelos cotovelos. Mas isto cá, pelos modos, muda muito de figura. Pois dou-lhe a minha palavra de honra, que, se eu fosse deputado, havia de falar quando fosse preciso, e mais não estudei gramática nem matemática. Um bom deputado tem sempre que dizer. Eu tanto pedi ao senhor que arranjasse cá com o governo a passar-me a entrada à porta, mas o senhor não fez caso, nem respondeu a carta do boticário que lhe pedia um hábito de Cristo . . . Palpita-me que V. Sª não torna cá . . .
>
> Leite --Falaremos a esse respeito oportunamente: o que eu agora encarecidamente lhe peço é que não fale tanto nem dê aso a que se riam de V. Sª . . . Em Lisboa pesam-se as palavras, e o provinciano, que se não coibe, é sempre o alvo do escárnio.
>
> (O Morgado de Fafe em Lisboa, I, 4).

A great deal of the morgado's rustic charm comes from his rural speech with its many expressions designed to startle the effete bourgeois society. The following dialogue is a good example of the kind of language he uses:

> D. Vivência --Sei, e falava sempre francês com meu marido.
>
> Morgado (a Heitor, espantado.) --Não se admire que lá em Lisboa, onde eu estive há quatro anos, as famílias falavam em francês como se estivessem em França. Eu ia lá a casa de um barão, que me quis impingir a filha, e tanto ela como a mãe, as duas por três, começavam a taramelar em francês. E olhe que eu ainda andei a estudar um bocado de tal língua; mas a falar-lhe a verdade, nem p'ra tras nem p'ra diante. Ó srª D. Vivência,

fale lá uma todonada de francês para o primo Heitor ouvir. É língua levada da breca! Ora vá lá, diga alguma coisa . . .
D. Vivência (rindo) --Que hei de eu dizer? . . . Vous êtes um sot, et votre cousin est un sot pareil, n'est-ce pas vrai?
(O Morgado de Fafe Amoroso, I, 4).

The plays never take on a strident, critical tone and although Camilo used his morgado to poke fun at contemporary society, he never loses his good-natured sense of humor. A part of this overall, almost frolicking tone is conveyed by the musical interludes which are sung together by the personages:

Morgado (só)
Não te faças fino
Que eu bem sei quem és,
Hei-de pespegar-te
Quatro pontapés.

D. Vivência (só)
Deixeimos o parvo,
Que não tem pataco;
Vem, meu Antoninho,
Não lhe des cavaco.

Todos
Que vão bugiar
Não digas mais nada
Não demos cavaco
A tal canalhada.
(O Morgado de Fafe Amoroso, III, 4).

There are no noble characters in these plays, no martyrs to love and lofty ideals, nor are there any base and evil people. Camilo's imaginary dramatic world is peopled only by bumbling, fumbling mediocrities whose stupidity and ineptitude the author delights in revealing.[54] These are two rather unique plays in the Portuguese repertoire and even Camilo never came close to duplicating them.

G. Pinheiro Chagas--A Combination of Many Movements

Manuel Pinheiro Chagas (1842-1895) was a man of many talents: a monarchist politician and most important a journalist and magazine writer. He attended the Royal Military Academy and was graduated as a lieutenant in 1859. He was an adviser to the king, an honorary minister of state, a deputy to the Cortes during various administrations and a full member of the Royal Academy of Science in Lisbon. In brief, he was an influential man for many years in the Portuguese government as well as in literary circles.[55] Chagas was a man of fertile and exceptionally malleable talent, a well-known poet, novelist and historian of great repute that earned acclaim in Madrid and Paris as well as Lisbon. He had left the military service as a professional soldier early in life to earn many literary and diplomatic honors.[56]

A Morgadinha de Valflor[57](1869) was, in a certain manner of speaking, a dramatic anomaly. It was written, and first produced in the Teatro de D. Maria II, in 1869, fully four years after the eruption of the Questão Coimbrã. One recalls that Chagas was a central figure in the dispute. He was the protégé and "heir apparent" of Castilho who represented the status quo in literary taste. It is not surprising, therefore, that Chagas fought the new trend. The play is a love story concerning the travail of individuals from different social classes, written with a deceivingly simple, but sincere, lyricism.

In many ways, the work was a stylistic compromise be-

tween the ultraromantic, historical play and the quasi-ultra-romantic thesis play. The play is set, not in the distant past, but in the late eighteenth century in Portugal, during the French Revolution. At the same time the dialogues between the main protagonists Leonor, the aristocratic girl and Luís, the worker's son whom she loves, are more conversational and far less strident and oratorically expository than the long monologues of the drama da actualidade:

> Luís (quase de mãos postas): . . . Lembra-se da canção que ouvimos? Bem nos profetiza ela. Núpcias entre nós, só no túmulo. No mundo há as leis da sociedade, as leis da família, um conjunto de coisas absurdas e legítimas que se chama dever, e que desabam todas sobre o desgraçado que ousou revoltar-se contra uma delas.
>
> Leonor (Friamente, com voz sacudida e rápida, falando um pouco por cima do ombro) --Ocurreu-lhe tudo isso agora?
>
> Luís (com calor) --Tem razão, mil vezes razão. Fui um desgraçado que me esqueci por instantes de que o plebeu nem pode aspirar a ventura, nem pode desejá-la. O preconceito . . .
>
> (A Morgadinha de Valflor, IV, 1).

As accomplished and interesting as parts of this play were, there was no turning back for Portugal which was being swept by the winds of change in Europe that would create the Geração de 70.

FOOTNOTES

1. Rebello, op. cit., pp. xxvii-xxix.
2. Ibid., pp. xxviii-xxix.
3. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 21.
4. Ibid., pp. 19-20.
5. Rebello, op. cit., p. xxx.
6. Picchio, op. cit., p. 259.
7. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 9.
8. Ibid., p. 60.
9. Picchio, op. cit., pp. 258-59.
10. Inocêncio, op. cit., V, 127-28 and XIII, 209. (The original reference was put in II, 59 with Herculano).
11. Mendes Leal, Pedro (3rd ed.; Lisbon, 1873).
12. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
13. Ernesto Biester, A Redenção (Lisbon, 1856).
14. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 21.
15. Ibid., p. 12.
16. Ibid., p. 13.
17. Ibid., pp. 12-13.
18. Ibid., p. 14.
19. Leal, Os Homens de Mármore (Lisbon, 1854).
20. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., pp. 15-17.
21. Ibid., p. 16.
22. Leal, A Pobreza Envergonhada (Lisbon: 1858).

23. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 21.

24. Ibid., pp. 28-29.

25. Inocêncio, op. cit., II, 229-30 and IX, 174-76.

26. António Salgado Júnior, "Crítica Literária" in Diccionário . . . Literatura, I, 233.

27. Biester, "Crónica" in Revista Contemporânea de Portugal e Brasil (5 vols.; Lisbon, 1859-65), III, 223.

28. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

29. Biester, Os Homens Sérios (Lisbon, 1858).

30. _____, Os Homens Ricos (Lisbon, 1864).

31. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 32.

32. Ibid., pp. 32-33.

33. Ibid., pp. 35-36.

34. Biester, Os Operários (Lisbon, 1865).

35. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 31.

36. Inocêncio, op. cit., VIII, 335 and XXII, 464.

37. Rebello, op. cit., p. xxx.

38. César de Lacerda, Mistérios Sociais (Porto, 1858).

39. Inocêncio, op. cit., II, 385-6 and IX, 297-300.

40. Coelho, "Gomes de Amorim" in Dicionário . . . Literatura, I, 52.

41. Gomes de Amorim, O Cedro Vermelho (Lisbon, 1874).

42. _____, Aleijões Sociais (Lisbon, 1870).

43. Inocêncio, op. cit., IX, 299-300.

44. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 60.

45. Inocêncio, op. cit., IX, 299.

46. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 58.

47. Inocêncio, op. cit., II, 15-16 and IX, 7.

48. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 53 and Picchio, op. cit., p. 268.

49. Camilo Castelo Branco, O Morgado de Fafe em Lisboa (Lisbon: Tipografia da Parceira, 1929).

50. Branco, O Morgado de Fafe Amoroso (Lisbon: Tipografia da Parceira, 1929).

51. Rebello, op. cit., p. xxxi.

52. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

53. Picchio, op. cit., p. 266.

54. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 54.

55. Inocêncio, op. cit., XVI, pp. 288-89.

56. Hernâni Cidade, "Pinheiro Chagas" in Dicionário . . . Literatura, I, 178.

57. Manuel Pinheiro Chagas, A Morgadinha de Valflor in Teatro Português, I, 73-103.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE THESIS PLAY IN BRAZIL

A. Introduction

1. Political and Social Developments

The two decades from 1855 to 1875 are generally considered to be among the most productive in terms of the quantity and quality of plays written in the history of the Brazilian theater and are often referred to as the "golden period."[1] Just as in Portugal, all literary genres in Brazil showed the influence of models from other European countries, and so France was also the country that exerted the most influence on the Brazilian theater. Brazilian playwrights, whether or not they had an opportunity to travel and study abroad, were all able to study current theatrical movements in Europe, either in the original or in translation, for translations played an important role in the Brazilian theater. Added to this is the fact that Rio de Janeiro and the other important cities in Brazil were always extremely hospitable to traveling companies of foreign players.[2] For instance, the first serious French theatrical company with a host of well-known performers, came to Rio de Janeiro in 1840. The company was enthusiastically received and highly successful, with its presentation in the San Januário Theater of plays by such French playwrights as Beaumarchais,

Molière, Racine and Delavigne.[3]

The two major playwrights in the early part of this "golden age" were Joaquim Manuel de Macedo and José de Alencar. Many times, the history of the Brazilian theater appears to be the work of men whose fame lies primarily in other genres; that is, their plays are secondary in importance or renown to either their poems or their novels. Both Macedo and Alencar are no exception to the rule. Macedo first gained literary fame with his novel, A Moreninha (1844) and Alencar went on to write the great Indianist novels of Brazil, Iracema (1865), O Guarani (1857) and Ubirajara (1874). Because of this, both men were accused by contemporaries and by each other, as well as by modern critics, of considering their work in the theater as no more than a whim or passing fancy.[4] As was the case with playwrights in Portugal during the same period, both men came under the influence of the thesis play or problem drama as developed in France by Augier and Dumas fils. The bourgeoisie was in ascendancy in Brazil and the usual themes of the thesis play revolved around the bourgeois family: the themes of money, the mariage de convenance and adultery were much more in vogue and could be readily appreciated by the middle-class Brazilian theater-goer of the period.[5]

The thesis play even came to have its own theater in Rio de Janeiro, the Ginásio Dramático, which had been the Teatro São Francisco de Paula. The theatrical company had one of the greatest, and most modern-thinking producers of

the period, Joaquim Heliodoro and also one of the great French directors, Emílio Doux. They produced in their repertory the most modern Parisian plays by Dumas fils, Scribe, Augier and Sardou. For instance, on the seventh of February in 1856, La Dame aux Camelias was produced in Brazil for the first time, in a Portuguese translation four years after its première in Paris. The Ginásio Dramático and its company were extremely important, for they became the bastion of a great deal of theatrical reform and innovation in Brazil for many years. On its very opening night the theater was the scene of historical change. It opened on the night of the twelfth of April in 1855 with the play, O Primo de Califórnia[6] by Macedo. It was an historic event because for the first time in the theater, the actors and actresses were dressed in modern clothing, thus giving rise to the name drama de casaca. The historical drama and the classical tragedy as embodied in the acting company of João Caetano became history.[7]

It would be an error to assume, however, that the Brazilian dramas de casaca were the same, or received the same stylistic treatment as, their counterparts in Portugal, the dramas da actualidade. As already discussed, the social theme in the Portuguese thesis plays tended to be either subordinated to the love plot in later acts or lost altogether in the fast shuffle of matchmaking. But such was not the case in Brazil. Although Macedo, for example, started with Romantic plays in verse and then vacillated between the

"realistic comedy" in the tradition of Martins Pena and the thesis play,[8] he remained true to himself throughout his playwriting career in condemning the society that produced the tragic or comic situation upon which the play was based.[9] In the same vein, Alencar, who based his plays almost exclusively on the French thesis plays, not only kept a strong social theme throughout each piece but, at times, as in the play, As Asas de um Anjo[10](1858), restricted the logical comportment of his characters to fit the preconceived idea of his ethical plot.[11] Another very important factor to be considered in Brazil, which did not exist in Portugal, was the great influence of the "realistic comedy" of Martins Pena on many Brazilian playwrights, including Macedo. Although Macedo made an important change in thematic emphasis in his version of the realistic comedy, he was to follow Pena's general idea of drawing his characters from typical middle-class urban and rural life and depicting realistic situations from the lives of those people.[12] Another important factor, and perhaps the most important, was the simple fact that Brazil was not Portugal. Brazil had its own peculiar problems which it did not necessarily share with the former mother country. This was seen in part already in the themes of Gomes de Amorim, who, although he was Portuguese and wrote and produced his plays in Portugal, was greatly influenced by the uniquely different surroundings of his childhood upbringing in Brazil.

One theme, in particular, that assumed great signifi-

cance in the thesis play in Brazil but not in Portugal was that of the Negro. This was true because a large percentage of the population was black and the abolition of slavery had become a burning political issue at this point in Brazilian history, at precisely the time of the appearance of the thesis play.[13] There were, perhaps, other less tangible factors which also had an influence on the Brazilian play--such as a former colony's search for national identity--but it was clear from the very beginning in Gonçalves de Magalhães' recurring social criticism and in Pena's totally different realistic comedy that Brazilian theater would not be a mere copy of Portuguese theater, but rather, would in many respects tend to differ from it.

2. New Themes and Techniques

Brazilian Romantics were like the Portuguese ones, even to the extent that some--like Gonçalves Dias--wrote about the Portuguese past. There was only one basic difference: because of the spirit of nationalism, the Brazilians frequently presented Portuguese characters as villains.

Essentially, the same thing can be said of the Brazilian thesis play. It was basically the same bourgeois drama as in Portugal, with emphasis on bourgeois virtues and vices. The only new theme in Brazil concerned the problem of the Negro and slavery.

As might be expected, dramatic techniques were little different. Structurally, the plays lacked movement and action. This static quality derived in part by the kind of

dialogue employed. The dialogues were frequently in the form of debates, with questions and answers. As was the case in Portugal, it was not uncommon to have a character ask a rhetorical question which he answered himself, resulting in a monologue. Sentences were long and involved and showed no resemblance to conversational speech. The authors, when possible, attempted to introduce epigrams. There was a great abuse of the long monologue, as in the earlier theater.

A typical scene (or act) in a three act play consisted of ten to fifteen such speeches in which two or three characters did ninety percent of the talking. The three general types of characters who did most of the talking were the hero, the raisonneur and the villain. More so in Brazil than in Portugal, women were sometimes given a major role, and one might include the heroine as a fourth type.

Some of the monologues could be relatively short, consisting of nine or ten lines with four or five sentences of about one hundred words. Some of the longer ones averaged twenty or more lines with nine or ten sentences averaging almost two hundred words and sometimes more. As a general rule, one can say that the longer the speech, the proportionately fewer and more complex were the sentences. When read at a normal rate of speed, some of the average long monologues last for three minutes. However, some of the exceptionally long ones can go on as long as five minutes. In these monologues there are no simple sentences. The complex

sentences making up these monologues usually had a number of dependent clauses contingent on the point being made and who was speaking. The raisonneur, for example, (as the word implies) usually made no exclamatory remarks. His calm, well-thought out sentences were extremely long and made the most use of dependent clauses.

It must be kept in mind that the continued emphasis on the fact that Brazil followed Portugal's lead in the theater, in no way implies that what the Brazilians wrote was necessarily inferior. For the modern reader, some of their plays seem far superior and their realistic comedy very original. It is unfortunate, however, that because of the peculiar cultural relationship between Portugal and Brazil in the nineteenth century in which Portuguese dramatic ideas (copied mainly from the French), plays and acting companies went to Brazil but almost nothing came back in return, the exchange of dramatic influence was for the most part, a one way affair. Martins Pena, for instance, not only went unpublished in Portugal, but was not even mentioned in Inocêncio da Silva's (1810-1876) Dicionário Bibliográfico Português until the sixteenth volume printed in 1893 when Brito Aranha (1833-1914) was the editor.[14]

B. Joaquim Manuel de Macedo--The Romantic Play, the Thesis Play and the Realistic Comedy

Joaquim Manuel de Macedo attempted to write all three types of plays and is the only Brazilian dramatist to have done so. The overall direction that each type of play took

can be seen best in the themes. The Romantic plays had themes which dealt mainly with idealized love and the rather far-fetched self-sacrifice in which characters indulged in order to attain it. In Cobé, for instance, the romanticized Indian, Cobé, ends the play by taking poison intended for his idealized lover, a Portuguese girl, D. Branca. She in turn dies of a broken heart. In O Cego (1849), which takes place mainly in a dark forest, the love plot concerns a blind man's marriage to a girl who really loves his brother. In the end, the blind brother who suspects her infidelity (naturally there is none) tries to kill her but cannot do so, and kills himself instead. From idealized love and self-sacrifice, Macedo turned in his thesis plays to the usual themes in vogue: the evil of the mariage de convenance and the greed of society with its false façade. Typical of this type of play, as revealed in the title, was Luxo e Vaidade. Some of the same themes were presented in his realistic comedy, A Torre em Concurso, but in a more indirect and effective manner. This type of play treated social themes rather for their comic interest.

The first playwright to be discussed, Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, born in the province of Rio de Janeiro in 1820, was a very learned man. He was a medical doctor on the university faculty in Rio de Janeiro, a professor of geography and history at the Colégio de D. Pedro II and a member of the Directors Council for Public Education to the Royal Court. Macedo was a co-founder and first vice-president of

the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, as well as a member of the National Industrial Council. Although politics was not a strong vocation of his, Macedo was elected to the National Chamber of Deputies in 1864-68 and again in 1878-81. He died in Rio de Janeiro in 1882.[15]

Macedo's first play, O Cego, a Romantic piece written in verse was presented for the first time on January 24th in 1849 in the Teatro São Januário. João Caetano played the lead role of Paulo, o cego.[16] Although the play is in verse, which was the preferred medium of the historical drama, it deals primarily with a contemporary problem, namely, that of a forced marriage due to paternal omnipotence in family affairs and the unfortunate events which are a result of it.[17] Macedo's marked tendency to criticize society can be seen in the railing of the heroine, Maria, against her unfair fate of being a woman and, therefore, having to suffer because of it. It is quite similar in theme to that already seen in Leonor de Mendonça:

> Maria --Eu me curvo ao destino de meu sexo;
> É preciso viver no nosso mundo;
> Receber como leis suas cadeias;
> Ter o riso no rosto, e o pranto n'alma,
> E dizer --sou feliz! . . . Que sorte
> /iníqua!
> É mulher excepcional vivente,
> Que tem alma, e não querem que ela sinta!
> Tem coração e ordenam que não ame! . . .
> A mulher sempre é vítima no mundo.
> Sujeita des que nasce até que morre,
> De pai passa a tutor, irmão, marido . . .
> Sempre um senhor . . . (o nome é que se
> /muda);
> Sempre a seu lado um homem se levanta
> Para pensar e desejar por ela;
> Criança, junto a quem sempre vigiam;

Cego, que sempre pela mão se leva;
Eis a mulher! . . . eis o que eu sou e todas!
/. . .
E ao muito se consegue ser amada;
É escrava, que num altar se prende,
Divindade, que em ferros se conserva,
E a quem se chama (ó irrisão!!!)
SENHORA!
(O Cego, II, 1).

The five acts in the play all have subtitles, which of course, are clues to the main scheme of the act: "A Noiva," "O Sacrifício," "Ciúme" and so forth.

Although the characters in themselves are not particularly noteworthy, it was the first of the modern Brazilian dramas in which a Negro character appeared: Daniel, the model of a faithful slave to his blind master, Paulo. The play in no way touches on the problem of slavery, even in passing.[18] In fact, by today's standard, Daniel's unswerving loyalty might be viewed as demeaning:

Daniel -- . . . . . Ó! maldito
Eu fôsse, se olvidasse o que vos devo!
Nunca me hão de esquecer as frases trémulas
Que ao expirar, como um legado santo,
Me disse minha mãe; sempre as recordo:
"Filho! . . . meu bemfeitor te recomendo;
Se necessário fôr, morre por ele."
(Depois de enxugar uma lágrima.)
Serei grato e fiel eternamente.
Sou vosso escravo . . . --não! sou mais
/do que isso,
Sou cão fiel, que a vossos pés vigia.
(O Cego, I, 5).

The play appeared a full decade after Goncalves de Magalhães, and this ambitious attempt to equal the examples set by him was received very coldly by the theater-going public in Rio de Janeiro.[19]

Cobé, a five-act, Romantic drama in blank verse with an

Indianist theme was probably written in 1852 but was not produced until the 7th of September in 1859 in the Teatro São Pedro. The role of Cobé was played by Florindo while Branca, the heroine was played by Ludovina Soares da Costa, one of the most famous actresses of the period.[20]

The play represents a Romantic idealization of the idea of the "noble savage" during the time of the colonization of Brazil by the Portuguese conquistadores. Three of the five acts take place in a setting appropriate for a historical drama:

> O teatro representa parte de um quintal murado: no último plano da esquerda uma porta; ao fundo corre o muro, que antes serve de defesa, que de embelezamento; no terceiro e quarto planos da direita a frente de uma casa com patim, para onde se sobe por uma escada de madeira; por baixo do patim duas portas pequenas, que dão entrada para dous quartos.
> (Cobé, I, III and IV, Directions).

The action of the plot is based on a rather simple love story. Cobé, an Indian, is in love with Branca, the daughter of Rodrigo, a Portuguese conquistador, and is, therefore, a willing slave of the Portuguese because he is a slave to his love for Branca. Although the Romantic plot is systematically carried to a Romantic conclusion (in this case Cobé kills himself to further Branca's happiness), Macedo's tendency to strong social criticism, as examined already in O Cego, is repeated in this play. It is also a strongly nationalistic play. As they covet land and riches while hiding beneath the mask of religiousness, the Portuguese are depicted as being, in fact, nothing but thieves, driven by outright

greed:

D. Fuas --Mas quando a estupidez foge à verdade,
E justiça obrigar a conhecê-la
Querieis que depois de esforços tantos,
Olvidando as mais doces esperanças
Do novo atravessassemos o oceano,
Deixando-vos nas garras do pecado,
E a terra de Cabral imersa em trevas? . . .
Cobe --A terra de Cabral?!!! um navegante,
Que açoitado por fera tempestade,
Como a esponja, que o mar arroja às praias,
Sem o pensar, a terra ignota chega,
Tem jus acaso a possessão alheia? . . .
A terra era já nossa e o será sempre;
Quem, e com que direito ousou doar-lha?!!!
A terra é de quem nasce sobre a terra;
O deserto é do tigre, e do selvagem;
Vós outros que deixais vossas cidades,
Se inda a vossa ambição os campos faltam,
Pedi . . . nós vo-los damos . . . sobras
/temos;
Mas a terra, senhor, não, não é vossa.
(Cobé, I, 5).

Once again, Macedo strongly criticizes the abuse of paternal authority by which a father arranges a marriage for his daughter with a man of his choice and totally against her desires. This is one of the more important thematic aspects of Cobé which gives the play the appearance of being a revised version of O Cego:[21]

D. Rodrigo -- Ouve-me, Branca,
Sério dever ao pé de ti me chama.
Vejo que os anos rápidos se volvem,
E é tempo de cumprir missão sagrada,
Que a natureza, que te fez, te incumbe.
Talvez que há muito o coração te pede
O esposo que feliz deve tornar-te;
Como pai desvelado não me esqueço
Do que convém de minha filha a dita.
Esposo te escolhi, e posso dar-me
Os parabens do noivo que te of'reço
Como somos, é nobre, honrado e rico:
Nobre, o nome não pode marear-nos;
Honrado, a estima pública merece;
Rico, pode fazer que a vida passes
No seio de prazeres e venturas.
Das núpcias o altar se ascende em breve,

De tal saber julguei que estimarias,
Como pai amoroso vim dizer-to
E portanto dispõe-te p'ra bem cedo
Seguir o esposo que te o Céu destina:
Seu nome o coração já te adivinha,
É D. Gil.

Maria attempts to avoid the unpleasant fate of being forced into a marriage not of her design, by pretending that she only wishes to serve her father a bit longer:

Branca --Não me lanceis, senhor, de vós p'ra longe
Tão cedo . . . inda sou moça . . . inda
/não quero
Ligar-me a um homem que meu pai não seja
/. . .
À noite minhas mãos hão de aquecer-vos
Os pés, eu viverei para servir-vos
Como filha que sou, ou como escrava;
Mas casar-me senhor, ah! não; piedade!
/. . .

(Cobé, II, 5).

Neither of these plays, based on models from the past, was very well received by the theater-going public in Rio de Janeiro, but Macedo, who often gave the impression of a playwright in search of a theme on which to base his dramatic productions, went forward undaunted. He seemed to write his plays on a spur of the moment suggestion, using an idea based on a past success.[22]

Macedo now wrote a two-act comedy, O Primo da Califórnia, based on an imitação do francês. It is in prose, except, of course, for a few songs in verse, and the action takes place in contemporary Rio de Janeiro. The settings are also contemporary and indoors, the first act taking place in:

Uma sala modestamente ornada; uma mesa com gavetas; um piano, um violão, papeis de música, etc.; uma porta ao fundo abrindo para a rua.

The second act is almost the same except for its modest condition:

> O teatro representa a saleta baixa, irregular e pobre de uma mansarda; os trastes e mobília da sala do primeiro acto estão em desordem. (O Primo da Califórnia, I & II, Scene Settings).

The play is a social satire whose theme is based on the idea that the world is a very illogical place:

> Celestina --Coragem! ninguém como eu tem direito a aconselhar coragem: tu o sabes já; nasci no seio da riqueza; mas era filha natural, e quando meu bom pai morreu, os parentes de ele e meus queimaram-lhe o testamento, e enxotaram-me para o meio da rua.
>
> Adriano --E a vítima foi olhada como uma criatura desprezível! e os larápios, que queimaram o testamento, transformaram-se com a rica herança, que roubaram, em homens de bem e de gravata lavada! . . . É preciso confessar que o maior maluco deste mundo é o mesmo mundo!
>
> (O Primo da Califórnia, I, 4).

The unfairest aspect of society, that is, the main criticism that Macedo makes against it, is that society lives by appearances and values the individual according to his wealth. In other words, it is far more important to have, or even appear to have, money than to possess any actual talent.

The plot that conveys the theme is relatively simple. Adriano, a composer, is turned down by publishers, despised by society and hounded by creditors. He invents a rich primo da Califórnia to assuage his pride. As a joke, his friends publish a false death notice of the rich primo in the daily newspapers, stating he has left a fortune to

Adriano. Suddenly, everyone lauds him, praises him and fawns on him:

> Pantaleão --E se preferir a política, V. S. será eleitor . . . juiz de paz . . . comandante da guarda nacional . . . deputado . . . e até barão! . . . isto é muito agradável ao amor próprio!
> Adriano (levantando-se) --Muito obrigado. (à-parte) Ah! . . . tudo agora se desembrulha! as delicadezas, as amizades, as senhorias, os oferecimentos . . . oh! dinheiro!!!
> (O Primo da Califórnia, II, 7).

There are many light moments in this simple plot and many comical situations but Macedo never allows the viewer to forget his main ethical consideration of criticizing society and its injustices:

> Celestina --Oh! isto sim é que é uma grande felicidade! todos apostaram sobre quem mais faria para te colocar a salvo da pobreza!
> Adriano --Sim! agora já de nada disso preciso, curvam-se todos ante o meu dinheiro: oh! sim! abrem-me os braços, quando já estou acima de seus favores: este mundo, Celestina, tem uma alma de bilhetes do banco, e um coração de manjolo!
> (O Primo da Califórnia, II, 13).

It should be pointed out that even many of the songs which are sung in the play are, in fact, a medium for conveying the critical message of the dramatist. The final stanzas of the song that ends the play sum up his idea of society:

> Pantaleão
> O rico nunca tem frio
> Traz sempre a barriga cheia;
> E até por cousas que eu sei
> Jamais visita a cadeia.
>
> Felisberto
> Homem pobre é sempre feio

Bicho mau e desprezado;
Quem tem dinheiro é bonito,
E sábio, sempre engraçado.

Coro Geral
Dinheiro! venha dinheiro!
Dinheiro é tudo na terra;
Dá prazeres, glória, amores,
Faz a paz e move a guerra.
Fim do Segundo e Último Acto.
(O Primo da Califórnia, II, 16)

Macedo demonstrated his versatility regarding the selection of plots by writing such plays as: a one-act, historical play, Amor e Pátria in 1859, concerning the return to Rio de Janeiro from the Ipiranga River of D. Pedro I in 1822; O Novo Otelo in 1860, a one-act comedy, concerning a young man who has seen João Caetano play Othelo and who dreams he is the personification of the jealousy of the Moor; and O Sacrifício de Isaac, a Biblical allegory which was never produced on stage.[23] This range of plot selection brought him under heavy fire from his contemporaries. One of them, Machado de Assis, who, one of the most penetrating theater critics of his time, could be considered as hovering between Romanticism and realism,[24] was very critical of Macedo's tendency of looking to please the public and, therefore, changing themes so often. After mentioning some of the various types of plots employed by Macedo, he said:

> Tal é o teatro do Snr. Dr. Macedo, talento dramático, que podendo encher a biblioteca nacional com obras de pulso e originalidade, abandonou a via dos primeiros instantes, em busca dos efeitos e dos aplausos do dia; talento cómico, não penetrou na esfera da comédia, e deixou-se levar pela sedução do burlesco e da sátira teatral. A boa comédia, a única que pode dar-lhe nome, talvez menos ruidoso, mas com certeza mais

> seguro, essa não quis praticá-la o autor da Torre em Concurso. Foi o seu erro. Acompanhar as alternativas caprichosas da opinião, sacrificar a lei do gosto e a lição da arte, é esquecer a nobre missão das musas. Da parte de um intruso, seria cousa sem consequência; da parte de um poeta, é condenável.[25]

The one comedy of Macedo of which Machado de Assis thought highly, Torre em Concurso, was the very one that the playwright based on the tradition of the realistic comedy of Martins Pena. In this play Macedo depicts, as Pena did before him, the everyday customs of rural Brazil, in particular, those political customs involved in small town elections in the provinces. Although this particular play contains fewer moralizing generalizations than his other works, part of his satire is directed at the Brazilian national inferiority complex; that is, at Brazilians' penchant for thinking that anything foreign is not only as good as but also better than anything Brazilian. Because of this, Macedo always showed more interest in the sin than in the particular sinner and in the evil itself, rather than in the evildoer. As for characterization, he differed then from Martins Pena, for he did not generally succeed in creating memorable "types" of characters as did Pena. But all in all, the play is a jocose portrait of Brazilian national customs.[26]

The three-act play takes place in Serra das Batatas in 1859 and had its première on 7 September in 1861 in the Ginásio Dramático.[27] Macedo wastes little time in setting the action for his plot and the target for his satire, namely, the awarding of a contract to build a tower in the village.

The protagonist, Henrique, is a qualified engineer, but unfortunately for him, a Brazilian, for the town council wants a foreign engineer, preferably an English one:

> João Fernandes --Está na lei, há-de se cumprir. Queremos um engenheiro inglês para fazer a torre, e também para concertar o alambique da minha engenhoca, que se desarranjou o ano passado. Snr. escrivão, ande . . .
>
> Henrique --Um momento: perderei palavras, mas cumprirei o meu dever. Estais fazendo loucuras! eu já vos disse que o presidente da província vai contemplar-me no número dos engenheiros dela, e encarregar-me da direção das obras da nossa igreja, e em tal caso . . .
>
> Manuel Gonçalves --Homem, você é eleitor influente de alguma freguesia? . . .
>
> Henrique --Não, e que tem isso?
>
> Manuel Gonçalves --Pois, se não é influência eleitoral, como diabo quer que o presidente faça caso de você?
>
> Vozes --Fora! fora! . . . ah! ah! ah!
>
> Henrique --Quero, sim! nasci neste lugar; deve, portanto, ser-me grato prestar-lhe os meus serviços como engenheiro que sou. Em uma palavra, snres., a obra que com razão desejais, há-de ser executada e sê-lo-á por mim a despeito da vossa anglomania.
>
> (A Torre em Concurso, I, 1).

In a much lighter vein, far more reminiscent of Pena, is the love plot which unites the main characters in the play. Henrique is in love with Faustina whose cousin, Felícia, is trying to help them. They need help, for Faustina's aunt, Ana, thinking herself still a young and attractive girl, believes that Henrique is madly in love with her and wishes to marry her. In Ana, Macedo created one of the few really memorable farcical characters à la Martins Pena.[28] In the following scene, Ana is hiding during the conversation to see if Henrique really loves her:

> Henrique --Faça ponto aí, D. Faustina; você

cada vez se mostra mais injusta comigo: você . . . eu não sei . . . isto quase que faz rir! Pois deveras chegou um instante só a admitir a possibilidade de que eu amasse sua tia? . . . Ora esta! . . .

Faustina --Sim senhor . . . sim senhor . . . um homem é capaz de tudo; é capaz até de apaixonar-se por uma estaca enfeitada com um vestido e uma touca.

Ana --(àparte) --Então! . . . estou já como uma cobra! Eu caio em cima daquela maitaca, e pelo menos arranco-lhe o nariz.

Henrique --Ao pé de ti, minha bela Faustina, poderia eu ter olhos para ver uma mulher . . . velha . . .

Ana (àparte) --Ah! malvado!

Henrique --Desageitada . . .

Ana (àparte) --Oh perverso!

Henrique --Feia . . .

Ana (àparte) --Ladrão e assassino! . . .

Henrique --Uma mulher a quem eu respeito sòmente por ser sua tia! . . .

Felícia (a Ana) --Então, minha tia, que diz a isto? . . .

Ana (a Felícia) --Estou como uma bomba: espera que estouro já.

Felícia (recuando) --E eu de longe.

Faustina --Pois bem; estou decidida: não posso mais viver assim no meio destas dúvidas que me desesperam: exijo absolutamente que o senhor desengane a minha tia, e que lhe diga em face que não a ama, que a despreza, que . . .

Henrique --Prometo, juro que lho direi hoje mesmo.

Ana (aparecendo) --Pois diga já . . . diga . . . miserável, homem indigno! . . .

Faustina (recuando aterrada) --Ó! . . . meu Deus!

Felícia (correndo a ela) --Sio! sio! nada de desmaios por ora: ainda não é ocasião.

Faustina (a Felícia) --Deixa-me; tu me atraiçoaste.

Ana (em furor) --Fale, diga, meu senhor! faça a vontade, obedeça as ordens da sua Dulcinea del Toboso: ande: insulte-me! diga que me aborrece, que me atraiçoa por causa deste milagresinho de cêra . . . desta hipócrita . . . sonsa dos sete tornoselos . . .

(A Torre em Concurso, II, 4).

This portion of the plot concerning the romance between Henrique, Faustina and Ana is in a purely farcical vein with

no other purpose than to make the audience laugh. Most of the techniques of Pena's realistic comedy are brought into play: the character hiding in a closet to overhear a conversation, the prolific use of asides to the audience and to other personages. When Macedo deals with the other aspect of the plot, that is, the national inferiority complex of Brazilians, the farcical basis for comedy is often heavily laden with serious political generalizations. For instance, the two Brazilian confidence men (tratantes), Crespim and Pascoal, who pass themselves off as English engineers by speaking a horrible sort of pidgin English, "Godemi! wait banc travers . . . ," and are the motivating factor for this section of the plot, often express rather severe criticism for the political and social system in Brazil. This trait of proffering general criticisms is what distinguishes Macedo's characters in this type of comedy from Pena's.[29]

> Pascoal --É verdade . . . sim; mas se eu tenho sina de cachorro! escuta, Crespim: se o teu partido vencer, de que modo te hás-de arranjar, se tu nunca soubeste como se arma um mundeu, quanto mais como se levanta uma torre? . . . como te improvisarás engenheiro na prática, meu Crespim . . . ?
>
> Crespim --És o tipo da estupidez, Pascoal; vives na cidade, e não enxergas as casas! atende, miserável: não há professores de colégios que ensinam o que nunca souberam? . . . não se transforma em diplomata um boneco que sabe sòmente namorar e fazer cortesias? . . . não se faz de um homem de juízo torto um juiz de direito? . . . o patronato não é um santo milagroso que torna um jacaré em Adonis, um tratante em benemérito da pátria, e um táboa rasa em sábio da Grécia? . . . pois então por que também não poderei ser um engenheiro de torres, e, ainda melhor, casar com a filha do capitão João Fernandes? . . .
>
> Pascoal --Mas, por fim de contas, como hás de

construir a torre? . . .
Crespim --Nada mais simples: chamo um mestre pedreiro e um mestre carpinteiro e mando-os arranjar a obra como puderem. Olha, Pascoal; faz-se muito disso aí por esse mundo do Brasil: tanto o povo como o governo já estão habituados a comer gato por lebre, e até parece que gostam do guisado.
(A Torre em Concurso, III, 7).

This play was an important contribution to Brazilian drama in the nineteenth century. With its popularity, it established firmly the then recent tradition of the realistic comedy of Martins Pena and permitted and encouraged its continuation by other dramatists within the bounds of its special characteristics, so enjoyed by the theater-going public in Brazil.[30]

The five-act play, Luxo e Vaidade, which was first produced on September 23 in 1860 in the Ginásio Dramático, was based on models from the French thesis play, and has for a main theme, the evils inherent in the organization of society.[31] The play itself is very close in style and language to the Portuguese drama da actualidade. A middle-class family, sure that it can arrange a brilliant marriage for its daughter with a noble family, lives far beyond its means in order to maintain a social façade. Unlike the Portuguese dramatists of the same period, Macedo never lost sight of the fact that he was criticizing society, and the love plot was never allowed to overshadow the critical theme. In the following example, Anastácio, who is the spokesman for Macedo throughout the play, faults his brother for his self-deception, but even more so, he faults society for creating the

situation in the first place. Laying the basic blame on society for any situation was a characteristic of Macedo:[32]

> Anastácio --Maurício! qual! deixaram-me por amor dos barões Mirins! Perdi a minha retórica, e está decidido que meu irmão precisa receber uma lição amarga e rude. Desgraçados! debatendo-se já no fundo do abismo, e tão cegos e tão vaidosos ainda! Ó! é esta sociedade envenenada e corrupta que estraga todos os corações! é esta sociedade que deixando-se escravisar pela paixão do luxo! sacrifica todos os sentimentos e todas as considerações ao ouro; devorada por esta paixão funesta, prefere o ouro à sabedoria, o ouro à honra, o ouro à virtude! é ela que despreza o vestidinho branco da senhora pobre, mas honesta, pelas sedas e pelos veludos das grandes libertinas! é ela que ensina a abafar o pudor, e a menosprezar a própria reputação para satisfazer a paixão do luxo . . . sim! é uma sociedade depravada, que zomba e ri da consciência, da lealdade, da justiça, da pátria, de Deus, e que violenta se arroja pela estrada da desmoralização, tendo na mente uma única idéia--ouro! ouro! ouro! . . .
>
> (Luxo e Vaidade, III, 4).

As can be seen in this monologue, the dialogue employed in the thesis play of Macedo tended toward the same long-winded, moralizing type of speech as was used in Portugal in the same genre of play. Macedo's speech was, however, much more strident and critical. The passage has over one hundred sixty words, excluding the omitted concluding sentences, "Que fazes tu aqui? . . . estavas ouvindo o que dizia, não? . . . ," which are not an integral part of the monologue. In the play there are seventeen such passages containing fifteen lines or more. Excluding the exclamatory remarks, there are nine complete sentences, and there is only one that does not end with an exclamation point. In all, there are fourteen exclamation points in this passage. One notes the use also of anaphora for heightened rhetorical effect, a stylis-

tic technique much abused by the thesis-play dramatists. "é esta sociedade que . . . " begins two sentences while "é ela que . . . ," which is only a slight variation, begins two others. The climax sentence begins with still another variation of the same phrase, "é uma sociedade . . . " There is also the frequent use of metaphor in the verbs associated with society, "it laughs at," "makes fun of," "ventures on," and is "devoured by." There are also many metaphorical nouns like, "todos os corações," "vestidinhos brancos," "sedas," "veludos," and "estrada da desmoralização."

The settings for the thesis plays of Macedo are also most often the middle class salon. Act One of Luxo e Vaidade takes place in a "sala, ornada com esmero e luxo . . . " Acts Three and Five are situated in a "sala interior em casa de Maurício; sempre o mesmo luxo e elegância; mesa pequena, mas de rico trabalho . . ." Perhaps, in part because of his Romantic background and in part because of Brazil's exotic landscape, Macedo could not resist placing at least one act in a relatively exotic setting. For instance, the second act is in the

> Jardim Botánico; ao fundo ve-se o lago e a pequena ilha; à esquerda grupos de bambús, à direita aparece sobre o seu outeiro um lado da casa de cedro; árvores e arbustos convenientemente dispostos.

Another ambitious attempt at a thesis play was Lusbela, a four-act drama with a prologue, that had its première on September 28 in 1862 in the Ginásio Dramático.[33] The plot centers upon Damiana, the innocent and unwitting victim of

a seduction, who is banished from her family and returns, transformed into Lusbela, the vengeful woman. The plot, and, in fact, the entire structure of the play, was heavily influenced by the French play, La Dame aux Camelias.[34]

There is a love plot concerning Cristina, Damiana's sister, but Macedo actually structures the play around his criticism of society, which he condemned, as he always did, for having created the basis for such a tragedy in the first place. One reason for Macedo's criticism of society in this play is the importance which it places upon money and the subsequent quest for it, all resulting in social and personal evils:

> Graciano --Tristes andamos sempre todos nós os pobres, senhor Pedro Nunes; é a nossa condição; não pode haver alegria na pobreza.
> Pedro --Pode e há, senhor Graciano; pode e há, quando o pobre é honesto e laborioso: eu sou pobre desde muitos anos, e quase sempre tenho vivido contente.
> Graciano --Não me acontece outro tanto. E o que observo é que uma linha fatal separa os homens em duas classes: em pobres e ricos; em ricos que absorvem todos os gozos, todos os direitos, e que abusam, queixando-se debalde, que desejam e não tem; que trabalham e não colhem, e que são ultrajados impunemente em suas aflições e na sua honra. Eu aborreço os ricos.

Pedro protests that such sentiments are unwarranted, for he has worked for the baroness for twenty-five happy years. Graciano then replies:

> Graciano --Vinte e cinco anos! um acto de beneficência, cujo princípio pertence a história antiga! Senhor Pedro Nunes, os tempos são outros agora: a humanidade tem degenerado espantosamente; os filhos deshonram os nomes dos pais, e de ordinário encontra-se no filho da família protetora o

sedutor da filha da família protegida.
(Lusbela, Prólogo, Scene 2).

In this kind of play, Macedo's characters are divided into good ones and bad ones, and evil is portrayed as only the temporary ignorance of what is good.[35] In fact, Macedo seems to take great secret delight in his "bad" characters, for they demonstrate society's failure in having caused their plight. In this respect, Macedo was amazingly close to today's thought on society's responsibility for an individual's actions.

The other part of Macedo's criticism of society in the play was its unfair treatment of women, a favorite topic of his. Damiana finds her expiation at the end of the play in death. It will be remembered that at the end of the play in the Portuguese drama da actualidade the social theme had for the most part been long forgotten or ignored but not so with Macedo. Even as she lies dying, Damiana makes a final moral judgment of society as the real cause of her tragic end:

> Damiana (esforçando-se) --Leôncio de Almeida . . . eu morro . . . folga e ri! há nove anos, tu me seduziste, e a sociedade . . . que me proscreveu . . . não te degradou . . . nem te baniu do seu seio . . . hoje . . . amaste o braço de meu assassino . . . e amanhã . . . a sociedade . . . ainda terá para ti como de antes . . . afogos . . . honras . . . e grandezas . . . folga e ri! . . . dize, porém, à sociedade . . . que é iníquo . . . atormentar as vítimas . . . e abraçar os algozes . . . dize-lhe . . . que despreze, sim . . . e puna . . . as mulheres que se deixam seduzir . . . mas que despreze . . . e castigue ainda mais . . . os sedutores que as levam à perdição! . . . (com muito esforço) Leôncio de Almeida! . . . folga e ri! . . .

mas treme da justiça de Deus! . . .
(Lusbela, IV, 7).

The two plays, Luxo e Vaidade and Lusbela incurred the ire of Machado de Assis for their lack of originality, among other things, and he wrote a scathing review. Note should be made of the two plays he did like:

> O Cego e o Cobé, do Snr. Dr. Macedo, apesar das belezas que lhe reconhecemos, não tiveram grande aplauso público. Mas Lusbela e Luxo e Vaidade compensaram largamente o poeta; representados por largo espaço no Ginásio desta corte, foram levados a cena em alguns teatros de província, onde o vate fluminense encontrou um eco simpático e unânime. Se mencionamos este facto é para lembrar ao autor, que o bom caminho não é o da Lusbela e Luxo e Vaidade, mas o do Cego e do Cobé. Estas duas peças, apesar dos reparos que lhe fizemos e dos graves defeitos que contêm, exprimem um talento dramático de certo vigor e originalidade; não assim as outras que caem inteiramente fora do caminho encetado pelo autor; essas não se recomendam nem pela originalidade da concepção, nem pela correção dos carateres, nem pela novidade das situações. Quando parecia que os anos tinham dado ao talento dramático do autor aqueles dotes que se não alcançam sem o tempo e o estudo, aparecem as duas peças do Snr. Dr. Macedo, manifestando, em vez do progresso esperado, um regresso imprevisto. Para os que amam as letras, esse regresso foi uma triste decepção.[36]

No one can deny that Macedo had his faults: lack of original themes, constant shifting from one type of play to another and back again, stereotyped characters, a desire for public approval. Some of the criticism leveled at him is quite valid while some could be leveled against any dramatist in the nineteenth century. In all fairness to Macedo and his constant meandering through different genres of drama, it must be recalled that, when he wrote his first

play in 1849, Brazil itself had had a dramatic "tradition" of only eleven years, beginning with Gonçalves de Magalhães in 1838. Macedo's contributions to the nascent Brazilian theater in the nineteenth century far outweigh his faults: he cemented the recent tradition of the realistic comedy of Martins Pena, started the drama de casaca and, in his comedies in particular, painted a portrait of nineteenth-century life in Brazil, principally in Rio de Janeiro, which may have been his most lasting contribution.[37] As a dramatist, he was severely and harshly criticized by his contemporaries, but to his personal credit, he continued with his playwriting undaunted.

C. José de Alencar: Brazil's Most Important Author of the Thesis Play

Although Alencar began his dramaturgic career with a light comedy and ended it with an historical drama which he hoped would be of epic proportions, the majority of his works were thesis plays. These social dramas were his main contribution to Brazilian drama, especially when he deviated from the French models in such plays as O Demônio Familiar (1857) and Mãe (1860) where he came very close at times to realistic drama.

José de Alencar was born into very affluent circumstances. His father, José Martinho de Alencar, was a wealthy and famous senator, having been one of the outstanding proponents in 1817 and 1824 of Brazilian independence and the first senator picked by the Regency. He was also the grand-

son of the legendary heroine from Pernambuco, D. Bárbara Pereira de Alencar. Alencar himself was born on May 1, 1829 in Ceará. He was educated in the best elementary and secondary schools in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Upon graduating from the University of São Paulo in 1850 with a degree in law, Alencar immediately entered the most exclusive social and political circles. He went to work in the law offices of Dr. Caetano Alberto Soares, one of the country's most famous lawyers. At the same time, he embarked on an outstanding journalistic career, wrote for the O Correio Mercantil, and became in 1856, the editor in chief of O Diário do Rio de Janeiro. Alencar was elected deputy to the Câmara do Império in 1860, and in 1868, became the Minister of Justice for the nation. Evidently, because of personality differences, he never got on well with the emperor, D. Pedro II. Alencar's brilliant literary, political and journalistic career came to an end in 1877 when he died from tuberculosis.[38]

José de Alencar made a meteoric passage through Brazilian drama. Unlike his long, productive careers as novelist, jurist and politician, his dramaturgic career lasted only four short years, when, quite suddenly, he stopped writing plays. Alencar wrote his first play, O Rio de Janeiro, with the subtitle, Verso e Reverso in 1857 at the age of twenty-eight; the same year O Guarani, his first Romantic Indianist novel appeared. His last play, O Jesuíta, was composed in 1861 when he was thirty-two but was not

produced on stage until 1875 and was a total failure at the box office.[39] Apart from all his career achievements, Alencar appeared to be a man with a strong almost Puritanical sense of morality and propriety. The reason that he wrote his first play was the shame that he felt at the language and comportment of a comedy he saw in the Ginásio Dramático. In an article entitled, "Como e Porque Sou Dramaturgo," Alencar is very revealing of his own personality:

> A primeira idéia que tive de escrever para o teatro foi-me inspirada por um facto bem pequeno, e aliás bem comezinho na cena brasileira.
>
> Estava no Ginásio e representava-se uma pequena farsa, que não primava pela moralidade, e pela decência da linguagem; entretanto o público aplaudia e as senhoras riam-se, porque o riso é contagioso; porque há certas ocasiões em que ele vem aos lábios, embora o espírito e o pudor se revoltam contra a causa que o provoca.
>
> Este reparo causou-me um desgosto, como lhe deve ter causado muitas vezes, vendo uma senhora enrubescer nos nossos teatros, por ouvir uma graça livre, e um dito grosseiro; disse comigo: 'Não será possível fazer rir, sem fazer corar?'
>
> Esta reflexão, coincidindo com alguns dias de repouso, criou O Rio de Janeiro, espécie de revista ligeira que na minha opinião não tem outro merecimento, senão o de ser breve, e não cansar o espírito do espetador.
>
> O público, que ouve de bom humor diz que consegui o primeiro fim, o de fazer rir; os homens os mais severos em matéria de moralidade não acham aí uma só palavra, uma frase, que possa fazer corar uma menina de quinze anos.[40]

Perhaps, as is the case with all serious, moralistic men, Alencar lacked, at least in the drama, anything that could be considered a sense of humor. The stage was, for him, an arena for teaching a moral lesson--which is somewhat reminiscent of Almeida Garrett's attitude. It is not surprising then that he had a relatively low opinion of the

overall dramatic efforts of both Martins Pena and Macedo. After his first light comedy, Verso e Reverso, he turned to the French thesis play as the model for almost every one of his subsequent works. Alencar's ideas on the state of Brazilian drama and its practitioners were made quite clear in the same article and shed more light on the man himself:

> No momento em que resolvi a escrever O Demônio Familiar, sendo minha tenção fazer uma alta comédia, lancei naturalmente os olhos para a literatura dramática do nosso país em procura de um modelo. Não o achei; a verdadeira comédia, a reprodução exata e natural dos costumes de uma época, a vida em ação não existe no teatro brasileiro. Dois escritores, é verdade, começaram entre nós a escrever para o teatro; mas a época em que compuseram as suas obras devia influir sobre a sua escola.
>
> O primeiro, Pena, muito conhecido pelas suas farsas graciosas, pintava até certo ponto os costumes brasileiros; mas pintava-os sem criticar, visava antes ao efeito cómico do que ao efeito moral; as suas obras são antes uma sátira dialogada, do que uma comédia.
>
> Entretanto Pena tinha esse talento de observação, e essa linguagem chistosa, que primam na comédia; mas o desejo dos aplausos fáceis influiu no seu espírito, e o escritor sacrificou talvez suas idéias ao gosto apurado da época.
>
> Se tivesse vivido mais alguns anos, estou convencido que, saciado dos seus triunfos, empreenderia uma obra mais elevada, e introduziria talvez no Brasil a escola de Molière e Beaumarchais, a mais perfeita naquele tempo.
>
> Depois de Pena veio o Sr. Dr. Macedo, que, segundo supomos, nunca se dedicou sèriamente à comédia; escreveu em alguns momentos de folga duas ou tres obras que foram representadas com muito aplauso.
>
> Podemos dizer deste autor o mesmo que do primeiro: sentiu a influência do seu público; se continuasse porém, o Sr. Dr. Macedo tem bastante talento e muito bom gosto literário, para que conseguisse a pouco e pouco corrigir a tendência popular, e apresentar no nosso teatro a verdadeira comédia.
>
> Com franqueza dizemos que sentimos ver nas obras dramáticas do Dr. Macedo uns laivos de imitação estrangeira, que lhes tira o cunho de originalidade; se ele não tivesse imaginação e poesia, seria isto desculpável; mas quando pode ser belo, sendo brasileiro, não tem justificação; é vontade de trabalhar depressa.

> Não achando pois na nossa literatura um modelo, fui buscá-lo no país mais adiantado em civilização, e cujo espírito tanto se harmoniza com a sociedade brasileira; na França.
>
> Sabe, meu colega, que a escola dramática mais perfeita que hoje existe é a de Molière, aperfeiçoada por Alexandre Dumas Filho, e do que a Question d'Argent é o tipo mais bem acabado e mais completo.[41]

Thus Alencar, unlike Macedo, whom he did not consider to be a dedicated playwright, had a fixed, dramatic format with which to work. Alencar's themes, when he followed the French models closely, were quite similar to theirs in nature: greed, social climbing, the unfair treatment of women by society and the mariage de convenance. In two plays, O Demônio Familiar and Mãe, he dealt with a truly Brazilian problem: the evil effects of slavery on Brazilian society.

Alencar's first play, Verso e Reverso, produced for the first time in the Ginásio Dramático on October 28, 1857, was a light, two-act comedy. The theme of the piece was based on the simple idea that love can change one's outlook completely toward one's surroundings or "the mind is its own place . . . " Ernesto, the protagonist, comes from rural São Paulo to Rio de Janeiro, the big city, and is quite unhappy with what he finds:

> Ernesto --Apre! É insuportável! Não se pode viver em semelhante cidade; está um homem sujeito a ser empurrado por todos esses maus senhores, e esmagado a cada momento por quanto carro, carroça, carreta ou carrinho anda nestas ruas. Com efeito é uma familia . . . Desde o ônibus, o Noé dos veículos, até o coupé aristocrático e o tílburi plebeu! - - - Ó! que maçada! - - -
>
> (Verso e Reverso, I, 1).

Ernesto meets his cousin Júlia, falls in love with her and, of course, his view of the very same city is turned completely around:

> Ernesto --Não diga isso, Júlia. Que coisa mais bela, do que as pessoas que vivem na abastança protegerem divertindo-se aqueles que necessitam e são pobres! O prazer eleva-se à nobreza da virtude; o dinheiro que o rico esperdiça para satisfazer os seus caprichos, transforma-se em oferta generosa, mas nobremente disfarçada, que anima e alivia o sofrimento do enfermo; a caridade evangélica torna-se uma instituição social. Não; não tem razão, prima! Esses benefícios, que a Sra. censura, formam um dos mais belos títulos do Rio de Janeiro, o título de caridade generosa e hospitaleira. - - -
> Júlia - - --Na sua opinião é uma terra excelente.
> Ernesto --Diga um paraíso, um céu na terra! - - -
>
> (Verso e Reverso, II, 9).

Although it was written for a moral reason, as stated by the author himself, Verso e Reverso had no actual moral or social message to convey. However, in the genre of light comedy, the play was one of the most charming and well constructed of its type written in Brazil in the nineteenth century.[42]

The following two plays to be studied, O Demônio Familiar (1857) and Mãe (1860), dealt with a problem that had become a volatile political issue in Brazil, namely, slavery. Although neither work was stridently abolitionist in the sense that Uncle Tom's Cabin was in the United States, both are most certainly antislavery plays since they emphasize unpleasant or evil results that the system can have both for the master and the slave. Alencar's lack of out-

right abolitionist propaganda in either play is due, in part perhaps, to dramaturgic good sense, and most certainly, in part, to the fact that he was politically a very conservative man. He did not believe in outright emancipation but rather the gradual integration of the Negro into the mainstream of Brazilian society as a responsible individual and an equal. Alencar believed that the abrupt freeing of the slaves would be a financial disaster for the economy as well as a personal one for the unprepared slaves themselves.[43] In O Demônio Familiar, Alencar demonstrates the mischief that a slave can cause his owner's family, not through any evil intent on his part, but simply because of an eagerness to interfere in affairs that do not concern him since the system has not taught him to know any better. In Mãe, it is a Negro mother, herself a slave, who is made to suffer, in her attempt to do good, by an evil system.[44] Actually, although both of the main characters in each play are slaves, they are treated stylistically in a quite different fashion. So much so, in fact, that the only similarity between both plays is that the dramatist is not so much concerned with human problems as he is with the social one, slavery.[45] Alencar, like Macedo, would never allow his social theme to be subordinated to a love plot, but quite unlike Macedo or the Portuguese dramatists of the dramas da actualidade, he allowed his thematic point in these two plays to develop entirely from the plot. For example, he demonstrated the

evils of slavery in O Demônio Familiar by showing the damage that could be done by a meddling slave, and not by having the problem discussed in long, expository dialogues, which often become harangues, by characters who, as often as not, have had no real, personal contact with the problem itself.[46]

O Demônio Familiar, a four-act play had its première in the Ginásio Dramático on September 5, 1857. Historically it was important since it was the first of the genuine thesis plays in which there was a principal Negro character. Pedro, a black house slave, is the demônio familiar around whom the plot evolves. Pedro is supposed to help his master by doing simple chores such as running errands. Instead of helping him, however, he creates confusing and embarrassing situations. Pedro is not malicious in his mischief, for he is far too childlike and ingenuous to be so. It was precisely Pedro's ingenuousness that Alencar wished to emphasize in his indictment of slavery. As long as he was a slave, Pedro would never grow up. Although newly created in Alencar's play, Pedro would go on to become a stock character in later Brazilian literature.[47] All the difficulties encountered in the play are caused by Pedro's rather naive belief that by bettering his master's financial position, that is, by marrying him off to a rich, older woman, he will thereby better his own:

> Eduardo (rindo-se) --Eis um corretor de casamentos, que seria um achado precioso para certos indivíduos do meu conhecimento! Vou tratar de vender-te a algum deles para que possa aproveitar o teu gênio industrioso.

> Pedro --Ó! Não! Pedro quer servir a meu senhor! V. M.ce perdoa; foi para ver senhor rico!
> Eduardo --E que lucras tu com isto! Sou tão pobre que te falte aquilo de que precisas? Não te trato mais como um amigo do que como um escravo?
> Pedro --Ó! Trata muito bem, mas Pedro queria que senhor tivesse muito dinheiro e comprasse carro bem bonito para . . .
> Eduardo --Para . . . Dize!
> Pedro --Para Pedro ser cocheiro de senhor!
> Eduardo --Então a razão única de tudo isto é o desejo que tens de ser cocheiro?
> Pedro --Sim senhor!
> Eduardo (rindo-se) --Muito bem! Assim, pouco te importava que eu ficasse mal com uma pessoa que estimava; que me casasse com uma velha ridícula, contanto que governasses dois cavalos em um carro! Tens razão! . . . E eu ainda devo dar-me por muito feliz que fosse esse o motivo que te obrigasse a trair a minha confiança.
> (O Demônio Familiar, II, 4).

One can see from this passage Pedro's ingenuous character and the paternalistic relationship his master has with him. In fact, because of Pedro's lack of self-reliance, his master must have this type of social relationship with him for his own good. Not only is Pedro illiterate but his speech is very ungrammatical. One notices, too, that he never uses the pronoun "I" when speaking but rather refers to himself always in the third person.

Of course, Pedro must be punished for his mischief. The punishment itself is used to point out Alencar's revolutionary thesis--perhaps evolutionary would be a better word--concerning the most advisable solution for the problem of slavery, and also, the elimination of its deleterious effect on Brazil's social structure. The slave must be fully integrated, preferably gradually, into Brazilian so-

ciety, and thus receive not only equal rights, but also equal responsibility for his actions, for which, as Alencar points out in this play, he cannot be held fully accountable.[48]

> Eduardo - - - --Todos devemos perdoar-nos mùtuamente; todos somos culpados por haver-nos acreditado ou consentido no facto primeiro, que é a causa de tudo isto. O único inocente é aquele que não tem imputação, e que fez apenas uma travessura de criança levado pelo instinto da amizade. Eu o corrijo, fazendo do autômato um homem; restituo-o à sociedade, porém expulso-o do seio da minha família e fecho-lhe para sempre a porta da minha casa. (A Pedro) Toma: e a tua carta de liberdade, ela será a tua punição de hoje em diante, porque as tuas faltas recairão ùnicamente sobre ti; porque a moral e a lei te pedirão uma conta severa de tuas ações. Livre, sentirás a necessidade do trabalho honesto e apreciarás os nobres sentimentos que hoje não compreendes.
>
> (O Demônio Familiar, IV, 7).

Quite aside from the antislavery theme, the play deals, in general, with typical, upper middle-class life in Rio de Janeiro during the mid-nineteenth century and portrays many aspects of it.

The settings for the four acts lack detailed description. The particulars are left to the imagination of the director: Em casa de Eduardo. Gabinete de estudo (Act I); Em casa de Eduardo. Jardim (Act II); Em casa de Eduardo. Sala interior (Act III); Em casa de Eduardo. Sala de visitas (Act IV).

Very much like Almeida Garrett in Portugal, Alencar always kept in mind the desire to create a national literature in Brazil as well as a popular, appreciative under-

standing of it by the Brazilian public.[50] Thus Alencar's plays contained dialogue concerning the arts in Brazil. This kind of dialogue was intended for the instruction of the audience and had no particular relevance to the main theme:

> Azevedo --A nossa "Academia de Belas Artes?" Pois temos isto aqui no Rio?
> Alfredo --Ignorava?
> Azevedo --Uma caricatura, naturalmente . . . Não há arte em nosso país.
> Alfredo --A arte existe, Sr. Azevedo, o que não existe é o amor dela.
> Azevedo --Sim, faltam os artistas.
> Alfredo --Faltam os homens que os compreendam; e sobram aqueles que só acreditam e estimam o que vem do estrangeiro.
> Azevedo (com desdém) --Já foi a Paris, Sr. Alfredo?
> Alfredo --Não, senhor; desejo, e ao mesmo tempo receio ir.
> Azevedo --Por que razão?
> Alfredo --Porque tenho medo de, na volta, desprezar o meu país, ao invés de amar nele o que há de bom e procurar corrigir o que é mau.
> (O Demônio Familiar, III, 13).

Alencar's other antislavery play, Mãe, had its première in the Ginásio Dramático in March of 1860. It was, like O Demônio Familiar, an antislavery play in context, but in this case, Alencar followed a completely different tack in portraying his main character, Joana. Unlike Pedro, who typified the negative qualities resulting from slavery, Joana is imbued with many sublime human qualities and her self-sacrificing actions in the play are the exact opposite of Pedro's comportment. In order to portray more dramatically the fundamental injustices of the slave system, Alencar linked his heroine to one of the more potent emotional feelings in hu-

manity: motherhood. He made Joana a believable model of virtues, and in so doing, paid tribute to the Negro race.[51] The emotional fervor and intense personal feeling that the dramatist wished to convey by doing this, was stated by Alencar in the play's dedication to his mother:

> A Minha Mãe
> E Minha Senhora
> D. Ana J. de Alencar
>
> Mãe, - - -
>
> Acharás neste livro uma história simples; simples quanto pode ser.
>
> É um coração de mãe como o teu. A diferença está em que a Providência o colocou o mais baixo que era possível na escala social, para que o amor estreme e a abnegação sublime o elevassem tão alto, que ante ele se curvassem a virtude e a inteligência; isto é, quanto se apura de melhor na lia humana.
>
> A outra que não a ti causaria reparo que eu fosse procurar a maternidade entre a ignorância e a rudeza do cativeiro, podendo encontrá-la nas salas trajando sedas. Mas sentes que se há diamente inalterável é o coração materno, que mais brilha quanto mais espessa é a treva. Rainha ou escrava, a mãe é sempre mãe.
>
> (Mãe, Dedication).

The plot is simple and was, no doubt, plausible to a Brazilian audience of the time, given the prejudicial social attitude which existed toward slaves, former slaves and evidently, those of slave parentage. Joana is the mother of Jorge. She was a slave and is now a free Negro. However, in order to save her son the personal embarrassment and possible social hindrance he would encounter were his real parentage known, she does not tell him that she is his mother. Instead, she serves as his slave to be near him and has helped him go to college and prepared him to mix

with upper class society:

> Elisa --Foste tu que o criaste.
> Joana --Foi, iaiá. Nunca mamou outro leite senão o meu . . .
> Elisa --E por que ele não te chama--mamãe Joana?
> Joana --Mamãe! . . . Não diga isto, iaiá.
> Elisa --De que te espantas? Uma coisa tão natural!
> Joana --Nhonhô não deve-me chamar assim! . . . Eu sou escrava, e ele é meu senhor.
> Elisa --Mas é teu filho de leite.
> Joana --Meu filho morreu!
> (Mãe, I, 2).

The plot, of course, revolves around the discovery of the secret and its tragic consequences. Even more interesting than the plot, from a dramatic standpoint, however, is the conception of Joana as a character. Alencar develops her personality at full-length as a self-sacrificing parent, for she even refuses to accept or buy her freedom so as not to be separated from Jorge.[52] Part of her plausibility as a "living" character, at least for a modern reader, lies in the natural dialogue that Alencar gives her. The few instances in which Joana does mention slavery, it is in a subdued manner and only then in relation to the harm it could do to her son and not herself. Here, for example, is a passage where she is feigning to be a slave:

> Dr. Lima --Mas dizias?
> Joana --Ah! Quando senti o primeiro movimento que ele fez no meu seio, tive uma alegria grande, como nunca pensei que uma escrava pudesse ter. Depois uma dor que só tornarei a ter se ele souber. Pois meu filho havia de ser escravo como eu? Eu havia de lhe dar a vida que um dia quisesse mal à sua mãe? Deu-me vontade de morrer para que ele nascesse . . . Mas isso era possível? . . . Não, Joana devia viver!
> Dr. Lima --Foi então que Soares te comprou . . . .

> Joana --Ele me queria tanto bem! Deu por mim tudo quanto tinha . . . Dois contos de réis! Eu fui para sua casa. Aí meu nhonhô nasceu, e foi logo batizado como filho dele, sem que ninguém soubesse quem era sua mãe.
> (Mãe, II, 3).

The public of that day could accept Joana, no doubt, as a very believable character and would consider her personal trials and tribulations as a strong moral denunciation of the institution of slavery itself.[53]

It is interesting to note that Machado de Assis liked this play very much and his comments are valid now as they were then. In fact, he liked Alencar as a dramatist and a writer in general:

> A acção é altamente dramática; as cenas sucedem-se sem esforço, com a natureza da verdade; os lances são preparados com essa lógica dramática a que não podem atingir as vistas curtas.
> Altamente dramática é a acção, disse eu; mas não para aí, é também altamente simples. - - -
> Há frases lindas e impregnadas de um sentimento doce e profundo; o diálogo é natural e brilhante, mas desse brilho que não exclue a simplicidade, e que não respira o torneado bombástico. - - -
> Repito-o; o drama é de um acabado perfeito, e foi uma agradável surpreza para os descrentes da arte nacional.
> Ainda oculto o autor, foi saudado por todos com a sua obra; feliz que é, de não encontrar patos no seu Capitólio.[54]

As seen already in Alencar's own statement on the subject, his favorite French dramatist and model was Alexandre Dumas fils. In Mãe and O Demônio Familiar the antislavery theme was peculiarly Brazilian, and, as Machado pointed out, the dialogue was brief and realistic. However, in the plays which came between them chronologically: O Crédito

(1857) and Asas de um Anjo (1858) as well as a play that was a sequel to the latter work, A Expiação (1868), the evident influence of Dumas fils is easily recognizable.[55]

O Crédito, which was first produced in the Ginásio Dramático on December 19, 1857, was essentially a defense of the new economic order, partly based on the lending of credit that had allowed the middle class to ascend to power, thus displacing the older and more restrictive social order of the aristocracy.[56] Rodrigo, who is the author's raisonneur in the play, justifies the new economic system:

> Rodrigo --A missão do crédito é outra: é nivelar os homens pelo trabalho e dar à atividade os meios de criar e produzir. Outrora, para adquirir-se uma fortuna, era preciso consumir toda a existência em privações, juntar-se real a real. A riqueza era o privilégio de poucos; uma herança que o filho recebia de seu pai. A inteligência estava então condenada à pobreza, ganhava apenas o mesquinho salário de seu serviço material, ou vendia-se aos ricos que a exploravam em seu proveito. Um dia, porém, um homem de dinheiro compreendeu que o trabalho e a probidade eram melhor garantia do que a fortuna que o acaso pode destruir em um momento. Esse homem chamou os amigos pobres, mas honestos e empreendedores, e confiou-lhes os seus capitais para que eles realizassem as suas idéias. O crédito estava criado. Outros seguiram o exemplo; associaram-se e formaram um banco. Essa pequena instituição, escondida no fundo da loja de um judeu desenvolveu-se, dominou as grandes praças comerciais, e hoje circula o globo. Eis o que é o crédito, meus senhores; uma palavra o define: é a regeneração do dinheiro. O orgulho dos ricos tinha inventado a soberania da riqueza, soberania bastarda e ridícula, o crédito destronizou essa soberania: do ouro que era senhor, fez um escravo, e mandou-lhe que servisse à inteligência, a verdadeira rainha do mundo!
> (O Crédito, I, 9).

The passage not only sets the basic theme of the play, but also exemplifies the long, expository type of dialogue

employed by the dramatist in making a point. One notes the typical statement of theme and the long, somewhat tedious exposition leading to the conclusion. Although Alencar's sentences are often relatively shorter than those found in the plays of his Portuguese contemporaries, his individual monologues are every bit as long. His vocabulary is also equally affected. It might strike the modern reader as uncomfortably "sermonizing," but was a usual technique employed in this genre of drama at the time.

Alencar shows, of course, the abuses that occur within this economic system: usury, extravagance and devious expedients used to make money. Rodrigo, as he does throughout the play, summarizes the abuses on a philosophical plane:

> Rodrigo --Todas as grandes idéias, Hipólito, tem a sua aberração, é a consequência da fraqueza humana. A liberdade produziu a licença, a religião o fanatismo, o poder a tirania, o dinheiro a usura. O crédito não podia escapar a essa lei fatal; ligando-se à ambição, produziu também o seu aborto. Novo Proteu, esse filho bastardo toma todas as formas, imita todos os sentimentos. Nós o encontramos a cada passo, nos salões, no interior das casas, nas relações mais íntimas; às vezes sob a figura de uma menina, às vezes disfarçado em moço elegante ou em um homem respeitável.
>
> (O Crédito, II, 5).

An adept of the French thesis play which had discovered in money the key to human relations, Alencar tried to show the effects of this monetary system on Brazilian society. Still, in meting out punishment to characters for their abuse of the system, the dramatist exhibited an almost romantic benevolence. All his characters were allowed to re-

pent of their misguided economic views and were redeemed at the end, save the usurer who was an absolute villain.[57]

As Asas de um Anjo opened in the Ginásio Dramático on May 30, 1858 and was closed by the police on order of the government censor after the third performance.[58] It was the first difficulty that Alencar had encountered with censorship of any sort. To the modern reader such a prohibition might appear surprising, in view of the rather rigorous ethical standards that the play exhibits, and also Alencar's own rather puritanical moral code in playwriting. What it does clearly demonstrate is the difficulties encountered by nineteenth-century Brazilian dramatists when they dealt with moral value judgments of government officials.[59]

The play deals with society's unfair treatment of women and their place in a man's society. Alencar tried to deal with the problem on a high moral plane:

> Vitor Hugo poetizou a perdição na sua Marion de Lorme; A. Dumas Filho enobreceu-a em A Dama das Camélias; eu moralizei-a em As Asas de um Anjo; o amor, que é a poesia de Marion, e a regeneração de Margarida, é o martírio de Carolina; eis a única diferença, não falando do que diz respeito a arte, que existe entre aqueles três tipos.[60]

Alencar was quite nonplussed by the entire affair, and in the same article continues at great length in defense of the entire play; that is, the seduction scene was only verbal and the language was inoffensive and appropriate. He ends by saying that everything he or anyone else ever wrote

about was an everyday occurrence in the capital:

> Respondam os moralistas, e comparem a minha cena com todas essas a fim de julgarem calma e imparcialmente; a fim de apreciarem a justiça com que se proibe a minha comédia em uma cidade onde todos os horrores da escola romântica e todas as verdades do que chamam escola realista, tem sido exibidas.[61]

The play itself, a rather long one, consists of a prologue, four acts and an epilogue. The story is about a poor girl, Carolina, whose head is so filled with fantasies caused by reading novels that she spurns the pure and true love of her cousin. She is then seduced by a wealthy, young man using trickery, and she must suffer all the necessary consequences of her fatal mistake: poverty, misery, shame and social ostracism. The constant theme in the play is that there is an unfair double standard applied to the conduct of men and women:

> Luís --Não te é possível então esquecer?
> Carolina --E que servia que eu esquecesse? Os outros se lembram.
> Luís --Como estás iludida, Carolina! O mundo é inconstante no seu ódio, como na sua simpatia. Não tem memória e esquece depressa aquilo que um momento o impressionou.
> Carolina --Com os homens sucede assim! Com a mulher não: aquela que uma vez errou nunca mais se reabilita. Embora ela se arrependa; embora pague cada um dos seus momentos de desvario por anos de expiação e de martírio: embora, iluminada pelo sofrimento, ela compreenda toda a sublimidade da virtude, e aceite como gozo aquilo que para tantas é apenas um dever, um sacrifício ou um costume! . . . Nada disto lhe vale! Se ela aparecer o mundo arrancará o véu que cobre o seu passado.
> (As Asas de um Anjo, Epílogo, 2).

Unlike the short, realistic dialogues in Mãe and O Demônio Familiar, the dialogue in this play follows the more

common thesis-play formula of long speeches on a subject. In the problem play dealing with the fallen woman, society usually shoulders the blame for what has occurred to her. The following dialogue is reminiscent of Macedo's constant frontal, verbal assaults on the social structure:

> Carolina --Como quiserem; para mim é indiferente! Essa sociedade de que o senhor me fala, eu a desprezo.
> Araujo --Porque a repele!
> Carolina --Porque vale menos do que aquelas que ela repele do seu seio. Nós, ao menos, não trazemos uma máscara; se amamos um homem, lhe pertencemos; se não amamos ninguém, e corremos atrás do prazer, não temos vergonha de o confessar. Entretanto as que se dizem honestas cobrem com o nome de seu marido e com o respeito do mundo os escândalos de sua vida. Muitas casam por dinheiro com o homem a quem não amam: e dão sua mão a um, tendo dado a outro sua alma! E é isto o que chamam virtude? É essa sociedade que se julga com direito de desprezar aquelas que não iludem a ninguém, e não fingem sentimentos hipócritas? . . .
> (As Asas de um Anjo, III, 1).

A Expiação, the sequel to As Asas de um Anjo, was first published in 1868, and was the result, in part, of Alencar's continuing pique at being both criticized and censored in the first play:

> A primeira época da vida de Carolina, As Asas de um Anjo, foi censurada por espíritos bem reputados em literatura. O casamento final para alguns é um monstro da imaginação do autor que fantasiou a seu bel prazer um amor puro pela mulher só capaz de excitar o desejo sensual; outros consideram esse casamento como uma recompensa ao arrependimento e portanto um perdão do erro.
> A Expiação é a resposta a estas censuras: aí está o desenvolvimento da idéia incubada no epílogo de As Asas de um Anjo.
> (A Expiação, Preface, 1865).

In part, the sequel was also the result of Alencar's

solid moral code, representative of the middle class which was now firmly entrenched politically and wished to preserve intact the socially stabilizing value of the family. His play, O Que é o Casamento (1861), for example, is based entirely on the study of the structure of matrimony as the basis for the family unit.[62]

A technique characteristic of Alencar in his thesis plays, and representing an advance in the structuring of the dramatic plot, was his accounting for every character before the play ended: characters did not just appear and then disappear. At times, of course, his penchant for detail could become a bit tedious for the reader, as, for example, in A Expiação in which every character in As Asas de um Anjo is accounted for some thirteen years later. However, by not permitting any loose ends to remain, Alencar set a good example in the economy of plot structure.[63]

O Jesuíta, Alencar's last play, was written in 1861 but was not staged until September 18, 1875 in the Teatro São Luís. It was not a thesis play but rather an historical drama in which a Jesuit is portrayed as the democratic saviour of Brazil, and the theme is therefore more in the tradition of Brazilian nationalism. In Alencar's mind, the Jesuits were early advocates of Brazilian independence, and he also saw them as defenders of the liberal ideals of racial and religious equality. It was probably on the religious point that Alencar most alienated both his public and his critics.

The play closed immediately. On the twenty-second of the month an article by Joaquim Nabuco (1849-1910) appeared in the newspaper, O Globo, that, generally speaking, was very sympathetic toward the dramatist. It did, however, touch upon several points which greatly annoyed Alencar: the total lack of audience, and the "antiquated" style employed. Alencar, a man capable of harsh criticism, but seemingly unable to accept any no matter how mild, lashed back at his critic and a war of articles in O Globo ensued between the two writers. However, new philosophical and literary ideas, such as materialism, determinism, agnosticism, positivism and evolution had become the rage in intellectual circles in Brazil. Romanticism itself, in such forms as this play represented, was in its death throes.[64]

There are several plausible reasons for the failure of the play. First, by depicting the protagonist, a Jesuit, as a democratic hero and saviour of Brazil, Alencar alienated the liberal, middle-class audience of which he had been spokesman in previous plays. This was not the first time that Alencar had used a Jesuit as a literary character: one will recall the Jesuit in O Guarani. In the novel, however, he was a villain. Secondly, and also very important, the language employed in the play appeared to the audience as too emotional and literary by that late period in dramatic development.[65] The main role of the Jesuit was written specifically for João Caetano. The dialogue was meant to suit his declamatory style of acting, but he refused to play the

role. The Conservatório Dramático refused also to produce it. Later in O Globo, Alencar blamed the failure of the play on the quality of the acting.[66]

The setting for the first act is: "Um pequeno campo coberto de arvoredo nas faldas do morro do Castelo, e defronte do Convento da Ajuda, ainda não acabado." The fourth act takes place in "a Sacristia do Colégio dos Jesuítas, esclarecida por uma lâmpada. Ainda ouve-se o toque da alvorada, dado pelas cornetas."

The language is not only emotional but rhetorical as well. The use of asides, which by this period had been relegated to the Pena type of comedy, seemed to hark back to ultraromanticism.

> Samuel (só) --Rude combate! . . . Senti que a minha coragem vacilava! Não; ainda que devesse profanar a pureza dessa menina! . . . Ainda que fosse necessário sacrificar a sua vida! . . . O que é a criatura neste mundo senão o instrumento de uma idéia? Ele amará! . . . Mas compreenderá, enfim, qual amor é digno do filho desta terra virgem! (Absorto) Brasil! . . . Minha pátria! . . . Quantos anos ainda serão precisos para inscrever teu nome hoje obscuro no quadro das grandes nações? Quanto tempo ainda serás uma colônia entregue à cobiça de aventureiros, e destinada a alimentar com as tuas riquezas o fausto e o luxo de tronos vacilantes? . . . (Pausa; arrebatado pela inspiração) Antigas e decrépitas monarquias da velha Europa! . . . Um dia compreendereis que Deus quando semeou com profusão nas entranhas desta terra o ouro e o diamante, foi porque reservou este solo para ser calcado por um povo livre e inteligente! . . .
> (O Jesuíta, I, 10).

Instead of being merely the dramaturgic spokesman for the middle class as he had been in other works, Alencar attempted in O Jesuíta to identify the temperament and character of Brazil as a nation. However, the play's lack of pop-

ularity, combined with Alencar's wounded pride, discouraged the dramatist from continuing his endeavors as a playwright.[67]

D. Pinheiro Guimarães--The Treatment of Women, A New Antislavery Idea

Brazilian theater-goers in the eighteen-sixties had the opportunity of seeing many problem plays, for the new drama was received by the public with great enthusiasm. Among them was História de uma Moça Rica produced in 1861[68] by Francisco Pinheiro Guimarães (1832-1877). The play was in the tradition of La Dame aux Camelias and, as could be expected, dealt with the unfair treatment of women by society, in particular, the disastrous effect a forced marriage can have on a woman, albeit a highly virtuous one. At the same time it was one of the thesis plays which discussed the problem of slavery.[69]

Pinheiro Guimarães himself was born in Rio de Janeiro in 1832. He had an illustrious career as a medical doctor, and was a member of the Faculty of Medicine at the National University in Rio de Janeiro. He was Chief Surgeon of the Navy when the war with Paraguay started, but resigned his position and enlisted as a combat officer, in which capacity he fought with great distinction in every major battle, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Pinheiro Guimarães was elected to the National Assembly from the province of Rio de Janeiro. He died in the capital in 1877 from the lingering effects of wounds suffered in the war.[70]

História de uma Moça Rica, a four-act play, covers a relatively long period to afford time for the forced marriage, the downfall and the revenge of Amélia, the heroine. For instance, between acts one and two, four years pass while the third act is ten years after the first. The author's principal theme was to show that a forced marriage between a virtuous woman, Amélia, and a scoundrel, Magalhães, necessarily led to her downfall, in spite of the nobility of her character. This idea is not particularly original, but it is supported by an important secondary theme that is antislavery in nature. The author develops this theme by making a mulatto woman, Bráulia, the instigator of much of the evil of the piece. After Amélia marries Magalhães, a much older man, at the insistence of her wealthy father, her husband takes control of her fortune and mistreats her in various ways, including that of making Bráulia his mistress. Bráulia then begins to plot Amélia's downfall. Bráulia herself has no redeeming features. She is selfish and revengeful in her relations with her mistress and hypocritical and dishonest in her treatment of her master. An interesting result of this evil depiction of Bráulia is that it led the public, or a segment of it, at least, to view the play not as an attack upon slavery but rather as an attack upon mulattoes, in general, as being untrustworthy.[71]

As was common to most other thesis plays of the period which were directly influenced by the French problem play,

the characters speak in an elegant manner, using long, sermonizing monologues to prove the author's point. Here, for example, Revolta, who is Amélia in disguise after her downfall, harangues Frederico concerning society's injustices toward women:

> Revolta (Erguendo-se com exaltação) --Amor! . . . Não profanes esta palavra, Frederico. Acaso sabem os homens o que ela significa? (Com rancor). Os homens! . . . os homens! . . . raça miserável e corrupta, argila imunda amassada com fel e egoísmo! . . .
>
> Frederico --Revolta!
>
> Revolta (com exaltação) --Não protestes, Frederico, que eu te farei calar, apontando-te para a sorte de quase todas estas virgens castas e puras que a vontade paterna, o amor ou as necessidades sociais, têm obrigado a confundir o perfume de sua alma com o lodo do coração dos homens. Sabes como procedem esses entes vis e pequeninos que, sim trepidar ante a imensa responsibilidade que sobre si assumem, recebem de um pai ou de uma mãe, em frente do altar de Deus, um anjo ainda transbordando de harmonias celestes? Dia por dia, hora por hora, o miserável desfolha, uma após outra, todas as ilusões, todas as esperanças dessa alma nova que tão cegamente lhe fora confiada. A desgraçada geme, luta, suplica; o ignóbil arquiteto de ruínas não para! . . . E ai! dela se Deus em sua infinita misericórdia não lhe tiver concedido a maternidade que a salva: só lhe resta tornar-se um manequim passivo ou uma mulher perdida. O bárbaro faz o anel de noivado o primeiro elo de uma cadeia que a prende à desgraça; e se, em um dia de desespero, ela se revolta e a faz em pedaços, a sociedade a despreza e insulta! Abrem-se ante nossos passos apenas duas sendas: a primeira, inundada de lágrimas, é representada pela submissão do cão que lambe a mão que o castiga, e leva a mulher à insensibilidade do cadáver que não córa quando o esbofeteiam; a segunda, ornada de sorrisos, de falsa e tresloucada alegria, mas calçada de espinhos, é a da prostituição. --Tenho ou não, razão, Frederico?
>
> (<u>História de uma Moça Rica</u>, III, 6).

There are in the play many such dialogues or monologues concerning forced marriage as well as a few concerning slav-

ery, and all employ the same kind of elegant, cultured speech. This speech is one of the longer ones but is by no means the longest. In the third scene of the second act, Amélia has a monologue which consists of some forty lines and more than three hundred eighty words. Revolta's passage has just over two hundred fifty words in twenty-seven lines (in this dissertation only dialogue in verse has been copied exactly, line for line). There are only eight sentences which, as previously noted, become proportionately fewer in number as the monologues become longer. This kind of monologue depended to a great extent on metaphor for its imagery. Here, for example, recently married women are, "um anjo ainda transbordando de harmonias celestes," "alma nova" and "manequim passivo." Husbands who take advantage of the marital arrangement which society has dictated and of which the poor wife is the victim are, "entes vis e pequeninos," "o miserável," "o ignóbil arquiteto de ruínas" and "o bárbaro." One should not forget the opening sentence in which "pure and chaste virgins" are forced to mingle the "perfume of their souls" with the "mud in men's hearts."

There are several Negro characters in the play: Among them Bráulia, the treacherous, mulatto house slave, and João, a less educated slave. While they do not indulge in any long monologues, their speech is still very literary. Despite the fact that João uses a few words which show phonetic change such as <u>sinhá</u> for <u>senhora</u>, his use of them is really more of a conventional device by this time, for both

characters employ excellent diction. Certainly, they do not approximate the simple vocabulary with many homely idioms of the kind of colloquial Portuguese which was spoken by Pedro in O Demônio Familiar.[72] Here, for example, is a portion of the conversation between Bráulia and João which concerns her deep hatred for Amélia:

> Bráulia --Deixe-me; não estou aqui para o aturar.
> João (Esperando os trastes) --Boa vida é a sua!
> Bráulia --Porque, estúpido?
> João --Come, bebe, dorme, faz o que lhe parece . . . Então isso é pouco?
> Bráulia --Para você isso pode ser muito; para mim não.
> João --Entao voce o que quer mais?
> Bráulia --Quero ser livre, quero ser senhora.
> João --Pois me parece uma tolice! Eu antes queria ser escrava como você do que senhora como sinhá.
> Bráulia --É porque você é um animal que não pode imaginar quanto sofro quando sou obrigada a obedecer-lhe.
> João --Ó! homem! Isto acontece tão poucas vezes! E sinhá é tão boa para todos! . . . E para você, então não se fala. Criaram-se juntas, ensinou-lhe a escrever, a ler, empresta-lhe os seus livros . . .
> Bráulia --E daí?
> João --E daí! . . . Deve gostar dela.
> Bráulia --Pois, odeio-a.
> (História de uma Moça Rica, II, 8).

E. Castro Alves--The Play as Republican Propaganda

The last dramatist to be studied in this section, Antônio de Castro Alves (1847-1871), was one of Brazil's most popular poets in the nineteenth century. His popularity was not limited to those relatively few who could read or write, however, but was extensive among the people as a whole.[73]

His play, Gonzaga ou a Revolução de Minas[74] was his only complete play intended solely for the stage. It was written in 1867, partly because of his mistress the famous Brazilian actress, Eugênia Câmara, for whom was intended the title role of Maria. After one performance in Bahia, the dramatist's birthplace, Castro Alves had the play produced in São Paulo in 1868 where it was a smashing success. José de Alencar and Machado de Assis both praised the young poet's dramatic work most highly in articles they wrote in the newspaper, Correio Mercantil, in February and March of the same year.[75]

Castro Alves died at an early age. It is amazing that he was able to do so much and become so famous in such a short time. The poet was born in Bahia in 1847 and died twenty-four years later in 1871. He studied the humanities in Bahia and then enrolled in the social sciences at the University of São Paulo but failed to receive a degree for having failed the last year of courses. During his lifetime the poet suffered both emotional and physical tragedies. Emotionally, he had a bitter love affair with Eugênia Câmara. Physically, he lost a foot in a painful hunting accident. Some of his famous poems included: Espumas Flutuantes (1870), Vozes de África (1880) and Os Escravos (published posthumously in Lisbon in 1884). His life was very short but his fame as a poet was permanent.[76]

Gonzaga ou a Revolução de Minas was in the tradition of the Romantic historical drama, and though declamatory,

its prose is moving and beautiful, and its importance as an antislavery and antimonarchical play is incontestable. In Brazil, the forces against the monarch were growing ever stronger and more bold and Castro Alves, in drama as well as in poetry, was a forceful spokesman for republican ideas. His view that one could not be a republican without being also an abolitionist, was clearly portrayed in his play.[77] Here, Luís, a former slave, is talking with Gonzaga who bought him, educated him and then set him free. It will be noted that the force of the antislavery ideas of the former slave depends on the eloquence of his speech. Though his language seems rhetorical, he is supposed to have the equivalent of a university education:

> Luís -- . . . Mas é que dói muito dever tudo e não poder pagar-lhe nada, nem uma consolação.
> Gonzaga --Cala-te, tu não me deves nada. Não achas que um amigo vale mais que alguns cruzados?
> Luís --Eu não sei o que custei; sinto o bem que Vm. me deu; que é branco, que é feliz, não pode compreender esta palavra--liberdade. Não passa de uma bonita coisa, mas para nós, não. Sabeis o que ela é para o pobre cativo? É ouvir pela madrugada o canto dos passarinhos de Deus sem o canto do chicote do feitor--e quando o sol tine no pino do meio-dia, não sentir o fogo lavrar a pele nos canaviais, e à noite, em vez de embriaguez da aguardente, que mata a vergonha, beber o ar puro da família, que mata o vício.
> Gonzaga --E entretanto, meu amigo, a escravidão é uma parasita tão horrìvelmente robusta que, deslocada do tronco, vai fanar os ramos da vida. Tu és livre, mas eu ainda não pude restituir-te a tua família.
> (Gonzaga ou a Revolução de Minas, I, 1).

The four-act play is, of course, a historical drama. The first three acts take place in Minas and the last one in

Rio de Janeiro. Since republican ideas could not be as openly expressed as those concerning abolition of slavery, the dramatist stated them by the allegorical use of the plot against the Portuguese colonial administration between 1789 and 1792. Although the dramatist speaks ostensibly against the Portuguese, his abolitionist republicanism is not difficult to discern:

> Gonzaga --Não, pobre cativa, tu não gemerás até a morte. Não, tu não irás como tuas companheiras atirar-te um dia nas lagoas, crendo que vais reviver em tua pátria. Não, infeliz! Em breve, sob estas selvas gigantescas da América, a família brasileira inteira se assentará como nos dias primitivos . . . Não mais escravos! não mais senhores. Todas as frontes livres poderão mergulhar o pensamento nos infinitos azulados, todos os braços livres hão de sulcar o seio da terra brasileira. (A Luís) Luís, pobre desgraçado! deve ser um dia sublime aquele em que as crianças souberam o nome de seus pais, porque suas mães serão esposas e não meretrizes . . . em que as virgens murmurarem sem pejo o nome de seus amantes, porque não serão mais poluídas pelo beijo dos senhores devassos . . . em que os velhos sentados à beira dos túmulos abençoarem sua geração, porque a túnica da ignomínia deixará de acompanhá-los através dos séculos como o ferrete do judeu maldito! . . . (Gonzaga ou a Revolução de Minas, I, 3).

Beside the sometimes rather pompous language in which even the most humble slave speaks in a most elegant manner, there are other dramaturgic traits which remind us that Castro Alves was a Romantic.

The settings, for instance, are in such places as a woods at daybreak or a house surrounded by woods in the dark of night. There is frequent use of asides to the audience, not for comic effect, but to further the plot ac-

tion. One, in particular, in the fifth scene of the first act is a key to the plot action, for the audience, but not the conspirators, learns that Silvério is a traitor.

Although the play at the time of its production was considered as merely another antislavery work and does contain certain Romantic characteristics of a bygone era, it touched upon a problem which is pertinent today: the place in society of the educated Negro. The author poses this problem by depicting several of the slaves as being well educated and very intellectual but still unable to find their just place in society. For example, Carlota is a beautiful mulatto girl who is both noble and pure, and when her honor is violated she commits suicide. Unlike the other mulatto girls of the poets, she is intellectual as well as clever, and her tragedy, therefore, is that she deserves a place in the world of the white aristocracy but is condemned to being a slave. The same thing is true of her father, Luís, although to a lesser extent. He is an educated, almost cultured former slave who has been freed by Gonzaga his master, whom he had even accompanied when he studied in Coimbra. Still he is haunted by the fate of his wife, who was separated from him when they were sold to different masters. By using a simple plot action and eloquent prose, Castro Alves created a play concerning personal liberty in general, that while in part dated, is even today a moving experience for the reader.[78]

By 1870 most of the serious dramatists of the thesis

play in Brazil seem to have either exhausted their originality or to have stopped writing entirely. Exception should be made for those writers who were following in the tradition of the realist comedy of Martins Pena. All the principal types and situations that were so popular in the social drama were played for their more sensational aspects while the theme of slavery was merely repeated again and again until its abolition in 1888.[79]

FOOTNOTES

1. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 90.

2. Sayers, op. cit., p. 137.

3. Lafayette Silva, História do Teatro Brasileiro (Rio: Serviço Gráfico do Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1938) p. 335.

4. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 102.

5. Sayers, op. cit., p. 138.

6. Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, O Primo da Califórnia in Teatro de Macedo (3 vols.; Rio de Janeiro, 1863). (All plays by Macedo discussed in this work were taken from above edition).

7. Silva, op. cit., pp. 186-87, and Sousa, op. cit., I, 189.

8. Sayers, op. cit., p. 145.

9. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 81.

10. José de Alencar, As Asas de um Anjo in José de Alencar, Obra Completa (4 vols.; Rio: Editora José Aguilar, Ltda., 1960). (All plays and quotes of Alencar were taken from this edition).

11. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 92.

12. Sayers, op. cit., p. 138.

13. Ibid., p. 139.

14. Sayers, "A Literatura Brasileira no Portugal Oitocentista, Os Críticos, Os Jornais, As Revistas" in Revista da Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1974, p. 512.

15. Blake, op. cit., IV, pp. 183-84.

16. Silva, op. cit., p. 140.

17. Sayers, The Negro . . . , p. 145.

18. Ibid.

19. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 75.

20. Silva, op. cit., p. 140-41.

21. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 78.

22. Ibid., p. 76.

23. Silva, op. cit., pp. 140-43.

24. Coutinho, "A Crítica Literária Romântica" in Literatura no Brasil, II, 323.

25. Machado de Assis, "O Teatro de Joaquim Manuel de Macedo" in Crítica Teatral (Rio: W. M. Jackson, Inc., 1941), p. 283. (Article appeared originally in Diário do Rio de Janeiro, May 8, 1866).

26. Magaldi, op. cit., pp. 77-81.

27. Silva, op. cit., p. 14.

28. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 86.

29. Ibid., p. 77.

30. Ibid., p. 76.

31. Ibid., p. 79.

32. Ibid., p. 81.

33. Silva, op. cit., pp. 141-42.

34. Veríssimo, História da Literatura Brasileira (Rio: Livraria José Olympio, Editora, 1954), p. 200.

35. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 84.

36. Assis, op. cit., pp. 255-56. (Article appeared originally in Diário do Rio de Janeiro, May 1, 1866).

37. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 89.

38. Mucio Leão, José de Alencar, Ensaio Bio-Bibliográfico. (Rio: Coléção Afrânio Peixoto, 1955), pp. 1-26 and Diciónario Literario Brasileiro, ed. by Raimundo de Menezes (5 vols.; São Paulo: Edição Saraiva, 1969), I, 31-33.

39. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 90.

40. Alencar, "Como e Porque Sou Dramaturgo" in Alencar . . . Obra, IV, 43. (Article originally appeared in Diário do Rio de Janeiro, November 13, 1857 and could be considered as carta-prefácio to O Demônio Familiar).

41. Alencar, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

42. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 93.

43. R. Magalhães Júnior, "Sucessos e Insucessos de Alencar no Teatro" in Alencar . . . Obra, IV, 33.

44. Sayers, op. cit., p. 146.

45. Ibid., p. 148.

46. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 94.

47. Sayers, op. cit., p. 146.

48. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 95.

49. Sayers, op. cit., p. 146.

50. Sílvio Romero, História da Literatura Brasileira (5 vols.; Rio: Livraria José Olympio, Editora, 1945), V, 74.

51. Magaldi, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

52. Sayers, op. cit., p. 149.

53. Ibid., p. 154.

54. Machado, "Mãe, de José de Alencar" in Crítica Teatral, pp. 162 and 166. (Article appeared originally in Diário do Rio de Janeiro, March 29, 1860).

55. Magalhães Júnior, op. cit., p. 30.

56. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 96.

57. Ibid.

58. Sousa, op. cit., I, 314.

59. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 97.

60. Alencar, "As Asas de um Anjo" in Alencar . . . Obra, IV, 928. (Article appeared originally in Diário do Rio de Janeiro, June 22, 1857).

61. Ibid., p. 931.

62. Magaldi, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

63. Ibid., p. 103.

64. Coutinho, A Polêmica Alencar-Nabuco (Rio: Edições Tempo Brasileiro, 1965), pp. 5-13.

65. Veríssimo, "José de Alencar e o Seu Drama" in Estudos . . . . Brasileira, III, 135-162.

66. Silva, op. cit., pp. 144-45.

67. Veríssimo, op. cit., pp. 154-59.

68. Francisco Pinheiro Guimarães, História de uma Moça Rica (Rio, 1861).

69. Sayers, op. cit., pp. 145 and 151-52.

70. Blake, op. cit., III, 92-93.

71. Sayers, op. cit., pp. 151-53.

72. Ibid., pp. 152-53.

73. Veríssimo de Matos, "Castro Alves" in Estudos . . . Brasileira, II, 147-48.

74. Antônio de Castro Alves, Gonzaga ou a Revolução de Minas in Castro Alves, Obra Completa (Rio: Editora José Aguilar, Ltda., 1960).

75. Afrânio Peixoto, Castro Alves, o Poeta e o Poema (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1942), pp. 28-33.

76. Blake, op. cit., I, 131-32.

77. Edison Carneiro, Trajetória de Castro Alves (Rio: Editorial Vitória, Ltda., 1947), pp. 108-14.

78. Sayers, op. cit., pp. 143-44.

79. Ibid., pp. 163-64.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL ASPECTS IN THE DRAMA OF THE GERAÇÃO DE 70 IN PORTUGAL

A. Socio-Political Background

Industrial progress continued to have its effect upon the intellectual life of Portugal. The coming of the railroad in the late eighteen-fifties had opened up a whole new intellectual world to the students of Coimbra University, Portugal's oldest and most prestigious center of higher learning. As was the case earlier, everything that came from or that filtered through France was welcomed with great delight and was read and discussed with great enthusiasm. Victor Hugo was still the "titan," the "colossus," the "volcano" to this group of young, enthusiastic intellectuals at the University of Coimbra although Sainte-Beuve, Proudhon, Comte, Taine and Flaubert were already preparing the advent of the philosophy of positivism, the economic theory of socialism and the artistic doctrine of realism.[1] The humanitarian poetry of La Légende des Siècles was avidly read, along with the criticism of Renan, the systematic and logical history of Taine, the realism of Flaubert, the positivism of Comte and the socialism of Proudhon. Add to these writers a smattering of Orientalism, folklore, philo-

logy and German metaphysics and the intellectual potpourri was complete. With so many new and complex ideas so avidly discussed by the young students, it is not surprising that not only were their curiosity and mental activity stimulated but their attitude toward constituted authority in literary taste or political ideas was one of skepticism and irreverence.[2]

In the literary field, the result of all this seeming confusion and excitement was a clash with the official arbiters of good taste who were led by the kindly, blind bard, António Feliciano de Castilho. The literary tendencies of the dramatists who were formed from this group would, in many ways, demonstrate a continuation of many Romantic traits. However, what is most important for this work is that from the new group of dramatists there emerged no real theory of drama. Thus, without the aid of good theoretical criticism to give them direction, the purpose of the drama was left to each author's discretion. The result was that sometimes drama was treated as "good literature," sometimes as a form of the novel.[3]

The almost inevitable clash between the group from Coimbra (the Geração de 70) and the ultraromantic followers of Castilho erupted in 1865 in a war of vituperative pamphlets. Antero de Quental attacked Castilho's comments, written in the carta-posfácio to Poema da Mocidade by Pinheiro Chagas and the battle was joined by almost everyone

of any literary importance or opinion. It must be pointed out also that between 1860 and 1865 the literary production of Castilho's defenders had become mediocre by their own admission.[4] While the Questão Coimbrã served as a spark for the great conflagration in Portuguese literature, it did so in what was by then a very dull tinderbox.

Antero de Quental (1840-1891) and Teófilo Braga were the unquestioned early leaders of the "realists" from Coimbra. Quental, on a philosophical plane, tried to harmonize the inherent antagonisms between inspiration and thought, between intuition and reason. In brief, he tried to combine realism and Romanticism.[5] The actual retort he made originally to Castilho entitled "Bom Senso e Bom Gosto" was less a literary manifesto than a shout of independence and partially the cry of wounded pride.[6] Teófilo Braga started his literary career in 1864 with two cyclic poems, Visão dos Tempos and Tempestades Sonoras, both of which were modeled after the poetry of Victor Hugo.[7] And a year after the quarrel, Braga a leader of the anti-Romantic revolt in which he had played an active role against Castilho, edited a volume in which were united new versions of Atala, René and Le Dernier des Abencérages.[8]

With such a confusing beginning for realism in Portugal, it might be well to ask, not what it was, but rather, what it was not. It should be noted that the Questão Coimbrã was not a purely literary polemic.[9] Industrialism and new political and philosophical ideas had forced Portugal

into a position where social clashes were almost inevitable. Freemasonry had become a potent social force by the late eighteen-sixties. Diverse labor unions were being formed, while the formation of the Socialist International was being felt. The antimonarchical republican party was founded in 1872, and the first large scale strike in Portugal's history, called the pavorosa, took place.[10] It was not really a question of opposition between realism and Romanticism.[11] In fact, it could be looked upon as a new or third stage of Romanticism, struggling for recognition against the old, entrenched and "official" Romanticism or ultraromanticism previously alluded to.[12] The triumph of "realism," Portuguese fashion, in the opinion of some, owed more to the artistic efforts of Eça de Queirós with his short stories and novels and the critical spirit of Ramalho Ortigão than to Quental and Teófilo Braga.[13]

The highlights of events which marked the movement were: the original polemic in 1865-1866; the organization of the Conferências Democráticas do Casino in 1871, an attempt to integrate Portugal into the mainstream of modern European thought of the period; the publishing of Farpas from 1871 to 1887 by Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós (for a period), an attempt to educate the taste of the literary public concerning the new ideas; and finally, the heated arguments about the merits of the works of Eça de Queirós.[14]

Rather than being a single school of thought, the Geração de 70 was more a collection of individual writers, dis-

persed by the exigencies of making a living, and working in isolation in those genres that best suited their particular talents. Those writers who worked in folklore, philology, literary history and positivist philosophy were able to make their first advances in a relatively unobstructed fashion. On the other hand, those who cultivated purely literary genres often found their way blocked by the conservative and hostile surroundings in which they worked. Although the public enthusiastically read their works, the world of "official" opinion either castigated them publicly for their seeming lack of patriotism and linguistic purism[15] or all but ignored them in important literary journals.[16]

Regardless of the many faults and inconsistencies which could be cited in the writers of the Geração de 70, there can be no doubt that they initiated in Portuguese letters a contemporary spirit in which the new European scientific spirit came into conflict with the old sentimentality of the ultraromantics. The movement consisted of some of the most brilliant writers that Portugal had ever produced.[17] Even though none of the writers of the Geração de 70 were primarily dramatists and one of the main legacies of Portuguese Romanticism to Portuguese realism was its dramatic style and technique,[18] the drama in Portugal would feel the influence of the new movement, especially in attitude, and would never be the same again.

The Portuguese drama was all but overlooked by the

Geração de 70. All the exciting and stimulating new ideas from France which were employed in poetry, the novel, the short story and philosophy were not immediately incorporated into the drama. Except for some little progress in composition, the drama continued to consist mainly of simple linear narratives, with basic love plots and long, expository dialogues; such as those already examined in Mendes Leal and Ernesto Biester.[19] It was not until 1875, fully ten years after the eruption of the Questão Coimbrã, that the play, Os Lazaristas, by António Enes appeared which, in its revolutionary fervor and virulent attack on a religious order, would mark the end of the drama da actualidade or Romantic thesis play in Portugal. Although the theme of Os Lazaristas was almost a frontal assault against the enemy, the play had a great deal in common stylistically with the earlier thesis plays. It has been stated, quite correctly, that Os Lazaristas and 1875 mark the end of the thesis play in Portugal, for naturalism was beginning to make its appearance felt in the literature of the country.[20]

B. António Enes--Anticlericalism in A Thesis Play

The play Os Lazaristas which caused such a stir in Portugal and was banned completely in Brazil, was from beginning to end a very strong anticlerical play. This in itself was a novel departure from the tradition of the thesis play in which the clergy was for the most part ignored or treated as a kindly lot. It was also novel in that the theme (in

this case anticlerical) and the standard love plot remain closely united right until the end. However, the literary language, the long, emotional tirades and the depiction of characters as either black or white show little technical advance from the standard thesis play of the preceding generation.

Born in Lisbon in 1845, Enes received his first literary and scientific education in the Vincentian (os lazaristas) elementary and high school of Santo Antão, going on from there to graduate with honors from college. He then entered upon an active political and journalistic career, joining the liberal Progressive party and editing the A Gazeta do Povo from 1869 to 1872 and later O País and O Progresso, all of which were organs of the party. Enes was an important figure in the contemporary Portuguese politics of his day, and was a deputy in the Cortes four times: 1880-1881, 1884-1887, 1887-1889 and 1890-1892. He was also Secretary of the Navy in 1890 and again in 1891 as well as the Commissioner of Mozambique, head librarian of the National Library and president of the International Congress of Journalism held in Lisbon in 1898. Enes was a member of the Academy of Science of Lisbon and also of many other scientific and journalistic organizations. Regardless of the unpopularity of his stand at the moment, António Enes spent his life fighting for what he believed to be just and liberal causes: for example, his struggle against the public clamor to reestablish the death penalty in Portugal, among

many others.[21]

In order to appreciate the full social significance of Os Lazaristas, mention must be made of the role played in its writing by Freemasonry, which had its Portuguese headquarters in Coimbra. A playwriting contest was sponsored by the Coimbra lodge that by 1874 had entered into open combat against the forces of religious reaction and had been gaining renewed strength in Portugal. As will be seen, Enes' play fitted perfectly into the anticlerical crusade of the order and Enes won the contest easily.[22] The play was first presented in the Ginásio Dramático in Lisbon on April 17, 1875. It was a smashing success and was quickly produced in theaters all over Portugal. The play was so controversial, however, that it was immediately prohibited by Brazilian authorities from entering that country.[23]

The setting for this three-act play is the middle-class drawing room. The first act takes place in a: "Sala bem mobilada. Portas à direita e à esquerda. Ao fundo vidraças, abrindo para um jardim." The third act is a: "Sala em casa de Carlos de Magalhães. Portas à direita, esquerda e fundo." The paucity of description in both acts would suggest that the scenery itself was to play no significant part in the drama other than to set the location as middle-class. The second act is in a church sacristy, and equally devoid of detailed description. However, unlike Mendes Leal or Ernesto Biester, Enes makes no attempt to illustrate some generic moral or humanitarian principle concerning some more

or less vague social thesis. On the contrary, he tries to create an actual situation in which contemporary political, religious and social themes, which are basically antagonistic, clash. No longer does one encounter the edifying and pious moral lesson, but rather the revolutionary one.

In order to give his theme an explosive force, Enes obviously chooses sides and flies to the attack in defense of religious liberty against the dark forces of religious intolerance, namely, the Catholic Church.[24] The aspect of religious intolerance which he attacks is the divisive influence of the Church on the family unit. By controlling education the Church is able to set children against parents for its own benefit. In this play, Carlos de Magalhães, an old liberal, has sent his youngest daughter, Luísa, to be educated by the Vincentians. Ernesto da Silveira, a young liberal, is Carlos' nephew and is in love with Luísa. Ernesto wants to marry her but her mind has been poisoned by her religious education. Father Ignácio Bergeret is the symbol of the Church in the play. It is through his intrigue that daughter is set against father. Carlos is sick and Luísa stands to inherit a fortune. Bergeret does not want her to marry Ernesto but rather to renounce the world and go to a convent in France. In this way her soul will be saved and, quite naturally, the Church will get her inheritance. The priest is helped in his scheming by Luísa's older sister, Joaquina, who hides her own desire to receive her sister's fortune in a cloak of false piety. All the while

she is having an affair with D. José de Mello. Unlike the great majority of thesis plays in Portugal, the theme and the plot remain closely allied to the very end, when Bergeret wins.

One thing that has not changed from the earlier thesis plays is the dialogue employed. The use of rather long, expository monologues, in which a point of view is almost endlessly expressed in a form of dramatic debate, is a stylistic technique of all the other playwrights of the drama da actualidade. In a play that has such a clear division between good and evil, the author has ample opportunity to employ this type of monologue. At the very beginning of the first act, the author sets the strident tone of the play which he will maintain to the very end.

In the following passage, Ernesto is speaking with Carlos concerning the past education of Luísa:

> Carlos -- . . . de que os lazaristas dessem com ela em beata?
> Ernesto --Porque, não, se tantas donzelas tem arrebatado às famílias? Confesso que se houvera podido ter vontade em assuntos da educação de Luísa, nunca a teria deixado regrar pelo instituto de S. Vincente de Paulo, que consigo, meu tio, com os seus discursos e os seus livros aprendi a receiar.
> Carlos (Animando-se) --E que eu também receio e abomino, Ernesto. Sou o mesmo homem que sempre fui em crenças, e só defiro da virilidade em faltar-me o vigor com que outrora pus a peito à popa de aquele navio, que afinal se fez ao largo, levando a bordo os missionários da reação.
> Ernesto --Bem sei, meu tio.
> Carlos --Velho como estou e desenganado, ainda me entusiasma a recordação de essa campanha, em que militei com a palavra a par de José Estavão, e sinto tão entranhado ódio ao fanatismo, que creio que até o meu cadáver se defenderia dos cor-

> vos do Vaticano. Não sou transfuga nem tíbio, meu sobrinho!
>
> Ernesto --Nem eu duvidei da firmeza das suas convicções; mas também não duvidam da sua inimizade os ultramontanos, e é por isso mesmo que mais temo por minha prima. Não podendo obter pazes do pae, os malvados hão de ter querido vingar-se na filha, caída em suas mãos, fanatizando-lhe o espírito. A empresa é digna de eles: é ferir o inimigo no coração e levar-lhe a guerra ao lar.
>
> Carlos --Capazes de essa infâmia são eles, são; e tem artes para muito! (Fica pensativo.)
>
> Ernesto --É certo que Luísa sabe o nome glorioso de seu pae e é inteligente, e que a inteligência e a piedade filial podem ter repelido a sedução dos hipócritas; todavia, não teria sido melhor não a expor ao contágio de idéias e sentimentos, que se a houvessem contaminado fariam a sua desgraça e a nossa?
>
> (Os Lazaristas, I, 2).

Such violence of attack had not been witnessed in the other thesis plays. The priests are "hypocrites," "crows of the Vatican," "wrongdoers," and "missionaries of reaction." The battle lines between good and evil are drawn clearly and distinctly. In the preceding passage, the discussion was only between the two generations of liberals in the play. When Enes has his hero, Ernesto, confront the "forces of evil," represented by the priest, Father Bergeret, he does not have Ernesto tone down his dislike and distrust toward the clergy. Quite to the contrary, he demonstrates his dislike in even more vehement terms:

> Bergeret (Dando-lhe um anel.) --Eis o anel que o avisa de que deve renunciar para sempre â esperança de possuí-la.
>
> Ernesto --Outra vez o anel? . . . É pois certo que o fanatismo recobrou a presa, para ligá-la com rijas cadeias que eu não possa espedaçar! Ah! miseráveis, que vencestes por traição e eu nem posso vingar-me, porque não há justiça que castigue os sedutores de crianças que revoltam as fi-

> lhas contra os pais, e lançam a discórdia e a dor no seio das famílias! São uns monstros, que planeiam a sangue frio e executam com serena ferocidade os crimes mais atrozes, os que torturam a alma, mas são invioláveis porque trazem à flor dos lábios o nome blasfemado de Deus! - - - (Os Lazaristas, II, 7).

Not only do these "seducers of children" corrupt young minds, break up families and stifle liberty, they have even lied to God in their vow of poverty. The following passage is a continuation, several lines later, of the passage just quoted:

> Bergeret --Fiz voto de pobreza, senhor!
> Ernesto --Para sugar como um parasita a riqueza alheia, bem sei. Fazeis voto de pobreza e arredais-vos dos pobres como de leprosos, o vosso apostolado só bate às portas dos grandes e opulentos, a vossa caridade só ameiga quem pode retribuí-la, não apareceis senão à cabeceira dos enfermos que prometem dons e legados, para as vossas confrarias só recrutais os ricos, e só têm entrada no vosso céu os que pagam luxuosamente a portagem! Ambiciosos, vorazes, sanguesugas, é que vós sois. . . - - -
> (Os Lazaristas, II, 7).

Whether Ernesto is speaking of the priests with others or directly to Father Bergeret, who is meant to represent all priests, his strident, militant, and at times almost hysterical tone, is faithfully maintained throughout the play.

If the appearance of a militant theme was a characteristic that distinguished this play from its predecessors, so too was the treatment of the love plot. As previously discussed, the love plot was not only the mainstay of the plot action in Leal, Biester and Lacerda, but the social theme or criticism, particularly after the first act was, more often than not, swallowed up or lost in the complicated intrigues

of love. In fact, at times, some of the minor love plots even became lost or are ignored completely in the business of boy meets girl. In Os Lazaristas, the love plot between Ernesto and Luísa serves as nothing more than a vehicle by which Enes emphasizes his anticlerical feelings. Father Bergeret persuades Luísa, almost with terror tactics, to join a convent in France, thus getting her large inheritance for his order, and foiling a true and honest love match, and for the first time, evil, at least in the opinion of the dramatist, triumphs. The victory goes to Bergeret, but not for long, insinuates the author, for Ernesto emerges as the symbol of the second generation of liberals who will rectify the errors of the first generation, and who will tear from os lazaristas the power they have malevolently usurped and so evilly wielded for their own selfish purposes.[25] The love plot in itself is relatively unimportant, but it has a highly important symbolic function as is disclosed in the closing lines of the play:

> Ernesto --Seremos vingados todos, quando os liberais se unirem para debelar o inimigo, de que não há de esperar pazes nem tréguas, recebendo a guerra com a guerra, trocando golpe por golpe, acendendo a luz nas trevas que os protegem; tolerantes, para com o princípio que contesta o nosso princípio, mas não para com o ódio, que combate à traição a nossa liberdade! Padre Bergeret destruiu a minha ventura mas afervorou as minhas crenças, e arrancando-me a noiva dos braços soltou-os para ir dar rebate contra a reação e chamar a mim os homens de energia, gritando-lhes com a força do desespero: SALVÊMOS A LIBERDADE! SALVÊMOS A LIBERDADE!
> (Cai o pano.) (Os Lazaristas, III, 7).

Some of the usual character types of the drama da ac-

tualidade are faithfully reproduced in the play; as, for example. Luísa, the heroine without a mother but with an old, kindly, liberal father, and Ernesto, the intelligent and generous young liberal who loves her. The path of their true love is blocked by a type of character new to the thesis play, a novelty of Enes' dramatic invention, namely, Padre Bergeret, the Vincentian priest. The usual role of "spoiler" was portrayed as a cynical, licentious, calculating type of rake but Padre Bergeret is hypocritical and almost satanical, the embodiment of evil, religious reaction.[26] Padre Bergeret is a symbol of evil, and perhaps, like all symbols, he is not allowed any leeway in personal character development or change. His role, a counterbalance to that of Ernesto, is treated in the same manner, that is, in long, expository monologues. On a personal level he sets daughter against father:

> Luísa --Mas . . . é meu pai, e eu amo-o
> Bergeret --Nosso pai está no céu, Luísa, e ele aprova-te e lança-te a sua benção. Se teu pai, segundo a carne, se afligir, a sua aflição será a que sente o inferno quando um pecador se salva e um santo ascende à glória.
> Luísa --Mas ele é tão bom . . . tão extremoso. Oh! que se eu podesse salvá-lo.
> Bergeret --E porque não se verificará esse milagre? Milagre lhe chamo, porque teu pai é um grande pecador, que desagradeceu a Providência o talento que lhe acendeu no cérebro e a eloquência que lhe pôs nos lábios, empregando os seus dons em difamar o Cristo e sua esposa. E que grande mal ele fez! e quantos e quantos réprobos foram precipitados no fogo eterno pelas suas palavras e pelos seus escritos! Os inimigos da fé saudavam-no como a chefe, e ele guiava os pagãos à perseguição dos apóstolos e confessores. Quando esta terra hospitaleira se cobriu de infâmia, expulsando as filhas de S.

> Vicente de Paulo, que os próprios selvagens amam como anjos de caridade, quando o populacho ébrio as martirizou com apupos e pedradas, e a negredada da imprensa lhes trespassou os corações acusando-os de corromperem a infância, Carlos de Magalhães foi um dos mais encarniçados algozes das virgens do Senhor, e grande deve ser a clemência, que lhe perdoe tão monstruoso crime, que aos olhos de Deus é uma impiedade e aos olhos do mundo uma covardia!
> (Os Lazaristas, II, 6).

Such language serves its purpose, for it terrorizes Luísa into renouncing her inheritance and taking up convent life. It is also a good example of the kind of oratory or oratorical structure that was carried onto the stage. First, there is the rhetorical question used to lead into the statement of theme. Then the statement of theme is followed by the conclusion. One notes the constant use of the exclamation point to indicate forceful utterance, and the extreme length of the final sentence.

Whenever the author sees fit to make a salient point in the overall propagandist purpose of the play, the dialogue becomes excessively oratorical. This is true no matter who is speaking. For instance, in the following passage, the importance of the actual dispute concerning Freemasonry in Coimbra can be seen. Padre Bergeret has just stated to some aristocratic friends that the aristocracy is aligned with the Church in its struggle against the "opulent bourgeoisie" for the minds and hearts of "the people."

> Bergeret --A mudança depois se fará, e há de fazer-se por se mesma, esteja descansado. Minados os alicerces de um edifício, não se requer grande esforço para derribá-lo. Os liberais deixam-nos trabalhar desimpedidamente, entretidos

> como andam pelas dissenções de família; conseguimos revogar de facto a maior parte das leis que nos perseguimos, a ponto de não serem expulsos nem inquietados os membros da Companhia de Jesus, que se estabelecem no país; temos protetores poderosos e dedicados, capazes de se afrontarem com os pedreiros livres, como sucedeu em 1856; possuímos uma força de que os governos débeis se temem e alguns se aproveitam; conservamos sobre o espírito do povo uma influência que felizmente não tem sido combatida por escolas, donde se propaguem as idéias modernas; e nutrimos, portanto, fundadas esperanças de que cedo venha o dia em que colhâmos o fruto da semente, que nós e nossos irmãos vamos espalhando em este chão fértil e mal guardado . . .
>
> (Os Lazaristas, II, 1).

Although Enes did not employ anything resembling psychological development in his characters,[27] some of his minor personages, who are partially exempted from the mainstream of anticlerical propaganda, elicit sympathy from the viewer because their motivations are more human. Such is the case with Joaquina, the sister of Luísa, who is a beata, or hypocritically pious woman and who is having an illicit affair with D. José de Mello. At least she is human in her desires and gives the unfortunate reason for her false piety:

> Joaquina --Valeria a pena aformoseá-los para que me estimasses: Já te contei a história do meu coração, que daria a Balzac para um de aqueles seus romances, que os tolos chamam imorais. Meu marido era um nobre caracter: fez-se respeitar, e o respeito matou a paixão. Possuía um grande talento, de que deveria orgulhar-me; pois tinha ciúmes das homenagens que lhe prestava o mundo, e enfurecia-me a idéia de que não precisava de mim para ser feliz, porque as carícias da glória dispensavam as da esposa. Creio que são assim todas as mulheres! . . . Era um esposo? Era meu? Não: pertencia às suas ambições, e só me dava os restos da alma e o repouso do corpo! Cheguei a odiá-lo, e sofri tormentos infernais. Foi então que me fiz devota.
>
> (Os Lazaristas, I, 6).

Enes, then had made certain innovations in the drama da actualidade, such as the creation of a militant, social theme and its retention throughout the play, the subordination of the love plot to the social theme and the creation of a character that clearly defines the political forces of good and evil. Yet, all in all, Os Lazaristas was, stylistically speaking, in no way a drastic break with the other thesis plays already discussed. There would appear to be two logical paths for dramatists to follow: either a return to the tried and true formula of subordinating any social theme to the love plot, as indeed, Enes himself did[28] in two later and enormously successful[29] plays: Os Enjeitados (1876) and O Saltimbanco (1877), or the elimination of the love plot entirely along with the idea of a good group and a bad one.

It should be remembered that the Romantic dramatists, led by Garrett, thought of the theater as a place to inspire patriotism in the middle class while the thesis play dramatists portrayed the middle class as the model of decency and hard work which the other social classes should aspire to emulate. Enes portrayed the middle-class liberal as the bulwark that fought to hold back the forces of intolerance and reaction. One reason, of course, for this constant reassurance and praise of the middle class was that it constituted the vast majority of the theater audience. The bourgeoisie did not go to the theater to be pilloried for their own faults and shortcomings, but rather for entertainment,

praise and escape, coupled with a heavy dose of vague, humanitarian and moral principles.[30] If, then, there was a good group of liberals and an evil group of reactionary clergy, as Enes seems to believe, the next step might be to conclude that all contending parties in Portugal, political or otherwise, were equally at fault. In fact, taken to its logical conclusion, perhaps all of Portugal and her politics were hopelessly rotten to the core. That was precisely the attitude that was portrayed on January 17, 1879, when Viagem à roda da Parvónia, a four-act play, by Guerra Junqueiro and Guilherme de Azevedo was produced for the first and last time, in the Teatro do Ginásio Dramático.

C. Azevedo and Guerra Junqueiro--The Apolitical, Antibourgeois, Antieverything Antihero

Until the presentation of Viagem à roda da Parvónia all theater in Portugal in the nineteenth century, when reduced to its simplest terms, was a question of good versus evil. This was true even of the rare social satires such as the morgados of Castelo Branco. Everything was presented in a standard, socially-acceptable format. Viagem was a unique social satire since no other Portuguese play had attempted its sarcastic, frontal assault on the middle class itself.

There is no "good" in the play. In fact, everything and everyone in Portugal is depicted as being rotten and corrupt. The name of the country, Parvónia, is itself a play on the Portuguese word parvo or nitwit. The "trip" that the authors take is around the "land of nitwits." There

is no hero or villain, for the main protagonist is the Wandering Jew. He has wandered since the time of Christ and his view of the world is one of weary déjà vu. The settings for the acts include not only contemporary Parvónia (Portugal) but also Greek and Roman mythology. The Wandering Jew himself changes into different characters during the play. Viagem was a truly unique satire in the nineteenth century and has been overlooked at best or totally ignored at worst.

Abílio Manuel Guerra Junqueiro was born in Freixo de Espada a Cinta in 1850. He graduated from the University of Coimbra in 1873 and began an active political as well as literary career. After serving as Secretary General to the district governments of Angra do Heroísmo and Viana do Castelo, Guerra Junqueiro was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1878, and again, in 1880, 1887 and 1890. In the following election, he was not elected and retired from active politics to continue his literary work and to oversee his agricultural properties. Guerra Junqueiro collaborated with and contributed to almost all the important literary journals of his day in Portugal, and also many in Brazil. He helped edit such journals and magazines as: A Lanterna Mágica, Voz Pública and Portugal-Brazil. Best known as a poet, he published his first important poem, Vozes sem Eco, in 1867 through the Coimbra University Press. After Portugal became a republic, Guerra Junqueiro was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Switzerland in 1911.[31]

Guilherme de Azevedo was born in Santarém in 1839. He

had a very active journalistic career, beginning with the founding of Alfageme in the city of his birth. In Lisbon he worked for A Gazeta do Dia and O Diário da Manhã, among others. Azevedo was also a correspondent for such newspapers as O Primeiro de Janeiro, A Luta in Porto and Gazeta de Notícias and O Jornal do Comércio in Rio de Janeiro. Because he died rather young in 1881 in Paris, Azevedo's literary production was not very extensive. His other works are: Aparições (1867), Radiações da Noite (1871), Alma Nova (1874), and O Rosalino, a comedy.[32]

As the curtain rose on Viagem à roda da Parvónia, which the playwrights had written under the pseudonym Gil Vaz, the mainly middle-class audience was quiet and attentive, but as they realized that they were among the targets of the play's satirical barbs, they became not only restive but extremely unruly. Caetano Alberto (1843-1924) described the violent reaction very vividly:

> A crítica motejante espalhava-se a flux pelos quatro actos com carapuças bem talhadas para as cabeças das instituições, principiando pelas da autoridade e acabando nas dos mais graves conselheiros.
>
> Outra coisa não era de esperar dos autores da peça, e o público farejando o escândalo, trasbordava da platéia, na primeira noite da recita. A princípio atento, não perdendo a mais pequena alusão, o menor gesto das grotescas personagens, não tardou em manifestar-se o desagrado do maior número, crescendo à medida que se desenrolavam as cenas, cada vez mais cómicas, picantes, colidindo, acaso, com boa parte dos espectadores considerando-se atingidos pela crítica.
>
> A tempestade não se fez esperar; rugiu, trovejou, principiando pelos pés, que não de vento mas de muitos bons burgueses bem calçados, subiu às cadeiras que voaram pela sala estilhaçadas e, se

> os apitos não estridularam a reclamar a polícia, é porque estava presente na pessoa do sr. conselheiro Arrobas, governador civil, que desabou em cheio, com toda a massa da sua rotundidade e pêso do seu nome, sobre o relatório de Gil Vaz, proibindo a representação por imoral e má figura! . . . Era de esperar; atacava-se a moralidade da política por meio do relatório ao vivo do Comendador Gil Vaz . . . .
> (Viagem à roda da Parvónia, Preface).

The middle class, that patriotic bulwark of liberty against the forces of evil, had itself become the target of criticism it was so often wont to hurl at others. Such an audacious affront would have probably been sufficient reason to arouse its ire for it had never before been confronted with such a situation in the Portuguese theater. In a carta-posfácio to "Gil Vaz," Antero de Quental describes the biting theme of the play:

> Segundo me consta, propôs-se o meu amigo descrever a sociedade de Lisboa, na variedade pitoresca das suas pequenas e não pequenas misérias morais e intelectuais, com os seus ridículos e as suas baixezas, as suas pretensões e a sua ignorância, o seu descaramento e o seu vazio, e apresentou esse quadro ao juízo do público lisbonense que frequenta teatros, isto é, precisamente aos representantes e membros activos de essa sociedade que se descrevia como grotesca e despresível--burocratas infatuados, jornalistas intrigantes, burgueses pataratas, deputados balofos, agiotas trapalhões, janotas falidos, literatos ocos, e tutti quanti . . . Está claro que não podia Gil Vaz ser recebido como triunfador.
> (Viagem à roda da Parvónia, Carta-posfácio).

If the authors were insulting to the sensibilities of the audience in their choice of theme, the presentation was even more so. Gone were the middle-class drawing room, the love plot, the long monologues on vague moral principles and all those stock characters dear to the drama da actuali-

dade. In place of all the usual trappings to which the audience had become accustomed, stood the Judeu Errante or Wandering Jew, a quixotic type who arrives in the allegorical land of "Parvónia." The play opens with the setting of:

> A cena representa uma arcada do Terreiro do Paço. Vários grupos conversam. De quando em quando rapazes atravessam apregoando cautelas. Vendilhões de água fresca gabam a excelência do líquido.
> (Viagem à roda da Parvónia, I, Q. I, 1).

The setting is not unusual and the various groups standing about make rather caustic comments on the political and economic state of affairs in "Parvónia." It really is not until the entrance of the main character at the beginning of the second scene that the viewer grasps the full scope of this biting satire:

> Judeu (aparece montado num burro, traja varino grosseiro, galochas de borracha, na cabeça um carapuço de lã, com borla; vem coberto de pó dos séculos--ou, não podendo ser de pó dos séculos, de qualquer outro. A tiracolo um frasco de genebra e um binóculo. Apea-se ficando com o burro preso pela rédea.)
> (Viagem à roda da Parvónia, I, Q. I, 2).

The Wandering Jew is not a narrator but rather takes part in the action along with the other characters. He is worldly wise after having spent almost two millennia wandering from land to land and finding always the same corruption and deceit. He is the epitome of the anti-hero in this unique play, and is not only the first of this kind to appear in Portuguese drama in the nineteenth century but in this extreme form the only one to do so. No doubt, the authors got the idea for their play from the famous French novel, Le

Juif Errant (1844-45) by Eugene Sue. The fact that Parvónia is Portugal is quickly established. Immediately established also is the type of country Parvónia is:

> Judeu (absorto) --Nem eu, meu caro senhor. Nunca o vi mais gordo! o que deseja? . . .
> Cicerone (falando apressadamente, e tirando vários objetos das algibeiras e da mala que traz à tiracolo) --Então o amigo já tem hospedaria? Precisa escovas para o cabelo? Quer a pasta da Justiça? Quer que lhe leve as malas ou quer a carta do Conselho? Olhe, ali na rua do Arsenal há cigarrilhas espanholas magníficas, mas se quer o hábito de S. Tiago também se lhe arranja: isto aqui é pedir por boca. Não tem senão escolher: ou vai para a rua dos Vinagres ou então, se lhe faz mais arranjo, pode meter-se no Tribunal de Contas. No conselho de Estado não há agora vaga. Prefere ser guarda noturno? visconde não é mau, mas guarda a cavalo é melhor. Escolha; deseja empenhar a consciência, deseja empenhar o relógio? Pretende ser deputado? Pelo governo custa-lhe 300 libras, pela oposição 200. Quer casar, quer ser da irmandade dos Terceiros? quer elogios nos jornais? Ou antes pelo contrário não quer nada de isto e deseja apenas ser um brasileiro rico e bem conceituado na sua freguesia? Por que não me fica com este décimo da loteria de Espanha e com esta comenda de Isabel a Católica? São ambas do Fonseca! Vamos, decida-se: o senhor precisa por força de alguma coisa. Aqui tem uma pomada para fazer cair o cabelo e os ministérios: aqui tem cartas de conselho, títulos de dívida infundada, baralhos de cartas, fluidos transmutativos, microscópios para ver pulgas e grandes homens; títulos para deitar nódoas e sabonete para as tirar: enfim, aqui tem em esta drogaria diabólica tudo quanto é preciso para levar um homem desde a imortalidade até a polícia correcional!
> Judeu (entusiasmado) --Eureka! achei o meu homem! O Cicerone que eu procurava há tanto tempo! (dando-lhe o braço) Vamos dar um passeio pela Parvónia.
> (Viagem à roda da Parvónia, I, Q. I, 2).

What the Judeu Errante finds, of course, is a jumble of inane practices, stupidly outmoded customs and crass corruption everywhere in the land, all of which is depicted in the

starkest terms. There is really no fixed, definable plot, but rather a series of increasingly biting and penetrating incidents. A special feature in the characterization of the Wandering Jew as he takes part in each one of these incidents is that he is transformed into another character but is still recognizable as his true self. In the first act he remains the Wandering Jew. In the second act, a parody of the Chamber of Deputies where the deputies behave in a very gross manner, the Wandering Jew is "metamorfoseado em CÍCERO DE FREITAS: ar importante, bigode e pera, pardessus no braço, por baixo do qual traz escondida uma casaca, dum lado azul e do outro vermelha." In the third act, the protagonist appears as both himself and: "transformado em PRINCESA RATAZANA em toillete mirabolante, cheia de pedrarias e de plumas . . . O francês de todos os personagens é a capricho." The entire act takes place in Parnassus. The fourth act takes place in Olympus in a "sala fantástica" and the Wandering Jew is dressed as Don Quixote. Despite all this change of costume and scenery, the authors never lose sight of the fact that they are harshly satirizing the literary and social pretentions of the Portuguese middle class as well as its educational and political systems.

One of the authors' main targets for satire is the utter and hopeless corruption and stupidity to be found in contemporary Portuguese politics. In a word, all politicians, whether they are republicans, liberals or conservatives, are downright fools:

Judeu (desanimado) --Parece que afinal de contas perco a eleição. Não me lembrei de mandar circulares para os Prazeres!

Cicerone (entrando conduzindo o jumento à rédea, triunfante) --Nos grandes lances é que os burros se conhecem; aqui está o que nos vai salvar!

Candidato --Protesto! a lei é expressa! não confere direito de sufrágio aos jumentos!

Judeu (bradando em cima de um marco de pedra) --É falso! Os parlamentos não costumam legislar contra si mesmos.

Cicerone --Não só há de votar, mas há de deitar duas listas na urna. É para isso que tem quatro pés.

Candidato --Protesto! Esse burro está nacionalizado estrangeiro.

Judeu (correndo ao burro e montando-se em ele, como triunfador) --És tu que me salvas! Agora já posso dizer que vou ao parlamento montado no corpo eleitoral! (Cae o pano)

(Viagem à roda da Parvónia, I, Q. II, 2).

The caricatures, rather than the characters, which abound in this play, the parliamentarians, the candidates, the pedagogues, the Francophiles and all the other types are, as can be expected with caricatures, depicted with zealous exaggeration. To emphasize their coarse nature, the dramatists gave detailed stage directions for them to be engaged in such edifying pursuits as picking their noses, their toes and spitting on the floor. The authors allow their victims no saving graces whatsoever, as can be seen from the following examples. The first concerns the parliamentarians, who were supplied enormous toothpicks for stage properties:

1º Deputado (abrindo uma gaveta e procurando um colarinho) --Demónio! deixe-me pôr o colarinho. Não sei por que é uma coisa que me esquece sempre! (Ata um lenço de chita de ramagem em volta do pescoço assoando-se primeiro a ele estrondosamente) --Então gravata, é raro o dia em que a trago! . . . .

(Vários deputados durante esta cena estão conversando, palitando os dentes, praticando outros actos mais ou menos próprios do moderno parlamentarismo).

Presidente --Meus senhores, recolham os seus palitos, que vai começar a sessão.

(Os deputados cravam os enormes palitos atrás da orelha).

(Viagem à roda da Parvónia, II, Q. III, 1).

In poking fun at Portuguese pedagogy, not only are some students eighty or ninety years old but they are shown with their fingers up their noses:

(Os Mesmos, Professor de Instrução Primária, Menino Matusalém e outros discípulos velhos de 80 a 90 anos, vestidos de bebé. Sentam-se todos num dos bancos, depois de profunda vênia. Alguns metem o dedo pelas profundidades do nariz).

(Viagem à roda da Parvónia, III, Q. IV, 4).

Thus the insults, the harsh satire, the constant rubbing of the audience's nose in the facts of their own decadence and corruption, continue on and without respite through all four acts and six quadros without even the slightest hint of the usual love plot to ease the pain and, perhaps, carry the day. It is not surprising then that Viagem à roda da Parvónia lasted only one scandalous evening before it was prohibited by the government censor. In fact, it is rather more surprising that it was allowed to be produced at all. The enormous differences between this play and those already studied in Portugal are quite evident and mark the beginning of a new era. It should be noted, however, that although naturalism, realism and symbolism would soon make themselves felt in the Portuguese theater, a yearning for the simplicity and orderliness of such past

triumphs as the historical play of Romanticism and ultra romanticism was by no means completely dead and buried.

FOOTNOTES

1. João Gaspar Simões, Eça de Queirós, o Homem e o Artista (Lisbon: Edições Dois Mundos, 1945), p. 65.

2. Fidelino de Figueiredo, História da Literatura Realista (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1924), p. 15.

3. Saviotti, "Teoria . . . . aos Nossos Dias," pp. 141-42.

4. P. Hourcade, "Le Feuilleton de la Revolução de Setembro a l'Epoque de la 'Questão de Coimbra' 1863-1867, Revue de Literature Comparée (January-March, 1938), p. 136.

5. Alberto Ferreira, "Artes e Letras, Aspectos da Polémica Literária de 1865," Seara Nova, no. 1443 (January, 1966), p. 18.

6. Simões, op. cit., p. 74.

7. Ernesto Guerra Da Cal, "Questão Coimbrã," in Dicionário de Literatura, II, 895.

8. Hourcade, op. cit., p. 130.

9. Simões, op. cit., p. 63.

10. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 63.

11. Simões, op. cit., p. 63.

12. Ferreira, op. cit., p. 20.

13. Simões, op. cit., p. 63.

14. Figueiredo, op. cit., pp. 17 and 24-25.

15. Ibid., pp. 19 and 23.

16. Hourcade, op. cit., pp. 125-26.

17. Da Cal, op. cit., pp. 895-97.

18. Figueiredo, op. cit., p. 227.

19. Ibid., pp. 233-34.

20. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 74.

21. Inocêncio, op. cit., XX, 355 and XXII, 261.

22. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

23. Inocêncio, op. cit., XX, 355 and Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

24. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., pp. 66-67.

25. Ibid., p. 70.

26. Ibid., p. 68.

27. Figueiredo, op. cit., p. 234.

28. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 74.

29. Inocêncio, op. cit., XX, 358.

30. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., p. 61.

31. Inocêncio, op. cit., XX, 76 and 306.

32. Martinho da Fonseca, Aditamentos ao Dicionário Bibliográfico Português (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1927), pp. 172-73.

CHAPTER SIX

BRAZIL UNTIL THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

A. Introduction

1. Social and Political Developments

Beginning in the eighteen-seventies, Brazil came alive with new intellectual activity and industrial progress. It was, as it was later called, the "Generation of Materialism"[1] in Europe as well as in the New World that first revolutionized man's Weltanschauung and spirit and then began to enter into his everyday life. Science and the machine would form the basis for thought. Darwin's theory of evolution became almost a religion, liberalism was the dominant force in politics and economics, while established religion came under furious attack from sceptics of all types. The positivism of Comte and Spencer and the sociological criticism of Taine became all important. Almost everywhere one looked the middle class was aware of being firmly entrenched in power. The Questão Coimbrã, previously discussed, which surfaced in 1865 and was continued in 1871 with the Conferências do Casino Lisbonense, had an enormous impact on a Brazil still dominated by sentimental Romanticism. The novel and the short story eclipsed poetry as the important literary genres of the period. In this electrifying atmosphere

of literary ferment, literature in Brazil evolved from Romanticism to a combination of realism and naturalism in which the novel and the short story would reflect varying degrees of both of the latter literary movements. It was during this period, for instance, that Machado de Assis, Brazil's most famous novelist, wrote his great psychological novels. In short, for Brazil, which had always been dependent on Europe and France in particular for her philosophical and literary ideas, the last thirty years of the nineteenth century were most stimulating and creative in many fields of endeavor.[2]

The question quite naturally arises as to the impact of this new creative activity on the Brazilian theater. Unfortunately, the answer is that there was, in effect, almost no impact on technique. This in no way means that what was done was not done well. Quite to the contrary, certain plays were equal to or better than their models. But all the models were old and well used: the realistic comedy of Martins Pena or the problem play imported from France. Machado de Assis, for instance, wrote light, one-act drawing-room comedies, certain elements of which can no doubt be traced back to Scribe.[3] Had he written only plays, however, his name would most probably be quite secondary even in the Brazilian drama.[4] França Júnior wrote plays, such as <u>As Doutoras</u>, in which he satirized contemporary manners, but he is chiefly remembered as "the Martins Pena of the second half of the nineteenth century."[5] He continued in the tra-

dition of the realistic comedy of Pena, particularly in such plays as Direito por Linhas Tortas[6] (1870) in which he continued the tradition of realistic observation of middle class and rural types.[7] Artur Azevedo (1855-1908) rose to fame in Brazilian drama, which he dominated until his death in 1908,[8] as the author or adapter of dramas, comedies, musical comedies, operettas, burlesques, burletas (musical farces) and musical reviews, some ninety-eight works in all, whose manuscripts have been preserved, plus forty-two more which have been mentioned by his biographers.[9] He wrote in collaboration several antislavery plays: O Liberato[10](1881) and O Escravocrata[11] (1882). The former has been judged to be only vaguely antislavery in theme while the latter play has been characterized as a potboiler on the subject since aside from the sensational aspect of having a slave indulge in intercourse with his white mistress, it added nothing new to what had already been produced on the subject.[12] The dramatist tried his hand at the family problem drama with O Dote[13] (1907) as well as a charming burleta, O Mambembe,[14] which, as its title signifies, concerns an acting company in the provinces. Coelho Neto (1864-1934), the last Brazilian dramatist in this work, does not belong chronologically to the nineteenth century. The only play of his we will study which was written in the last century: O Relicário[15] (1899). With Coelho Neto, however, certain important trends in the Brazilian theater (such as the realistic comedy in the tradition of Martins Pena) came to an end.

2. New Techniques--A Tendency Toward Conservatism

Considering the lack of interest of Brazil in serious drama at this time, it is not surprising that conservatism prevailed. Both Artur Azevedo and Coelho Neto, the principal playwrights to attempt serious drama during the period, show a marked tendency to rely on the past. This reliance is particularly evident in the plot structure and the dialogue, both of which hark back to the thesis play in particular.

Plays were often based upon love plots with definitive endings. The public was not asked to project the fate of the characters beyond the conclusion of the play. Perhaps the most irritating aspect (for the modern reader, at least) of the lack of change was the constant recourse to rhetorical speech. In O Escravocrata, for example, there are speeches which run for more than forty lines and three hundred words. There were times when a more simple style did crop up in a play, but the playwright reverted to literary speech in a later work. It was almost as if the dramatists themselves could not discern what they were trying to do. After employing relatively simple, conversational speech in Quebranto (1908), for instance, Coelho Neto once again employs a formal, literary speech in O Dinheiro (1912). Needless to say, characters in these plays were often presented in a direct manner with no attempt at personality development.

However, there were some advances in technique even

though they seemed at times to be painfully slow and were often somewhat transitory. In A Muralha (1905), for example, Coelho Neto imitated the plot structure of Ibsen and used Nora from A Doll's House (1879) as the model for his female protagonist. Yet, the old-fashioned tirades tend to detract from Coelho Neto's attempt at innovation. Dramatists like Artur Azevedo and Coelho Neto did learn to employ a natural, conversational style in their plays O Dote and Quebranto, but we are already up to 1907 and 1908. The realistic manner of revealing the true personality and feelings of a character to the audience through a gradual progression of clues, was a major contribution to the development of Brazilian drama by Coelho Neto in Quebranto, and in O Dote, there is a former Negro slave who speaks and sings in dialect. He is the most effective Negro character to appear in serious drama in Brazil since Joana in Alencar's Mãe.

Perhaps the most important point to be made is that when advances did take place in drama, whether they were lasting or not, they did not take place uniformly. An advance in the plot structure, for instance, might be accompanied by artificial stage speech. Then, too, one character in a play might use colloquial speech while another character used literary speech. There seemed to be myriad combinations of new and old. Advances were made in Brazil, as in Portugal, in a very haphazard manner.

Mention must be made of two advances in the realistic

comedy. In a few of his longer comedies, França Júnior portrayed several of his characters in a realistic manner, a practice not in keeping with the farcical tradition of the realistic comedy. Coelho Neto, in his three-act comedies of local color, introduced African elements, including dialect speech and song, which were an advance on Azevedo's comedies of local color.

Any reasons given for the dearth of innovations in the Brazilian drama during this period must ultimately take into account the formation of the Brazilian national psyche, which is not within the province of this work. The question of why the drama develops so slowly along artistic lines among Portuguese-speaking peoples perhaps cannot ever be answered satisfactorily. However, certain factors evidently made for stagnation in the Brazilian drama at that time. Generally speaking, drama was a newer form and never so widely cultivated in Brazil as either the novel or poetry.[16] It therefore attracted a much smaller group of authors, talented or otherwise, to its fold. Also pertinent is the fact that Brazilian drama, which had adopted or adapted the formulas of the French stage and which all during the earlier nineteenth century had depended quite heavily on French ideas for innovations, suddenly found that this heretofore reliable source had itself become static and repetitious during the second half of the nineteenth century.[17] In addition, the lack of clear, theoretical direction in drama criticism as a major cause of repetition in Portuguese dra-

ma in the nineteenth century,[18] easily holds for Brazilian drama as well. Of course, the tremendous influence of the realistic comedy of Martins Pena on Brazilian drama is not to be taken lightly. With its realistic dialogue, portrayal of customs and manners and typically Brazilian comic characters and situations, it struck a very responsive chord with Brazilian dramatists as well as theater goers, thus creating a natural model to be followed. All these factors combined to give Brazil a charming and interesting theater during this period but one also which was nearly devoid of new ideas.

B. Machado de Assis: The Drawing-Room Comedy

Machado de Assis was, of course a great novelist and short story writer and was in his time very innovative and original. In his plays, however, he tended to follow French formulas, particularly those of Musset and the French proverb plays. His plays were, in general, light and humorous but not in the tradition of Martins Pena and his realistic comedy.

Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis was born into very humble circumstances in Rio de Janeiro on June 21, 1839. His first job was as a typesetter from 1856 to 1858 when he left the position to pursue a full-time career in writing. He wrote his first articles for the newspaper Espelho in 1859. However, the year 1860, when he began his regular contributions to O Diário do Rio de Janeiro, marks the real begin-

ning of Machado's active journalistic and literary life. Besides articles for these newspapers, he contributed regularly to almost all the important journals in Rio de Janeiro during the period, including O Correio Mercantil, O Futuro, O Paraíba, A Revista Popular and O Jornal das Famílias. Because of growing literary fame, he was appointed to serve in various government posts and commissions. In 1873 he was given a high position in the Secretaria da Agricultura, Comércio e Obras Públicas. In 1876, while serving in the same secretariat, Machado was promoted to what today would be Secretary of Commerce. In 1878 he was made a member of an important commission concerned with land reform. As for official literary assignments, in 1871 Machado was appointed member of the Conservatório Dramático which had the power to censor plays either produced in Brazil or entering the country. In the following year, he was made a member of the commission charged with compiling the Dicionário Tecnológico de Marinha. For his many services to his country, Machado received various decorations including the prestigious Imperial Ordem da Rosa in 1867. In his personal life, an important event was his happy marriage in 1869 to D. Carolina Augusta Xavier de Novais, a union that lasted until her death in 1904. Machado's long and fertile literary career, which included such famous novels as Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas (1881), Quincas Borba (1890) and Dom Casmurro (1899) came to an end with his death from arteriosclerosis on September 29, 1908.[19]

Machado de Assis' dramatic criticism is notable for its clarity--concision and many of his opinions on the specific plays of his contemporaries are considered valid today.[20] However, before examining his own dramatic production, it would be instructive to note several of his general ideas concerning drama.

First, the theater was viewed by Machado to be, along with journalism and the lectern, an instrument for the education of the public, an attitude that reminds us of Almeida Garrett and José de Alencar. Of course, it must be kept in mind that Machado was only twenty years old when he wrote this:

> Consideremos o teatro como um canal de iniciação. O jornal e a tribuna são os outros dois meios de proclamação e educação pública. Quando se procura iniciar uma verdade busca-se um desses respiradouros e lança-se o pomo às multidões ignorantes. No país em que o jornal, a tribuna e o teatro tiverem um desenvolvimento conveniente --as caligens cairão aos olhos das massas; morrerá o privilégio, obra da noite e da sombra; e as castas superiores da sociedade ou rasgarão os seus pergaminhos ou cairão abraçadas com eles, como em sudários.[21]

Second, Machado had an eclectic attitude toward schools of dramatic thought or movements; that is, he tended to select what he felt was the best from each one. This is quite like Garrett's theoretical attitude concerning neoclassicism and Romanticism, which, as was pointed out, can lead to confusion or indecision with regard to the final goal of writing a drama.[22]

> As minhas opiniões sobre o teatro são ecléctica em absoluto. Não subscrevo em sua totalidade,

> às máximas da escola realista, nem aceito, em toda a sua plenitude, a escola das abstracções românticas; admito e aplaudo o drama como forma absoluta do teatro, mas nem por isso condeno as cenas admiráveis de Corneille e de Racine. Tiro de cada coisa uma parte, e faço o meu ideal de arte, que abraço e defendo.[23]

Finally, Machado seemed to be concerned with dramatic language. Of course, anyone who writes a play must give full attention to idiom and style but to Machado, they seemed to be the paramount concern in the creation of a dramatic work.[24]

> A palavra escrita na imprensa, a palavra falada na tribuna, ou a palavra dramatizada no teatro, produziu sempre uma transformação. É o grande fiat de todos os tempos.[25]

Machado believed then in an eclectic approach to drama; it must have an educational, civilizing effect on the public and must also employ aesthetically dramatic language.[26] He also believed that drama should be elevated to the highest moral plane possible, an opinion made abundantly clear in his defense of government censorship.[27] He was able to put his ideas on morality in drama into practice in 1875 as a member of the Conservatório Dramático, the censorship commission, when it voted to prohibit Os Lazaristas from entering Brazil.[28]

In 1861 Machado wrote his first one-act play, which was divided into two parts, Desencantos[29] and subtitled Fantasia Dramática. Although it was his first comedy, the play demonstrates certain qualities of Machado's writing that would characterize all his drawing-room comedy produc-

tion. Almost all the plots of his comedies would center on the premise of marriage as the final affirmation of all love and would take place in an upper middle-class ambience.[30] Perhaps a more concise word than "plot" would be "dialogue," for there is really no plot action in his plays. The dialogue is the plot, so much so that sometimes it appears to the reader that rather than attempting the denouement of a plot the dramatist has merely ended the dialogue. The language, however, is very polished and well modulated, and there are never any bombastic harangues or strident outcries of any sort. The settings in most of these plays are also of relatively little importance. Here is a portion of dialogue between a husband and wife in Desencantos, which takes place simply in "Uma sala em casa de Pedro Alves."

> Pedro Alves --Depois é que esperando ver-te cansada dessa vida, reparo com pesar que continuas na mesma e muito longe ainda de a deixar.
> Clara --Conclusão: devo romper com a sociedade e voltar a alongar as suas vinte e quatro horas de lua de mel, vivendo beatìficamente ao lado um do outro, debaixo do tecto conjugal . . .
> Pedro Alves --Como dois pombos.
> Clara --Como dois pombos ridículos! Gosto de ouvi-lo com essas recriminações. Quem o atender, supõe que se casou comigo pelos impulsos do coração. A verdade é que me esposou por vaidade, e que quer continuar essa lua de mel, não por amor, mas pelo susto natural de um proprietário que receia perder um cabedal precioso.
> Pedro Alves --Ó!
> Clara --Não serei um cabedal precioso?
> Pedro Alves --Não diga isso. Protesto, sim, contra as tuas conclusões.
> Clara --O protesto é outro hábito do parlamento! Exemplo às mulheres futuras do quanto, no mesmo homem, fica o marido suplantado pelo deputado.
>
> (Desencantos, I, 1).

Of course, at this time in Brazil, as previously seen, the problem play was coming into vogue and the emotional, Romantic play came under heavy attack. Most of the themes of the problem plays concerned such popular topics for the middle class as women's rights, the double standard of morality and experience versus romantic ideas. In 1862, Machado had two more one-act plays: O Protocolo and O Caminho da Porta, produced in the Ateneu Dramático. In 1863, both were published in a book entitled Teatro de Machado de Assis containing also a carta-prefácio by Machado's good friend, Quintino Bocaiúva (1836-1912). O Protocolo is a play consisting of conversations amongst four characters concerning the usual middle-class family topics. The setting is described as merely, "Em casa de Pinheiro, sala de visitas." O Caminho da Porta contains the same polished dialogue we saw in Desencantos and reveals Machado's budding, rather pessimistic attitude toward man and his institutions:

> Valentim --O amor! V. Excia. pronuncia essa palavra com uma veneração que parece estar falando de coisas sagradas! Ignora que o amor é uma invenção humana?
> Carlota --Ó!
> Valentim --Os homens, que inventaram tanta coisa, inventaram também este sentimento. Para dar justificação moral à união dos sexos inventou-se o amor, como se inventou o casamento para dar-lhe justificação legal. Esses pretextos, com o andar do tempo, tornam-se motivos. Eis o que é o amor.
> (O Caminho da Porta, I, 10).

Not only is Machado's cynicism displayed in this passage but also a characteristic common to all his personages, namely, that they always behave most decorously in manner

and speech. Never do they reveal anything resembling passion in what normally might be considered an opportune moment for a heated discussion.[31]

One of the most important stylistic points about the play is the extremely abrupt manner in which Machado ended it. This abrupt ending was almost inevitable in Machado's plays because they were almost plotless. At a certain moment in the play, all the characters merely took "o caminho da porta," which is to say they simply walked off the set:

> Valentim --Estou. E a razão é esta: quando não se pode atinar com o caminho do coração toma-se--o caminho da porta. (Cumprimenta e dirige-se para a porta).
> Carlota --Ah! --Pois que va! Estava aí, Sr. Doutor? Tome cadeira.
> Doutor (baixo) --Com uma advertência: Há tempo que me fui pelo caminho da porta.
> Carlota (séria) --Preparam ambos esta comédia?
> Doutor --Comédia, com efeito, cuja moralidade Valentim incumbiu-se de resumir: --Quando não se pode atinar com o caminho do coração deve-se tomar sem demora o caminho da porta. (Saem o doutor e Valentim).
> Carlota (vendo Inocêncio) --Pode sentar-se. (Indica-lhe uma cadeira. Risonha). Como passou?
> Inocêncio (senta-se meio desconfiado, mas levanta-se logo) --Perdão: eu também vou pelo caminho da porta! (Sai. Carlota atravessa arrebatadamente a cena. Cai o pano).
> (O Caminho da Porta, I, 10).

Machado had written three, original one-act plays at this point and the preface letter written by Bocaiúva now became very important in Machado's career as a dramatist. As seen already, when criticizing a specific play or playwright, Brazilians were straightforward and frank in their opinions, sometimes perhaps to the point of being a bit too harsh. In keeping with the tradition of Brazilian criti-

cism, Bocaiúva told his friend, Machado, exactly what he thought of his efforts:

> A minha franqueza e a lealdade que devo a estima que me confessa obrigam-me a dizer-te em público o que já te disse em particular. As tuas duas comédias, modeladas ao gosto dos provérbios francêses, não revelam nada mais do que a maravilhosa aptidão do teu espírito, a profusa riqueza do teu estilo. Não inspiram nada mais do que a simpatia e consideração por um talento que se amaneira a todas as formas da concepção.
>
> Como lhes falta a idéia, falta-lhes a base. São belas, porque são bem escritas. São valiosas, como artefactos literários, mas até onde a minha vaidosa presunção crítica pode ser tolerada, devo declarar-te que elas são frias e insensíveis, como todo o sujeito sem alma.

Then the critic, after stating these astute observations, went on to make a suggestion concerning the production of plays:

> . . . devo dizer-te que havia mais perigo em apresentá-las ao público sobre a rampa da cena do que há em oferecê-las à leitura calma e reflectida. O que no teatro podia servir de obstáculo à apreciação da tua obra, favorece-a no gabinete.[32]

The exact effect that this criticism in its entirety had on Machado's work cannot be known for certain because he never replied to it. However, in his next one-act comedy, Quase Ministro (1862), a light, political satire, he wrote in a preface to its publication in 1864:

> Esta comédia foi expressamente escrita para ser representada em um sarau literário e artístico dado a 22 de novembro do ano passado (1862), em casa de alguns amigos da rua da Quitanda.[33]

There is the distinct possibility that the dramatist was discouraged by the criticism, for he wrote only four more of these one-act drawing-room comedies: Os Deuses de

Casaca (1865), which is in alexandrines and in which no women appear; Tu Só Tu Puro Amor (1880) written in commemoration of the tricentennial anniversary of Luís de Camões (1525-1580), and concerning the poet's supposed love of Catherine of Ataíde; Não Consultes Médico (1908) and Lição de Botânica published posthumously and never staged in his lifetime. However, these comedies display no radical change in style from what has already been discussed.

The virtues of Machado's drawing-room comedies have been accurately summed up: they are not in bad taste, not bombastic, not melodramatic, not given to exaggerated emotion, not overly sentimental, but yet they give the viewer or reader the feeling of an atmosphere of half tones that can be very suggestive and impressionistic.[34]

C. França Júnior--Continuer of Tradition of Realistic Comedy

França Júnior started his dramatic career by writing one-act farces reminiscent of those of Martins Pena. They were mostly family situation comedies full of fun and nothing more. His later realistic comedies were much longer, often three or four acts. Although depicting local color, they often had a peculiarly melancholy tone.

Joaquim José da França Júnior was born in Rio de Janeiro on March 18, 1838. He attended the Colégio Pedro II and received his academic diploma. In 1858 he went to São Paulo and enrolled in the law school or faculdade. It was during this period in law school that França Júnior first

became interested in a literary career, which from the very beginning led him to drama. He wrote many articles of popular humor for various academic journals and wrote several comedies mainly concerning student life and habits. Upon receiving his law degree in 1862, he returned to Rio de Janeiro where he joined the editorial staff of Bazar Volante, a newspaper that specialized in caricatures. He remained on the staff until 1867 during which time he continued to write comedies. In 1868 he was appointed to a government post, Secretário do Governo Provincial da Bahia, a position he held until he was named a member of the commission that represented Brazil in the Universal Exposition in Vienna, Austria in 1873. Upon his return, he was appointed to the post of Curador de Órfãos (Guardian of Orphans), a position he held until his death in Poços de Caldas, Minas Gerais on November 27, 1890. França Júnior abandoned his career as a dramatist for a short while in 1876 to dedicate himself to writing a series of articles on Brazilian life and customs principally for the journal, Gazeta de Notícias, which were published in book form, Folhetins (1878).[35]

Most of the one-act comedies of França Júnior, which make up approximately one half of his dramatic production and which stylistically most closely resemble those of Martins Pena, were written early in his career.[36] At first these plays were mild satires on poor students and their way of life, as A República Modelo (1861) and Meia Hora de Cinismo (1861).[37] Many of these one-act plays are anecdotal

in nature and their plots are sustained by a series of light-hearted quid pro quos centering upon harmless misunderstandings, much in the manner of Martins Pena. Such is the case with O Defeito de Família[38] (1870), a one-act musical comedy, in which a simple, rather flimsy plot is maintained in part by comic action reminiscent of Pena and in part by the witty repartee of the characters.[39] The aim of this comedy is to make the audience laugh, for there is no theme properly speaking. The title of the play is, in essence, the plot, for the "family defect" revealed at the end is the harmless fact that the daughter does not have a lover who is always sneaking into the house to see her, but a pedicurist who is attempting to treat her hereditary bunion (joanete).

One of the first of his longer comedies was the four-act Direito por Linhas Tortas (1870), his most famous work. In it he continued Pena's tradition of realistic observation of middle-class and rural types.[40] The theme is the dramatist's comic investigation of marital relations in a middle-class Brazilian household in which a mother and daughter run everything and a weak father and son-in-law are subservient.[41] The plot itself is very simple. Leonarda, the wife of Fortunato and the mother of Ignacinha is such an overbearing tyrant that she forces her husband, son-in-law, Luís, and the mulatto servant girl to flee the household, which remains in a turmoil until the servant girl returns to clear up matters.

The play, in general, is full of what might be termed good-natured fun and humor, but, from time to time, certain caustic or cynical comments are made concerning the political or social life in Brazil, which are reminiscent of Macedo's view of society. For instance, Miguel, who is Luís's friend, has just become a baron, and concerning his title, he says:

> Barão --Parece que o meu baronato está-lhe incomodando muito! Pois faça o mesmo. É preciso que cada cidadão pague, como pode, o tributo à pátria. Uns derramam o sangue em sua defesa, outros dão planos de campanha pelas esquinas, e os mais sensatos, como eu, alcançam um título que os enobrece do dia para a noite, mandando para a guerra alguns representantes do elemento civil.
> (Direito por Linhas Tortas, III, 1).

In later plays França Júnior often ridicules even those in society who were well intentioned.[42]

In a farcical comedy such as this, one facet of a character's personality is usually emphasized for its humorous effect, thus eliminating the need for character development. However, one character, the family's mulatto servant girl, Felisberta, is depicted with such poignancy, that she deserves special mention. Because of the household tyranny she runs away from the house as do Fortunato and Luís. She is fond of her old master and returns to defend him from accusations of improprieties with her. This takes a great deal of courage on her part, for she is realistically presented as timid and lacking in self-confidence. It has been pointed out that she is unique in the literature of the period since, unlike the infamous mucama of História de

uma Moça Rica and certain carefree moleques of literature, she is delicate, refined, well-mannered and correct in her speech.[43] The fact that her trials and tribulations as well as her multi-sided personality constitute a moving vignette almost out of place within the general tenor of the play is not a unique thing in França Júnior's works. França Júnior often had a character in his farces and satires that demonstrated more personal qualities, such as self-doubt, which gave the works a human dimension different from those of Pena or Macedo in the tradition of the realistic comedy.

According to Artur Azevedo, França Júnior's close friend and associate, Direito por Linhas Tortas, which was immensely successful at the box office, made França Júnior a widely popular playwright.[44]

After having given up writing plays for a time in 1876 to dedicate himself to his crónicas, França Júnior once again resumed his dramaturgic career. With two political satires: Como Se Fazia um Deputado (1882) and Caiu o Ministério[45] (1882), he created two of the best examples of this type of play in Brazilian drama.[46]

According to Artur Azevedo, who helped produce the play, the original title of Como Se Fazia um Deputado was Como Se Faz um Deputado. The title was changed, however, during rehearsals to avoid difficulties with the authorities because a new law (Lei Saraiva) might have prohibited such a satire of the contemporary political system.[47] The theme of this three-act play is a satire on the political

system in Brazil as it functioned in the country districts in the days of absolute control of the chefes políticos whose titles of "liberal" or "conservative" were really irrelevant.[48] The settings, particularly in the first act are important in creating the necessary rural ambience:

> O teatro representa o terreiro da Fazenda do Riacho-Fundo. À esquerda, vê-se a varanda da casa com janelas e portas, que dão para a cena; à direita, árvores; ao fundo, morros com plantações de café.
> (Como Se Fazia um Deputado, I, Setting).

The plot action involves two political bosses, Limeiro and Chico Bento, who are supposedly from opposing political parties. However, Limeiro wants to marry his son, Henrique to Chico Bento's daughter, Rosinha in order that they may always maintain "o governo em casa" regardless of who is officially in power. The humor in the play derives in large part from the depiction of rural types, especially the two chefes, whose oligarchical political intrigues pass under the guise of democracy. Their real function in rural, political life, along with the realistic type of speech used by all the personages in the play, including the slaves,[49] comes out in the first act:

> Limeiro --Tenente-coronel, cartas na mesa e jogo franco. É preciso arrumar o rapaz; e não há negócio, neste país, como a política. Pela política cheguei a major e comendador, e o meu amigo a tenente-coronel e a inspector da instrucção pública cá da freguesia.
> Chico Bento --Pela política, não, porque estava o partido contrário no poder; foi pelos meus merecimentos.
> Limeiro --Seja como for, o facto é que, apesar de estar o meu partido de cima, o tenente-coronel é e será sempre a primeira influência do lugar.

> Mas vamos ao caso. Como sabe, tenho algumas patacas, não tanto quanto se diz . . .

After a few pleasantries, Limeiro gets down to business, for he wants his son elected deputy in the coming election:

> Chico Bento --Essis modus in rebus.
> Limeiro --Deixemo-nos de latinórios. O rapaz é meu herdeiro universal, casa com a sua menina, e assim conciliam-se as coisas da melhor maneira possível.
> Chico Bento (com alegria concentrada) --Confesso ao major que nunca pensei em tal; uma vez, porém, que este negócio lhe apraz . . .
> Limeiro --É um negócio, diz muito bem; porque, no fim de contas, estes casamentos por amor dão sempre em água de barrela. O tenente-coronel conservador compreende . . . Eu sou liberal . . . o meu amigo conservador.
> Chico Bento --Já atinei! Já atinei! Quando o partido conservador estiver no poder . . .
> Limeiro --Temos o governo em casa. E quando o partido liberal subir . . .
> Chico Bento --Não nos saiu o governo de casa.
> Limeiro (batendo na coxa de Chico Bento) --Maganão.
> (Como Se Fazia um Deputado, I, 6).

There is a portion of the play dealing with a dishonest election that is similar in context to the one in Viagem à roda da Parvónia, although a bit less raucous. The fraudulent election shows França Júnior's recurring idea of the conflict between idealized, romantic notions of how things should be and the reality of how things are. While in Direito por Linhas Tortas, it was Luís's disillusionment about romance and marriage, in this play it is Henrique's disillusionment over the fact that he was elected deputy in a crooked election which opens his eyes to the reality of democracy in rural Brazil and causes him to want to resign his post:

> Henrique --Maldita seja a hora em que se lem-

braram de meter-me em semelhante comédia.
Limeiro --Ó rapaz, tu perdeste o juízo?
Henrique --Acabo de sair dos bancos da academia, do meio de uma mocidade leal e generosa, cheio de crenças, sonhando a felicidade de minha pátria, eis que de chofre matam-se as ilusões, atirando-me no meio da mais horrível das realidades deste país--uma eleição, com todo o seu cortejo de infâmias e misérias.
Limeiro --E ainda em cima te revoltas, tu, que começaste por onde outros acabam!
Henrique --Não comecei, meu tio; acabei; porque o quadro que se desenrolou ante os meus olhos foi de tal natureza que sufucou-me no peito as aspirações de moço e patriota.
(Como Se Fazia um Deputado, III, 5).

The prospective fathers-in-law talk Rosinha into convincing Henrique that he must go to Rio de Janeiro and be a deputy, something he promises to do. Had França Júnior stopped at this point, he would have created a play that was stylistically more refined than Macedo's, Torre em Concurso, but essentially in the same comic vein. Although there is a definite farcical climate throughout the play, at the end the dramatist injected a certain note of melancholy resignation or sadness on a personal level, which raises the play to a more philosophical plane:

Henrique --E a minha palavra não volta atrás. Partirei como deputado, e envidarei todos os esforços para bem cumprir os meus deveres.
Limeiro (ao fundo) --Bravo!
Henrique --Levo, porém, desde já a convicção de que a descrença, mais tarde ou mais cedo, far-me-a tragar a taça dos dissabores. E então para onde apelar?
(Como Se Fazia um Deputado, III, 9).

This melancholy was characteristic of França Júnior, despite the overall satirical or farcical tone of his plays which set them off from those of Pena or Macedo in the same tradition. In Caiu o Ministério, melancholy was so preva-

lent that the play was described as " . . . um certo travo amargo de toda a história . . . "[50]

Be that as it may, Como Se Fazia um Deputado was a resounding success, and well it should have been, for it was one of the author's best political satire and demonstrated all his finest qualities as a playwright.[51]

França Júnior's other excellent political satire, Caiu o Ministério, also a three-act play, was published in the same year, 1882. Instead of being set in the countryside, however, it takes place in Rio de Janeiro. The setting for the first act, the rua do Ouvidor, is described in great detail. There are a great many extras in the cast. The stage " . . . deve estar ocupada por muitos meninos, vendedores de gazetas; algumas pessoas bem vestidas conversam junto ao balcão." It has been pointed out that the author made use of Machado de Assis' Quase Ministro, written nearly two decades earlier.[52] Aside from the title, however, the two plays seem to bear little resemblance to each other either in technique or language. In fact, many dramatic techniques, such as introducing an act by having newspaper vendors walk across the stage shouting pertinent headlines to set the ambience and outline of the plot, are strikingly like those seen in Viagem à roda da Parvónia. In spite of the many similarities, there is no way to prove that França Júnior actually had read the Portuguese play.

The main theme of the play is the political instability of Brazilian governments and their apparent inability to

cope with elective democracy. There is, of course, an accompanying series of minor themes, some of which were also the favorite targets of Pena and Macedo: the Brazilian Francophile who considers things Brazilian inferior, the foreigner who is taken seriously merely for being foreign, and thus by analogy, superior. The plot centers on a preposterous scheme by Mister James, an Englishman, to build a railroad using puppies as locomotion, not to pull a train but inside the wheels. The new idea is entertained seriously by the government of Senhor Brito. As the following passage shows, Mister James speaks the usual atrocious Portuguese of stage foreigners. Dr. Monteirinho, who is only twenty-two, is about to be made Secretary of the Navy mainly because " . . . leio Spencer, Schopenhauer, Bückner, Littré, todos esses grandes vultos, que constituem o apostolado das sociedades modernas":

> Mr. James --Idéa estar aqui completamente nova. Mim quer adopta sistema cinófero. Quer dizer que trem sobe puxada por cachorras.
> Dr. Monteirinho --Não era precisa a explicação. Nós todos sabemos que cinófero vem do grego cynos, que quer dizer cão, e feren, que significa puxar, etc.
> Mr. James --Muito bem, senhorr.
> Dr. Monteirinho --Agora o que se quer saber é como e que os cachorros puxam.
> Mr. James --Cachorra pròpriamente no puxa. Roda é oco. Cachorra fica dentro de roda. Ora, cachorra dentro da roda, no pode estar parada. Roda ganha impulsa, quanto mais cachorra meche, mais o roda caminha.
> Dr. Monteirinho --E de quantos cachorros precisa o senhor para o tráfico dos trens diários do Cosme Velho ao Corcovado.
> (Caiu o Ministério, II, 15).

If Mr. James's scheme can be realized, then Filomena, minis-

ter Brito's wife, can marry her affected daughter, Beatriz, off to him. The plan is debated in the council and loses, although not because it is ridiculous to begin with. This defeat marks the end of minister Brito's government's fortnight in power. In one final spoof of the plot itself and the romantic idea of love, which was also one of França Júnior's favorite targets, the author has the national lottery abruptly solve all:

> Brito --O que tem?
> Filipe (não podendo falar) --Comprei este bilhete. (mostra-o, tirando-o do bolso) Vou ver a lista . . .
> Mr. James --Branca.
> Filipe --E tirei duzentos contos!
> Filomena --Duzentos contos!
> Beatriz --Ah! Bah!
> Filipe (ajoelhando-se aos pés de Beatriz) --Minha senhora, eu adoro-a, idolatro-a. Quando a vi pela primeira vez foi no Castelões, a senhora comia uma empada. Quer aceitar a minha mão?
> Beatriz --De tout mon coeur.
> Mr. James --All right! boa negócia. (Cai o pano).
>
> (Caiu o Ministério, III, 14).

França Júnior uses Mr. James directly to criticize Brazilian life. In fact, Mr. James is the dramatist's spokesman regarding many of the things he considers wrong with society in Brazil. Macedo, in A Torre em Concurso, used his two scoundrels to criticize society also, but they were Brazilians pretending to be foreigners. Mr. James criticizes Brazilians for being lazy, too politicized, overburdened with lawyers and stupid:

> Mr. James --Não estar lá bem informada. É difícil este crise. Neste país tem duas cousas que não estar bom; é criadas e ministéria. Criadas não quer para em casa, e ministéria dura tres,

> quatro meses, bumba! Vai em terra. Brasileira não pode suporta governo muito tempa. Quando ministra começa a faz alguma cousa, tudo grita -- Não presta, homem estar estúpida, homem estar tratante . . .
>
> Raul --Infelizmente é a pura verdade.
>
> Mr. James --Quando outra sobe diz mesma cousa, muda presidenta de província, subdelegada, inspector de quarteirão, e paíz, em vez de anda, estar sempre parada.
>
> (Caiu o Ministério, I, 14).

All the characters in the play are really caricatures with one exception, Brito, the minister. It was the unsympathetic and at times, vitriolic depiction of all the characters which led the tone of the play to be assessed as a "travo amargo." However, Brito is treated in a sympathetic manner as an honest, conscientious man earnestly trying to do a decent job but overwhelmed by the entire nonsense of it all. Brito is pictured as so tired of the whole mess that when his wife insults him into formally proposing Mr. James's absurd idea which he knows will fail, he is almost relieved:

> Filomena --O privilégio havia de passar, custasse o que custasse. Eu é que devia estar no teu lugar, e tu no meu. És um mingão, não nasces-te para a luta.
>
> Brito --Mas com a breca! Queres que faça questão de gabinete?
>
> Filomena --Quero que faças tudo, contanto que o privilégio seja concedido.
>
> Brito (resoluto) --Pois bem; farei questão de gabinete, e assim fico livre mais depressa desta maldita túnica de Nessus.
>
> (Caiu o Ministério, III, 1).

While there is no real analysis of Brito's personality, he is, unlike the other characters, far from a caricature. It is his weariness over all the political nonsense taking place around him which gives the play an almost plaintive

tone, as if the author himself, after all his satirizing, did not think that much would change:

> Brito --Lê. (Filomena quer rasgar o jornal). Lê, eu terei a coragem de ouvir.
> Filomena (lendo) --"Caiu finalmente o ministério das patotas. Parabens aos nossos concidadãos, estamos livres do homem que mais tem sugado os cofres públicos em proveito dos seus afilhados."
> Brito --Saio do ministério mais pobre do que entrei, porque estou crivado de dívidas e com a pecha de ladrão!
> Filomena --E o que pretendes fazer?
> Brito --Nada: neste país infelizmente, esta é a sorte de quase todos os que descem do poder. (Caiu o Ministério, III, 13).

This is the reward bestowed upon the only character in the play not depicted as acting solely for personal gain.

It has been pointed out that the nostalgia in França Júnior's plays was often only momentary and should not be given too much importance.[53] Perhaps, however, more importance should be given to this nostalgic quality which entered more and more into the works of the dramatist; as a foreboding of the future due to lost values in Como Se Fazia um Deputado or as a weariness with all the modernismo in Caiu o Ministério. There can be no doubt that in the political arena, França Júnior satirized certain Brazilian characteristics better than anyone else,[54] and also, that he was probably at his best in such plays as Como Se Fazia um Deputado which were in the tradition of the realistic comedy.[55] However, to think of França Júnior merely as a good political satirist or solely as the continuer of Martins Pena is to do him a disservice. His multi-act plays were more complex than Pena's or Macedo's and his melancho-

ly nostalgia or sadness added a new human dimension to his later plays.

D. Artur Azevedo--Local Color Comedy, Antislavery Pot-boilers, Old-Fashioned Thesis Play

Artur Azevedo was principally known for his light comedies, musicals and operettas. One of his most successful types was the burleta or musical farce which incorporated a great deal of local color in both the settings and the dialogue. However, despite the seeming lack of interest in serious drama prevalent at the time in Brazil, the author made an attempt to write dramas with a social message. His two pointedly antislavery plays, O Escravocrata and O Liberato were purposely sensational in their presentation of the slavery problem and technically were nothing more than the thesis play revisited with an antislavery theme. He also attempted a serious drama in O Dote, but once again, the result seems little more than a reworking of the old-fashioned French thesis play in theme, character presentation and language.

França Júnior's friend and contemporary in the theater, Artur Nabantino Gonçalves de Azevedo was a prodigy in Brazilian drama. He was born on July 7, 1855 in São Luís do Maranhão to Davi Gonçalves de Azevedo, the Portuguese vice-consul in Brazil. At the age of nine, Artur wrote a five-act play with a prologue concerning a matter of conscience. When he was twelve, he wrote articles for O Semanário Maranhense under the pseudonym of Elói, o Herói. Artur's fa-

ther wanted him to enter the business world and placed him in a shop to acquaint him with commerce. The fact that the boy had to spend much of his time sweeping floors and running errands did not prevent him from organizing, with a group of like-minded youngsters, an amateur theater group. At fourteen, he wrote a play, Fernando, o Enjeitado in which he acted one of the principal roles. A year later, he composed the play, Amor por Anexins. All this theatrical activity, which kept him away from work, did not endear him to his employers and he was fired. Artur's father did not give up the idea of making a businessman of the budding dramatist, and found another job for him as a clerk in the Secretaria do Governo do Estado. In 1871, Artur wrote a series of satirical poems that were published in a book entitled Carapuças (1872). Certain important people from his town, including some from Artur's place of employment, seemed to recognize themselves in the work and that was the end, in Maranhão, of Artur Azevedo, clerk. His father finally gave up his desire to produce a merchant and allowed his son to go to Rio de Janeiro in 1873. One must sympathize a bit with Artur's father when one realizes that he had to deal not only with Artur, but also his brother, Aluísio de Azevedo, one of Brazil's great novelists.

Once in the capital, Artur worked as a journalist and became famous for his humorous verses and articles. In fact, there seemed to be no episode, incident or custom in Brazil, whether political, theatrical, cultural or social,

about which Artur did not have an opinion. In spite of success in other fields, Artur's first love remained the theater. He labored tirelessly as a playwright, director and producer to create interest in a national, truly Brazilian theater. After only ten years in the capital, he had become so famous and trusted in the theater, that he was able to take a trip to Europe at the expense of several theatrical producers. As a playwright, certain of his plays, such as Uma Véspera de Reis na Bahia (1875), A Capital Federal (1897) and O Badejo (1898) were great commercial successes. However, Artur's work in and for the theater was extremely varied: he founded theatrical periodicals, such as A Revista dos Teatros; played a major role in the success of the Teatro Municipal do Rio; and was director of the Teatro João Caetano which encouraged plays written by Brazilians. Artur Azevedo's almost single-handed effort to counteract the decline of Brazilian drama came to an end with his death in Rio de Janeiro on October 22, 1908.[56]

When Artur Azevedo arrived in the capital in 1873, he found serious drama and comedy in a sad state. As interest in the problem play declined, the theater-going public embraced light comedies, such as operettas and light comic operas, mostly bad adaptations and translations from Paris. Audiences were convulsed with raucous laughter at course humor, but they hooted and booed when new ideas, subtle dialogues or interesting technical innovations were attempted. Azevedo tried his hand at serious dramas which failed

badly. He learned to compose adaptations and translations of light theater and thus pleased his audiences, which in turn rewarded him with great success.[57]

The burning social issue of the day in Brazil was slavery, and Azevedo made his first contribution in behalf of abolition with the play, O Liberato, which was first produced in the Teatro Lucinda in Rio on September 16, 1881. It is a very short, one-act play in which the main protagonist, a slave, whose symbolic name is the title of the play, never makes an appearance. The play is supposedly abolitionist in nature but, in fact, no slave appears on stage during the entire production. Liberato is conveniently sick offstage during the entire play and more conveniently still, he dies at the end of it. His death leads one of the abolitionists to end the play by stating, "Decididamente a morte é o único meio eficaz de emancipação." This ending caused one critic to point out that the author did not seem to treat emancipation very seriously since a slave's death is posed as the only means of attaining freedom.[58]

A year later, in 1882, and six years before the complete abolition of slavery in Brazil, Artur Azevedo, in collaboration with Urbano Duarte (1855-1902), submitted a more ambitious antislavery play in three acts entitled A Família Salazar, to the Conservatório Dramático for approval. This play is a good example of the fact that the theater was merely marking time. The play is in the thesis-play tradition and treats the theme of slavery in a purposely

sensational manner: the adultery between a slave owner's wife and a black slave. The characters are stereotypes and are as Romantic as those of Castro Alves. They speak in highly literary language while presenting their views and their personalities directly to the audience in long dialogues.

The play ran into difficulties with the government censor. From the very beginnings of Brazilian drama in the nineteenth century, all playwrights, both nationals and foreigners, had to contend with some form or other of royal censorship. For instance, Martins Pena's play, Os Ciúmes de um Pedestre (1846) was prohibited because it was alleged that it might tend to incite the public to criminal acts. As we have already seen, both António Enes in Os Lazaristas and José de Alencar in Asas de um Anjo ran afoul of the censor. Now it was Duarte and Azevedo's turn, and they fared no better than the others. The manuscript was returned with the curt comment, "não pode ser representado," and no further explanation was ever given.[59]

Two years later, in 1884, the authors published the play with the new title, O Escravocrata. Plays concerning the adulterous adventures of respectable married women had become almost fashionable in Brazil because of the influence of Alexandre Dumas fils and his school, but there never had been a play even hinting at the possibility of sexual relations between a white woman and a slave.[60] Although, as previously stated, no official reason was given for the pro-

hibition of the play, the authors took the sexual relationship, which produced a son, to be the sole cause of it. In a preface to the published work, they vehemently defended the plot as plausible and moral:

> O facto capital da peça, pião em volta do qual gira toda a acção dramática, são os antigos amores de um mulato escravo, cria de estimação de uma família burguesa, com a sua senhora, mulher nevrótica e de imaginação desregrada; desta falta resulta um filho, que, até aos vinte e tantos anos de idade, é considerado como se legítimo fosse, tais os prodígios de dissimulação postos em prática pela mãe e pelo pai escravo, a fim de guardarem o terrível segredo.
>
> Bruscamente, por uma série de circumstâncias imprevistas desvenda-se a verdade; precipita-se então o drama violento e rápido, cujo desfecho natural é a consequência rigorosa dos caracteres em jogo e da marcha da acção.
>
> Onde é que se acha o imoral, o inverossímil?
>
> (O Escravocrata, Pródromo, 1884).

The authors go on to state that they were only reporting, in essence, what was occurring all around them. It will be remembered that this is almost the same argument that José de Alencar used against the censorship of his play:

> Seria muito bem que todas as mulheres casadas fossem fiéis aos seus maridos, honestas, ajuizadas, linfáticas, e que os adultérios infamantes não passassem de fantasias perversas de dramaturgos atrabiliários; mas infelizmente assim não sucede, e o bípede implume comete todos os dias monstruosidades que não podem deixar de ser processadas neste supremo tribunal de justiça--o teatro.
>
> (O Escravocrata, Pródromo, 1884).

It should be noted that the infamous "incident" between Gabriela, the white woman, and Lourenço, the slave, producing Gustavo, the supposed son of Salazar, the slave trader, took place some twenty odd years before the begin-

ning of the play. Also, no further sexual activity seems to have taken place between them. However, it must be pointed out that the play's ending might also have produced the same censorship had there been no sexual scandal. At the end of the play, Salazar's slaves stage an armed revolt and chase him into the main house. He is saved only by his daughter's pleading with the armed slaves for mercy. The fear of social upheaval and personal disaster if the slaves were liberated was a common one in Brazil often shared by slave owners and abolitionists alike. It should be remembered that José de Alencar, for instance, who wrote the first Brazilian antislavery plays, Mãe and O Demônio Familiar, was averse to abrupt emancipation of the slaves because of this fear.[61]

The purpose of the theme of the play was outright propaganda in favor of the abolition of slavery, as the authors themselves stated, " . . . um trabalho audacioso de propaganda na luta pelo desmoronamento da fortaleza negra da escravidão . . . "[62] However, the antislavery theme of the play is supported mainly by the cruel treatment afforded the slaves by Salazar and his employees. The following is a scene typical of the treatment throughout the play. In this case Lourenço is to be sent upriver away from his son, Gustavo, who does not yet know that the slave is his father:

> Caixeiro --Cá está o mulato.
> Salazar (a Lourenço) --Prepara a tua trouxa; tens que seguir amanhã para cima.
> Lourenço (fita-o e depois diz pausadamente) --Mais nada?
> Salazar (furioso) --Mais nada? Desavergonhado! Patife! Cão! Puxa já daqui!

> Lourenço --Não lhe quis faltar ao respeito . . . Este é o meu modo de falar.
> Salazar --Modo de falar! Pois negro tem modo de falar? Quando estiveres em minha presença, abaixa a vista, ladrão! (Lourenço não lhe obedece). Abaixa a vista, cachorro! Corto-te a chicote se o não fizeres (Lourenço conserva-se imperturbável. Salazar avança com um chicote, mas Gustavo o contém).
> Gustavo --Peço por ele, meu pai! Lourenço é um escravo dócil e obediente. (A Lourenço com brandura). Abaixa a vista Lourenço (Lourenço obedece). Ajoelha-te! (Idem). Pede humildemente perdão a meu pai de lhe não haveres obedecido incontinente.
> Lourenço --Peço humildemente perdão a meu senhor . . .
> Salazar --Puxa daqui, burro! (Lourenço sai). (O Escravocrata, I, 5).

The plot, as stated by the authors themselves, is based on the secret of who is Gustavo's real father, and quite naturally, one of the great emotional moments in the play is the moment in which the secret is revealed. In terms of nineteenth-century Brazilian morality, however, it is a bit hard to fathom how the fact that Lourenço, the adulterer, is or is not a slave is very revelant to the antislavery theme or the adulterous plot. Did Gabriela order Lourenço to sleep with her, and, as a slave, did he have to obey? Would her adultery have been less reprehensible if Lourenço had been a white or a Negro freedman? These, and several other questions crop up to suggest that the antislavery theme has somehow gotten lost in the adulterous plot, just as in O Liberato, the same theme appeared to become lost in the love plot. Perhaps, the subtle implications of all this were not lost on a nineteenth-century Brazilian reader and the failure to comprehend them is due,

in this case, to the gap of a century. In any case, there is a confrontation between Lourenço and Gustavo in the presence of Gabriela at the end of the second act during which Lourenço blurts out the well-kept secret. In the third act it is revealed that Gabriela had gone mad and has been put away, with the accompanying implication that she was a bit crazy all the while. Gustavo is in bed, suffering from one of those "brain fevers" so popular in nineteenth-century literature. In one last surprising revelation, introduced partly to explain Gustavo's obvious Negroid features which were alluded to in the play, the reader discovers in a conversation between Salazar and his sister, Josefa, that they had a Negro slave for a great-grandfather:

> Salazar --Cala-te, diabo!
> Josefa --Ninguém nos ouve. Era mulato e escravo; mas a aliança com galegos purificou a raça, de sorte que tanto você como eu somos perfeitamente brancos . . . Temos cabelos lisos, beiços finos e testa larga.
> (O Escravocrata, III, 4).

It would appear from the phrase, "the alliance with galegos (in this case the word really signifies Caucasians) purified our race," that to be able to pass for a white man in Brazil during the period was very important.

Now the play can speed toward its conclusion with no further surprises. The ending itself is very reminiscent of the type so favored by Romanticism, where almost everyone either dies or goes mad. Gabriela is already in an asylum. Lourenço hangs himself and it is the sight of his body that incites the slaves to riot. Gustavo is then

found dead, lying next to his father's (Lourenço's) body.

Perhaps the most interesting stylistic feature of this play is the dialogue: it appears to be an unintegrated conglomeration of all the types of language predominating in nineteenth-century Brazilian drama until the time of this play. Some of them were already relics of the past in 1882, but are of interest for the very reason that they are so outdated.

In the following passage, Salazar's daughter, Carolina, is being courted by Dr. Eugênio. It will be noted that the vocabulary is very affected, with such expressions as "the eternal antithesis" used in an aside or the use of semblante or countenance as a poetic substitute for the more common word for face (cara). The sentences themselves tend to be rather long. A favorite device of Romantic authors was to use direct objects and modifiers in series of three. Here, for instance, Dr. Eugênio sees "love," "candor," and "innocence" in Carolina's eyes. Despite the passage's literary tone there are still errors in syntax, like Porque amo-a.

> Carolina --Não gosta de habanera?
> Doutor --Prefiro a mais vulgar música a um trecho sublime de Beethoven ou de Mozart . . .
> Carolina --Como assim?
> Doutor --Quando esta música vulgar é executada pelos seus dedos.
> Carolina (enleiada) --Ó! Doutor . . .
> Doutor --Peço-lhe que não me trate pelo meu título; as afeições recíprocas excluem essas formalidades banais. A sua cerimônia faz-me supor não ser correspondido.
> Carolina --Ó! porventura vê alguma coisa em mim que possa autorizar esse juízo?

> Doutor --Só tenho lido nos seus olhos amor, candura e inocência. Ó! amo-a muito, adoro-a, Carolina! Tenho uma vaga reminiscência de haver visto o seu semblante em um mundo ideal . . . no mundo dos sonhos talvez! (àparte). Flor entre cardos! Pérola no lameirão! A eterna antítese! Ó! mas hei de tirá-la pura do meio impuro em que vive. Porque amo-a!
>
> (O Escravocrata, II, 1).

In addition, there is the kind of tirade by the author's raisonneur which was so popular in and important to the thesis play. The following example consists of well over three hundred words and long, complex sentences:

> Gabriela --Não consta que o doutor tem idéias emancipadoras?
>
> Doutor --Sim. Se bem que não me apresente como paladino, faço modestamente tudo quanto posso pela causa da emancipação dos escravos. (Pausa). Estou perfeitamente convicto de que a escravidão é a maior das iniquidades sociáis, absolutamente incompatível com os princípios em que se esteiam as sociedades modernas. É ela, e só ela a causa real do nosso atraso material, moral e intelectual, visto como, sendo a base única da nossa constituição económica, exerce a sua funesta influência sobre todos os outros ramos da actividade social, que se derivam lògicamente da cultura do solo. Mesmo no Rio de Janeiro, esta grande capital cosmopolita, feita de elementos heterogéneos, já hoje possuidora de importantes melhoramentos, o elemento servil é a pedra angular da riqueza. O estrangeiro que o visita, maravilhado pelos esplendores da nossa incomparável natureza, mal suspeita das amargas decepções que o esperam. Nos ricos palácios como nas vivendas burguesas, nos estabelecimentos de instrucção como nos de caridade, nas ruas e praças públicas, nos jardins e parques, nos pitorescos e decantados arrabaldes, no cimo dos montes, onde tudo respira vida e liberdade, no íntimo do lar doméstico, por toda a parte, em suma, deparase-lhe o sinistro aspecto do escravo, exalando um gemido de dor que é ao mesmo tempo uma imprecação e um protesto. E junto do negro o azorrague, o tronco e a força, trípode lugubre em que se baseia a prosperidade do meu país! Ó! não! Cada dia que continua este estado de coisas, é uma cusparada que se lança à face da civilização e da humanidade! Sei que

> me acoimarão de idealista, alegando que se não governam nações com sentimentalismos e retóricas. Pois bem, há um facto incontroverso e palpável, que vem corroborar as minhas utopias. É sabido que os emigrantes estrangeiros não procuram o Brasil ou não se conservam nele, por não quererem emparceirar-se com os escravos. A escravidão é uma barreira insuperável à torrente emigratória. Portanto penso que só há uma solução para o problema da transformação do trabalho: a espada de Alexandre!
>
> (O Escravocrata, II, 5).

This play was never produced anywhere in Brazil[63] in order that the theater-going public's reaction to it could have been recorded.

In 1883, Azevedo took a trip to Europe. In Lisbon he met Pinheiro Chagas, D. Joao da Camara and Julio Cesar Machado (1835-1890). In Paris he had the opportunity of seeing a great variety of performances and personalities, including the actress Sarah Bernhardt. He was so enchanted with the city that he had hopes of remaining there as Brazilian consul but was unsuccessful. He returned to Brazil with dozens of plays of all kinds that he could use for his highly talented translations and adaptations.[64] For the next twenty odd years, Azevedo delighted Brazilian audiences by writing or adapting innumerable light comedies, musical reviews and operettas. In part, perhaps, because of the harsh treatment that O Escravocrata received, Azevedo learned to give the public and the censor what they wanted to see. As he himself stated:

> Também fui moço e também tive o meu ideal artístico ao experimentar a pena; mas um belo dia, pela força das circunstâncias, escrevi para ganhar a vida, e dai por diante adeus ideal![65]

One of the subgenres of light comedy in which Azevedo excelled was the burleta or musical farce. The play O Mambembe, which he wrote in collaboration with José Piza (1869-1910), is one of the best of its type. In this sort of comedy, a family or group of people usually visit places in Brazil which in terms of customs, are a bit strange. A series of farcical difficulties then ensues from which the group must extricate itself. In O Mambembe, for instance, a theatrical road company visits the provinces and encounters all sorts of difficulties in trying to stage its repertoire. Aside from the comical situations, this type of play is of interest to the modern reader for its depiction of the colorful customs, in an exaggerated and comical manner, of course, which existed in Brazil at the turn of the century. In other comedies of this type, such as A Capital Federal (1897), Azevedo depicts the tribulations of a rustic family in the capital. This subgenre describing the colorful customs was very popular in Brazil during the period.

The title of the play gives a good indication of the plot, for a mambembe was a troupe of aspiring actors that traveled through rural districts trying to persuade small towns and villages to allow their repertoire to be shown. It was really a road company without a fixed itinerary or schedule. The theme and the plot of the piece then are essentially one in the same: the presentation in a comical manner of the difficulties that theater companies had in Brazil at the time and the general lack of interest in the

theater on the part of the public at large. Azevedo was never above creating a bit of propaganda for his beloved Brazilian theater: throughout the play, characters are always reminding the audience, lest they forget, of the discouraging state of affairs. In fact, the play concludes with Frazão, the leader of the mambembe, airing the author's favorite complaint:

> Laudelina (triste) --Mas devo deixar o teatro
> . . .
> Frazão --Não te entristeças, filha, porque presentemente, no Brasil, o teatro não seduz ninguém. Esperemos porém que graças à boa vontade e a inteligência dos nossos governantes, possamos algum dia assistir ao triunfo da arte dramática que como presentemente se acha, não deve seduzir ninguém .
> . .
> (O Mambembe, III, 3).

The play is divided into three acts and twelve quadros or major changes of scene. Many of the settings for the quadros are described in great detail in order to portray realistically the local color and customs of the countryside as in the tradition of A Torre em Concurso and Como Se Fazia um Deputado. Here, for example, is the description of a rural tavern:

> Botequim nos fundos de um armazém de bebidas. Ao fundo de uma arcada, o armazém com balcão e prateleiras e duas portas largas dando para a rua. À esquerda a entrada de um bilhar. Mesinhas redondas de mármore. Bancos.
> (O Mambembe, I, Q. 2).

Instructions for the characters' dress and actions are also important:

> Ao levantar o pano, Monteiro em mangas de camisa, percorre as mesas, é o dono da casa. Fábio sentado a uma mesa à esquerda, Lopes sentado ao fundo lê um jornal. À direita o

primeiro e segundo freguêses bebem e conversam. Os outros freguêses fazem o mesmo. Durante o quadro entram e saem freguêses no armazém ao fundo e são servidos pelo caixeiro. Vêem-se passar transeuntes na rua.
(O Mambembe, I, Q. 2, 1).

In such realistic settings, it is not surprising that the characters use colloquial speech in the play. Even the songs have the flavor of everyday language due to their vocabulary and brevity. At times the lyrics are even mildly satirical as in the following passage where Azevedo ridicules sinecures in the National Guard:

Laudelina --Major . . . Coronel . . .
aqui todos os senhores tem postos . . .
Trineu --Todos! Até eu sou capitão!
Laudelina --Bem sei (Coplas)
Trineu --
Aqui não sendo a gente
Ou padre ou bacharel,
Apanha uma patente
E chega a coronel.
Não há maior desgosto
Nem mais profundo mal
Do que não ter um posto
Na Guarda Nacional. bis.

Alferes e tenente
Já fui, sou capitão
E espero brevemente
Major ser, pois então!
E peço a Deus na Igreja
Pois sou devoto fiel
Viver até que seja
Tenente-Coronel. bis.

This, then, was one of the main types of light comedy Azevedo wrote to charm and delight Brazilian theater audiences for nearly thirty years. This particular play, in fact, still had the power to captivate modern audiences more than half a century after it was written. In 1959, exactly fifty-five years after its première, it was pro-

duced in the Teatro Municipal do Rio, and was so favorably received that it was continued for five more months in the Teatro Copacabana.[66]

It seems almost ironic that Azevedo, who became so famous with his light comedies, and who had learned to shun serious drama, should end his career by writing a serious play, O Dote (1907). This work represents a return to the old-fashioned, middle-class thesis play which reflected a bourgeois society only interested in money matters and itself. However, there are many points of interest, especially a Negro character who furnishes local color through his realistic dialogue which reproduces the phonetics and the incorrect grammar of a former slave. According to one of Brazil's most famous actresses at the turn of the century, Lucília Peres, Azevedo wrote the play especially for her; in fact, at her behest. It is interesting to note that after he showed the actress the first act, with which she was delighted, Lucília stated that Azevedo "completou a peça em poucos dias."[67]

The basis for the plot of the three-act play is the unhappy marriage between Ángelo and Henriqueta. The reason for the unhappiness is that Henriqueta, who is obviously very spoiled and demanding, is ruining her husband financially by continuing to spend enormous amounts of money on socially-prestigious trivia from a dowry that no longer exists. Ángelo, somewhat of a weak individual in his relations with his wife, goes into debt to cover her frivolous

expenditures. This combination of a demanding wife and a constantly acceding husband is especially interesting because Azevedo got the idea for his play from a crónica published on November 18, 1906 in O País entitled, "Reflexões de um Marido," by Júlia Lopes de Almeida (1862-1934). However, the solution to the marital problem in this play, which is hinted at in the following passage in the first act, is to have babies. Rodrigo is Ángelo's friend and confidant and seems to be a variation of the raisonneur of the thesis play:

> Ángelo --Como seríamos felizes, se eu fosse rico!
> Rodrigo --Não é dinheiro que vos falta.
> Ángelo --Já sei, é juízo.
> Rodrigo --Também não é juízo. O que vos falta é um filho. Não que eu pense do casamento sem filhos o mesmo que Tolstoi, um sábio que abusa singularmente do direito de dizer coisas que nele são paradoxais e noutro qualquer seriam disparates. Um filho seria para tua mulher um excelente derivativo, e a ele, senão a ti, faria ela todas as concessões imagináveis. Entretanto, fala-lhe francamente, quanto antes melhor. O [sic] tres contos, que ela traz no dedo, é um ótimo pretexto para uma explicação urgente, que não deves adiar.
> (O Dote, I, 8).

After various trials and tribulations, it is not surprising that this is exactly the solution that is arrived at in a reconciliation and happy ending in the third act.

O Dote was written some twenty-five years after O Liberato and O Escravocrata, and the language employed is far more conversational and natural. Even Rodrigo, who has the best opportunity for long harangues, does not seize it. This may be partially due to the lack of a social theme in

the play upon which he can expound. Other characters are also realistic in their speech. One recalls that Lourenço, the slave in O Escravocrata, spoke like a local university professor. In O Dote, an old stage Negro, Pai João, a remnant of the days of slavery and wise in the ways of the heart, not only speaks, but also sings in Negro dialect:

> Ángelo --Experimenta, Pai João . . . Vê se te recordas . . . Faze de conta que ainda sou pequenino . . . Parece-me que, se cantasses, eu adormeceria, como outrora.
> Pai João --Dessa vlê (recordando-se). Um . . . um . . . Tá bom, Pai Zoão vai canta cantiga de plêto mina.
> Ángelo --Canta.
> Pai João (cantando) --
>
> Plêto mina, quando zeme
> No zemido ninguém clê;
> Os palente vai dizendo
> Que não tem do que gemê
> Plêto mina, quando çola,
> Ninguém sabe plo que é.
> Os palente vai dizendo
> Que cicote é que ele qué!
> Plêto mina, quando mole
> E começa a aplodecê,
> Os palente vai dizendo
> Que ulubú tem que comê.
> (O Dote, III, 1).

The appearance of a former Negro slave who speaks in such a manner in serious drama is a first in the Brazilian theater. One notes, for example, the use of l for r and z for j. Nor does he use infinitives. In general, O Dote has a great deal of charm and, stylistically, is a vast improvement over the dramatist's previous efforts.

In evaluating Azevedo's work, some critics consider O Dote the best of all Azevedo's plays,[68] while others think that such burletas as O Mambembe, within their own limits, are his major contribution to the Brazilian theater.[69] It

would probably be best to look at Azevedo's real contribution to Brazilian theater in terms of his efforts to promote and improve all theater in Brazil. In his day, Azevedo was blamed for the demoralized state of serious drama, mainly because of his extensive production of various types of light comedy and musicals which were characterized as the "lastimoso gênero, o tró-ló-ló e pernas nuas."[70] However, operettas, musicals and the like had become popular in Rio before Azevedo's arrival. All he did was to improve upon them until he was unquestionably the best writer of the genre. When Azevedo did try serious drama, he was roundly criticized for its inferiority, and he spoke almost sadly in his own defense:

> Em resumo: todas as vêzes que tentei fazer teatro sério, em paga recebi censuras, apodos, injustiças e tudo isto a seco; ao passo que, enveredado pela bambochata, não me faltaram nunca elogios, festas, aplausos e proventos . . . [71]

Azevedo worked hard for the theater in its every aspect, from writing to actually producing and directing. Aside from his interest in his own success, he encouraged and promoted all young Brazilian playwrights in every way he could. This can be seen in an article he wrote concerning the moderate success of O Dote:

> Entretanto, aproveito o ensejo para dizer dos moços que não desanimem, que escrevam peças, embora para guardá-las, pois não perco a esperança de vê-los um dia sair das pastas e das gavetas, atraídas, borboletas da arte, pela brilhante luz da ribalta e das gambiarras.[72]

The real question, then, should not be why the Brazil-

ian theater in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was in such a dismal state with Azevedo as its leading composer and exponent, but rather, in what kind of state it would have been without him. No man either in Brazil or Portugal, with the possible exception of Almeida Garrett, labored so long or so hard on behalf of the theater.

E. Coelho Neto--Local Color Comedy, Ibsen's Influence, Beginning of Realism

O Intruso (1915), a symbolical, anti-World War I play, and the many plays that followed, led to Coelho Neto's being classified, with justification, as an idealistic symbolist.[73] Before the Great War, however, his dramatic production falls into two principal groups: the now familiar realistic comedy in the tradition of Martins Pena, depicting Brazilian manners and mores in a comic light, and serious drama scoring the decadence and moral turpitude of the middle class in Brazil.

The comedies were popular in his day and would be amusing to a modern audience because they often touched upon certain national foibles which are still associated with Brazil, such as deep-seated superstitions. Coelho Neto's use of African elements in the comedies was a contribution and an advance on Azevedo. In his serious drama, Coelho Neto imitated the plot structure of Ibsen to such an extent that it was readily recognizable to the viewer. Ever so slowly, he learned to make the speech of his characters realistic and natural. He also learned to reveal the per-

sonalities of his characters progressively to the audience rather than depicting them in black and white terms. These developments came in halting steps but were, nevertheless, improvements in the Brazilian theater.

Henrique Maximiano Coelho Neto was born in 1864 in Caxias in the state of Maranhão. His father was a Portuguese merchant and his mother was an Indian. As a student, Coelho Neto was forced to leave several high schools because of poor health, but he was finally able to graduate from the Colégio Pedro II. In 1883 he matriculated in a law school in São Paulo. He was then in and out of several law schools until 1885 when he left the study of law to join the abolitionist movement. In 1886 Coelho Neto went to Rio de Janeiro where he began his career in journalism for such periodicals as A Gazeta da Tarde and O Diário de Notícias. His first novel A Capital Federal, which appeared in 1893, earned him a great deal of fame. In 1908, his play Quebranto,[74] which opened in the theater of the Exposição Nacional, was an enormous success. With his literary fame constantly growing, Coelho Neto returned to the Colégio Pedro II as a lecturer in literature. In the same year, he entered politics and was elected deputy to the National Assembly from his home state. He was so popular that he was returned to office on three successive occasions. As an author, his literary production was astounding. His novels, plays, short stories, essays and poems fill one hundred twelve published volumes, causing Humberto de Campos to say of him,

"não é apenas um escritor, é uma literatura."[75] Various works of his have been translated into eleven languages, including Japanese. The author's fiction was widely discussed and, especially, after the rise of the modernist movement, it was much attacked because of the baroque style of his serious prose. In 1913 he traveled through Europe. The Academia Brasileira de Letras elected him member in 1926. In 1932, that same body nominated him by acclamation to be Brazil's candidate for the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1933. After a long and painful illness, Coelho Neto died on November 28, 1934 at the age of seventy.[76]

His first major play depicting a decadent, bourgeois society was A Muralha[77] (1905). Oddly enough, this three-act play was first put on in Spanish in Montevideo, Uruguay on March 4, 1915, and only later was it produced in Portuguese in the Teatro Municipal do Rio.[78]

The theme of the play concerns the decadent moral outlook of the middle class in which money, either a lack or a plethora of it, is the sole motivation for a person's actions, regardless of how repugnant these actions may seem to be.

The plot depicts the struggles of a virtuous young married woman, Estela, to remain faithful to her husband, Carlos, when confronted with the lascivious advances of a rich financier, Narciso. What makes it so difficult for her to keep her virtue is that her entire family is, for one reason or another, urging her to acquiesce to seduc-

tion, for it would mean their financial salvation. Camila, Estela's mother-in-law, for example, who is one of the evil characters in the play, wants to regain the social prominence that she lost with her husband's bankruptcy. Estela's husband Carlos gives his tacit consent to her downfall by not objecting, even though he knows what is happening, because he is a wastrel and needs the money. Even her own father, a sweet but simple man to whom she goes for solace, does not understand her plight or her wish to escape and advises her to remain with her husband regardless of the consequences. The Ibsenian plot is obvious and the comparison of Estela to Nora in A Doll's House (1879) is inescapable.[79]

The main characters are treated much as in late nineteenth-century Portuguese plays. Estela represents good while Camila and Narciso represent evil, albeit financial evil. The language used by the characters is the same as in the thesis play in both countries. Camila, for instance, not only has a ready answer for everything, but it is usually couched in metaphors. As in the following example where she is scolding Estela for not succumbing to Narciso's imprecations, she speaks in poetic similes and metaphors:

> Camila --Ora, a sociedade . . . a sociedade é como o mar--não pode deixar de fazer ondas e de as arrojar à praia. Tudo está em saber afrontá-las.
> Estela --Eu não sei nadar, mamãe.
> Camila --Nem é preciso que saibas. Tens um banhista que te oferece a mão--vai com ele. Nós ficaremos na praia, para que não te vexes. E verás que as mesmas ondas, que tanto receias, longe de te envolver, farão de ti a sua rainha, elevando-te triunfalmente no seu dorso. Tudo

depende do banhista . . . Escrúpulos. (sorrindo) Queres o meu conselho? conserva-te virtuosa porque a virtude, sobre ser bela, é útil, visto que é uma resistência. Toda a resistência irrita, e os irritados não medem sacrifícios, porque, além do amor . . . lutam pela vaidade. Sê virtuosa . . . Ainda é o melhor meio de viver no . . .

Estela --Charco.

Camila --Onde vivem os lírios.

(A Muralha, I, 8).

Estela, who is at the opposite end of the moral spectrum from Camila, is not to be outdone in literary speech. At this late date in the development of drama in Brazil, one might expect somewhat more colloquial speech. In the following passage, which has been shortened somewhat, Estela has decided to leave the house rather than surrender to Narciso's urgings:

Camila --Podes entregar-te a quem mais der.

Estela --Será sempre o trabalho--ainda é o que paga melhor. Será o meu amante. Ah! se todas as mulheres pensassem como eu, o casamento seria o que devia ser: a aliança. A Lei, despertada pela revolta, rasgaria a venda que a cega e, contemplando a injustiça, faria a misericórdia. Mas as mulheres honram-se com o título de fracas, e a sua coroa de martírio, e vivem dessa honra como as inertes vivem da esperança na Providência. Que olhes praza! Para onde vou? A minha saída responde por mim. Não vai para a infâmia quem foge . . . Parto para buscar o que aqui não existe--o novo, o puro, o ideal, a virtude . . .

(A Muralha, III, 11).

Even Narciso, whom one would expect to be less verbose, sounds more like a local bard than a scurrilous financier with adulterous desires:

Narciso -- . . . Os destroços da ruinaria servem de pedestal ao que avulta--o passado está no fundo. A Arte . . .

Carlos --Ah! essa . . .

> Narciso --Há de ter o seu dia. Talvez ainda ouçamos os clamores do povo vitoriando o poeta laureado e tenhamos de suportar o atropelo da multidão em torno duma luminosa figura de mármore erigida na praça, toda nua, ao sol, entre palmas e flores.
> (A Muralha, II, 1).

The play was an ambitious and serious effort on the part of Coelho Neto.

In the next play, Quebranto (1908), dealing with the decadence of the financially-scheming, debt-ridden upper middle class, Coelho Neto used the mariage de convenance as the basis for his plot action. As might be expected, all three acts are situated in middle-class settings, two of them very elegant: "Salão elegante, luxuoso sem espalhafato . . . ; Saleta muito elegante . . . ; Sala mobiliada confortàvelmente . . . " Macário and Amélia, who are members of Rio de Janeiro's alta roda or high society and living beyond their means, want to marry their daughter, Dora, to a kindly and rich, but rather old (sixty-three) plantation owner, Fortunato, from the Amazonian region. They want to do this in order that they may use his fortune to maintain their social façade. Unlike the heroine of earlier plays who was the innocent victim of this type of scheming, Dora herself is a conniving girl. Fortunato agrees to the arrangement, but remains constantly ill at ease in Rio de Janeiro with its lax moral code, at least when compared to that of the countryside. The appearance in this play of the honest, direct country gentleman from the Amazon to underscore the lack of honesty in human relationships in the big city is reminis-

cent of Camilo Castelo Branco's attempt in his O Morgado de Fafe Amoroso and O Morgado de Fafe em Lisboa. Coelho Neto, however, does not treat the subject in a humorous vein as did Camilo:

> Dora --O senhor . . . (Pausa. Outro tom). Então quer falar-me?
> Fortuna --É . . . eu . . . Seu pai não lhe disse? (Com um sorriso amarelo:) A senhora, que é moça da cidade é que me podia tirar deste embaraço. Lá no meio da minha gente isso não custa. A moça mora num barracão à beira de água ou numa palhoça no meio do mato. A gente sobe o rio na montaria remando frouxo ou esbarra o cavalo no terreiro, dá o seu recado de longe com um sinal, atira uma flor, manda um presente pelo curumin e está entendido. Se é gente então é um instante--uma visita, três palavras e, dali por dias estão as roqueiras e os rifles estrondando e lá vai a festança a caminho da igreja, se há; senão espera-se o padre, e está pronto. É assim. Mas aqui! Nossa Senhora! é um ror de cerimônias . . . Primeiro aquilo que a senhora disse lá na casa do chá . . .
> (Quebranto, I, 8).

One can readily discern from this dialogue that Fortunato's speech is simple and descriptive and contains none of the long, moralizing tirades which have been characteristic of this sort of play.

As we might expect, Coelho Neto treats Fortuna very sympathetically throughout the play. Far more important than mere sympathy, however, is the fact that his character develops before the viewer's eyes. As we have observed so many times, the Romantic play and later the thesis play had characters that remained unchanged throughout the work; that is, they were good or evil but rarely, if ever, were they realistic. Perhaps only in Alencar's Mãe would the modern viewer find a moving character, a "real" character that does not

require superhuman effort for suspension of disbelief. Fortuna, however, appears to grow. At first he seems nothing more than a country bumpkin who wants to buy a young wife. Then he goes on special diets, does physical exercise in a gymnasium in order to keep up with his prospective young bride:

> Josino --O caso de dinamogenese? Foi publicado por um jornal de Estocolmo. Eu li a tradução. Um assombro.
> Fortuna --Quantos filhos mesmo em tres anos?
> Josino --Dois e meio.
> Fortuna --Só com o regimem?
> Josino --Sim . . . mas que regimem! Duchas, extensor, sandow, equitação, massagem, esgrima, electricidade, natação, elixir de cedro e de feto macho, ciclismo.
> Fortuna --O senhor há de me dar isso por escrito.
> Josino --Pois não.
> Fortuna --É para um compadre meu.
> (Quebranto, I, 12).

Fortuna at first is depicted rather comically until, little by little, he grows, and, realizing that he is too old for such a match, he considers withdrawing. In the final act an anonymous letter informs him that Dora has been having sexual relations with her cousin, Josino, and he realizes he must withdraw from the match. The information happens to be true, and, in place of a tirade which one would expect in such a situation, there is true pathos in his response:

> Dora --São dele?
> Fortuna --Não, senhora. Não trazem assinatura, indicam apenas o nome de seu Josino. E seu Josino . . . a senhora sabe. (Silêncio. Sinistramente). . . . Para que? Para que seu pai havia de chorar outra vez como chorou pela Mariazinha das contas? (Dora recua instintivamente). Seja feliz e não me queira mal. Eu

vou-me embora. Vou e com pena de ter conhecido a senhora porque, se não fosse o segredo que desfez o amor, não sei que seria de mim. Seja muito feliz. (Sorrindo). O que resta das cartas está aí a seus pés.

Dora (voz surda) --E no seu coração?

Fortuna --No meu coração?

Dora --Ódio, com certeza.

Fortuna --Ódio? Não, senhora. Ódio porque? Ódio de caboclo não dura muito porque ele logo o afoga em sangue. (Docemente) O que resta é pena. Sou um velho, a senhora é uma criança. É verdade que me quis fazer mal, mas o que passou, passou. Seja feliz. É moça, bonita, bem educada, que mais? Pode ser ainda muito feliz. A flor da minha terra não é conhecida aqui nem os homens são brutos como o seringueiro do Purús.

Dora (sem conter as lágrimas) --O senhor é mau!

Fortuna --Eu? Ó! minha senhora, mau porque me defendo? Isto não é ser mau. Mau eu seria se . . . Mas não falemos mais nisso, o que passou, passou. A senhora brincou comigo, foi o que foi. Agora é preciso pensar sèriamente em si. Olhe, de mim não tem que recear: o seu segredo está na mesma sepultura em que enterrei o meu amor: um é mortalha do outro. Agora . . . que mais?

Dora --Mais nada! (Sai arrebatadamente pelo fundo).

(Quebrantos, III, 8).

This is, perhaps, the most moving scene, from the modern reader's viewpoint, in this work. It is moving because it portrays realistically the culmination of stages of development in the personal tragedy of a man, a man who found love and then had it brutally snatched from him. The depth of his hurt is only fully revealed, however, by the stage direction for the actor's movements. They are numerous and detailed throughout the play and are all-important to the action. None, however, is more revealing than this final one:

Fortuna, só (Fortuna vai ao fundo, detem-se um momento até perder Dora de vista; fecha a porta e, vagarosamente, sofredoramente chega até a mesa, revolve com o pé os pedaços das car-

> tas, a pensar. Por fim dirige-se ao divã, senta-se, os cotovelos fincados nos joelhos, a cabeça entre as mãos).
> (Quebranto, III, 9).

The realistic pathos and tenderness of Quebranto did not seem to have much influence on succeeding plays. The last major work in this category to be examined, O Dinheiro[80] (1912), appears to be a reversion to type, as it were, in plot, characterization and language. The latter, of course, consists of long tirades of moral justification, and the stage directions border on the melodramatic, not unfamiliar to the reader of Romantic dramas.[81]

O Dinheiro, a three-act play, was produced for the first time on November 12, 1912 in the Teatro Municipal do Rio. It takes place in an ambience described as luxurious and garish, and the scenery remains the same for all three acts: "Cena dividida; à direita, jardim; à esquerda, salão . . . Luxo exagerado, sem gosto . . . " As might be expected from such a setting, the theme concerns once again the deleterious effect that the insatiable desire for more money has on the family structure of the upper middle class. The basic action is very reminiscent of that of A Muralha, even to the Ibsenian treatment of the wife. Mamede, a ruthless businessman driven only by the urge to make more money, wants to close an important business transaction with Honório. It appears that the only way in which the deal will be completed successfully is for Mamede's wife, Lívia, a meek and submissive woman, to acquiesce to the advances of Honório. Lívia, of course, just as Estela before her, must de-

fend her honor even though Mamede has left her alone with Honório in the living room. Lívia, however, is not as lucky as Estela, for Honório forces a kiss from her on the divan. Mamede is rather incensed when he discovers the dastardly deed, although one might wonder why, since he, in effect, practically arranged the occurrence:

> Mamede --Torpe!
> Lívia --Não me injuries. Observo-te que falo de cabeça erguida, não sinto peso algum de culpa. (Ameigando-se:). Estou ainda em tua casa, uso ainda o teu nome . . . queres manter-me e honrá-lo? É fácil. Tens-me ainda tão pura como no dia em que me recebeste. Se, em verdade, és digno, se queres, com arrependimento, voltar aos dias honestos, lança de ti esse dinheiro infame, devolve-o ao chatim da tua honra e ter-me-ás contigo, como dantes, tua e esquecida do lance desta noite triste. Vai, faze o teu dever e regressa aos meus braços e a minha alma. Vai!
> Mamede --Achas, então, que negociar é vergonha?
> Lívia --Quando o balcão é o corpo de uma mulher . . .
>
> (O Dinheiro, III, 5).

One can readily discern from this exchange that the speech employed in this play is quite as formal and literary as in A Muralha. One may wonder also how Lívia can be described as meek and submissive with such outbursts as this. Actually, only in those moments which require a defense of her moral code does she step out of character to make speeches which have been called "falas de mau gosto oratório."[82] However, the final solution to the dilemma, again as in A Muralha, is for Lívia to leave her husband. Her exit, however, is far less graceful and certainly more violent than Estela's. In fact, this is the only Brazilian play to be studied in which violence of any sort is used on a wife, re-

gardless of how good or bad she might be:

> Mamede (investindo com ela, fora de si) --Chega, estás ouvindo? Chega!
> Lívia (ofegante) --Não fico! (escarminha) Não me vendeste? Então? Dinheiro e mulher é muita coisa!
> Mamede --Não me faças perder a cabeça . . . (Eva aparece à direita e pasma estarrecida)
> Lívia (a Eva) --Vai buscar a minha capa. Aqui não fico . . . !
> Eva (intervindo, a medo) --Que é isto, patrão?
> Lívia (a Eva) --Vai! (Tenta levantar-se do sofá, Mamede subjuga-a brutalmente). Vai!
> Eva (implorando) --Patrão . . . (A campainha do telefone soa).
> Lívia (debatendo-se) --Lárga-me! (Cuspindo-lhe as palavras à face). Vilão! Covarde! (Com riso nervoso, num esgar de loucura). Como tens furtado a minha sombra! (Correndo um gesto pela sala). Tudo isto é desonra. Quanta torpeza! Pobre de mim! (Surdamente). Miserável!
> Mamede (fora de si, arrancando o revolver) --Lívia! (Lívia soergue-se aterrada e encara-o boquiaberta, de olhos esgazeados).
> Eva (num grito espavorido) --Patrão! (Corre ao fundo e grita desesperada) --José! Acode!
> Mamede (ameaçador) --Se dizes mais uma palavra . . . (Lívia abre a boca, mas contem-se crispida de horror). Fala . . . !
> Lívia (de ímpeto) --Canalha!
> (<u>O Dinheiro</u>, III, 5 & 6).

At this point, the butler enters and struggles with Mamede in order to disarm him. He breaks free, however, and fires a shot at Lívia, who, at this moment, makes her unceremonious exit through the French doors into the night. After all this excitement and commotion, Mamede shrugs his shoulders and makes the rather anticlimactic statement, "Vai para a casa dos pais . . . Cena." Even though the ending harks back to the Romantic melodrama, one must admit that its violence is a welcome change from the usual, almost never-ending, rhetorical debate that was the legacy of the thesis play.

Like França Júnior, who early in his career wrote one-act farces almost like Pena's, and later maintained the same spirit in longer works, Coelho Neto also wrote one-act entremezes and longer comedies, usually in three acts, such as O Relicário and O Diabo no Corpo[83] (1905).

O Relicário is a three-act farce first presented on March 24, 1889 in the Teatro Lucinda. The theme is satire of a characteristic aspect of everyday Brazilian life: the prevalence of superstition in varying degrees among all Brazilians who consult orixás, African idols with magic powers, and the Negroes who interpret their wishes. The comical plot is very simple and the tempo is fast moving. Engrácia, the wife of Severo, a professor of línguas mortas, wants to recover her missing family "relic," which consists of--in her words--"dos dentes do meu avô, da unha da minha avó, dos cabelos de Segismundo."[84] However, Severo, unknown to his wife, has given the amulet to his mistress. The recovery, then, of the relicário is the basis for the merriment on stage which includes such familiar techniques as: hiding in closets, voices behind curtains, mistaken identities and many asides, all quite reminiscent of the French bedroom farces, particularly those of Feydeau. As for the language, there are many puns, plays on words and double-entendres. The superstitious mulatto family maid, Tomasia, persuades Engrácia to visit Pai Ambrósio, a Negro priest of the orixá or African divinity. The Negro followers of Pai Ambrósio deal with the magic powers; the mulatto

servants believe in the powers; and the white middle class, though professing to disbelieve in public, puts a great deal of credence in them in private:

> Tomasia --É o santo.
> Engrácia --Que santo?
> Tomasia --O pai de quimbande. Vosmecê não imagina como ele é bom, são os invejosos que andam em cima dele. Se eu soubesse que aquela carta era uma denúncia . . . (lamentando-se). Não deixe meu amor ir lá, Pai Ambrósio não faz mal a ninguém. (com mistério). Eu mesma já quis falar a minh'ama para se entendesse com Pai Ambrósio, descobre o ladrão, minh'ama, por Deus do céu! Pai Ambrósio descobre! Ele tem descoberto outras coisas mais atrapalhadas.
> Engrácia --Quem?
> Tomasia --Pai Ambrósio. Ele descobre, minh'ama.
> Engrácia (com interesse) --Achas?
> (O Relicário, I, 13).

As the conversation ends, the dramatist reveals his main point about the enormous influence that the various occult beliefs of the untutored Negroes have upon the official Catholicism of the white middle class and the rather facile manner in which they are interchanged:

> Engrácia (só) --Vou mesmo. Sempre ouvi dizer que esses negros fazem maravilhas. Já prometi a Santo Antônio um ror de coisas e Santo Antônio, nada! Vou ver se sou mais feliz com o negro. Que tem? Ora! vai lá tanta gente boa . . . (Severo entra de sobrecasaca e cartola). Olha, tu hoje não podes ir à casa do feiticeiro.
> Severo --Não posso! porque?
> Engrácia --Porque hoje é um dia que eu respeito muito: é o aniversário da morte de meu tio, que foi comido pelos mundurucús.
> (O Relicário, I, 13 & 14).

With this very comical excuse, consistent with the almost hilarious dialogue throughout the play, the puns and plays on words, Engrácia goes to the orixá. The second act finds everyone together, although ignorant of one another's pre-

sence, in the house of Pai Ambrósio. The setting of the house is described in detail and is important not only for comic effect within the act itself, but also gives the modern reader an excellent idea of how Brazilians lived:

> Casa de Pai Ambrósio. A cena é dividida em duas partes: sala à direita, cubículo à esquerda. No cubículo, ao fundo, sob a janela, uma cómoda, com uma salva para dinheiro e várias bugigangas; à esquerda, grosseiro altar do orixá, ídolo disforme, entre flores e oblações, iluminado por uma lamparina. Porta à direita comunicando com a sala. Na sala--porta ao fundo e à direita; compridos bancos de pinho.
> (O Relicário, II, Stage Setting).

Coelho Neto distinguishes each social class by its speech. For instance, the Negro followers of Pai Ambrósio speak in a very pronounced dialect which indicates that they are Africans:

> Fidelis --Bamo, sinhô. Zêri vem aí i vai rezá p'r'u orisá. 'Scondi, sinhô; 'scondi ditraz di curtina. (Severo esconde-se precipitadamente atrás da cortina). Ninguém ve vamcê.
> (O Relicário, II, 5).

This is also the act in which all the slapstick stage action so familiar in Martins Pena occurs: for example, hiding in closets, or behind curtains, jumping out of windows and mistaking identities.

In this same act Coelho Neto also lampoons Rio's upper social stratum for its belief in the orixá. All types, from aristocrats and professionals to high government officials as well as poor people are represented in the waiting room. There is even one unmarried young lady whose problem becomes the theme and plot of the dramatist's next major play of this type, O Diabo no Corpo:

Clementina (à Basília) --A senhora vem por moléstia?
Basília (respirando) --Infelizmente! O fígado de minha filha tem crescido tanto que ela já não pode apertar o colete.
Clementina --Ela é casada?
Basília --Solteira.
Clementina --Mas será mesmo o fígado?
Honória (chorando) --É sim, senhora. Pois que há de ser? Eu, então, não posso ter fígado? uma coisa que todo o mundo tem . . .
(O Relicário, II, 1).

In the third and last act, Severo's peccadillo escapes detection; Engrácia regains her "relic" through Pai Ambrósio's "miracle," and their daughter, who was the principal in a subplot of romance with her dance teacher, is allowed to marry him and everything ends on a happy note.

O Diabo no Corpo, a three-act comedy, was first staged on August 11, 1905 in the Teatro Lucinda. The first and third acts take place on the fazenda (plantation) of Anatólio do Espírito Santo while the second act is situated in a boarding house in Rio. The author once again shows the influence of superstition, involving Negro cults, on Brazilian life, and how it blends easily with Catholicism. Not only do Blacks, such as the curandeira (female witch doctor), Nhá' Rita, appear, but in the first and last acts there is frequent African music, a new technique in the local color comedy: "ao subir o pano ouve-se o 'tan tan' longínquo do caxambú e a toada melancólica da cantilena dos negros." Unlike O Relicário, this play has no main theme. Rather, the play is sustained by the plot, which is very simple: Valentina, Anatólio's daughter, is pregnant and unmarried; in order to hide the fact, the village priest, Vigário Bo-

nifácio invents the tale that she has "o diabo no corpo." The ingenuousness of the parents coupled with the various events which lead to her being married to her seducer, Octávio, are the basis for the comic situations. Also, unlike O Relicário, the dramatist makes use of several characters for political and social satire. The fazendeiro, Anatólio, for instance, comments on several aspects of politics and society, and in one long monologue expatiates on the lack of honesty in newspapers, all of which is very reminiscent of the thesis play.[85] The Blacks are included in this category, for Nhá Rita lauds emancipation:

> Nhá Rita -- . . . O tempo dos escravos acabou e eu nunca fui cativa, graças a Deus! Minha mãe não me botou no mundo para eu ouvir desaforas dos outros . . . (O Diabo no Corpo, I, 7).

The dramatist even pokes fun at the kindly village priest, Vigário Bonifácio, by revealing at the end of the play that Octávio, Valentina's seducer, is really his illegitimate son:

> Vigário -- . . . Pois aqui te digo em confidência, Anatólio, se Nhá Rita não fosse um poço toda a gente conheceria o grande segredo da minha vida, segredo que hoje desvendo à face de Deus e dos homens. (Comovido). Tu, Octávio, tu és mais que meu afilhado, muito mais! Eu não te dei apenas o nome, fui mais pródigo. (com lágrimas; a Anatólio). Eu também sou avô . . .
> Anatólio --Que! pois ele é teu neto?
> Vigário --Meu neto, não; meu neto é o teu. Ele é . . . Homem, pois não percebes?
> Anatólio --Percebo . . . (aparte). Mas quanta surpresa! Pobre Bonifácio!
> Vigário --A meus braços! (a Anatólio). E tu também! (radiante). Eis aqui a Trindade: Padre, Filho e Espírito Santo.
> (O Diabo no Corpo, III, 9).

Between the second and third acts, Valentina has her

child and Octávio promises to marry her and take her to Europe with him where he will study medicine. Such is the happy ending in the play. It has been argued correctly that because of the overall farcical tone and the joy which the child causes in the household, the extremely understanding attitude of the fazendeiro to the whole affair is very natural.[86] Of course, the entire treatment of the question must be related to time and place:

> Octávio --Que olhos! (a Anatólio). Creio que agora estou perdoado . . . ?
> Anatólio (abraçando-o) --Dois que fossem, três, quatro, palavra de honra! Eu não sei que tenho, mas . . . (enternecido). Sou avô! (a Margarida). Tu és avó . . . (Baixo, ao Vigário, apertando-lhe a mão). Tu também es avô, Bonifácio. (a Octávio). Afinal . . . o casamento é uma carta de fiança, tu pagaste adiantado, é a mesma coisa.
> (O Diabo no Corpo, III, 12).

Perhaps the greatest factor in Brazilian drama (as in Europe in general at that time) was the First World War. Symbolism had begun to make its appearance in Brazil, along with the influence of Ibsen (already seen in Coelho Neto) and the criticism of a decadent society. In effect, the Great War severed Brazil from cultural contact with Europe, from the great names and works of the French and Portuguese --and to a lesser extent Italian--theaters which had for so long exercised such important influence on Brazilian drama.[87] Left to its own devices, Brazilian drama turned to a variation of its own traditional, and uniquely original, source of inspiration: the realistic comedy. Although often called a comédia de costumes,[88] or comedy of manners,

in its renascent form, it was little more than a variation of what has already been studied in Pena, Macedo and França Júnior[89] with heavy emphasis on the goodness of the provinces as opposed to the evils of the city. As soon as communication channels were reopened with Europe, new currents of ideas began to appear in Brazil and were incorporated in the term modernismo. As was perpetually the case both in Portugal and Brazil, drama was the last important genre to feel the impact.[90]

FOOTNOTES

1. Carlton J. H. Hayes, A Generation of Materialism 1871-1900 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941).

2. Coutinho, "Realismo. Naturalismo. Parnasianismo." in Literatura . . . Brasil, III, 1-17.

3. Sayers, op. cit., p. 138.

4. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 116.

5. Quoted by Sayers, op. cit., p. 161.

6. França Júnior, Direito por Linhas Tortas (Rio de Janeiro, 1871).

7. Sayers, op. cit., p. 161.

8. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 141.

9. Sousa, op. cit., II, 75-86.

10. Artur Azevedo, O Liberato in Revista Brasileira, 1881.

11. _____, O Escravocrata in Dionysos, No. 7, March, 1956.

12. Sayers, op. cit., pp. 156-58.

13. Azevedo, O Dote in Revista de Teatro, No. 287, September-October, 1955.

14. _____, O Mambembe in Revista de Teatro, No. 290, March-April, 1956.

15. Coelho Neto, O Relicário in Teatro (São Paulo: Livraria Magalhães, 1911).

16. Sayers, op. cit., p. 163.

17. Ibid., pp. 163-64.

18. Saviotti, op. cit., pp. 121-52.

19. Inocêncio, op. cit., XII, 107-08 and 391-92 and Menezes, op. cit., I, 126-27.

20. Sayers, op. cit., p. 137.

21. Machado, op. cit., pp. 17-18. (Article appeared originally in O Espelho, October 2, 1859).

22. Saviotti, op. cit., pp. 121-52.

23. Machado, op. cit., pp. 159-60. (Article appeared originally in O Diário do Rio de Janeiro, March 29, 1860).

24. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 116.

25. Machado, op. cit., p. 18. (Article appeared originally in O Espelho, October 2, 1859).

26. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 125.

27. Machado, "O Conservatório Dramático," in Crítica Teatral, pp. 20-24. (Article originally appeared in O Espelho, December 25, 1859). /In this article Machado not only defended the right of the government to set up a censorship board for the theater, but insisted on its obligation to do so./

28. Aguiar e Silva, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

29. Machado, Desencantos in Teatro (Rio: W. M. Jackson, Inc., 1944). (All the plays referred to as well as the "Carta do autor" by Quintino Bocaiúva were taken from this volume).

30. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 122.

31. Ibid., p. 120.

32. Quintino Bocaiúva, "Carta ao Autor" in Teatro, pp. 18-19. (Article appeared originally as a preface in Teatro de Machado de Assis, vol. I, 1863).

33. Machado, "Nota Preliminar" in Teatro, p. 171.

34. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 118.

35. Menezes, op. cit., II, 531-33 and Blake, op. cit., IV, 163-65.

36. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 134.

37. Daniel Rocha, "França Júnior," Revista de Teatro, No. 347, September-October, 1965, p. 27.

38. França Júnior, O Defeito de Família (Rio, 1871).

39. Magaldi, op. cit., pp. 131-32.

40. Sayers, op. cit., p. 161.

41. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 135.

42. Ibid., p. 146.

43. Sayers, op. cit., p. 161.

44. Magaldi, op. cit., pp. 134-35.

45. França Júnior, Caiu o Ministério (Rio, 1883).

46. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 138.

47. Ibid., p. 136.

48. Sayers, op. cit., p. 161.

49. Ibid., p. 162.

50. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 138.

51. Ibid., p. 136.

52. Ibid., p. 137.

53. Ibid., p. 138-39.

54. Ibid., p. 140.

55. Sayers, op. cit., p. 161.

56. Menezes, op. cit., I, 139-40 and Blake, op. cit., I, 338-41.

57. R. Magalhães Júnior, Artur Azevedo e Sua Época (Rio: Editora Civilização Brasileira, 1966), pp. 30-32.

58. Sayers, op. cit., p. 158.

59. Magalhaes Júnior, op. cit., pp. 136-37.

60. Sayers, op. cit., pp. 156-57.

61. Magalhães Júnior, "Sucessos e Insucessos . . . " op. cit., IV, 33.

62. Joaquim Ribeiro, "Artur Azevedo e o Teatro Abolicionista," Dionysos, No. 7, March, 1956, p. 9.

63. Sousa, op. cit., II, 79.

64. Magalhães Júnior, Azevedo . . . Época, pp. 33-34.

65. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 145.

66. Ibid., p. 146.

67. _____, "Lucília Peres e o Seu Depoimento Sobre Artur Azevedo," Dionysos, op. cit., p. 25.

68. Magalhaes Junior, op. cit., p. 336.

69. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 146.

70. Sousa, op. cit., I, 232.

71. Ibid., p. 234.

72. Azevedo, "Depois da Primeira Representação de O Dote," Revista de Teatro, No. 287, September-October, 1955, p. 14.

73. Romero, op. cit., p. 432.

74. Coelho Neto, Quebranto in Revista de Teatro, No. 295, January-February, 1957.

75. Menezes, op. cit., II, 364.

76. Ibid., 364-65.

77. Coelho Neto, A Muralha (Paris: H. Gamier, 1927).

78. Paulo Coelho Neto, Coelho Neto (Rio: Zélio Valverde, 1942), pp. 209-10.

79. Magaldi, op. cit., pp. 156-57.

80. Coelho Neto, O Dinheiro (Porto: Livraria Chardron, 1917).

81. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 158.

82. Ibid.

83. Coelho Neto, O Diabo no Corpo (Porto: Imprensa Moderna, 1911).

84. _____, O Relicário, II, 11.

85. _____, O Diabo no Corpo, I, 9.

86. Magaldi, op. cit., p. 160.

87. Ibid., pp. 178-79.

88. Sousa, op. cit., I, 237.

89. Ibid., pp. 236-37.

90. Sousa, op. cit., pp. 243-45.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE BEGINNINGS OF NATURALISM, REALISM AND SYMBOLISM IN PORTUGAL

A. Introduction

1. Economic and Socio-Political Developments, 1875-1905

Internal economic and social developments and external politics, as well as literary innovations in French drama, were major influences in determining the course of Portuguese drama in the closing decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

Lack of social progress, particularly in the field of education, cast a pall of doubt over the once bright hopes for the future of the middle class. By 1900, for instance, the hope of education for all still appeared a long way off. In that year, with a population of some five and a half million, Portugal's illiteracy rate was still a very high 78.6 percent.[1] The fewer than one out of four Portuguese who were literate included those functional illiterates whose ability to read was at best marginal.

In the economic sphere, Portugal was making some progress in industrialization, particularly in the building of railroads. From the first laying of track in 1853 until 1900 some 2,356 kilometers[2] (approximately 1,472 miles)

were built to connect various parts of the country. This may seem, by the standards of more industrialized nations in Europe, as rather insignificant. It should be remembered, however, that the railroads, along with the widespread introduction of the steam engine in industry after 1875, brought into the modern world many rural sections of the country that had been living and producing goods in much the same manner since the Middle Ages.[3] The effect, then, was almost as much psychological as it was economic.

This very same progress or scientific advance that was imposed upon the rural sections of the country frightened the petite bourgeoisie since this segment of the middle class did not participate in the changes taking place around it.[4] A feeling of alienation led certain writers (neogarrettianos) from the petite bourgeoisie into a form of escape literature exemplified in the dramatic poems of Eugénio de Castro, where the unpleasant realities of a changing world were avoided.

Industrialization and a failure to attain certain social goals were by no means the only factors which disturbed the petite bourgeoisie. External politics, especially the British ultimatum of 1890, had a profound effect on all social classes in Portugal. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, all the European powers, both new and old, were intent on dividing up Africa. Portugal's colonial territories in Africa had been recognized by Great Britain in the treaty of 1815. However, with the emergence of new in-

terests and of new European powers in the colonial field, particularly Germany and Belgium, a new basis for possession was agreed upon at the Conference of Berlin in 1885. Portugal, which for centuries had mainly occupied the coastal regions of Angola and Mozambique, suddenly found the enormous, unoccupied territory that connected both colonies to be in grave danger. With a view to proclaiming "effective occupation" of the region, the Portuguese minister, Henrique de Barros Gomes (1843-1898) sent Major Alexandre de Serpa Pinto (1848-1900) into the Shiré highlands. Serpa Pinto became involved in a fight with the Makololos who were under British protection. A series of angry communications between London and Lisbon followed, and ended with the British ultimatum of January 11, 1890. In o ultimatum, as the Portuguese refer to it, Britain, in effect, told Portugal to get out of the Shiré. Since Portugal was no match for Britain's land and sea power, Barros Gomes had no choice but to comply with the demand.

The ultimatum not only shattered what remained of the real world of the petite bourgeoisie,[5] but also caused deep shock waves of resentment through all social classes in Portugal. Bitterness and resentment were felt not only against Portugal's oldest ally, but also against the Portuguese monarch itself. It represented more than just the loss of some unoccupied territory in the Portuguese public's mind; it was also the loss of honor and prestige, for, in many minds, the African territories had become a new Brazil, a

chance to redeem a lost colonial opportunity. The affront felt by the Portuguese was a catalyst for a wide range of reactions from superpatriotic and antimonarchical agitation on the part of republicans to a fanatic xenophobia in the case of some neogarrettianos.[6] The ultimatum, coupled with the very severe financial and economic crisis of 1890-1891 which followed it, caused in Portuguese public life a marked transformation whose effects were readily discernible in the literary activity of the country.[7]

It should be kept in mind, however, that regardless of any new literary idea that might come into vogue, Portuguese drama was not only the last genre to feel the impact but was often the one that most actively resisted any change. This resistance is quite clear in the case of naturalistic drama, one of the great literary movements in European drama in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

2. Emerging Literary Movements: Naturalism, Realism, Symbolism

a. Naturalism--Zola's Influence in Portugal

Naturalism was introduced into European drama by Émile Zola, and was firmly rooted in science and the scientific method. It required an almost blind acceptance of theories about heredity and environment.

In 1885 in Portugal, Júlio Lourenço Pinto (1842-1907) published Estética Naturalista, the best theoretical study of naturalism to appear in the country.[8] Needless to say, Lourenço Pinto got many of his ideas from the writings of

Zola. For instance, the chapter dealing with drama in Lourenço Pinto's book is titled "Naturalismo no Teatro," the same title as Zola's book, Le Naturalisme au Théâtre (1881). Not only did Lourenço Pinto's ideas coincide with Zola's, but so did his vocabulary. Here, for example, is a passage from Zola:

> Toutes les formules anciennes, la formule classique, la formule romantique, sont basées sur l'arrangement et sur l'amputation systématiques du vrai. On a posé en principe que le vrai est indigne; et on essaye d'en tirer une essence, une poésie, sous le prétexte qu'il faut expurger et agrandir la nature. Jusqu'à présent, les différentes écoles littéraires ne se sont battues que sur la question de savoir de quel déguisement on devait habiller la vérité, pour qu'elle n'eût pas l'air d'une devergondée en public. Les classiques avaient adopté le peplum, les romantiques ont fait une revolution pour imposer la cotte de maille et le pourpoint. Au fond, ce changement de toilette importe peu, le carnaval de la nature continue. Mais, aujourd'hui, les naturalistes arrivent et déclarent que le vrai n'a pas besoin de draperies; il doit marcher dans sa nudité. Là, je le répète, est le querelle.[9]

A similar passage from Pinto's book even contains the expression, "the carnaval of nature continues."

> Certamente o drama romântico destronou a tragédia, revolucionou a cena, baniu a retórica clássica, transformou profundamente os aspectos da cena, deu maior amplitude à acção; mas a verdade natural, a viva e exacta realidade, embora fosse o lema inscrito na sua bandeira revolucionária, não foi implantada no palco vitoriosamente. Mudam-se apenas as roupagens que a desfiguravam; o drama de 1830 em nada se adiantou à obra de Shakespeare. Esse movimento impetuoso, exceptuando as conquistas da liberdade de pensamento e uma maior largueza na acção dramática, nada mais fez que substituir a Idade-Média à Antiguidade, a exaltação da paixão à exaltação do dever, a fatalidade antiga à crença religiosa e ao ponto de honra. As personagens continuam a mo-

> ver-se na cena sem a espontânea naturalidade da vida real, hidrópicas e retóricas, enfáticas na exageração dos sentimentos, disformes ou disparatadas na antítese monstruosa com a verdade. Continua-se o mesmo carnaval da natureza: sòmente a nudez da verdade encobre-se com outros ouropeis e a retórica adorna-se com outras lantejoulas . . . [10]

Pinto's chapter on drama was mainly an attack on the excesses of Romanticism. Although much of his criticism of Romantic drama was correct, it appears that attacking Romanticism in Portugal as the "monstrous antithesis of truth" proved an easier task than explaining exactly how arrival at the "naked truth" was to be accomplished. Romanticism's "exaggerated sentimentality" together with its rhetorical language and such techniques as the direct aside to the audience were not so easily eliminated. First of all, Romanticism, with its emphasis on engendering great emotional response, still held sway over both the Portuguese public and the playwrights. Part of this fondness for Romantic plays can be attributed, no doubt, to the lack of understanding of good theoretical criticism in Portugal.[11] Also, it was certainly no help that one of the first and foremost of the dramatists who attempted to introduce naturalism into the Portuguese theater was primarily a naturalist novelist: Abel Botelho.

Abel Botelho, like other naturalist dramatists, was very critical of society. However, his primacy as a novelist led him into difficulties as a dramatist, for he lacked an understanding of new dramatic techniques: his characters made awkward exits and entrances, he made excessive use of

the outmoded aside, and Botelho's language was also very artificial.

b. Realism--Introduction of Colloquial Speech

The realism of Ibsen and Strindberg, which explored the nature of truth and falsity in relation to what is spurious and what is genuine in society and in the individual, was introduced haltingly into Portuguese drama by D. João da Câmara. Câmara had no theoretical treatise on the subject in Portuguese like Estética Naturalista, whether good or bad, on which to rely.

Câmara made several important innovations in the structural pattern of plays which earlier had been all but ignored. For instance, he created a very concentrated structural pattern for several plays by beginning them just prior to the climax. He handled the exposition--some of which is always necessary in this type of play--by using the same analytical method as Ibsen. Until Câmara's plays there was always a demand for instant revelation in Portuguese drama. Audiences were accustomed to perfunctory and none too subtle conversations among characters, or worse still, exposition by a lone character of everything in the past concerning himself or others that was pertinent to the plot. Needless to say, Câmara's indirect exposition was a sophisticated advance in the Portuguese theater at the time.

Câmara was also the first Portuguese playwright to understand both psychologically and aesthetically the need to create the illusion that the plot flowed out of previous

events into succeeding events. This maximum reduction of the illusion of "aesthetic distance"[12] was nowhere more evident than in the endings of some of his plays. Câmara purposely gave the impression that life would go on, as it had before, for those characters still alive at the end. In effect, he invited the audience to project into the future and question the fate of various characters.

Of Câmara's many contributions to realistic drama in Portugal, perhaps none was more important or more basic than his introduction of colloquial language. The stilted language in the thesis play was, more than any other factor, responsible for its utterly artificial tone. One recalls that the thesis play did have, after all, contemporary settings and did deal with topical problems. Although some of the problems dealt with were more truly French in nature than Portuguese, they were topical nonetheless. Even disregarding the artificiality of the learned vocabulary and the overly complex syntax in the thesis play, its manner of presenting arguments and ideas was that of debate; and debate is, of course, formal and planned speech. It is an effective medium for conveying passion and inner turbulence, but it is not the spontaneous speech of middle-class European life as envisioned by nineteenth-century realistic dramatists like Ibsen. Câmara not only simplified the vocabulary while making the syntax less complex and the sentences shorter; he also made the conversations of his characters appear to be much more spontaneous by having them develop more nat-

urally from the context. The viewer was never quite sure just where the conversation might lead but he knew that little by little its importance would be disclosed.

In restropect, the introduction of colloquial language seems a simple thing to have accomplished, or at least to have observed and then emulated. However, one legacy of Romanticism in Portugal which continued to be favored by dramatists was to convey passion or emotion in dramatic speech. When the thesis play, and later, naturalistic drama were introduced, it was almost natural to convert passion per se into an impassioned appeal for the correction of injustice. By the time Câmara did introduce some colloquial speech into Portuguese drama with Os Velhos in 1893, the ardent harangue or tirade had become a dramatic tradition. It is not surprising therefore that not only did his initial effort go all but unnoticed by the critics[13] but the Romantic style of presenting viewpoints through debate still continued in vogue for some time.

It could perhaps be argued that because of the continuing influence of Romantic tendencies in Portugal and the seemingly incomplete comprehension with which Portuguese playwrights viewed the new European dramatic movements of naturalism and realism, the confusing admixture of styles which often resulted made any clear distinction between them almost impossible. However, in order to assess correctly the success or failure of Portuguese playwrights in adapting to the new ideas, we should bear in mind the dramatic goal

that both realism and naturalism had in common.

Both realism and naturalism put stress on contemporary settings, topical problems and colloquial speech, thus accustoming audiences to relate what they saw on stage to actuality. What appeared on stage, in effect, was a microcosm, a fragment of a larger life that went on in the nontheatrical world. Therefore, the characters were representatives of the contemporary audience rather than archetypes of any central feature of human nature. Not all of the spectators, for example, needed to be Hedda Gablers, but all must be made to believe that they lived in a world where Heddas do exist. In other words, a character had to be presented in such a realistic manner as to make the audience believe in his or her actual existence. Audiences watching realistic plays considered whether or not the fragment of life was true or credible, in effect, whether it could or could not happen.[14] Romanticism, on the other hand, required an emotional involvement of the audience. It appealed mainly to its heart, not its head.

c. Symbolism--Also Introduced by D. João da Câmara

Fundamentally, we will refer here to the symbolism embodied in the dramatic movement that came into being in Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The movement, led by dramatists such as Maurice Maeterlinck and Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, employed symbols that were not only an integral part of the play as a whole but were often, in essence, the whole of the play. Symbolism was the conscious

introduction of symbols on the part of the dramatist, and the feeling in the symbol was more important than the audience's response and the symbol itself more important than what it symbolized.[15] A symbolist play by its very nature is open to a multitude of interpretations and can have no one specific "meaning."[16]

From the standpoint of innovation, D. João da Câmara was certainly the most important playwright of his period in Portugal. He was the first Portuguese dramatist to make a serious attempt at a symbolist play with O Pântano[17] (1894), in which he relied to a great extent on the symbolism of Maeterlinck as a model. Because the playwright was dealing with a mysterious, undetermined evil, he could not completely escape from certain features of Portuguese ultraromantismo.[18] The play's attempt at innovation became the basis for criticizing it. As Câmara had already discovered with his realistic play, Os Velhos, to introduce anything new or innovative into Portuguese drama was no easy or thankful task.

The play was a resounding failure and the lack of interest on the part of the public was justified by certain Portuguese theater critics on the grounds that the play attempted to stray from the boundaries of Romantic drama. The reaction of Fialho de Almeida (1857-1911) was typical: "[O Pântano] Sai completamente dos moldes clássicos das obras de teatro . . . é um drama inferior nas suas relações estéticas com o nosso meio social e artístico."[19] By classical, Fialho meant traditional. His statement shows the almost

impossible task that the innovating Portuguese dramatist faced vis-ã-vis the contemporary critic who became his sworn enemy when anything that appeared to be different from the accepted and expected norm was attempted.[20] If the critics as a whole would not defend the dramatist, then the public, with even less acumen, could hardly be expected to do so.

B. Abel Botelho--Primarily a Naturalist Novelist

Abel Botelho is best known in Portugal as a naturalist novelist in the tradition of Émile Zola. His most famous novels are those found in a series entitled Patologia Social: O Barão de Lavos (1891), O Livro de Alda (1898), Amanhã (1902), Fatal Dilema (1907) and Próspero Fortuna (1910). The novels are very critical of the old, aristocratic families which are usually depicted as suffering from one type of diathesis or another, with licentiousness or heredity as the principal causes. The plutocrats of Portuguese capitalism, the religious orders that curried their favor and monarchist politicians, are among some of the more important groups in Portuguese society to incur Botelho's wrath. In his novels, Botelho often dwelt on what was for the period rather shocking subject matter, but his main theme was the decadence and agony of a society deteriorating because of its "each man for himself" attitude.[21]

Botelho also took great pleasure in writing plays as scandalous as his novels or more so, which often caused an uproar of protest in their day. Among the more controversial of his plays were Jucunda[22] (1889), Claudina (1890), Vencidos

da Vida (1892) and A Imaculável (1897).

Botelho was born on October 23, 1856 to rather well-off, middle-class parents in the small town of Taboaço in the Beira Alta. In 1872 he joined the army, which he was to make his life's career, and he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in 1877. His rise through the military ranks was rapid and impressive: he was captain in 1881; major in 1893; lieutenant colonel in 1898 and colonel in 1906. Botelho even became acting chief-of-staff of the First Military District (Lisbon) for several years. He attended various military and technical schools with great academic distinction. Aside from his full-time military duties, Botelho found time to write poetry, novels and plays, as well as literary criticism for such magazines as Brasil e Portugal and A Mala da Europa. He was a member of many literary and scientific organizations including the Academia das Ciências de Portugal. The author died on April 24, 1917.[23]

Abel Botelho was one of the first playwrights in Portugal to employ naturalist themes, especially in relation to the decadence of the middle class. One wonders, however, with particular regard to his plays, just how much of his playwriting was consciously meant to shock rather than to impress aesthetically. For example, his patent criticism of members of the Geração de 70 in his play Vencidos da Vida (1892) was so scandalous for the time that it was prohibited by the police after a near riot. As Sousa Bastos (1844-1911) described it:

> Foi pateada e depois proibida pela polícia em

> vista do escândalo que provocava por ser uma violenta charge a um conhecido grupo de homens em evidência, um dos quais ocupava uma cadeira de Poder nessa ocasião.[24]

Botelho's first "scandalous" play, the three-act Jucunda, depicted the decadent moral aspects of the type of "modern" woman emerging in Portuguese society, particularly in Lisbon. Jucunda, the main female protagonist in the play, dared to smoke, pose for a sculptor and go off for the evening to sleep with a man of her choice but not necessarily to her liking. Even though Jucunda had a new theme, or so it appeared at least for the first two acts of the play, its plot, structure and language were a combination of those in Romantic and thesis plays.

The plot is basically a close-ended love story, coming to a happy conclusion for all, while the dialogue is either the long-winded oratorical type inherited from the thesis play, particularly in the first two acts, or the emotion-filled, poetic type common in Romantic and ultraromantic plays, especially in the last act. Just as in the thesis play in particular, there is no action and the entire play is supported solely by the dialogue. The characters confront one another and speak in tirades.

In the portrayal of the characters there is a fundamental change from the thesis play. One recalls the depiction of the heroine in the thesis play as generally pretty but ingenuous. It was mainly the men in the thesis play who did the haranguing. In Romantic plays on the other hand, mostly in such plays by Garrett as Filipa de Vilhena and Frei Luís

de Sousa, women often had a major role. In the naturalist drama, women once again get major roles. In fact, in Jucunda, for instance, it is Jucunda herself who does all the pompous berating of the men.

As far as technique goes, special mention must be made of the direct aside to the audience, for Botelho's extensive use of it demonstrates that he either had no knowledge of or no interest in technical advances in playwriting. The aside, which was such an integral part of comedy, had been used extensively in Romantic plays and to a lesser extent in thesis plays. In naturalist or realistic drama, however, the aside is almost unheard of because the dramatist wishes to reduce the "aesthetic distance"[25] between stage and audience. Yet, despite the disappearance of the aside, Botelho has as many as six consecutive characters using this outmoded technique.

The theme of the play is embodied in Jucunda, a sort of femme fatale, unfettered by what standard social conventions demand of women. In the first two acts she constantly scolds the men grouped fondly about her for their hypocritical attitudes concerning woman's traditional place in society. The following passage from the first act, which takes place in the sculpture studio of Fabrício, is a good example of the long monologue employed in ordinary conversation (Jucunda at this point is surrounded by all her admirers), and of the extremely artificial speech still used in Portuguese drama at this relatively late date:

> Fabrício --Sim, senhor . . . Nunca vi um modo mais heróico de desiludir.

> Jucunda --Meus caros, quem não gostar de mim assim, que me não fale . . . Estou no meu papel: --repetir, alto e bom som, o que centenares de pequeninas bocas timoratas vão cochicando, sem coragem de o dizer em público. Sou o Van der Laan da toleima! Opero a catarata da vaidade . . . E, mais, conheço demasiado a mesquinha essência dos homens e o fundo falso das coisas, para me deixar embevecer, deslumbrar a cada esquina pela fulguração dos imortais que passam . . . Uma ou outra vez, curvo-me, --é certo, --diante de algum raro espírito de eleição, (senta-se) mas é para lhe dar logo a seguir na testa com a ponta do meu leque irreverente!

Poor Fabrício attempts a retort to the effect that she is a bit silly in what she says. This only gives Jucunda the opportunity to go on and on and on:

> Jucunda --Chama-me doida? . . . Está-se vingando. Ande lá; muito bem! Da-me importancia: não gostou de me ouvir . . . Isto os homens hão de olhar sempre quem os lisonjeia como um pigmeu . . . De resto, estou no meu papel: --excito-o, exaspero-o, faço-lhe vibrar os nervos . . . Têm-me dito que sou bonita, que exerço sobre as almas grandes . . . (Indicando Benígno) e não só sobre as grandes . . . um império, uma fascinação invencível. Exercito-a em proveito da Arte, trago-a ao serviço do meu país! (Senta-se à esquerda) E alguma coisa tenho feito . . . Este semsaborão (a Aristides) veja, --tem agora entre mãos (aponta a estátua) aquela obra prima, cuja concepção me deve e cuja realização plástica me vai dever também. (a Fabrício) Esta, sim! mande-a para o ano a Paris! garanto-lhe a medalha de honra. (a Aristides) Henrique Sarmento, --conhece? encetou um belo quadro alegórico, inspirado também na minha pessoa . . .
>
> (Jucunda, I, 9).

This type of dialogue goes on in the same tone and manner until the very end of the second act when Jucunda truly shocks everyone by announcing that she is going to spend the night with Fulgêncio who is stupid but a millionaire. The third act, which reveals the true love plot of the play, namely, that Jucunda went off with Fulgêncio in order to

make Fabrício jealous, abandons the dry, pompous dialogue of the thesis play and reverts to that of the ultraromantic play, replete with asides to the audience. At the beginning of the third act which takes place the day following the second act, Jucunda is returning to the group:

> (Jucunda vem do fundo direito, vagarosa; Benígno segue-a).
> Henrique (Vendo Jucunda, àparte) --Ela!
> Fabrício (Estupefacto, àparte) --Volta aqui!?
> Jucunda (Aos primeiros passos, sem levantar a cabeça) --Perdão . . .
> Josefina (Àparte) --Isto é um insulto!
> Aristides (Àparte) --Esta agora!
> (Jucunda, III, 6).

The asides keep coming with great regularity but it is in the dialogue itself that one is most reminded of the ultraromantic playwrights and their emotion-filled, erudite, albeit extremely saccharine and lachrymose speeches:

> Fabrício --O Jucunda! --pelo bem que me quis! --não fale desse modo!
> Jucunda (Àparte) --Inflama-se . . . comprendeu-me . . . O! praza a Deus que me insulte!
> Fabrício --Preciso ouvir-lhe dizer que essa fuga estúpida com o comendador não a arrastou a uma queda irreparável; mas que foi uma simples alucinação de momento, um erro que durou um relâmpago, sem consequencias, sem motivo para arrependimento; logo emendado, imediatamente reprimido . . . Foi assim? . . . Diga!
> Jucunda --É tarde!
> Fabrício (Exaltado) --Nunca é tarde para uma reabilitação. E, --veja! --a dúvida dilacera-me!
> Jucunda --Não compreendo porquê . . .
> Fabrício --É-me indispensável uma palavra, uma palavra sua, bem concludente e bem firme, que me restitua ao coração a tranquilidade!
> Jucunda --E se eu a não proferir, essa palavra?
> Fabrício --Condena-se! . . . e flagela-me . . . Vamos! --fale, diga, jure, prova-me que tudo isto foi um pesadelo! que detesta o comendador, que o despediu, que nada passou com ele! . . . Persiste no silêncio? . . . (Quase de joelhos, suplicante). Pelo amor de Deus! . . .
> Jucunda (Àparte, radiante) --Ama-me! . . .

> Fabrício (irritado) --Não diz nada? Confirma a calúnia? . . . Vendeu-se!? . . . (Ameaçador, num rugido de cólera). Ah! se me abandonasse ao império da minha alma revoltada, como eu me vingaria! (Jucunda, III, 10).

The reader need not fear for Jucunda, for everything works out happily in the end with Jucunda and Fabrício in love. Just as in the thesis play, whatever social comment was meant to be delivered at the beginning of the play as theme, is soon lost or discarded when the love plot takes full control and becomes sole motivating force. We can see in this case that the plot structure and the artificiality of the language had changed little in the Portuguese drama for almost half a century, despite the emergence of naturalism in the drama in the rest of Europe.

It would seem at first that Botelho is going to make some strong and significant statements or points concerning women's rights in the play. In the first two acts, he at least appears interested in championing a change in the subservient status of Portuguese women. At the end of the play, however, Romantic dramatic convention takes over and Jucunda disavows her own actions and statements in the first two acts to become a rather mindless stereotype in the tradition of the ultraromantic heroine in Portugal. Of all the Portuguese plays treated so far, none would, perhaps, be quite so offensive to advocates of women's liberation as Jucunda. Espousing a cause and then abandoning it is far more irritating to anyone believing in the cause than never bothering to mention it at all.

C. Realism and Symbolism--D. João da Câmara

1. Realism--Colloquial Language and other Innovations

In D. João da Câmara's realistic plays, one notices immediately the absence of real social or political criticism: the author neither supports nor attacks the middle class. Câmara appears much more interested in developing the personalities of the characters in these plays as people in their own right: the development of individual characters becomes an end in itself rather than a means to an end.

Perhaps because Câmara attempted to deal primarily with people and their lives rather than with specific social or political issues, he was able to avoid the strident pomposity and rhetorical dialogue that were hallmarks of the language of the thesis play in general. For the first time, in other than comedy, the language employed on the Portuguese stage was consistently that of everyday speech, free of bombast and natural in vocabulary. Since he did not treat socially-critical themes, Câmara did not need to depict characters as either all good or all bad, and thus avoided the stark, artificial dichotomy or polarization of characters that occurred in the Romantic, ultraromantic and thesis plays.

Câmara also revolutionized the plot in Portuguese drama, particularly in his treatment of the end of a play. Rather than giving his plays plots with definitive endings, Camara left the plots open-ended. This major change was characteristic of European realistic drama in the late nineteenth century, especially that of Chekhov,[26] and marked a radical

change in Portuguese drama.

Of course, one disadvantage inherent in the elimination of social content was that, although the plays were so innovative technically, they were often mistaken for mere regional or sentimental dramas by the public and critics alike. Thus a play like Os Velhos, which timidly introduced many realistic innovations into Portuguese drama, was almost totally ignored by the critics.[27]

Câmara's experience in railroad construction in the provinces played an important role in the background for his play, Os Velhos. He had studied engineering in Belgium and then returned to Portugal to finish his engineering studies at the Escola Politécnica in Lisbon. After graduation, he worked on the construction of various railroad lines in Portugal, principally in the Alentejo region.[28]

Os Velhos, a three-act play, had its première on March 11, 1893 in the Teatro D. Maria II. When the curtain went down on the third act to the yawns of an uninterested theater-going and critical public, long accustomed to the strident oratory of the Portuguese stage, a revolution in form and language had been introduced into Portuguese drama.[29] The lack of interest on the part of the audience was certainly not the fault of the outstanding cast which included some of Portugal's greatest actors of the period: Eduardo Brasão, João Rosa, Joaquim Costa, Rosa Damasceno and Ferreira da Silva. It was da Silva who introduced Ibsen's work to the Portuguese stage with The Wild Duck in 1899 and Strindberg's

with The Father in 1907.[30]

The subject of the work reflects Câmara's education and his experience in engineering, for it deals with the effects of the coming of the railroad in 1878-1879 on the small town of Santo António das Areias and its inhabitants, located in the Alentejo province of Portugal. While dealing with the railroad, the play is also an excellent picture of rural life and rural types within the Júlio Dinis tradition. The change of setting from the middle-class salon to the countryside was the reason the play was first considered by the critics as nothing more than a regional play. It was the thesis play, after all, which fostered the idea that little of real importance could or did occur outside the middle-class drawing room.

The rural characters, like their traditions and their ways of doing things, are old with the exception of Emilinha, the heroine. For the seven old people in the play, all over seventy, and headed by Manuel Patacas, seventy-four years old and his wife, Emília, seventy-one, who are celebrating their fiftieth wedding anniversary, the land is not only something from which they scratch a meager living, but what actually sustains them spiritually. The old people always maintain their serenity, even when they are filled with pain and sorrow, for they are sustained by faith in God and their belief in tradition.

At the beginning, Patacas is talking with his wife and the other old folk present about his daughter's death after

she had given birth to Emilinha.

> Patacas (abraçando-a) --E a ti, a esse teu olhar onde fui buscar a coragem. Deus paga a esmola a cem por um, e a terra, obra de Deus, é como ele para pagar-nos. Dizem que é mãe de nós todos, mãe porque nos alimenta, mas eu quis-lhe como a filha; primeiro pelos teus olhos, depois . . . pela filha que Nosso Senhor nos levou.
> Emília --Bendito seja o seu nome.
> Patacas (descobrindo-se) --Para sempre seja bendito. (continuando). Quando a Emilinha nasceu era já morto o pai; a pequena para ter vida roubou a vida à mãe.

Patacas goes on to describe the death night in muted terms and then tells of how he rid himself of his sorrow.

> Peguei na enxada e fui por esses campos, até lá abaixo ao Serer, desviar as águas. A terra sôfrega começou a beber, a beber . . . Eu olhava para as estrelas . . . Devia de haver mais uma, essa noite, lá no ceu . . . E chorava a minha filha regando a minha horta . . . Nessa hora de angústia fui trabalhar na terra . . . porque a terra é nossa mãe.
> (Os Velhos, I, 2).

The settings for the play, while realistic, are not described minutely but rather suggested. The first act, in which this dialogue takes place, is a good example. Exactly how much mobília antiga is there? How big is the quarto?

> Em casa de Manuel Patacas. Quarto muito caiado. Mobília antiga. Ao fundo esquerdo porta de entrada com postigo. Ao fundo direito cama de casados que um cortinado de chita de ramagens esconde ao espectador. Porta da cozinha à esquerda. À direita baixa uma escada muito empinada conduz ao andar superior.
> (Os Velhos, Stage Setting, Act I).

Into this peaceful setting of age-old tradition which the old people feel will continue on unchanged, Câmara introduces what appears will be a conflict in the person of Júlio, a young civil engineer who is employed by the railroad. He has been sent to acquire their property in order that the enterprise may continue. Júlio is convinced that

his "mission" is to carry the "banner of progress" into the "wasteland" of the province. As we can see in the following dialogue, which is Júlio's first encounter with the elderly peasants, Câmara seems to be preparing us for a direct, and none too pleasant, confrontation of characters: youth versus age, progress versus tradition:

> Patacas --E poderei então conhecer o motivo . . . ?
> Júlio --Estimo até falar diante destes senhores. Os meus amigos sabem que temos encontrado nalguns proprietários . . . menos inteligentes uma certa animadversão que realmente não merecemos. Desejamos provar que a nossa missão é de paz e não de guerra. Na nossa bandeira trazemos escrita uma divisa: --Progresso! Hastear esse pendão em plena charneca do Alentejo é missão que muito nos honra e que o Alentejo nos deveria agradecer.
> Patacas --Charneca . . . !
> Júlio --Não retiro a palavra. Se em meio da aridez encontramos, aqui ou ali, pequeninos jardins, verdadeiros paraísos, como a vinha do meu amigo, a horta do Sr. Prior e as propriedades destes cavalheiros, são raríssimas excepções e dignas, sob todos os pontos de vista, do melhoramento civilizador, que hoje lhes trazemos com sacrifício e generosidade, que, francamente, o resto da província nos não merece.
> Porfírio --Sim senhor! Sim senhor!
> Bento --É isso mesmo.
> Julio --Ah! dos meus amigos estou eu seguro. Não é dos homens cultos que temos a recear. Abram os olhos aos que vivem na funda cegueira da ignorância, aqueles que no silvo da locomotiva ainda não sabem ouvir o hino do progresso.
> (Os Velhos, I, 5).

Despite the preceding dialogue, no direct confrontation of characters ensues. In fact, there is even very little oblique confrontation and that is restricted to the very opening of the play of which this dialogue is a part. Each character is allowed his or her viewpoint, but the author really never takes sides.

Although at first it seems to be a play preaching progress, Os Velhos reveals itself little by little to be nothing more than a description of the inevitable coming of the railroad and the effects it will have on the lives of the rural folk. Câmara makes no value judgement of the effects of the railroad, good or bad. He depicts the rural folk as having values and traditions that are decent and honest while stressing their growing realization that their ways will feel the pressure of change. Júlio, who at first is portrayed as the harbinger of the great god progress, changes in character to the point where he is not only sympathetic to the plight of the elderly peasants because he has come to know and like them, but he is also a little sad. Thus the confrontation type of character presentation, which is so common in Portuguese drama until this play, is quickly dropped in the first act and a more natural intermingling or confluence of personalities takes place. In effect, Júlio is partly absorbed and transformed by the entire ambience. This leads the seventy-year-old Ana to say of him in the first act, "E é por isso que nos admirou, um homem do caminho de ferro! vê-lo piedoso e temente a Deus!"

The main plot, which consists of the speculations and conversations of the elderly peasants also has a very innovative and important ending which in Portuguese drama was never previously employed. Unlike all the other close-ended Portuguese plays previously studied, Os Velhos does not have a definitive ending. Its ending does not bring the story

line in the play to a close, but rather forces the viewer to project into the future beyond the play itself the possible impact of the railroad on the lives of the characters. This is done by an interesting and innovative combination of dialogue and stage effects. When Patacas says, "Não mudámos! Nada mudou!" the distant whistle of the train is heard, symbolically giving the lie to what he has just said. Just what the future will bring is not specified by the author but left to the imagination of the viewer. The ending of the play is not its real conclusion as the endings had been in earlier plays:

> Patacas --Já vamos. É tão bom pensar! Tu lembras-te também? Mas ainda sou eu, mas ainda és tu . . . Estou hoje alegre, sinto-me hoje . . . Deve ser do vinho. Olha, como cantam os pardalitos lá fora . . . Se fosse na primavera era aí um concerto de tentilhões e melros . . ! Eles são sempre os mesmos . . . e nós também não mudámos. Como eu te adoro, minha Emília! Não mudámos! Nada mudou!
>
> (Ouve-se outra vez ao longe o apito prolongado do comboio. Emília, que vinha aproximando-se do Patacas, estaca a meio do quarto).
>
> Emília --Outra vez!
>
> Patacas --Ouviste? (Emília diz que sim tristemente, com a cabeça. Silêncio grande). Anda cá, minha filha. Senta-te aqui. (Senta-a no colo). Emília . . . ! Minha velhinha . . . ! Há cinquenta anos!
>
> O Fim da Peça. (Os Velhos, III, 16).

The setting for the last act, in which this dialogue takes place, also plays an important role in conferring added significance upon the play's conclusion. The third act is the same as the first except, " . . . ao centro mesa com toalha. É noite. Três candeeiros de três bicos convenientemente dispostos iluminam a cena." The fact that it is

night and that lamps are used lends the act a muted tone.

Mention must be made of the subplot which concerns Júlio and Emilinha's growing love for each other. This love subplot, per se, has no real function in the play. Its real purpose is to show symbolically the possibility of the wedding of the old with the new in a quickly changing world. António Enes' innovation was to maincain the love plot as an integral part of the theme until the play's conclusion, while Câmara's was to give it philosophical meaning.

Câmara's main contribution to Portuguese drama with this particular play was to use colloquial language in sentences of normal conversational length. Until this point in Portuguese drama, not only did characters speak in artificial stage language that was pompous, bombastic, lachrymose or some combination of the three, but they never varied the pattern from the beginning of the play until the final curtain. The peasants in Os Velhos almost always speak in sentences that are quite short or not even complete sentences at all and in which part of the sentence is understood from the preceding statement of another character. Their speech is as close to the real speech of peasants as one could reasonably expect. In the following scene from the second act where the old men sit discussing the changes they note in the younger generation, one will observe that the words are quite simple and that realistic colloquial expressions such as "Vai uma pinga" are employed:

> Patacas --E o caso é que não vejo por aí raparigas que valham as nossas velhotas.

Bento e Porfírio --Não, não.
Patacas --As do nosso tempo eram outra coisa. Mal se chegavam ao pé da gente, e já um homem se sentia pronto. Pode agora uma cachopa estar ao pé de nós duas horas, que eu, cá por mim, não sinto nada.
Bento --Nem eu.
Porfírio --É facto.
Patacas --As raparigas mudaram muito! Vai uma pinga, Sr. Prior? (Dá-lhe a borracha).
Bento --Eu cá ainda prefiro as da minha idade.
Porfírio --A mulher ao pé de quem envelhecemos nunca envelhece ao pé de nós.
Patacas --Como elas andam, coitadinhas! Vocês já repararam como as mulheres vão mudando o feitio de andar? Ao princípio parecem arvéloas saltitando, pèzinho aqui, pèzinho ali . . . E vamos que não deixam de ser engraçadas as cachopitas. Depois endireitam-se, e do costume das bilhas à cabeça, aprumam-se, engrossam-lhes os pescoços, fazem-se os peitos mais firmes, e têm no andar o que quer que seja de éguas de boa raça.
Bento (Suspirando) --Ai! Ti Ana!
Porfírio (Suspirando) --Ali pelos trinta!
Patacas --Até aos quarenta. Depois é o diabo, começam a abaular . . . Mas quando são frescalhotas . . .
(Os Velhos, II, 7).

Not only is their speech simple and realistic, with the dialogue seeming to develop naturally from the context, but they employ natural comparisons deriving from their surroundings and their work. They see "cachopas" and "éguas" in their everyday existence and "arvéloas" are, no doubt, flying around the fields. There is also the constant use of the diminutives -inho and the less common -ito as well as the usually pejorative -ota but to show affection in all cases here. Even the verb "abaular" comes from familiarity with the growth of the trees in the field.

Even Júlio's speech pattern changes as he comes to know and appreciate the mores of these peasants and therefore to

like them as people. With this growing familiarity, the rhetorical speech so reminiscent of the thesis play, and which Júlio employed in his first encounter with the old peasants, gives way to a more conversational tone almost indistinguishable from that of the provincials. This applies both to the length of his sentences and his choice of vocabulary. His speech is slightly more educated than theirs but not artificially so, even in the few conversations dealing with the love subplot and Emilinha whom he has learned to love. The dialogue in the subplot is so muted that if it were compared to Jucunda, for instance, it would be almost inaudible. Here, for example, Júlio is explaining the hard work and sacrifice which allowed him to rise from poverty to a respected career in engineering:

> Emilinha --Então não é tolice . . . Ainda agora quando contou a sua história . . . Deve ser tão triste estar sòzinho no meio de muita gente!
> Júlio --E, pelo contrário, só dois que estão tão acompanhados, quando se estimam e se percebem . . . !
> Emilinha --Como se chamam os livros que me vai dar?
> Júlio --São muitos. O homem que os fez chamava-se Júlio Dinis.
> Emilinha --Parece-me que hei-de gostar. Gosto do nome. Júlio Dinis.
> Júlio --Gosta? Eu também sou Júlio. Júlio César.
> Emilinha --Parece-me que já ouvi falar . . .
> Júlio --Houve um outro que foi imperador de Roma.
>
> (Os Velhos, I, 14).

It is, perhaps, not by accident that Júlio Dinis is used as the example with which to begin Emilinha's education to the world about her. It has been pointed out that with his

realistic depiction of both the personality types and the ambience of the rural bourgeoisie in this play and in Triste Viuvinha[31] (1898), Câmara did for Portuguese drama what Júlio Dinis did for the novel.[32] It might also be added that Câmara tried to do for Portuguese drama what Ibsen had done for European drama.

Triste Viuvinha, a three-act play, which had its premiere four years after Os Velhos on December 11, 1897 in the Teatro de D. Maria II, was a bit more successful, and ran for twenty-six successive nights.[33] Like Os Velhos it had an outstanding cast which included João and Augusto Rosa, Eduardo Brasão, Carlos de Oliveira, Laura Cruz and Rosa Damasceno. The play takes place in Santa Luzia, a small town in the Baixo-Alentejo.

Although like Os Velhos, this play takes place in a small town in the provinces, there is no similarity in theme. Os Velhos had to do in part with the effect of the eventual coming of progress to a province. Triste Viuvinha is entirely a personal tragedy involving a young widow of two years who, in effect, is unable to shake off the memory of her dead husband. For while the widow is under no legal or religious obligation not to remarry, her father-in-law tries to convince her that it is her moral and social obligation to remain in mourning forever.

The plot deals with the personal anguish of Nazaré, the triste viuvinha. She has fallen in love with João da Alegria, the son of the retired Alferes. The Alferes is a

good friend of Nazaré's father-in-law, Rebelo, who is living in the past, sustained in spirit by the memories he has of his son. Not only does he live in the past but he expects a young girl like Nazaré to be sustained solely by these memories, also. Although Nazaré is legally free to marry, the playwright develops the fact that to reveal her love for João de Alegria, or anyone else but his son for that matter, would certainly kill the old man in spirit if not body. This résumé of the plot does not, of course, do justice to the sophisticated manner in which Câmara reveals the real reason for Nazaré's sadness, not only to other characters in the play, but also, to the audience itself.

Câmara breaks with Romantic tradition and begins the play just before the climax, thus concentrating the action. The first act starts at exactly twenty-five minutes after six in the evening, as is indicated by a clock in Rebelo's house. The setting is described in great detail: the furniture, the curtains and even the books (sermons by Padre António Vieira 1608-1697). Everything indicates a great attachment to the past and to tradition and everything is "naquele primor de asseio vulgar no Alentejo." Câmara also eliminated a special characteristic of the Romantic, ultra-romantic and thesis drama, requiring the audience be privy to everything. The opening lines of the play show that Nazaré is not feeling well but they are also purposely misleading to the audience.

> Rebelo --Não te sentes pior, não?
> Nazaré --Já me passou. Não foi nada. (Vai a

cómoda buscar um lenço preto).
Maria do Ó --Veio o calor tão de repente?
Nazaré --Foi o calor.
Maria do Ó --Queres que te ajude?
Nazaré --Não, tia. Obrigada.
Rebelo --Tinha pena, se não fosses. Ainda agora, quando lá estive . . . Queres saber? Nasceu um pé de murta mesmo em cima da cova. O Jerónimo que o deixe crescer. Daqui a dois meses dá flor. Quando ele te escrevia e chamava. Flor da Murta! . . . Já faz hoje dois anos! . . . Não te sentes pior, nao?
Nazaré --Maior quebreira. Mas a tia tem razão; deve ser o calor.
Maria do Ó --E do ferver dessa cabecinha. Sossega. O teu homem está no ceu.
Nazaré --Era um santo.
Rebelo --Meu filho! . . .
Maria do Ó --E não te deixes lá ficar. Ontem, logo à boca da noite, começaram caindo umas branduras, e aquele cemitério é tão húmido!
(Triste Viuvinha, I, 1).

Thus it would seem from the very opening scene that a major portion of the plot is revealed; to wit, Nazaré is very sad because it is the second anniversary of her husband's death and she has to go to the cemetery to visit his grave. Just as Nazaré is leaving the house she encounters João da Alegria and nothing is revealed other than that they are both sad, a situation, which under the circumstances, would seem quite normal.

Much of the remainder of the act is taken up with incidentals, such as the somewhat comic banter between Rebelo and the Alferes over their differences of opinion on religion; and the arrival of Assunção, an industrious peasant girl, who tells, in the peasant language of the region, of her daily chores--catching rabbits and keeping bees. Near the end of the act Rebelo reminisces about some objects that his son had made. While the entire group is admiring them

at one side of the stage, Nazaré, who has returned to the house, has a very short conversation with João da Alegria, which to the audience is the first indication that its first impression concerning the origin of her sadness was incorrect:

> (O Barros, o Alferes e a Assunção estão vendo o quadro que o Rebelo pôs sobre a mesa. A Maria do Ó alumia).
>
> João da Alegria (Baixo, aproximando-se de Nazaré) --Fui retrilhando as suas pegadas à ida e à volta. Não entrou no cemitério.
> Nazaré --Não tive medo.
> João da Alegria --Nazaré! . . .
> Nazaré --Cale-se, que me perde!
> (Triste Viuvinha, I, 9).

What the audience is witnessing in the case of Nazaré is a developing character rather than a static one of the type in the thesis play, for example. Before João da Câmara, characters were depicted as representing opposing viewpoints and then allowed to confront one another, thus eliminating the need to unfold their personalities, which in general remained fixed and immutable from the beginning of a play until the end. The audience was not invited to "locate the distance from the surface where the true inner life of a character resides"[34] for it was always located on the surface. In Triste Viuvinha, the author is purposely attempting to develop the character of Nazaré by revealing little by little the totality of seemingly disparate clues. One is led to believe that Nazaré's sadness and her tears when Rebelo mentions his son's name come from her feeling of loss. The first crucial event of the play comes almost at the end of the first act when the real reason for her sadness is re-

vealed. Nazaré is alone with Maria do Ó:

> Maria do Ó (Olha inquieta para Nazaré, vai abrir a janela e volta) --Que tens?
> Nazaré --Tenho . . . que já não posso!
> Maria do Ó --Que dizes tu! . . . Porque te encontraste com meia dúzia de estouvadas, que vinham rindo e cantando . . . Ai, filha, da boas graças a Deus por te veres livre de tantas ocasiões que fazem resvalar aquelas malditas! Vai um atrás delas a dizer-lhes finezas e tolices . . . Pois é disso que tens pena?
> Nazaré --Tenho.
> Maria do Ó --Não eras então amiga do teu homem?
> Nazaré --Quando enviuvei, a tia bem sabe que até pensaram que eu morria!
> Maria do Ó --E já não tens saudades dele!
> Nazaré --Já não tenho lugar para saudades.
> Maria do Ó --Deixa-me, filha, benzer que isso foi quebranto!
> Nazaré --Ainda eu não queria, já os olhos me fugiam para ele!
> Maria do Ó --Mau inferno lhe dê Deus na alma e me perdoe! . . . Ele quem?
> Nazaré --Pois conhece outro?
> Maria do Ó --Fiquei na mesma. E que queres então fazer?
> Nazaré --Casar.
> Maria do Ó --E o pobre do senhor Rebelo?
> Nazaré --Bem sei, bem sei . . . Ai, que inferno!
>
> (Triste Viuvinha, I, 10).

Now the real reason for Nazaré's sadness is disclosed; she is a normal woman who wishes to get married again rather than live in the past as her aged father-in-law is willing and able to do. Her personal conflict consists of the choice she must make between her own happiness and that of the kindly Rebelo. The audience has been purposely misled during most of the first act in order to give more credence and impact to the final over-all presentation of Nazaré's character. This presentation of character through accretion is a significant advance in Portuguese drama over the type of

character so lacking in depth which preceded Câmara's work almost without exception. The crucial point event in Nazaré's revelation is followed by several more during the play. At the end of the second act, João da Alegria reveals to his father the Alferes, that it is he who is in love with Nazaré. The Alferes' rejoinder is that such a revelation to the old man would kill him. The final crucial event takes place near the end of the third act when Nazaré makes her final decision that she and João da Alegria must part forever. This exposition of a series of critical events is most like the plot structure developed in naturalism and employed by Chekhov.[35] The final crucial event does not constitute the actual conclusion of the play, for once again Câmara's conclusion invites the audience, just as it did in Os Velhos, to project the possible fate of the characters beyond the actual ending of the play into the future. The secret of João da Alegria and Nazaré's love has been kept successfully from Rebelo, and João has just left the house with his father. Rebelo is ready to reminisce about his son but for the first time in the play, drops some hint of the future, namely, a question about who will remember him when he is dead. This reference plus the portrayal of Nazaré as being trapped by the past as she goes into the future, demands the viewer's projection of coming events.

Note should be made of stage properties and effects in the closing dialogue of the play, for Câmara was master in using them to heighten the dramatic effect of a scene without

being overly obvious or pretentious. First the sound, then the sight of the carriage that is carrying João da Alegria out of Nazaré's life forever is employed with telling effect. The growing darkness as exemplified by the candles, perhaps Câmara's favorite stage property, also heightens the tragic atmosphere. The sounds of the carriage are heard coming ever closer during the beginning of the following dialogue:

> Rebelo --Tolices. Sabes? Tenho estado a cogitar . . . Não era o Manuel que me deixava assim, não! E ainda que me deixasse . . . a ti, desde que te viu pela primeira vez, a ti é que ele não deixaria nunca! . . . Como o prendeste com esses teus olhos! . . . hem? Quando um homem gosta de uma mulher . . . (Com muita ternura). Nazaré, quando eu morrer, quem te há-de falar nele? . . . Quando eu morrer, hás-de ter saudades minhas.
>
> (Passa o carro em frente da porta).
>
> Nazaré (chorando, abraçada do Rebelo). --Deus lhe dê muita vida, meu pai!
>
> Rebelo --Espero com olhos longos a madrugada desse alegre dia.
>
> Nazare --O meu será muito alegre também, como outro já não espero!
>
> Rebelo --Estás tão nervosa hoje! . . .
>
> Nazaré --Bem vê! . . . Aquele moinho a uivar, que tristeza!
>
> Rebelo (para a Maria do Ó) --E vossemecê, porque nos bota os olhos assim de esconso? Nada tem connosco. (Maria do Ó ascende o outro candeeiro e sai). Filha, quiete-se agora teu coração e senta-te ao pé de mim. Escuta-me e vê se me percebes. Quando estiveres em soledade e silêncio, finge de alma adentro que o tens ali contigo, e muito à puridade, desabafa então com ele. Cuidado, filha, não te afadigues querendo formar a querida figura por modo violento, que então o espírito sem forças não pode alar-se, fugir da negra masmorra. O amor une a enormes distâncias os corações. Verás como a ausência perde assim muito do seu assombramento. Recolhe-te com ele, com ele tratarás de perto, e nas delícias do entre-sonho terás o ante-gozo de celestiais prazeres! Ouviste? Percebeste-me, filha? (Tirando a Nazaré o livro em que ela pegou maquinalmente). Não. Hoje não lemos. Hoje é para mim quase um dia de

> festa! . . . Como to hei-de pagar, Nazaré? Aconcheguemos as nossas saudades e vamos pensar nele! (Ainda se ouvem, muito ao longe, as esquilas do carro).
>
> Nazaré (depois de um longo silêncio) --Nele! . . .
>
> FIM (Triste Viuvinha, III, 6 & 7).

The ending is superbly ironic; Rebelo is referring to his son while Nazaré is thinking of João da Alegria.

If one is willing to exclude Os Velhos because it deals with the effects of "progress," Triste Viuvinha is the first play in Portugal in half a century that deals wholly with a personal tragedy. Not since Garrett abandoned his idea of the stage as a place of instruction and wrote Frei Luís de Sousa, had such a subtle attempt been made. Triste Viuvinha is completely free of the Romantic histrionics occasionally appearing in Garrett's play. However, Câmara did not succeed in eliminating completely some of the techniques and subplots that were a legacy of Romanticism. For instance, at the beginning of the third act, Barros, a sergeant in the customs office, has come to tell Rebelo he wants to marry Assunção. Maria do Ó and Assunção think he is coming to ask for the hand of Nazaré, a rather silly assumption in itself. All during Barros' conversation with Rebelo, Maria do Ó and Assunção interject opinions on Barros' request through that favorite technique of both the Romantics and the thesis playwrights: the aside.

> Maria dc Ó (baixo para a Assunção) --Agora! agora! (Muito aflita, com muita pressa) --Gloria Patri e Filio et Spiritu Sancto!
>
> Assunção --Sicut erat . . . (Engrola o resto, muito nervosa).

Maria do Ó (baixo a Assunção) --Mostrengo!

Maria do Ó (baixo) --Que descoco.

Maria do Ó (baixo) --Não quer pouco o maganão!

Assunção (baixo para Maria do Ó) --Ampare-me!

Despite the small faults one finds in the play, it must be conceded that Triste Viuvinha was very innovative, particularly in the rhythm of the plot structure and the development and depth of Nazaré's personality. As we shall see, however, unlike the new plot structure and characterization, accepted relatively easily by other playwrights, the artificial, rhetorical speech of the thesis-play dramatists would linger on almost interminably, especially in the case of dramatists interested in social or political criticism.

2. Symbolism--Maeterlinck's Influence

Maurice Maeterlinck was the author after whom João da Câmara modelled his own symbolist plays. Such plays as La Princesse Maleine (1889), used by Câmara as a basis for O Pântano, represented Maeterlinck's idea of a static theater. Their purpose was to create, as Thomas Van Laan calls it, an "action of depth"[36] in which particularized character and localized incident lose their autonomy, and become symbolic representations forming a design of universal importance.

Part of Maeterlinck's symbolism consisted of what W. Y. Tindall calls "archetypal symbols,"[37] which are usually ambivalent images, not necessarily symbolic in themselves, but which become symbolic in context, uniting the personal and the general. In Maeterlinck such symbols were often

simple like doors, windows, grottoes, lamplight, blindness and towers, and his symbolism is further underlined by the tentative dialogue employed, where the constant presence of death, for example, is hinted at by half-formed suggestions in the general context of the characters' conversations.

With respect to the symbolist novel, Tindall points something out which can be applied very easily to the plot structure of a symbolist play: the symbolist novel depends less upon the sequence of events than upon reflexive relationships among its elements.[38] The plot structure in Maeterlinck's symbolist drama issues from a progressive tightening of the web of fate about the characters. This progression begins with the initial situation in the play and continues until the conclusion. These mysterious forces effect the characters to the point where they have no will to combat them and furthermore, there seems to be no need for a logical progression in the development of the action. The plot is sustained primarily by the emotional responses of the characters who are rarely aware of the existence of the mysterious forces controlling their actions.[39]

O Pântano was first presented in the Teatro de D. Maria II in 1894 and was not well received by the public. If the public in Portugal, as we have already indicated with regard to Os Velhos, was not ready to accept entirely the aesthetics of naturalism, it was certainly less prepared to accept the opposite aesthetic values represented by symbolism.[40] Câmara based his play on Maeterlinck's La Princesse

Maleine, a play which Maeterlinck himself was to disparage by saying of it in his own preface:

> Il eût, par example, été facile de supprimer dans La Princesse Maleine beaucoup de naïvetés dangereuses, quelques scènes inutiles et la plupart de ces répétitions étonnées que donnent aux personnages l'apparence de somnambules un peu sourds constamment arrachés à un songe pénible.[41]

In short, Câmara based his play on the work by Maeterlinck which the Belgian author least admired. Yet, the enormous influence of Maeterlinck on Câmara's symbolist plays[42] cannot be too much emphasized.

The settings are usually of great importance in symbolist plays. In O Pântano, three of the four acts take place in and around the old palace of the Duque which is appropriately described to give emphasis to the sinister happenings. Even the first act which takes place in the house of the Barão occurs at night. Here, for instance, is the setting for the third act replete with moonlight:

> Uma sala abobadada no palácio do Duque. Portas ao fundo e laterais. Uma janela. Mobília antiga e muito usada. Alguns quadros na parede. Molduras carunchosas; telas desprezadas. (É noite. José à janela, e iluminado pelo luar; O Duque está sentado do outro lado da cena, junto do candeeiro).
>
> (O Pântano, III, Stage Setting).

The settings are important, but as we can see from the preceding example, they are not necessarily symbolic in themselves. The stage setting for act three could just as easily signify something run-down as something sinister. Rather, as the play progresses, it becomes clear that it is the dialogue between the characters which is increasingly

concerned with ominous portents and informed with sinister imagery, and therefore bestows upon the settings and the play itself a symbolic aura of evil happenings. This is especially true of the last two acts. Here, for example, is a dialogue between the Duque and his servant, José, which takes place against the setting for the third act given above:

> José --A noite é de luar. Isto vai mal, vai mal, vai mal. Luar e nuvens. Há-de haver logo trovoada.
> Duque --Nunca vi noite mais cheia de presságios. Luar e nuvens.
> José --Luar e nuvens. Passam as sombras sobre o pântano e muda-se a neblina em roupas de fantasmas.
> Duque --Andam corujas voando em torno do palácio. Nunca vi noite assim terrível em presságios.
> José --Quando a Duquesa, minha senhora, pressente a trovoada, não dorme, nem eu durmo. Passam as nuvens sobre a lua e as sombras sobre o pântano. Ergue-se alto a neblina. Olhe aquele! Olhe aquele! . . . Corre so o vento! Veiu esmagar-se aqui nos muros do palácio! . . . Eh! Eh! Eh! como correm todos! A dança dos fantasmas! Eh! Eh! Eh! Eh!
> (O Pântano, III, 1).

This type of dialogue, filled with arcane presentiments and forebodings is essential to the play since it provides the means by which the action is sustained. One notes that a rhythm suggesting evil is created by the repetition of the words "luar e nuvens" by both characters. This repetitive pattern consisting of various phrases, which always portend evil or death, is used throughout the play. Different characters will utter the phrases, thus echoing one another, as many as three or four times in succession. The tone, dependent on the connotative diction, is the clearest embodiment of the author's intention of creating a sinister

atmosphere in the play. Even from this brief example there are the words "luar," "nuvens," "pântano," "neblina," "trovoada," "corujas," "roupas de fantasmas," "dança dos fantasmas," "lua," "vento," "palácio," "sombras," and "noite." None of these words is by itself symbolic, but in the general context of the passage each acquires the power to suggest evil and to reenforce the suggestion of impending evil, Câmara uses the word "presságios" twice in connection with the word "night" and has José repeat "vai mal" three consecutive times. This excessive use of imagery belabors the obvious, and supports Maeterlinck's "beaucoup de naïvetés" in his self-critical preface.

Brief mention must be made of the rather sketchy, nebulous plot. Its vagueness goes, of course, with a symbolist play, for basically everything depends on the denouement which represents the grand finale of imagery for all preceding symbolic forebodings. The play also has a traditional closed ending, so characteristic of all Portuguese drama in the nineteenth century until Os Velhos. This ending is quite the opposite of the open-endedness which we will see in the same author's other symbolist play, Meia Noite (1900). Luísa intends to marry the Duque but she has Alfredo whom she wants to keep as a lover. Her plans will not be realized, for as she poisons the Duque and gives him a kiss of love, she receives the kiss of death from the very poison she has given him. The scene in which the symbolic kiss of love is shown to be the kiss of death, is one

of the better ones in the play which, in general, tends to be too explicit and too facile in its imagery:

> Luísa --Tenho aqui o teu remédio. Era para mim. Vou dar-to. O teu, o meu remédio. (Vai a outra mesa onde deve estar uma garrafa e um copo. Deita água e dentro dela o pó do embrulho que mostrou a Alfredo).
> Duque --Estou doente. Estou muito doente. (canta)
>
> Ola, ola, cavaleiro,
> Sustem a rédea, sustem,
> Que habita a morte no outeiro,
> Onde habitava teu bem.
>
> Luísa --Bebe; deves ter sede. Verás como depois te hás-de sentir melhor. O teu remédio, o meu.
> Duque --Assim cantavam ambos, e ela passou adormecida. Tremíamos com medo, chegados um ao outro, e tu caiste-me nos braços. Dançavam os fantasmas e o temporal rugia. Os teus olhos brilhavam e dizias: --Não! não! Mas os sinos tocaram e eu dei um grito de vitória: Luísa! Luísa! . . . Uivava sempre, uivava o Saturno lá fora! . . . É febre. Estou doente, estou muito doente. Se tenho de morrer, quero ainda um beijo teu.
> Luísa --Sim, sim. Far-te-á bem. Toma.
> Duque --Tenho sede. Obrigado. Far-me-á bem, dizes tu? Protegem-se os espectros. Dar-me-ás um beijo. Quero morrer contente num beijo teu, Luísa. (Bebe o veneno. Luísa encostada à mesa não olha. O Duque põe o copo sobre a mesa. Sentindo os primeiros sintomas do veneno olha para Luísa). Que tens?
> Luísa (com um calafrio) --Eu? . . . Nada.
> Duque (com um grito) --Luísa! (Põe-se em pé).
> Luísa (assustada) --Não grites!
> Duque --Mataste-me!
> Luisa --Não! não! (Abraça-o).
> Duque (dolorosamente) --Ah!
> Luisa (abafando-lhe o grito com um beijo) --Não! (O Duque tornou a cair na cadeira empurrado por Luísa. Beijo prolongado. Silêncio grande. O Duque morre). Correspondeu-me ao beijo! Morreu num beijo! O beijo prolongueilho até sentir-lhe frios os beiços. Parece que eu também bebi a morte! (Vai a secretaria donde tira uma carta, rasga-a ao meio trazendo só meia folha. Traz tinteiro e pena e põe tudo ao pé do Duque. Molha a pena e deixa-a cair sobre a carta). Acabei com os espectros. Um descanso.

(Observa o Duque e depois corre para a galeria gritando): Acudam-me! Acudam-me! Socorro! Socorro!

(O Pântano, IV, 7).

There is, of course, no hope for Luísa as she, too, is doomed to die by the unfathomable forces at work throughout the play, and unknown to the characters themselves. Before Luísa dies she manages a monologue which is almost a summary of all the attendant imagery in the play:

> Alfredo --Um cão uivando à morte!
> Luísa --Ouviste um cão uivando à morte?
> Alfredo --Ouvi um cão uivando à morte.
> Luísa --A minha? A nossa? Calou-se. Sonhamos ambos. O Saturno é tão longe! . . . Partiu-se o copo . . . Foi a mão do cadáver. Quantos fantasmas vou ver hoje? Sonhamos ambos. Coragem. Só duas velas, só duas. Calou-se. Um sonho. Um pesadelo. (Apaga a última luz). Nem um murmúrio! . . . E como ouvi-lo de tão longe? (Alfredo, do outro lado, apaga a última luz. Escuridão completa). Em trevas não, que tenho medo! Corre aquela cortina! . . . Sinto nas sombras adejarem as roupas frias dos fantasmas! Que entre o luar da galeria! . . . Depressa! . . . Um pesadelo! Um sonho horrível!
> Alfredo (que foi correr a cortina, recuando espavorido) --Ah!
> Luísa (correndo para ele) --Que foi? (Olhando para a direita). É sonho! . . . É pesadelo! . . . Não fui eu! . . . Não fui eu! . . . Acordem-me! Acordem-me! (Entra a Duquesa sonámbula pela galeria, vagarosamente). Perdão! Perdão! . . . (Cai).
> Alfredo (correndo para ela) --Luísa . . . É morta! Morta! . . .
> Duquesa (atravessando lentamente a galeria) --Requiem aeternum dona ei, Domine.
> José (acompanhando-a, atras, cautelosa) --Et lux perpetua luceat ei.
> (O Saturno fora continua uivando). FIM.
>
> (O Pântano, IV, 9).

This final passage is certainly one of the most interesting for its use of symbols. As he has done throughout the piece, the author repeats a phrase to set the mood at the

beginning of a scene, in this case, "um cão uivando à morte" ("a dog howling at death"). There may be more to this image, however, since the dog's name is Saturno, the god who taught the Romans agriculture, and thus in a sense means giver of life. Is Saturno then a representative of life which is howling in defiance of death? It is also possible, and more probable, that Saturno represents Cronus, the Greek equivalent of Saturn who was usually depicted as an old man with a scythe in one hand and a serpent biting its own tail in the other. This image combined with the story of Saturn's swallowing his first five children is often associated symbolically with the idea that life is created and then inevitably destroyed. First life, then death and finally eternity itself would seem to be what the image of Saturno implies. This latter interpretation of the symbol is reenforced by the closing lines in the play which are part of the prayer for the dead in a requiem mass. This sudden and dramatic appearance of a symbolic reference to the Catholic church with its age-old involvement in the affairs of men, in life, death and eternity, seems to support the symbol of the dog as Cronus.

Although most of the images in this play appear to be much more explicit than implicit, some of them (as exemplified in the final passage) are ambiguous enough to be subject to multiple interpretations. It must be remembered, however, that this play was the first of its kind in Portugal and any criticism leveled at it must be viewed in that

light. For example, the final scene will be of interest later on to suggest the more polished treatment of a symbolic ending that Câmara employed in his more balanced[43] and far more subtle play managed with symbolism, Meia Noite.

Meia Noite,[44] a three-act play, had its première in the teatro D. Amélia on January 5, 1900. Once again, a play by Câmara had an outstanding cast: Rosa Damasceno, the Rosa brothers, Eduardo Brasão, Amélia Pereira and Henrique Alves. Câmara's plays always attracted Portugal's finest actors of the period.

Both O Pântano and Meia Noite were dominated by a suggestion of some undetermined mysterious force.[45] In O Pântano, the malevolent force brought about an evil end and symbolized the macabre aspects of death. The mysterious force in Meia Noite carries very heavy religious overtones and suggests the power of achieving peace of spirit through mystical contemplation.

The importance of the religious atmosphere is established immediately by the setting for all three acts: the cathedral in Lisbon. Cathedrals were, of course, a favorite archetypal symbol of the French symbolists. In this play, the cathedral represents a haven of personal peace, supported by centuries of tradition. It also tends to provide a natural justification for muted talk and suggests the general peaceful, religious atmosphere which will pervade the play.

As in most symbolist plays, the title has a symbolic

importance. In O Pântano, the mention of a swamp or marsh immediately suggests of evil, mystery and death, for in Western culture swamps are traditionally places of foreboding. Meia Noite or "midnight" is much more ambiguous in meaning, for it is a time of darkness, and therefore, the time when evil spirits begin their mischief. On the other hand, it is a time of peace when all is quiet and the solitude in darkness permits contemplation. Midnight is also the end of one day and the beginning of another, the end of one small cycle and the start of another. The new day begins in total darkness at midnight and not with the rising of the sun at dawn. Câmara creates for the word "midnight" a complex of feeling and thought. In the first act, Romana, who has sought inner peace and tranquillity in the confines of the cathedral where she has lived for some years after a tragic love affair in her early youth, is speaking with Sursum Corda, the cathedral's bellringer. Their conversation concerns a blind woman who sits outside the church and begs. The act takes place under the roof of the cathedral immediately in front of the rooms occupied by the kindly canon and Romana:

> Romana --Nuvens que se baralham! Anseia a gente um feixe de sol, lobriga alegre um cantinho azul, e logo, como de propósito, mais farrapos afogam toda a luz, empastam-se em camadas. Mas descansa; Abril há-de chegar-lhe a vez. Só para os cegos é eterna a meia-noite.
> Sursum Corda --Sei lá! . . . Aquela ceguinha, que vem sentar-se ali defronte num portal, passa quantas horas, de mão estendida, de cabeça baixa, olhando, se aquilo se chama olhar, para a terra, que tão mal lhe quis. Mas, quando eu toco, levanta a cabeça, põe a mão no ouvido, sem querer já saber de esmolas, e atira para o céu os olhos brancos. O que vê ela? . . . Sei lá!

> Mas vê, mas vê, que logo se põe a rir, a rir, a mostrar todos os buracos pretos da boca sem dentes! O que vê ela? . . . Vão lá saber! Mas quem vê só as coisas da terra não ri nunca assim contente . . . Mas vê . . . mas vê! (Meia Noite, I, 2).

The clarity of vision afforded by blindness was a favorite symbol of Maeterlinck, also. It is the sighted who are often blind to the way while it is the blind who can often see it. When Romana says that midnight is eternal only for the blind, she is referring to those who cannot find the path they must follow for themselves through the darkness of life. April signifies the sunshine which brings an end to the long, dark winter, but it could also be the morning sun that ends the dark midnight in which we all begin every new day. Even Sursum Corda realizes that the blind woman sees something which he cannot. Is it then her path that she sees illuminated clearly in her blindness or the folly of it all? The fact that even Sursum Corda is aware of the beggar woman's vision in blindness is significant for he himself, as his name implies, is a simple man who takes pleasure from comparatively simple things like ringing the bells in the cathedral correctly.

The plot concerns the love which Crisóstomo, the cathedral organist, has come to feel for Romana. The plot is recounted very indirectly, through the symbolism of song and the music which is used to accompany it. Câmara employs the Song of Songs as the thread which connects many seemingly disparate dialogues. The first mention of the

Old Testament poem comes near the end of the first act when Crisóstomo enters the stage while Romana and the canon are talking. As the conversation progresses, he confesses to being unhappy. The characters and the audience perceive this unhappiness to be dissatisfaction with his organ playing. It is also evident from the following dialogue that he has mentioned the Song of Songs to Romana on several previous occasions:

> Crisóstomo --E nem já uma hora de quieto! O que me era refúgio mudou-se em tormento. Só me sinto bem nos altos, onde a vista me farte o espírito de saudades. Saudades . . . É um anseio doloroso, um querer fugir para uma outra vida . . . donde vim . . . alguma vez sonhada? Nem eu sei! . . . Mas todos os dias, sem falência, todos, assim me arrasto!
> Romana --Pois quede-se nos altos. Não queira deles baixar nunca pela vertente da desesperança.
> Cónego --Deus tece a vida humana de trabalhos e consolações. Há-de em tua alma, um dia, amanhecer-te uma estrela.
> Crisóstomo --Uma só na minha noite escura e tudo se iluminava!
> Romana --Reli um destes dias o Cântico dos Cânticos.
> Crisóstomo (contente) --Releu?
> Romana --Tanto nos falava dele . . . É lindo! . . . Às vezes não percebo talvez . . . Mas parecia-me sempre ouvir . . .
> Crisóstomo --Uma canção tocada nas poucas cordas da harpa hebreia, tão requintada em pureza e simplicidade, como só compô-la poderia uma arte decifradora de complicados enigmas.
> Romana --Pura e simples, era assim.
> (Meia Noite, I, 8).

Only at the end of the second act, after Romana has read the Song of Songs and Crisóstomo is playing his musical interpretation of the poem on the organ, is the audience made aware that there is something more personal in the poem for both of them. Even then, the only hint is a

slight fainting spell on her part. In fact, there is never anything except these slight but crucial hints until almost at the end of the third act when for the first time Romana and Crisóstomo are almost alone together and he declares that he loves her. It is at this point that it becomes clear that the Song of Songs is a symbol of two different things for two different people.

To Crisóstomo the Song of Songs is a love poem symbolizing his love for Romana, and also his way of telling her of it. His "midnight" in the play is one of dark turbulence and discontent which his unrequited love for her causes him. An affirmative response from her would be like the light of dawn that drives away the darkness. He makes this clear near the end of the third act:

> Crisóstomo --Foi o meu amor por ti!
> Romana --Eu bem sabia!
> Crisóstomo --Tu foste a língua de fogo que desceu sobre a minha escuridão! E por isso eu te adorei!
> Romana (Quase a deixar-se vencer) --Crisóstomo.
>
> (Meia Noite, III, 2).

The meaning of the Song of Songs to Romana, on the other hand, is closer to that of the official version of the Catholic church which interprets the poem as the love of Christ for his spouse, the Church, that will be eternal and everlasting. Romana derives inner solace from the poem, in general, despite the fact that she does love Crisóstomo or at least wavers at times in favor of his version. Her "midnight" in the play then is one of darkness also, but it is a gentle and kind darkness, a refuge representing for

her a peace of mind and tranquillity of spirit. The light or fire of Crisóstomo's love would most certainly dispel the darkness, but this darkness is precisely what she does not want to lose. His love would, in effect, consume her peaceful world with a "língua de fogo." She must choose between joy and serenity, and states this quite clearly in her reply to Crisóstomo's question concerning the purity of their possible mutual love, "Sei que pode uma alegria destruir a felicidade." By "felicidade" Romana means the serenity of spirit she has come to enjoy in the womb of the cathedral. Her interpretation of the thematic symbol is very clear at the end. In this final scene, the canon has returned and Crisóstomo has left for the evning:

> Cónego (De dentro do quarto, chamando) --Romana! . . . Que horas serão?
> Romana --Deve ser tarde. Não se ouve um sussurro sequer! Dorme a cidade. Noite negra, noite de imensa paz! Apenas, lá muito longe, um quase indistinto palor no Tejo, como de fogo fátuo esboroado, e o mais tudo é negro . . . negro . . . Tudo é negro e tudo é sereno! (A primeira badalada da meia noite soa gravemente. Romana diz muito alto para o Cónego:) Meia-noite! (Fecha a janela e vem até junto da mesa onde está o candeeiro. Pára um instante. Corre-lhe o corpo um calafrio e diz baixinho:) Meia-noite! (Pega no candeeiro e dirige-se devagarinho para o quarto, cantando em voz muito baixa, melancòlicamente, como fora da própria vontade, os últimos compassos da música de Crisóstomo).
> (Dão as últimas badaladas vagarosas já depois de caído o pano). FIM
> (Meia Noite, III, 7).

In symbolist drama it is, of course, the symbols which are of paramount importance while the characterization and plot are subordinate to them. This does not mean that either of the latter is unimportant in the overall design of

a play. Câmara developed both the characters and the plot, although indirectly in each case, very subtly through the use of symbols.

The conclusion, for example, is exquisitely ambiguous solely because of Romana's manner in uttering twice her final word, the title of the play. First she tells the canon that it is "midnight," a straightforward, factual statement. The second and final time she mentions the word, a tremor runs through her body and she leaves the stage, softly singing part of Crisóstomo's music. Is her "midnight" really so secure or is it to be burned away by a "tongue of fire"? Is the tremor an indication that she has put Crisóstomo's love out of her life forever? There is, of course, no answer to these questions, but the reader is aware that he has witnessed a very sophisticated and ambiguous ending. Unlike the close-ended denouement in O Pântano, Câmara invites the reader in Meia Noite to contemplate the future of Romana and Crisóstomo as well as the importance that Romana's final decision will have on each one's destiny.

Portuguese drama was, during this period, a very popular medium both with authors and theatergoers alike, but unfortunately, neither seemed to comprehend too well or too often what was happening before their very eyes. Symbolist drama in Portugal began and ended with D. João da Câmara. As Picchio correctly points out, it was Eugénio de Castro (1869-1944) who initiated the type of symbolistic drama which was followed by other authors.[46] Castro and his fol-

lowers were primarily poets and it is difficult to determine which of their works are dramatic poems and which are poetic dramas.[47] Câmara had a more lasting influence on realism in Portugal. His realistic dialogue and plot structure would slowly be adopted by other Portuguese dramatists. However, when there was a political or social point to be made in a play, the verbose and sententious style of the thesis play held sway as if realistic dialogue had never been created. Even Câmara himself went on to write such sentimental pot-boilers as Casamento e Mortalha (1904).

In conclusion, we have seen that Câmara's realistic drama, while certainly quite inferior to Ibsen's, was of high caliber and the first of its kind in Portugal. His symbolist drama, when it was bad, was no worse than that of Maeterlinck, but when it was good, such as Meia Noite, it was just as good.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gracio, op. cit., p. 51.

2. Castro, op. cit., p. 91.

3. Costa Dias, op. cit., p. 14.

4. Ibid., p. 153.

5. Ibid., p. 253.

6. Ibid., pp. 251-52.

7. A. José Saraiva and Óscar Lopes, História da Literatura Portuguesa (5th ed.; Porto, Editora, 1959), p. 983.

8. Rebello, op. cit., Preface, xxxvi.

9. Émile Zola, Le Naturalisme au Théâtre (Paris, 1881), p. 18.

10. Quoted by Rebello, op. cit., Preface, xxxvi-xxxvii.

11. Saviotti, "Teoria . . . de Garrett . . . ," p. 146.

12. Beckerman, op. cit., pp. 173-74.

13. Saviotti, op. cit., pp. 147-48.

14. Bekcerman, op. cit., p. 164.

15. William York Tindall, The Literary Symbol (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), pp. 19-20.

16. Ibid., pp. 266-67.

17. Câmara, O Pântano (Lisbon, 1894).

18. Rebello, op. cit., Preface, liii.

19. Saviotti, op. cit., pp. 143-44.

20. Ibid., p. 144.

21. Joel Serrão, "Sobre o Romance de Júlio Lourenço Pinto e Abel Botelho" in Estrada Larga, I, 471.

22. Abel Botelho, Jucunda (Lisbon, 1895).

23. Inocêncio, op. cit., XX, 66-67 and 306; XXII, 503.

24. Ibid., XXII, 503.

25. Beckerman, op. cit., p. 173.

26. Ibid., pp. 173-74.

27. Saviotti, op. cit., p. 147.

28. Fonseca, op. cit., pp. 194-95.

29. Rebello, op. cit., Preface, xlv.

30. Ibid., xlvi.

31. Câmara, Triste Viuvinha (Paris, 1899).

32. Saraiva and Lopes, op. cit., p. 987.

33. Rebello, op. cit., I, 144.

34. Beckerman, op. cit., p. 219.

35. Ibid., p. 173.

36. Thomas F. Van Laan, The Idiom of Drama (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 65.

37. Tindall, op. cit., p. 130.

38. Ibid., p. 263.

39. Marcel Postic, Maeterlinck et le Symbolisme (Paris: Editions A. G. Nizet, 1970), pp. 112-13.

40. Picchio, op. cit., p. 288.

41. Maurice Maeterlinck, Théâtre (3 vols.; Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1929), I, Preface, vii-viii.

42. Picchio, op. cit., pp. 291-92.

43. Rebello, op. cit., Preface, liii.

44. Câmara, Meia Noite (3rd ed.; Lisbon: Guimaraes Editores, 1953).

45. Saraiva and Lopes, op. cit., p. 988.

46. Picchio, op. cit., pp. 291-92.

47. Ibid., p. 422.

CHAPTER EIGHT

A CONTINUATION OF NATURALISTIC DRAMA IN PORTUGAL

A. Introduction--A Variety of Subgenres in the Theater

We shall continue our study of naturalistic drama in Portugal. However, starting in the eighteen-nineties, Portuguese theater experienced a virtual renaissance. Never before had the theater-going public such a varied choice of subgenres: historical plays, comedies of manners, farces and dramatic poems as well as naturalistic plays. Not to mention even in passing some of these other subgenres would leave an erroneous impression.

1. The Historical Drama, the Dramatic Poem and Comedy

a. Historical Drama

The historical drama in its diverse forms, and particularly in verse, made its reappearance as an important theatrical form with the play, O Duque de Viseu (1886) by Lopes de Mendonça. He followed this play with A Morta (1900) among others. Mendonça's first play inspired other dramatists to compose historical dramas: Leonor Teles (1889) and and O Regente (1897) by Marcelino Mesquita; Alfonso VI (1890), Alcácer-Quibir (1891) and O Beijo do Infante (1898) by D. João da Câmara. The list of historical plays and of

the playwrights who wrote them is a long one which often included dramatists such as the three mentioned above, who were composing naturalist dramas at the same time. It is rather astonishing that some of these playwrights honestly considered their historical dramas to be their most lasting contributions to Portuguese drama. As Mendonça himself wrote:

> . . . foi no teatro que se tornou mais saliente o meu labor literário. Foi principalmente o passado de Portugal a fonte dos meus mais incontestados triunfos. Atarei, entre eles, A Morta (1890), na qual evoquei o idílio trágico da linda Inês . . . [1]

Part of this popularity was due, no doubt, to the revival of the historical drama in verse in France, particularly by Edmond Rostand in his enormously successful Cyrano de Bergerac (1897). One cannot help wondering, however, if part of this extensive revival of the historical drama did not in some degree derive from the hostility shown by the public toward anyone who dared to vary from the patterns of the past. Offering the public anything but the tried and true was often the surest way to incur the wrath of the critics. There was good reason then for a dramatist to exercise caution, as exemplified by this typical critical opinion of Júlio César Machado (1835-1890):

> " . . . os tempos em que ninguém discute as artes são talvez os melhores para eles . . . Definições, análises, teorias escritas no papel, não passam de receitas para doentes!"[2]

The revival of the historical drama followed with only slight variation the Romantic model outlined more than fifty

years earlier by Victor Hugo.[3] Beside the lack of theoretical criticism in Portugal and the obvious sort of intellectual competition that seemed to exist among the writers of historical dramas, there was also a middle-class, theater-going audience that was for various reasons quite willing and even eager to accept this subgenre from the past. For example, there was a great fondness for traditionalism, although a bit decadent, in the rural middle class. In the mind of the urban petit bourgeois the historical drama was linked to the territorial expansion of Portugal in Africa, which had become the new Brazil. In both cases there was no little influence of the patriotic Sebastianismo discussed in Frei Luís de Sousa by Garrett. In short, the historical drama (as well as the historical novel) had never really lost favor with a large segment of the Portuguese public.[4]

b. Comedy

Two dramatists who must be mentioned in connection with the revival of comedy in Portugal are Eduardo Schwalbach and Gervásio Lobato. Schwalbach revived the comedy with which he entertained theater-goers in Lisbon for more than fifty years. Two of his most famous comedies are A Senhora Ministra (1898), an ingenuous political satire, and A Bisbilhoteira (1900), a comedy of contemporary manners. A Bisbilhoteira, according to Schwalbach's own account, was written in only three days, and, when he finally perfected his standard formula for his comedies later in his career, he was able to produce with ease and regularity at least two comedies a

month for many years.[5] Gervásio Lobato used the Teatro Ginásio as the headquarters for such comedies as O Festim de Baltasar (1892) which entertained the middle class and depicted contemporary life and manners in Lisbon. His comedies were more like true farces than Schwalbach's. In style and purpose Lobato's comedies were quite reminiscent of those of Martins Pena in Brazil. Unlike Brazil's tradition of the farce or realistic comedy, beginning with Pena, the farces of Lobato were somewhat of an innovation in Portugal. However, Lobato's farces were influenced by those of Labiche and Feydeau in France during the same period[6] rather than by those of any Brazilian writer.

c. The Dramatic Poem

Brief mention must be made again of Eugénio de Castro, whose dramatic poems, rather than the symbolist plays of Câmara, were the symbolic works that influenced such later writers, all poets, as Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935), Antônio Patrício (1878-1930) and Raul Brandão (1867-1930). In 1894, the same year the public rejected the première of O Pântano, Castro published the first of his dramatic poems, Belkiss, Rainha de Sabrá, de Axum e do Himiar, never produced on stage but made into an opera in 1924. In fact, not one of his works was ever staged and because of their overall structure, far closer to that of a dialogue poem than that of a play, one must agree with Rebello when he states that they were not written with the purpose of being produced nor would they support such an undertaking.[7]

2. Naturalistic Drama

In dealing with the Portuguese interpretation of naturalism, one must keep in mind the major change in viewpoint that took place in the area of theme. Instead of viewing the aristocracy as a decadent obstacle in the path of the rightly-deserved success of the middle class as occurred in the thesis play, themes were chosen to show the faults and shortcomings of the middle class itself. Such themes covered a wide range of topics: from Abel Botelho's Jucunda dealing with the middle-class decadence in the portrayal of a "liberated woman" and Dor Suprema[8] (1895) concerning suicide possibly caused by economic factors, and Almas Doentes[9] (1905) involving the problem of hereditary insanity, both by Marcelino Mesquita, to such plays as O Azebre[10] (1909) criticizing upper middle-class hypocrisy, and Nó Cégo[11] (1905) dealing with the question of divorce by Lopes de Mendonça. Although chronologically one of the first dramatists of this period, Mendonça appeared to be one of those least affected by naturalism.[12] Certainly, he was one of the last, for his play Nó Cego is almost an exact replica in theme and style of the Portuguese thesis play, particularly Os Lazaristas. In 1899 he wrote a play, O Amor Louco, which except for the setting, would be hard to distinguish from many Romantic plays. One play to be dealt with in this chapter, Sabina Freire[13] (1905) by Manuel Teixeira-Gomes (1860-1941) is unique in its naturalistic analysis of a pathological female character.

As for class consciousness or problems, real or imaginary, it was not until Manuel Laranjeira wrote Amanhã in 1902 that the proletariat made its first appearance in the drama of this period.[14] This was not the first time, however, that a proletarian was the main protagonist in a social drama. One recalls that Ernesto Biester attempted the same thing in Os Operários in 1865.

It must be repeated that when we examine Portuguese drama of the last century, such factors as the absence of good critical theory and the dislike of critics and public alike for innovation prevented total comprehension on the part of Portuguese dramatists of any new European dramatic ideas. For example, even the most accomplished dramatist of the period, D. João da Câmara, used the aside in Triste Viuvinha, a technique which was a bit out of place in this realistic play. Thus it was that, while the theme often changed to the middle class examining itself, the plots, the language and other techniques employed were often the same as in the thesis play and in some cases the ultraromantic dramas, complete with a love plot, a definitive ending, rhetorical language and asides to the audience.

Naturalist plays maintained the temporal and spatial unities. Although there was no absolute rule concerning the unities, a naturalist play usually began just prior to the climax and avoided any abrupt change of locale. However, naturalist dramatists in Portugal often ignored both techniques. For example, in Dor Suprema the action takes place

during an indefinite, but extended, period of time. As late as 1909, the plot of Mendonça's O Azebre covers slightly more than four months. Changes in locale were also common. The plots of Dor Suprema and O Azebre are good examples of radical shift of scene. It should be mentioned, however, that Mesquita observed both temporal and spatial unity in his later naturalist play, Almas Doentes.

Perhaps the greatest deficiency of Portuguese dramatists, a result of the absence of theoretical comprehension, was their continued reliance on "literary style." Sometimes playwrights used natural, conversational language throughout an entire play, only to lapse into stilted dialogue at critical moments. Mesquita, for instance, devised relatively natural speech in Dor Suprema until the very end. In the final death scene, he reverts to very artificial, Romantic speech. The same can be said of Sabina Freire. When the play reaches its denouement, Sabina, the female protagonist, recites long monologues filled with gratuitous background material and arcane references. At other times, in such plays as Amanhã and Nó Cego, which is nothing more than an old-fashioned thesis play, long rhetorical monologues form the basis for the dialogue.

There were also several new types of characters created during the period. Sabina Freire has a unique psychopathic personality never before seen in Portuguese drama. The vagabundo in Amanhã is as close to a true dramatic representative of the working class as appeared in nineteenth century

Portugal. Finally, Fidélio, the main protagonist in O Azebre, is depicted as having a greater range of emotions throughout the play than was usual in character portrayals by naturalist Portuguese dramatists, and is one of the best-rounded characters created during the period.

The often topsy-turvy world of Portuguese drama at this time comes into still better perspective if one keeps in mind the fact that the principal agent for change was really the actor. It was such Portuguese actors as Eduardo Brasão, the Rosa brothers, Rosa Damasceno (all of whom it will be remembered were in many of Câmara's realistic and symbolist plays) as well as French and Italian theatrical companies, who by performing the best of contemporary European drama, forced, little by little, a change in the thinking of the critics themselves, the theater-going public and even the playwrights.[15]

B. Marcelino Mesquita--Continuation of Naturalism: Suicide, Hereditary Insanity

Like several other Portuguese playwrights studied in these last two chapters, especially Câmara and Lopes de Mendonça, Mesquita's work was an odd combination of contemporary and past dramatic trends and currents.

His play, Peraltas e Sécias (1899), set in the royal court in the eighteenth century, is a very important contribution to Portuguese theater. It is an historical comedy of manners, and was, quite aside from being considered today one of his best plays, instrumental in preparing the way and

setting the tone for contemporary comedies of manners in Portugal.[16] In style, this comedy is reminiscent of Oscar Wilde, full of clever and sarcastic wit.

Mesquita was very important also in naturalist drama; he was, indeed, one of its earliest and most faithful exponent.[17] However, unlike Abel Botelho who was a champion of the same cause, Mesquita was a very competent dramatist, at least within the confines of Portuguese drama. True to the naturalist school, his plays usually dealt with only one principal subject and always in its starkest, most morbid light. For instance, in Dor Suprema Mesquita depicted the psychological deterioration of a young couple plagued by personal tragedy and grinding poverty. In Almas Doentes he was concerned, as was Ibsen in Ghosts (1881), with the problem of hereditary insanity. In both plays the plot is very simple, there are few characters, and the settings are as cheerless as Mesquita's relentless pursuit of the subject in question. The dramatist's main fault, perhaps, was to allow his characters to lapse into Romantic rhetoric at climactic moments.

Marcelino António da Silva Mesquita was born in Cartaxo on September 1, 1856. He began his secondary schooling in the Liceu de Santarém and completed it in the Escola Politecnica. Mesquita continued his higher education and graduated with honors from the Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Lisboa in 1885. His medical training would make itself felt in some of his plays such as Almas Doentes which dealt, as al-

ready mentioned, with the problem of hereditary insanity. In politics the author was a long-time deputy in the Cortes. In 1919, at what was perhaps the apogee of his career, he was the chief representative of a Portuguese cultural mission to Brazil. Mesquita collaborated in many literary and political journals and was the founder of the periodical Portugal as well as the weekly Comédia Portuguesa. It is of interest to note also that his very first play, Leonor Teles, was written expressly to be performed by the students of the medical school in a benefit for the poorer students. Later, in 1889, it was produced in the Teatro de D. Maria II with some modifications. Marcelino Mesquita died in 1919.[18]

Dor Suprema, a three-act play, had its première in the Teatro de D. Maria II on December 27, 1895, and was Mesquita's first major effort in the naturalist tradition; its subtitle, Uma Tragédia Burguesa, is significant. The play deals with the psychological deterioration and financial ruin of a lower middle-class couple, Júlia and António, following the death of their baby.

Since this play was a very early attempt at naturalism in Portugal, its plot structure reflects more of an affinity to Romanticism than to naturalism. Although naturalism employed, as Beckerman calls it, the "intensive mode"[19] which relies upon temporal and spatial unity to the greatest extent possible, and an effort is made to begin a play as close to the climax as possible, to avoid radical change of locale, Mesquita does just the opposite.

In Dor Suprema, the plot extends over a very long period of time. Just how long cannot be determined exactly but the plot itself makes it very clear that it is considerable. In the first act Júlia and António's only child is dying. The second act takes place long after when a mysterious Dama appears to give the couple ten thousand réis (about ten dollars) and then disappears just as mysteriously. In the third act still more time has passed.

There is also a radical change of locale between the first and second act. The first act takes place in the couple's middle-class home while the second act is situated in a miserable attic apartment which now serves as their home. Even though the third act takes place in the same setting as the second, its obviously deteriorated state shows that some time has passed between the acts. It would be of interest to see the setting for the second act to demonstrate another point in which Mesquita tends to be more Romantic than naturalistic:

> Uma saleta de mansarda, que serve de quarto de dormir e de casa de jantar. De móveis apenas um leito, um baú, uma mesa e duas cadeiras, em mau estado. O fato dos dois indica miséria, ainda com uma aparência de arranjo. Júlia usa o cabelo mal seguro, que lhe cai continuamente, António o cabelo descurado e a barba por fazer. Emagrecidos ambos, doentes. Nota: António está, e revela-se um pouco, dementado: fraqueza, irresolução . . .
>
> (Dor Suprema, II, Stage Setting).

Before a word of dialogue is spoken, the viewer knows that there has occurred, most certainly, a change for the worse in the couple's economic status and, most probably, in

their mental state. However, the important point is that the audience does not witness the process of their decline, which is shown instead as a fait accompli. The dialogue then, when the couple begin to speak in the first scene, is used to confirm the deterioration rather than to reveal it, and the revelation is, of course, a crux of naturalism. For all intents and purposes, one is witnessing basically in Dor Suprema the same type of plot structure that Mendes Leal used in Pedro in 1849. Of course, each dramatist had a far different goal in mind, but each structured his play in the same manner. One recalls that Leal wanted to show the moral decline of the heroine's aristocratic father who was but a mere shadow in the play. In both cases, however, the shift in each succeeding act to a more dismal locale showed what had already happened in the long interval between the acts, rather than tracing the decline during the act itself.

The presentation of the characters, as would stand to reason, follows the same basic pattern as the plot structure. The couple is not shown as gradually declining but rather on three different levels. In the first act the couple is both sad and anxious because of the impending death of their child. In the second act, Júlia is already a bit mad and António is quite unnerved. In the third act, they have gone a step further and are contemplating suicide by opening the gas jets, which actually comes about at the end of the play. With reference to characterization, it must be noted also that this is one of the first plays since Frei Luís de Sousa

in which a woman has had even a half-way major, challenging and intelligent role. Following Garrett, heroines were almost always relegated to the role of pretty but ingenuous creatures. Botelho gave his female protagonist an important place in Jucunda, although it could hardly be considered challenging to an actress. However, in Dor Suprema the role of the female protagonist is equally as important as that of the male protagonist. It should be mentioned also that the number of characters is kept to a minimum; there are four other characters in the play with only minor supporting roles and they do not even have names: uma Dama, um Senhorio, um Médico and uma Criada. Each appears only briefly and their conversations serve mainly as a counterpoint to the main one that goes on between Júlia and António, for they never appear together on stage and therefore speak only singly to the two main protagonists.

If the temporal and spatial unities are not those of the typical naturalist drama and the revelation of character is not a gradually unfolding process, the style and language are certainly to be commended. Considering that the tradition of inflated and pedantic dialogue in Portuguese drama was almost the only model Mesquita had, the dialogue in Dor Suprema is relatively simple and conversational. Mesquita was influenced, no doubt, by the colloquial speech which Câmara introduced in Os Velhos, written two years previously. The sentences in Dor Suprema are relatively short and have a simple word order. The speech is colloquial and the voca-

bulary commonplace. If the dialogue does not always serve to bring out character--the audience has been forewarned of what to expect--at least it remains for the most part in character. The subject being discussed appears to develop naturally from the conversation rather than being forced into it as in the case of the typical thesis play. Here, for example, is a conversation dealing with the couple's abject poverty and the Dama's offer of money:

> António (magoadão) --Mas eu não peço esmola. Júlia! Não pedimos . . .
> Júlia --Por isso chegamos a isto.
> António --Pois é por a não pedir. Se eu quisesse pedir esmola não tinha vendido tudo que tínhamos, empenhado os últimos trapos . . . que, demais, eram os fatos da criança.
> Júlia --Nisso cairemos, mais dia menos dia! (Nervosa).
> António --Porquê?
> Júlia --Porquê? Eu não posso trabalhar.
> António --Trabalharei eu.
> Júlia --Tu? Aonde?
> António --Há-de vir.
> Júlia --Há-de! Há seis meses que chega todos os dias e nunca aparece! Não pedimos esmola hoje, havemos de pedi-la daqui a dois dias.
> António --São menos dois dias de vergonha.
> Júlia --Ora adeus. Pobre e soberbo!
> António --Não é soberba. Tu não achas que é a última desgraça pedir esmola! Não fui criado para isso! . . .
> Júlia --Nem eu.
> António --Bem sei. E aí é que está a vergonha. Em casa dos meus, houve sempre pão. Trabalhava-se. Não se era rico, mas vivia-se satisfeito com o que havia . . . e havia de sobejo. Mas pedir esmola. (Cai em meditação funda).
> Júlia --Não é agradável; mas a ter de se pedir, tanto faz hoje como amanhã. Não é por falta de vontade de trabalhar . . . é por necessidade . . . então . . .
> António --Nem se é homem. É uma vergonha. Um homem novo viver de esmolas! (Chora).
> Júlia --Tu choras?! Oh! O maricas! Um homem que chora! Eu sou uma mulher . . . e não choro, eu! Para que serve chorar? Não se vive de lágri-

mas . . . ninguém as compra.
António --Tu tens razão, eu devo ter coragem.
(Dor Suprema, II, 4).

Mesquita maintained this natural, conversational style on a fairly uniform level throughout almost the entire play. This was true even when he created scenes meant to engender great emotional response: the death of an infant, the couple's eviction from their hovel and the degradation involved in discussing a suicide pact. Unfortunately, the only time that Mesquita goes astray is at the very end, the death scene itself. Since the ending of a play is what tends to remain uppermost in the minds of the audience and critics alike, the importance of Mesquita's play tends to be overlooked. It must be admitted, however, that the conclusion reminds one a great deal of the Romantic endings in the novels of Camilo Castelo Branco. Here, the gas is having its final, deadly effect:

Júlia --Não vês? (Aponta o tecto) Não vês?
António --O quê?
Júlia --O céu! Como é bonito! Como é bonito! Não vês António? O senhor vai passar. Como ele vem! Que majestade. A túnica branca a luzir . . . os santos! Olha os papas, os bispos! (Vai seguindo com o olhar alucinado a descrição) Ah! que linda, que linda! Nossa Senhora, vestida de azul . . . o manto de ouro . . . cercada de estrelas . . . ih! de anjos . . . tantos anjos . . . tantos? Tão brancos, tão brancos . . . Oh! Ela! Ela! Ela! . . . a nossa filha! (Ergue-se, abre os braços, cai, morrendo, olhando o céu).
António --Júlia! (Agita-a) Júlia! Oh! Está a morrer! Está a morrer! É horroroso! A minha cabeça estala! (Faz esforços por se levantar) Falta-me o ar . . . custa muito . . . ar . . . (Tenta levantar-se e cai com a cabeça sobre o peito de Júlia! Morre). FIM
(Dor Suprema, III, Final Scene).

The Romantic ending should not detract from the other-

wise uniform use of colloquial language nor the relatively good character analysis in the play. It should also be said in Mesquita's favor that while his treatment of the theme was very depressing, it was also relentless. Perhaps, the most frustrating legacy of the thesis play in Portugal (but not Brazil) for the modern reader, was the fact that the theme was almost never integrated into and carried to the end of the play, but rather, was somehow lost or discarded enroute with the Romantic, boy-meets-girl plot coming to sole prominence. The only real exception to this was Enes' Os Lazaristas. Whatever the stylistic shortcomings of Dor Suprema, a failure to base the entire work on the intended theme is not one of them.

But Dor Suprema was not the only naturalist play in which Mesquita dealt with character analysis. In 1905, he wrote a two-act play, Almas Doentes, which reflected his medical training and also the influence of Ibsen's Ghosts (1881). In this case Mesquita analyzes the possibility of hereditary insanity, specifically transmission from father to daughter. The author was always interested professionally in the workings of the mind, and his medical thesis, presented to the Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Lisboa in 1885 was entitled Histeria. In it he wrote:

> Hoje, em que o milagre saiu do campo do possível, para entrar na mitologia das edades, filha da ignorância, nós em vez de a reconhecermos como santa, conhecemo-la, apenas, como Luísa--a histérica.
>
> Não vamos procurar o êxtase aos misteriosos recursos da divinidade e limitamo-nos a interrogar a misteriosa inervação patológica, obrando

desconhecidamente, no segredo dos organismos.[20]

The Luísa mentioned above was one Luísa Lateau, who had weekly fits for seven years starting in 1868 and to whom Mesquita devotes quite a few pages in his thesis. Perhaps, it is no coincidence that the daughter in Almas Doentes, who little by little is shown as going mad, is also named Luísa.

Almas Doentes had its première in the Teatro de D. Maria II on April 28, 1905. There are only five main characters: Manuel, the father; Júlia, the mother; Luísa, their daughter; João, her fiancé, and the doctor. There are also a maid and a male servant. In this play, unlike in Dor Suprema, the dramatist respects the temporal and spatial unities common to naturalist drama. The play has a late "point-of-attack"[21] which gives it a concentrated structural pattern. The first act takes place in the morning and the second act in the evening. Both acts occur in the same locale, the living room in Manuel's upper middle-class house. By concentrating on the late point-of-attack and the same locale, Mesquita is able to reveal, little by little, the personalities of his protagonists and the mental problem they must face, rather than merely confirming a situation as an already accomplished fact.

The author wastes no time in integrating the theme of the play into the plot, for Manuel's opening lines indicate that something is bothering him which has to do with his father:

Manuel (só) --Apre! Que raiva de pensamento!

> Há pensamentos bem teimosos, bem estúpidos. De certo . . . há!
>
> Tudo é felicidade, à roda de mim; nada me apoquenta . . . nada me falta . . . e porque me veio à idéia o que aconteceu a meu pai . . .
>
> Que aborrecimento!
>
> O ter-lhe acontecido a ele quer dizer que me aconteça, por força, a mim? (Fica pensativo).
>
> Mas . . .
>
> Que tolice! (pretende alegrar-se) De resto, é facil de experimentar. Sinto-me bem? perfeitamente. Não sei o que digo, o que faço?
>
> É facil de ver. (Pega num livro e lê, segundos, murmurando) Compreendo perfeitamente, alcanço perfeitamente o sentido.
>
> Fiz alguma coisa de anormal, hoje, em todo o dia? Fiz o que costumo fazer até ao jantar . . . jantei e vim acender o meu charuto . . . Ah! eis o que me esqueceu . . . Um esquecimento . . . tive-os sempre . . .
>
> (Almas Doentes, II, 1).

Manuel goes on a bit more and then Luísa enters to interrupt his monologue. The audience has been given a vague hint of the theme which is then revealed little by little until in the middle of the first act the doctor, who has come on a social visit, discloses the fate of Manuel's father while discussing Manuel himself with his wife and daughter:

> Doutor --É rico; mas as despesas que faz não correspondem à sua fortuna. Há dias fiz-lhe no Club uma observação de amigo; respondeu-me sorrindo: "posso gastar o dobro." Ao alegre sucedeu o melancólico; ao regrado, sensato, o maníaco das grandezas. Estes pequenos nadas são sintomas terríveis, quando vem como herança.
>
> Luísa --Como herança? (Fica pensativa, profundamente).
>
> Doutor (A D. Júlia) --Lembre-se de seu sogro.
>
> Júlia --Que se matou.
>
> Doutor --Que enlouqueceu. Matou-se sem razão; vivia bem, era feliz.
>
> Júlia --Dizem que por causa de uma mulher.
>
> Doutor --Disseram. Há, porém, um facto terrível, é que ao pai tinha acontecido a mesma coisa. (Luísa tem um estremecimento que domina).
>
> (Almas Doentes, I).

The doctor's speech is a crucial revelation in the plot action for it is hinted that from this point forward the hereditary insanity will involve not only the father, but also Luísa. The tremor which goes through Luísa shows that she may be aware all this somehow involves her. The central focus of the play then is on Luísa's growing awareness of her possible insanity, which today would probably be diagnosed as a type of schizophrenia. Her father seems at times to be aware of his deteriorating mental condition but the truth comes only in brief glimpses such as his closing line for the first act, "Ah! Se eu estou, realmente, doido!" Luísa, however, because of the conversations she has heard concerning her paternal ancestors and from what she has gleaned from observing her father's behavior, concludes that she will suffer the same end. The climactic moment in the play, but not its ending, comes when she reveals to her father that they both are, or soon will be, hopelessly insane:

> Luísa --Diz-me uma coisa, meu pai: tu casarias com uma mulher, como eu?
> Manuel --Como tu? Mil vezes.
> Luísa --Tu casarias com uma . . . doida?
> Manuel (espanto, choque) --Hein?
> Luísa --De hoje . . . de amanhã . . . (o pai olha-a pasmado) Tu bem o sabes, meu querido pai; é a marca da família . . . uma condenação iníqua . . . fatal!
> Manuel --Que estás tu a dizer? Tu deliras? Isso não e verdade. Tu não és, não serás, nunca, uma doida!
> Luísa --Hei-de ser . . . como tu és!
> Manuel (Terror) --Eu? Eu sou doido? . . . Que fiz? Que faço para que alguém me julgue assim? Tenho todo o meu juízo, toda a minha razão! . . . Que horror! Mas diz-me, minha filha, que idéia se te meteu na cabeça? É tua? Alguém ta disse? Se é tua, como é que, dos meus actos,

a pudesse ter?
Luísa --Não te canses com perguntas, meu pai . . . (Almas Doentes, II, 4).

Luísa and Manuel come to an understanding that the best solution to their problem is suicide, the same solution the main characters in Dor Suprema had chosen. In Almas Doentes, however, the author has not constructed his play so as to make the suicide the apogean climax of the plot action, and thus he avoids the somewhat Romantic type of death scene in Dor Suprema. In Almas Doentes, the couple's suicide by poison, which ends the play, is done in a very low-key, much in keeping with the rest of the play:

> Manuel --Ei-lo. (Vão ao sofá) Aqui. (Luísa senta-se, afasta os cabelos, compõe o vestido) Estás pronta?
> Luísa --Estou . . . Apaga um pouco a luz, aflige os olhos.
> Manuel (diminue a luz) --Está bem?
> Luísa --Está (ajeitam-se).
> Manuel --Pega no teu copo.
> Luísa --Dá-mo.
> Manuel --Não; toma-o, tu. (Estendem os braços. Pegam nos copos. Bebem).
> Luísa --Não sabe a nada. (Põe o copo na mesa).
> Manuel --Uma coisa . . . (Aconchegam-se).
> Luísa --Estás bem?
> Manuel --Estou. (Os olhares turvam-se: as mãos procuram-se).
> Luísa --Pai?
> Manuel --Que é?
> Luísa --Cai-me a cabeça! (O pai encosta-lha ao ombro) Se não nos vir-mos mais . . . dá-me um beijo! (Dá-lho. Luísa morre).
> Manuel --Morta! (Tem movimentos desconexos; mas claros. Empalidece, deitando a cabeça para trás, nas costas do sofá) Como é bom morrer! Como é bom morrer! (Olhos e boca abertos para o alto, morre. No silêncio; o pano desce lentamente).
> (Almas Doentes, II, Final Scene).

This closing passage shows again that Mesquita has kept

the language relatively simple and conversational. The sentences are short and no character dominates the stage with long monologue, despite such emotional moments as the passage cited above, which might have lent themselves quite easily to overemotional and artificial speech. Mesquita demonstrates most ably that dialogue can be emotional and yet simple.

What Mesquita accomplished with the psychological character analysis in this play was to add a new dimension to Portuguese drama. Dor Suprema and Almas Doentes were, perhaps, the most clinically analytical of any of the plays in the naturalist trend in Portugal and they made other dramatists aware of the possibility of greater analytical depth in character. In both plays the suicide endings lent a new, stark realism to dramatic presentation. Suicide, of course, was nothing new to Portuguese drama. Garrett employed it, for instance, as far back as his neoclassical play, Catão (1821), but there it concerned a point of honor. The ultra romantics used a form of suicide in their plays when characters merely expired, but for the most part, it was not so much a case of actual suicide as a death wish fulfilled. Such "suicide," however, was not confined solely to drama. Many of the characters in the novels of Camilo Castelo Branco commented on or attempted suicide, as was mentioned earlier with regard to the similarity between the ending of Dor Suprema and a Camilo novel.

C. Manuel Laranjeira--Amanhã--Social Content--The Proletariat

In Dor Suprema it was never made quite clear whether the young husband lost his job as a result of his psychological deterioration or because he was the victim of an economic situation beyond his control. It was left to Manuel Laranjeira to introduce an avowed political significance into the naturalist drama in Portugal.

Manuel Laranjeira attempted to add a new, socio-political dimension to naturalist drama in Portugal with his play, Amanhã, published in 1902, and subtitled Prólogo Dramático. The play deals with the cruel, apparently inescapable plight of the proletariat in Portugal. This was not the first play dealing with the working classes, for it will be remembered that a proletarian was a protagonist in Ernesto Biester's play, Os Operários in 1865. However, there is an important qualitative difference in the treatment of both workers by the authors. Biester carefully avoided even the slightest hint of any disharmony or discontent between the middle class and the proletariat. One recalls that his worker spoke in glowing terms of how by hard work and sacrifice he would become a member in good standing of the bourgeoisie, and in effect, reflected bourgeois ideology. Laranjeira's worker on the other hand, without mincing words, states in stark, although at times rhetorical style, the unfairness of the social system and the workers' unhappy lot.

Manuel Fernandes Laranjeira was born in the small town of Vergada (Vila da Feira) on August 17, 1877. Like Mesqui-

ta, he was a medical doctor, having graduated from the Escola Médico-Cirúrgica do Porto. Unlike any of the previous naturalist playwrights studied, Laranjeira produced little in any genre. He completed only two plays in his lifetime: Amanhã (1902), which was full length, and Às Feras (1905). In addition, he left an unpublished farce, Naquele Engano de Alma, and Alma Romântica, an unpublished three-act play. The only work of poetry published during his lifetime was Comigo (1912) subtitled Versos de um Solitário, although several more poetic works were published long after his death. Laranjeira wrote learned articles on medicine such as "A Doença da Santidade: Ensaio Psico-Patológico sobre o Misticismo de Forma Religiosa" (1907) and "A 'Cartilha Maternal' e a Fisiologia: Ensaio Médico Biológico sobre o Valor Educativo do Método de João de Deus aplicado ao Ensino da Leitura" (1909). The author also contributed to a variety of learned journals including O Teatro Português, A Revista Musical, A Arte e A Vida, A Ilustração Popular, A Arte, O Porto Médico, O Jornal de Notícias, A Voz Pública, O Norte and A Pátria. At the age of only thirty-four, Laranjeira committed suicide in Espinho on February 22, 1912.[22]

Amanhã was published in 1902. However, it was not produced until March 6, 1904 in the Teatro Príncipe Real. It was the inaugural performance sponsored by the "Teatro Livre," the Portuguese version of the "Théâtre Libre" that had been founded by André Antoine in Paris in 1887. There had been a series of political lectures headed by Teófilo

Braga which had laid the theoretical groundwork for the "Teatro Livre," but it was, perhaps, a visit to Lisbon in 1903 by Antoine himself and his repertory company enroute to the New World, which gave real impetus to the practical application of the theoretical discussions. The best definition of the goals of the group was given by Ernesto da Silva (1868-1903), one of its leading members, as being to "transformar pela Arte, redimir pela Educação."[23] With only a slightly different change in social context this definition could have been taken from Almeida Garrett.

Both the title of this one-act play, Amanhã (tomorrow) and the fact that it was a "prologue" strengthen the theme, which is the unhappy lot of the working class and the extremes to which it is driven by the despair of crushing poverty. As the author makes quite clear in the context of the play, the "tomorrow" is symbolic of a future when the workers may have to rise up and, if necessary, take for themselves what has been unjustly denied them. The play then is nothing more than a "prologue" to that "tomorrow." Although Laranjeira does not spell out in detail an exact socio-political program for his "tomorrow," he appears to entertain socialist ideas. At the very least, he is a liberal in such things as a more equitable distribution of wealth and a better education for all. One recalls that the incredibly high rate of illiteracy in Portugal, even at the turn of the century, was a major reason for the inevitable frustration of almost any major social or economic reforms in the country.

There is no plot, per se, in this play but rather a series of confrontations between the characters reminiscent of the thesis play. The characters are meant to be symbolic representations of their respective classes and have no proper names except for Luísa, the sister of the worker. However, even her lines are indicated in the play not by her name but by the words a irmã. There are in all only five characters: Um jornalista democrata, um operário, um vagabundo, Luísa and uma mulher do povo, mãe destes. The operário and vagabundo are Luísa's brothers and they all three represent the oppressed class while the jornalista represents the establishment or oppressor.

The setting for the play is the home of the worker and indicates the type of person the worker is before he even enters upon the stage:

> Saleta modesta. Mobília simples envernizada. O soalho lavado. As paredes caiadas de branco. Porta à direita lançando para a rua. Contra a parede do fundo uma estante pejada de livros, pintada de verde. Ainda na parede do fundo, perto do ângulo da esquerda, uma porta que lança para o corredor da casa. Encostada ao tapamento da esquerda e um pouco para a frente, uma mesa rectangular, cheia de livros, papéis e jornais. À esquerda ainda, uma porta para o quarto do operário. Sobre a mesa, tinteiro e pena e papel. O operário entra pela porta da direita.
> (Amanhã, I, Stage Setting).

Before a word of dialogue is spoken, the setting makes the audience aware of the fact that this operário is atypical, for there are "books, papers and newspapers" as well as a "bookcase crammed with books" and "a table, inkwell, pen and paper." If the worker is not a learned man in the academic

sense, at least he is a man interested in learning. This is, in effect, the whole point of the play: the protagonist is atypical and so enables the author to present his ideas through the mind of a worker. Here, for instance, in the conversation between the worker and the journalist which begins the play, the worker confirms the fact that he is, most unfortunately, atypical and goes on to voice Laranjeira's ideas concerning the value of education. The journalist has just pointed out the unusual number of books he possesses and asked him if he has read them all:

> Operário (com um sorriso triste) --Já estudei tudo isso--que é bem pouco, afinal. Mas eu não sou rico, não posso comprar livros em abundância . . .
> Jornalista --Ainda assim . . . Pois pode gabar-se de ser uma excepção entre os seus camaradas.
> Operário --Infelizmente assim é: eu que sou uma excepção, devia ser a regra. Porque, a meu ver, a educação é a alavanca da remodelação social. Educar, educar, educar sempre--eis o mais eficaz meio, o único meio de luta actual. Tudo o mais não passa de remédio de ocasião. Educar é criar uma alma nova e uma consciência nova. E dai à humanidade uma consciência, vê-la-eis erguer os braços num só gesto.
> Jornalista --Mas para educar são precisas escolas.
> Operário --Bem sei. E também sei que as não há.
>
> (Amanhã, I, 1).

The journalist enters the stage only seconds after the curtain rises, in order to pay the worker a visit, the motive for which is not too clear nor really too important. The visit is but a pretext to allow the confrontation type of debate to ensue. For an American in any case, it is interesting to note that in picking a symbolic representative

of all that is wrong with Portuguese society, Laranjeira uses a newspaperman, a favorite target of the thesis-play dramatists also, starting with Mendes Leal in Pedro. In Portugal, the press was considered the spokesman of special interest groups, namely, the government. In Pedro, the press was the mouthpiece of the aristocracy; in Amanhã, it is the voice of a myopic and self-satisfied bourgeois intelligentsia. In any case, Laranjeira uses stinging satire in depicting the jornalista, and points up his character's ostentation and his inability to see any need for a plan of social action. In fact, in the journalist's conversation with the worker, it becomes evident that perhaps he does not really even see any problem at all, but if by chance he does, he soothes his conscience by assuring himself that time will change the situation of the poor in Portugal:

> Operário (com voz surda) --Que razões tenho? É que a legião dos famintos cresce pavorosamente, cresce como uma onda que rola à praia; é que as bocas esfomeadas multiplicam-se como estrelas ao anoitecer. E a democracia, em vez de lhes dar pão, dá-lhes baionetas . . . ou o canto dum beco para morrer de fome sem protestar.
>
> Jornalista --Ah! o senhor vai mais longe do que eu cuidava! Também assim penso! Estamos absolutamente de acordo. Mas isso ainda vem longe, muito longe! Lá chegaremos, todavia. Pouco a pouco lá chegaremos. Presentemente vamo-nos contentando com menos, que é mais sensato . . . Mas é o que me consola a mim, que também sou um proletário--um proletário intelectual, claramente --é que o grande dia há-de chegar . . . É o que me consola, creia. No entanto, reconheço--e é o que me faz militar no partido--que para lá chegar é preciso passar primeiro por outras formas de transição. É como quem espera pelo último dia do mês, mas reconhece que tem de passar primeiro pelos dias intermédios. Quanto ao resto, estamos de acordo. Bastava eu ser um proletário intelec-

> tual. E olhe que o estado do proletário intelectual não é menos miserável do que o do proletário braçal. Hoje todos devemos ser revoltados, todos nascemos revoltados . . . E nós, os intelectuais mais do que ninguém, porque compreendemos os nossos direitos e as espoliações que nos fazem.
>
> Operário (com enfado) --Faz-me o favor? Acabemos com a questão . . . Estaríamos aqui eternamente a discutir sem nos compreendermos. Depois eu exalto-me . . . É melhor acabar.
>
> (Amanhã, I, 1).

The jornalista is the establishment while the operário shows the working class as it could and should be in the opinion of Laranjeira. It is the rest of the family, however, which represents the actual state of the Portuguese proletariat at that time. The worker's mother is an illustration of the older generation: very religious but fearful also of the possible retaliation of the state against the socialist militancy of the younger generation. She repeatedly warns her son of the possibility of going to jail for his radical ideas, "Ora diz: que tens tu que andar a badalar por essas reuniões? A arriscar a tua liberdade?" The operário's unmarried sister is pregnant, a circumstance which is blamed on poverty and her lack of education, and it is for her future child that the worker will struggle for that better "tomorrow." However, women will have to play a more meaningful position in Portuguese society than allowed them by their present status as mere chattels, in or out of marriage, as the worker says to the journalist, " . . . enquanto a mulher for legalmente a prostituta virtuosa do homem, enquanto ela for o objecto da sensualidade honestamente mercado . . . "

It is, however, the vagabundo who best exemplifies the great mass of workers who through no fault of their own are lost forever as a productive element of Portuguese society, a sort of social flotsam forever adrift in an economic and educational limbo. The vagabond's mother does not understand his forlorn wandering, as she tells him, "Tu és o desprezo dos homens e a vergonha duma família." She is right because he is the object of disdain and the shame of a family. This is, of course, the very idea which Laranjeira wishes to bring out: as long as the system continues to operate in the same manner as it does at present, there will be no hope for large segments of the Portuguese population--and here is living proof. Biester's proletarian merely mouthed bourgeois ideology, and a rather idealistic type at that. The operário is, in a sense, a super-proletarian who has by dint of great effort partially escaped, or at least insulated himself, from the real horrors that surround him. He speaks with great fervor but always seems to deal in rather bookish generalities. On the other hand, the vagabundo not only speaks of the proletariat's plight, he has lived it in all its degradation. In effect, he himself is the end result of the unfairness of the social system. The following passage not only shows the plight of the majority of the proletariat and the rather ingenuous reaction of the operário, but it is also a wonderful naturalist description of a starving youngster with running sores on his face.

The passage opens with the vagabundo just having tried

to justify the need to steal in order to eat:

> O Vagabundo -- . . . Tu sabes lá o que é a vida! Tu sabes lá como a vida é negra! Há noites negras que o não são mais.
>
> Operário (severo) --Estás a justificar-te?
>
> O Vagabundo (áspero) --Eu não preciso de me defender. Só se defende quem tem alguma coisa a perder. (Lúbugre) E eu já perdi tudo, ou antes: roubaram-me tudo e acusaram-me de o ter perdido. (Encolhendo os ombros) É o mesmo. (Com bonomia irónica, puxando duma cadeira senta-se debruçado sobre o espaldar) Mas propositadamente, vou-te contar uma história: só para no fim te fazer uma pergunta. --Ontem à noite, ia eu a passar aí por uma viela. Eu caminhava muito rente com a parede, por causa da chuva.--Uma chuva muito fria, fria como o medo. Ia tão distraído, que tropecei, sem querer, num suntulho, que estava arrimado contra uma porta. Estaquei. Era um fedelho que me estendia a mão. Era a primeira vez que alguem me pedia uma esmola. A mão que ele me estendia estava fria como lama. Apalpei-o. Estava molhado como uma esponja. A carne estava inchada e rija de frialdade. Parecia carne dum defunto. --Tu sabes: o céu é um alpendre que abriga mal. É por isso que eu já acredito pouco em Deus. Pelo menos desconfio dele, porque vejo que todos os que se fiam nele são enganados. --E que feio ele era! E que podre ele estava! A cara coberto de chagas: parecia que a tinha coberta de musgo. E que imaginas que ele me pedia a mim--tem graça! --a mim? Pedia-me pão. Tu sabes o que é pão? Pois era pão o que ele queria, o estupor! Pus-me a fazer-lhe perguntas. --Quem é o bêbedo do teu pai? --O meu pai morreu. --E a safada da tua mãe? --A minha mãe morreu. --Então com quem vives tu? --Com minha tia. --E que é da tua tia? --Está na cadeia. --E onde dormes tu? --Por aí. . . --Tens fome? --Tenho. --E quando comeste tu? --Eu ainda não como. --Naquele momento senti um desejo cego de esfaquear o mundo inteiro. Disse-lhe: --Anda daí comigo. --Tinha-me subido à cabeça uma onda de tentação . . .
>
> Operário (emocionado) --Era de presumir . . .
>
> O Vagabundo (com ar espantado) --Era de presumir?! (Com sinceridade ingénua) Pois eu que havia de fazer?
>
> Operário (agitado) --Não sei. É horrível! É horrível! Não sei.
>
> (Amanhã, I, 5).

Throughout the play, characters seem to enter and leave

the stage for no particular reason except to give their opinions on things. This is particularly true of the jornalista, the operário and the vagabundo who are, of course, the main protagonists in the work. This lack of organization in the play's structure affects its conclusion which is abrupt precisely because it does not give the illusion of having come about as a natural result of the overall direction taken by the plot. The sister is pregnant out of wedlock. An abortion is hinted at by the vagabundo but never mentioned directly. In the end, it is decided that she will keep the baby, and that the operário will leave home to provide the unborn child with a better amanhã, the symbolic title of the play. It will be noticed that the following concluding passage leaves one with the uneasy feeling of a certain incompleteness. The question is raised by the conclusion, as it is throughout the play, as to the exact means by which the operário will carry out his dream for a new "tomorrow." Will he work? Fight? Even Laranjeira's belief in socialism as an answer is only hinted at, and then only in the vaguest generalities:

> A Irmã (sombria) --A minha vida toda é um pesadelo!
> Operário (encorajando-a) --Ânimo! É preciso muito ânimo, Luísa! (À mãe, que vem entrando) Minha mãe, aqui está minha irmã. Respeite-a porque ela também é mãe.
> A Mãe (com austeridade) --Oxalá que o ser mãe a faça arrepender e a ensine a ser mulher . . . Nesse dia perdoar-lhe-ei . . .
> Operário --Ela não precisa de perdão . . . precisa de amor, precisa de protecção . . . Perdão de que? De ser mãe? O que ela traz no ventre será um

crime? Será? Se já foi mãe, responda.
A Mãe (num ímpeto, como se a natureza inteira lhe arrepiasse a carne) --Não! Não! (Avançando para a filha num frémito de emoção inconsciente, explosiva) Abençoado seja o fruto do teu ventre, mulher!
Operário (num fulgor de entusiasmo) --Ah! Minha mãe! Eu bem o sabia: a vida triunfa das crenças de Deus, de tudo, porque a única crença verdadeira e santa, o único Deus que existe, é a vida--a Vida.
(A irmã crava nele um olhar chamejante de fé. A mãe, comovida, enxuga as lágrimas no avental. O operário dispõe-se a sair).
A Irmã --Tu vais sair?
Operário --Vou. Deitai-vos. Não me espereis. Eu demoro-me.
A Irmã --Tu que vais fazer?
Operário (abanando a cabeça lentamente) --Vou semear a colheita que teu filho amanhã colherá--a colheita do futuro, a colheita para todos! (Sai)
FIM (Amanhã, I, Final Scene).

In all fairness to Laranjeira's vagueness about what is to be done to bring about a new "tomorrow," it must be pointed out that there was always the censor to contend with in Portugal. Censorship repressed plays that were ostensibly not in "the best interest of the public," but in reality it opposed what was considered dangerous ideas or questionable morals. Just what constituted "dangerous" or "questionable" in a play remained for the censor to decide and from his decision the dramatist had neither appeal nor explanation. There were even instances when a play was censored more because of the author than his work. This very same problem, one of personality and politics, caused the obstacles Garrett encountered in producing publicly his masterpiece, Frei Luís de Sousa.[24] Perhaps Laranjeira felt that half a message, like half a loaf, was better than none.

One recalls the journalist's verbosity, which was part of Laranjeira's satirical barb against the middle class. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of the modern reader at least, the operário is also as fully capable of long and sonorous oratorical monologues. His long sentences with their indirect word order, replete with poetical allusions " . . . as bocas esfomeadas multiplicam-se como estrelas ao anoitecer" as well as a very literary vocabulary, give the impression that technically the play is behind the times. The operário's continual self-righteous moralizing gives his tirades an irritatingly didactic tone:

> Operário (irritado) --Exacto . . . --à sombra da bandeira, à sombra! É isso mesmo! (Num crescendo de indignação) E deixe-me perguntar-lhe: é em nome da justiça que o senhor se revolta ou é em nome do próprio ventre? É em nome do ideal ultrajado que o senhor ergue um grito de indignação? Ou fá-lo como parasita do Ideal?
> (Amanhã, I, 1).

It is with the other three members of the family that the author forgoes rhetorical speech for a more natural, colloquial one. Since the mãe and the irmã do not have major roles, the fact that they have no long monologues is understandable. It is in the character of the vagabundo that the author does his best job with conversational speech. This does not mean that the vagabundo does not speak for long periods of time, as witness the long description of his encounter with the street urchin. However, his sentences are short, sometimes not even complete, while his word order is direct and his vocabulary relatively simple. Sometimes, in

fact, he is refreshingly vulgar and to the point:

> Operário --Mas todos tem direito à vida! Todos!
> O Vagabundo (com um riso torcido) -- . . . e alguns tem mais do que isso: também tem o direito de morrer de fome. Parece-me bem até que há quem só tenha o direito de morrer de fome. (Com voz estridente e cheio de desprezo) Ora caga-me no tal direito à vida e em todos os outros direitos!
> (Amanhã, I, 9).

To sum up, Laranjeira tried, quite courageously, to infuse the element of class consciousness into Portuguese drama at the turn of the century but without too much success. Perhaps it was considered sufficient for the middle class to criticize itself without recourse to class strife or warfare. Even if one discounts the ever present threat of censorship, it seems quite doubtful whether the middle class in Portugal at the time was much interested in patronizing plays dealing with a potentially dangerous political topic, particularly when the middle class is portrayed as the oppressor. Laranjeira's relatively mild effort in this direction led many of his contemporaries to brand him an anarchist.[25] Writing about such topics in a country where most of the proletariat were all but illiterate was one thing; but putting it on the stage where all could see and understand was quite another.

D. Teixeira-Gomes' Sabina Freire--Workings of the Pathological Mind--Premeditated Murder

Manuel Laranjeira tried to introduce the examination of socio-political topics into the naturalist drama of the period. A contemporary of his, Manuel Teixeira-Gomes, attemped to introduce another dimension which was quite different from Laranjeira's. He wrote one unusual naturalist drama

about the potentially limitless evil of which the individual human mind is capable. In doing so, he created one of the truly unique characters in Portuguese drama, Sabina Freire, who plots the murder of her mother-in-law.

Teixeira-Gomes has been called a "dramaturgo por acidente,"[26] for he was basically an essayist and writer of fiction, and wrote only one play, Sabina Freire (1905). However, its main character, a woman, is so powerful that she has, with some justification been described as the " . . . Hedda Gabler latina sobre fundo algarvio tradicional."[27] Sabina Freire shows the influence of Zola's Thérèse Raquin and even of Lady Macbeth, certainly at least in so far as Sabina is depicted as manipulating her husband to bring about the violent death of someone who stands in the way of her ambition. In the case of Sabina, it is her mother-in-law whom she wants eliminated in order to acquire her wealth. Hedda, of course, can hardly be considered evil, but Sabina is, through and through. In fact, in a unique twist in the denouement, she even surpasses Lady Macbeth. If her murder plot goes awry in the end and she does not succeed in obtaining the wealth she sought, at least she is neither mentally nor legally punished for the scheme which causes her husband's death.

Manuel Teixeira-Gomes was born in Vila Nova de Portimão on May 27, 1860. He completed grammar school in his home town, but was then sent by his father to the seminary in Coimbra for his high school degree with the idea that he would be better able to enter the University of Coimbra.

After graduating, he enrolled in a pre-medical course, but this kind of study did not appeal to him and he left the program after two years, never to return. The idea of a literary, bohemian life attracted his youthful fancy. Though he was little more than seventeen years old, he went to Lisbon without his father's approval. In the capital, Texeira-Gomes studied on his own in the National Library where he became good friends with and was impressed by many of the leading artists and intellectuals, and in particular, João de Deus (1830-1896) and Fialho de Almeida (1857-1911). He then went to Porto where he continued the same kind of life. While in Porto he collaborated in various newspapers and magazines, most notably O Primeiro de Janeiro and A Folha Nova, in which he manifested his republican ideas already evident during his stay in Coimbra. At twenty-three, however, he became reconciled with his father, who had become annoyed at his leaving home and his bohemian life. The author's father, José Libânio Gomes, was a wealthy landowner in the Algarve who also headed a company that exported dried fruits to many parts of the world. As a company representative, while still in his early twenties, Teixeira-Gomes was sent by his father not only to many parts of Europe, but also to North Africa and to Asia Minor. These trips made a deep impression on him. Despite his continued interest in writing, Teixeira-Gomes did not publish his first book, Inventário de Junho until 1889. Like his father, he was a staunch republican. When Portugal became a republic in 1910, Teixeira-Gomes was

named Portugal's minister in London. His peaceful literary-commercial life came to an end, and he was forced to enter the numerous intrigues of international politics prior to the First World War. Both during and following the Great War, Portugal was a country of great political turmoil, instability, and political assassinations. On August 6, 1923 Teixeira-Gomes was elected President of the Portuguese Republic. On December 11, 1925, greatly disillusioned over his lack of success in reconciling warring republican factions and forming a stable government, he tendered his resignation. Just six days later, he sailed away from Portugal forever into voluntary political exile. On October 18, 1941 he died in Bougie, Algeria, where he had lived since 1931, and was buried in a local cemetery.[28] It was a sad end for such a proud and interesting man.

Sabina Freire is a three-act play whose action takes place in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the Algarve region of Portugal. The play is a naturalistic analysis of a pathological personality in which the physical descriptions of the personages are directly related to their behavior on stage. The characters' physiognomy plays an important role in confirming their personalities as they are revealed to the audience. Although all eleven characters, even the maid, are described in some fashion, there are only three main protagonists: Sabina Freire, her husband, Júlio Freire, and her mother-in-law, Maria Freire. For example, Sabina is described as:

> Sabina Freire: 24 anos, alta, ondulosa, braços magros, cinta fina, quadris estreitos, seio farto e inflando na geminada curva dos bem distintos pomos.

The emphasis is on a certain beauty, or more exactly, sensuality: the twin curves of her full breasts give the impression of a woman who might delight in carnal pleasure. Her husband's description, on the other hand, leaves quite a different impression:

> Júlio Freire: 30 anos, delgado, elegante e pálido; cabelos negros anelados; grandes olhos castanhos.

Júlio is therefore a delicate weak-willed, almost effeminate person. The description of his mother leaves quite another impression, that of a formal, cold person:

> Maria Freire: 60 anos, estatura mediana, tez pergaminosa, cabelo muito negro alisado em bandós que lhe cobrem metade das orelhas; olhar envidraçado e movimentos automáticos.

These character descriptions sum up rather well the personalities of the three protagonists: a sensual, desirous wife, a somewhat delicate, almost effeminate husband and a cold, austere, wealthy mother (or mother-in-law).

The play observes the temporal and spatial unities. It employs a late point-of-attack, concentrating the action within twenty-four hours. The locale of all three acts is the enormous mansion of Maria Freire. The first and third acts take place in the same antechamber which, as the curtain rises, gives the audience a clue to D. Maria's wealth and, also to her austere tastes:

> Saleta em palácio da província. Mobília de

> pau preto, estilo Luís Filipe. Medalhões de grinaldas pintadas na escaiola das paredes. À altura do espelho de um tremó vistosíssimo alinham-se quadros de moldura negra com vistas de monumentos célebres. Portas ao fundo. Duas janelas, à direita, ladeando o tremó em frente ao qual há, do lado esquerdo, um grande sofá entre duas portas.
> (Sabina Freire, I & III, Stage Setting).

D. Maria is the first character to enter this setting so that before a word is spoken, the dramatist has prepared the audience with a clue to the personality of one of the main characters. One of the characteristics of good naturalist drama was the gradual revelation of both plot and personality. Before either Sabina or Júlio are seen, D. Maria gives a vague hint to the plot, that is, all is not well between mother, son and daughter-in-law. The dialogue opens with D. Maria speaking to Epifânio about a reception for a minister. Epifânio is an obsequious sycophant who has "a head that undulates back and forth like a swan's" and "simian movements:"

> Epifânio -- . . . Depois, eu tenho a certeza que sua Ex.ma nora tomará de bom grado a seu cargo as honras da casa e a direção de tudo: isso deve distraí-la . . .
> D. Maria (azeda) --Só se por esse motivo, por distracção . . . ; nunca o faria por aliviar a pobre sogra. Mas a verdade é que também a ela lhe tem desagrado a visita; ou finge que lhe desagrada. Espíritos de contradição: todos o mesmo! Pois a quem pode aproveitar a vinda do ministro senão a meu filho e portanto a minha nora! Va lá entender esta gente estranjeira . . .
> (Sabina Freire, I, 1).

Generally speaking, Portuguese dramatists of the naturalist school did very little to prepare the audience before the entrance of a character. Câmara did so in Triste Viuvi-

nha but not Mesquita nor, most certainly, did Laranjeira. However, Teixeira-Gomes followed Câmara's lead. Here, for example, is a character analysis of Sabina's husband which appears to come about quite naturally from the context of the dialogue:

> D. Maria (com secura) --Ainda agora? . . . julguei que estivesse doente, menina . . .
> Sabina --Doente? eu! Não. Sinto-me perfeitamente. A mãe bem sabe que sou excepção à regra geral. O Júlio é que se queixa de dores na cabeça e queixa-se deveras . . .
> Epifânio --E terá febre?
> Augusto César --Talvez com uns sinapismos . . .
> D. Maria --O que faltava agora era ele adoecesse.
> Sabina --Não tenha cuidados que nada será, apesar de o ver há já algum tempo disposto também a habilitar-se ao prémio de distinção da terra onde não ha gente fina sã e entre a gente fina quem não é pelo menos tísico pouco vale . . .
> (Sabina Freire, I, 2).

Sabina's acerbic comment concerning her husband not only prepares the audience for what Júlio will be like but also shows her contempt for him as a man. In effect, Júlio is a weakling who throughout the play is torn between the wishes and desires of two strong women, neither of whom has any respect for him. His mother wants him committed to an institution at one point in the play because she fears Sabina's manipulation of him while Sabina herself treats Júlio with unparalled cruelty. No other wife in Portuguese drama was so purposely cruel to her husband and received so mild a response:

> Júlio --Dize, dize . . .
> Sabina --Eu não te amo, nem espiritual nem fìsicamente . . . E nunca te amei . . . Essas mesmas carícias que do meu corpo lograste e que

> na embriaguês dos sentidos te pareciam sinceras nunca passaram de comédia ou, melhor de hábil prostituição . . . Mesmo nunca experimentei ao teu lado as sensações que outros antes de ti me causaram e nem as tuas carícias acordaram nunca na minha carne os deleites que as carícias de tantos outros me proporcionaram antes de ti . . .
> Júlio (atónito) --Antes de mim?!
> Sabina --Sim, antes de ti . . .
> (Sabina Freire, III, 13).

Little by little it is revealed that she considers the poisoning of his mother as their only way to "freedom." While Teixeira-Gomes' play is not the outright clinical kind of psychological study found in Mesquita's, he does depict Sabina's sexual frustration as one of the main psychological motivations for her actions.

A la Lady Macbeth, Sabina continues to hound, harass and humiliate Júlio into agreeing that they must murder D. Maria. She does so even though she has informed him that she is leaving him and the house forever. Naturally he wishes to know why she still wants to kill his mother and she answers, " . . . sòmente por amor ao crime . . . " What the dramatist wishes to indicate is that Sabina, without knowing herself and without the audience's knowledge, has somewhere in the play crossed that very fine unclear line between the neurotic and the psychotic. Killing for wealth is not normal behavior but it is more rational than killing for sadistic satisfaction. Júlio finally agrees to the scheme of poisoning D. Maria's cup of tea. However, the end of the play comes as a surprise because Júlio grabs the cup from Sabina and drinks it himself. It is a quick-

acting poison and Júlio has time to say nothing more than that he wanted to commit suicide, thus absolving Sabina of any blame and freeing her.

The play concludes in the naturalist tradition of asking the viewer to imagine Sabina's future beyond the end of the play itself. The curtain descends with D. Maria kneeling over Júlio's body and Sabina walking out of the house forever, as Epifânio and Augusto César say the last lines of the play:

> Epifânio --Mas que espécie de mulher é esta?
> Augusto César (garguejando) --Esta mulher deve ser uma cantante . . . (Desce o pano).
> (Sabina Freire, III, Final Scene).

Although the personalities of the protagonists do not really change much during the play, except for Sabina who becomes more and more psychotic, Teixeira-Gomes employs the indirect method of revealing their personalities through conversations about them by other characters. D. Maria remains a cold and domineering woman throughout the play and Júlio has never been able to cut the silver cord. Even though Júlio does not change during the play, mention must be made of the attempt at literary satire in his characterization as a weakling. One recalls that the thesis-play dramatists created heroes who were strong and domineering while the heroines were demure and passive. Teixeira-Gomes displays no little ironic humor by reversing their roles. He satirizes the typical hero of Romantic drama by making Júlio naive and swooning. It is the heroine who is strong and who dominates him.

As already indicated, the dialogue was very important in revealing the plot as well as serving to bring out character. Teixeira-Gomes almost always employed his dialogue in such a manner as to make it appear that both plot and characterization developed in the normal course of conversation. There were no long tirades even when he touched upon the same socio-political problems as Laranjeira. Of course, social commentary was not the main purpose in this play as it was in Amanhã, but Teixeira-Gomes' handling of social criticism seemed to be more natural and hence was far more effective than Laranjeira's. Sabina, as might be expected, makes many caustic comments concerning Portuguese society, but it is D. Maria, a member of the establishment as it were, whom the dramatist uses to best advantage for his purpose. The dramatist has D. Maria condemn society unwittingly. In conversations apparently concerning her charitable efforts toward the poor, Teixeira-Gomes satirically attacks the indifference and the selfishness of the rich in Portugal. This is best exemplified in the following passage where the theme of the plight of the poor is brought up naturally in conversation and then is dropped just as naturally:

> D. Maria --A próposito de quinteiros, padre Correia, tenho o filho do José do Vau muito doente . . . O José do Vau é um dos meus homens de confiança e valha a verdade mostra-se digno dela, como o eram também o pai e o avô, pois há já não sei quantas gerações que servem a minha família . . . Agora adoece-lhe o filho mais velho que era quem tratava das vacas e me faz uma falta que só Deus sabe . . . Ora o Dr. Fino diz que a casa

onde estão é muito má. Não é verdade, doutor?

Doutor Fino --Nem para animais serve, minha senhora. Lá dentro chove como na rua.

D. Maria (compungida) --Que querem? Esta gente do campo é tão desleixada! Eles já me tem pedido para eu mandar concertar a casa; mas quem é que se mete em obras com os pedreiros caros como andam! Enfim o melhor será entrar o doente para o hospital. Arranje lá isso, padre Correia, pois é de toda a justiça: os pais não podem ser mais pobres . . . Eu queria que ele entrasse no hospital amanhã . . .

Padre Correia --Pois não, minha rica senhora. As camas dos pobres estão todas tomadas mas hoje mesmo despedirei um demo dum velho que lá caiu com doença crónica há mais de três meses . . .

Sabina --Três meses, que escândalo!

Padre Correia --Os hospitais não se fizeram para as doenças crónicas e então esta gentilha que em se apanhando lá dentro com comida às horas e a cama feita, é como as carraças: ninguém as despega . . . A mais disso o nosso hospital que quase não tem recursos . . .

D. Maria --A verdade é que se os hospitais recebessem toda a classe de doentes não havia dinheiro que chegasse . . . O filho do José do Vau tem uma costela rendida. Rapazes, querem fazer de valentes! Aquilo foi com uma grande eirada, no verão passado. Não havia sacos bastantes e ele disse: "Ora, não há-de ficar o trigo na eira, medem-se seis alqueires em cada saco; eu mesmo os carrego para as carretas" e assim foi . . . O Dr. Fino diz que se ele estiver sossegado um mês no hospital fica bom.

Doutor Fino --Um mês! Não sei, o caso é grave . . .

Padre Correia --Estará o tempo que for preciso; amanhã mesmo pode entrar . . .

(Sabina Freire, I, 4).

The dramatist has made his point that the poor are wretched and treated, at best, with abominable indifference by the state, the landowners, the Church and the medical profession. He does not dwell on the subject, however, for immediately following Padre Correia's final sentence, the subject is dropped as Epifânio asks to see the decorations in the ballroom for the reception of the minister.

Throughout the play, the upper middle-class characters employ excellent, cultured Portuguese. However, though the characters' speech is cultured, it is not literary. The sentences are relatively short and the word order is direct. Júlio tends to use rhetorical, poetical speech but it is natural for an emasculated romantic to do so. Only as the play reaches its denouement does the speech of Sabina seem to take on unnecessary Romantic overtones, which detracts from an otherwise easy flow of dramatic speech. At times, her speeches suddenly become long monologues filled with arcane references and gratuitous background material. Consider for example, the history of the poison which she intends to use:

> Júlio --Que acto . . . , diz já . . .
> Sabina --E não te figures que correríamos o menor risco, nem que lhe causaríamos sofrimentos . . . Pouco antes de morrer, meu pai que era um alemão ideólogo e fantástico, espécie de alquimista sonhando o niilismo platónico, deume a cadeia de oiro com os dois frascos que me acompanham sempre e te inspiram tanta curiosidade, obrigando-me a prometer que nunca me desfaria da corrente sem primeiro empregar o conteúdo de algum dos frascos. E acrescentou: nada mais precioso possuo, minha filha, do que esta corrente; num dos frascos encontrarás a morte fulminante: e a libertação; o outro contém a morte lenta: e a vingança . . . Um desses frascos está com efeito cheio de ácido cianídrico; duas gotas bastarão para que a tua mãe desapareça sem dor nem agonia . . . E que médico haverá capaz de suspeitar de envenenamento a morte repentina que tão bem imita a apoplexia?
> (Sabina Freire, II, 12).

Despite the faults, or lapses, in the play, the dialogue technique through which character is brought out in-

directly and plot revealed gradually, must have had an influence on the last dramatist in the naturalist tradition to be studied here, Lopes de Mendonça.

E. Lopes de Mendonça--Old-Fashioned Thesis Play and Good Naturalist Drama--Nó Cego and O Azebre

Of all the dramatists of the turn of the century, Lopes de Mendonça should, chronologically, have been placed first in the preceding chapter, for as we pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, Lopes de Mendonça was in the forefront of the revival of the historical drama in verse starting in 1886. It was noted also that Mendonça himself considered his historical drama to be his main contribution to Portuguese theater. Despite his long and fertile production of historical plays and his own opinion of their importance, of most interest to the modern reader are his plays which exhibit some naturalist tendencies, such as Nó Cego and O Azebre which were written long after his first historical drama. The only other play Mendonça wrote which showed some inclination to naturalism was Amor Louco (1899), but it was far more Romantic than naturalistic. Both Nó Cego and O Azebre have themes that are critical of various aspects of Portuguese society. Nó Cego, first produced in 1905, seems to be in theme, characterization and style almost a replica of Enes' Os Lazaristas written some thirty years previously. On the other hand, O Azebre (which Rebello and Picchio claim was written in 1904 but not produced until 1909 because of certain "roughnesses in the

text, particularly in the first act"[29]) was a much more advanced play. It showed the influence of Câmara's colloquial language and Mesquita's attempt at psychological analysis of characters. No doubt, Teixeira-Gomes' fine use of dialogue to bring out character and deliver socio-political criticism in an indirect manner was of help to Mendonça in eliminating the "rough edges" from his original text. There is a certain amount of irony in the fact that of all the naturalist dramatists in Portugal, it was Mendonça who thought the least of the new movement, resisted it the longest, and yet, wrote one of the best plays to come out of it.

Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, besides being an important figure in Portuguese drama was also a career officer in the navy. He was born in Lisbon on February 12, 1856. After finishing high school, Lopes de Mendonça joined the navy in 1871 as a cadet. Upon graduation with academic distinction from the Naval Academy, he was given the post of professor at the same institution. Mendonça taught there until 1901 when he received a professorship in Liberal Arts at the University of Lisbon. He retired from the military in 1912 with the rank of capitão de mar e guerra. The dramatist was very active in literary circles and was a member of many prestigious literary and scientific organizations including the Academia de Ciências, of which he became president in 1915. Mendonça was not the first well-known literary man in his family, for his uncle was the renowned critic and serialist, António Pedro Lopes de Mendonça (1826-

1865). Mendonça collaborated also in many journals and magazines including: O Comércio do Porto, O Correio da Noite, O Diário de Notícias, Brasil-Portugal and A Revista Teatral. He was the editor of O Diário Popular, Os Serões and O Gafanhoto, a periodical for children. The author died in 1931.[30]

Nó Cego, a three-act play first produced in the Teatro de D. Maria II on January 27, 1905, deals with the fact that there were no grounds for divorce under any circumstances in Portugal at that time. Five years after the play's première, civil divorce became legal in the country.[31] The theme is twofold: it is a criticism of the divorce laws, or perhaps more correctly, the complete lack of any divorce laws, and a criticism of a religious group that fights against any type of civil divorce whatsoever. In this play it is the Jesuits who come under attack just as the Vincentians did in Os Lazaristas.

The author maintains the temporal and spatial unities in the play which takes place in Filipe de Seabra's upper middle-class home in Bemfica. The background of the plot itself, with its political and social overtones, is very simple. Eight years previously, Filipe's wife had abandoned him and his daughter, Graça, in order to run off with a rich old man. In the intervening years, Filipe has fallen in love with D. Emília Pedroso but he cannot marry her because his first marriage is indissoluble regardless of his wife's reprehensible behavior. Actually, there is really little

that could be considered as a plot. Instead, the characters are placed in confrontation with one another as was done by the thesis-play dramatists. In this play it is primarily Filipe and Padre Campello who are involved in a series of confrontations; perhaps it would be more correct to say "semi-confrontation," for Filipe does all the arguing.

Given the same type of subject and structure as in Os Lazaristas, it is not surprising that the characters are treated also in much a similar manner. They represent a clearly defined and delineated division between good and evil. Since this is an old-fashioned thesis play, there is no interest or need on the part of the playwright to use subtle techniques in order to reveal the characters' personalities. The only interest that the author of such a play has is in what the characters represent, not who they are nor why they are, and how this representation will reenforce the political, social or antireligious theme, as the case may be. However, there is one important difference between Enes' priest, Padre Bergeret, and Mendonça's Padre Campello, which must be pointed out since it makes Mendonça's play by far the less effective one. Padre Bergeret was a devious, treacherous individual, as capable of long and windy remonstrances on behalf of an "evil" cause as was the hero on behalf of a "good" one. Enes, at least, preserved some semblance of balance between bood and evil.

On the other hand, in Nó Cego, poor Padre Campello is inadvertently so well developed and created with such sympa-

thy that he inevitably earns the modern reader's affection, even though Filipe is the exponent of Mendonça's ideas. In fact, one begins to wonder whether Filipe's wife really left him for no other reason than because she did not have the infinite patience of the good Padre who is harangued and bombarded for almost three solid acts with such bombast as in the following passage:

> Padre --O que Deus uniu, não podem os homens separá-lo.
>
> Filipe --É de S. Mateus o texto, suponho eu. Palavras . . . palavras . . . Olhe, meu padre! Todos os seus apóstolos, todos os seus evangelistas, todos os seus doutores da Egreja, não podem destruir a súmula dessas frases mal alinhavadas, que ouvimos da boca de um pateta. Esse pateta, a quem ambos nós desdenhamos, e quem tem razão. Manteve-se dentro dos limites acanhados do ser humano, não quis . . . ou não pode . . . diluir o pensamento pelos espaços infindos. E o que achou dentro da sua consciência estreita e rude, é a perola porque nós todos ansiamos: é a verdade. A verdade relativa, se assim o quer. Com essa se contentam os homens. O absoluto é para os deuses.
>
> Padre --Ah! meu amigo! A sua paixão cria sofismas, que um raciocínio isento rejeitaria. É inata no coração humano a sede do infinito. Só as religiões a mitigam. E a de Cristo, pela pureza da sua doutrina, é a que mais embebe a alma no ideal, cuja essência é Deus.
>
> Filipe --O que os senhores fizeram de um Deus de bondade e de justiça! Um déspota, que irrevogàvelmente consagra uma união odiosa . . . (Em voz um pouco cava) um carrasco que na morte alheia funda a nossa libertação!
>
> Padre --Por Deus, não blasfeme!
>
> Filipe (Aproxima-se de Emília, e ergue-lhe a cabeça que ela, encostada à mesa, tem tido apoiada nas mãos) --Reveja-se nestas lágrimas de agonia, mire-se neste olhar pasmado de desespero! Quer mais positiva, mais lancinante condenação dos seus dogmas? (Com força) Pois aqui a tem, padre, aqui a tem neste desgraçado, que levanta um grito de revolta . . . um grito no deserto . . . . contra o despotismo da lei divina e da lei humana, que lhe despedaçam a alma! (Cai numa ca-

deira acabrunhado).
(Nó Cego, III, 8).

Structure and characterization aside, the principal failing in this play from a modern viewpoint lies in the style and language. Mendonça, like the thesis-play dramatists before him, employs a very artificial, "literary" stage speech. The dialogue consists of almost nothing more than a long procession of tirades. The sentences are as long and involved as the monologues themselves and the vocabulary is extremely affected. Perhaps the most annoying single aspect of this type of artificial speech for the modern reader is the self-righteous, oratorical tone in which it seems to be invariably delivered. This is true even when Filipe is merely giving an explanation. For example, when the Padre suggests that Filipe's daughter might receive a better religious education in a boarding school, he receives the following answer:

> Filipe --Ouve-a, sr. prior? Que ermo seria a minha casa, que horrível maninho, desolado e sombrio, se a não enchessem de onde em onde esses gorjeios de infância! Havia eu de voltar, cheio de cansaço, para me ressequir nas tristezas de um deserto! (Segura o braço do Padre, aproxima-o um pouco da janela, por forma que ambos possam ver o que se passa no interior) Veja! veja! agora! Aquela luz suave, deslizando sobre duas cabeças graciosas, parece a claridade do meu lar reconstituido! (Movimento de surpresa do Padre, despercebido por Filipe) Que sossego santo! Que harmonia imperturbada pelas conflagrações do mundo! A minha alma embebe-se nesta quietação deliciosa. Tenho a ilusão da felicidade. O amor de minha filha penetra-me todo, golfa em ondas, transborda, pela amplidão misteriosa da natureza e da noite . . . enche milagrosamente o vácuo, que me deixara no coração o amor conjugal espesinhado! Ouça! ouça! O ciciar daqueles lábios responde ao segredar das

> estrelas. E eu que procurava há tanto este místico ponto de equilíbrio entre a terra e o céu! (Instante de silêncio).
> (Nó Cego, I, 11).

Such dialogue as this is all the more amazing when one recalls that it was written in 1905, not 1875 or earlier.

As might be expected, the play does not have a conclusion leading naturally to a denouement. Instead, the author merely ends the play, or in truth, just terminates the dialogue. There can be, of course, no happy ending, and therefore, Filipe has to end his platonic relationship with his mistress, Emília. All three of them: he, Emília and his daughter are innocent victims:

> Filipe --A terceira vítima, a mais inocente, de todas! (com voz profunda) Padre, padre, está satisfeito o seu Deus? (O Padre faz um gesto de resignação--Cai o pano).
> (Nó Cego, III, 9).

The curtain falls on an archetypical thesis play that in theme, characterization and language could have easily been written almost half a century earlier.

In theme, plot characterization and especially language, it is almost impossible to believe that O Azebre was written by the same man who wrote Nó Cego. If, as Rebello and Picchio assert, Mendonça wrote O Azebre in 1904, that is, at approximately the same time as Nó Cego, then he could certainly lay claim to being Portugal's most versatile stylist.

The theme of O Azebre (a corrosive green coating on copper), whose title is in itself significant, combines a study of the psychological deterioration of a man, Fidélio,

with some very strong criticism of the mores and hypocritical standards of Lisbon's upper middle-class society. In fact, the hypocrisy of society is shown to be one of the causes for Fidelio's return to a dissolute life and thus it is well integrated into the plot.

Although the play does not observe the temporal and spatial unities common to naturalist drama, the plot is very imaginative and a far cry from the static procession of tirades which sustained the plot action in Nó Cego. The second act takes place some four months after the first act while the third act occurs three days after the second. There is also a radical change of setting. The first act takes place in the run-down hovel which Fidélio calls home. The second act occurs in the opulent antechamber of his son-in-law's house. The third act is situated in Fidélio's room in the house. The settings for each act are described in detail, create the proper atmosphere, and are effective in preparing the audience for the characters. The setting for the first act is a good example:

> Um sotão. Ao fundo porta de entrada comunicando com a escada, da qual se entrevê a grade do corrimão. À direita janela de água-furtada. À esquerda porta para a cozinha. Cómoda à esquerda, abaixo da porta, tendo em cima um grande número de músicas e alguns livros. Mesa um pouco à direita quase em frente da janela. Cama de ferro ao fundo, em desalinho, entre a porta e a esquerda da cena. Junto dela, um mocho alto com uma palmatória de folha e um livro. Quatro ou cinco cadeiras espalhadas pela cena. Toda a mobília ordinária e em mau estado.
> (O Azebre, I, Setting).

It could be argued that Nó Cego also had detailed description,

but it was never used by Mendonça, for there were no stage directions. In O Azebre on the other hand, there is detailed stage direction which adds a great deal to the dramatic effect even as the curtain opens:

> Ao levantar o pano, escuridão completa. Ouve-se ao longe uma rabeca, acompanhada a piano. Sente-se uma chave dar volta à fechadura da porta do fundo, e entra Adélia, a qual vai às apalpadelas procurar uma caixa de fósforos ao mocho que está junto da cama. Procura ascendê-los; os fósforos não pegam. Ricardo assoma ao fundo. (O Azebre, I, First Stage Direction).

The darkness, of course, adds to the audience's curiosity as to what the setting itself is. The fiddle heard in the background, combined with the sheets of music on the dresser, anticipate the supporting part that the instrument will have during the play. Even the fact that Adélia cannot make the matches work is used as a technique to get Ricardo on the stage in a natural manner. It must be noted, however, that neither the characters' physical makeup nor their costumes are described at all.

The lack of temporal unity in O Azebre is reminiscent of that of Mesquita's Dor Suprema. Each act is really a completely separate segment since the time span does not allow for the illusion of immediate continuity. In the first act Fidélio, a drunkard, is living in a poor section of town with his proletarian mistress, Adélia. Ricardo is the emissary of his friend Francisco, who wants to speak with Fidélio. Francisco had lived with Fidélio's daughter, Isolda, for three years out of wedlock, but he has finally married her a fortnight before the play begins. Fidélio

reluctantly agrees to live in Francisco's home for the sake of his daughter who wants desperately to reform him. It is, of course, hinted that her immoral behavior of the past three years has been the cause of Fidélio's downfall. The second act is the scene of a soirée attended by representatives of Lisbon's high society such as the viscount and viscountess. It is obviously also an excellent opportunity for some of Fidélio's most caustic comments on high society's hypocrisy:

> Ricardo --Olha que teu genro é sócio do Visconde em várias empresas . . .
> Fidélio --Deveras? Pois com o Visconde queria eu associar-me no arroteamento do campo conjugal . . . que aquilo, se é ele só o lavrador, deve estar em pousio.
> Ricardo --Deixa-te de asneiras!
> Fidélio --É isto! Estão-me todos a enfezar a mais bela das faculdades humanas, que é a de fazer asneiras. Até tu, que te dizes meu amigo, andas aqui de plantão à minha pessoa, para não me deixares levantar cabeça acima deste charco de sensaboria, que se chama a bela sociedade. Safa! que já me vou sentindo afogado!
> (O Azebre, II, 3).

Adélia gets a job in this act in the household and tries to persuade Fidélio to come back. The third act finds Fidélio completely fed up with his bourgeois surroundings and he confronts his daughter and son-in-law with his decision to go back to Adélia and his hovel.

If, because of the relatively long span of time covered in the three acts of this play, the personality of a character cannot be gradually revealed to the viewer, then at least the characters can be said to be realistically portrayed and sharply defined, particularly Fidélio about

whom the play is built. Fidélio's role was originally played by Ferreira da Silva (1853-1923), one of Portugal's greatest actors of the period, and a rewardingly complex one it seems to be, for Fidélio is depicted as having a greater range of human emotions throughout the play than was common in character portrayals by naturalist dramatists in Portugal. He seems to be one of the best-rounded characters created during the period. A great deal of the success of this realistic portrayal of Fidélio as a person comes from his sardonic humor. In the first act Fidélio is shown to be a drunken, sarcastic, licentious fellow. In the following two acts, except for remaining sober a bit against his will, he does not change much. In fact, he tends at times, in his general attitude toward society, to remind one somewhat of Camilo Castelo Branco's morgado, although he is much more caustic. Yet, his ability to go from moments of almost Falstaffian wit and humor to real pathos, as is his difficult decision to leave Francisco's house forever at the end of the play, gives him an added dimension of depth as a human being. Of course, a great deal of the success of his characterization in a play of this type which cannot rely on the gradual revelation of character or plot, depends on the realism of the dialogue.

There are actually two types of speech in the play: proletarian and upper middle class. The proletarian speech of the poor dominates the first act. The atmosphere for this type of speech with its colloquial expression and even

vulgarities is established immediately. It will be recalled that Adélia could not light the lamp with the matches and her first words (and those of the play) are, "Má raios partam os fósforos!" Both Adélia and Fidélio use much slang in this act. Their sentences are short and their vocabulary is most certainly common. In the following passage, Fidélio has just brought home another working girl, Manuela, to have dinner with him and so makes Adélia furious:

> Fidélio (que tem ido pôr a rabeca sobre a cómoda) --Espera aí fora? Que é lá isso? A Manuela hoje vem cear comigo.
> Adélia --Cear contigo. E então eu?
> Fidélio (encolhendo os ombros) --Tu também ceias, se quiseres.
> Adélia --E se eu não quiser?
> Fidélio --Se não quiseres, deita-te ao pé.
> Adélia --Isso lá é que não gruda!
> Fidélio --Não gruda o que? (Senta-se ao pé da mesa e agarra num copo) Ó Manuela, dá-me daí uma garrafa de conhaque que vem no cesto. Estou com as goelas secas. (Manuela tira a garrafa do cabaz)
> Adélia (arrancando-lhe a garrafa da mão) --Abaixa as patas! Não preciso de ajudas para servir o meu homem. (Deita conhaque no copo)
> Fidélio --O teu homem? Onde é que está isso? (Bebe)
> Adélia --És tu.
> Fidélio (engasgando-se com riso) --Eu? Eu? É boa asneira. Quem te encasquetou isso nos miolos? Eu cá não sou de ninguém. Eu sou um homem livre, com fumos de super-homem. Para isso é que enchi a cabeça e despejei o coração. Percebes, ó cara de parva? O meu coração está . . . assim como este copo. Enche lá outra vez idiota.
> Adélia --Ah? Sim? Não estou para isso!
> Fidélio --Estás no teu direito. Também és uma criatura livre. A Manuela que encha. (Manuela aproxima-se)
> Adélia (empurrando-a) --Tira-te, seresma! Põe-te a andar!
> Manuela --Seresma?
> Adélia --Sim. Com esse ar de Sant'Antoninho onde te porei, andas à lambugem da ração das outras, grandecíssima ladra!

Manuela --Que é lá isso, seu cangalho?
Adélia (ameaçadora) --Que estás tu a ladrar, estafermo? (O Azebre, I, 2).

However, Fidélio is capable of caustic upper middle-class speech, appropriately cultured but still biting and more importantly, natural. None of the characters in the second and third acts fall into tirades or any other type of artificial stage speech. Even in the last act, when Fidélio angrily reveals that it was Francisco and Isolda's immoral conduct which drove him to a dissolute life, his speech remains realistically conversational, as for example in the following passage which contains also the reason for the title of the play:

> Fidélio -- . . . (Avançando para Francisco com violência) Tu e que me atiraste para a lama, tu, tu!
> Francisco --Eu?
> Fidélio --O alcool, a devassidão, a crápula . . . tudo quanto quiseres! Que foi tudo isso mais que o contraveneno para o desgosto que me roía e minava?
> Francisco (sardónico) --O contraveneno não te amargou, pelo visto.
> Fidélio --Não, porque o punha em confronto com a tua ingratidão e o teu egoísmo . . .
> Francisco (irritado) --Fidélio!
> Isolda (interpondo-se) --Meu pai é justo, se é! Fomos nós os culpados, Francisco! (Cai numa cadeira, chorando).
> Fidélio (depois de um momento, abrandando-se) --Não te aflijas, filha. Eu é que fiz mal em exaltar-me. Ali o Francisco também se zangou. Não vale a pena. (A Francisco) A primeira vista, tu tens razão meu caro. Conheceste-me no tempo em que eu era uma soberba caçarola, muito luzidia . . . Calor que me chegasse, fervia logo a dignidade e ficava a honra em ponto de rebuçado. Agora faço-te nojo. Não admira! Andei aos tombos pelos canos de esgoto . . . amachuquei-me todo e criei azebre . . . uma camada de azebre, que nenhum ácido já me vale. Só se me fundirem de novo . . . na caldeira de Pero Botelho.

Isolda --Não diga isso, meu pai.
(O Azebre, III, Final Scene).

Mendonça's career as dramatist, when viewed in historical perspective, appears to be a long anomaly: Romantic plays, historical plays in verse, thesis plays, naturalistic plays and even farces. However, to some degree or other this irregularity is true of almost all Portuguese playwrights of the period. Nor is there anything in the sequence in which Portuguese dramatists composed their plays which could be deemed a logical progression. For example, in 1898, one year after he had written Triste Viuvinha and four years following O Pântano, D. João da Câmara wrote O Beijo do Infante, an historical play in verse. Of course, in France during the same period there also was a heterogeneity of dramatic currents which included: the idea play of François de Curel, the symbolist play of Maeterlinck, the historical play of Rostand, and the farces of Feydeau.[32] However, what makes Portugal so interesting in this respect is the fact that most, if not all, of these new trends, plus some that were outmoded, could come together in a single dramatist.

Of course, the lack of critical vision in Portuguese drama, discussed previously, was the basic reason for this phenomenon. In effect, it allowed Garrett's idea of an eclectic approach to drama to combine with the ultraromantics' concept of the theater as a place for the exercise of esoteric intellectualism--the result being this confluence of miscellany at the turn of the century.

FOOTNOTES

1. Albino Forjaz de Sampaio, História da Literatura Portuguesa Ilustrada dos Séculos XIX e XX (Porto: Livraria Fernando Machado, 1942), pp. 304-05.

2. Quoted by Saviotti, op. cit., p. 146.

3. Rebello, op. cit., I, Preface, xli.

4. Saraiva and Lopes, op. cit., pp. 985-86.

5. Picchio, op. cit., pp. 284-85.

6. Rebello, op. cit., I, Preface, xlvii and Picchio, op. cit., p. 285.

7. Rebello, op. cit., Preface, liv.

8. Marcelino Mesquita, Dor Suprema in Teatro Português, I, 123-41.

9. _____, Almas Doentes (Lisbon: Ferreira & Oliveira--Editores, 1905).

10. Lopes de Mendonça, O Azebre (Porto: Magalhaes & Moniz, 1909).

11. _____, Nó Cego (Lisbon: Ferreira & Oliveira--Editores, 1905).

12. Rebello, op. cit., I, Preface, xlvi.

13. Teixeira-Gomes, Sabina Freire (2nd. ed.; Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1936).

14. Rebello, op. cit., I, Preface li.

15. Saviotti, op. cit., pp. 146-47 and Saraiva and Lopes, op. cit., p. 986.

16. Rebello, op. cit., I, Preface, xlii.

17. Ibid., xlvi.

18. Inocêncio, op. cit., XVI, 312-13.

19. Beckerman, op. cit., pp. 193-94.

20. Mesquita, Histeria (Lisbon, 1885).

21. Paul M. Levitt, A Structural Approach to the Analysis of Drama (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1971), pp. 24-28.

22. Fonseca, op. cit., p. 303 and Rebello, op. cit., I, 171.

23. Quoted in Rebello, Ibid., Preface, 1-li.

24. Ibid., Preface, xx.

25. Ibid., I, 171.

26. Ibid., Preface, 1.

27. Picchio, op. cit., p. 289.

28. Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira (40 vols.; Lisbon-Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Enciclopédia, Limitada, 1936-60), XXXI, 62-66.

29. Quote from Rebello, op. cit., I, 189 and Picchio, op. cit., p. 413.

30. Fonseca, op. cit., pp. 180-83.

31. Rebello, op. cit., Preface, xlvi.

32. Ibid., xlvii.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

We have seen that the reason for including a parallel study of dramatic trends in the Portuguese and Brazilian theater had to do with more than the mere fact that the two countries share a common language. Portugal, in fact, dominated almost all facets of the Brazilian theater in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth as well. This domination lasted until communications between Brazil and Portugal were interrupted during the First World War. Included in this pervasive influence were new ideas and techniques (which the Portuguese always got from the French) as well as plays, theatrical companies and directors. Even the Portuguese business colony in Rio de Janeiro (the only really important city in Brazil during the period), which patronized the theater extensively, made its likes and dislikes felt.

Despite this enormous influence, however, we noted when the Brazilians differed from the Portuguese and how they were able to develop their own type of originality in the drama. Culturally, at least, Brazil found itself in relation to Portugal in the nineteenth century in somewhat the same position as the United States vis-à-vis England. In the arts both Brazil and the United States seemed to suf-

fer from an inferiority complex with regard to the mother country, whether real or imagined. However, Brazil did develop some very fine dramatists and some original plays.

In addition, as we have seen, many Portuguese and Brazilian critics (including many modern ones) took an almost masochistic delight in decrying the rather sorry state of the Luso-Brazilian theater in the nineteenth century. In fact, bemoaning the fact that Luso-Brazilian drama was not the equal of French drama in the same period has almost become one of Portugal and Brazil's longest dramatic traditions. One must agree with the truth of this oft-stated assertion, but it appears that merely to dwell incessantly on this inferior position is to lose sight of much that was excellent and even innovative. Also, to do so too often is to forget many of the obstacles the Portuguese and Brazilian dramatists had to deal with which, we must concede, the French, the English and the Americans did not.

An American, for example, has the advantage of a long and honorable dramatic tradition. Every schoolboy in the English-speaking world learns to give at least lip service to Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Shakespeare and even, perhaps, Kidd, Beaumont and Fletcher, Messinger, Ford and Webster. To whom could a Portuguese or Brazilian schoolboy in the nineteenth century point? Gil Vicente. Vicente was interesting but he hardly constitutes a tradition.

And so, when the nineteenth century began, Portugal and Brazil had no long and venerable dramatic tradition on

which to rely. Everything that they accomplished had to be created, so to speak, out of thin air. If they turned in the beginning to Victor Hugo and then to Dumas fils and Augier for their models, who, one may ask, did not? Nineteenth-century English theater cannot boast of great figures, either, until the appearance of Oscar Wilde and George Bernard Shaw, while in the United States the panorama is bleak indeed.

Even if the Portuguese and Brazilian dramatists were forced to copy French models, it would be hard to find a French Romantic play that was any better than Almeida Garrett's Frei Luís de Sousa or Gonçalves Dias's Leonor de Mendonça. For the modern reader, at least, it would be difficult to encounter a pièce à thèse which made its social criticism in any more realistic manner than José de Alencar's O Demônio Familiar or Mãe. What social and literary satire was any better than either Camilo Castelo Branco's O Morgado de Fafe em Lisboa or O Morgado de Fafe Amoroso? What socio-political satire was more pleasingly ribald than Viagem à roda da Parvónia? Did Maeterlinck write any symbolist play that surpassed Câmara's Meia Noite? We must not forget also that the tradition of the realistic comedy of Martins Pena with the variations given to it by Macedo, França Júnior, Artur Azevedo and Coelho Neto, was in itself a very innovative subgenre.

Our study then has shown the difficulties involved in classifying certain plays and periods, as well as the rea-

sons for these difficulties. However, it is hoped, that with this detailed study, a clearer perspective of Luso-Brazilian drama in the nineteenth century has been achieved.

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