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LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM IN THE LIFE AND WORKS
OF PEDRO ANTONIO DE ALARCÓN

By
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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
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PREFACE

At a conference held in Madrid not so very many years ago, a literary critic made this statement:

Today many people in Spain, like people everywhere, are interested in politics but not in reading, simply, so they say, because they do not have the time;...but those who do read, read something by Fernán Caballero, and much more by the author of El Escándalo.¹

Indeed one cannot pick up an anthology of Spanish literature nor a history of Spain covering the nineteenth century without reading the name of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón. Seldom is any reference either to his literary work or to his political activity casually made; any criticism found is bound to be strongly worded regardless of whether the writer is pro- or anti-Alarcón.

My purpose is to study and elucidate in so far as is possible a very important phase in the history and literature of Spain in the nineteenth century as is exemplified in the life and the works of one of her most controverted novelists: Pedro Antonio de Alarcón.

By studying the works of the man himself, the critics' opinions, and the history books dealing with the problems of liberalism and conservatism, my task will be to gather and coordinate the material available.

¹ Alvaro Alcalá-Galiano. La Novela Moderna en España. Madrid: Valentin Tordesillas, 1914, 11. [Original in Spanish]

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN NINETEENTH CENTURY SPAIN:
TRADITIONALISM VERSUS LIBERALISM

In the beginning the primary purpose of the novel was entertainment; during the nineteenth century the scope of the novel became much broader and much greater. There were the regional novelists who depicted the singularities of the people and the mode of living within a given area; and there was the thesis-novel. Such a novel was centered about the three main issues of the day: religion, politics, and moral-social problems. Some authors went so far as to state very deliberately that their works were pure propaganda. Since the Spanish people are not an indifferent race, one has only to read to become strongly conscious of an author's sentiments; but in order to read intelligently, it is necessary to know something of the history of the country.

To say that the historical background of nineteenth century Spain and that of twentieth century Spain as well is the story of the struggle between the forces upholding traditionalism and the advocates of liberalism parallels the saying that the world is divided between the forces of good and evil. Certainly both statements are true, but they are equally vague and inconclusive. And so for purposes of clarification a com-

mon ground is necessary.

To seek a definition of traditionalism one needs have recourse to philosophy, theology, political and social sciences and history. The Spanish encyclopedia Espasa-Calpe says that it is a "doctrina filosófica que pone el origen de las ideas en la revelación y sucesivamente en la enseñanza que el hombre recibe de la sociedad."¹ There too, one learns that traditionalism is

el sistema político que consiste en mantener o restablecer las instituciones antiguas en el régimen de la nación y en la organización social. El tradicionalismo fundamenta el régimen social y político de España en los principios tradicionales de la religión católica y de la monarquía pura [not a constitutional monarchy] rechazando en absoluto los de la separación entre la Iglesia y el Estado, la soberanía popular, el sufragio universal y la libertad sin trabar preventivos.²

Already the source of man's ideas and the maintenance of social order have been mentioned. Many writers simply make the more general statement that traditionalism in Spain is the opposite of liberalism or republicanism.

Liberalism is often defined in terms of tolerance or freedom--but freedom from what? Jaime Balmes cautioned that "La tolerancia, como su nombre lo indica, supone la existencia de un mal, porque no sería una dicción aceptable la de que el bien se tolera."³ Basically liberalism is a system which recog

1 "Tradicionalismo," Enciclopedia universal ilustrada Espasa-Calpe, S.A., Barcelona, 1907-30, LXIII, 376.

2 Ibid.

3 "Liberalismo," Enciclopedia universal ilustrada, XXX, 430.

nizes human rights and free will as being supreme and therefore superior to authority in any form. Menéndez y Pelayo in writing a history of his time gave this definition:

Es la heterodoxia política que genéricamente se llama LIBERALISMO, tomada esta voz en su rigurosa acepción de libertad falsificada, política sin Dios o séase NATURALISMO POLITICO, y en ningun otro de los sentidos que vulgar y abusivamente se le han dado...⁴

He traced the pattern of liberalism in such a way as to include the Jansenists of the eighteenth century who were defeated by the Jesuits, the Episcopalian ideas of Febronio, the regalismo of Carlos III, the economistas, who tried to swell the public funds by seizure of church property, the French encyclopedists in addition to the incredulous and even atheistic philosophy of Voltaire and his followers. Again referring to Espasa-Calpe, attention is called to the fact that

Teológicamente considerado el liberalismo es la doctrina que quiere legitimar los abusos de la libertad humana, en su lucha contra la autoridad, y en especial contra la ley divina ...es la doctrina moderna que exagera los derechos de la libertad humana confundiendo la libertad moral con la física... El declarar al hombre independiente de estas normas o leyes, o tener por un progreso de la sociedad humana el que su autoridad no reconozca para hacerles cumplir en cuanto cabe las leyes superiores del hombre contenidas en la ley eterna, es lo que constituye el liberalismo en el sentido eclesiástico o teológico. Tal es el principio o principios

4 Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. La Historia de Los Heterodoxes Españoles. Madrid: Maroto-hijos, 1882, III, 585.

que los soberanos pontífices se han ocupado en refutar y condenar desde Clemente XII en su Encíclica de 1783.⁵

From this we know that liberalism opposed the only religion in Spain at that time; namely, Catholicism. As a matter of record in terms of liberalism, Catholicism was called one of the two 'traditional obstacles'.

Traditionalism represents law and order based on the only two permanently unifying links to be found in Spain: the Catholic religion and the monarchy.

En la realidad y la historia, el carlismo fué el primer tradicionalismo...fué una sola y misma cosa con el carlismo, legitimismo, o comunión-catolicomonarquía, que todos estos cuatro nombres recibió dándosele el primer y el cuarto atendiendo al contenido doctrinal, social y político, y el segundo y tercero, a la cuestión dinástica.⁶

Modern Europe was in a state of unrest. The Industrial Revolution had given rise to the capitalistic system and to new ideas about class distinction, privileges and rights. Many theories were advanced about the people having a voice in their government; and so too, many thrones were on the brink of falling. The influences of the French Revolution were far-reaching. The seeds of liberalism were propagated by the French encyclopedists and by a small but ever-present group of radical literary men everywhere. "Spain was the last of the continental nations

5 Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., XXX, 437.

6 Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., LXIII, 376.

to fall under the grip of Napoleon. Not until 1808 did he find leisure to undertake to implant in the Peninsula the principles of the French Revolution. Thanks to the folly and the baseness of her rulers she was easy to seize; thanks to the heroic spirit of her people, she was impossible to hold."⁷

In order to get a picture of nineteenth century Spain one must delve into history and trace the outline of Carlism. During the reign of Carlos IV, Spain unfortunately signed a treaty of alliance with France, a treaty which was largely aimed at England. Carlos IV and his weakling minister Godoy preferred having Napoleon as an ally rather than an enemy. Although after the battle of Trafalgar, where Lord Nelson helped to make secure the fame of the Royal British fleet,

...came the decision of Godoy, who had never enjoyed cordial relations with Napoleon, to seek an alliance with England... In the midst of his plans came Napoleon's great victory over Prussia at Jena in 1806, following that of Austerlitz in 1805. Once again Godoy, who had already compromised himself, made haste to explain. Napoleon pretended to be satisfied, but decided then that he would make an end of the Bourbon monarchy.⁸

Through treachery Napoleon poured troops into Spain. He asked permission for his troops to pass through Spain on a military mission, and he also asked that they be quartered whenever it

⁷ Charles E. Chapman. A History of Spain. New York: Macmillan Company, 1941, 406-7.

⁸ H. Butler Clarke. Modern Spain: 1815-1898. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1906, 10.

might become necessary. The Spanish throne did not immediately realize that their being quartered in large numbers meant taking possession of Spanish strongholds. Carlos IV finally awakened to the situation, and rather than accede to Napoleon's demands for territory or go to war either, he abdicated the throne in March, 1808. All Spain was pleased, because the minister Godoy was no longer in power and a popular prince would ascend the throne as Ferdinand VII.

But once again Napoleon had other plans. Ferdinand VII, who believed that the French Emperor was acting in good faith as his guardian and protector, followed Napoleon's suggestion that he abdicate in favor of his father. Once again Carlos IV was induced to abdicate, and the throne was left in Napoleon's hands. It was his intention to give the crown to his brother. All of this bargaining about the throne lasted about six weeks; and in the meantime the French troops had been making themselves unpopular with the Spanish townspeople. When the word got about that the ruler was to be Joseph Bonaparte and when the Spanish tempers were aroused over the treatment accorded them by the troops, the stage was set in Madrid for the famous uprising against the French invaders. The Dos de Mayo of 1808 was the call to arms, and the beginning of the War of Independence against Napoleon. The Dos de Mayo is the Spanish equivalent to Bastille Day in France and the Fourth of July in the United States.

When the news of the Dos de Mayo reached the individual districts, each one organized its Junta to prepare for war.

El pueblo de Madrid y el de España entera, respondió instantáneamente con viril energía a los impulsos de su patriotismo y de su honor, anatematizó de la manera más solemne tamañas ruindades, como ofrecían simultaneamente en Madrid y Bayona todos los individuos de la Familia Real.⁹

An English writer described the movement as being "spontaneous, unselfish, and reckless; in its wounded pride, the nation challenged Napoleon to combat, without giving any thought to the consequences, without counting up its own resources or those of the enemy."¹⁰ Although a review of the war itself is not needed here, it is well to point out the fact that the British became allied with the Spanish against Napoleon. English historians have written volumes about Wellington's victory. Still one should realize a bit more fully that the form of siege which is today termed 'guerrilla warfare' as well as the invincible spirit of the Spanish forces fighting on home territory actually defeated and drove the French troops out of Spain.

Since the topic is traditionalism versus liberalism, one must dig more deeply into the politics of the period rather than the military. In the absence of a king the Spanish decided to establish a Supreme Central Junta of the Government of the

9 Ramón de Mesonero Romanos. Memorias de Un Setentón Madrid: Aribau y Compañia, 1880, 5.

10 Chapman, op. cit., 489.

Kingdom as a guiding force to direct the war; this Junta met in Aranjuez in September, 1808. While it was meant to be a temporary measure, this Junta was the first step in the direction of self-government. Due to various turns in the war, this group fled to Seville, and later to Cádiz in 1810, where it set up a regency of five men who were to arrange for the convocation of the Cortes, the Spanish Congress.

The Cortes is normally a form of representation, and the Cortes of 1810 should have been that too. Partly because of the urgency of the war and the subsequent shortage of time and also partly because the americanos would have been overwhelmingly in the majority if the number of deputies were based on population,

It was arranged that in America only thirty deputies should be chosen, and because the war was imminent, they could not elect those deputies nor send them to Cádiz which was the place for the meeting; it was further arranged that supplementary deputies be chosen; the election taking place in Cádiz itself by the natives of the provinces and those from Ultramar (overseas America) who were residing there, an election which, as is natural, represented nothing. The Cortes opened with one hundred seven (107) deputies from which there were only fifty-nine (59) rightfully elected members, and thus there should have been two hundred thirty (230) in all; and consequently the constitution drawn up there was not legitimate.¹¹

It can easily be seen that such a Cortes could in no way be anything other than liberal-minded; from the very core of its for-

¹¹ Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., LXIII, 378. (Original in Spanish).

9
mation it did not represent the old Spanish tradition.* It was called in the absence of a king to direct the people in their war against the French intruder; yet it declared the rights of man, set itself up as the legislative power, and enacted the famous Constitution of 1812, which was modelled after the renowned French Constitution. This document limited the royal power very greatly, granted manhood suffrage, imposed universal taxation, set up a single Chamber, abolished the Inquisition, and established the freedom of the press except for a censor on the ecclesiastical press, "contrapisa esta que fué una transacción que en realidad no existió pues se atacó todo lo divino y humano y en las Juntas de Censura sólo entraron tres eclesiásticos entre nueve vocales."¹² The liberals flooded the country with their periodicals and in their effort to stifle their opponents "en nombre de la libertad, se implantó una despolítica tiranía hasta en el orden doctrinal y a la Inquisición religiosa sucedió la Inquisición liberal."¹³

Here too following the abuses of the freedom of the press came the first distinction between liberalism and liberty and the distinction has been considered "fundamental entre los tradicionalistas posteriores."¹⁴

12 Loc. cit.

13 Ibid.

14 Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., LXIII, 379.

El padre Francisco Alvarado fué quizá el primero que consideró el liberalismo como un sistema esencialmente antirreligioso ("el racionalismo aplicado a la gobernación de los pueblos distinguiéndolo de la libertad pública"¹⁵) de que era el partidario en cierta medida, pues defendía la intervención del pueblo en el gobierno, el jurado y otras ideas sostenidas por los liberales de entonces. La lucha por medio de la prensa no sólo era reflejo sino que agravaba y enconaba la que ya se sostenía en el terreno social. Liberales y serviles cada vez más separados unos de otros buscaban para juntarse con los suyos.¹⁶

In his historical sketches the nineteenth century critic, Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, made the following comments about the Constitution of 1812:

Agregáronse a éste... todos los sedentarios en Madrid... que la tal Constitución de Cádiz era como la de Bayona una importación francesa (y en esto no les faltaba del todo la razón), y que los decretos de las Cortes no eran otra cosa que la reproducción de los del rey José ...y se devinían y agitaban por encontrar en estos y en aquella un espíritu anti-religioso y anti-monárquica, que ciertamente no existía mas que en su imaginación.¹⁷

The document itself, the Constitution of 1812, was divided into ten articles, and after being further subdivided it contained over three hundred parts. Since it is recognized as being the initial work of the liberals in Spain, it is quite in order to enumerate the ten main divisions:

15 Ibid.

16 Altamirano y Salcedo. Historia de España. Madrid: Suarez, 1914, 546.

17 Mesonero Romanos, op. cit., 48.

I. La soberanía reside esencialmente en la nación y por lo mismo pertenece a esta exclusivamente el derecho de establecer sus leyes fundamentales.

II. La religión de la nación española es y será perpetualmente la católica apostólica, romana, única, verdadera, y que la nación le protege por leyes sabias y justos y prohíbe el ejercicio de cualquiera otra.

III. Trata de las Cortes: el establecimiento de una sola cámara de disputados, apartándose por primera vez de la forma de las antiguas Cortes de España ya fuesen de dos, ya de tres o cuatro brazos. Trata así del método de elección y autorizó a la creación de una diputación permanente de Cortes compuesta de siete individuales para velar por la observación de la Constitución, convocar a Cortes extraordinariamente en ciertos casos.

IV. Trata de la autoridad del Rey: y todo lo perteneciente al poder ejecutivo; comienzase en el por declarar la persona del rey sagrada e inviolable, y no sujeta a responsabilidad...se determinan las restricciones que ha de tener su autoridad...y se creaba un consejo de estado, 'único consejo del Rey'.

V. Las facultades y organización de los tribunales y la administración de la justicia son la materia del título quinto...habría un solo fuero para toda clase de personas...que se abolía la pena de confiscación de bienes.

VI. Materia del sexto título era la gobierno interior de los pueblos y de las provincias.
 [This article contained nothing of note.]

VII. Un solo capítulo constituía el título septimo referente a las contribuciones. Los impuestos fueron repartirlos entre todos los españoles con proporción a sus haberes, sin excepción ni privilegio alguno.

VIII. En el título octavo se prescribía que todos los años habrían las Cortes fijar la fuerza militar del ejercito y armada que se

necesítase. Military conscription was upheld.

IX. Estuvo dedicado a tratar de la instrucción pública.

X. El título décimo trataba de la observancia de la Constitución y del modo de proceder para hacer variaciones en ella. Modificación estuvo imposible hasta que...ocho años...antes de admitirse proposición de alteración y reforma.¹⁸

When the Cortes, "el ridículo Congreso"¹⁹, was in session the liberal speakers were applauded by the galleries overcrowded with lobbyists, who in turn drowned out the conservative members. In their version of the meeting of the Cortes, the editors of Espasa-Calpe apply Victor Hugo's maxim: "La intolerancia es justa con los intolerantes, y no debe concederse la libertad a los enemigos de ella."²⁰ Although the work of the Cortes was mainly liberal and was more radical than even the majority of the liberals, who themselves were graded according to the degree of their progressiveness, and although the framing of the Constitution was not one of the original objectives of that body, still it is "cierto que esa constitución fue inspirada por el deseo sincero de mejorar el gobierno de la patria y poner freno a los abusos del poder, tendencia en que todos coincidían existía."²¹ Modesto Lafuente differs in this matter.

18 M. Lafuente y J. Valera. Historia General de España. Barcelona: Montaner y Simon, 1882, V, 190.

19 Mesonero Romanos, op. cit., 48.

20 Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., LXIII, 380.

21 Ibid., 379.

of seeing anything good in the work; he says that they were no administrative reforms nor anything except antipathy toward the old regime. As proof that these liberal ideas were imposed upon the majority of the people, there were the historically acknowledged secret societies which led to the imprisonment of any who were discovered and called an 'enemy of progress'. Again a Spaniard remarked, "Estas ideas revolucionarias eran ¿porqué negarlo ? repulsivas a la inmensa mayoría del pueblo español."²²

However histories point out that these liberal illusions of success did not last very long. Napoleon was defeated and Ferdinand VII was restored to his throne in 1814. Then the government was given a thorough overhauling; the Constitution was abolished; the Jesuits were recalled; the Inquisition was reestablished; and there began a series of persecutions of the liberal leaders. The afrancesados were exiled, while other liberals were imprisoned. From 1814 until 1820 under the purposeful and extremely reactionary rule of Ferdinand VII, Spain endured another period of tyranny.

Free-masonry being the unifying force, in 1820 an Asturian colonel successfully proclaimed the Constitution of 1812 and began a rebellion. Ferdinand VII capitulated and convoked a meeting of the Cortes. He promised many reforms, and for three years a constitutional government followed. Many

22 Mesonero Romanos, op. cit., 76.

liberals returned from exile, and there were minor uprisings. The priests were ordered to explain the Constitution from their pulpits; the Jesuits were again suppressed; and hospitals and convents were closed. Finally the Cortes of 1820 was charged with being too anti-clerical, and it was dismissed. However a new group formed and named the Asturian leader, Riego, as President. Incongruously a reign of terror was imposed upon the people to give them liberty, and Ferdinand VII was taken prisoner. He appealed to France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria for help; the Holy Alliance met at Verona in 1822. Great Britain maintained her stand by asserting that she would intervene in order to protect territory but not in matters of deciding upon a form of government; so France stepped in to assist Ferdinand VII. The Spanish king again ascended the throne and there began another period of tyranny from 1823 until his death ten years later.

Liberal laws were revoked as a new form of reactionary government took hold. More punishments were meted out, and Riego was condemned to death.

Rather than establish the recently abolished Inquisition, the king created a secret body of like aims. His most frenzied supporters are said to have founded in various parts of the country a 'Society of the Exterminating Angel'. The name of Calomarde, inappropriately appointed Ferdinand's Minister of Justice stands to all Spaniards for terrors associated with that period.²³

²³ E. Allison Peers. Spain, A Companion to Spanish Studies. London: Methuen & Company, Ltd., 1938, 79.

Still the people were not satisfied; and there was still another period of uprisings; and on occasion the Constitution was temporarily proclaimed. Many royalists were disgusted with Ferdinand's conduct, and since at that time he had no heir, they began to pin their hopes on his brother Carlos. The brother had shown himself to be a hero on the battlefield, was a religious man, and seemed to be well-trained and well-suited to the position; and he most certainly was in line for the throne. In Catalonia there was an open revolt, and in 1827 the Carlist or traditional party was organized. The revolt was suppressed for a time. In 1833 Ferdinand VII died. The ministers of the state met and swore their loyalty to the monarch; the prime minister Cea Bermúdez issued a proclamation in which he said, "La religión y la monarquía, primeros elementos de vida para España, serán respetados, protegidas y mantenidas por mí en todo su vigor y pureza."²⁴

Since Ferdinand VII died leaving as his only heir a baby daughter by his fourth wife, immediately there arose the controversy over whether or not a girl could inherit the Spanish throne. According to the Salic Law passed in 1713 during the reign of Philip V, a girl was excluded from the throne. But Ferdinand VII in 1829 had published the Pragmatic Sanction,

24 Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., LXIII, 395.

which reverted to a very old law of the Partidas which recognized an heir according to the degree of relationship. This law had been reestablished in 1789 also. So the baby Isabel occupied the throne with her mother acting as regent. Some changes were made in the ministry as a means of pacifying the liberals. With Martínez de la Rosa as prime minister, the Regent-mother began the suppression of the Inquisition, prohibition of entrance into the Convent by aspiring novices, arming the liberals, and other 'progressive' measures. Still she did not go far enough to satisfy the masons.

Meanwhile the followers of Don Carlos stoutly maintained their leader's claim to the same throne and proclaimed Carlos king in exile. On the other hand by a royal decree of 1833, he was declared a conspirator and a usurper to the throne and in addition all his property was seized; his honors were taken from him; and he was deprived of his royal title of 'Infante'. His reply, directed to all Spaniards, was that he had no ambitions for the throne but that religion, the law of succession, and the right of descendants obliged him to defend the Crown. Judging by a remark which he made as he passed the tomb of Louis XVI: "Las revoluciones sólo sirven para destruir, porque son inhábiles para edificar."²⁵, it would seem that he foresaw the cost of his defense of the Crown, but that he really

25 Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., LXIII, 399.

believed in all sincerity that his purpose was justified. He went about organizing his troops in all the provinces and placed himself at the head. The Carlist supporters were largely from the country; while the Cristinists, those on the side of the Regent-mother Maria Cristina, came from the city. The Quadruple Alliance between France, Portugal, Spain, and England supported Cristina. This was the beginning of the Carlist War; it was also known as the first civil war and lasted from 1833 until 1840.

The two most important pieces of legislation during this period of liberal domination were the Estatuto Real of 1834 and the Constitution of 1837. The former was the law which prevailed for a period of three years; the government was a constitutional monarchy which upheld the rights of man. Don Carlos was not only deprived of his rights but even prohibited from ever setting foot on Spanish soil. The Jesuits were again expelled, and their goods, confiscated; all convents were closed. There were so many riots, secret societies, and changes in the ministry that the 'Sociedad española de Jovellanos' was formed to fight the Carlists and to fight anarchy. However anarchy ruled throughout all Spain and one historian commented that "even the Portuguese were in the habit of referring to Spain as that 'madhouse across the border', and that impression could be strengthened from the observations of political historians.

Spanish political history in this period appears as a comic opera in which every scene ends in tragedy."²⁶

In 1837 when there was no money in Spain and no credit to be had, a new liberal constitution was drawn up; it succeeded that of 1812, and it made no mention of Catholicism. This new document was a compromise affair which satisfied no one, and thereby lasted only a few years.

Meanwhile through much trickery and rivalry between the leaders and some military defeats, the Carlists were gradually losing ground. The Treaty of Vergara, which ended the war was signed in 1839 by the Carlist general Maroto and the liberal Espartero. Some troops did not accept the terms of the pact and went on fighting as before. Don Carlos himself was made to believe that Maroto was a traitor. Espartero pointed out to the people of the Basque country that they were, according to his own interpretation, "being deceived by an ambitious prince who pretended to usurp the crown of Spain."²⁷ Still they went on fighting; and there were many bloody reprisals. The war ended finally in 1840. In that same year the regent Maria-Cristina was forced to abdicate, and General Espartero was elected to the position.

For three years he was a strong leader and put down many revolts, although he was forced to act in dictatorial

²⁶ J. B. Trend. Origins of Modern Spain. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1921, 15.

²⁷ Espasa-Calpe, op.cit., LXIII, 451. (Original in Sp

fashion. During that period liberalism had undergone a change. Queen Cristina and Espartero and the Cortes had opposed Don Carlos and the other Apostolics or traditionalists; theirs was a moderate form of liberalism. Narváez, heading a much more radical group, began the revolution of 1843 and forced General Espartero into exile.

Throughout all Europe the spirit of liberalism was being spread, laying the foundation for the revolutions of 1848. Discord was everywhere, and many governments were overthrown. Metternich was forced to flee from Vienna; Louis-Phillipe left France; and the Pope had to take refuge elsewhere when the republic was declared in Italy. In Spain the thirteen-year-old Isabel was named queen; but the government was actually in the hands of these three generals: Narváez, O'Donnell, and Prim. Their rule totalled about twenty-five years. All three men opposed Don Carlos and staunchly supported the whimsical young Isabel II. Narváez was less liberal than the other two men. Under his leadership the new constitution of 1845 was promulgated.

This document was a less radical revision of that of 1837. While the work of 1837 proclaimed national sovereignty, that of 1845 was another compromise between the ruler and the people. The senators in the earlier one were elected by popular vote; in 1845 they were appointed by the king for life terms.

The Crown in making appointments filled the Senate with nobles, ecclesiastics, and other traditionalists. In the early paper the nation "se obliga la religión...que los españoles profesan."² In the 1845 revision, the state was obliged to maintain the "religión de la nación española...la católica, apostólica, y romana."²⁹ In 1851 the temporal power of the Church was again strengthened still more under Bravo Murillo, who came into power for about three years. During this period of his leadership relations with the Pope were restored. Murillo also planned a new constitution which took all authority from the Cortes and gave the monarch absolute power. But liberalism had advanced to such an extent that even Narváez pointed out to Isabel II the folly of such a proposal; as a result Murillo was out, and a new coalition was formed. Espartero was re-elected after a brief uprising; and O'Donnell came with him. In 1854 the liberal union headed by O'Donnell was formed; but

La unión liberal no tiene otra misión que la de destruir; nada ha creado; no sirve para alimentar las esperanzas de los candidos y para ofrecer refugio a los fatigados y dar pasto a los avidos. La unión-liberal no tiene tradiciones ni historia ni principios y no puede tener porvenir.³⁰

The group was made up of the more radical element; it hated

28 Ballesteros y Beretta. Historia de España y Su Influencia en La Historia Universal. Barcelona: Salvato, editore 1934, VII, 672.

29 Loc. cit.

30 Ballesteros y Beretta, op.cit., VIII, 62.

absolutism; and it opposed Espartero. The famous Manifiesto de Manzanares was proclaimed by its leaders in 1854:

Nosotros queremos la conservación del trono, pero sin la camarilla que le deshonra...nosotros tenemos consagrados a la voluntad nacional nuestras espadas y no las envainaremos hasta que ella esté cumplida.³¹

Those lines are the beginning and the ending of the edict, which was evidently an open declaration against the ministry. The Queen was forced to call on Espartero to put down the revolution. His ministry planned a new form of government which revoked the Constitution of 1845, and many new freedoms were to be granted. The liberal government also planned a law of civil and religious desamortization, which denied the right of property-ownership to the Church and took possession of her goods in order to sell them and to increase public funds. The Queen, Isabel II refused to sign such a bill, and after much discussion the Cortes convened and declared the throne vacant. The preamble to such a step contained these liberal views:

...era una revolución fundamental en la manera de ser de la nación española el golpe de muerte dado al antiguo y deplorable régimen y el resumen de la regeneración política de nuestra patria.³²

The liberal follow-up was the expulsion of the Jesuits, the prohibition of religious processions, exile of the bishops, and more trouble with the Vatican. In the cities the worker were

31 Ibid., 42.

32 Ballesteros y Beretta, op.cit., VIII, 671.

pitted against the manufacturers, and there were more assassinations, fires, and other forms of violence. Such extremes tended to undo the work of the revolutionists. The two branches of the royal family compromised and made their peace; the liberals swung over toward the middle of the road with Narváez at their helm. The sale of church property was stopped, and relations with the Holy See were taken up.

There was a split in party leadership so that Narváez and O'Donnell alternated as ministers; nevertheless the latest Constitution came into being in 1856. It proclaimed the rights and the national sovereignty of the people. The persecution of the Church and the clergy began all over again. In this document for the first time there was a new attitude toward religion:

Pero ningún español ni extranjero podrá ser perseguido por sus opiniones o creencias religiosas mientras no las manifieste por actos públicos contrarios a la religión.³³

The historian Ballesteros made this comment: "Es un anticipo de la tolerancia de cultos de la constitución de 1876."³⁴

In 1857 Alfonso XII was born, and with the birth of a son it seemed that at least the dynasty was reasonably secure. O'Donnell remained at his post successfully fighting the war in Africa. He still defended the flighty Queen; many historians including Chapman imply that he used his skill not only to guide

33 Ballesteros y Beretta, op.cit., VIII, 672.

34 Loc. cit.

Spanish foreign policy but also to divert attention from the questionable behavior of the royal household. Not only was the Queen's behavior subject to criticism, but Don Carlos maintained his claim to the throne and then in order to obtain peace retracted his statement, and finally in view of Isabel's faulty conduct again he voiced his rights. "...the quality which strikes the Spanish observers in the members of the House of Bourbon is their incurable lack of seriousness."³⁵ Through lack of communication Don Carlos and his brother issued conflicting statements. There was fighting from time to time during the second Carlist War. Prim had earned his reputation during the war in Africa, and so it was no real surprise when he finally succeeded to the premiership. The government was becoming less and less able to restrain the journalistic accounts of their Queen's weaknesses. General Prim joined in the campaign of defamation against Isabel II; O'Donnell tried to arrest Prim, who fled the country.

Little by little the Crown was losing its prestige, and liberalism was gaining here and there. Pius IX issued a series of documents against liberalism: in 1864 the famous encyclical entitled Quanta Cura, followed by the Syllabus of Errors, which condemned modern liberal ideas of

"...extreme individualism and the supremacy of secular state over the Church, and lauded the earlier ideas of the 'Christian state', in which the

Church though independent of secular authority, would be supported by it... The Syllabus was not a dogma...it was in the nature of counsel against the peculiar developments of the time in Italy and against the 'abuses' of modern liberalism. 36

There were many pros and cons regarding the position of the Church, the power of the Queen or of the Crown, and similar issues. In 1865 the Queen turned over three-fourths of her property to the state. Even that was not enough, and the mutiny of the students on the night of Saint Daniel had to be put down by Narváez, who was then in control.

In 1866 Prim organized a revolution which for a time was defeated. Later there was the celebrated protest signed by the Unionist deputies in the Cortes, among whom was the writer, Pedro Alarcón. This protest led to the famous September revolution of 1868, which finally resulted in the downfall of Her Majesty Isabel II.

The revolution of 1868, a contrast to other uprisings since 1812 because of the unanimity with which it was supported, was the final explosion of a long growing and pent-up disgust with the vacillating and incompetent Queen. It was led by a coalition of many elements from conservative constitutional monarchists to a small party of Republicans, united to end the reign of Isabel II; they were too hopelessly divided among themselves to stabilize Spain in face of the Carlist menace although they attempted some liberal reforms.³⁷

36 Carlton J. Hayes. A Political And Cultural History of Modern Europe. New York: Macmillan, 1939, II, 303.

37 John T. Reid. Modern Spain And Liberalism. California: Stanford University Press, 1937, 18.

Even the Spanish writers agree that "así todos estaban conformes en el destronamiento de la reina, varying only in the person who había de sustituirla."38

There seemed to be no question of what order or form of government was to have been established, although the Cortes went through the formality of voting. Everyone simply agreed upon a constitutional monarchy, and the problem was that of finding a suitable monarch. Meanwhile the Cortes had promulgated a new constitution, which was more advanced along liberal lines than ever before. Previously the Spanish had always thought of the king first and then the constitution, but even the preamble of this document was worded differently:

La nación española y en su nombre las Cortes Constituyentes elegidos por sufragio universal, deseando afianzar la justicia, la libertad y la seguridad y proveer al bien de cuantos vivan en España, decretan y sancionan lo siguiente.39

There followed a declaration of the rights of man, national sovereignty, and almost the same religious clause as in 1837: "La nación se obliga a mantener el culto y los ministros de la religión católica."40 The point is that the Cortes and not the person of the king took first place, and it was here for the

38 Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., LXIII, 472.

39 Ballesteros y Beretta, op. cit., VIII, 674.

40 Ibid., 672.

first time too, that the royal sanction was not necessary for constitutional reforms by the Cortes.

Menéndez y Pelayo described that period in Spain in the following way:

Desde 1868 a 1875 pasó España por toda suerte de sistemas políticos y anarquías con nombre de gobierno: juntas provinciales, cortes constituyentes, regencia, monarquías electivas, varias clases de repúblicas, y diferentes interinidades, ...Gobiernos todos más o menos hostiles a la Iglesia, y notables algunos por la cruelísima saña con que la persiguieron, cual si se hubiesen propuesto borrar hasta el último resto de Catolicismo en España.⁴¹

During that period of time the Jesuits were again expelled from Spain and the Carmelites too; churches were destroyed, and the seminaries were closed. There were even rules forbidding the ringing of church bells, and in 1872 "queda suprimida la palabra Dios en los documentos oficiales."⁴² On the other hand Evangelist churches were built; civil marriages were being performed with the utmost legality, and instruction became secularized. One of the most politically prominent men of the time Pi y Margall, believed that "Dios es producto de la razón misma y el catolicismo está muerto en la consciencia de la humanidad en la consciencia del pueblo español."⁴³ Strangely enough in spite of these liberal pronouncements the constitutional Cortes

41 Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., III, 761.

42 Ibid., III, 774.

43 Ibid., III, 767.

was against continuing the Bourbon dynasty:" ¡ Abajo para siempre la raza espuria de los Borbones!"⁴⁴, but was definitely in favor of a monarchy, even though its powers were to be limited.

The next task was to find a suitable monarch, and the throne was offered to various noblemen in Europe for 'reasons of politic'; finally Amadeo of Savoy accepted the proposal. From the very beginning of his brief reign, 1870-1873, he encountered serious difficulties. His chief backer, General Prim was assassinated as he was on the way to meet the new Italian-born king on his arrival into Spain. There were so many political parties that the ministry was a coalition group, which never in all the history of the world has been able to work solely for the benefit of the country but rather for 'the Party'. Then Don Carlos protested the 'outrage', and in 1872 with the battle cry of "¡ Abajo el extranjero! ¡ Viva España!", another Carlist War began. At last in 1873 Amadeo abdicated the Spanish throne for himself and his children.

Often an impartial outsider can see a situation as a whole more clearly than the person whose energy and emotions are vitally concerned with the problem. In his parting speech of resignation directed to the Cortes in 1873, Amadeo remarked that Spain was still very far from achieving peace:

Si fuesen extranjeros los enemigos de su dicha,
entonces al frente de estos soldados tan valientes

44 Ballesteros y Beretta, op. cit., VIII, 145.

como sufridos, sería el primero en combatirlos; pero todos los que con la espada, con la pluma, con la palabra, agravan y perpetúan los males de la nación, son españoles; todos invocan el dulce nombre de la Patria; todos pelean y se agitan por su bien, y entre el fragor del combate, entre el confuso, atronador y contradictorio clamor de los partidos, entre tantas y tan opuestas manifestaciones de la opinión pública, es imposible todavía, hallar el remedio para tamaños males. 45

Once again Spain was without a king. This time the two houses of Cortes met and voted two hundred fifty-eight (258) to thirty-two (32) in favor of a republic. Emilio Castelar summarized the erroneously liberal viewpoint in an eloquent address:

Señores, con Ferdinando VII murió la monarquía tradicional; con la fuga de Isabel II la monarquía parlamentaria; con la renuncia de don Amadeo de Saboya, la monarquía democrática; nadie ha acabado con ella; ha muerto por sí misma. Nadie trae la República; la traen todas las circunstancias; la trae una conspiración de la sociedad, de la naturaleza y de la historia. Señores, saludémosla como el Sol que se levanta por su propia fuerza en el cielo de nuestra patria. 46

The ministry was again a liberal coalition. Although Castelar was elected president in September, 1873, the godless but influential Pi y Margall, who believed in federalism, was the real leader. As soon as the republic was proclaimed, the Carlist cause thrived. So powerful did it become that the republicans were forced to establish a dictatorship to combat Carlism. In

45 Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., XXXII, 866.

46 Ballesteros y Beretta, op. cit., VIII, 204.

1874 after much disorder Castelar was verbally attacked in the Cortes, and he resigned. The era of the republic was over.

After the blow had fallen prominent generals and politicians met, but no agreement was reached. Since the revolution of 1868, Bravo Murillo and Cánovas had been working for the restoration of the Bourbons through Isabel's son Alfonso. In 1874 Cánovas proclaimed the end of the republic and Alfonso XII in control. There was opposition and bloodshed from the Carlist troops, but a congratulatory message was sent to Alfonso XII, who was then in London. The following part of his reply has become famous: "Sea lo que quiera mi suerte, ni dejaré de ser buen español, ni, como todos mis antepasados, buen católico, ni como hombre del siglo, verdaderamente liberal."⁴⁷

Not many years before all Spain seemed to be glad to be rid of the Bourbon Queen Isabel II; then after a taste of the reign of the Italian king and still less of the republic, all Madrid turned out to welcome the Bourbon heir, Alfonso XII.

The king did not face an easy task anymore than did his predecessor. His chief advisor was Cánovas, who, though liberal leader as he was, believed: "He dicho que lo primero par mí era la Nación o la Patria; que lo segundo era el principio monárquico constitucional; que lo tercero era la dinastía, y la

47 Ballesteros y Beretta, op. cit., VIII, 253.

One of the tools used in the investigation was an arithmetic performance check list. It was devised, as previously stated, to obtain the teachers' impressions of the individual's arithmetic performance. Strictly speaking this home-made check list is only a device to aid the teacher to record her impressions of the individual's arithmetic performance. It consists of four questions with five groups of statements under each. These items or statements are descriptions of desirable and undesirable traits of arithmetic performance.

The teacher checked the group of items she believed described best the individual's arithmetic performance. The teacher was also requested to cross out any items within a given group which did not apply to the individual she was rating. Only a very small number of items were crossed out.

While this tool offered some aid to the teacher it cannot be regarded as a precision instrument, since it contained only a five-point scale.

The results of the four questions from the ten schools are listed separately in the following tables.

in May, 1876, by a vote of two hundred twenty-one (221) to eighty-three (83); and this document was law until 1931.

In spite of the fact that Spain was still full of internal dissension during the next ten years, because there were so many parties vying against one another which in turn accounted for the frequent changes in ministry, Alfonso XII's reign was comparatively uneventful. The young king's health was failing, and he died after a reign of only ten years. Since Alfonso XIII was an infant, Maria Cristina of Austria acted as regent, but Sagasta, the liberal, was the guiding star of Spanish politics.

The reins changed hands several times during the next decade merely following the pattern of that turbulent century. Cánovas succeeded Sagasta, and then the process was repeated. Spain began to sign treaties with other nations largely in the matter of trade relations. At home in 1889 the first Catholic Congress opened, and Menéndez y Pelayo was prominent there. In 1893 there was more trouble with the Moors, and then came the Cuban revolt in which the United States intervened. Fortunately the Spanish-American War did not last very long, but it did spell the end of Colonial Spain, and the defeat of Spain as a world power. Nevertheless even the Spanish people themselves refer to 1898 as the beginning of a new era, a new hope.

In 1902 Alfonso XIII took his oath as king according to the Constitution of 1876. There were three main problems

facing the new king and his liberal ministry; the clergy, the regionalists, and the social or labor problem. Like his predecessors he had many reverses and changes of ministry. His was a stormy reign which lasted nearly thirty years until 1931. Then there followed another Spanish Civil War.

Today the dictator Franco, another military man, rules Spain with an iron hand. It is always difficult to find authentic unbiased material about current problems and especially so when such a situation exists. In the spring of 1949, the American newsman, H.V.Kaltenborn, in a radio broadcast from Spain gave what he said was an uncensored report, the only one which he had been able to make during his extended trip throughout Europe; at that time he remarked that just as in former times "the only two unifying links in Spain were the monarchy and the Catholic faith".

This very summer of 1949 the newspapers contained items about the Pretender Don Juan's meeting with the leaders of his party to make plans for regaining the throne.

This chapter was written in an attempt to review the struggle which is depicted by the novelists, the struggle which historians acknowledge has been going on in Spain for a century and a half, the struggle between traditionalism and liberalism.

CHAPTER II
PEDRO ANTONIO DE ALARCÓN
HIS BIOGRAPHY

Ordinarily the inclusion of biographical material in a literary study is criticized as being just so much 'padding'. However that can hardly be true in the study of the life history of a man whose early training had begun in a seminary, who shortly afterwards wrote blasphemous editorials which included a parody on the Sermon on the Mount, who was a co-signer of an historical political document known throughout Spain as a liberal manifesto, and who later wrote such a book as El Escándalo.

With regard to El Final de Norma, Alarcón's first novel written in 1855, and El Sombrero de Tres Picos, (1874), Pardo-Bazán wrote that "Alarcón can boast of having captivated two generations of very different tastes...while many authors of yesterday have disappeared, Alarcón still reigns and is owner of our hearts and imaginations...and is still a favorite of all without regard to age or sex."¹ On the fourteenth anniversary of his death, the newspaper Ilustración Española y Americana, published in Madrid, stated in a column signed by Eduardo de Lústrono that "Alarcón will always occupy a prominent position

1. E. Pardo-Bazán. La Cuestión Palpitante. Madrid:
A. Perez Dubrull, 1891, 260. (Original in Spanish).

among the great Spanish geniuses."² The Spanish critic, Azorín whose ideas do not follow the same pattern as Alarcón's wrote in this fashion:

We have before us a great painter of Spain. There have been in the modern Spanish novel a picture of the customs and the atmosphere of the country; and without a doubt, in a single book, Alarcón digs more deeply into these descriptions--rapidly made summaries--than any other novelist can in entire books....He has reached into the very heart of things. Alarcón is a marvelous painter of Spanish reality.³

In 1933 an English literary critic had this to say: "Alarcón deserves his centenary.... To writers of manuals and students of literature he is a man of one book....Yet the twenty odd volumes of Alarcón all found their public, and the tale of their many editions shows no sign of ending."⁴ Suffice it to add that no two critics agree on just which that 'one book' may be.

The three principal biographical sources are Alarcón's own account, that written by his friend, Mario Catalina, and that by another of his contemporaries, Emilia Padro-Bazán. There have been many comments made by authors with opposite views, but the one point on which everyone agrees is that he is

² La Ilustración Española y Americana.

Madrid: 1905, I, 31:331. (Original in Spanish).

³ Martínez Ruíz, José (Azorín). Andando y Pensando.

Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1948, 211. (Original in Spanish).

⁴ William C. Atkinson. "Don Pedro Antonio de Alarcón

Bulletin of Spanish Studies. Liverpool: July, 1933, X:39:136.

a first class narrator: "He is like a public garden where every one goes for recreation."⁵

Listed as a poet, critic, dramatist, novelist, soldier, journalist, politician, Congressman, ambassador, and father. Pedro Antonio de Alarcón y Ariza was born in Guadix, Granada, in 1833, the year which marked the death of Ferdinand VII, and the start of the first Carlist War. Alarcón came from a noble and distinguished family whose goods had been confiscated during the war. His grandfather, the Regidor Perpetuo of Guadix, was imprisoned and left to die, because he had opposed the entrance of the French troops into the city. As Regidor Perpetuo he had the privilege of wearing a red cape and a three-cornered hat, which Alarcón saw preserved as a kind of relic or tribute to the heroic grandfather. From this bit of background material, one can see that the family was staunchly conservative or, if the other term is preferred, strongly traditional.

Because the religious orders had been suppressed and in many instances driven from the city, as in the case of those in Guadix, their buildings containing most of the literary and artistic wealth of the city, had been abandoned. All privately owned wealth and grandeur had disappeared; the few people who retained their fortunes had moved to the Court or to other large cities.

⁵ Henry D. Sedgwick. Spain: A Short History of Its Politics, Literature, And Art. Boston: Little Brown & Company, 1925. 339.

In Alarcón's own words one may learn that

The Cathedral, beautiful, rich, and artistic, was the only palace inhabited; the only power which preserved its primitive splendor, and magnificence, the life and soul of Guadix. In it I received my first artistic impressions: the concept of the revealing power of architecture, the first music, the paintings,...the clouds of incense, the glow of a thousand lighted candles, the golden vessels, the rich garments, the sound of the organ, the chanting of the choir, all that made me dream of poetry, and I imagined a world different from that which surrounded me in the city.⁶

The effects of those hours can be very easily seen in the detailed descriptions of the churches which he visited later in life; his minutely exact observations could not possibly be made by a casual spectator.

The boy was sent to a Franciscan seminary to study philosophy. In his spare time this precocious youth wandered into the abandoned rooms, particularly the libraries, of the deserted religious houses; many of the books which he found there were written in French and Italian. Today in view of the kind of past-times known to society, it seems difficult to believe that a young schoolboy would take a Spanish copy of a book entitled Jerusalem libertada and lay it down next to a French version of the same book and by comparing the two, teach himself the French language. So too with copies of Virgil's Aeneid written in Latin and in Italian, he managed to learn

⁶ Alarcón. Novelas Completas. Buenos Aires: Artes Gráficas "Concordia", 1942, 2. (Original in Spanish).

Italian. After that one can easily believe that he graduated at the age of fourteen and then entered the University of Granada to study law. Just as today the legal profession entails a good deal of time and money; and the boy had to be called home. The Alarcón family had ten children and could not afford to spend so much money on the education of one individual. The priesthood seemed to offer the best opportunities for honorable security to the bright young man, and so the family sent him back to the seminary to study theology, although Alarcón did not at any time feel that that was his vocation.

Many psychologists say that changing home environment or schools does not change the basic nature of an individual, and in this instance that theory seems to be true. Alarcón had a deep desire to write, and when he was fifteen, his first plays were produced in his home town. He wrote three plays that year and while those plays were not literary gems, the applause accorded the embryo author acted as a stimulus. He wrote bits of poetry and occasional short articles which were accepted and published by a weekly paper in Cádiz. Needless to say his literary success gave him courage to leave the seminary against the well-meaning wishes of his family and to oppose them still further by going to Cádiz to enter the newspaper field.

Alarcón took over the editorship of the paper El Eco de Occidente, which was a weekly review of literature, arts, and science. His popularity increased as did his earnings; so

successful was he at the age of twenty years that he felt free to go to Madrid to try his luck there. Here he encountered his first major literary disappointment.

Alarcón was a great admirer of Byron, Hugo, Espronceda and the romantic writers of the age. He had written a two thousand verse continuation of "El Diablo Mundo", which he brought to Madrid in 1853 in the hopes of its being published. Unfortunately upon reaching there he found that a continuation of that poem had just recently been published by a friend of the original poet, Espronceda, and that the literary addition had been well-received.

He received through the mail a notice saying that he had been drafted for military service, and disheartened because of his literary disappointment as well as his personal objection to conscription, he returned to Guadix. His family welcomed their prodigal son with open arms and managed to have him released from the service. Once more he became affiliated with the newspaper El Eco de Occidente, and again he gained renown as a writer of the day.

Following his natural impulses he joined a group of other young people with tastes similar to his own. He became a member of the group known as "La Cuerda", which later moved to Madrid and became known there as "La Colonia Granadina". This club was comprised mainly of literary artists, although it did include a few musicians; they read and discussed and in general

tried to imitate the French writers of the day. The group was quite radical in its writings but at the same time harmless, and several members besides Alarcón, later received recognition in the field of literature.

In that same year, 1854, when the revolution began with the rebellion in Vicalvaro and the Manifiesto de Manzanares Alarcón took an active part in heading a group of insurrectionalists in his own home town; his contingent actually seized an arms depot. Mariano Catalina gave the most authoritative and most plausible explanation for this act:

Alarcón was then twenty, possessed of a lively and enterprising nature, ambitious for fame, adventurous and imaginative, had a conscienceless but sincere love for what was called 'the freedom of the people'...⁷

Then the youthful Alarcón published a newspaper, La Redención, which did not hesitate to predict friction and the inevitable differences between the army and the militia. The main theme of the paper, however, was anti-clerical in nature. After a time an aroused public opinion forced him to discontinue its publication.

From Granada he returned to Madrid where he became editor, for a period of less than three months, of an extremely radical publication known as El Látigo--The Whip. His writing

⁷ Mariano Catalina in Alarcón's Novelas Completas. Buenos Aires: Artes Gráficas 'Concordia', 1942, 9. (Original in Spanish).

at this time reflected the tone of a vigorous liberal. Most of the editorials were directed against the Queen. Frequently rival traditional newspapers upbraided Alarcón for his very scandalous columns, and he in turn, would reply in even more libelous terms. Such contests not only increased the fame of the man but augmented the sales as well, until even Isabel II herself became a subscriber. Finally Alarcón reached the limit, and the rivalry became so strong that it had to be settled in the traditional Spanish way. Heriberto García de Quevedo, who was one of the most renowned duellists in all Spain as well as a rival editor, challenged Alarcón. The best account was rendered by Alarcón himself in which he told how at the age of twenty-one he found himself alone, untrained in the art of fencing, betrayed by his associates, at the mercy of his opponent. Fortunately for Alarcón his challenger was a nobleman at heart as well as by birth, and thus the impressionable Alarcón learned a lesson which he never forgot. Some years later Pardo Bazán made the following analysis of that bohemian period of his life:

His impetuous youth and Moorish blood, the struggle of life, the desire for applause, the popularity earned in a day, all that served as stimuli to his brilliant pen, which was transformed into mockery and finally into the sword of Damascus.⁸

It was nine years before he again became active in politics,

8 Emilia Pardo Bazán. Retratos y Apuntes Literarios. Madrid: R. Velasco, NO YEAR, XXXII, 129. (Original in Spanish).

"after his youth had passed."⁹

Within the next few years Alarcón remained in Madrid writing for various papers. In 1855 he published his first prose literary work in a newspaper, El Final de Norma, which he had written when he was seventeen years old. He never understood why that romantic novel was so very popular. He claimed that the book had been written at a time when all he knew of "the world and of men was what he had learned from maps and books."¹⁰ He admitted that the novel was purely imaginative and highly fantastic; he remarked that perhaps its popularity was largely due to its clean-cut entertainment which a conscientious parent could select for his offspring "without endangering his faith or innocence."¹¹ At any rate his first insignificant prose work has gone through many translations and many editions.

Alarcón took a position as a newspaper critic, mainly a dramatic critic. His reviews were so severe yet so logical and so biting that he made many enemies. In 1857 Alarcón presented "El Hijo Pródigo", his only major play in Madrid, for he had produced several in his student days in Guadix. The theater was crowded and the applause, spontaneous and gratifying to the author, who took many bows from the stage. However the play

9 Ibid., 131. (Original in Spanish).

10 "Historia de Mis Libros" in Ilustración Española y Americana. Madrid: 1884, II, 330. (Original in Spanish).

11 Loc. cit. (Original in Spanish).

presented to some of his vengeful opponents the opportunity for which they had been waiting. The next day a hostile press told of the whistling, the hissing, and the general lack of enthusiasm on the part of the audience except for certain stooges planted there. His immediate reaction was to remove the play from the stage. Never again did he permit its presentation, although the theater-going public was disappointed. This was another of his major literary disillusionments which he mentioned nearly thirty years later in his Historia de Mis Libros.

In 1859 the man who had objected to being drafted, enlisted as a volunteer in the war with Morocco.

Spain called her children and there was reborn in Alarcón the patriotic instincts of his early years; those ardent political ventures of Granada; those furious articles of El Látigo; they were but emanations of the belligerent patriotism, which was burning in his soul and which went out in all directions in search of danger. Alarcón was not a revolutionary...but he had in his soul the fever and excitement native to the sons of southern Spain....¹²

During five months of life as a soldier with O'Donnell's army, he earned and was awarded on the field of battle the Cross of Saint Ferdinand. His literary accounts of the battle were incorporated into Diario de Un Testigo de La Guerra de Africa, (1860). This volume was well received; Alarcón interpreted its popularity in the light of enthusiasm shown by the Spanish

¹² Mariano Catalina, op. cit., 15. (Original in Spanish).

toward their valiant army. Whatever the reason, the results, thousands of fan letters appealed to Alarcón's ego, and the financial returns enabled him to travel in style.

In the fall of 1860 Alarcón began his trip through France, Switzerland, and Italy, where he was granted an audience with the Pope. The record of the journey was published in De Madrid a Nápoles, which is being discussed later in this paper. The book earned the praise of many critics of the time who hailed it as a travel-book and generally ignored the religious and political comments. Mesonero Romanos commended the book so highly that Alarcón remarked that "the amount of praise even though it was not due, was more than enough to satisfy an applause-thirsty writer."¹³ Alarcón believed that with the publication of De Madrid a Nápoles the first period of his literary life was ended, although nearly everyone else thought more logically that the radical journalism was the first period and that this book ended his second literary period. At one time in later life Alarcón seemed to discount the period of journalism by referring to it as the "Calaverada of El Látigo"; this division of literary production is further evidence that he did not consider anything more than his books and poetry as literature.

1863 was for Alarcón a very sad twelve month period.

¹³ Historia de Mis Libros, 358. (Original in Spanish)

He lost a close friend; shortly after came the death of his father who had seemed to favor his prodigal son, and finally there followed the passing of Pastor Díaz, who had stood by Alarcón in all his literary troubles. There can be no doubt that he called it with good reason the 'year of death'.

When he was thirty years of age he married Paula Contreras. Eduardo de Lústrono, a liberal Madrid newspaperman, wrote about that marriage in this way:

She was a lady in whom God joined corporal beauty and goodness of the soul in order that His work be complete. From the day of their union Alarcón was the most faithful and the most correct of husbands, and later, the best-hearted father.¹⁴

Alarcón was elected to the Cortes; in 1866 the members of that Cortes signed the famous unionist protest against the ministry. However the government under Narváez was barely able at the time to withstand the attack. As a result Alarcón was exiled from Madrid. He went to Paris where he composed the poem entitled "El Suspiro del Moro". In 1867 that poem won for him a gold medal from the Lyceum in Paris. Alarcón then retired to Granada.

When the revolution broke out in September, 1868, after receiving impetus from that unionist protest, Queen Isabel II was dethroned. Alarcón again took an active part in the deci

¹⁴ Ilustración Española y Americana. Madrid: 1905, I, 331. (Original in Spanish).

sive victory of Alcolea. In that same year as a reward he was offered the position of ambassador to Sweden and Norway. Even though he did not accept the honor, he remarked that that very type of post had been a dream of his adolescent period when he wrote his very first novel, El Final de Norma, the setting of which was placed in that Scandinavian peninsula.

Profoundly overcome by the death of his daughter in 1872, Alarcón began the journey through La Alpujarra country in the mountains of southern Spain. The book which followed has a deeply religious atmosphere, and it was the start of a long period of criticism for the author. Many people believed that this was the first real literary evidence of a change in his point of view, but he thought otherwise. As Alarcón said,

Before the revolution, to be an Apostolic Roman Catholic did not imply unpopularity in any one's eyes; everyone was or seemed to be; ...for that, no one made war on me, during my first literary period, although all my work breathed spirituality, religion... Then came the revolution; all pretensions toward rationalism and all rancors against the Christian religion burst;...all who believed were necessarily Carlists versus all who were not Carlist were necessarily impious...and here you have explained with all clarity why in 1874 they attached to me the connotation of neoCatholic, theocrat, ...when it was not I, but circumstances which had changed.¹⁵

Owing to the resignation of Amadeo of Savoy, Spain was a country **seeking** a king. The people generally agreed upon the

15 "Historia de Mis Libros" in Ilustración Española y Americana. Madrid: 1884, II, 359. (Original in Spanish).

the desirability of having a king, but it was a question of where to find one. Alarcón wrote an article based on the concept that "The liberal union ought to favor Alfonso". For that he was given a cabinet post, secretary of state, and later the Cross of Isabel La Católica.

As for his literary activity there followed within a year's time the two works for which he is best known. In 1874 there was held a certain fiesta in Cuba to which Alarcón was obliged to send some short story. Within twenty-four hours he produced a tale based on a Spanish legend which, as a child, he had heard many times over. That little story which gained immediate popularity was none other than EL Sombrero de Tres Pico traditional tale of the corregidor and the revenge of the miller whom, the Englishman pointed out, was "frustrated in the name of decorum--not like the younger Dumas' version."¹⁶ Many writers including Pardo Bazán termed it his masterpiece. It has been translated into all modern languages and has long been a favorite with American readers.

Alarcón was then elected to the Cortes again. Another period of sorrow followed when his little son came down with a severe case of whooping cough. The father took the child to another climate in hope of bettering his chance for recovery, but on the day after their arrival the boy died. Alarcón told¹⁷

¹⁶ Atkinson, op. cit., 137.

¹⁷ "Historia de Mis Libros", 386.

how he buried the child with his own hands and then spent the summer in a house facing the cemetery finishing his next novel.

By the time that this book, Alarcón's favorite, was ready to be placed on the stands, Spanish liberals had crowned a new king, Alfonso XII. The latest book was the strongly Catholic El Escándalo; one can easily understand why Pardo Bazán said that it lay in their midst just "like a bombshell".¹⁸ This is the book which some prejudiced critics deliberately fail to mention, while others attack it because a Jesuit, working against strong odds, very simply and quietly solved the problem presented to him. The criticism was usually hidden under the guise of "improbability" to which an indignant and bitter Alarcón replied in his Historia de Mis Libros. Although there are some pages devoted to that novel in another chapter of this paper, it would be wise to recall here that the underlying motive of those critics was the fact that at one time Alarcón had been considered liberal, and it was impossible for them to accept such a Catholic book written by one of their former cohorts.

Early in 1877 Alarcón made his initial address as a member of the Spanish Academy; the title was "La Moral en El Arte". The question of morality in the novel was a prominent issue at the time. All Spanish writers opposed the immorality of the French 'art for Art's sake' type of novels, but some also

¹⁸ Pardo Bazán, Retratos y Apuntes Literarios, 196. (Original in Spanish).

opposed outright teaching in the novel. Alarcón sided with the moralists both in his speech and in actual writing.

In 1880 Alarcón produced what the Academy considered his masterpiece: El Niño de La Bola; its thesis is the need for religion to solve the problems of life. It differs from his other book in that instead of being Catholic, the author refers to the broader concept of abstract religion. The main criticisms were based on the religious teaching and on the method of publication. For the first time Alarcón permitted a few chapters to be printed in the newspapers simultaneously with the publication of the book. The immediate popular approval threw the professional critics into a frenzy; they had not had a chance to review the book first.

The next book was El Capitán Veneno (1881). This book was published first as a serial and then in one volume. This short novel on which Alarcón spent eight days is usually cited as being a good narrative; its value lies in the simple interest and ease with which a beginning Spanish student can read and enjoy it. Caesar Barja, whose judgment is not to be taken too seriously, liked the book, but Alarcón said that "there seemed to be something lacking."¹⁹

There were three series of short stories published in 1881-1882, for which Alarcón won renown. The Cuentos Amatorios written in a realistic vein, are based on Spanish legendary tales which Alarcón had heard from childhood. The Historietas

Nacionales are curious little anecdotes which really describe events happening within his own tumultuous times and so are both realistic and historical. The Narraciones Inverosímiles are sparkling bits of humor and imagination. In combination the volume Novelas Cortas represents Spanish wit and humor, Spanish customs and tradition, and Spanish ingenuity. Many anthologies include a story or two, and in the collections of world-famous short stories there is always at least one Alarcón story. It should be added that to his credit there are several rather than one single 'outstanding' short story.

In 1882 Alarcón produced his last novel of merit: La Pródiga. The thesis instead of being predominantly religious is based on the need for maintaining oneself within the laws which regulate society. This time a woman rather than a man had chosen to ignore the conventional way of living, and consequently she was ostracized socially. Some writers interpret it as Alarcón's way of expressing disapproval of the emancipation of women; however, Pardo Bazán claimed that if the ability to become involved in four love intrigues meant emancipation, then woman has been emancipated for centuries.²⁰ Her analysis contained the thought that neither man nor woman can defy society by a brazen display of passion, but that if such be the case the bonds of society, namely, respect and reputation, will be

20 Pardo Bazán, Retratos, 213. (Original in Spanish)

broken immediately and can never again be retied.

When this book was released to the public, it was met with a "cōnspiracy of silence" on the part of the critics who, Alarcón believed, were enemies of his moralizing tendencies. That insurmountable form of censorship was too much for a man like Alarcón; that was his last novel. He refused to produce another. He attributed this to boredom toward literary life, but that could not be the answer. As in the case of his reaction to his "El Hijo Pródigo", the drama produced in Madrid, the vengeance of the critics was a blow to his ego; in the case of the last novel, again it was his wounded vanity which put a stop to production.

Three years later when he was only fifty-one, Alarcón wrote a volume, Historia de Mis Libros, which was an embittered defense and explanation of his major literary works. The work was originally published in 1884 in La Ilustración Española y Americana, which copy has been found available here in Chicago. In it Alarcón wanted to rectify many of the misinterpretations, particularly those concerning his four major books written from a traditional point of view: La Alpujarra, El Escándalo, El Niño de La Bola, and La Pródiga. He said that²¹ he had tolerated the foolish ideas of the critics, the calumny, insults, and lies of others in the name of modesty, and that he had had enough.

21 "Historia de Mis Libros", 399. (Original in Spanish)

However he would never go very far along the path of reprisals. He ended by writing that "perhaps some time there will be another way of confessing the existence of God and the immortality and responsibility of the soul, and my book will not find one adversary."²²

It was in the National Library in 1887 that Pardo Bazán met Alarcón for the first time; then he was old-looking and ill. The following year he suffered a stroke which left the left side of his body paralyzed, but his brain remained clear. He suffered two more strokes and received the Last Sacraments.

Although half of his body was useless, his mind was active. He scanned the newspapers avidly from morning until night; the last book that he read was his own El Escándalo. With his wife and five children at his bedside he died July 19, 1891.

Pardo Bazán described the death-scene, which like all events in Alarcón's life bore a touch of romanticism:

"An Andalusian nightingale had perched silently in its cage for some few days, but as the man lay dying, the bird chirped and warbled a few notes. Alarcón sat up in his bed and murmured with an indescribable expression, "Ah, the nightingale!". As the song ended, he fell into a fatal lethargy."²³

22 "Historia de Mis Libros", 399. (Original in Spanish)

23 Pardo Bazán, Retratos, 155. (Original in Spanish).

CHAPTER III

ALARCON: THE YOUTHFUL LIBERAL

Strangely enough in spite of the amount of comment about Alarcón's "liberal activities", that period was very short-lived, and too, it came about when the author was in his early twenties---and he lived nearly forty years more.

As it has already been stated in the preceding chapter of this paper, Alarcón while only in his teens achieved success as co-editor of El Eco de Occidente in Granada. After his return from Madrid where he had encountered only disappointment in his efforts to publish his version of the Espronceda poem, he became identified with a bohemian group of youthful writers known as 'La Cuerda'. This group although purely literary was somewhat radical; in their reading and in their style of writing they tried to imitate the French writers; and then they sat around reading their poetry and carrying on endless discussions. When one of them received some money for a piece of work, the entire club feasted. Later when many of them moved from Granada to Madrid, they were known as "La Colonia Granadina"; several of those writers later achieved literary recognition.

In 1854 when the news of O'Donnell's rebellion at Vicalvaro reached Alarcón, he placed himself at the head of a revolutionary demonstration group in Granada; his party seized an arms

depot. Immediately afterwards he founded a republican newspaper called La Redención (The Redemption), in which he strongly criticized the clergy and the army. This brought on such forceful reaction that he discontinued that paper and left for Madrid.

On November 1, 1854, there appeared in Madrid the first issue of the daily paper El Latigo (The Whip), whose subtitle was "Diario satírico democrático". Each issue was called "El Latigazo" or 'The Crack of The Whip'. Using the pseudonym "El Zagal", meaning the 'driver', Alarcón made his first contribution to that paper on December 6, 1854. Shortly after he assumed the responsibility for two columns: one, "La Prensa en Espíritu", which was a review of the newspapers circulating in Madrid, and "Latigazos", which represented his own views and comments on current events. He used all forms of satire: a play-upon-words, fictitious letters which he also answered, imaginary dialogues, etc.; his subject matter was largely controversial material which was to be found on the lips of every one during the period of revolution and dissatisfaction, namely the fate of Maria Cristina and her pension, the unpopular sales tax, proposed religious tolerance, inefficiency of the mail service and general corruption in the government, changes in the Cabinet, and of course the latest Court scandal. "From the beginning his attitude toward every political question had been uncompromisingly republican and his attacks on liberal constitutional papers almost as severe as those upon the absolutist

journals."¹ In January, 1855, he became editor-in-chief of the paper and continued the policy of ridiculing the government. In his editorials he pointedly criticized the Royal household and the Cabinet. He even offered the use of the newspaper office to sign a petition against the draft, and then he wrote "irreverent paraphrases on the Beatitudes in defiance of the Church."² In that same month he wrote a parody on the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and other "parts of the catechism necessary for salvation which he entitled 'Catecismo para 1855'."³ This type of journalism drew many rebukes from other newspapers. In one instance he admitted his irreverency, but in general, he wrote even more forceful replies and considered the whole proposition good advertising.

Alarcón never believed in capital punishment, and in one editorial made an earnest plea for its abolition. In another column of special interest, he recognized the futility of the revolution and noted the inconstant policies of the union liberal:

When the hour of our revolution rang out, in that movement of sublime hope, we saluted the dawn of our liberty with the voice of enthusiasm

1 Herman E. Hespelt. "Alarcón as Editor of El Látigo Hispania XIX:3, October, 1936, 322.

2 Ibid., 325.

3 Ibid., 327.

...we believed that something great was taking in our country...we believed that there had arrived in our nation that solemn crisis in the history of our people...that rapture of lyricism in which men acquire the stature of heroes, martyrs, or of apostles...all this we believed...and with grandeur and dignity we have followed it step by step.

But when that beautiful dream passed, when we looked about us, when we touched the idol and found it to be mud, when we saw the rebirth of selfish ambition, hypocrisy, flattery, abuse and misery, then we began to laugh with the violence of despair.⁴

This was the first evidence of Alarcón's awareness that all was not well in the liberal field of action. Still he went on writing sensational pieces in the mode of the times. The issues were sold more quickly than ever, and even the Queen became a subscriber. When Alarcón learned this, he wrote a very sarcastic comment about the Queen addressed ¿De Qué Escribimos?. This brought about his indictment which he did not take too seriously. The case was heard on February 9, 1855, and in a triumphant mood on the following day Alarcón wrote "We Are Absolved!"

Alarcón had been engaging in journalistic fisticuffs with Don Heriberto García de Quevedo, the editor of a rival conservative daily. When El Látigo won its legal case, Alarcón addressed the consequent sarcastic editorial to "Don Quijote II" García de Quevedo; this time he had gone too far, and the result was the famous duel of February 12, 1855.

At the age of twenty-one, knight errante of the revolution and soldier of scandal, I fought

4 Hespelt, op.cit., 328. (Original in Spanish).

face to face against the most powerful force in my country, in order to come to find myself one February morning, alone in a deserted field at the mercy of my enemies, not knowing how to defend my life with my untrained hand, and owing it (my life) to the noble and good nature of my adversary, while my editorial associates washed their hands of the matter or did the opposite of washing them.

But if my disillusion and my penalty were horrible, the scandal would have been equally great, and as you judged me famous in the city and in the towns too, when I had hardly grown a beard, and hailed me as a demagogue with thousands of trumpets of fame, on the very day I ceased to be it. So certain is it that on that day something very grave took place in my heart and in my intelligence that since then, until I again published a new political idea, I let nine years pass...all my youth.⁵

As a result of that duel Alarcón wrote a resignation which the paper published on February 15, 1855. He stated that circumstances might give rise to erroneous interpretations and so he felt that a letter of explanation was necessary; he stated simply that

...events had taken place and taken such a turn that his continuing in his post was not wise...and that upon leaving he protested that all his political opinions were entirely his own; that his ideas were the same as they were before he became associated with El Látigo and they will remain so all his life. He refused to compromise, but if the paper needed him, he was willing to help.⁶

The paper in its turn commented on regretting his mistaken judgment but that he was and would be held in the highest esteem.

5 E. Pardo Bazán. Retratos y Apuntes Literarios, 131-32. (Original in Spanish).

6 Hespelt, op. cit., 335. (Original in Spanish).

When he resigned, the paper quickly failed for lack of policy.

From then on politically speaking, he led a quiet life until 1866. Representing his native Guadix, he was elected to the office of representative in the Cortes of that year. That group was the celebrated Cortes who wrote the famous Union Liberal Manifesto, which resulted in the September Revolution with the subsequent dethronement of Isabel II. Alarcón's signature was affixed to that proclamation, and because the Narváez González ministry was able to hold out for a short while, Pedro Alarcón was among those exiled for having signed the famous liberal document.

All in all Alarcón's period of radicalism consisted of (1) his association with the *Cuerda Granadina* where the work was sometimes censored but was definitely harmless, (2) his leading in the capture of an arsenal during the revolution, (3) his work of a few months with La Redención, (4) his writing for El Latigo for two and one-half months, and (5) finally signing the celebrated protest against the ministry in 1866.

During a time when Spain was a hot bed of dissension and the newspapers of the time fomented even more controversy with the strident, provocative tone of their editorials, it should not be surprising to find that a young writer would seek fame in the type of journalism in keeping with the times.

It seemed that Alarcón's quarrel with the clergy dealt only with the luxury and temporal wealth of the orders; never

did he take issue on any point of theological teachings. His blasphemous writing in El Látigo was probably meant to be a means for catching the public eye in order to express his political views; he intended that form as a device for making headlines rather than profanity. And so one cannot say that he had experienced any sort of religious conversion as critics like Balseiro or Revilla seem to indicate.

In his letter of resignation⁷ following that duel, he pointed out the utopian ideals for helping the nation at the beginning of the revolution, the dreams of becoming a hero or even a martyr if necessary, and finally the awakening and the disillusionment which followed. The Frenchman, Louis-Lande, wrote an article in a Paris magazine, in which he spoke of

...the ardor and imprudence natural at his his age with which Alarcón pitched himself headlong into new ideas...saw in the revolution all kinds of reforms instead of seeing it as it really was, a military coup which reopened for unhappy Spain an era of pronouncements.⁷

Pardo Bazán pointed out that not only his extreme youth but also his adventurous and impressionable nature were factors in the case.

His revolutionary ideas were not the children of rationalism as was his conversion at a most sane moment...with a pistol pointed at his heart. Alarcón had undertaken El Látigo through his impressionism and for the same reason he was

⁷ L. Louis-Lande. "Un Romancier Espagnol", Revue des Deux Mondes. Paris: May 15, 1875, IX:400. (Original in French).

converted after the duel...no one does nor will doubt the personal valor of the future volunteer of the African campaign.⁸

Alarcón himself believed that not he but circumstance had changed. Something caused him to awaken and see conditions as they were, but he was always sincere in his political belief

8 Pardo Bazán, op. cit., 132. (Original in Spanish).

CHAPTER IV

ALARCÓN: THE CONSERVATIVE

Alarcón's family background and his early training were strictly traditional. The chapter of this paper concerning his life history told about his formal schooling as well as the experiences gained from his wandering through the rich libraries of the abandoned religious houses plus the indirect learning which he derived from observations made within the churches and the cathedral and also from the rites themselves. Going on to his ten year period of retirement before his death, like most older persons, he again led a very conventional life.

This chapter is meant to bring out the conservatism in his more mature literary life.

DE MADRID A NÁPOLES

Whether or not it was due to patriotic pride and enthusiasm in reading about its heroic army, as Alarcón suggested, the success of his Diario de Un Testigo de La Guerra de Africa netted its author two and one-half million reales for the sale of fifty thousand copies and twenty thousand pieces of fan mail. As a result Alarcón was able to enjoy a five-month trip through France, Switzerland, and Italy in the fall and winter of 1860-61 with the consequent publication of De Madrid a Nápoles.

The book is a record of his travels; he made notes about the impressive scenery and the artistic creations of man. The author himself said, "There is nothing in it that is not certain, natural, or spontaneous; not one thing which did not originate immediately from the event or in the presence of the subject matter."¹ The two volumes include not only descriptive passages of particular interest to the fireside traveler but also chapters pertinent to comparative art: painting sculpture, and architecture; chapters devoted to the politics as well as to the customs of the different peoples. Of course on some of these points it would be impossible for anyone to give an account from a purely impersonal viewpoint.

When Alarcón visited France, he remarked that

Napoleon had made himself the dispenser and arbitrator of Authority and of Revolution, of peace and of war. What had toppled over and sunken, he overthrew it; that which subsisted, he maintained it. In one single hour one word from him could change the entire political picture, and (what was even more serious) that fearful word from him could sink in one moment the structure built for twenty centuries, the greatest institution of history, the power most respected and most combatted in all times, the Roman Pontiff.²

While he was in France, he commented further that he had studied the politics of the Imperial Government and found

1 "Historia de Mis Libros", 74. (Original in Spanish)

2 De Madrid a Nápoles. Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneira, 1926, I, 29. (Original in Spanish).

the absence of all principle...all that was useful and easy was good; all that disturbed was evil. The people had the right to whatever they might want...but when that right created a conflict, it was mutilated. There were published many books against God, but not one word against Caesar (government).³

When the Italians regained their independence in the form of a united Italy, he was happy for them: "They are the owners of their own actions; they can exercise their wills; they shout: 'Viva Italia!' And the world is not finished for their having said that. And there exists Religion, the family, and also the most admirable public order."⁴

The preceding quotations are not only of interest to the student of world history, but of especial interest to the one who dares to criticize Alarcón and say that "he had no fixed ideas nor creed neither in religion nor in politics nor in art." One must remember that at that time Spain itself was going through a violent struggle involving its form of government and civil rights, religious tolerance, and freedom of the press.

Nor did Alarcón's attitude toward art seem to change. During his audience with the Pope in 1861, Pius IX asked him why he had come to Rome; was it merely for the sake of devotion? Alarcón's reply was: "For the sake of Christian devotion and als

3 Ibid., I, 88. (Original in Spanish).

4 De Madrid a Nápoles, II, 69. (Original in Spanish)

5 Cesar Barja. Libros y Autores Modernos. Los Angeles Campbell Book Store, 1933, 258. (Original in Spanish).

for artistic devotion...El arte es la mitad de mi existencia."⁶

In the ensuing conversation they agreed that "all that is beautiful is good as its grandeur reveals the creation of God."⁷

Years later in 1877 when Alarcón was giving his address upon his entrance into the Academy, he said,

Beauty, Truth, and Goodness, although distinct in their spheres of action must always be concentric and harmonious; beauty cannot exist indifferent to or independent of morality. To maintain the contrary is to place evil and iniquity in the realm of beauty.⁸

Alarcón showed himself to be intensely patriotic and strongly traditional in his sentiments. He believed that there are bonds between each man and his country which cannot be replaced, i.e., French customs cannot be imposed upon the Spanish. In united Italy religion and the family occupy their rightful positions, and so there is peace. He suggested that each man "go out from his country, visit other cities, study strange customs, and he will see and understand how a country exists, that each man has a country just as he has a mother, and that that country and that mother cannot be replaced by another."⁹

Alarcón was deeply religious in his training and in his beliefs. Although he had achieved a certain dubious fame a

6 De Madrid a Nápoles, II, 315. (Original in Spanish)

7 Ibid, II, 316. (Original in Spanish)

8 Sherman H. Eoff. "The Spanish Novel of Ideas", in Publications of Modern Languages, 1940, 55:554.

9 De Madrid a Nápoles, II, 36. (Original in Spanish)

an editor, had been decorated for bravery right on the battlefield, and was financially successful in his writings, and was for all that only in his late twenties when he visited the Pope he took a rosary intending to give it to his mother, after the Holy Father had blessed it and attached a plenary indulgence; he said that "he was not going for himself alone...and some day he would be obliged to give an account of his actions for each day."¹⁰ There will probably always be some few who after reading the radical journalism written by an egotistical and adventurous youth will continue to speak of his 'vacillating ideas'; but one has only to read for himself the chapters devoted to his audience with the Pope and his hearing Christmas Mass in Rome, in order to fully appreciate and understand the depths of his Catholicity; and there can be no doubts whatsoever.

In his attitude toward the religion of others, he is more worldly-minded and somewhat advanced for his time and country. He wrote that "pontifical government, less pusillanimous than certain defenders of papal politics, practices religious tolerance."¹¹ And he reminds his readers that in 1846 Pius IX proclaimed that "his temporal government was beginning a new era of peace and independence; all the Italians rejoiced, and all

10 Ibid., II, 307. (Original in Spanish).

11 Ibid., II, 37. (Original in Spanish).

the Latin peoples blessed that announcement and exultant Liberty was reconciled with its mother Religion."¹²

Mariano Catalina said in his comments about De Madrid

Nápoles,

Whoever loves beauty and is an artist at heart may follow his example and he will find new worlds for the future, most lofty points of view, unlimited horizons, refuge and shelter from all the griefs of the soul; ancient and modern art with its astonishing marvels; old ruins...natural beauty of the Alps...Rome, daughter of barbarism, queen of the world, and mother of civilization...all this may be found in De Madrid a Nápoles...he had viewed with the eyes of an artist and spiritual observer the most beautiful work of human intelligence;...and his book has something of all kinds of literature cultivated by him. This book has something of all the qualities of its author; he is reactionary in all his sentiments, liberal in his thinking, and on every occasion prudent and exact, as a man who has experience with the world and with human life.¹³

If this book were translated to English, and it would be no easy task because of the countless references to literature and geography, it would doubtless rank among the best travel books, without taking into consideration any of the politics or religion or other controversial points or even the interesting sidelights on history.

LA ALPUJARRA

This book is usually classed as an historical study of

¹² Ibid., II, 63. (Original in Spanish).

¹³ Alarcón. Novelas Completas. Buenos Aires: Artes Gráficas, 'Concordia', 1942, 17. (Original in Spanish).

the causes leading to the expulsion of the Moors as well as a travel book covering the mountain region of Southern Granada.

Hurtado y Palencia said that it is

...one of the best books by Alarcón, and in it with marvelous artistic ability he knew how to fuse harmoniously very diverse elements: chronological passages about the Moors' rebellion, opportune interpretations of history, of tradition, and of geography referring to the same event, an account of his journey, as attractive as all his others of this class, and finally a study of customs in which he combines the artistic with the popular.¹⁴

Alarcón took this trip through the Alpujarra country in the spring of 1872. The journey was made on the advice of a friend in order to try to help Alarcón recover himself after the death of one of his children. He himself said that

...he heard the footsteps of those who were carrying a daughter of his heart, and he was astonished that he did not die when they snatched his heart away and carried it with her. His heart was broken; his health impaired; his days were without peace, and his nights, without sleep; and so on the advice of a beloved person he looked toward Mother Nature, the eternal consoler of all human misfortunes.¹⁵

When Alarcón was a child in Guadix, the ruins of the Alcazaba was one of the few reminders of Arab habitation. There was an elderly man in the town who used to tell him many stories

14 Hurtado y Palencia. Historia de La Literatura Española. Madrid: Olzaga, 1925, 1009. (Original in Spanish).

15 Alarcón. La Alpujarra. Madrid: Sucesores de Riva-teneyra, 1929, xv (Prologue). (Original in Spanish).

about Moorish tradition, and to the child of nine years, the figure of Aben-Humeya, a Moorish king of the early seventeenth century, seemed fascinating indeed. Later when Alarcón went to Africa as a volunteer with O'Donnell's army, he lived in an ancient Moorish city and conversed with the people, who filled him to the brim with romantic legend. Instead of satiating his curiosity, however, all this only served to make him more anxious to become acquainted with the Alpujarra region. In the prologue to the book, he wrote that

...history, geography, and my faithful devotion to Sierra Nevada, and I don't know what childish interest in the Moors, the privation, the obstacles, the novelty, and the danger, all conspired together to make my trip through the Alpujarras most interesting.¹⁶

One of his friends from Madrid was making the trip for business purposes, and so on the feast of Saint Joseph, March 19 1872, they began the long difficult journey. They used horses as much as possible, but the mules were made ready too. Alarcón carried luggage containing in addition to various minor writings about the Moors, copies of the works of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza Luis de Marmol Carvajal, and Ginés Perez de Hita, upon whom he relied for historical background. His insertions are quite long and are very numerous, and so it would seem that he made good use of his books.

The author himself termed the book an "allegation in

16 Ibid., xv.

(Original in Spanish).

favor of religious tolerance."¹⁷ He began almost immediately by going over the pact made in 1492 by Isabel and Ferdinand with the Moors. In it the Catholic Kings

...and in the name of their descendants agreed to respect forever the Moslem rites, without impeding the callings or the prayers, or those acts which apply to the preservation of the Mohammedan ritual...and justice would continue to be administered among the Moors by judges of their own religion and with respect to their own laws;... and that all civil proceedings relating to inheritances, weddings, and dowries, and the like would remain tempered by their own customs...that the Alfaquis (religious leaders) would give instruction in the public schools...and that any litigation between the Christians and the Moors would be decided by judges from both parties.¹⁸

Alarcón not only admired the wisdom and foresight of the rulers but also the way in which Archbishop Talavera of Granada faithfully carried out the spirit of the treaty. In accordance with Christian doctrine he practiced works of charity among the sick and the needy of the infidel people. Instead of making them learn Spanish, he trained the clergy in the Arabic language. So successful was he that even the Moslems permitted him to bless their mosques, and they further honored him by calling him the 'Great Alfaqui'.

A few years later the great Cisneros was given almost limitless power. Alarcón described his impatience at delay and his anxiety to realize with one blow the high hopes of Isabel.

17 "Historia de Mis Libros", 386. (Original in Spanish)

18 La Alpujarra, 28. (Original in Spanish).

So he forced the Moors to receive a collective baptism. If that were not enough, being under the influence of Father Diego Deza of the Tribunal of the Inquisition, he ordered all the manuscripts of Moslem religion and politics burned, and the Arab works on mathematics and medicine transferred to the Library at Alcalá de Henares. This violence and betrayal of the treaty within the very lifetime of the sovereigns who had written it brought about an uprising in the town of Albaicin in 1499. The good Talavera personally made a journey to the scene where he was well-received; the Arabs voiced their grievances, and the affair was settled. The monarchs censured Cisneros' deeds. During the reign of the great Carlos V, peace was continued.

Then along came Philip II, and the Moors, who had enjoyed of late the same rights and privileges as other people in Spain began

...to be oppressed in an insufferable manner; they were prohibited the use of arms, prohibited from keeping slaves, denied the right of the privacy of the home, forced to pay special taxes, were not only punished by the soldiers but their wives were abused each time that the soldiers invaded their homes in the name of the law.¹⁹

Irritated beyond endurance the Moors sought reprisals; they robbed and killed the Christians; the highwaymen in the mountains, especially, created violence. Philip II made use of the Inquisition and sent troops to enforce his orders. "The Arabs were

19 La Alpujarra, 34. (Original in Spanish).

forbidden to use Moslem names (and to drop them if they already had them), to speak, read or write their own language in public or in private, forbidden to use Arabic musical instruments, and the women were even denied the right to use henna powder on their faces."²⁰ The Arabs tried to seek adjustments through conciliatory means, but the king was resolute, and their efforts were in vain. Some of them realized that they would not be able to live where they were born and reared, and in despair they committed suicide. Others began to plot unceasingly and with all the "caution and astuteness of the semitic race"²¹; as a result forty-five thousand Moors seized arms, and the day fixed for the rebellion was January 1, 1569.

In his usual way Alarcón never failed to point out the folly of violence, the same kind of vile destruction undertaken by the liberals of his day, a lesson which he learned at an early age. In this instance he commented on the unheard-of acts of savagery and bloodshed which "has dishonored and will forever dishonor all revolutions, and are the same in Paris as in the Alpujarras, the same in the sixteenth century as in the nineteenth." ²² He added further:

Poor Alpujarrenas!!!..they were Christians when the Moors came; they were not left in peace until they became Moslems; they were

20 Ibid., 34. (Original in Spanish).

21 Loc. cit. (Original in Spanish).

22 Ibid., 70. (Original in Spanish).

still Moslems when Philip II killed them, because they were not Christians...God knows the bitterness caused them by those who converted the Revolution of 1868 into a conspiracy against the Catholic religion.²³

Because later in the book, he described the bareness and the desolation of the deserted countryside since the Moors were driven out, that last part of Alarcón's remark could only be interpreted as a slap at the liberals. Of course it is an historical fact that the Moors were driven from Spain in 1609. Alarcón related how through treachery on the part of one of their own, a treaty was signed in which they were paid for their territory and property and were never again to return to Spain. But Alarcón held to the belief that had Spain followed Isabel's intention, which was one of the bases of Christianity, that through tolerance and love and persuasion and good example, Spain might have converted the Moors. In so doing

...their own country would have been saved, they would have earned a place in heaven, and that dark, despairing Africa, which is so close to the Spanish coast, might have become evangelized and **civilized**...instead they drove out the Jews and then the Moslems, and let enter that horrible lack of religion which changes people into savages... Yes, intolerance, violence, cruelty of kings, suspicion among the **Clergy**, fanaticism, and thirst for power among the Inquisition ...call it reform, revolution, or rationalism, or Impiety; it is all the same to me. For me all is the result of the divorce which came between the **Church** and civilization from the moment when a badly understood defense of the Faith (defense, which made itself felt by means of persecution,

The bearing of a reading skill upon arithmetic performance was another but minor aspect of this study. Accordingly the New Stanford Reading test was included to find out what relationship, if any, is found between reading and arithmetic. There is some evidence that proficiency in reading is necessary for success in practically every subject field, and especially in the field of arithmetic. Brueckner and Grossnickle state:

The ability to solve typical verbal problems, such as are found in standard tests of problem solving, depends largely on the mental maturity of the pupil--his informational background, his ability to perform the necessary computations, and the possession of certain skills in reading peculiar to the solution of such problems. . . . There are specialized reading abilities in arithmetic that should be developed through systematic instruction.¹³

The opinion set forth in the above quotation may not be accepted unanimously. Compare the following statement which seems at sharp variance with it:

The seeming lack of relationship between certain reading abilities and successful achievement in problem solving may lead to the conclusion that skill in general

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Leo J. Brueckner and Foster E. Grossnickle, How to Make Arithmetic Meaningful (Chicago: John C. Winston Company, 1947), pp. 454 - 455.

reading and knowledge of general vocabulary are not essential for success in problem solving in arithmetic.¹⁴

The investigation of reading ability of the ten schools in the present study cannot be said to add conclusive evidence to either side of the question.

In comparing the results of the reading (paragraph meaning) and arithmetic (reasoning) tests for these ten schools, no consistent difference is found. There are wide differences, however, among the ten schools in the correlations between reading and arithmetic scores. The coefficients range from .374 to .767 with a median of .593 and an average of .579.

As mentioned in Chapter II, an arithmetic performance check list was drawn up to obtain the teachers' impressions of the individual's arithmetic performance.

Some outcomes of learning can be measured objectively with great difficulty if at all. Their manifestations can be observed in the activities of the school. For instance, the study habits of the pupil can be described readily by the teacher who notices his activities while working under supervision, or alone, and by evidence

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Carl W. Hansen, "Factors Associated with Successful Achievement in Problem Solving in Sixth Grade Arithmetic," Journal of Educational Research, XXXVIII (1944 -45), 111 - 118.

ates; his differences were not in any way concerned with theology. Nor did he at any time tend to minimize nor to ignore the position of religion and the Church. While he respected the Catholic faith, he went a step further by preaching tolerance toward other creeds. His final point, however, was that mainly by good example would people of other faiths be converted to Catholicism.

EL ESCÁNDALO

Any mention of Alarcón found in a literary work or a history of Spain, whether it be made by a traditional or a liberal writer, promptly identifies him as the author of that 'fresh, charming, inimitable little piece, El Sombrero de Tres Picos,' and of the 'most widely read and most discussed novel in all Europe in the nineteenth century', El Escándalo. The novelette, El Sombrero de Tres Picos, appeared late in the summer of 1874 and was immediately and unanimously hailed by the critics and by the public. Pardo Bazán termed it the "punto culminante de la inspiración alarconiana."²⁹ However, the publication of El Escándalo drew the attention of the literary men and the people alike but, as Pardo Bazán commented, "distinta suerte, aunque no menor resonancia, estaba reservada a

²⁹ Pardo Bazán, Retratos y Apuntes Literarios. Madrid: Velasco, n.d., 144. (Original in Spanish).

El Escándalo."³⁰

Because the Carlist War was drawing to a close and the new king Alfonso XII, who had just declared himself to be a good Catholic and like all the men of the century a good liberal, had just ascended the throne, with good reason Pardo Bazán pointed out that El Escándalo was placed on sale "at the worst possible moment for its success, July 1, 1875,...it exploded like a bomb shell...in conversation, in the press, in discussions, El Escándalo reigned and eclipsed with its noisy appearance a Galdós book and Pepita Jiménez."³¹

In 1930 prominent space was given in newspapers throughout the country to a list of 'sixty great novels of all time'. The list which was prepared by a member of the English department of Rutgers did not name even one Spanish book or author; so much publicity was given it that finally the Spanish teachers took steps. They sent letters to renowned writers in Spain and in Latin America telling them about the Rutgers listing and inviting them to jot down their preferences as to the 'ten greatest books in Spanish literature'. Three from the fourteen lists published³² not only mentioned Alarcón but these three, Rafael

30 Ibid., 150.

31 Ibid., 196. (Original in Spanish).

32 Hispania, XIV, 1931, 221.

Altamira, José María de Salaverria, and Ramón Perez de Ayala, actually specified El Escándalo as being one of the ten greatest novels in Spanish literature.

Some few so-called critics praised the style and the richness of the vocabulary, the excellent portrayal of customs and life in Madrid, and of course, no one failed to call attention to the undeniable skill of the author as a narrator. One commented:

The discussion which surged around the most famous of Alarcón's longer novels was largely of a religious nature and should not be suffered to eclipse the real merits of a work which maintains its place in Spanish literature after more than half a century.³³

Unfortunately there are today people who are supposed to be students of Spanish literature like Professor Pattison of the great University of Minnesota, who published a two-volume anthology of Spanish literature and omitted completely any mention of Alarcón, and like the Englishman, Peers, who also published a two-volume edition on the romantic movement in Spain; his reference to one of the greatest novels of the century was as follows:

The characterization of El Escándalo has the unreality of a medieval religious romance without its old-time charm. The incredible conversion of the impossible hero interests the reader so little as hardly to call forth a protest; for the rest the novel is thrown together rather than constructed.³⁴

33 Aubrey F. G. Bell. Contemporary Spanish Literature. New York: Knopf Company, 1925, 50.

34 E. Allison Peers. A History of The Romantic Movement in Spain. Cambridge, England, University Press, 1940, II, 2

It is amazing to see just how prejudice can make one blind.

Nearly all critics pointed out the fact that as a youthful journalist Alarcón had been ahead of his times and later when he was converted to conservative ideas, he wrote his novels in favor of the traditional viewpoint. The Spanish critic, Andrenio, wrote:

As it commonly happens to books with a thesis or strongly marked tendencies, they are judged by their ideas rather than by their literary value; some rate them too highly while others go to the other extreme to reject them...³⁵

He personally placed Alarcón on a level with Pereda, whom Alarcón certainly equalled in matters of style and the art of composition, and of the two, everyone agrees, Alarcón was definitely the better story-teller.

The book created quite a furor at the time of its publication, and later, shortly after the author's death, the public reacted to the many and diversified comments in the newspapers by again seeking out and reading Alarcón's novels. The critics forged ahead and were still trying to interpret Alarcón's ideas; so numerous were the anti-Alarcón comments that Julio Romano attempted to classify them:

1. The coarse and vulgar boor who considers another's elevation or inspiring works a waste of personality.
2. The learned one who is burdened by the contribution of another.

³⁵ Eduardo Gómez de Baquero. El Renacimiento de La Novela Española en El Siglo XIX. Madrid: Editorial Mundo Latino 1924, 90. (Original in Spanish).

3. The jaundiced scholar who sees everything colored yellow.

4. The crafty one who sees in another's work only the defects which mar it and deliberately ignores the good qualities which elevate it.

5. The young revolutionary who stretches forth his arms to the exotic, bold ideas against those native trends which he regards as empty thoughts.

6. The one who takes folds from the skin of another to clothe it again in something new.

7. The gloomy naturalist who hates all that shines.

8. That sterile phalanx who hates fertility.

9. The parasite who gorges himself on another's efforts and then makes fun of them in order to justify his own impotency.

Of all this troop of vain and ruinous people who attacked Alarcón embittering his last years, Clarín in his envy was the leader.³⁶

However they may disagree in matters of theology, nearly all literary critics admit that in matters of style, narration, and interest El Escándalo is really first-class material. Revilla's criticism, published in a Madrid newspaper, stated:

El Escándalo is one of the most notable novels and one of the most beautifully written works in our national literature in the present (19 C.) century...No one among us surpasses--perhaps no one equals--Senor Alarcon in what is called "el buen decir"...simple and natural without falling into prosaic vulgarity...brilliant without affectation...clear and precise in the emission of ideas...flowing and sweet in narration, full of colorful descriptions, inimitable in dialogue, Alarcon is one of the most original stylists, one of the most skillful, most delicate and discreet writers which we have in Spain, and for that reason alone occupies the foremost position among our novelists...the

³⁶ Julio Romano. Pedro Antonio de Alarcón: El Novelistista Romántico. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1933, 174.
(Original in Spanish).

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excellence of form alone would be enough to free him from oblivion.³⁷

CHARACTERIZATION:

Nearly all literary critics voiced their opinions about characterization in this novel, but their verdicts were very diverse and like any judgments relating to Alarcón tended to be extreme. LaCalle, who skipped very lightly over the "clerical novel whose theme was based on a matter of conscience which a Jesuit father succeeded in solving"³⁸, did not fail to mention that the "personajes son copias del natural"³⁹. Romera Navarro⁴⁰, who praised the story of the miller's wife very highly while admitting that El Escándalo was the best of Alarcón's more extensive novels, used almost the very same words to describe the true-to-life quality of the characters.

By way of contrast an English viewpoint was presented thusly:

The touchstone lies in the original creation of characters...in the romantic fashion... Characters are static and conceived in extremes...

37 Manuel de La Revilla. "Crítica Literaria: El Escándalo", in La Ilustración Española y Americana. Madrid: 1871, II, 22. (Original in Spanish).

38 Angel de LaCalle. Historia de La Literatura Española. Barcelona: Bosch Casa, 1946, 336. (Original in Spanish)

39 Loc. cit...

40 M. Romera-Navarro. Historia de La Literatura Española. Chicago: D.C.Heath & Company, 1928, 556.

and static extremity is a recurring characteristic of all save the protagonists of Alarcón.⁴¹

He explained further that the roles personify virtue or evil and simply provide background and in some cases contrast to the hero. Atkinson believed as do nearly all students of literature that Alarcón was primarily a romantic writer. While the atmosphere reflected the countryside and the customs of the people, still in all the particular events and settings depicted in the Alarcón novels had all the color, all the action, and all the suspense found in the earlier romantic writings. While the characters might very easily have been modeled after real people as the author claimed, still each was endowed with some definite point of interest, some romantic quality, or in the language of the twentieth century some touch of glamor to make him an individual to be well remembered. Atkinson remarked that "it is a curious paradox that the exaltation of the individual, that may be held to be the chief contribution of romanticism to the creative theory, should have threatened to result in actual impoverishment of character in literature; the romantics present us with great passions rather than great men and great women."⁴² Alarcón's feminine figures were usually physically beautiful, and the heroes were akin to

41 William C. Atkinson. "Pedro Antonio de Alarcón" Bulletin of Spanish Studies. Liverpool: July, 1933, 139.

42 Loc. cit.

Apollo; the women, as in the case of Gabriela, influenced the struggling hero toward his salvation. While that was the pattern followed by Alarcón, still it represents the pattern common to multitudes of writers of all periods and all nations and is much preferred by the reading public. Alarcón insisted that there are many good people who walk through the world unnoticed but very much alive; surely everyone can agree with him and besides, who should know better than a newspaperman that good deeds and respectable people seldom make headlines?

Palacio Valdés expressed the point of view whereby he thought that the characters were exaggerated as was the entire book; they were mere harlequins. They were what they were only because the author said so. Diego was generally acclaimed as one of the best delineations of character: real, human, and energetic; he was very finely and very subtly drawn. Hurtado Palencia as well as Balseiro gave Alarcón credit for his sketch of Diego. Revilla added that

The figure of Diego is the greatest in the novel; his conception, the most original, profound, and true, a masterpiece of psychological observation and artistic beauty. Diego is truly human flesh and blood, alive and forceful, an energetic, sharply outlined individual, a true character... The figure of Diego is enough to make the reputation of the novelist.⁴³

Repulsive as she was, Gregoria was rated highly as being a realistic creature by many critics. Balseiro believed

43 Revilla, op. cit., 23. (Original in Spanish).

that the scene between Fabián Conde and Gregoria demonstrated Alarcón's "analytical skill and knowledge of the passions of the world and the weaknesses of mankind".⁴⁴ Gregoria was an attractive woman who was so vain and so incertain of her charms that in order to reassure herself, she resorted to treachery toward her husband's best friend and was finally punished. Unfortunately her wily practices were pointless; she may be easily recognized anywhere, because there are so many Gregorias in this world.

Much less appreciated was the heroine Gabriela; she has been frequently criticized for being 'too good to be true'. However Revilla sided with Alarcón, who praised her; they both said that there ARE people like her with "healthy morals, good training, and true culture".⁴⁵ Revilla further emphasized the difficulty in creating a character who is the "personification of pure love and real at the same time, and not make her either false or ridiculous."⁴⁶ Gabriela did not play a very active part, but rather her influence was felt. Her inactivity was probably due to the form of the story, the consultation with the priest. Her letter to Fabián Conde has often been noted

44 José A. Balseiro. Novelistas Españoles Modernos. Los Angeles: Campbell Book Store, 1933, 137. (Original in Spanish).

45 "Historia de Mis Libros", 386. (Original in Spanish).

46 Revilla, op.cit., 23. (Original in Spanish).

as a point for criticism; however as Father Manrique commented that it hardly seemed as though it had been written by a teenager but rather by a doctor of the Church, Alarcón must have been deliberate in the expression of Gabriela's genuine goodness.

Lazaro, too, was considered to be too 'unearthly good'. He was generally believed to represent the intellectual good as opposed to Diego's materialistic evil spirit. Strangely enough Balseiro appreciated the character of Lazaro. Although Revilla thought that Lazaro's history and even his role in the book were useless, still Lazaro "was of more value without being either a theologian or a Jesuit; he was a secular saint... His virtue although it was somewhat pretentious was stoic rather than Christian... The moral ideal in him was able to be great and beautiful, because it was inaccessible to mortals."⁴⁷ Lazaro's advice to Fabián Conde has been considered beyond the reach of human beings; Father Blanco García wrote "heroism like that of Lazaro is uncommon but not only falls within the realms of possibility but also really exists for the eternal honor of the human heart."⁴⁸ The author himself defended Lazaro by saying that "he walks through the world but is not the man who is accustomed to being celebrated nor even to being defended...nor

47 Revilla, op. cit., 23. (Original in Spanish).

48 Francisco Blanco García. La Literatura Española en El Siglo XIX. Madrid: Saenz de Jubera Hermanos, 1894, II, 46 (Original in Spanish).