1947

Traditionalism in the Novels of Fernan Caballero

Mary Lucilda O'Connor
Loyola University Chicago

Recommended Citation
http://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/667

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License.
Copyright © 1947 Mary Lucilda O'Connor
TRADITIONALISM IN THE NOVELS OF FERNAN CABALLERO

By

Sister Mary Lucilda O'Connor, B.V.M.

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

September

1947
VITA

Sister Mary Lucilda O'Connor, B.V.M., was born in Chicago, Illinois, June 7, 1916.

She attended St. Gregory Parochial School and was graduated from The Immaculata High School, Chicago, Illinois, in June, 1934.

The Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Spanish was conferred by Clarke College, Dubuque, Iowa, in June, 1940.

From 1940 to 1947 the writer has been engaged in teaching at St. Mary's High School, Chicago, and at Clarke College, Dubuque, Iowa.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I</td>
<td>Traditionalism in Nineteenth Century Spain</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II</td>
<td>Fernán Caballero, an Exponent of Traditionalism</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III</td>
<td>Political Aspects of Traditionalism Revealed in the Novels of Fernán Caballero</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER IV</td>
<td>Religious Aspects of Traditionalism Revealed in the Novels of Fernán Caballero</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER V</td>
<td>Social Aspects of Traditionalism Revealed in the Novels of Fernán Caballero</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td></td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td></td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the nature and grasp the real significance of contemporary political conditions in Spain which are arousing comment all over the world, it is necessary to search the past for their underlying historical causes. With this in mind, it seems fitting to consider the works of one who lived at the time of transition when liberal forces from France were undermining the established institutions of Spain and were introducing ideas which were later responsible for the situation which exists there today.

Fernán Caballero was living at the beginning of the nineteenth century when were expressed for the first time those ideas which developed into the two main currents of Spanish thought representative of the century—traditionalism and liberalism. Traditionalism is that political and social system which establishes the Catholic religion as the guiding principle of individual, family, and social life, and the authority of the king as the cornerstone of the political order. Liberalism, on the other hand, seeks freedom from all bonds, particularly from the Catholic Church and the monarchy which it regards as "traditional obstacles."

Since Spanish literature, especially the novel, endeavors to interpret the essential elements of Spanish life and thought, it is not surprising that Fernán Caballero has undertaken through her novels the defense of tradition-
alism. "Fictional situations, involving the gravest problems of society, may display, as few other forms of literature can, the emotional and personal factors necessary to an understanding of these problems."\(^1\)

Later novelists, it is true, have undertaken the defense of one or other of the existing systems but Fernan Caballero is the first to defend Traditionalism.

---

\(^1\) John T. Reid., Modern Spain and Liberalism, Stanford University Press, California, 1937, 3.
CHAPTER I
TRADITIONALISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY SPAIN

Traditionalism, in a general sense, may be defined as that social and political system which consists in maintaining or re-establishing the ancient institutions in the regimen and in the social organization of a nation. In nineteenth century Spain this system was based on the traditional principles of the Catholic religion and of the undiluted monarchy. The traditional system refused to accept those principles of separation between Church and State, popular sovereignty, universal suffrage and liberty without restrictions. In short, it was a system opposed to liberalism—that new order which insisted on representative government based on the theory of popular sovereignty and natural rights, limitation of the powers of the state to a minimum, freedom of speech and press, and freedom in the exercise of worship. With freedom of worship went the desire to abolish the secular power of the established church through separation of Church and State. Liberalism, then, largely represented an effort to free men from what the liberalists conceived as existing oppressions, ecclesiastical or governmental.

Before 1800 the political and social system which existed in Spain envisioned the Catholic religion as the guiding principle of individual,


2Reid, 7.
family, and social life, and appealed to the authority of the king as the cornerstone of the political order. However, during the last half of the eighteenth century, some contrary ideas had been coming from France. These ideas, produced by the French Revolution and the Encyclopedists, were characterized by a lack of respect for the king as contrasted with the veneration in which the Spaniards had held him for centuries. According to these new ideas, the king was merely chief of the executive power, while the source of all power lay in the national sovereignty.

The reign of Charles III, 1759 to 1789, has been designated as the period during which "the winds were sown which brought about the harvest of storms of the nineteenth century." During this reign, the influence of France was manifest in every phase of Spanish intellectual life. Much of this influence made itself felt through an influx of French novels translated into the Spanish. While the Spaniards read primarily to satisfy their curiosity and to delight their imagination, the authors of these novels had rather different goals in their writing. They were preparing the minds of the Spanish people that they might be led to other fields of thought. It was inevitable, therefore, that the French Encyclopedists should find at least a faint reflection in Spain, in spite of the opposition of the strong traditional Church.

Soon Spanish intellectual leadership split into two parties: one faithful to an ideal rooted in the Spanish people; the other, though in the full glory of its new-born light, strangely out of harmony with the Spanish

3 D. Salvador de Madariaga, Spain, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1930, 86.
"Spain, who for centuries had fiercely fought for her own unity at the cost of heavy sacrifices, was rent by two beliefs, one out of touch with the world, the other out of touch with the national soul."

However, although liberal ideas had been filtering into Spain and had been influencing the people, the Spaniards made no attempt to assert their independence or to demand popular sovereignty until they were forced to do so when they were left without a monarch in 1808. In May, 1808, Napoleon invaded Spain and through unjust means forced Ferdinand to renounce the throne saying that, because of force, his father, Charles IV, had abdicated in his favor. "El engaño, la traición, la emboscada alevosa, y, por último, los resortes indignos para coger en una trampa a sus víctimas, eran las armas por los cuales el vencedor de Europa arrebata a soberanos amigos su trono."

Independence, personal and national, and hatred of foreign interference are striking characteristics of the Spaniard. In their uprising against the French, the Spaniards were moved by a single purpose—to drive out the foreign invader who had come to free them from their traditional way of life—political and social. Thus, traditionalism in nineteenth century Spain began as a patriotic movement against Napoleon and the French invaders. The Spanish people as a whole joined this movement although a minority group accepted Joseph Bonaparte who had been placed on the Spanish throne.

4 Ibid., 87.
5 Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, Historia de España y su influencia en la historia universal, P. Salvat, Barcelona, 1918, VII, 17.
However, even this group was impelled by the patriotic desire of avoiding evil for their country.

... la nación entera, por un acto impulsivo, ajena a toda previsión o acuerdo, se levantó contra el invasor francés, contra todo el poder de Napoleón. Pareció a algunos españoles, los llamados afrancesados, que los ejércitos franceses eran invencibles; y, movidos por el deseo de evitar a su patria una guerra que juzgaban temeraria, ... se dispu- sieron a servir lealmente a José Bonaparte.  

The Spanish people expressed their sentiments through the local "juntas," or councils which sprang up all over Spain to conduct the defense of the country. The "juntas," elected in the capitals of the provinces, had to work independently because of the difficulty of communication in a country where the provinces were separated from one another by the French troops. However, all the "juntas" were united in the same patriotic motive of returning their king to his throne.

After several months there was created a "junta central" which joined with the "junta" of Seville and remained in session for about a year. At the end of this time it was driven out of Seville and took refuge in Cadiz where in January, 1810, it appointed a Regency of five men to arrange for the calling of a "Cortes" representative of Spain and the Americas. Fearing that a "Cortes" might adopt a radical tone, the Regency postponed its summons as long as possible; but at last it issued the call and the "Cortes" met in September, 1810. It consisted of a single elective chamber made up of deputies from the towns with a traditional right of representation, from the provincial "juntas," from groups of 50,000 population, and from the Americas.

---

Even in a well-ordered country and in time of peace, the carrying out of so complicated a system of representation for the first time would be difficult. In Spain at this time it was impossible.

The circumstances of the country made impossible a free and complete representation of the people such as was desirable for the adoption of measures altering the bases of the national life; and the enforced silence in exile of the king, who was one of the parties principally affected by the change, would seem to render inevitable the conflict which afterwards occurred between him and the reformers, as a consequence of their action. 7

Since the American deputies could not arrive on time, and since any show of an election was impossible in the districts and cities held by the French, it was decided that the places of the missing representatives should be occupied by persons from their native regions who happened to be resident in Cadiz at that time. Thus, this haphazard assembly, so far as it represented anything beyond the private opinions of its members, stood for the radical views of the people of the coast as opposed to the conservative temperament of those of the interior districts.

When the "Cortes" was opened on September 24, 1810, it appeared as an assembly which was to restore Spain to its traditional political and social system.

Procedió una ceremonia religiosa en la iglesia... donde juraron los regentes y los 105 diputados conservar la religión católica, la integridad nacional, los derechos de Fernando VII el fiel desempeñó de su cargo; terminó el acto con el Veni Creator y un Te-Deum \textit{italics in the original}. 8

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{7} Martin Hume, \textit{Modern Spain}, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1900, 173. \\
\textsuperscript{8} Ballesteros y Beretta, 79.
Soon, however, many people realized that the members of the "Cortes" seemed to forget their main purpose while they gained power and prestige for themselves. A decree was approved which declared that the national sovereignty resided in the "Cortes," the members of which attributed to themselves not only the legislative power but all the powers of the nation including the executive. Another decree established liberty of the press, with the condition of an ecclesiastical censor for articles on ecclesiastical affairs. In the discussion which preceded the approval of this decree there was marked for the first time the division between liberals and traditionalists.

La discusión duró desde el 14 de Octubre until the tenth of November when the decree establishing freedom of the press was approved y en ella se marcó por primera vez la división entre liberales y tradicionalistas, apodados estos "serviles," por su sumisión al rey y a la Iglesia.

The dissension between the two groups increased rapidly during the meeting of the "Cortes" and soon spread to the masses of the people. Swayed by liberal propaganda in the periodicals, the people of Cadiz became ardent liberals. The struggle was sustained by the press and by social gatherings of both parties where the followers of each met and discussed their ideas.

In the meetings of the "Cortes," the members of the liberal party triumphed and imposed their ideas on the conservative element. Their greatest innovation was the famous Constitution of 1812. In the interesting discussion which preceded the framing of this new document, the liberals supported their revolutionary ideas by appeals to an imaginary past history of Spain. They reiterated explicitly that they wished to re-establish in all their vigor the traditional laws and institutions of their ancestors. However, the

9 "Tradicionalismo," 378.
influence of French encyclopedism was evident not only in their work in its entirety but also in the detailed decrees passed by the legislature of 1812.

In several of the individual clauses of the Constitution of 1812 there is noted very clearly this French influence.

The denial of any such influence by the authors of the Constitution may be explained by the fact that they were the political leaders of a country which was fighting against the French invader in order to restore its own traditions; and also, by the fact that they feared the general opinion of their country which might follow the opposition sustained by the "servile" party.

The laws of the "Cortes" and the Constitution, which broke sharply from all the precedents of Spanish history, were important because they constituted a program which became the war-cry of the democratic faction in Spain throughout the nineteenth century. The fundamental and most revolutionary principle of the Constitution was that of national sovereignty.

10 Don Pio Zabala y Lera, "Edad contemporánea" in Historia de España y de la civilización española, Sucesores de Juan Gili, Barcelona, 1930, II, 88.

11 Ballesteros y Beretta, 596.
which enrones the people through their representatives and relegates the
crown and the Church to a secondary place.

Establece el Código gaditano como principios fundamentales lo siguientes: La Nación española es libre e independiente, y no puede ser patrimonio de ninguna familia ni persona. La soberanía reside esencialmente en la Nación, y, por lo mismo, pertenece a esta exclusivamente el derecho de establecer sus leyes fundamentales. El Gobierno de la Nación española es una Monarquía moderada hereditaria. La potestad de hacer las leyes reside en las Cortes con el Rey; la de ejecutarlas, en el Rey, y la de aplicarlas en las causas civiles y criminales, en los Tribunales establecidas por la ley.  

In order to secure its own success, the Constitution declared, too, that all Spaniards owed love to their country, fidelity to the Constitution, obedience to the laws, and respect for authority. The only conservative tone appearing in the document was that regarding religion—the Catholic faith was declared to be the religion of Spain, and the exercise of any other was forbidden.

La Cortes de Cadiz declaraban en su artículo 12:

La religión de la nación española es y será perpetuamente la católica, apostólica, romana, única verdadera. La nación la protege por leyes sabias y justas y prohíbe el ejercicio de cualquier otra [italics in the original].

Although this article existed in the Constitution, members of the "Cortes" confessed the repugnance of the liberal representatives to declare themselves partisans of religious unity, but they were opportunists and did not want to strike against the general sentiment of the nation. Nevertheless, the "Cortes" showed itself to be distinctly anti-clerical in its

12 Zabala y Lera, 87.
13 Ballesteros y Beretta, 641-642.
overthrow of the Inquisition, its restriction of the number of religious communities, and the expulsion of the papal nuncio when he protested against some of the laws. According to Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo, famed nineteenth century literary critic, "the framers of the Constitution composed a useless and silly document, in which the blind fury against the Church found its theoretical formulation and origin."

The Constitution of 1812 was an entirely fresh code, both in spirit and form foreign to the traditional institutions of the country. It cut off the new Spain from all connection with the old and deprived the Crown of all real authority in the land where loyalty to the King had ever been reckoned as second only to loyalty to the Church. Historians agree that the Constitution did not fairly reflect the political sentiments of the majority of the Spanish people of the epoch.

No es . . . un error histórico, sino una verdad, que las ideas liberales fueron impuestas en España contra la voluntad de casi todos los españoles, por una minoría exigua, merced á la presión y al tumulto, con la ayuda de las sociedades secretas y, con el castigo severo de los que se opusieron á su establecimiento, desarrollándose después merced á una activa propaganda, á las conspiraciones y á los actos de fuerza, usándose como medio para realizar tal propaganda el arrancar el respeto á la religión de la mente y del corazón del pueblo. 15

As soon as the Constitution was promulgated, the reaction began. The "serviles," who seemed to understand the temper of their countrymen and of their king, spared no effort to bring about the dissolution of the existing

14 Reid, 56.
"Cortes." Meanwhile, the Liberal majority in the "Cortes" continued to watch over its work and to pass more anti-clerical legislation. This state of affairs did not last long, however, for on April 11, 1814, Napoleon abdicated in France and Ferdinand VII was free to return to his throne. The War of the Independence had ended.

On his return to Spain in May, 1814, Ferdinand VII, impelled by his own inclinations as well as by the attitude of the majority of the clergy, nobles, and the people themselves, adopted a traditionalistic policy. Traditionalism which had originated as a patriotic movement against Napoleon and was mainly of a political nature now developed as a political, social, and religious reaction against liberalism. Even before he reached Madrid Ferdinand declared null and void the Constitution of 1812 and the decrees of the "Cortes." Thus in the political order he re-established the old regime of absolutism. The reaction of 1814 restored also, but only momentarily, the former social organization of Spain.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Spanish society was divided into its three traditional classes: nobility and clergy, middle class, and peasants. With the War of the Independence and the infiltration of liberal ideas, this ancient Spanish social organization experienced a profound transformation. Theoretically, according to the Constitution of 1812, all Spaniards were to have equal rights as individuals and were to have the same consideration before the law. Practically, there were still differences between the classes--marked now by ability and riches rather than by blood and privileges. Although Ferdinand's restoration brought back for a time the old organization, the new ideas influenced the social institutions of Spain throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century.
The greatest resistance to liberalism in the new regime came through the religious reaction. Ferdinand permitted the papal nuncio to return and re-established the Inquisition and the Society of Jesus. It is not difficult to understand why Catholicism has often formed the nucleus of the reactionary forces.

When we recall that the Spanish nation was born in religious fervor and was held together during the period of its greatness by the unifying force of the Catholic Church, we can see how Liberal ideas, developed as they were in conflict with Catholicism, were forced to wage such a slow and discouraging struggle in Spain.16

The official attitude of the Church toward liberalism has been unequivocally hostile, as she has condemned the doctrines of liberals in various encyclicals and other documents: "By proclaiming man's absolute autonomy in the intellectual, moral, and social order, Liberalism denies, at least practically, God and supernatural religion." 17

While Ferdinand VII was still attempting to restore conditions to their former state, secret plots against the government were being fostered. This activity seems to have been mainly the work of societies of Freemasons, in which military men were strongly represented.

A fines de 1819 el ambiente revolucionario era notorio en toda España. Habían ido pre- parándolo las sociedades secretas, donde hacia tiempo se conspiraba. Elemento importantísimo en aquellos acontecimientos fue la francmasonería. Las logias fraguaban la revolución.16

16 Reid, 32.
18 Ballesteros y Beretta, 166.
Early in 1820 the revolt broke out, with the rebels proclaiming the Constitution of 1812. The king yielded at once and announced that he would summon a "Cortes" immediately and would swear his allegiance to the Constitution. Now all Spaniards were obliged to swear allegiance to the Constitution under pain of death. Schools, not only in the institutions of the State, but also in seminaries and convents, were ordered to explain the Constitution, and parish priests were obliged to make this explanation at High Mass. Again the Society of Jesus was suppressed while the power of the other religious orders, and of the Church in general, was limited. These measures directed against the Church "are significant because they indicate the growing tendency of the Liberals ... to regard the Church in Spain as the greatest enemy of liberalism." When the king tried to refuse his sanction for the decree suppressing the religious orders, he was warned by his ministers that such action would cause a popular tumult. Thus intimidated, Ferdinand sanctioned the decree.

Notwithstanding the fact that it seemed to have accomplished much according to Liberal ideas, the "Cortes" of 1820 satisfied nobody. The Liberals were breaking up into various groups with different opinions. Meanwhile, the king and the absolutists, who had never intended to abide by the decrees of the liberal regime, were trying to break away. However, the crisis was settled from abroad. Answering an appeal from Ferdinand, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia joined together to restore matters to the situation in which they were prior to 1820. With this object in view, a French army invaded Spain in 1823. The Spanish people offered no resistance. Instead, they worked to facilitate the advance of the French troops.

19 Reid, 16.
"No better proof could be furnished that the revolution of 1820 did not represent the sentiment of the people."

With the end of the liberal regime came the abolition of the Constitution and the laws of the "Cortes" and the declaration of the absolute power of the king. In a manifesto which appeared in 1825, Ferdinand declared:

No solamente estoy resuelto a conservar intactos y en toda su plenitud los legítimos derechos de mi soberanía, sin ceder ahora ni en tiempo alguno la más pequeña parte de ellos, ni permitir que se establezcan Cámaras ni otras instituciones.

/Italics in the original/.21

However, during the remainder of Ferdinand's reign there were insurrections of both liberals and royalists. The liberals were the first to rise against him, because they were not satisfied with his conduct which they qualified as "depotismo ilustrado." On the other hand, the royalists were dissatisfied with their monarch because several of his ministers held liberal views and because they feared that he was being dominated by the Masons. In order to stop this insurrection, the king himself went to Cataluna, the center of the conspiracy, and published a proclamation "afirmando que ni estaba oprimido, ni se conspiraba contra la religión, ni peligraba la patria, ni el honor de la Corona se hallaba comprometido, ni su autoridad coartada por nadie."

During these royalist insurrections there was born the Carlist party whose aim was to make Don Carlos king of Spain at the death of Ferdinand, his brother. According to the law of succession given in the time of Felipe V, the throne would rightfully belong to Carlos because Ferdinand had no male descendants. However, in May, 1829, the queen, María Amelia,

21 Ballesteros y Beretta 219.
22 "Tradicionalismo," 388.
died. Before the end of the same year, Ferdinand married Maria Cristina of Naples. Shortly afterwards he published the Pragmatic Sanction by which the law of succession of Felipe V was derogated and the more ancient law was restored. According to the Pragmatic Sanction, the daughters of kings had the right to inherit the throne. Therefore, when in 1830 Cristina gave birth to a daughter, Don Carlos lost his right to the throne. This daughter was crowned as Queen Isabel, or Isabella II, with her mother as regent, on the death of the king in 1833.

Shortly before his death, Ferdinand VII made a prophetic statement concerning the condition of his country. He said, "España es una botella de cerveza y yo soy el tapón, en el momento en que este salte, todo el líquido contenido se derramará, sabe Dios en qué derrotero." /Italics in the original/. Indeed, his statement proved to be true. The death of Ferdinand seemed to be the end of the old traditionalist spirit in Spain. For the remainder of the century liberal ideas made persistent headway. Of course, Isabella was neither a liberal nor a traditionalist; she was indeed not old enough to have formed any personal convictions. Her regent, María Cristina, was certainly traditionalist by instinct. But Carlist opposition forced her to lean toward the liberal faction in order to find any element on which she could depend for support.

The period of María Cristina's regency was one of distinct gain for the principle of limited monarchy. The most important piece of legislation passed at that time was the Constitution of 1837. This new document agreed in many respects with the Constitution of 1812, particularly in its

23 Ballesteros y Beretta, 476.
recognition of the sovereignty of the people, and in its establishment of a "Cortes" of two houses, with an absolute veto by the crown. From a religious point of view, as well, the two constitutions seemed in agreement. The legislators of 1837 asserted "that the Spanish nation professed the Roman Catholic religion and bound itself to maintain that form of faith." However, this was not true in practice for hostilities against the Church continued to increase. Monasteries were closed and their property confiscated. The lands of the Church were placed on sale at such tempting prices that the wealthier people bought them and turned liberal.

In 1840 María Cristina was compelled to abdicate, and Espartero, a general in the Spanish army, became regent. His dictatorship pleased neither conservatives nor radicals, however. Consequently, it was not long before the thirteen-year-old Isabella II was proclaimed queen of Spain and took the throne in 1843. But it was the generals of the army rather than the queen who were the true masters of the country during this period. No doubt this situation was responsible for the prevailing chaotic conditions.

"Spain in the time of Isabella II . . . seemed more like a madhouse than the inheritance of some of the greatest makers of civilization."

Isabella's twenty-five-year reign was one in which the forces favorable to traditionalism were almost constantly in control, but under constitutional forms. The character of the period was reflected in the new constitution drawn up in 1845. Among the provisions included in this constitution were the following:

the introduction of a property qualification narrowing the franchise of those electing deputies to the Cortes; the nomination of senators by the crown; ... the packing of the senate with grandees, ecclesiastics, successful soldiers, and financial magnates, -- reactionary elements [those favorable to traditionalism]; emphasis on the recognition of the Catholic Church as the established religion; an assent to the theory of the sovereignty of the people, but in such an attenuated form as to deprive the right of its vitality; ... 26

The Constitution of 1845, then, was far less liberal than its two predecessors. However, during the short period of liberal control from 1854 to 1856, some of its provisions were abolished. At this time it was decided that nobody should be persecuted for religious views contrary to the Catholic faith provided that he did not manifest them publicly. Even though this legislation was never promulgated as a constitution, it did affect the existing attitude of the people. At the end of Isabella's reign, despite the fact that the existing constitution still contained no clause proclaiming religious toleration, the legislature of Spain recognized the liberty of religious opinions but not of religious worship.

Isabella's government claimed to be traditional in its attitude. Yet her reign was one in which democracy made important gains and religious views became more liberal. Her regime had been welcomed as a promise of national peace but the promise was not fulfilled. The queen's position was steadily weakened until, in 1868, this long reign came to an end with the dethronement of Isabella II.

The type of government now to be established was left to the members of the "Cortes." They voted for a continuance of monarchy. The monarch

26 Chapman, 501.
selected was Amadeo of Savoy, Duke of Aosta. At his accession in 1871 there were three political groups in Spain, the Alfonsists, the Republicans, and the Carlists.

The Alfonsists... favored the principle of limited monarchy, under Alfonso of Bourbon, son of Isabella II. ... Republicanism was loudly proclaimed, but was untried and not trusted. The Carlist faction, standing for absolutism as well as for the accession of the heir of the earlier Don Carlos, was ... the strongest group of the day.27

Amadeo was told that he must rule these groups with an iron hand in order to avoid disorder. This he refused to do, and he resigned his crown in 1873.

With Amadeo's resignation came the proclamation of a republic. It lasted, however, for less than two years. Carlists and Republicans were then ready to join the Alfonsists, so that in December, 1874, Alfonso XII was able to establish a conservative monarchy which endured during the remainder of the century. Alfonso's reign marked the beginning of a new era in which the struggle between traditionalism and liberalism came to an end with the acceptance of a pseudo-democracy under constitutional forms.

During the entire nineteenth century, the system of traditionalism, in principle supporting the Catholic religion and a free monarchy, waged a losing battle against the newer liberal ideas of a constitutional representative government and a curtailment of the power of the Roman Catholic Church. The traditionalists repeatedly emphasized the fact that "the great days of Spain's grandeur were under the ideals of absolutism and Catholicism. This has been and is the cornerstone of the traditional viewpoint in Spain." The victorious liberalists, however, effected many changes in the country.

27 Ibid., 503-504.
28 Reid, 41.
Politically, Spain had exchanged an absolute monarchy for a very conservative monarchy. Socially, there were changes in class and custom. The nobles and clergy, who formerly constituted the aristocracy, were replaced by a middle class whose basis of rank was money. Social customs were so influenced by frivolous ideas from abroad that the moral conditions of the country were very low. After 1870, changes in the legislation affected marriage and family life. Before that time, marriage had been regarded as a Sacrament of the Church. Now it was considered a state contract. This legislation was somewhat revised, however, in 1875 when Catholics were dispensed from the obligation of a civil marriage.

In the course of the century the Catholic Church suffered according to the fluctuations of political events. Some Catholics were affected by the subtly penetrating influences of liberalism spread through secularized education. Yet there was a great deal of faith to be found among the Spanish people for in spite of this new teaching they continued the traditional manifestations of their religion.

Traditionalism in nineteenth century Spain was really a struggle for the preservation of the Catholic religion and of the monarchy against the encroachment of liberal influences. The same ideas which served as a basis for the beliefs of the nineteenth century traditionalists have formed the background of conservative, traditional thought in Spain to the present day.
CHAPTER II

FERNÁN CABALLERO, AN EXPONENT OF TRADITIONALISM

Fernán Caballero, one of the most influential forces in Spanish literature during the nineteenth century, represented a frank protest against the new ideas of encyclopedism, liberalism, and progress brought into Spain from France during the first half of that century. She was the writer of the past, the defender of Spain's traditions, the "apostle of the Altar and the Throne." In her private life, as well as in her literary productions, Fernán Caballero glorified the ancient ideals and customs of Spain.

This love for everything Spanish, which has characterized the Spanish people throughout their history and which, in particular, characterized the traditionalist of the nineteenth century, expressed itself in three loyalties—to God, to King, and to Country. When the traditions and customs associated with these loyalties were directly attacked during her lifetime, Fernán Caballero took up the challenge. Throughout her literary works can be found many examples of specific teachings and open offensives directed against the new ideas. For this reason, Fernán Caballero has been known in her own country, as well as in other nations, as the great exponent of traditionalism. An Englishman, speaking of the fame of her novels, several of which have been translated into English, bewailed the fact that she was a traditionalist. "It is unfortunate," he said, "that her influence ... is thrown into the scale of the anti-liberal party."

1Cesar Barja, Libros y autores modernos, Campbell's Book Store, Los Angeles, 1933, 177.
2Mountstuart Duff, Studies in European Politics, Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh, 1866, 50.
An acquaintance with Cecilia Böhl von Faber, the person hidden under the pseudonym of Fernán Caballero, undoubtedly will insure a better understanding of her literary works. The guiding principles of her own life were those which she presented in her novels.

No doubt Cecilia's literary affections were born with her but these and her traditionalist sentiments were favored indeed by her home environment. She was the first child of Johann Nikolaus Böhl von Faber, a Protestant German, and Francisca Javier Larrea, a Catholic of Spanish and Irish extraction. Reared in a literary atmosphere which was deeply traditionalistic and permeated with a pure "españolismo," Cecilia clearly manifested characteristics of both parents. She was intensely Spanish and Catholic by temperament yet German in culture. "En Fernán Caballero se admira como nota saliente el estudio del corazón humano y el de los caracteres, hechos con la profundidad de una inteligencia alemana y con la delicadeza del sentimiento de una mujer andaluza."

It is not difficult to observe in the novelist the influence of her father's teaching and works. Johann Nikolaus Böhl von Faber had a keen literary instinct which his daughter seemed to have inherited. He divided his time between the duties of his commercial business affairs and the study of literature. During the years they spent in Germany while Cecilia was still a child, her father frequently passed his hours of relaxation reading to her the works of German authors suitable for her awakening intellect.

Fortunately, however, Johann Nikolaus' literary tastes were not confined to the writings of his own countrymen. In fact, he became so much interested

in the literature of Spain that in certain respects he seemed almost more Spanish than the native born. The origins of the Castilían poetry and the beginnings and development of the Spanish theater particularly attracted his attention. Eventually he conceived the idea of organizing the notes he had for some time been gathering merely for pleasure, and of publishing them under the title of Floresta de rimas antiguas castellanas. This collection of ancient Spanish "romances" still holds a position of esteem in Spanish literature. The success of this first work so animated the spirit of the Spanish scholar that he undertook another publication of even greater importance. This was his Teatro español anterior a Lope de Vega.

Fernán Caballero refers to her father's literary works in La Gaviota, commenting in a footnote following Marisolada's rendition of a popular Spanish ballad:

El ilustre literato, el estudioso recopilador, el sabio bibliófilo, don Juan Nicolás Bohl von Faber, a quien debe la literatura española el Teatro anterior a Lope de Vega, y la Floresta de rimas castellanas, trae en el primer tomo de esta colección, pag. 255, el siguiente romance antiguo, de autor no conocido. Nos ha parecido curioso el reproducirle aquí, por tratar el mismo asunto que trata esta canción.4

She gives then the ancient "romance" from her father's collection.

Undoubtedly her father's literary activity was an important influence in the development of Cecilia's literary interests, not only in her admiration for the masterpieces of world literature but also in her own literary endeavors. Although he did not encourage her to write, because he believed

4 Fernán Caballero, La Gaviota, (vol. II, Obras completas), 177.
that women had no place in the world of letters, his writings were a source of inspiration for her throughout her lifetime. Johann Nikolaus was Cecilia's true teacher in her moral training also.

Pero su verdadera educación, la que formó su ser moral y que ella recordó siempre para bendecirla . . . se la dió su padre, su verdadero maestro, su constante compañero y guía, en lecciones y pláticas cariñosas, tan acordes con las tendencias de Cecilia, tan afines a su ideario en formación que moldearon y plasmaron el espíritu de la hija a imagen y semejanza del padre y le infundieron la firme voluntad de ser como él deseó que fuera.

Although not a Catholic at the time of his marriage with Doña Francisca, Nikolaus later embraced the Catholic faith. In his decision he was influenced by the example of his Catholic wife and children, as well as by the writings of the Spanish mystics and the preaching of the famous Capuchin priest, Fray Diego de Cádiz. The first call to the faith may have come to him through the preaching of Fray Diego at a mission in Cádiz but Johann's final surrender to God's grace was certainly the result of the prayers and efforts of Doña Francisca and her children. From the earliest years of her married life, Doña Francisca had prayed earnestly for her husband's conversion. Later she taught her children to pray for the same intention. One night Johann Nikolaus overheard Cecilia and his only son praying for his conversion. Moved by their sincere faith, he decided to surrender himself completely to God's will. For grave reasons concerning his business and his parents, he was not able to abjure his Protestant faith immediately. But when the opportunity came he made his abjuration—at first secretly, but later in public.

5 Ángelica Palma y Roman, Fernán Caballero, la novelista novelable, Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, 1931, 161.
Her father's conversion had a very decisive influence upon the faith of Cecilia.

... el tierno corazón de la chiquilla recibió la honda impresión de la abjuración del padre que primero fue secreta y luego renovada públicamente en Schwerin, acto solemne trascendental, de más decisiva influencia en la fe de la hija que todas las enseñanzas de frailes y maestras.6

Again and again Fernán Caballero demonstrated her love, admiration, and respect for her father. Writing to George Ticknor concerning Nikolaus, she said, "Su verdadera vida fue interior, y tan poética como santa y admirable."7 And in one of her short novels, _La noche de Navidad_, she speaks of her father thus:

Uno de los hombres más caritativos que hemos conocido, y que toda su vida esparció alrededor suyo el bien, como el labrador esparce el trigo al sembrarlo ... . Este hombre era el padre de quien escribe estas líneas.8

Also, it is easy to detect John Nikolaus and his teaching in the character of the Abbot of Villamaria in Fernán's novel _Clemencia_.

... yo vi, en unas amarillentas cuartillas que me enseñó una vez Fernán como una reliquia, escritas en alemán por el propio Juan Nicolás y dirigidas a su hija, Cecilia, las mismas sabias, profundas y delicadas maximas que enseñaba su tío el Abad a la inocente Clemencia.9

But if Fernán Caballero spoke often of her father with love and enthusiasm, she rarely mentioned her mother. Nevertheless, the influence of

---

6 Ibid., 57.
7 Fernán Caballero, Letter of George Ticknor, July 28, 1861, (copy of unpublished manuscript in the University of Chicago Library).
her mother's religious faith, patriotic zeal, and Spanish culture was not at all insignificant in the life and works of the novelist.

Doña Francisco Larrea was an excellent Spanish woman who very carefully educated her children in the teachings of their religion. From the beginning of her married life, Doña Francisca desired and prayer for nothing so much as the conversion of her husband. During their sojourn in Germany at the home of John Nikolaus' mother, she feared greatly that with her husband surrounded on all sides by Protestant influences it would be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain the fulfillment of that desire. This fear as well as her love for her native country caused Doña Francisca to sigh for Spain until her husband decided that she should return there. Once back in Cádiz, Doña Francisca, like her countrymen, was caught up in the patriotic zeal provoked by Napoleon's invasion of Spain. With the enemy troops before their eyes and the acts of the liberal "Cortes" before their minds, the people of Cádiz were well aware of the political events of the day.

Soon there appeared in the homes of outstanding citizens of Cádiz, "tertulias," which represented the ideas of the two opposing parties, the liberals and the serviles or traditionalists. The "tertulia" which was originated by Doña Francisca and which met often in her home, was a leading force in the spread of traditionalist doctrines. Doña Francisca herself was one "de los que consideraban el levantamiento de España contra el poder francés como empresa destinada a mantener á la nación española en su antigua situación y leyes, así en lo político como en lo religioso." She synthesized the character of her "tertulia" in the following verse which she often recited:

---

10

Ibid., 143.
Nuestra española arrogancia
Siempre ha tenido por punto
Acordarse de Sagunto
Y no olvidar a Numancia.
Franceses, idos a Francia,
Y dejádnos nuestra ley, \( \text{italics in the original} \)
Que, en tocando a Dios y al Rey
Y a nuestros patrios hogares,
Todos somos militares,
Y formamos una grey.\( ^{11} \)

With her profound Catholicity and her intense Spanish patriotism, Doña Francisca became a powerful leader in the traditionalist party.

In her mother's "tertulia" Cecilia undoubtedly learned much concerning the important events of Spanish history and with such knowledge began to form her own political opinions.

... viendo, oyendo y callando en aquel centro de doctos personajes, y experimentados políticos, fue como estudió Cecilia la trascendental evolución que se operaba entonces en España y formó sus opiniones políticas, vagas y borrosas, como era natural en sus pocos años; pero tan firmes y bien definidas después, tan correctos y bien delineados sus contornos, que no es maravilla trazase más tarde aquellas admirables figuras ... sobre las páginas de dos de sus mejores obras que retratan esta época: Elia ó la España treinta años ha y Un servilón y un liberalito.\( ^{12} \)

Doña Francisca was not so gifted with literary talents as were her husband and daughter; yet her achievements are certainly deserving of mention. Educated in England, she had become familiar with the works of the great English authors. Her own literary works, in the beginning, were

\( ^{11} \) Don Pío Zabala y Lera, "Edad contemporánea," (vol. V, Rafael Altamira y Crevea, Historia de España y de la civilización española, Sucesores de Juan Gilí, Barcelona, 1930), 282-283.

\( ^{12} \) Coloma, 147-148.
predominantly subjective, as her letters and her diary evidence. However, she later brought to completion a Spanish version of Manfredo, a drama of Byron. This was published in 1856, almost twenty years after Doña Francisca's death. It appeared in the Revista de Ciencias, Literatura y Artes in Seville, signed by "La Madre de Fernán Caballero."

Such literary, political, and religious activities on the part of Doña Francisca must have had a powerful influence on the development of her daughter's personal opinions and convictions. However, Cecilia's formal education too, was an important factor in her character development. While she remained in Germany her education was entrusted to two Catholic teachers who continued the training begun by her father and mother.

The first of these teachers was a Belgian instructress who may be largely responsible for Cecilia's solid religious piety.

Era por fortuna esta señora de mucha religión y entendimiento y ella inculcó y afianzo en Cecilia aquella su piedad sólida y activa, que no es contentaba con prácticas devotas, sino que subía de ellas á obras superiores de amor de Dios y del prójimo.

After the death of this Belgian teacher, Cecilia attended a school in Hamburg founded by an aristocratic French woman who had fled from France with many other nobles after the French Revolution. It is quite probable that Cecilia's traditionalist political opinions, later fostered by her mother's "tertulia," were first conceived here in this school modeled on the famous College of Saint-Cyr. "En aquel nostálgico ambiente monárquico nació la devoción de Cecilia por el trono y los Borbones."

---

13 Palma y Roman, 37.
14 Coloma, 62.
15 Palma y Roman, 56.
While attending school in Germany, Cecilia acquired a knowledge of French which led her to an intimate acquaintance with French men of letters. She had great admiration for some of these literary figures, especially those who cherished her own traditionalist sentiments. Ranking high among them was Louis Gabriel Bonald, a monarchist and royalist who directed his efforts against all attempts at liberalism in religion and politics. Fernán demonstrated her admiration for Bonald in several of her letters to José Fernández Espino. In one of these she said, "Que deseo tengo que lea V. a 16 Bonald;" in another, "... envío a V. cogidos al azar unos cuantos pensamientos de Bonald, brillantes de las minas que nos ofrecen el trono y el 17 altar."

For Balzac, disciple of Bonald, Fernán Caballero had less praise. Always she admired his art but not always his moral principles. Him she classified as one of those men who have ideas but not convictions, opinions but not principles. Some of his maxims were religious and spiritual while others were sceptical and materialistic. She did find in Balzac's writings, however, some ideas in accord with her own. In Un verano en Bornos, she gives a quotation from Balzac defending religion and monarchy.

Con cuánta más certeza, experiencia y buen sentido dice el profundo Balzac: "Escribo d la luz de dos verdades eternas, la Religión y la Monarquía. [underlines are italics in the original] que son dos necesidades que los sucesos contemporáneos proclaman, y hacia las cuales todo escritor de buen sentido debe trabajar en atraer a su país."18

16 Fernán Caballero, Letter to José Fernández Espino, June 10, 1856, in Caballero-Espino Correspondence, (unpublished manuscript in the University of Chicago Library).
17 Fernán Caballero, Letter to José Fernández Espino, June 22, 1856.
18 Fernán Caballero, Un verano en Bornos, Librería de Antonio Romero, Madrid, 1862. 95.
One of Fernán Caballero's closest friends was Antonio de Latour, celebrated French litterateur and poet, who until 1848 had been the teacher of the Infante Duque de Montpensier in the royal palace of King Luis Felipe. With the proclamation of the French Republic, when the royal family was forced to leave French territory, Latour accompanied his pupil to Spain. Here he encountered Fernán Caballero, first through her novels and later in person. His admiration for the novelist and for her country was very great. In his literary works he wrote enthusiastically of the glories of Spain.

If Cecilia's early environment had a marked influence on her own character, her later surroundings had a more direct influence on her literary work. During the fourteen years of her married life with the Marques de Arco-Hermoso, she lived in Seville where her keen powers of observation found a vast field of activity. She became acquainted with the popular classes of society in the city as well as with the country folk of her time, and the free disposition of her time gave her an opportunity to write about her observations.

The home of the Marquesa de Arco-Hermoso in the city of Seville was the center of Andalucian aristocratic society. Here were entertained any persons of distinction who chanced to be in the vicinity. But, in addition, Cecilia made her home an asylum and safe refuge for any who were persecuted or in danger. "No satisfizo nunca á Cecilia que fuese su casa solamente centro de elegancia y cultura: hizola tambien al mismo tiempo refugio de desdichados y amparo de infelices..."

During this same period Cecilia and her husband spent much of their time at their estate in the little town of Dos Hermanas, a short distance from Seville. According to Coloma, 209.
from Seville. Cecilia mixed with the simple peasant folk and by her natural kindness and gentleness won their confidences. Thus she acquired an invaluable first-hand knowledge of the Andalucian country people. Then slowly there awakened in Cecilia a strong desire to write about the life of these Andalucian peasants. The character of the literary work of Fernán Caballero was beginning to take shape. "... parece indudable que en su vida de campo fue donde se le ofreció la forma in que había de presentar las producciones de su ingenio."

Later, when as the guest of Queen Isabella II, Cecilia went to live in the Alcazar, she again found an environment suitable for a writer of traditionalist ideas. From her apartment, located in a high part of the building, Cecilia had an excellent view of her surroundings which included many historical and religious monuments of her country, such as the Giralda, the Archives of the Indies, and the famous Cathedral of Seville. Here again she had the opportunity of observing closely the movements of the life of her people. Indeed, this dwelling seemed to have been made expressly for such a novelist.

With these favorable circumstances surrounding her throughout her lifetime, it is no wonder that Fernán Caballero became a traditionalist of the firmest convictions.

Cecilia was a woman of strong religious faith. From her earliest years she had been taught a trust in and reverence for her Eternal Father, a trust and reverence which grew stronger as time passed. Her religion was not confined to pious devotions but was raised to the level of abnegation and self-sacrifice. For Fernán Caballero, her Catholic faith was one of her most

Asensio, 71.
cherished possessions. Lady Herbert, an Englishwoman who traveled through Spain, speaking of her visit with Fernán Caballero, says:

...if one wished to excite her, one had but to touch on questions regarding her faith and the so-called "progress" of her country. Then all her Andalusian blood would be roused, and she would declaim for hours in no measured terms against the spoliation of the monasteries, those centers of education and civilization in the villages and outlying districts; against the introduction of schools without religion, and colleges without faith; and the propagation of infidel opinions through the current literature of the day.21

Whenever possible, Fernán Caballero used her personal influence to maintain or restore the traditional religious monuments and practices of her country. When the people of Seville collected alms and, by their own manual labor, tried to restore the destroyed chapel of the Virgin of Carmen, the novelist was much edified by their faith and devotion. In order to arouse the general public to sentiments of admiration for their work, as well as to aid in the collection of alms, she wrote an article for the newspaper giving an account of the restoration. Again, when the chapel of the Virgin of Valme was restored in Dos Hermanas, Fernán lent her personal efforts. She asked compositions of her friends, while she herself also contributed to the Noticia y Corona Poética, escritas con motivo de la restauración de la Capilla Real de Virgen de Valme, published in Seville in honor of the occasion.

During the revolution of 1868, Fernán was greatly aroused by the abolition of one of Spain's most ancient religious practices. From time immemorial the "serenos" had been accustomed to announcing the hour of the night.

21 Lady Herbert, Impressions of Spain, The Catholic Publication Society, New York, 1869, 133.
by calling out the invocation "Ave María Purísima." When this custom was abolished in Seville in 1868, Fernán Caballero realized that the revolution had left the political sphere and was declaring war on all religious manifestations. Among her friends were some who exercised considerable influence in the municipal government. Taking advantage of this fact, she wrote a letter to the provisional governor asking him to renew the old custom.

Instada por muchash amigas mías, é impelida por mi corazón, me atreco a suplicarle, así como al señor Alcalde, que levante la irreligiosa prohibición, hecha á los serenos, de saludar y aclamar, al tiempo de dar la hora, á la Madre de Dios, ... por lo que su supresión no puede tener otro objeto ni motivo que el de des-catolizar á nuestro católico pueblo; por lo que ha encontrado tan justa censura entre las personas cultas y piadosas, que han visto en dicha supresión un desacato á la Santa Patrona de España.22

When, as a result, the governor proposed the re-establishment of this ancient custom, he was met with the unanimous approval of the municipal leaders. There is no doubt that Fernán Caballero's influence was largely responsible for this act.

Fernán Caballero was interested not in the religious welfare alone but also in the political well-being of her country. At all times she was aware of the trends in Spanish political affairs, trends which she followed with interest and at times with grief. In deploring the conditions in Spain about the middle of the nineteenth century, she blamed the lack of unity among her countrymen upon liberal ideas. "A mí me horroriza y pensar que con las ideas liberales se ha perdido aquella magnifica unidad que dicí el

22Fernán Caballero, Letter to the governor of Seville, cited by Asensio, 142.
primer golpe, golpe de muerte, al mal tio del mal sobrino Napoleon!"

She believed, too, that the ideas responsible for the conditions of her time were spread by the universities which were teaching the doctrines of the French Encyclopedists.

Eso es la infamia de las Universidades--
La maldad de los profesores que han formado
la era presente. Como pues no habian de
aborrecer la enseñanza de los Jesuitas! Oh!
inausta era, ciega y perversa, que pudo
lograr, hacer reina a la injusticia, y
axioma a la mentira!24

The Revolution of 1868 caused grave distress to the soul of Fernán Caballero, not only because it attacked her religious and political beliefs but also because it produced a great change in her life. With the dethronement of Queen Isabella came the sale of the material possessions which had belonged to the royal family and which were now considered as goods of the state. Included among these possessions was the Alcazar. When the apartments of the old palace were offered for sale, Fernán was forced to move from that dwelling which had been her home for ten years.

Her dejection of spirit caused by this move did not last long, however, for she felt her obligation to oppose as far as possible the revolutionary wave. Therefore, she played an active part in the protest against those who wished to destroy the chapels and altars of the Alcazar. As a plea to preserve intact this historic monument, she wrote a letter to the wife of General Topete, naval minister, asking this noble woman to try to influence her husband to prevent the destruction of any parts of the Alcazar. After

23 Fernán Caballero, Letter to de Gabriel, November 6, 1856, in Caballero-Gabriel Correspondence, (copy of unpublished manuscript in the University of Chicago Library).
24 Fernán Caballero, Letter to José Fernández Espino, n.d.
noting the historical significance of the altars proposed for destruction she made her plea for their preservation:

Muchas cosas al ver el giro que las públicas han tomado, no habrán podido evitar los hombres cultos y cristiano que están al frente de la Nación; pero el real patrimonio no tiene ni debe reconocer otra autoridad que la de estos señores, y aquí están ampliamente en su derecho para impedir un mal grave y trascendental.

Que V. E. influya en que así lo hagan, es la súplica que en nombre de los habitantes del Alcázar me atrevo á dirigir á V. E. . . . 25

In spite of all the efforts of the traditionalists, however, the Revolution of 1868, with its anti-monarchial and anti-clerical forces, remained triumphant. To Fernán Caballero this was a triumph of the powers of evil. During the few remaining years of her life she gradually withdrew from the world of political affairs, reducing the circle of her contacts until she was receiving and visiting only a few close friends. In the last two years of her life she had the satisfaction of seeing the monarchy returned to Spain in the person of Alfonso XII.

Loyalty to the monarchy was always an outstanding characteristic of Fernán Caballero. On numerous occasions throughout her lifetime she had opportunity to prove that loyalty. One such occasion occurred in 1823 when the king and queen visited Seville. At that time Fernán and her husband, Marques de Arco-Hermoso, were harboring in their home Fernán's cousin who because of his liberal tendencies had deserted the Spanish army. Although they feared the danger that might come to the young man if they were absent from the house, they felt more keenly their obligation to their monarch.

25Fernán Caballero, Letter to Doña Joaquina Arriete, February 20, 1869, (copy of unpublished manuscript in the University of Chicago Library).
Thus, in spite of the personal risk involved, they attended together the solemn entrance of the king and queen into their city. "Preciso fue, pues, que . . . asistiesen juntos a la entrada . . . y se trasladasen luego al Alcazar para saludar a los Reyes y muy en especial a la Reina Amalia que gustaba mucho hablar en alemán con Cecilia."

Another opportunity presented itself later in her life when Fernán Caballero refuted a newspaper item directed against Queen Isabella. Although Fernán never answered attacks made against herself, she did take up the challenge when the attack involved her monarch. Queen Isabella had been accused of imprudence in praising the works of Fernán Caballero for their social tendencies, tendencies which were manifestly absolutist. Previously the queen had won the support of the liberals by declaring herself an advocate of a constitutional monarchy. In response to this accusation Fernán described her visit with the sovereigns of Spain and said,

... nada hablaron de tendencias sociales, que, sea dicho de paso, nada tienen que ver con la organización política, y solo se dignaron decirme, con su sin igual benevolencia, que habían leído con gusto mis escritos, por su espíritu moral y religiosa; y como todos los católicos me conceden esta aprobación, y SS. MM. lo son, no hay imprudencia, como Vd. dice, en repetirlo, ni falta S.M. la Reina a la gratitud hacia los que han combatido por ella y por su Monarquía católica constitucional... [[Underlines are italics in original]].

Since monarchy had always been one of the most pure affections and most inveterate beliefs of the novelist, she must have been overjoyed at the triumphant entrance of Alfonso XII as king of Spain. Her death occurred at

---

26 Coloma, 241.
27 La Discusión, Sevilla, 4 de octubre de 1862.
about the same time that the struggle between traditionalism and liberalism came to an end with the acceptance of Alfonso's conservative monarchy.

These same qualities of personal integrity and loyalty to her religion and her monarch which marked the character and private life of Fernán Caballero are also found in her literary productions. Through her works she attempted to arouse and strengthen the national spirit of her countrymen by showing them how much that was good and noble could be found in their own manners, customs, and character. To achieve this purpose she presented true pictures of Spanish life and customs, especially as found among the plain Andalucian country people for she believed that these simple peasants embodied the spirit of the real Spaniard. The main object of her novels, however, seemed to be the desire to impress upon the mind of her reader some salutary lesson. Therefore, an understanding and appreciation of the novels of Fernán Caballero may be reached best by consideration of their three general characteristics—realism, regionalism, and moralizing tendency.

Speaking of Fernán Caballero as the personification of two dominating tendencies in the novel of the nineteenth century, Francisco Blanco García said,

Dos tendencias simultáneas predominaron en la novela cuando comenzaron a calmar los fervores románticos en las personas sensatas: la ejemplaridad docente, y el amor á la realidad viva y concreta, despertado en cierto modo por los escritores de costumbres. Síntesis y personificación de las dos tendencias fueron las obras de una mujer ilustre con quien España contrajo una deuda de gratitud moral y literaria, aun no satisfecha definitivamente. 28

As realistic works, her novels are rather works of observation than of imagination. She tried to describe faithfully what she saw and heard in the world around her. Her gift of keen observation enabled her to grasp the characteristic trait of a person, a situation, or an epoch and then to present it to her reader in a very graphic manner. She painted characters whom she had known, described places which she had seen, and noted expressions which she had heard. Combining these elements she formed the background of her novels. In her "Palabra Al Lector," with which she introduced *La Familia de Alvareda*, Fernán showed how her method of observation applied to this novel.

El argumento de esta novela, que hemos anunciado como destinada exclusivamente a pintar al pueblo, es un hecho real, y su relación exacta en lo principal, hasta el punto de haber conservado las mismas expresiones que gastaron los que en ella figuran, sin más que haber quitado a alguna que otra su crudeza.29

With her portrayal of the manners of the Spanish people, Fernán Caballero was one of the first to introduce the novel of customs. In one chapter of her novel *La Gaviota* she defends this new type of novel as a means for a better understanding of peoples. She presents a family group proposing to write a novel. In discussing the elements which a novel should have, Rafael, a young man voicing the sentiments of the authoress, says of the novel of customs,

Es la novela por excelencia ... util y agradable. Cada nación debería escribirse las suyas. Escritas con exactitud y con verdadero espíritu de observación, ayudarían mucho para el estudio de la humanidad, de la historia, de la moral práctica; para el conocimiento de las

---

localidades y de las épocas. Si yo fuera la Reina, mandaría escribir una novela de costumbres en cada provincia, sin dejar nada por referir y analizar. 

In her presentation of the manners and customs of her people, Fernán attempted to give an exact, genuine picture of Spain's society at a very important time in the social evolution of the country. She tried to comprehend the intimate life of the Spanish people, their language, beliefs, and traditions in order to present them to her readers at home and abroad so that in consequence the people of Spain might be better understood and better appreciated. To do this she penetrated into the home life of the older Spanish families, trying to understand their mode of life and manner of thinking at a time when new ideas were filtering into these homes, ideas which were in open conflict with those already venerated there. Much of the value of her novels lies in this juxtaposition of the rapidly disappearing traditionalistic ideas with the new materialistic ideas which were fast becoming part of the daily life of the people. In a discourse addressed to the Spanish Royal Academy, D. Alejandro Pidal Y Mon said,

Fernán Caballero en la primera mitad del siglo XIX, como Cervantes y Velásquez en el XVII, fijaron en espontáneas, sublimes, y, por lo tanto, immortales, los tipos simbólicos y vivientes de un estado de cosas y de costumbres llamado á desaparecer en la confusión de los tiempos que se llaman de transición. 

It is true that Fernán Caballero may have idealized some of the pictures of Spanish life which she put into her novels. As an ardent defender of traditional ideas and customs against the encroachment of new foreign ideas and

30 Fernán Caballero, La Gaviota, 321-322.
31 D. Alejandro Pidal y Mon, Discourse to the Spanish Royal Academy, cited by Coloma, 287.
customs, she would naturally select from her material whatever would best serve the cause which she defended. However, regarded as a whole, her works may be considered an authentic picture of early nineteenth century Spanish life.

To make her portrayal truly authentic, Fernán Caballero drew her characters and situations from Andalucia, that district which had become so familiar to the author through her constant association with its people. For this reason her novels have taken on the characteristics of the "novela regional," that type of novel whose substance is developed in a particular province which, while it embodies the philosophy of its native country, still has special and distinctive characteristics of its own.

From her earliest years in this region, Fernán Caballero was intensely interested in Andalucian life. Her long residence in the large cities and in the smaller villages gave her ample opportunity to study the character, customs, and popular traditions of the people and thus to understand their ideas, sentiments, and motives.

The raw material of Caballero's novels and short stories is the life and customs, the poetry, music and dances, the fe catolica in the original undefiled and the tragedies and comedies of the Andalucian villages, and over all is the super-abundant Andalucian wit. . . .

Fernán Caballero was well acquainted with the aristocracy and the country folk of Andalucia. As wife of the Marques de Arco-Hermoso, she had an excellent opportunity of knowing at first hand the best Sevillan aristocracy so that later, in her presentation of the life and manners of Andalucian

Ronald M. MacAndrew, Foreword, Fernán Caballero, La Noche de Navidad, iii.
nobility in her novels, she was able to draw upon her personal knowledge and experience. However, she was much more interested in the simplicity, sincerity, and piety of the country people in the small villages. She felt that while the Spain of the cities was being modernized by foreign innovations, the life of the country peasants was remaining unchanged.

To her the peasant is worth while. She honors him in his toil. She recognizes the necessity of the king and all his household. But the peasants, being the tributaries, constitute the main arteries of human society.33

In view of the deeply religious character of Fernán Caballero, one is not surprised to find in her writings an exalted moral and religious tendency. After much persuasion on the part of her family and friends, she finally consented to publish her first novel only because she believed that she could exert a moral influence upon her readers. She considered it her duty to help to improve the morals of society and believed that she could best achieve this through her natural gift of story-telling.

In her writings Fernán Caballero opposed with righteous indignation the new ideas that were undermining the old institutions of church and state and were causing the people to regard with disfavor the traditional, conservative ideas in social and political life. Since she identified the new tendencies with irreligion and immorality, she believed that her duty as a Christian and patriotic Spaniard impelled her to defend the traditional ideas of morality and of the established institutions and customs.

Para Fernán Caballero, la misión del novelista no es solo estética, sino también docente. Aspiraba ella a la rehabilitación

33 Hugo M. Kressin, "Fernán Caballero," Hispania, VIII, marzo, 1925, 126.
Some of her opponents criticized the "sermonizing" in the works of Fernán Caballero. However, her "sermons" constitute an integral part of the individuality of the author and of the distinctive character of her writings. In addition, her works must be judged in relation to the time in which they were written. They were intended to counteract the doctrines of French writers whose works were being spread through Spain.

In the Spanish literature of the nineteenth century, Fernán Caballero ranks as an outstanding Catholic, traditionalist writer. Her works reflect the political, religious, and social aspects of traditionalism as it is found in the changing period in which she lived. Indeed, her sentiments belong to Spain's past. She sighs for the peace which prevailed before the intervention of French influence. "... entonces éramos todos españoles, práctica y teóricamente; lo éramos de alma y de corazón, de costumbres, gustos y lenguaje; éramos hermanos, y no enemigos; no teníamos más que una bandera, una fe y una ley."

35. Asensio, 182.
36. Fernán Caballero, La Noche de Navidad, 16.
Fernán Caballero defends the monarchy, one of her most cherished ideals, in her literary productions as well as in her private life. At all times she cast her efforts with the anti-liberal forces. In a letter to her friend de Gabriel, she gave her reasons for her defense of the monarchy in her writings.

La reina personalmente y por la idea que representa debe ser querida, celebrada; se le debe dar prestigio y pues que lo que escribo es leído fuera y dentro de España, y puesto que yo represento para muchos cierto círculo social, particularmente al femenino, es casi mi deber de conciencia y de patriotismo levantar muy alto la bandera de Isabel segunda.

The Catholic religion, with its pure and solid doctrines, holds a very important place in the works of the novelist. She presents Catholicism as the surest guide of life for all and the only hope and consolation in misfortunes. Religion appeals to all people, particularly those most neglected by the world. Catholicism forms an integral part of the life of the people, moulding their daily thought and actions. When criticized for the prominent place given to religion in her works, she justified her action by reminding the critics that religion is an essential part of Spanish customs. In the prologue to Estar de más, she wrote:

Corto será, pues se escribo solo para contestar a los que nos echan en cara hablar en nuestros escritos demasiado religiosamente, hasta el punto de haberlos honrado La Discusion [newspaper of Seville] calificándolos de Novelas Devocionarios. Diremos... que dificilmente se pintarán con exactitud las costumbres de la sociedad española, alta y popular, sin este requisito..."38

37 Fernán Caballero, Letter to de Gabriel, n.d.
38 Fernán Caballero, Estar de más, (vol. IX, Obras completas), 12.
In accord with her religious beliefs, all the novels of Fernán Caballero defend the strict moral principles of Catholicism. Good actions and virtue are regarded as deserving the utmost praise while vice and crime appear stigmatized. At a time when other novelists seemed concerned with the destruction of society, particularly through the degradation of family life, Fernán Caballero demonstrates true domestic peace and conjugal happiness. "[She] era la mejor amiga de las familias, la distracción honesta del hogar, el novelista cuyas obras corrían en manos de las jóvenes sin perjuicio alguno para su educación moral, y que despertaba en los corazones el amor hacia todo lo bueno y lo hermoso."

An understanding of the principles of traditionalism as seen by Fernán Caballero may be reached through a study of several of her most important novels considered individually. In these novels are found the underlying principles of traditionalism which regard the monarchy as the foundation of the political order and the Catholic religion as the most secure guide in individual, family, and public life. Hence, the novels may be considered in the light of the political, religious, and social aspects of traditionalism which they reveal.

39 Asensio, 154.
CHAPTER III

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF TRADITIONALISM REVEALED

IN THE NOVELS OF FERNAN CABALLERO

As a true traditionalist, Fernán Caballero defends the monarchy as the ideal form of government for Spain. Upon the preservation of monarchy she believes the success of Spain's political order to depend. Fernán scorns the democratic theories of the nineteenth century advocated by the liberals, contending that these theories are both anti-national and anti-monarchical. The true spirit of democracy, she maintains, is a genuine characteristic of the Spanish people demonstrated again and again in the relations between the hidalgos and peasants in the rural regions of the country. Fernán Caballero consequently is an ardent champion of the traditional spirit of Spain, the spirit which she eulogizes at every opportunity throughout her novels.

In her *Elia o España treinta años ha*, Fernan shows herself a zealous paladin of "the throne." The sub-title of the novel aids in the explanation of its purpose which is to describe the sentiments of the Spanish people at the close of the War of Independence when Ferdinand VII returned to the throne, "epoca . . . en la cual puede decirse que desaparece la antigua España para refundirse en la que a la actual generación le ha cabido en suerte."

Through the characters of Elia, Fernán Caballero presents the two main currents of Spanish thought, traditionalism and liberalism, which originated

---

during the period of the War of Independence and have continued to the present time. Elia, the character after whom the novel is titled, is not a prominent force in the political order. She is rather a hub around which the other characters revolve.

Elia's aunt, señora de Calatrava, or la Asistenta de Seville, as she was generally called, is the most forceful character of the novel. A noble Spanish woman, aristocratic by birth but at the same time democratic by temperament, la Asistenta is loved and respected by all who know her. She is the typical traditionalist who represents the author's ideas of respect for the monarchy and admiration for the true quality of democracy as exemplified by the Spanish people.

The Marquesa de Valdejara, sister-in-law of the señora de Calatrava, is also a traditionalist but such a rigid character, virtuous almost to the extent of fanaticism, that she inspires antagonism rather than the love inspired by la Asistenta.

Representing both parties of the political struggle are the two sons of the marquesa. Don Fernando, the elder, is the noble representative of monarchical ideas and is the authentic type of the first-born son.

Don Fernando, noble representante de las ideas monárquicas, es, por otra parte, como acertadamente dice el autor, el verdadero y genuino tipo del mayorazgo, sotén y apoyo con su nombre y su fortuna de la casa de que es jefe.2

Until the end of his life, Fernando faithfully carries on his duties to his family and his monarch. In 1822 he dies in battle defending his king. His mother suffers courageously the pangs caused by Fernando's death, for her beloved son has died in a most noble cause.

2Ibid., x.
Don Carlos, the younger son, personifies liberal principles. In the
eyes of his aunt, la Asistenta, Carlos is a youth with good intentions and
an ardent spirit but one who unfortunately has been misled by false ideas.
When he dies in 1823 defending the anti-monarchical cause he brings shame
and dishonor to the family. The death of Carlos again causes great afflic-
tion to the heart of his mother.

... la muerte de Carlos la destruyó. Era
el último Arrea, y el primero que había muerto
defendiendo una causa que no era la de la re-
ligión, la del rey, ni la del país. Su exist-
encia se rindió y aplomó como las velas del
barco al que falta la brisa vivificadora.3

Another character who brings sorrow to the hearts of la Asistenta and
la marquesa is Clara, their niece. Clara has lived abroad for several years
and has become imbued with liberal ideas. When she returns to Spain she
brings with her Don Narciso Delgado, her physician. He is a true liberal,
intolerant of everything, moral and political, for which Spain stands. Don
Narciso Delgado is a typical representative of the Encyclopedist school
which, fanatical in its intolerance, exacts respect and consideration from
everyone but shows neither consideration nor respect for anything opposed to
its own theories.

Through the attitudes and actions of these characters delineated in
Elia, Fernan Caballero presents the principal ideas of traditionalism and
liberalism as they existed in early nineteenth century Spain. In this novel
in particular the author presents the traditionalist ideas in the political
order.

The opening scene of Elia is one dear to every traditionalist of Fernan
Caballero's time. It depicts the celebration in Seville upon the return of

3 Ibid., 243-244.
Ferdinand VII to the throne of Spain. All the people of Seville turn out to observe the great occasion with religious solemnity in the cathedral of the city and with universal jubilation in the homes and streets.

As a true traditionalist, la Asistenta is very prominent in this festivity. In her magnificent home she gives a sumptuous banquet to celebrate the return of her monarch. For this noble patriot, this day is one of the happiest of her life. At the end of the banquet she relaxes joyfully as she says,

Ahora puedo dormir en paz, porque he disfrutado del más hermoso día de mi vida. Dios ha oído nuestras plegarias y recompensado a los leales y valientes. Amigos, bebamos a la salud de nuestro adorado monarca.

Reverence for the monarch and the principle which he represents is an inherent characteristic of la Asistenta. A striking example of this trait may be found in the conversation which takes place between la Asistenta and Don Carlos, her favorite nephew, when the latter returns home after the War of Independence. Referring to a new portrait of Ferdinand VII which has a prominent place in his aunt's home, Carlos jokingly speaks of Ferdinand as the "rey narigudo." Immediately la Asistenta rebukes Carlos severely, telling him that it is irreverent and indecorous to speak of the king in this manner. "Hijo mio," she says, "la corona es un sagrado, que consagra al que la lleva de derecho."

\[4\] Ibid., 2.  
\[5\] Ibid., 8.  
\[6\] Ibid., 17.
Although la Asistenta feels an extreme reverence for the monarch, she does not feel a servile submission to authority. She believes that true democracy rests upon the fundamental principle of the value of the individual. This belief is demonstrated in her relationship with the poor peasants on her large country estate as contrasted with the treatment of these same peasants by the liberal señor Delgado. One day during the season when la Asistenta and her relatives were residing in her country home, the group went riding. Each member was attended by one of the peasants on the estate. As they rode along, la Asistenta chatted familiarly with her peasant lad, asking him about his family and speaking of his activities. However, when señor Delgado's mule-tender began to speak to him, the great liberal told him to be silent and not to annoy him with his conversation.

El pobre borriquero volvió los ojos con harta envidia hacia el borriquero de la Asistenta, de la gran señora tan encopetada y poderosa, que le iba preguntando por sus hijos y por su pegujar. 

Even Clara, an advocate of liberalism, has not forgotten the Spanish ideal of the dignity of the individual. When señor Delgado speaks with scorn of the arrogance of the poor peasants, Clara responds with words of gentle irony, "Y eso . . . que no han leído vuestro querido Contrato social, ni les habéis hecho una arenga sobre la dignidad del hombre."

As a spokesman for the author, la Asistenta shows herself intolerant of the liberal theories of her time because she knows that these theories are threatening to destroy all that Spain has cherished for centuries. She is

7 Ibid., 94.
8 Ibid., 87.
extremely severe in her censure of the liberal whom she characterizes as

el que quiere destruir el trono con los derechos de la corona; el que quiere destruir la religión con los conventos, la nobleza con los mayorazgos la España con la imitación de todo lo inglés y francés, los leyes de la naturaleza queriendo que que seamos todos iguales . . .

In her dealings with the Voltarian Delgado, la Asistenta—and through her, Fernan Caballero—illustrates the firm opposition of the traditionalist toward liberal ideas in matters of politics. When Delgado deprecates the king and quotes Voltaire as his authority for stating that the idea of the king insults the dignity of man, la Asistenta refutes his statement immediately, saying that Voltaire and his followers are the modern Nerons and Diocletians persecuting Christianity.

¡El demonio y su sequito! Voltaire and his followers que con sus infames doctrinas e infernales libros son hoy día los Nerones y Diocletianos del Cristianismo! Pero, amigo, mal que os pese a vosotros, discípulos de estos nuevos perseguidores, de ellos, como de los otros, triunfaremos.

The spirit exemplified in the character of la Asistenta is truly Fernán Caballero's own spirit of traditionalism. Like la Asistenta, Fernán is benevolent, generous, and kind, "tolerante con todo lo bueno y lo indiferente, fuera antiguo o moderno, y sólo intransigente e inflexible en tocando á Dios y al Rey."

In a lesser degree than Elia, another novel of Fernán Caballero, Un servilón y un liberalito, also defends the political ideas of traditionalism. In this novel the scene is changed to the first period of the nineteenth century.

9 Ibid., 18.
10 Ibid., 78.
11 Coloma, 159.
century. Most of the events take place between 1823 and 1828, the time of
the second French invasion and occupation. At the petition of Ferdinand, the
Holy Alliance has directed the French to invade Spain in order to help Ferdi-
nand to maintain his rightful position as king of Spain. Not only the time
of the setting of the novel but also the place has an historical significance.
The place of the events of the story is the ancient castle of Mnesto in the
city of Puerto de Santa Maria near Cadiz. Very often Fernan Caballero se-
lects for her setting an historical monument which will recall the glory of
Spain's past history. According to tradition, the castle of Mnesto was built
by a Phoenician prince and passed down through the hands of the various in-
vaders of the Iberian Peninsula until it was taken from the Moors in the thir-
teenth century by King Alfonso el Sabio. In describing the old castle and
its surroundings Fernan contrasts the old with the new--the old castle, noble
representative of traditional values, as contrasted with a modern railroad
seen in the distance, representative of the new materialism.

The title of the novel, Un servilon y un liberalito, also suggests a
contrast--the essence of the contrast between traditionalists and liberal-
ists. "Serviles" was the name given by the liberals to those who supported
the Church and the king when differences of ideas appeared for the first time
in the Junto Central in Cadiz in 1812. According to the liberals, this name
"serviles" was given to members of the party who supported Ferdinand VII
because they were bound in servile subjection to the authority of the king
and the Church while the liberals were free from such fetters.

Fernan Caballero, Un servilon y un liberalito, Ed. by Carlos Bransby,
Again, through the characters of her novels, Fernán Caballero illustrates the principles of traditionalism which she is supporting. Don José, "el servilón," and the character who embodies the ideas of the author, is a former schoolmaster who now lives in the old castle, depending for a livelihood on a very small income. With Don José live his wife, Doña Escolástica, and his sister, Doña Liberata. Leopoldo Ardaz, "el liberalito," is a young refugee from the law who is trying to avoid the drafting of soldiers to support the king. He comes into contact with the three serviles when he asks for shelter in the castle. In the beginning he thinks that the serviles with all their antiquated ideas are ridiculous, but later he is converted to their way of thinking.

It is believed that the character of Leopoldo Ardaz is really a portrayal of the character of the young cousin of Fernán Caballero whom she protected in her home in Seville when she was the Marquesa de Arco-Hermoso.

... nunca dejó escapar Fernán Caballero el verdadero nombre de este desgraciado, y por eso le consigno yo /Luis Coloma/ en estas páginas con el de Leopoldo Ardaz con que le bautizó el mismo Fernán, al retratarle ... en su admirable novela Un servilón y un liberalito.  

Throughout the novel, Don José, his wife, and his sister give evidence of their stand in favor of Fernán's creed in regard to the position of the monarch in the political order. So firm is their conviction that it plays a vital part in their lives to the extent that in their daily prayers they never omit a prayer for the king. In true liberal fashion, Leopoldo only ridicules them for this practice and openly insults the king. Don José's

13 Coloma, 248.
response to the liberal's ridicule is a clear statement of the reason for the traditionalists' belief in the monarchy as the cornerstone of the political order. Don José defends the position of the king thus:

Al rey lo ha puesto Dios en el trono, y debemos acatarle, ¿está usted, mocito? Hemos de ser mandados, no hay tu tía; y para eso está ahí el Rey legítimo, que lo tiene de derecho, por herencia, y en la masa de la sangre. Y esto vale más que cien reyezuelos, a cuál más malo, a cuál más amigo de destruir, que están abriendo una puerta... por la que se nos entrarán muchos males.14

Although he is not convinced at the time, Leopoldo in his later life reflects on the life and teachings of Don José. Inspired by the good example of the sincere traditionalist, Leopoldo leaves the ways of liberalism and becomes a staunch supporter of the traditionalist current of thought.

Thus Fernán Caballero uses un servilón y un liberalito as an instrument to spread her beliefs by the life and example of the traditionalists, Don José, Doña Liberata, and Doña Escolastica, as well as through the conversion of the liberal, Leopoldo Ardaz.

In most of her novels Fernán gives at least some evidence of her regard for the king and the monarchy which he represents, even though the main objective of the novel may be directed toward another phase of traditionalism. Sometimes she employs quotations from well-known authors as an authority for her belief, as for example, in Un verano en Bornos, she quotes Balzac:

Con cuanta más certeza, experiencia y buen sentido dice el profundo Balzac: "Escribo á la luz de dos necesidades que los sucesos contemporáneos proclaman, y hacia las cuales todo escritor de buen sentido debe trabajar en atraer á su país."15

14 Un servilón y un liberalito, 31.
15 Un verano en Bornos, 95.
At other times the author demonstrates her regard for the monarch through some incident of her story or through one of her most noble characters. In Clemencia Fernán describes Don Martín, father-in-law of Clemencia, as typical of the few remaining genuine nobles of Spain. One of the most justifiable boasts of this esteemed gentleman is the fact that his home has served as a lodging for the kings of his country.

Esta [The home of Don Martín] era la mejor casa del pueblo . . . en ella se alojaban los reyes a su paso. En vida de D. Martín habían pasado por allí Carlos IV, José Bonaparte, glorificado por los franceses con el título ad honorem [Italics in the original] del Rey de España; las princesas de Braganza, y desposadas con el Rey y el Infante, y Fernando VII.16

In spite of her anxiety to preserve the rights of the monarch, Fernán Caballero never forgets the rights of the people. Refusing to accept the theory of liberalism which proclaims the sovereignty of the people, she asserts that the sovereignty rests with the king because this is the wish of the Spanish people. This is the true spirit of democracy, a spirit which has always existed in Spain where the value of the individual person is understood. In Spain the relations between the ruling classes and the peasants have always been natural and full of cordiality. That haughty reserve engendered by vanity is not known.

En todas partes cada cual habla á su vecino sin conocerle, y sin comprender que esto puedo ser contra la dignidad de nadie; no hacerlo en lugar de inspirar consideración, tendría por resultado hacer del que adoptase ese sistema, un paria impertinente y ridículo.17

16 Fernán Caballero, Clemencia, (vol. III, Obras completas, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, Madrid, 1893-1914), 207.

17 Fernán Caballero, Una en Otra, Hijos de M. Guijarro, Madrid, 1902, 3.
The national Spanish character is directly opposed to that affectation of manner or "buen tomo" which the imitators of foreign customs would bring into the country. Throughout the centuries the Spanish people, peasants as well as nobles, have evinced an aristocratic temperament, natural and without affectation, not understood by foreigners. In La gaviota the author presents two Frenchmen discussing this aristocratic temperament of the Spaniards. One of them feels that in spite of the theories of liberalism, this characteristic will remain in the Spaniards.

No habeis vivido como yo en España, y no conocéis el temple aristocrático de su pueblo. Ya veréis, ya veréis. Mi opinión es que, como gracias a los progresos de la igualdad y fraternidad, los aires aristocráticos se van extinguiendo, en breve no se hallarán sino en España, entre las gentes del pueblo. 18

Convinced as a monarchist that the true spirit of democracy has always existed in Spain, Fernán Caballero has only scorn for the democratic theories of liberalism embodied in the Constitution of 1812 which declare that all men are and should be free and equal before the law. She seems to seek opportunity to direct gently ironical remarks against these theories. In La familia de Alvareda, when she is describing the faithful dog of the Alvareda family, she says: "Debemos darle su lugar, pues no todos los perros son iguales, ni ante la ley." (Italics in the original). 19 Again, in Un verano en Bornos, Primitiva, speaking of the differences in traits and tastes between herself and her sister, voices the sentiments of the author when she says, "cada uno en este mundo tiene su distinto ser, por más que se empeñó en que todos somos iguales." 20

18 La gaviota, (vol. II, Obras completas), 47.
19 La familia de Alvareda, 17.
20 Un verano en Bornos, 104.
Fernán grieves deeply when she realizes that many Spaniards are being led away from their national spirit by the foreign liberal ideas. Pedro de Torres of Una en Otra is an example of a noble Spaniard converted to the modern ideals of "liberty and equality." The author describes this youth thus:

... un buen muchacho con pretensiones a ser un Robespierre; un cordero con pretensiones de tigre; un aturdido adocenado, que quiere copiar a Don Juan: todo esto es el resultado de malas compañías, de ideas mal dirigidas y peor digeridas.21

Fernán Caballero’s feeling of patriotism is so ardent that she wishes to preserve intact the traditional national spirit of her country from which no true Spaniard would ever swerve. She cannot conceive of anyone’s lacking an ardent love for his country, as she illustrates through the title character of Clemencia. When Sir George Percy, an Englishman, displays a spirit of indifference toward his fatherland, Clemencia exclaims, "No tiene usted amor patrio, sir George... ¡Qué fenómeno! ¡Carecer de un sentimiento que abrigan hasta los salvajes en sus bosques y desiertos!"

In an epoch in which the traces of the past are disappearing in the name of civilization and progress, Fernán Caballero thrills to hear in the coplas and legends of the Spanish peasants the praises of the great deeds of Spain’s glorious history. On the contrary, she feels a sense of shame when she considers the quality of the patriotism displayed by her fellow countrymen as a result of the new liberal order in matters of religion and monarchy. Carlos, a young traditionalist of Un verano en Bornos, expresses this thought in a letter addressed to his liberal friend who has been urging him to accept a public office offered to him by the liberals.

21 Una en otra, 22 Clemencia, 453.
... vuelvo la cara con dolor y vergüenza de ese hercédio pasado a este raquítico presente; comparado este real y patente amor al país, al ficticio y apostata patriotismo actual, que desprecia cuanto español existe, reniega de su esencia vende los templos, destruye los monumentos y burla cuanto aquél acató. ¡Oh grandeza de España! ... Piensa que has heredado de tus antepasados, no sólo sus rentas para disfrutarlas, sino también su grandeza para sostenerla, su nobleza para honrarla, sus posesiones para conservarlas, y su lustre para transmitirlo ileso a los que te sucedan.23

Neither can Fernán Caballero comprehend the desire of certain Spaniards for an equality with other nations, which leads them to an imitation of what is foreign and the exclusion of what is essentially Spanish. Rather, she contends that a nation like Spain should be proud of her national spirit and should want to keep her individuality instead of imitating foreign customs.

Es para nosotros un enigma el móvil que lleva a muchas personas de mérito y de talento a defender y aplaudir esa nivelación general, y cuál es la centaja que de ella resultaría. Que un país sin pasada, sin historia, sin nacionalidad, sin tradiciones, adopte un carácter ajeno por no poseerlo propio; ... que se afanen por hacer esto algunos hijos del país de Pelayo y del Cid, de Calderón y de Cervantes, para desechar el suyo y adoptar el ajeno, es lo que no concibe ni el patriotismo, ni la sana razón, ni el buen gusto, ni la poesía.24

She suggests that the modern Spaniards seek their models in the comedies of Calderon and of Lope de Vega, for these masterpieces of the Golden Age of the Spanish nation are genuine, exact pictures of the customs of that day. Again speaking through Carlos, the traditionalist of Un verano en Bornos, she says,

23 Un verano en Bornos, 92-93.
24 Clemencia, 365.
¿No vale más que toméis por modelo al noble padre que os dio el ser, y cuya sangre corre por vuestras vanas, que no al vecino que os es extraño y os mira con burla y desdén, por el mero hecho de imitarle?25

Fernán feels sorrow, too, because her beloved Spain is misrepresented in foreign countries. This situation results from the fact that writers who do not know Spain have attempted to portray her characteristics. Paul Valery, a character in *Una en otra*, is a Frenchman who during his sojourn in Spain has come to realize that his former reading has given him a very inaccurate picture of this country. In a letter to a Spanish friend, Paul writes,

Me he propuesto ... el escribir algo sobre España; porque desde que me hallo en ella, he reconocido cuan inexactas son las ideas que de España tenemos, debidas a las descripciones que de ella nos han hecho ... estos escritores [Franceses] hacen de vuestra patria un país en parte fantástico, en parte edad media, que por tanto pertenece solo a la imaginación; ¡bien un país vulgar, bárbaro, incivilizado, país de transición y sin fisonomía!26

Paul continues to express the idea of the author when he states that probably these writers did visit Spain but only briefly. They did not become acquainted with the Spanish people through whom they would come to understand the spirit of the country.

Fernán Caballero's ardent patriotism is consistently displayed in many of the characters of her novels. Typical as an expression of Fernán's own national pride is an event in the life of Marisalada, heroine of *La gaviota*. Marisalada, who is usually indifferent to everyone and everything around her, responds as a truly patriotic Spaniard when she is urged by a French baron to go to Paris to sing in order to receive the applause of the French of which she is worthy. Her answer astounded even those who knew her well.

25*Un verano en Bornos*, 94.
26*Una en otra*, 24.
"Ya veis que no necesito ir a París para que me aplaudan; y aplausos por aplausos, más quiero los de mi tierra que de los franceses."  

Rafael, another character of the same novel, again illustrates the author's love for her country. This young man has gone on a trip to America but returns in a very short time. Explaining the reason for his hasty return, Rafael tells his family that he had a disease

... que empeoraba de día en día, y era el ansia por mi patria y por las personas de mi cariño. No se si es porque España es una excelente madre, o porque nosotros los españoles somos buenos hijos, lo cierto es que no podemos vivir sino en su seno. 28

This is that same spirit of patriotism which fired the Spaniards during the War of Independence. In 1807 when the French troops entered Spain at the command of Napoleon, the Spanish people rose in revolt and for six years fought valiantly against the invaders. Ventura of La familia de Alvareda expresses the sentiments of the Spanish youth of this period. Unable to go to war, Ventura confesses his great shame and sorrow to his friend Perico.

... ¿crees tú, Perico, que si no fuese por mi padre, que no quiere, no estaría yo a estas horas en Utrera, en donde se aíst ese escuadron de voluntarios para ir a batirse contra los traedores infames, que se nos cuelan por las puertas como amigos, para hacerse dueños del país e imponernos el yugo extranjero? ¿Sabes, Perico, que lo que acá hacemos viendo marchar los otros y gue-dándonos, es de maíos españoles y de cobardes? 29

Thus a true patriot shows his love for his country, particularly when danger is threatening.

28 La gaviota, (vol. II, Obras completas), 475-476.
29 La familia de Alvareda, 12.
Several of the characters of the novels of Fernán Caballero are represented exclusively as staunch patriots who throughout their lives have maintained an unwavering loyalty toward the traditional institutions of Spain. Typifying the loyal patriot is the General Santa María in *La gaviota*. This son of Mars is a member of the Sevillan society into which Marisalada is introduced when she makes her debut as a singer. He is described by the author as "español como Pelayo y bizarro como el Cid." The general stands for the defense of traditional Spanish institutions as opposed to foreign innovations. He is a faithful Spanish soldier according to his own definition of a military man. 

Also, in *La gaviota*, there is found another old Spanish soldier, Don Modesto Guerrero. For many years Don Modesto has been commander and defender of the old ruined fort in the small Andalucian village of Villamar. He belongs to one of Spain's noble families whose home was burned by the French during the War of Independence "bajo el pretexto de que los hijos eran brigantes" Italian in the original esto es, reos del grave delito de defender a su patria." Don Modesto and his ruined fort represent for the simple Spanish peasants of Villamar a traditional institution of their country which they want to preserve.

One more patriotic son of his country is Tío Justo of *Una en otra*. This typical gentleman of old Spain is described by his nephew, a loyal

---

30 *La gaviota*, (vol. II, Obras completas), 258.
31 Ibid., 270.
32 Ibid., 18.
Spaniard of the younger generation, as an "anciano, criado en todos los sentimientos monarquicos, generosos, corteses y caballerosos de la vieja España."

Fernán Caballero's love for the Spain of her ancestors is evident, too, in her frequent mention of historical monuments which recall Spain's brilliant past. In describing the settings of her novels Fernán often brings to the attention of her readers, places which have an historical significance. In the setting of La familia de Alvareda, the author describes the scenery along the road which leads from Seville to Dos Hermanas, the little town where the events of the novel take place. This road extends in a straight line across the plain until it crosses a stone bridge and then starts up the mountainside where are found the ruins of an old chapel which dates back to the time of Ferdinand III in the thirteenth century. Reflecting on the significance of this old ruined chapel, the author says,

Al contemplar ese camino a vista de pájaro parece que es un brazo que extiende Sevilla hacia aquellas ruinas, como para llamar la atención sobre ellas, porque esas ruinas... son una herencia del gran rey Fernando III, cuya memoria es tan popular, que es admirado como héroe, venerado como Santo, y amado como Rey, realizando así esa gran figura histórica, el ideal del pueblo español.34

Fernán seems to favor those monuments which recall a famous king of Spain's history. Continuing her description of the setting of La familia de Alvareda, she moves along the road until it descends on the other side

33 Una en otra, 41.
34 La familia de Alvareda, 5.
of the mountain. Here may be seen an old castle which had belonged to
Peter I of Castile, a ruler of the fourteenth century. The castle is men-
tioned again in *Una en otra*.

Sabes que a media distancia de Sevilla a
Dos Hermanas, el camino desciende a un pequeño
valle . . . . A la derecha se alza sobre una,
hacienda que el Rey D. Pedro donó a Doña María
de Padrilla, la cual conservaba el nombre de
Doña María.35

Fernán Caballero is greatly distressed when she realizes that many of
Spain's historical monuments are being destroyed by modern vandalism. Con-
templating the work of destruction in her beloved Seville, she exclaims,
"¡Pobre Matrona, Reina de dos mundos en tu día, y gloria de España!" The
destruction of Spain's historical monuments signifies for Fernán Caballero
the efforts of modern liberalism to rid Spain of its traditional spirit. By
her support of the traditionalist system through her novels, Fernan tries to
offset to some extent the encroachments of liberalism by defending the mon-
archy as the form of government favored by the majority of the Spanish
people, people who have always displayed a truly democratic spirit.

Fernán Caballero is a staunch patriot who eulogizes her country at
every opportunity, stressing particularly the glory of Spain's past history
where she expects to find a remedy for the ills of the nineteenth century.

35 *Una en otra*, 82.
CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF TRADITIONALISM

REVEALED IN THE NOVELS OF FERNÁN CABALLERO

Fernán Caballero's loyalty to her monarch and her country is surpassed only by her loyalty to her God and her Catholic religion. For Fernán, religion is the one true guiding principle of her life and works. For this reason and because religion plays an essential role in the life of the Spanish people in general, she champions the cause of morality and religion in all her works. One very noble purpose is apparent in all the novels of this fearless woman—that of demonstrating that religion is irreplaceable as a sure guide and consolation in life, especially in nineteenth century Spain when the forces of liberalism are attempting to suppress the Catholic religion with its teachings and customs. She has expressed this purpose thus:

Mi intención supera mucho á la de hacer novelas
... es la rehabilitación de cuanto con grosera
y atrevida planta ha hollado el nunca bien pon-
derado siglo XIX. Rehabilitación de lo santo,
de lo religioso, de las practicas religiosas y
su alto y tierno significado.1

Evidence of Fernán Caballero's great love of God is found immediately in her novels. Even in her descriptions of the settings of her stories she finds something to turn the minds of her readers to God. She never fails to describe the beauties of nature but she goes beyond this beauty to the magnificence of its Creator. After painting the beautiful scene surrounding the

---

1 Fernán Caballero, Lagrimas, (vol. IV, Obras completas, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, Madrid, 1893-1914), 10.
old castle which serves as a setting for *Un servilón y un liberalito*, Fernán offers special praise to God for His works in nature.

Todo lo alcanza la mirada que, después de vagar con delicia por la tierra, tan bella como la ha hecho Dios, se alza al cielo, más bello aun, lleno de admiración y gratitud, ofreciendo ambos al Criador, que agradecer es amar, y admirar es tributar homenaje.2

In many of the Andalucian villages where the events of Fernán Caballero's novels take place, the center of activity is a religious or historical monument. In the little town of Villamar which serves as a setting for *La gaviota* and for parts of *Lágrimas*, these monuments are an old abandoned monastery and a ruined fortress. The monastery is not only a source of inspiration for the townsfolk but also a guide for the mariners at sea, for the lantern which burns constantly before the crucifix outside the monastery serves as a beacon to bring the seamen home safely. It is as if the Lord Himself would guide them to their destination. In the ancient ruined fortress the author sees an opportunity to contrast the works of God with those of men, as she says, "A lo lejos ... se divisiban las ruinas de una fuerte, obra humana que a nada resiste, a quien servian de base las rocas, obras de Dios, que resiste a todo."3

The pride of the inhabitants of Dos Hermanas in *La familia de Alvareda* is the chapel of St. Anne, patroness of the town. The simple peasants never tire of repeating the pious legend concerning the shrine of their patroness. This legend, recalling the time of the war against the Moors, relates that the Christians, when they were forced to flee from the invaders, hid the

2 *Un servilón y un liberalito*, 7-8.
3 *La gaviota*, ed. by George W. Umphrey and F. Sánchez y Escribano, 15.
image of St. Anne in the ground where it remained for five hundred years until it was recovered after the expulsion of the Moors from Seville. Imbued with the same religious spirit as are the peasant folk of Dos Hermanas, Fernán devotes an entire chapter of her novel to stories concerning the origin of the shrine of St. Anne and the miracles wrought through her intercession.

It is not difficult to understand why the Catholic religion holds such an important place in the life of Fernán Caballero and all other Spaniards of the traditionalist order. For more than seven centuries Spain fought valiantly to maintain her religion against opposing forces, struggling incessantly to expel the Moors from her soil and thus free Europe from their influence. In truth, Spain may be called "la vanguardia de la cristianidad europea." Later, in the sixteenth century, Spain championed the cause of Catholicism against the influences of Lutheranism. In fact, the rulers of Spain were considered the most loyal defenders of the Catholic faith in continental Europe.

Now, in the nineteenth century, traditional Spain continues to defend her religion. But at this time the contest is not one of arms; it is of a more subtle nature. In the name of liberalism the enemies of religion are attempting to destroy any creed, worship, or institution which the Catholic Spaniards have preserved throughout the centuries, until Fernán is forced to exclaim,

"¿Dónde querrán llevarnos los enemigos de la Religión y de todo lo existente, que, empezando por los filósofos del siglo XVIII, y pasando por Marat, Robespierre y Proudhon, tremolan el rojo pendón?"

4 La familia de Alvareda, 43-44.
5 Una en otra, 2.
6 Clemencia, 438.
The principal targets for the attacks of the nineteenth century liberals are the monasteries and convents, those supreme sources of energy for the spiritual life of the people. One of these abandoned convents serves as a habitation for the principal characters of La gaviota. The author describes it thus:

El edificio era un convento, como los que se construían en los siglos pasados cuando reinaban la fe y el entusiasmo; virtudes tan grandes, tan bellas, tan elevadas, que por lo mismo no tienen cabida en este siglo de ideas estrechas y mezquinas, porque entonces el oro no servía para amontonarlo ni emplearlo en lucros inicuos, sino que se aplicaba a usos dignos y nobles, como que los hombres pensaban en lo grande y en lo bello antes de pensar en lo cómodo y en lo útil.  

The old convent contains several great masterpieces of art like those found in many religious houses of former ages where the artists worked because of their religious zeal. These religious masterpieces were intended for the veneration of pious souls, not for the cold analysis of the art lovers of the "enlightened" nineteenth century.

In contemplating the remains of the despoiled convent, "un convento que ya no es convento; es un cuerpo sin alma," the author recalls its former days when noble and illustrious young Spaniards lived here for the purpose of glorifying God and helping their neighbors. These monks were the ones who fed the poor, alleviated the miseries of the peasants, and cured the ills of soul and body of the people in the surrounding district. The terrible grief of the author at the destruction of the convent is expressed by Stein, a young German doctor, who has been convalescing in the convent since he was taken in by the family who now live there.

7La gaviota, Ed. by George W. Umphrey and F. Sánchez y Escribano, 15-16.  
8Ibid., 25.
que espectáculo tan triste y espantoso!
A la tristeza que produce todo lo que deja de existir, se une aquí el horror que inspira todo lo que parece de muerte violenta y á manos del hombre. Este edificio, alzado en honor de Dios por hombres piadosos, condenado á la nada por sus descendientes:

It would seem that Fernán cannot forget her sorrow at the sight of this convent, for again in her novel Lagrimas she bewails its destruction. In this novel, Don Roque, a rich merchant, visits the abandoned convent to examine it as a prospective site for his new factory. Of course, for this worldly-minded merchant and his associates, the building has no religious significance. Considering the desecration of a holy place, Fernán exclaims,

¡Oh, Dios mío! Si hay quien nos pueda culpar por levantar nuestra débil voz, gritando tus propias palabras: Dad á Dios lo que es de Dios, y al César lo que es del César, culpesenos en horabuena. Underlines are italics in the original.

Not only the monks, however, but the secular clergy also are suffering from liberal violence. In Una en otra Fernán Caballero depicts a priest who is expelled from his parish because he has followed his duty and his conscience in preaching against forbidden books. According to the liberals, the priest's only duty is that of saying Mass; he has no right to interfere with the activities of his people.

As one means to offset the influence of the clergy, the liberals attempt to abolish the custom of having missions preached in the churches. In the place of these missions they are organizing clubs where they can instill in the people their liberal doctrines. In a satirical vein, Fernán Caballero contrasts the missions with the clubs.

9 La gaviota, (vol. II, Obras completas), 83.
10 Lagrimas, 353.
Los misioneros predicaban de noche, y la iglesia se llenaba de un pueblo que venía a oír la palabra de Dios que enseña al hombre a ser bueno y humilde. Ahora hay clubs, en que se enseña al hombre a ser libre y soberbio, lo que es mejor y más digno.  
'Pobre pueblo! [Underlines are italics in original.]

Since, then, the Spanish people have struggled consistently for centuries to preserve their faith, they regard their Catholic religion as an integral part of their lives, moulding their daily thoughts and actions. Immediately upon entering their homes one is aware of their deep religious sentiments, for there can always be found a statue or picture to remind the inhabitants of their God, His blessed Mother, or the saints.

Fernan Caballero never fails to include these objects of devotion in her descriptions of the Spanish homes. In the living room of the castle in

Un servilón y un liberalito

. . . hay una mesa puritana, sin ninguna clase de adorno, sobre la cual se ve un nicho de caoba y cristales que encierra una hermosa efigie de la Virgen. En la pared cuelga un cuadro antiguo de poca estima como obra artística, pero de muchísima como objeto de veneración, que representa al Santo de la profunda y sincera devoción de la familia, de padres a hijos, San Cayetano.  

In La familia de Alvareda, the author is describing the entrance to the home of this family when she says,

En la casapuerta pendía un farol ante una imagen del Señor, que se hallaba colocada sobre el portón, según lo exige la católica costumbre de hacer preceder a todo un pensamiento religioso, y ponerlo todo bajo un santo patrocinio.  

11 La familia de Alvareda, 123-124.  
12 Un servilón y un liberalito, 9-10.  
13 La familia de Alvareda, 14.
Besides evoking holy thoughts in one's daily life, these religious objects act as a means of calling forth consoling thoughts in times of trouble, particularly in sickness or death. Around the sickbed of Elia, in the novel of the same name, can be seen several religious articles which are a real source of consolation for the sick girl. She has a crucifix on a table near her bed while in her hands she clasps a purse containing relics of the saints which have been sent to her by the nuns who had educated her in their convent school. "En fin, se observaba allí todo aquel aparato católico que mira el desgraciado á quien le falta la fe, sin poder comprender que aliente en el peligro, sostenga en el dolor y dulcifique la muerte."

Their religious devotion is indeed an essential part of the lives of the Spanish people from their childhood to their old age. From their earliest years the children are instructed in the divine truths of their religion. According to the liberal viewpoint, expressed by Rita, a modern, worldly-minded young mother in La familia de Alvareda, this religious education of the children is only a foolish waste of time. However, Rita's neglect is repaired by her good old mother who, imbued with genuine Christianity, delights in instructing her twin grandchildren in the true Christian doctrine. In the conclusion of the novel, Fernán Caballero shows God's just chastisement of Rita for her disregard of her duty as a wife and mother. As a contrast to Rita's irreligious ideas, the novel Un verano en Bornos presents an old peasant woman who explains the traditional Spanish method of teaching religion to the children.

14 Elia o España treinta años ha, 157.
... cuando aún no pueden hablar los niños, les enseñamos a que digan por señas que sólo hay un Dios, y que esto está en el cielo; cuando mayorcitos, les amenazamos cuando mal quieren hacer, con que castiga Padre Dios, para enseñarles a que le teman como Juez soberano; cuando pueden hablar, lo primero que les enseñamos es el Padrenuestro y a persuadirse; después van a la amiga, donde aprenden la doctrina, a rezar el Rosario y a tener compostura; a los siete años los llevamos a confesar. ¿Y que más se ha de aprender? 15

Thus impregnated with a love for their religion from their first moments of consciousness of the world about them, the Spaniards continue during their lives to view their prayers and religious customs as a vital part of the day's activities.

This spiritual side of the life of the people lends a certain solemnity to their village scenes. At the ringing of the Angelus, for instance, all—young and old—uncover their heads and devote themselves to momentary prayer. So accustomed have all become to this simple practice that even the animals stop their activity.

... una sonora y solemnecompañada anunció la oración. Perico se paró y se quitó el sombrero. La burra y el perro, que por un largo hábito conocían el toque, se pararon igualmente, y los niños quedaron inmóviles. 16

The recitation of the rosary in family groups is another familiar scene among the village folk. Don José, "el servilón," and the other inhabitants of the old castle gather together every evening to recite the rosary, while the Alvareda family and their neighbors also unite daily for the same purpose.

In La gaviota, Fernán Caballero devotes an entire chapter to the portrayal of a typical Andalucian family scene where all are assembled in the

---

15 Un verano en Bornos, 112-113.
16 La familia de Alvareda, 57.
evening. The mother sings her child to sleep with hymns about our Lord while the other members of the family chat about the events of the day and discuss certain religious topics. Among these latter they discuss the custom of saying the rosary. According to Tía María, the mother and guide of the family, "Es una costumbre santa, y Dios no quiere que le descuidemos." She proves her statement with an anecdote concerning a bishop who had not exhorted his faithful to this pious practice. One night the bishop dreamed that he saw an angel who, with a chain of red and white roses, was drawing out of a terrible abyss a beautiful woman, disheveled and weeping. On the following day, after petitioning God to explain his dream, the bishop went to the church where he found a child saying the rosary at her mother's grave.

Very often Fernán Caballero digresses from her main plot to insert one of these stories, so dear to the hearts of the Andalucian peasants, which express the deep religious faith of these people. In La gaviota she repeats the legend concerning the shrine of "el Señor del Socorro." The shrine is so called from an event which occurred during a journey undertaken by two young men of Villamar. When the two travelers were accosted by a formidable bandit who was going to shoot them, they fell on their knees crying, "¡Socorro, Señor!" Immediately God heard their prayer, for the blunderbuss exploded in the hands of the bandit and killed him instead of the young men. Since that time there has been a steady increase of votive offerings at the shrine in public testimony of the benefits received by the townspeople of Villamar through their prayer to "el Señor del Socorro."

17 La gaviota, (vol. II, Obras completas), 116.
18 La gaviota, Ed. by George W. Umphrey and F. Sánchez y Escribano, 28-30.
In *Una en otra* the author describes the chapel of "la Senora de Consolación," who, according to a legend, guided a group of seamen safely through a frightful tempest. Fernán contends that the ardent devotion of the people for Our Lady will not be extinguished by the "enlightened" men of modern times who do not believe in the efficacy of prayer, for

... esta devoción, ardiente y pura llama
del corazón, por más que quieran apagarla,
no lo logrará, porque el entendimiento podrá,
con nombre de razón filosófica o de análisis,
isolevarse como Satan, pero no logrará como
aquel, sino crear un infierno, sin poder destruir
el principio del bien, que viene del origen
eterno de Dios.\(^{19}\)

From their cradles to their graves, the Spanish peasants are guided by the Catholic Church which teaches, exhorts, and consoles them. In times of trial and trouble, particularly at death, religion is their only true consolation. Fernán Caballero demonstrates this truth in several of her novels. In *Lágrimas* she depicts the death of the mother of the heroine aboard ship on her way to Spain. When she has no human being to help or comfort her, she finds her only solace in prayer to Our Lady for her own salvation and for the protection of her small daughter whom she is leaving to the care of a rich, disinterested father.

¡Madre mía, todo mi consuelo y refugio, tú eres
la mediadora de tu devota para con el Todopoderoso,
que por ti se unió a nosotros; a Dios rogamos, y en
tus manos clementes ponemos las oraciones! ¡Señor,
salvad a mi hija, y tened piedad de mi! ¡Todo
cuanto he sufrido lo perdono, y ofrezco cuanto per-
dono y cuanto padezco . . . por la salvación de mi
hija y la de mi alma!\(^{20}\)

With this prayer, the holy woman breathes her last.

---

19 *Una en otra*, 147.
20 *Lágrimas*, 18.
In *Un servilón y un liberalito*, faith in prayer is again the source of consolation for the deep sorrow of Doña Liberata and Doña Escolastica at the death of Don José. They can kneel at his deathbed tranquil and serene, praying for the repose of his soul.

*La familia de Alvareda* illustrates the important role played by the Catholic Church and her priests in the hours of trial which come to her children, sinners or just. When Ventura is dying from a wound received at the hands of Perico in punishment for his attentions to Rita, Perico's unfaithful wife, the priest arrives immediately with divine assistance. "El auxilio que primero llega es la de la religión." After confessing his sins to the priest, Ventura dies, pardoning his slayer whom he refuses to name. Then, in accordance with an ancient Catholic custom, the church bells toll as an exhortation to the faithful to remember and to pray for the departed soul. Commenting on the abolition of this custom, Fernán Caballero directs her irony against the "enlightened" opponents of the Church. "La ilustración acordarse de la muerte! ¡Eso queda bueno para los cartujos! Y la ilustración mando callar a la Iglesia, porque su voz le importunaba."

*Underlines are italics in the original.*

In *La gaviota*, too, the author presents the Catholic priest bringing aid to a dying man. In fact, she digresses from her story to explain the meaning of a Catholic's preparation for death, not only for the benefit of those who do not belong to the Catholic faith but also for those who do not consider the true significance of the Last Sacraments.

21 *La familia de Alvareda*, 100.
Prepararse a la muerte es, en el lenguaje católico, ponerse en estado de gracia, esto es, zanjar sus cuentas en la tierra, haciendo el bien y deshaciendo el mal, en cuanto a nuestro alcance este, tanto en el orden de las cosas eternas como en el de las temporales, y granjear así, con la oración y el arrepentimiento, la clemencia de Dios en favor de nuestras almas.2

Throughout her novels, Fernán Caballero interweaves these Catholic doctrines and customs with the events of her stories as they are interwoven with the activities of the Spaniards' daily lives. In addition, she portrays certain characters to reveal her own religious convictions. *Tres almas de Dios,* the subtitle of *Un servilón y un liberalito,* characterizes exactly the figures of Don José, Doña Liberata, and Doña Escolastica. These three persons live very happily in the midst of extreme poverty, for their firm faith in God's goodness gives them that joy of spirit possessed by those who are rich in spiritual treasures. In contrast, Leopoldo, the young man protected from danger by these simple souls, is imbued with the bitter anti-religious maxims of liberalism. He believes with the other liberals of his time that the faith of the serviles is mere foolishness.

Vuestra fe es necia; vuestra confianza es vana; no hay esfera espiritual; el mundo es una bola material y estupida que no tiene Criador; sin más luz que la de los hombres; sin más motor ni más poder que el de la casualidad.24

During his later years of wandering, however, Leopoldo cannot forget the true happiness of his old friends, inspired by their deep religious faith. Finally, after a long absence, he returns to the castle to tell them of his conversion to their religion. In his confession of faith, Leopoldo says,

---

23 *La gaviota,* (vol. II, Obras completas), 420-421.
24 *Un servilón y un liberalito,* 81.
Soy español, soy cristiano, soy católico; creo por lo tanto, en las gracias espirituales y materiales que obtiene la fe, esa fe que nos une a Dios, á su redil, á nuestros hermanos . . . me esfuerzo por adquirirla [la fe], no por la convicción del entendimiento, que la fe no desciende á los torpes y estrechos alcances del hombre sino por medio de la voluntad, poderosa hija del alma.25

Further evidence of Fernán Caballero's deep regard for her Catholic faith may be found in a quotation from Goethe which she inserts as an epitome of the value of the faith expressed by the characters of this novel.

"La Fe es un vaso sagrado, en el que cada uno debe estar pronto á sacrificar sus sentimientos su razón y su imaginación. Se puede disputar sobre el saber, porque éste se puede rectificar, extenderse; pero la Fe siempre es una."26

Another character of firm religious convictions is la Asistenta of Elia. Like Fernán Caballero, la Asistenta gives her allegiance first to God and then to the king. This truly devout Catholic woman realizes the prime importance of her spiritual life, nourishing it daily with prayer and good works. She begins each day by assisting at two Masses and by distributing alms to the poor who eagerly await her arrival at the church.

La Asistenta speaks for the author of the novel when she refuses to tolerate differences in matters of religion even though she is attacked as a fanatic for so doing. She finds ample opportunity for defending her religious convictions in her conversations with Don Narciso Delgado, the liberal brought from England by her niece, Clara. Questioning Don Narciso in regard to his religion, la Asistenta discovers that he believes in a

---

25 Ibid., 80.
26 Ibid., 38.
Supreme Being and Divine Maker but refuses to believe in a Divine Providence. He argues that it is arrogance to believe that the Divinity should be occupied with man's personal interests. On the other hand, Don Narciso seems to contradict himself when he contends that God owes man compensation in the next life for any suffering endured in this life. The mere mention of God's duty toward man causes la Asistenta to exclaim indignantly,

¿Debele? ¡Me gusta el debele! ¡Pues que! ¿Creen ustedes que no hay mas que tratar a Dios como tratan ustedes a los reyes hoy día? ¿Restringirle sufragios, prescribirle deberes, limitar su poder, y hacerle, si posible fuera, reconocer alguna constitución, carta o pamplina semejante, y los derechos del hombre? ¡Rebelión todo, puro espíritu de rebelión! 27

Don Narciso's scorn for certain religious customs again arouses a strong reaction in la Asistenta. The liberal cannot understand the necessity of attendance at church nor of the custom of fasting. Arguing against church attendance he reasons that some people go to church as hypocrites, others go to entertain themselves, and still others because it is a fashionable custom. La Asistenta refutes his argument by commenting on God's mercy toward weak human beings. She feels confident that these people will derive some benefit from their merely external act of worship as well as from their association with the faithful members of the church.

¿Y por qué no se mezclarían los fieles los que son tibios o frios? Tanto más, cuanto que si el vicio tiene su contagio, tiene también la virtud sus hábitos comunicativos. Y por consiguiente, ¿quien dice a usted que no brota de esos corazones duros y frívolos, al doblar la rodilla, y bajo la

27 Elia o España treinta años ha, 77.
solemne impresión del santo regimiento general,
un destello de adoración divina? ¿Puede, D.
Narciso, que ciertos hombres acerbas sean más
exigentes que el mismo Dios de las miseri-
cordas? 

When the liberal scorns the custom of fasting, asking ironically if it
is devotion to have an empty stomach, la Asistenta responds sternly that
fasting is an act of humble submission to a precept of the infallible Church
which so wisely orders all things. Finally, in just wrath, she warns Don
Narciso that he is offending her with his anti-Catholic observations which
she will not tolerate.

Señor Delgado . . . estás en un país católico, en una casa católica, ante una señora (a Dios gracias) católica, y ya que no conocéis que son vuestras, palabras anti-católicas, que chocáis en el país y en la casa, y que me ofendeís a mí preciso es que yo os lo advierta.  

At the end of her long life spent in doing good, la Asistenta died as
she had lived, surrounded by the consolations of her holy religion. Having
received the Last Sacraments of the Church, she died with a prayer on her
lips. When the church bells tolled, the people knew they had lost a genuine
friend.

Elia, niece of la Asistenta, and the character whose name the novel
bears, discloses through her own example the true significance of the relig-
ious life so misunderstood by worldly-minded men. This young girl renounces
everything which her beauty and riches could have purchased in this world to
embrace a life of self-abnegation in the service of God. When Carlos, who
loves her dearly, tries to dissuade her from making her vows, Elia maintains

28 Ibid., 75-76.
29 Ibid., 67.
that in her religious life she has found happiness and tranquility never to be found in life in the world. She describes for Carlos the happiness she finds in her days of silence and prayer.

¿Y a qué llamas felicidad, Carlos? . . . Si es la paz que de la ausencia de todos las pasiones, el reposo de la conciencia; si es la suave calma que disfruta cuando lo pasado no tiene remordimientos que roan, ni el porvenir temores que torturan; si es halla en una vida que tiene el sueño tranquilo y el despertar sereno; si la hay en esperar la muerte sin diseñarla ni temerla; si ésta es la felicidad verdadera y sin liga . . . la he comprendido, Carlos, y la he hecho mía.30

These two characters, la Asistenta and Elia, represent Catholic life in its fullest sense, whether it be spent in the outside world or in the cloister.

The character of Clemencia in the novel of the same name reflects not only the thoughts and sentiments of the author but even certain incidents in her own life. Certainly the circumstances of Clemencia's marriage to the reckless young captain, Fernando de Guevara, resemble closely those of Fernán's first marriage. Clemencia marries Fernando after a brief acquaintance and immediately after the wedding moves with him and his regiment to another city. Here she finds herself among strangers with a husband whom she does not really know. She wants to love her husband but his coarse instincts contrast horribly with her pure and delicate sentiments. Noticing her sadness which he cannot understand, Fernando becomes insanely jealous of his wife and makes life so unbearable for her that she finally becomes ill.

As occurred in the author's own experience, Clemencia finds her only consolation and strength in resignation to God's will.

Clemencia, en medio de tantos sufrimientos, no se creyó la mujer incomprensida, ni la heroína inapreciada, ni la víctima de un monstruo; creyó...
sencillamente que Fernando era un mal marido, como otros muchas; que tenía que sobrellevarle, como hacían otras muchas mujeres, y rogó a Dios le mejorase y trajese a mejor vida.31

Thus the seed of virtue sown in the heart of Clemencia during her childhood in a convent school blossoms forth as her source of support in her hour of trial.

So accustomed has Clemencia become to calling on divine assistance when in trouble that her first impulse in any danger prompts a prayer for God’s help. Evidence of this fact may be found later in an incident of her married life. One day while walking in the country with two of the peasant children on her father-in-law’s estate, Clemencia sees a wild bull approaching. Her first thought is a prayer to God and His blessed Mother. Nor does she forget a prayer of thanksgiving when they are saved, almost miraculously, from the danger.

Clemencia’s religious convictions, however, do not remain unchallenged. She finds occasion to defend them against the opposition offered by two foreigners whom she meets when, as a young widow, she is living in Seville. One of these foreigners, a French viscount, draws Clemencia into a heated discussion concerning morality. He opines that morality is the basis of conscience. Clemencia contradicts him, asserting that he is neglecting religion which is the basis of morality and conscience. Like la Asistenta of Elia, Clemencia reflects the author’s intolerance of any religious ideas contrary to those of Catholicism, as she concludes her controversy with the Frenchman:

... en punto a las religiosas [convicciones] condeno las que no son las mias, porque sobre

31 Clemencia, 150.
Sir George Percy, the other foreigner, is an Englishman who has withdrawn from God and religion. When he falls in love with her, Clemencia thinks that she can respond to his love, until she realizes the emptiness of his heart. Before she makes a decision she reflects on this man who has declared his love for her.

> ¿Nada vibra ya en su corazón? ¿Ni la Religión, ni Naturaleza, ni el amor patrício, ni el amor a la familia, ni la amistad? ... Pero esto debió ser el resultado de alejarse de ti, Creador y Legislador nuestro ... Sir George es el tipo del hombre que ha abjurado y roto toda relación con lo pasado, y que, marchando sin faro hacia lo desconocido, sigue una senda que proclama por verdadera y que no sabe dónde de lleva.

Although it costs her pain at the moment, Clemencia renounces Sir George for she knows that she cannot love a man who is lacking completely in love of God and religion. She recognizes fully the wisdom of her decision when, some months later, she reads a newspaper article reporting the honors received by Sir George for his anti-Catholic activities.

One of the main influences in Clemencia's life is a holy abbot, uncle of Fernando Guevara. The saintly old man represents, in the novel, the true spirituality of the religious life. After the death of Fernando, when Clemencia goes to live with the noble family of her deceased husband, the abbot undertakes her spiritual direction. Never does Clemencia forget his valuable advice. He warns her against the false notions of the modern world,

---

32 Ibid., 398.
33 Ibid., 467-468.
particularly admonishing her concerning materialism which is distorting the Spanish people's sense of spiritual values.

Huya, sobre todo, tu alma elevada, espíritu puro creado a la imagen de Dios, del cinico sensualismo, que arrogante y desdenoso se enseñorea hoy día en el mundo con su ansia de innovaciones y con su pendón que tan alto levanta, en el que se lee: Intereses materiales sobre todo. Under lines are italics in the original.34

No doubt the instruction and advice of the virtuous old abbot did much to strengthen Clemencia's own religious convictions.

Constantia, another character of the same novel, offers more evidence of the strength and consolation afforded by religion in times of trouble. As a young girl, Constantia is of a haughty and arrogant disposition, disdaining all who do not please her. However, after the tragic death of her lover and her resulting illness which brought her face to face with death, she is changed completely. Determining to live for God alone, she acquires a sweetness of character which is a real triumph for one of her natural temperament.

Al borde del sepulcro condenó los extremos del amor a la criatura y pidió a Dios perdón si moría, y conformidad si en la tierra la dejaba su voluntad omnipotente. La religión hizo más que darle conformidad: le dio consuelos y virtudes, desterrando de su alma, después de la desesperación, la soberbia, la aceridad, la rebeldía y el egoísmo, que por tanto tiempo en ella se entronizaron, reemplazándolas con la mansedumbre, la benevolencia, la caridad, la paciencia.35

Constantia continues in this disposition, always conforming her will to that of God in spite of the many trials she suffers while caring for her mother.

34 Ibid., 222-223.
35 Ibid., 362.
during a protracted illness, and in defiance of the scorn with which the world rejects her.

Un verano en Bornos, too, presents characters of the same religious stamina as Clemencia and Constantia. Carlos Peñarreal and Serafina Villa-prado are typical of those young Spaniards of noble families who have retained the traditional reverence for the things of God in spite of modern contradictory doctrines.

In this novel again Fernán Caballero teaches the immense value of sorrow accepted in the proper spirit. Carlos has suffered many great sorrows in life. When he returns from the War of Independence, the sole survivor of his family, he finds only the abandoned ruins of his old home. His father has died in exile because of his loyalty to the monarch, his mother and two younger sisters have died from cholera, and his two brothers have been killed fighting for their country. Immediately resigning himself to God's Will, Carlos begins the task of rebuilding his family home. His true disposition of soul, aided by the grace of God, may be inferred from his letter to a friend:

En el gran naufragio de mi existencia he salvado dos tesoros: la pureza de mi conciencia y la paz de mi alma; y con estos tesoros no se puede ser infeliz. Dios es tan benéfico, que nunca prueba á sus hijos en el infortunio sin que le acompañe una compensación como alivio.36

This alleviation seems to come to Carlos in the person of Serafina who is spending a summer in Bornos, the location of Carlos' home. As soon as she meets him, Serafina feels a strong admiration for Carlos. She evinces her esteem when, speaking of his reaction to his great misfortunes, she says,

36 Un verano en Bornos, 27.
"A él sí que se puede aplicar lo que dice Balzac, que las almas grandes siempre estan dispuestas a hacer de una gran desgracia una gran virtud." 37

Admiration, however, soon develops into love. Serafina is indeed a fitting partner for Carlos for like him she is filled with a love of God and religion. She has only contempt for those moderns who place human reason before God's revelation.

En cuanto a mí . . . no sólo creo en cosas sobrenaturales que dimanan directamente de Dios, sino que creo en las que existen en la naturaleza; y nunca me parece la mediana del hombre más terrestre y material que cuando con el diminuto compás de su razón traza un pequeño círculo, y dice á la inmensidad, al espíritu, al universo y aun al poder del que lo crió: Si no cabes aquí, no existes.38

Fernán Caballero realizes the necessity of religion in one's life in an age when men, wishing to be free from all bonds and obligations, are filled with an exaggerated sense of their own superiority. She demonstrates this necessity in all her novels. In Un verano en Bornos she states it explicitly:

El que nos crió puso en nuestra alma la necesidad de una Religión y el ansia por un culto, para hacer más accesible á la torpeza de nuestros alcances la revelación que de sí se dignó hacernos. Y hay hombres que anteponen los torpes sentidos á la revelación! . . . Pense que es el constante pensamiento de los turcos el de Dios es grande, y que entre cristianos ilustrados puede llegar á serlo estotro: Dios es chico y el hombre es grande! esto haría reír si no hiciese llorar. 39

From a study of the life and literary works of Fernán Caballero it can easily be discerned that Catholicism is the hub around which revolve her

37 Ibid., 110.
38 Ibid., 71.
39 Ibid., 49-50.
thoughts, attitudes, and actions. In her novels she gives evidence that Catholicism is the greatest influence also in the lives of the Spanish peasants who have preserved the traditional attitudes of their ancestors. Their religion is a vital part of their daily lives, guiding them in hours of trial, and consoling them in trouble and sorrow. Through her principal characters, typical traditionalists, Fernán demonstrates the necessity of defending their Catholic doctrines against the false maxims of the modern world. These traditionalists certainly defend their religious beliefs with courage and conviction. In short, through her novels Fernán Caballero teaches the traditional attitude concerning religion—-the Catholic Church is the guiding principle of individual, family, and social life in Spain.
CHAPTER V
SOCIAL ASPECTS OF TRADITIONALISM REVEALED
IN THE NOVELS OF FERNÁN CABALLERO

In accord with her traditionalist ideas, Fernán Caballero believes that
the principles of Catholicism constitute the most important influence in a
morally sound social order. Her novels are dedicated to a demonstration and
support of these principles in opposition to other novels of her day which
seem to aim at the destruction of society by degrading all that the Catholic
Church regards as sacred. As a contrast to the corrupt life painted in con-
temporary French novels, Fernán portrays the simple, virtuous life of the
Spanish peasant.

Throughout all her novels Fernán Caballero censures those pagan views
of the nineteenth century which glorify modern progress as conceived in
material terms. On the other hand, she defends the position of the Catholic
Church which views true happiness as the result of a correct attitude toward
the place of women in society, the sacred character of love, and the sanctity
of marriage and family life. This is in direct contrast to the world’s ideas
which regard happiness as the result of the free play of passion, the satis-
faction of a thirst for pleasure, and an enjoyment of purely external reali-
ties. Finally, Fernán blames modern secular education, with its lack of
moral training, for the evils and abuses which are creeping into the lives
of the people.
In her censure of the materialism of the age, Fernán Caballero aims at a manifestation of the truth that real happiness is not the result of material possessions. In her description of the setting of La familia de Alvareda she enumerates the material comforts which are lacking in the little town of Dos Hermanas—beautiful homes, elaborately planned streets with rows of shady trees, and other similar conveniences intended for one's personal ease. With these she contrasts those things which constitute true happiness.

As a further proof that material wealth is not the basis of happiness, Fernán portrays the character of Don Roque, father of Lágrimas, as typical of the modern materialist. Money is the only thing that commands the respect and admiration of this millionaire. He scorns the idea of honor or dignity.

In the life of Don Roque there is no happiness; he is ever concerned and anxious about his pecuniary interests. Spiritual values have no importance for him. When he and his business associates visit the little town of

1La familia de Alvareda, 7.
2Lágrimas, 158-159.
Villamar to set up a factory in the old abandoned convent, they see none of the beauty or religious significance of the ancient building nor of the shrine of el Senor del Soccoro. These men are pure materialists who have no concern for the things of God.

Because his sense of values is so distorted, Don Roque is not happy himself nor can he make others happy. Lágrimas, his only daughter, endures a miserable existence because of her father's lack of understanding and affection. When he thinks that Lágrimas is in love with a young man of a noble but poor Spanish family, Don Roque scorns the young man as a son-in-law because he is lacking in material possessions.

In direct contrast to Don Roque is Don Martin of Clemencia. Don Martin is the example of true charity. Rich in the goods of this world, he never thinks of keeping his wealth for his own selfish satisfaction. Instead he takes care of the needs of the poor people of the village so that they never suffer the pangs of poverty.

The peasants, made happy by the charity of Don Martin, love and revere this Spanish gentleman. At his death a long line of disconsolate villagers weep and pray at the tomb of their lost friend.

It is no wonder that Clemencia, having lived for several years in the home of her father-in-law, Don Martin, has no regard for material gain.

---

3 Clemencia, 196-197.
Unlike many modern women, Clemencia scorns the idea of choosing friends for one's own material advantage. In discussing this subject, she says, "... no elijo mis amigos por ningún genero de cálculo; en mi elección solo obra la simpatía." Indeed, in the character of Clemencia, Fernán Caballero depicts the ideal Spanish woman.

In keeping with their traditional spirit, the Spaniards have great respect for the position of women in society. They condemn the frivolity and affectation displayed by the modern foreign woman, and they respect the dignity and reserve found in the Spanish woman. For this reason, the Spanish woman herself takes great pride in her noble bearing. Her delicate modesty, far from making her less interesting, adds to her feminine charm.

Con su orgullo la española no se enoja, sino que se alza. Por su orgullo no es coqueta, porque desdeña los homenajes que no halagan su corazón; a su orgullo confía su virtud. Y esto hace que ninguna muger comprenda como ella la dignidad de la muger. Así ella hace de los españoles los hombres más apasionados, más galantes, más delicados, más respetuosos y fieles del mundo.

To protect her virtue and to live happily, a woman, according to the Spanish traditional viewpoint, must choose one of two definite vocations in life. She must either become a religious or marry. Never should she attempt to live alone in the world for she would be condemned to a lonely solitude in her isolation from a life shared with others. In his advice to Clemencia the holy old abbot indicates her obligation to select a definite state in life rather than just to remain a young widow.

4Ibid., 396.
5Una en otra, 161.
In an age when the religious life is viewed with scorn and contempt by the world, it is still regarded with respect and veneration by those who know and understand it. In Elia, the author illustrates these two attitudes.

Don Narciso Delgado, expressing the worldling's attitude toward the religious life, describes Elia and the other nuns of her convent as

Entes egoístas, cuando no son débiles víctimas que por capricho, despecho o pereza, se separan de la sociedad, figurándose, entre sus cuatro paredes, elevadas sobre el género humano; envidiosas, maliciosas, murmuradoras, muy anchas por llevar a Dios un corazón que nadie ha querido.

Immediately la Asistenta takes up the defense of the religious life, speaking with the authority of one who has known and associated with nuns during her entire lifetime. Answering Don Narciso, this noble Spanish woman says,

Habla usted de los conventos como el ciego de los colores . . . he visto serafines de veinte años, sin saber que eran jóvenes y bonitas, ignorando el precio que a esto se pone en el mundo. He visto una serenidad de alma desconocida en el siglo . . . he visto esas existencias pasar en este mundo suaves, puras y en silencio . . . . He visto a esas monjas, que usted se atreve a calumniar; los he visto llevar la vida como una pluma, sin contar los años, y aguardar la muerte como un tránsito.

---

6 Clemencia, 352-353.
7 Elia o España treinta años ha, 44-45.
8 Loc. cit.
This divergence of attitudes concerning the religious life exists also in regard to married life. The sanctity of marriage is held in high esteem by the Spanish traditionalists. A Spanish wife and mother always understands that her first duties are those pertaining to her husband and children. In Un servílón y un liberalito, Fernán Caballero explains the noble mission of a Christian wife.

... la misión de la mujer cristiana y culta, que no consiste en seguir los errores de su marido, ni menos en identificarse con sus maldades, sino en constituirse en ángel visible de su guarda; que le retraiga del mal y del error, y le guíe al bien y á la verdad.9

The duties of a mother toward her children are, of course, no less important. The traditional Spanish mother does not live under the standard of the modern "emancipated woman," seeking a nursery for her children while she devotes herself to social activities. Nor does she seek release from her duties through divorce, that modern evil which is destroying family life so rapidly. Serafina, of Un verano en Bornos, voices the sentiments of the author when, thinking of her own mother, she sings the praises of all noble mothers:

¡Qué haya tanto encomio, tanta admiración y tanta gloria para un buen general, ... un cantante, un torero ... y no haya en los labios de los hombres ni un elogio siquiera para la buena madre de familia, el tipo más heroico, más respetable, más simpático y más ideal de la humanidad, que queda desapercibida como la bendita espiga en los campos de batalla! ... El corazón de sus hijos debe indemnizar á las madres de la punible indiferencia con que el mundo las ve cumplir su grande y noble misión.10

9 Un servílón y un liberalito, 78.
10 Un verano en Bornos, 197.
In the character of Serafina who so fully appreciates the nobility of motherhood, Fernán Caballero paints the attractions and merits of a truly wholesome young woman. Serafina is modest without affectation, dignified without haughtiness, intelligent, and simple. In short, she possesses all those qualities with which the traditionalist endows the ideal woman. In the eyes of Carlos, her lover, Serafina is indeed a model of womanly excellence. After describing her physical attractiveness, Carlos speaks of the spiritual beauty of his future wife.

Lo que le es peculiar es aquella sonrisa tan grave y bondadosa, aquella seriedad tan dulce y tan natural a un tiempo, aquella dignidad bosquejada en suaves tintes, que revela ya la austera esposa y la madre perfecta. En la parte moral, le son peculiares . . . aquel corazón tan sano y tan blando, aquella cabeza capaz y tan firme, que forman la mujer cumplida, tal como puede apetecerla por compañera el hombre que en cambio le ofrece un amor exclusivo y por toda la vida, un respeto nunca desmentido, una confianza sin límites, y el cumplimiento de todos sus deberes. 11

Carlos and Serafina are certainly fitting partners for a life to be spent together for they share the same ideas and sentiments in regard to man's happiness. They base happiness not on the acquisition of material possessions but rather on a complete indifference toward the grandeur and vanities of the world, and in purity of conscience which results in a genuine love of God and neighbor. Carlos and Serafina disagree, too, with the world's notion that happiness is found in the free play of passion. Instead, they are convinced that man is truly happy only when he bridles his passions. In a letter to Luisa, her most intimate friend, Serafina expresses these thoughts.

11 Ibid., 98.
Así es, que un día de calma era y es tan simpática a todo mi ser, que pido a Dios nos lo envié á menudo, como un gran ejemplo, al hombre, que le enseñe que, así como todo es tan bello en la naturaleza cuando enfrena los elementos, así lo es la vida del hombre cuando éste enfrena sus pasiones.12

Thus scornning the false ideas of their day, this young couple esteem the sanctity of love and marriage. They build their married life on the firm foundation of a pure and lasting love. Fortified in this way, they are prepared to face the joys and trials of family life in which parents and children have mutual duties. Serafina explains the duties of parents to their children thus:

¿Qué es lo que deben los padres á los hijos? Materialmente, mantenerlos hasta que lo puedan ganar; moralmente, una buena educación y buenos ejemplos. Todo lo demás que hagan por ellos ó les den, son gracias, favores y pruebas de cariño, y como tal deben los hijos agradecerlo y no exigirlo como deudas.13

Thus, in her portrayal of the characters of Carlos and Serafina, Fernán Caballero illustrates the traditional ideas of love, marriage, and family life. These same ideas are presented in Clemencia which contrasts the Spanish Christian culture of the heroine with the mundane, sceptical culture of some of her associates. Clemencia is described as a young woman, beautiful in soul and body, and as intelligent as she is beautiful, who succeeds in keeping her virtuous character even amid the tempests of life. Clemencia's simple dignity and lack of affectation impress even the superficial society of her time. Sir George Percy, that typical man of the world,

12 Ibid., 67.
13 Ibid., 56.
finds himself overpowered by the superior character of this beautiful young woman.

By contrasting Clemencia with her worldly cousin Alegría, Fernán emphasizes the traditional principles exemplified in the heroine. As a young girl, Alegría possesses physical beauty and vivacity but she lacks those qualities essential to real beauty. "No obstante, la expresión de aquellas miradas y la dulzura de aquella sonrisa ocultaban un alma vulgar, un entendimiento limitado, pero perspicaz y sutil, y un corazón ahogado en egoísmo." After some years spent in continual pursuit of worldly pleasures, she loses even her physical beauty and animation.

Alegría has married a noble Spaniard, not because she loves him but because she desires the wealth and social position which he can give her. It is not long, however, before Alegría, becoming imbued with the ideas of worldly society, begins to neglect her duties to her family. Finally, because of her unfaithfulness to her husband and children, she destroys the happiness of her entire family. So grave is Alegría's crime in the mind of Fernán Caballero that she deviates from her story to add:

14 Clemencia, 497.
15 Ibid., 50.
Y las leyes humanas son tan cortas de vista y toman tan poco en cuenta la parte moral de los delitos, que castigan al infeliz que robó un triste pedazo de pan para comer, y no han pensado en castigar a la infame que introduce un puñal de dos filos en el corazón ajeno, y destruye la honra, la felicidad, y la paz de una familia.16

Clemencia, on the contrary, represents the traditional ideals of love and constancy. Even when married to the repulsive and vulgar Fernando Guevara, she tries to love him and she does remain faithful until his death. Later, when Sir George offers her his heart, Clemencia refuses him because she has discovered that this worldly man does not understand the meaning of true love and matrimony. In speaking to him of the Spanish traditional import of love and marriage, she says,

Aquí, sir George, es el amor más grave, y, por lo tanto menos estrepitoso que en otras partes; aquí nunca pierde de vista esa obligación de que usted se burla, porque la unión sagrada eleva el amor á toda su altura y á toda su dignidad.17

In her rejection of Sir George, Clemencia no doubt remembers the advice given her by the abbot: "la pasión es ciega, la razón ve claro, si luchan, haz que venza ésta." Finally, realizing that Pablo, the noble though uneducated cousin of her first husband, is the only man worthy of her love, Clemencia consents to marry him. Before her marriage Clemencia assures Pablo of her fidelity.

... no creas, Pablo, que en mi sea el amor una llana que encienden y atizan ciegas pasiones, no; es un fuego santo que solo sostiene y alimenta lo

16 Ibid., 411-412.
17 Ibid., 473-474.
18 Ibid., 355.
bueno y lo bello ... No creo necesario añadir, Pablo, que cuando me ofrezco por tu compañera a ti, que honro y venero, me ofrezco pura, como debe serlo la que tu llamas tu consorte. 19

Clemencia knows that with Pablo she will have that domestic happiness which she saw exemplified in the home of her father-in-law, Don Martín Guevara. From Don Martín she has learned an appreciation of the respect and honor due a wife and mother. "Quien honra á su mujer se honra á sí mismo, solía decir Don Martín; y la honra que á tu mujer das, en tu casa se queda." Unlike Alegría, who refuses to accept her duties as wife and mother and thinks only of the diversions and distractions of city life, Clemencia finds real happiness in the little town of Villa María with her husband, her children, and her home.

In Spain, a country where there are found happy marriages and few divorces, the infidelity of a husband or wife is a grave crime. La familia de Álvarenga presents the tragedy which besets an honorable Spanish family because of the crime of unfaithfulness on the part of a young wife.

This novel is based on an actual incident which occurred in Dos Hermanas where Fernán Caballero lived as the Marquesa de Arco-Hermosa. One day when passing through an olive grove the Marquesa observed a red wooden cross nailed to one of the trees. In response to her question regarding the significance of the cross, the caretaker answered with a story which she tells in her novel. The narrative concerns a case of adultery which ends with the bloody revenge of the husband who later is condemned to death for his

19 Ibid., 500-501.
20 Ibid., 201.
crime. The red cross marks the place where the husband murdered the man responsible for his wife's infidelity.

Rita, the unfaithful wife, had been known from her youth as one of "estos seres que pisan con firme paso y frente serena una senda torcida."

When Perico Alvareda tells his mother that he wants to marry Rita who is his cousin, his good Catholic mother states her objections. She warns her son of Rita's defects of character and also of the dangers issuing from a marriage of blood relatives:

Rita es vana, ligera, cristiana fria e hija ingrata. La que es mala hija es mala casada. Vuestra sangre se rechaza: te acordarás de cuanto te dice ahora tu madre; pero sera tarde.

However, in spite of his mother's warning, Perico insists that his decision must be one of two alternatives—he will marry Rita or he will enlist in the army. Desiring to keep her son from war, his mother gives her consent for his marriage.

All goes well for Perico, Rita, and their two children until six years later when Ventura, Perico's lifelong friend, returns from war. At first when Rita and Ventura are becoming mutually attracted, nothing is done to rebuke them because unfaithfulness to marriage vows is not known in the villages of Spain. "... el que una mujer casada olvidase sus deberes, el que un novio dejase de amar los suyos, es cosa casi del todo desconocida en los pueblos." But when Perico discovers that Rita is unfaithful to him he shoots his friend Ventura and flees from the scene of the crime. Falling in with a band of robbers and evil-doers, Perico is eventually brought to

---

21 Coloma, 254-256.
22 La familia de Alvareda, 81-82.
23 Ibid., 22.
24 Ibid., 76.
trial and condemned to death. Now his grief-stricken mother knows that her heart erred when she consented to his marriage.

Sabía que la reprobación pesa sobre la unión de la propia sangre, y se lo anuncié. No quiso escucharme. Mejor hubiese sido el dejarlo ir a la guerra. Pero el corazón yerra, como yerra el entendimiento.25

The Epilogue presents Rita, overcome with grief and remorse for the tragedy she has caused, taking her two children to a place where their identity will not be known. In her indignation against Rita, the unfaithful wife, Fernán Caballero expresses the sentiments of the traditionalists concerning the disregard of the sanctity of marriage and family life so manifest in the modern age.

La gaviota, too, is based on the theme of the unhappiness caused by infidelity, and emphasizes the chastisement of God on the actions of the unfaithful wife. By means of contrasts, the author depicts very clearly the character of "la gaviota" as well as that of the Spanish society of her day. Particularly does she stress the differences between the disloyal wife and her noble husband.

Marisalada, nicknamed "la gaviota," is a most unusual person. By nature she is arrogant, vulgar, and coarse, apparently indifferent to the kindly advice of those who try to help her. For years Tía María, the typical Spanish mother who lives with her family in the abandoned convent of Villamar, has tried by kindness and affection to win Marisalada's confidence. Her efforts have been in vain.

25 Ibid., 80.
The character of Stein, the young German physician who meets Marisalada while he is convalescing under Tía María's care, forms a perfect contrast with that of the girl.

El personaje de Stein forma un perfecto contraste con el de la Gaviota: todo en aquel es serenidad y rectitud; todo en ésta es tumulto y desorden... Stein es el hombre evangélico, el justo en toda la extensión de la palabra; nada basta a alterar la limpida tersura de su hermoso alma. Underlines are italics in the original.26

This is the man who discovers the beautiful voice with which God has endowed Marisalada and who begins her musical training. Later he falls in love with her and marries her. Through the influence of one of Stein's friends, Marisalada is given the opportunity to go to Seville where she is accepted in the society of the aristocracy and wins applause as a great singer. While visiting in the home of her husband's friend, Marisalada meets another person who offers opportunity for contrast. This is a simple Sister of Charity who by her very manner subdues the self-esteem of the arrogant young singer.

María [Marisalada's baptismal name] quedó anonadada. Su orgullo, que desafiaba con la frente erguida toda superioridad, la dignidad de la nobleza, la rivalidad de los artistas, el poder de la autoridad, y aun las prerrogativas del genio, se dobló como un junco ante la grandeza y la superioridad de la virtud.27

It is not long before Marisalada becomes part of the type of society found in the larger cities. Soon she begins to neglect her duties to her husband. Indeed, she has never appreciated family life. Back in Villamar when Stein had so thoroughly enjoyed the peaceful family gatherings in Tía María's home, Marisalada had been completely indifferent.

27 La gaviota, Ed. by George W. Umphrey and F. Sánchez y Escribano, 118.
Fria e indiferente a aquel cuadro de íntima felicidad que su alma adusta y vulgar no comprende ni ama, animados sus hermosos ojos negros de un fuego sombrio, Marisalada parece absorta en malos pensamientos y como reconcentrada en el vago deseo de otra existencia. Ni la exaltada ternura de su anciano padre, ni el puro amor de Stein basta a llenar aquel corazón cerrado a los blandos halagos de la familia y del deber.

On the contrary, she seems to enjoy the court of admirers by whom she is surrounded at present. These people have no regard for marriage and home life. They are too busy searching for the pleasures found in the world's capitals. Typical of their way of life is Eloisa, a young Spanish girl who has permitted herself to be carried away by her imitation of foreign ideas and customs.

Su ocupación incesante era leer; pero novelas, casi todas francesas. Profesaba hacia la moda una especie de culto; adoraba la música, y despreciaba todo lo que era español.29

Eloisa, influenced by the title and self-appropriated distinctions of a visiting Frenchman, marries him secretly. After a few months during which he spends her money, she finds herself abandoned by the Frenchman who has been married twice before. General Santa María, that old patriot of traditional Spain who tells Eloisa's story, concludes with a condemnation of the affectation of foreign manners. "Ved ahí . . . adonde conduce el extranjerismo exagerado y falso."

Influenced by the society in which she is living, Marisalada does not scruple receiving the attentions of a notorious bull-fighter. When Stein

28 Don Eugenio de Ochoa, 29-30.
29 La gaviota, (vol. II, Obras completas), 278.
30 Ibid., 480.
learns of her infidelity he is heart-broken and goes off to die in the New World. Soon, however, Marisalada received from God a just punishment for her actions. Her lover meets his death in a bull-fight, her beautiful voice breaks, and she is forced by want to return to Villamar where she marries the village barber and spends the rest of her life in poverty and squalor. In this chastisement of "la gaviota's" infidelity, the author expresses her own wrath against the unfaithful wife.

In the judgment of Fernán Caballero, the secular education of the nineteenth century is responsible for much of the degeneracy of society. She attempts to prove this contention by demonstrating in her novels the comparative results of a religious education and of a secular education.

In her portrayal of Clemencia as the ideal cultured woman and the perfect wife and mother, Fernán gives credit to her heroine's convent education and her instructions from the abbot as the most important factors in the moulding of her character. Speaking of Clemencia's qualities, she says,

... su natural inclinación al bien hallarse, su propensión a la alegría, nacidas ambas de su encantadora faita de pretensiones á la vida magnífica prerrogativa que alimenta la educación modesta, retirada y religiosa, y que destruye de un todo la moderna educación filosófica, bulliciosa y emancipada.31

In her novel Lágrimas, Fernán Caballero contrasts the results of a religious education with those of a secular education. Lágrimas, the character whose life-story is the thread which binds together the events of the novel, is the young girl who endures patiently physical suffering and great unhappiness caused by her father's engrossment in his material affairs and

31 Clemencia, 215.
his total lack of interest in her. Having learned from her religious teachers that God will recompense any suffering borne in this world for love of Him, Lagrimas does not become peevish or rebellious. Rather she is always pleasant and amiable in her resignation to her misfortunes.

La Marquesa de Alocaz, who befriends Lagrimas in her loneliness, is another character capable of great sacrifice. Although she is still very young when left a widow, la Marquesa refuses to remarry through fear that in doing so she might neglect her only daughter. Her daughter's welfare is of much greater importance to la Marquesa than is her own pleasure. According to the author, this noble woman's virtues are a consequence of her education.

Contrasted with the attractive figures of Lagrimas and La Marquesa is Tiburcio Civico, one of those pseudo-intelligent young men of the nineteenth century. Tiburcio had lived in the quiet little village of Villamar until his father decided that he should go to Seville to be educated as a lawyer. In the city this young man who has "pretensiones a todo y aptitud para nada," becomes much more engrossed in the liberal activities then in vogue than in his studies. However, the time for his reception of the doctor's

32 Lagrimas, 138-139.
33 Ibid., 64.
cap finally arrives and he returns to Villamar only to discover that among its peaceful inhabitants he can find no lawsuit to defend. After his residence in Seville "país clásico de las mollares, de las cigarreras, de las veladas, del buen pan y de las aceitunas," Tiburcio finds the quiet life of Villamar very dull. He scorns the antiquated customs of his former friends and even shows contempt for Quela, the beautiful peasant girl whom he has promised to marry. Quela has remained faithful to Tiburcio for she still regards as sacred a promise of love and marriage. "... en los lugares, donde no hay ni puede haber corrupción de costumbre, pues no hay ni ocio ni dinero, el amor no tiene alas, y sin ser menos bello, es más grave."

When Tiburcio's father observes his son's attitudes and actions, he realizes his own error in insisting on the young man's education in Seville.

El padre . . . aunque tarde, empezó a conocer el disparate que había hecho . . . al ver que, por fruto de todos sus sacrificios y desvelos, lo que había logrado era haber hecho á su hijo desgraciado, rebelde, altivo, y sin más ciencia que le de despreciar.

Concluding her reflections on the type of education received by Tiburcio Cívico, Fernán Caballero deplores the lack of moral training in the modern secular education.

Llevamos esto sencillamente á hacer una reflexión general en punto a educación, y es: que existe una cosa funesta en nuestros días, en que tanto se charla sobre educación como sobre todo . . . . Esta cosa funesta es el

34 Ibid., 94.
35 Ibid., 122.
36 Ibid., 413.
exagerado cuidado que se pone en la parte intelectual de la educación; es decir, en el saber, y el poco que se da a la parte moral, es decir, al sentimiento. Ver cómo se rellena la cabeza y se deja vacío el corazón. 37

Fernán maintains that religion is a necessary part of education. Only religious training will inculcate those high moral principles, that charity and that respect for superiors and fellow creatures so necessary for a sound social order. Indeed, religion she considers is necessary in all phases of life.

Throughout all the novels of Fernán Caballero may be found that traditionalist belief that the Catholic religion, regarded as the guiding principle of individual, family, and social life, will achieve the destruction of the dominion of materialism and will effect the rehabilitation of the bonds of society and of the family.

37 Ibid., 70.
CONCLUSION

As author of the first regional novel, Fernán Caballero gave the initial impulse to the movement which made this type of novel the outstanding genre of Spanish literature during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Through her portrayal of the life and customs of the Andalucian peasants who, she believed, embodied the spirit of the true Spaniard, Fernán Caballero attempted to defend their traditional, conservative ideas. Typically Spanish and typically Catholic, she opposed indignantly the new foreign influences which were undermining the established institutions of her country, particularly the monarchy and the Catholic Church.

Fernán Caballero lived and wrote at a time when the attractions of liberalism were alienating men from their traditional respect for authority and for spiritual values, but she lived and wrote with the courage of her traditionalist convictions. She believed that a return to God and to legitimate authority was the only possible remedy for the ills of her time. For this reason, she used her novels to defend the monarchy as the foundation of the political order, and the Catholic Church as the only real authority in religion, in society, and in the family. A true traditionalist, Fernán Caballero has expressed the three loyalties typical of the Spaniard throughout the centuries—to God, to King, and to Country.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works of Fernán Caballero

Manuscript Sources

Caballero-Espino Correspondence, University of Chicago Library.

Caballero-Gabriel Correspondence, University of Chicago Library.

Caballero-Latour Correspondence, University of Chicago Library.

Copy literal de la carta autografa dirigida por Fernán Caballero a Doña Joaquina Arrieta, esposa del Ministro de Marina Don Juan Topete, en data en Sevilla a 20 Feb., 1869, University of Chicago Library.

Copy of letter of Fernán Caballero to George Ticknor, July 28, 1861, University of Chicago Library.

Printed Publications

Correspondence

Caballero, Fernán, Cartas familiares de Fernán Caballero, coleccionadas y anotadas por el M.R.P. Diego de Valencina. Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas Y Museos, 1907. 48 pp.

________, Epistolario de Fernán Caballero, una colección de cartas inéditas de la novelista, publicada por Alberto Lopez Arguello. Barcelona: Sucesores de Juan Gili, 1922. 229 pp.

Newspaper Article

La Discusion, Sevilla, 4 de Octubre de 1862. Newspaper clipping. University of Chicago Library.

Novels


General and Critical References


The thesis submitted by Sister Mary Lucilda O'Connor, B.V.M., has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Spanish.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

March 11-48

Signature of Adviser