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

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VITA

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PREFAE

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN NINETEENTH CENTURY SPAIN: TRADITIONALISM VERSUS LIBERALISM

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

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

To seek a definition of traditionalism one needs have recourse to philosophy, theology, political and social sciences, and history. The Spanish encyclopedia Espasa-Calpe says that it is a "doctrina filosófica que pone el origen de las ideas en la revelación y sucesivamente en la enseñanza que el hombre recibe de la sociedad."¹ There too, one learns that traditionalism is el sistema político que consiste en mantener o restablecer las instituciones antiguas en el régimen de la nación y en la organización social. El tradicionalismo fundamenta el régimen social y político de España en los principios tradicionales de la religión católica y de la monarquía pura [not a constitutional monarchy] rechazando en absoluto los de la separación entre la Iglesia y el Estado, la soberanía popular, el sufragio universal y la libertad sin traba preventivos.²

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

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

² Ibid.
³ "Liberalismo," Enciclopedia universal ilustrada, XXX, 430.
nizes human rights and free will as being supreme and therefore superior to authority in any form. Menéndez y Pelayo in writing a history of his time gave this definition:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6 Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., LXIII, 376.
to fall under the grip of Napoleon. Not until 1808 did he find leisure to undertake to implant in the Peninsula the principles of the French Revolution. Thanks to the folly and the baseness of her rulers she was easy to seize; thanks to the heroic spirit of her people, she was impossible to hold."  

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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


10 Chapman, op. cit., 489.
Kingdom as a guiding force to direct the war; this Junta met in Aranjuez in September, 1808. While it was meant to be a temporary measure, this Junta was the first step in the direction of self-government. Due to various turns in the war, this group fled to Seville, and later to Cádiz in 1810, where it set up a regency of five men who were to arrange for the convocation of the Cortes, the Spanish Congress.

The Cortes is normally a form of representation, and the Cortes of 1810 should have been that too. Partly because of the urgency of the war and the subsequent shortage of time and also partly because the americanos would have been overwhelmingly in the majority if the number of deputies were based on population,
mation it did not represent the old Spanish tradition. It was called in the absence of a king to direct the people in their war against the French intruder; yet it declared the rights of man, set itself up as the legislative power, and enacted the famous Constitution of 1812, which was modelled after the renowned French Constitution. This document limited the royal power very greatly, granted manhood suffrage, imposed universal taxation, set up a single Chamber, abolished the Inquisition, and established the freedom of the press except for a censor on the ecclesiastical press, "contrapisa esta que fué una transacción que en realidad no existió pues se atacó todo lo divino y humano y en las Juntas de Censura sólo entraron tres eclesiásticos entre nueve vocales."12 The liberals flooded the country with their periodicals and in their effort to stifle their opponents "en nombre de la libertad, se implantó una despótica tiranía hasta en el orden doctrinal y a la Inquisición religiosa sucedió la Inquisición liberal."13

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

12 Loc. cit.
13 Ibid.
14 Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., LXIII, 379.
El padre Francisco Alvarado fue quizás el primero que consideró el liberalismo como un sistema esencialmente antirreligioso ("el racionalismo aplicado a la gobernación de los pueblos distinguiéndolo de la libertad pública") de que era el partidario en cierta medida, pues defendía la intervención del pueblo en el gobierno, el jurado y otras ideas sostenidas por los liberales de entonces. La lucha por medio de la prensa no sólo era reflejo sino que agravaba y enconaba la que ya se sostenía en el terreno social. Liberales y serviles cada vez más separados unos de otros buscaban para juntarse con susyos.

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

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

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

15 Ibid.
17 Mesonero Romanos, op. cit., 48.
I. La soberanía reside esencialmente en la nación y por lo mismo pertenece a esta exclusivamente el derecho de establecer sus leyes fundamentales.

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIII. En el título octavo se prescribía que todos los años habrían las Cortes fijar la fuerza militar del ejército y armada que se
Military conscription was upheld.

IX. Estuvo dedicado a tratar de la instrucción publica.

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

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

19 Mesonero Romanos, op. cit., 48.
21 Ibid., 379.
of seeing anything good in the work; he says that they were not administrative reforms nor anything except antipathy toward the old regime. As proof that these liberal ideas were imposed upon the majority of the people, there were the historically acknowledged secret societies which led to the imprisonment of any who were discovered and called an 'enemy of progress'. Again a Spaniard remarked, "Estas ideas revolucionarias eran ¿porqué negarlo? repulsivas a la inmensa mayoría del pueblo español."22

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

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

22 Mesonero Romanos, op. cit., 76.
liberals returned from exile, and there were minor uprisings. The priests were ordered to explain the Constitution from their pulpits; the Jesuits were again suppressed; and hospitals and convents were closed. Finally the Cortes of 1820 was charged with being too anti-clerical, and it was dismissed. However a new group formed and named the Asturian leader, Riego, as President. Incongruously a reign of terror was imposed upon the people to give them liberty, and Ferdinand VII was taken prisoner. He appealed to France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria for help; the Holy Alliance met at Verona in 1822. Great Britain maintained her stand by asserting that she would intervene in order to protect territory but not in matters of deciding upon a form of government; so France stepped in to assist Ferdinand VII. The Spanish king again ascended the throne and there began another period of tyranny from 1823 until his death ten years later.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The two most important pieces of legislation during this period of liberal domination were the Estatuto Real of 1834 and the Constitution of 1837. The former was the law which prevailed for a period of three years; the government was a constitutional monarchy which upheld the rights of man. Don Carlos was not only deprived of his rights but even prohibited from ever setting foot on Spanish soil. The Jesuits were again expelled, and their goods, confiscated; all convents were closed. There were so many riots, secret societies, and changes in the ministry that the 'Sociedad española de Jovellanos' was formed to fight the Carlists and to fight anarchy. However anarchy ruled throughout all Spain and one historian commented that "even the Portuguese were in the habit of referring to Spain as that 'madhouse across the border', and that impression could be strengthened from the observations of political historians."
Spanish political history in this period appears as a comic opera in which every scene ends in tragedy."^{26}

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

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

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

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^{27} Espasa-Calpe, *op.cit.*, LXIII, 451. (Original in Sp.)
fashion. During that period liberalism had undergone a change. Queen Cristina and Espartero and the Cortes had opposed Don Carlos and the other Apostolics or traditionalists; theirs was a moderate form of liberalism. Narváez, heading a much more radical group, began the revolution of 1843 and forced General Espartero into exile.

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

This document was a less radical revision of that of 1837. While the work of 1837 proclaimed national sovereignty; that of 1845 was another compromise between the ruler and the people. The senators in the earlier one were elected by popular vote; in 1845 they were appointed by the king for life terms.
The Crown in making appointments filled the Senate with nobles, ecclesiastics, and other traditionalists. In the early paper the nation "se obliga la religión...que los españoles profesan." In the 1845 revision, the state was obliged to maintain the "religión de la nación española...la católica, apostólica, y romana." In 1851 the temporal power of the Church was again strengthened still more under Bravo Murillo, who came into power for about three years. During this period of his leadership relations with the Pope were restored. Murillo also planned a new constitution which took all authority from the Cortes and gave the monarch absolute power. But liberalism had advanced to such an extent that even Narváez pointed out to Isabel II the folly of such a proposal; as a result Murillo was out, and a new coalition was formed. Espartero was re-elected after a brief uprising; and O'Donnell came with him. In 1854 the liberal union headed by O'Donnell was formed; but

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

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

29 Loc. cit.
30 Ballesteros y Beretta, op. cit., VIII, 62.
absolutism; and it opposed Espartero. The famous Manifiesto de Manzanares was proclaimed by its leaders in 1854:

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

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

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

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

31 Ibid., 42.
32 Ballesteros y Beretta, op.cit., VIII, 671.
pitted against the manufacturers, and there were more assassinations, fires, and other forms of violence. Such extremes tended to undo the work of the revolutionists. The two branches of the royal family compromised and made their peace; the liberals swung over toward the middle of the road with Narváez at their helm. The sale of church property was stopped, and relations with the Holy See were taken up.

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

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

The historian Ballesteros made this comment: "Es un anticipo de la tolerancia de cultos de la Constitución de 1876."\(^{34}\)

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

\(^{33}\) Ballesteros y Beretta, op. cit., VIII, 672.

\(^{34}\) Loc. cit.
Spanish foreign policy but also to divert attention from the questionable behavior of the royal household. Not only was the Queen's behavior subject to criticism, but Don Carlos maintained his claim to the throne and then in order to obtain peace retracted his statement, and finally in view of Isabel's faulty conduct again he voiced his rights. "...the quality which strikes the Spanish observers in the members of the House of Bourbon is their incurable lack of seriousness."35 Through lack of communication Don Carlos and his brother issued conflicting statements. There was fighting from time to time during the second Carlist War. Prim had earned his reputation during the war in Africa, and so it was no real surprise when he finally succeeded to the premiership. The government was becoming less and less able to restrain the journalistic accounts of their Queen's weaknesses. General Prim joined in the campaign of defamation against Isabel II; O'Donnell tried to arrest Prim, who fled the country.

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

38 Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., LXIII, 472.
39 Ballesteros y Beretta, op. cit., VIII, 674.
40 Ibid., 672.
time too, that the royal sanction was not necessary for constitutional reforms by the Cortes.

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

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

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

41 Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., III, 761.
42 Ibid., III, 774.
43 Ibid., III, 767.
was against continuing the Bourbon dynasty: "¡ Abajo para siempre la raza espuria de los Borbones!"\textsuperscript{44}, but was definitely in favor of a monarchy, even though its powers were to be limited.

The next task was to find a suitable monarch, and the throne was offered to various noblemen in Europe for 'reasons of politic'; finally Amadeo of Savoy accepted the proposal. From the very beginning of his brief reign, 1870-1873, he encountered serious difficulties. His chief backer, General Prim was assassinated as he was on the way to meet the new Italian-born king on his arrival into Spain. There were so many political parties that the ministry was a coalition group, which never in all the history of the world has been able to work solely for the benefit of the country but rather for 'the Party.

Then Don Carlos protested the 'outrage', and in 1872 with the battle cry of "¡Abajo el extranjero! ¡Viva España!", another Carlist War began. At last in 1873 Amadeo abdicated the Spanish throne for himself and his children.

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

\begin{quote}
Si fuesen extranjeros los enemigos de su dicha, entonces al frente de estos soldados tan valientes
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{44} Ballesteros y Beretta, \textit{op. cit.}, VIII, 145.
como sufridos, sería el primero en combatirlos; pero todos los que con la espada, con la pluma, con la palabra, agravan y perpetuan los males de la nación, son españoles; todos invocan el dulce nombre de la Patria; todos pelean y se agitan por su bien, y entre el fragor del combate, entre el confuso, atronador y contradictorio clamor de los partidos, entre tantas y tan opuestas manifestaciones de la opinión pública, es imposible todavía, hallar el remedio para tamaños males. 45

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

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

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

45 Espasa-Calpe, op. cit., XXXII, 866.
46 Ballesteros y Beretta, op. cit., VIII, 204.
1874 after much disorder Castelar was verbally attacked in the Cortes, and he resigned. The era of the republic was over.

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

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

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

47 Ballesteros y Beretta, op. cit., VIII, 253.
dinastía hereditaria." Nor was the liberal Canovas in favor of universal suffrage: "Abrid las páginas de la Historia y por doquiera se os presentara este hecho: detrás del voto de las muchedumbres, el cesarismo, o lo que en algunas repúblicas de América se llama el caudillaje." Besides the large number of political parties the main problem facing the new king was his uncle's claim to the throne. When the republicans were in power Carlism had become very strong, but with the advent of a legitimate king, its cause was weakened step by step. In the spring of 1876 the Carlist War was over, and Alfonso XII was recognized by all Spaniards.

The next question was that of the election of the members or representatives of the Cortes. The republicans were divided according to the degree of their liberal sentiments. The sessions of Cortes were suspended and a new constitution was planned.

The constitution of 1876 was the most advanced, the most liberal; history called it the 'Constitution of the Notables'. There was of course an article concerning religion, which stated that the religion of the state was the Roman Catholic, but that other sects were to be tolerated. Although Pope Pius IX declared against that article, the constitution was passed.

48 Ibid., VIII, 285.
49 Ibid., VIII, 286.
in May, 1876, by a vote of two hundred twenty-one (221) to eighty-three (83); and this document was law until 1931.

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

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

In 1902 Alfonso XIII took his oath as king according to the Constitution of 1876. There were three main problems
facing the new king and his liberal ministry; the clergy, the regionalists, and the social or labor problem. Like his predecessors he had many reverses and changes of ministry. His was a stormy reign which lasted nearly thirty years until 1931. Then there followed another Spanish Civil War.

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

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

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

PEDRO ANTONIO DE ALARCON

HIS BIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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In Alarcon's own words one may learn that

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

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

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

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

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

Alarcón took over the editorship of the paper El Eco de Occidente, which was a weekly review of literature, arts, and science. His popularity increased as did his earnings; so
successful was he at the age of twenty years that he felt free
to go to Madrid to try his luck there. Here he encountered his
first major literary disappointment.

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

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

Following his natural impulses he joined a group of
other young people with tastes similar to his own. He became
a member of the group known as "La Cuerda", which later moved
to Madrid and became known there as "La Colonia Granadina". This
club was comprised mainly of literary artists, although it did
include a few musicians; they read and discussed and in general
tried to imitate the French writers of the day. The group was quite radical in its writings but at the same time harmless, and several members besides Alarconc, later received recognition in the field of literature.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"after his youth had passed." 9

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

12 Mariano Catalina, op. cit., 15. (Original in Spanish).
toward their valiant army. Whatever the reason, the results, thousands of fan letters appealed to Alarcón's ego, and the financial returns enabled him to travel in style.

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

1863 was for Alarcón a very sad twelve month period.

¹³ Historia de Mis Libros, 358. (Original in Spanish)
He lost a close friend; shortly after came the death of his father who had seemed to favor his prodigal son, and finally there followed the passing of Pastor Díaz, who had stood by Alarcón in all his literary troubles. There can be no doubt that he called it with good reason the 'year of death'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

16 Atkinson, op. cit., 137.
17 "Historia de Mis Libros", 386.
how he buried the child with his own hands and then spent the summer in a house facing the cemetery finishing his next novel.

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

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

¹⁸ Pardo Bazán, Retratos y Apuntes Literarios, 196. (Original in Spanish).
opposed outright teaching in the novel. Alarcón sided with the moralists both in his speech and in actual writing.

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

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

There were three series of short stories published in 1881-1882, for which Alarcón won renown. The *Cuentos Amatorios* written in a realistic vein, are based on Spanish legendary tales which Alarcón had heard from childhood. The *Historietas* 19 "Historia de Mis Libros", 399. (Original in Spanish)
Nacionales are curious little anecdotes which really describe events happening within his own tumultuous times and so are both realistic and historical. The Narraciones Inverosímiles are sparkling bits of humor and imagination. In combination the volume Novelas Cortas represents Spanish wit and humor, Spanish customs and tradition, and Spanish ingenuity. Many anthologies include a story or two, and in the collections of world-famous short stories there is always at least one Alarconn story. It should be added that to his credit there are several rather than one single 'outstanding' short story.

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

20 Pardo Bazan, Retratos, 213. (Original in Spanish).
broken immediately and can never again be retied.

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

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

21 "Historia de Mis Libros", 399. (Original in Spanish
However he would never go very far along the path of reprisals. He ended by writing that "perhaps some time there will be another way of confessing the existence of God and the immortality and responsibility of the soul, and my book will not find one adversary."

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

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

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

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

22 "Historia de Mis Libros", 399. (Original in Spanish)
23 Pardo Bazán, Retratos, 155. (Original in Spanish)
CHAPTER III
ALARCON: THE YOUTHFUL LIBERAL

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

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

In 1854 when the news of O'Donnell's rebellion at Vicalvaro reached Alarcon, he placed himself at the head of a revolutionary demonstration group in Granada; his party seized an arms
depot. Immediately afterwards he founded a republican newspaper called La Redención (The Redemption), in which he strongly criticized the clergy and the army. This brought on such forceful reaction that he discontinued that paper and left for Madrid.

On November 1, 1854, there appeared in Madrid the first issue of the daily paper El Latigo (The Whip), whose subtitle was "Diario satírico democrático". Each issue was called "El Latigazo" or 'The Crack of The Whip'. Using the pseudonym "El Zagal", meaning the 'driver', Alarcón made his first contribution to that paper on December 6, 1854. Shortly after he assumed the responsibility for two columns: one, "La Prensa en Espíritu", which was a review of the newspapers circulating in Madrid, and "Latigazos", which represented his own views and comments on current events. He used all forms of satire: a play-upon-words, fictitious letters which he also answered, imaginary dialogues, etc.; his subject matter was largely controversial material which was to be found on the lips of everyone during the period of revolution and dissatisfaction, namely, the fate of Maria Cristina and her pension, the unpopular sales tax, proposed religious tolerance, inefficiency of the mail service and general corruption in the government, changes in the Cabinet, and of course the latest Court scandal. "From the beginning his attitude toward every political question had been uncompromisingly republican and his attacks on liberal constitutional papers almost as severe as those upon the absolutist
In January, 1855, he became editor-in-chief of the paper and continued the policy of ridiculing the government. In his editorials he pointedly criticized the Royal household and the Cabinet. He even offered the use of the newspaper office to sign a petition against the draft, and then he wrote "irreverent paraphrases on the Beatitudes in defiance of the Church." In that same month he wrote a parody on the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and other "parts of the catechism necessary for salvation which he entitled 'Catecismo para 1855'. This type of journalism drew many rebukes from other newspapers. In one instance he admitted his irreverency, but in general, he wrote even more forceful replies and considered the whole proposition good advertising.

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

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

1 Herman E. Hespelt. "Alarcón as Editor of El Látigo Hispania XIX:3, October, 1936, 322.
2 Ibid., 325.
3 Ibid., 327.
...we believed that something great was taking in our country... we believed that there had arrived in our nation that solemn crisis in the history of our people... that rapture of lyricism in which men acquire the stature of heroes, martyrs, or of apostles... all this we believed... and with grandeur and dignity we have followed it step by step.

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

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

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

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

4 Hespelt, op. cit., 328. (Original in Spanish).
face to face against the most powerful force in my country, in order to come to find myself one February morning, alone in a deserted field at the mercy of my enemies, not knowing how to defend my life with my untrained hand, and owing it (my life) to the noble and good nature of my adversary, while my editorial associates washed their hands of the matter or did the opposite of washing them.

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

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

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

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

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6 Hespelt, op. cit., 335. (Original in Spanish).
When he resigned, the paper quickly failed for lack of policy.

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

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

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

It seemed that Alarcón's quarrel with the clergy dealt only with the luxury and temporal wealth of the orders; never
did he take issue on any point of theological teachings. His blasphemous writing in *El Latigo* was probably meant to be a means for catching the public eye in order to express his political views; he intended that form as a device for making headlines rather than profanity. And so one cannot say that he had experienced any sort of religious conversion as critics like Balseiro or Revilla seem to indicate.

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

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

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

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

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

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

8 Pardo Bazán, op. cit., 132. (Original in Spanish).
The book is a record of his travels; he made notes about the impressive scenery and the artistic creations of man. The author himself said, "There is nothing in it that is not certain, natural, or spontaneous; not one thing which did not originate immediately from the event or in the presence of the subject matter." The two volumes include not only descriptive passages of particular interest to the fireside traveler but also chapters pertinent to comparative art: painting, sculpture, and architecture; chapters devoted to the politics as well as to the customs of the different peoples. Of course on some of these points it would be impossible for anyone to give an account from a purely impersonal viewpoint.

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

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

1 "Historia de Mis Libros", 74. (Original in Spanish).
the absence of all principle...all that was useful and easy was good; all that disturbed was evil. The people had - the right to whatever they might want...but when in that right created a conflict, it was mutilated. There were published many books against God, but not one word against Caesar (government).

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

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

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

3 Ibid., I, 88. (Original in Spanish).
4 De Madrid a Nápoles, II, 69. (Original in Spanish).
for artistic devotion...El arte es la mitad de mi existencia."6

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

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

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

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

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

6 De Madrid a Nápoles, II, 315. (Original in Spanish).
7 Ibid, II,316. (Original in Spanish).
9 De Madrid a Nápoles, II, 36. (Original in Spanish).
an editor, had been decorated for bravery right on the battlefield, and was financially successful in his writings, and was for all that only in his late twenties when he visited the Pope, he took a rosary intending to give it to his mother, after the Holy Father had blessed it and attached a plenary indulgence; he said that "he was not going for himself alone...and some day he would be obliged to give an account of his actions for each day."\textsuperscript{10} There will probably always be some few who after reading the radical journalism written by an egotistical and adventurous youth will continue to speak of his 'vacillating ideas'; but one has only to read for himself the chapters devoted to his audience with the Pope and his hearing Christmas Mass in Rome, in order to fully appreciate and understand the depths of his Catholicity; and there can be no doubts whatsoever.

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

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., II, 307. (Original in Spanish).
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., II, 37. (Original in Spanish).
the Latin peoples blessed that announcement and exultant Liberty was reconciled with its mother Religion."12

Mariano Catalina said in his comments about De Madrid a Nápoles,

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

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

LA ALPUJARRA

This book is usually classed as an historical study of

12 Ibid., II, 63. (Original in Spanish).
the causes leading to the expulsion of the Moors as well as a travel book covering the mountain region of Southern Granada. Hurtado y Palencia said that it is

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

The author himself termed the book an "allegation in

16 Ibid., xv. (Original in Spanish).
of religious tolerance." He began almost immediately by going over the pact made in 1492 by Isabel and Ferdinand with the Moors. In it the Catholic Kings

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

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

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

17 "Historia de Mis Libros", 386. (Original in Spanish)
18 La Alpujarra, 28. (Original in Spanish).
So he forced the Moors to receive a collective baptism. If that were not enough, being under the influence of Father Diego Deza of the Tribunal of the Inquisition, he ordered all the manuscripts of Moslem religion and politics burned, and the treatises on mathematics and medicine transferred to the Library at Alcalá de Henares. This violence and betrayal of the treaty within the very lifetime of the sovereigns who had written it brought about an uprising in the town of Albaicín in 1492. The good Talavera personally made a journey to the scene where he was well-received; the Arabs voiced their grievances, and the affair was settled. The monarchs censured Cisneros' deeds. During the reign of the great Carlos V, peace was continued.

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

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

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

19 La Alpujarra, 34. (Original in Spanish).
forbidden to use Moslem names (and to drop them if they already had them), to speak, read or write their own language in public or in private, forbidden to use Arabic musical instruments, and the women were even denied the right to use henna powder on their faces.

The Arabs tried to seek adjustments through conciliatory means, but the king was resolute, and their efforts were in vain. Some of them realized that they would not be able to live where they were born and reared, and in despair they committed suicide. Others began to plot unceasingly and with all the "caution and astuteness of the Semitic race"; as a result forty-five thousand Moors seized arms, and the day fixed for the rebellion was January 1, 1569.

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

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

20 Ibid., 34. (Original in Spanish).
21 Loc. cit. (Original in Spanish).
22 Ibid., 70. (Original in Spanish).
still Moslems when Philip II killed them, because they were not Christians...God knows the bitterness caused them by those who converted the Revolution of 1868 into a conspiracy against the Catholic religion.23

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

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

23 Ibid., 130. (Original in Spanish).
torture, expulsion)....Philosophers especially those of the century past (18 C.) confused religion with the tyrants who exploited it and contradicted it...and so today we have confusion which has resulted in lack of belief.24

And so the book did favor religious tolerance which, in Alarcón's eyes, will result in peace between the Church and the government. In one passage Alarcón asked what it matters to the government whether or not people have religious or moral principles:

What difference does it make or what does it matter whether there is a God as long as there is a civil guard? And the liberals will add, "And even the Guard? We can arm each town and let each citizen defend himself as he sees fit."

"Exactly", will be the answer of the lions, the tigers, and the jackals of the desert, "Just as we live!" 25

Maintained over and over again that instead of enlightening the minds of the people, the new liberalism was burning them and leaving only "smoke and ashes...where formerly there was something they had believed in, loved, and respected something; now they believe, love, and respect nothing except that which concerns their corporal feelings."26 Instead of elevating the lower classes and helping them to improve their position and did their country, they have lost all idealism and consequently

24 La Alpujarra, 430-31. (Original in Spanish).
25 Ibid., 362. (Original in Spanish).
26 Ibid., 128. (Original in Spanish).
have sunken even lower, until Alarcón compared them with beasts.
Strangely enough on at least three occasions Alarcón made men-
tion of the poor, who now that they have lost faith and so lost
contact with God and the Church, have had only the International
to turn to; "in their thirst for gold they are becoming more
savage and independent...the International is taking possession
of Spain..."27 Alarcón had travelled and certainly had led a
full life; could he have had a much better picture of the whole
than anyone suspected? In view of world events today it would
seem so.

The last part of the book bears the title "Holy Week
in The Sierra Nevada"; it is a description of the activities
which are carried on in that region and is full of detail with
many quotations from Sacred Scriptures.

Certainly the book is strongly traditional in its at-
titude toward Catholicism and conversion and the degradation
wrought by liberalism and revolution. Alarcón is sincere in
his beliefs. Although he has admitted that he has some Moorish
blood in his veins, he commented, "If I am mistaken and you
prove me so, so much the better, since I am not a born defender
of the infidels."28

Alarcón criticized the attitude and the methods used
by the Inquisition, by Cardinal Cisneros and other ranking prel-

27 *La Alpujarra*, 383. (Original in Spanish).
28 Ibid., 70. (Original in Spanish).
his differences were not in any way concerned with theology. Nor did he at any time tend to minimize nor to ignore the position of religion and the Church. While he respected the Catholic faith, he went a step further by preaching tolerance toward other creeds. His final point, however, was that mainly by good example would people of other faiths be converted to Catholicism.

EL ESCÁNDALO

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

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

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

32 *Hispania*, XIV, 1931, 221.
Altamira, José María de Salaverria, and Ramón Perez de Ayala, actually specified *El Escándalo* as being one of the ten greatest novels in Spanish literature.

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

3. The jaundiced scholar who sees everything colored yellow.
4. The crafty one who sees in another's work only the defects which mar it and deliberately ignores the good qualities which elevate it.
5. The young revolutionary who stretches forth his arms to the exotic, bold ideas against those native trends which he regards as empty thoughts.
6. The one who takes folds from the skin of another to clothe it again in something new.
7. The gloomy naturalist who hates all that shines.
8. That sterile phalanx who hates fertility.
9. The parasite who gorges himself on another's efforts and then makes fun of them in order to justify his own impotency.

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

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

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

excellence of form alone would be enough to free him from oblivion.\textsuperscript{37}

CHARACTERIZATION:

Nearly all literary critics voiced their opinions about characterization in this novel, but their verdicts were very diverse and like any judgments relating to Alarcón tended to be extreme. LaCalle, who skipped very lightly over the "clerical novel whose theme was based on a matter of conscience which a Jesuit father succeeded in solving"\textsuperscript{38}, did not fail to mention that the "personajes son copias del natural"\textsuperscript{39}. Romera-Navarro\textsuperscript{40}, who praised the story of the miller's wife very highly while admitting that \textit{El Escándalo} was the best of Alarcón's more extensive novels, used almost the very same words to describe the true-to-life quality of the characters.

By way of contrast an English viewpoint was presented thusly:

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


\textsuperscript{39} Loc. cit.

and static extremity is a recurring characteristic of all save the protagonists of Alarcón.41 He explained further that the roles personify virtue or evil and simply provide background and in some cases contrast to the hero. Atkinson believed as do nearly all students of literature that Alarcón was primarily a romantic writer. While the atmosphere reflected the countryside and the customs of the people, still in all the particular events and settings depicted in the Alarcón novels had all the color, all the action, and all the suspense found in the earlier romantic writings. While the characters might very easily have been modelled after real people as the author claimed, still each was endowed with some definite point of interest, some romantic quality, or in the language of the twentieth century some touch of glamor to make him an individual to be well remembered. Atkinson remarked that "it is a curious paradox that the exaltation of the individual, that may be held to be the chief contribution of romanticism to the creative theory, should have threatened to result in actual impoverishment of character in literature; the romantics present us with great passions rather than great men and great women."42 Alarcón's feminine figures were usually physically beautiful, and the heroes were akin to

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

46 Revilla, op. cit., 23. (Original in Spanish).
as a point for criticism; however as Father Manrique commented that it hardly seemed as though it had been written by a teenager but rather by a doctor of the Church, Alarcón must have been deliberate in the expression of Gabriela's genuine goodness.

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

are his virtues likely to be particularly observed in the cafes or casinos."49

Pardo Bazán thought that the characters were conventional enough but not really true to life. She criticized a young man like Fabián Conde, who would be so unnatural a son as to believe the story offered by a jealous, designing old reprobate regarding the true circumstances of his father's personal dishonor; especially since his father and the woman were dead, there was no real proof existent nor any way to disprove the story either. By their very nature the suspicions would have been hard to prove, had both of the principals involved been alive; and so, why should a son believe such a story? And if such an affair existed, just how serious had it been? Pardo Bazán made the following comment which seemed startling for a woman to have made:

...from a hundred Spanish generals probably eighty would have experienced the madness of desiring the wife of another without being considered felons or traitors; on the other hand, perhaps there might not have been one of the hundred generals capable of selling for gold a stronghold entrusted to his defense. If the sin really existed, the atonement was out of proportion and without relation to the sin...it was a vile knot which the son was obligated to untie, so much the more because the general had already paid with his life for the local politician's honor.50

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

50 Pardo Bazán, op. cit., 201. (Original in Spanish).
While people do many strange things in time of stress, still such a situation would seem to be even less excusable for a man in the General's position. Pardo Bazán must surely have been viewing the problem from another less personal and more logical viewpoint. In another part of this chapter the problem is discussed from the theological standpoint along with Father Blanco García's answer.

Revilla admired the figure of Fabián Conde as a type of monster or Don Juan up until the very end, when, the critic thought, he became false. When a young man of the world who had seen fortune smile, had almost within his grasp the prospect of a happy marriage, and then a horrible calumny was raised against him putting him on the very edge of despair, where love, fortune, honor, and even his very life would be lost, when such a young man after a six-hour session with any priest (much less a JESUIT) could walk away tranquilly, that, said Revilla, in a note of disbelief "es el colmo de la inverosimilitud." 51

Alarcón in his Historia de Mis Libros answered the criticisms in this way. Fabián Conde belonged to the upper crust of Madrilenian society, and he had a very grave problem. It was entirely natural for one in his class to seek the counsel of a renowned Jesuit priest, secure in the knowledge that his secret would be kept inviolate and that his advisor would be absolutely free from any personal interest in the matter. Since

51 Revilla, op. cit., 23.
the question was strictly of a material nature, the priest's answer was not doctrinal but practical. Because the young man had misgivings about his faith but was not really atheistic at heart, Father Manrique told him to seek God's help. Fabián Conde asked whether "God sees into the hearts of those who deny His faith?... Is He at this instant seeing my innocence?" The priest's answer was: "He is the only one besides yourself who does see it." Surely it is clear that that answer would have been given by any Christian, not solely by a Jesuit. The condition that Father Manrique be a Jesuit was necessary, because a Spanish aristocrat of that period would never have gone to any priest but a learned Jesuit. In the novel itself within the first few minutes of the consultation the priest asked Fabián Conde why he had not sought a man of science or a figure in politics; the answer given by the character in the book was essentially the same as it was years later when Alarcón wrote the defense of his writings. Alarcón further emphasized that Father Manrique's counsel would have been no different had he been a member of any other order; he concluded by saying, "Let us admit the possibility of this triumph of religion over determined consciences." Father Blanco García not only thought


53 Loc. cit. (Original in Spanish).

54 "Historia de Mis Libros", 386. (Original in Spanish).
that the fortune and the ideas of Fabián Conde were highly possible but

...since today all the minute details of crime are exhibited, and the school of novelists dedicates itself to study at length the beast which there is in man, will it not be permitted to delight the mind with the contemplation of those greatnesses enclosed in the energy of will power which God helps and sustains? 55

THESIS

The publication of El escándalo raised "una tolanera de discusiones, protestas, y aplausos." 56 The thesis of the book is that religion, not science, can answer all problems, material and mental as well as spiritual difficulties. Since God alone can see the circumstances surrounding a problem in its entirety, Catholic education, not suicide, will help to remedy the situation. Here lay the rub in the days of Alarcón and today: the book was based on strong Catholic principles. Alarcón had been called a neo-Catholic, an ultramontane writer, etc., by nearly all those critics who opposed him. Seldom was there any reference made to Alarcón without mentioning his so-called 'conversion' to conservatism. Palacio Valdés suggested that Alarcón return to his old way of writing without moralizing but as for his philosophy "esa es una calumnia que el Señor

55 Blanco García, op. cit., 460. (Original in Spanish).

56 Julio Romano, op. cit., 187.
Alarcón se ha levantado a sí mismo," in his advice put into the mouth of Father Manrique. Here is a case wherein a liberal critic not only refused to believe what the author wrote but went even further; he made his own interpretation based on what he thought the author should have done and then criticized the various details. For example, although in the novel itself Fabián Conde said, "Padre, yo no confieso nunca...vengo en busca de consejo," and later Alarcón wrote "Su Merced y el joven pecador hablaron y hablaron y nada más." Palacio Valdés persisted in criticizing the 'confession'. He wrote a parody in which he confessed to 'Father Alarcon' that "he, a sinner, was left cold by what he read and that he did not understand any of his (Alarcón's) philosophical thinking..." The critic pointed out that Fabián Conde had not gone in to the priest as a penitent sinner but rather like a spoiled child who even went so far as to announce that he did not believe in God. While Palacio Valdés admitted that the priest's skillful questioning solved the problem, he did not like the solution; it was too unreal, too far-fetched, and too ultramontane. However aside

58 El Escándalo, 19.
59 Ibid., 148.
60 Palacio Valdés, op. cit., 148. (Original in Spanish).
from the theology involved Palacio Valdés thought the "plot was like a tangled thread which held the interest of the reader firmly to the very end." 61

While Cesar Barja enjoyed the realistic narration of El Capitán Veneno and the sparkling wit and picturesque language of El Sombrero de Tres Picos, he considered in a very different light El Escándalo, which, he claimed, "it really was (a scandal) the moment it was published." 62 The critic who dubbed Alarón "a man without fixed ideas or deeply rooted beliefs" 63 disclaimed the

...insincerity and resentment which filtered across each and all of the pages of the book... what the author defended in it seemed to be something like stoicism or the resignation of the Catholic religion...but in truth the religion which the author defended was actually Catholicism itself... The purification of the hero was a work of surprise and magic; between the corrupt young man of yesterday and the repentent young man of today there intervened nothing more than a few hours' conference with a Jesuit priest and the memory and the perspective of love...what really intervened was the moral and religious philosophy which the author wanted to present and to recommend. 64

So this criticism, like many others, boils down to the question of whether not the critic sees eye-to-eye with the Catholic

61 Loc. cit. (Original in Spanish).
62 Cesar Barja, op. cit., 257. (Original in Spanish).
63 Ibid., 253. (Original in Spanish).
64 Cesar Barja, op. cit., 257. (Original in Spanish).
Many critics agreed that Alarcon was one of those writers who depicted the spirit of the times in which he lived and who tried to discuss and solve some of the main issues of interest to society.

After appeasing the storm of the September revolution, there remained in spirit a well of aspirations—a protest against irreligious displays, a sentimental, quasi-Catholic reaction, a desire for the restoration of the monarchy, peace, and order—which demanded literary expression and which found itself in the person of Alarcon... a man whose psychic and intellectual state coincided perfectly with that of Spain itself, which was wounded, deceived, tired of blasphemy and threats, neither hostile to nor really devoted to the Church.65

Canalejas, one of Alarcon's contemporaries, made the statement that "El Escándalo is not a book of entertainment, but rather it shows the way to solve a problem; better said, the basic problem of the times, the religious question."66 To that an American critic in 1940 added that "Alarcon had not grasped the religious question aright; it was not so simple as he presented it. Fabián Conde was too easily converted, and the novel became more of an exegesis on behalf of the Jesuits than a work of art."67

65 Pardo Bazán, op. cit., 192. (Original in Spanish)
It is evident that the criticism of the novel was based on its Catholicity. Hurtado y Palencia candidly admitted that the book was attacked because of its religious tendency and especially "por el hecho de ser jesuita (y no otra orden o clérigo secular) el consultor de Fabián Conde." However there were some who were even more bitter in their protests against the role of the Jesuit; here is a sample of this type:

Alarcón in his most extolled novel, El Escándalo, treated of the religious problem in its relations with the moral conscience... What did El Escándalo represent? The solution of the past, and through the use of the very well known and very concrete formula: the Jesuit Order... The partisans of tradition and authority were to be congratulated; they had a philosophical, transcendental novelist who solved the most exhausting cases of conscience with the judgment of Loyola.

From the filial viewpoint Pardo Bazán thought that any son would "without further delay sign a petition to the Senate, and a hundred petitions if necessary, so that his own father's honor would be restored and incidentally so that he could use his rightful name and enjoy his legitimate place in society." Because one cannot overlook the prominent position which honor occupies in the minds of the Spanish people, surely


70 Pardo Bazán, op. cit., 198. (Original in Spanish)
Pardo Bazán seemed to have a good point there. She further maintained that the solution to the argument offered by Alarcón was not in keeping with orthodox Catholic theology. She claimed that she had consulted several qualified theologians who agreed that "not only had the son the right to restore his father's honor but pious duty obliged him to do so, and to keep secret the true story of the General's death...this last for reasons of justice as well as for convenience."71 She also remarked that when Alarcón had Father Manrique voice his approval of Lazarus' solution, the author must have manoeuvered matters to suit himself after having heard some chance sermon rather than the teachings of any learned Jesuit. She was amused to find that the book was both attacked and defended by neo-Catholics and the rationalists as to whether the Alarconian solution was strictly Jesuit or merely general Catholic dogma. She said that that was "ample proof that the study of theology is convenient even for literary critics."72

However a contemporary of Pardo Bazán, a great Spanish critic supplied the answer to her idea regarding Catholic theology. This gentleman was astounded to read her statement that the solution offered by Lazarus and recommended by Father Manrique was not inspired by Catholic morals. Pardo Bazán believed that Fabián Conde should have restored his father's

71 Pardo Bazán, op. cit., 200. (Original in Spanish)
72 Ibid., 202. (Original in Spanish)
good name which would certainly be in keeping with the fourth commandment: Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother. The critic discussed the problem further. He who was none other than the Augustinian priest, Father Blanco García, explained that in order to rehabilitate the General's honor, Fabián Conde would have had to use false documents as proof:

Could Fabián Conde make use of them in his own interests and to fulfill the exigencies of filial piety? Lazarus and Father Manrique said, "NO!", as any other theologian with even mediocre learning would have done. Pardo Bazán did not consider that the argument of Lazarus to defend his sentence was the divine prohibition to seek good along the path of evil; to fulfill the fourth commandment in this case would be to break the one which forbids one from bearing false witnesses and lying. 73

Revilla, who wrote his criticism within a few months after the book was published, admitted that his opinion regarding the thesis would be offensive "to pious ears". 74 According to the Catholic religion, confession is the only way to obtain pardon for sins, but "confession is not the only way to solve a problem of conscience." 75 He believed that a distinction should have been made between a confession of guilt and a conflict of conscience, and that in the latter case only one's own conscience could and should find a way out of the situation.

"The confessor could illuminate it with his advice, but he has

73 Blanco García, op. cit., 462. (Original in Spanish).
74 Revilla, op. cit., 22. (Original in Spanish).
75 Loc. cit. (Original in Spanish).
been given no special gift in order to be considered the only one to solve such tremendous conflicts."76 Revilla could not understand how a young man in Fabián Conde's wretched position after a six-hour consultation with a confessor with whom Alarcon had endowed some 'mystic sense', might possibly take his leave with a serene state of mind converted to the Faith, and ready to make superhuman sacrifices.

Alarcon did not bestow upon the Jesuit any mysterious sense of mysticism, but he had done exactly what Revilla criticized him for not having done. Alarcon never called Fabián Conde's story a true confession but even had the youth say that his was a "conflict of conscience".77 Furthermore the priest did ask guiding questions until Fabián Conde realized that he was not truly atheistic and that God would see his plight, hear his prayers and recognize his sincerity. It was not a conversion to the faith but a reawakening of his former religious sentiments.

Revilla also thought that if the public were to accept the 'improbability' of the young man's conversion, surely the priest should have been a "well of knowledge, a prodigy of science and talent"78 instead of merely a saintly old Jesuit like Father Manrique. It would seem that Revilla had become a trifle
confused: on the one hand, he said that the solution should come from within the conscience of the protagonist, which was exactly as Alarcon believed and fulfilled; and on the other hand, Revilla thought that the Jesuit should have drawn from his own distinguished background and found the answer. Revilla did not specify just how the priest would carry out or enforce his solution. Alarcon followed Catholic dogma and let Fabian Conde act out the dictates of his own free will. Later in defending his works Alarcon’s reply to Revilla was "Admitimos la verosimilitud de ese triunfo de la religiosidad sobre determinadas consciencias, y aun sobre la consciencia de la inmensa mayoria de los espanoles."79

As did other critics Father Blanco Garcia pointed out that Alarcon had been a colorful writer, an illustrious adventurer as well as a politician and that he had changed from a demagogue to a conservative and that his place in the field of literature had changed from that of a bohemian journalist to a place of honor as a member of the Academy. However Blanco Garcia added that Alarcon's success was due to "his own lively inventiveness, his own instinct to model human creatures, his own exquisite and positive good taste, his wide and varied background which began with his self-education and curiosity."80

79 "Historia de Mis Libros", 386.
80 Blanco Garcia, op. cit., 452. (Original in Spanish).
Alarcón's novels as his real literary beginning, the critic wrote that his "religious and political ideas changed very little although the distinct circumstances in which his books appeared respectively made the majority believe differently."\(^81\)

At the time that literature was beginning to reflect the spirit of the conflict which existed in the Cortes as well as in the streets, Alarcón produced his famous novel.

To enumerate the insults, satires, and the violences of every kind which fell upon it like lightning would be impossible; to such a point of inverosimilitude it carried revolutionary fanaticism wounded in the middle of the heart by an apology (horrible to say!) of the Jesuits. Its tendencies were censured as hostile to all progress...and in their eagerness to cast the work to the ground they denied it all literary prizes saying that the characters were engendered by feverish and confused fantasy.\(^82\)

The merit of the work while a subject for discussion is generally admitted and all the adverse criticism did not doom its popularity. Aside from the religious issue there still remains the conflict concerning the gravity of the two kinds of treason involved. While Fabián Conde finally ascertained that the General was not a traitor to his country but a victim of jealousy and revenge which finally led to treachery and subsequent death, he learned that the General had tarnished another honor and had betrayed his own wife. After analyzing the situ-

\(^{81}\) Blanco García, op. cit., 452. (Original in Spanish).

\(^{82}\) Ibid., 458. (Original in Spanish).
ation it seems that the General had been a traitor not to his country but to his wife. The question often discussed is whether or not it would have been better for Fabián Conde to clear his father's name in the eyes of the people, since he could not rightfully use false papers to avoid telling the complete story or to keep silence and safeguard the memory of his mother. Almost immediately one would say that the General had erred and that the mother was innocent and that her honor should be protected, especially since no real good could possibly come from the disclosure of the truth. On second thought one might consider the very important rank in the army and in national affairs held by the General, and then perhaps one might decide that for the sake of the morale of the country, the people should be told that their General had not sold out to the enemy. It is logical then to consider the position of importance given to public honor and to family honor. Surely a Spaniard would consider family honor of prime importance, and because the family is the basic unit or the core of the nation most responsible persons would concur with that solution. Aside from the interest created by the thesis, the theme of the novel will continue to draw readers in any and of any age.

Revilla termed improbable the 'conversion' of Fabián Conde; but Alarcón believed in the power of a 'determined conscience'. Father Blanco García pointed out that the naturalist defended their own beliefs not by any explanation but simply by
saying that "they exist"; why could they not recognize the heights to which a soul aspires when it has been guided by an enlightened conscience?

There is always more beauty where goodness, after a prolonged struggle, triumphs over wickedness than where is annulled all power of resistance and vice takes on the appearance of a pathological condition and hereditary neurosis...do we have to resign ourselves to the belief that no misguided man can turn to Faith, raise his eyes to heaven and ask pardon...rather than toward suicide with a revolver? 83

For those whose hopes are not dead the story of Fabián Conde has lasting appeal. Many people see themselves in uncomfortable positions, not as dire as that of Fabián Conde, seemingly placed there by a twist of fate; surely those are the people of whom Alarcón wrote when he referred not to those impious critics but but the "readers of good faith." 84

Alarcón is accused of being an artist "without firm beliefs, of insincerity and resentment." 85 Balseiro often cited many instances of adverse criticism but unwittingly no doubt, he printed one comment attributed to Revilla, which is probably the basic complaint of all liberal writers:

The human conscience lay fettered at the feet of a Jesuit; modern civilization, liberalism, at each step received harsh blows. Neo-catholicism

83 Blanco García, op.cit., 459. (Original in Spanish)
84 "Historia de Mis Libros", 386. (Original in Spanish)
85 Barja, op. cit., 258. (Original in Spanish).
made its mark with a new leader in the field of letters and this new leader, SAD TO SAY! WAS A VETERAN OF LIBERTY.86

González Blanco, whom some teachers recognize and present to their classes as an authority on Spanish literature, maintained that El Escándalo is not a novel of thesis but rather a novel of tendencies. A novel of thesis is one in which situations are invented and set forth solely to create a preconceived effect which represents the viewpoint of the author; "the novel of thesis violates nature."87 The novel of tendencies is a story in which the situations arise and events happen always moving in a definite but natural way. The novel of thesis relies more upon coincidence leading to the predetermined conclusion, while the novel of tendency is developed naturally; but the conclusion is based upon fundamental principles. Such a line of demarcation appears to rely too much upon subjective criticism and is difficult to prove conclusively. In the case of Alarcón, who had previously written some anticlerical column which were immensely pleasing to the liberals, these same liberals would naturally react strongly, exactly as they did, to the publication of El Escándalo. Nearly all critics who opposed Alarcón followed the lead of Revilla, who blasted out against Alarcón's ultramontanism, against the Jesuits' champion, and

86 Balseiro, op. cit., 130. (Original in Spanish).

against the defense of Catholicism. Judging by the material presented by the opposition as well as by Alarcón's published explanation of his works, it would seem that everyone disagreed with González Blanco. El Escándalo certainly was a novel whose thesis earned it everlasting renown.

**EL NINÓ DE LA BOLA**

Nearly every critic made some comment about the realism found in the writings of Pedro Alarcón; he was a 'faithful painter of the customs of modern Spain'. Furthermore everyone mentioned his romantic tendencies. Pardo Bazán stated that he was "infiltrado de romanticismo hasta la medula de los huesos". In this book, El Nino de La Bola, there may be found very much evidence of each. The background of the Alpujarras, the villagers, their fiestas, all represented realism; on the other hand the figure and the actions of Manuel Venegas, the protagonist, and of Soledad, the heroine, represented the ultimum in romanticism. However, due to the tremendous onslaught of unjust criticism heaped upon El Escándalo, simply because the role of Father Manrique was given to a Jesuit, Alarcón felt the need for writing another novel of thesis in which the priest described belonged to any other order than the Society of Jesus. But fro:

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the very beginning the book has been criticized because of its religious aspect, although the Academy considered it Alarcón's finest and most artistic literary work.

*El Niño de La Bola* was published in January, 1880. However on the eve of its publication Alarcón did what he termed "lo único ilícito en estas materias," he yielded to the request of three interested editors for permission to print some of the chapters and a synopsis of the new book which was ready to go on sale. Alarcón commented that there were many writers who did not only that very thing but always advocated that procedure. Immediately the critics set up a howl. "Fraud! Treason! Felony! One should not read the book until we have judged it; nor should one buy it before having heard our opinion...anathematize that picaresque author who has tried to assure himself of triumph." Alarcón laughed at those envious critics, especially when in spite of the numerous articles written against the new book, the people bought it so fast that even the second edition was exhausted within the next month after its publication. Recalling the fate of his drama, "El Hijo Pródigo", in terms of popular approval and the critics' abuse, a more mature Alarcón must have truly enjoyed the wail of the press.

89 "Historia de Mis Libros",398.

90 Loc. cit.. (Original in Spanish).
The argument of the novel is that dramatic story of Manuel Venegas' love for Soledad, whose father was responsible for Manuel's having become an impoverished orphan. After the war, Manuel's father found himself a hero but also a poverty-stricken man. In order to reestablish his former status, he borrowed a large sum from the local moneylender at an exorbitant rate of interest. When he failed to meet the payments the usurer took over the luxurious home. Shortly after there was a fire which, the usurer claimed, had been started by his debtors to burn up the mortgages. To disprove any such theory the honorable soldier rushed into the flaming house and salvaged the safe containing the notes; he saved his good name but paid with his life. The waif, Manuel, was sheltered and trained by the parish priest. Sitting in front of his former home, the child gazed fixedly at the usurer's house; he worked up an intense hatred for the man and an equally intense love for the daughter. Finally one day he approached Soledad and told her to tell her father that he would forgive the wrongs done him by her father if the latter would consent to Manuel's marrying Soledad when they became of age. The following day when Manuel returned for the answer, he found that the girl had been sent away to school.

A few years later at a fiesta in town Manuel again sa
Soledad. It was the custom for a young man to bid for the privilege of dancing with the girl of his choice. If she had any reason for refusing to dance, her family had to outbid the man.
The money went for charitable purposes. In this instance the usurer not only outbid Manuel but also stated that the boy still owed a part of his father's debt. The priest was able to soothe and console the passionate young man, and Manuel left Spain to seek his fortune.

After eight years in America he returned to claim Soledad only to find her already married. He investigated and learned the whole story of intrigue by the usurer and also of undying love for Manuel. For a time it seemed as though Manuel would listen to reason and leave peacefully as the priest proposed. However not long after his return the annual festival was held. Pledging his entire fortune Manuel outbid Soledad's husband for one dance with her, but overcome by emotion he crushed her to death in his arms.

The thesis of the book "para todo hay remedio en este mundo, máxime cuando se tienen sentimientos cristianos," is not, as LaCalle believed, a defense of "la moral Católica" but rather a defense of religion in general. Alarcón replied in this way:

Let us place in our midst a great pride, passion unchecked, mad love mixed with wrath, thirst for vengeance, and most rabid jealousy on a par with the strength and arrogance of a

lion, and let us see in what manner so natural and so simple I call this noble beast human; he fluctuates and wavers between the furies of an animal and the generosity of an angel, according to whether he hears the Word of God or the suggestions of the devil...it would then be demonstrated...the use and the need of those religious sentiments.\textsuperscript{93}

Pardo Bazán, who had always claimed that Alarcón was not a neo-Catholic nor ultramontane, averred that this book proved that his religion was more abstract and not that of a strict Catholic. Even Revilla admitted that judging by this book, Alarcón's creed was not

...girded by a determined positive religion ...and that the thesis is none other than the affirmation that one cannot have true morality without religious beliefs and that passion enslaves man and drags him into the mire, if he is not separated from them by a belief in the existence of God and in the spirituality and immortality of the human soul.\textsuperscript{94}

For once it seemed that Revilla correctly interpreted Alarcón's sentiments, although he found other points to criticize in this volume.

In answer to the critics of Father Manrique, Alarcón was very careful to portray a priest who was not, he went out of his way to explain to his readers,

...of the caste of Saint Augustine nor Saint Ignatius of Loyola... Don Trinidad Muley was one of those old Spanish curates who was loved and

\textsuperscript{93} "Historia de Mis Libros", 386. (Original in Spanish).

\textsuperscript{94} Pardo Bazán. Retratos y Apuntes Literarios, 206. (Original in Spanish).
respected by all who knew him with regard neither for politics nor for creed, a priest who without being liberal nor ceasing to be it, or better said, without having any opinion of the things that are Caesar's but rather the highest idea of the things that are God's, will never lose this love and respect, neither during the period of absolutist reaction as in 1814, nor in the revolutionary furor of 1820...a priest finally, who practices the pure and simple Christian virtues. 95

His only enemies were those men who were declared enemies of all mankind, such as Vitriolo, one of those 'static characterizations' representing evil.

As for the portrayal of Vitriolo, it was a subject for criticism; the question was whether or not Vitriolo was atheistic and evil-natured as a result of his physical deformities. In his explanation Alarcon said that Vitriolo was perverse and atheistic as a result of his own lack of patience and bad temper and generally evil disposition, and not as a direct consequence of his ugliness and repugnance. To clarify the situation Alarcon created another equally liberal and atheistic character, Paco Antunez; his physical attributes were much more attractive and his godlessness and animosity were strictly a matter of his own decision, but there they were present in him just as in Vitriolo.

Alarcon complained that when Revilla criticized the figure of Manuel Venegas, he completely misunderstood the char-

95 El Nino de La Bola, 22. (Original in Spanish).
acter whose actions he tried to interpret according to normal standards. In the beginning of the book Alarcón explained that the shock of his father's death had left Manuel slightly unbalanced, and on at least three occasions the housekeeper and the priest said very specifically that Manuel was insane. Manuel Venegas was a powerful figure whose determination was carried to such an extreme degree that it became a mania. His love for Soledad, his desire for wealth, his hatred for Soledad's father the usurer, his desire for vengeance against her husband, even his devotion to the effigy of El Niño de La Bola, each seemed to possess him in such a way that the thought prevalent at a given moment actually controlled his actions. Psychologists would probably say that he had a 'fixed-idea complex'. Even at the very end when the terrible tragedy occurred, Alarcón made the observation

...that those nearby heard the sound of her bones being crushed by those iron-like arms with which the madman clasped her to his heart... And that unfortunate one, unaware, without doubt, that he had killed her...96

The only other major point under discussion was the ending of the book. Revilla maintained that if the book had ended with the scene in which Manuel Venegas retreated temporarily after heeding the plea of Don Muley and permitted himself

96 Ibid., 157. (Original in Spanish).
to be guided by his devotion to the real Niño de La Bola, as well as by his respect for the priest, 

The triumph of duty and conscience over passion would have brought the work to a worthy conclusion, and its protagonist would have reached the sublime and appeared much greater, bearing in the end the heroic sacrifice rather than satisfying his passions; if the novel had ended thusly it could have dispensed with all its defects. 97

Now who is the moralist? Pardo Bazán thought that the most honorable thing would have been for Venegas to go away to some distant place, such as Paris, where he could enjoy his fortune and by amusing himself forget. Although she admitted that the most natural thing for him in a moment of passion was to have smothered Soledad and then died, because he no longer had an objective in life. Alarcón did not let him die voluntarily by his own hand however; suicide would not have been the Christian way. Venegas was in a kind of stupor in which he could not defend himself, and so his death was inevitable.

The similarities between this book and El Escándalo are numerous. Venegas was a romantic figure who had been harshly treated in his youth but who was reared in a religious atmosphere; only at the very end did he lose faith and as a result he was lost. Fabián Conde was a dashing figure who in many ways was given rough treatment by fate, but at the outset he

regained his lost faith and was saved. Both characters were bandied about in such a way that not until the last page did the reader know just how the situation would resolve itself.

In both books Alarcon used priests to point out the way toward an honorable solution, although neither acted as anything more than a guide; the protagonist settled his own problem freely and in his own way.

Both books contained numerous digs at liberal philosophy, and in both Alarcon repeated frequently that the new, materialistic way of thinking, this lack of belief in God, did portend an ominous future for Spain.
CONCLUSIONS

Finally the time has come to draw conclusions. Pedro Alarcón was Catholic, idealistic, sincere, conservative, and definitely a moralist.

His idealism has shown through from the very beginning: the impressions made from observing the rites and the interior of the Cathedral in Guadix; the writing of the young journalist who finally saw through the bubble of hope arising from the rebellion; that same youth who in a questionable way focused the attention of the public on a corrupt government in order to force some improvement; that earnest Catholic not yet twenty-eight years old who was granted an audience with Pius IX; that more mature man who had voted in 1869 for religious tolerance for everyone:

What I did was to pay homage to another freedom much older and much more sacred than politics... that is free will or freedom to sin... that is, I voted against all persecution, all cruelty, all inhumanity, based on religious intolerance... our own or another's... 1

and later the elderly man who tried to explain and defend his own writings against liberal malice.

His Catholicism had never changed; he was reared in the Catholic faith; he lived and died a Catholic. In all his

1 Alarcón. La Alpujarra, 130. (Original in Spanish)
books he wrote as a Catholic; he openly defended Catholicism at a time when that topic was a major issue and the party-in-power was strongly anti-Catholic. In his early years as a newspaperman, he wrote irreverent parodies on the Bible, but at the same time they were merely an evil journalistic device. Although he criticized the clergy frequently, he never questioned Catholic tradition nor Christian theology.

Other than his religious themes and moral tendencies in his books, his conservatism was quite conventional.

In the American sense of the word, it may be said that he was liberal in his thinking; he was broad-minded. His extensive travels, his writing in varied fields, his wide reading, his work as a newspaperman, a member of the Cortes and even of the Cabinet, all made him acutely aware of conditions in his own country and abroad. He was able to see the picture as a whole, and so he was tolerant. As the picture changed, he had the intelligence to adapt himself, but fundamentally he remained the same man, always idealistic, sincere, Catholic, conservative, and tolerant.
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The thesis submitted by Mary Josephine Stack has been read and approved by the 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.

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Date

Signature of Adviser

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