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PÍO BAROJA: THE TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICS INTO ART (1900-1911)

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The study which follows is an appraisal of Pío Baroja's literary treatment of politics from his earliest articles and essays through the "political" novels of 1900-1911. Attention will be paid to Baroja's actual participation in politics, at least insofar as this participation is relevant to his literary production. The study does not attempt to examine exhaustively Baroja's political attitudes and activities, nor does it include a general chronological review of the contemporary Spanish political scene.[1]

Rather, the study focuses upon the transformation of the "raw material" of politics, through a process of a novelist's selection, reconstruction, and stylization, into a major novelistic element in Baroja's early work. The subject is, then, the conversion of contemporary fact into fiction, of actual history and personally held political

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[1] See Gerald Brenan, The Spanish Labyrinth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Raymond Carr, Spain: 1808-1939, The Oxford History of Modern Europe (Oxford, 1966); Melchor Fernández Almagro, Historia política de la España contemporánea, 3 vols. (Madrid: Alianza, 1972); Rhea Marsh Smith, Spain, a Modern History (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), for a discussion of the historical background.

beliefs into art.

Proof of the importance of history-turned-art in Baroja's work is the growing number of studies of different aspects of his political thought as it is manifested in his journalistic essays and novels. As early as 1937 John Reid dedicated a chapter of his Modern Spain and Liberalism to Baroja's political views as expressed in his articles and novels.[2] But Reid's main interest was not esthetic and thus he did not include a literary analysis of the political elements of Baroja's novels. A year later E. Giménez Caballero in "Pío Baroja, precursor español del fascismo," a polemical prologue to a miscellaneous collection of Baroja's works, presented the novelist as a forerunner of the Fascist movement.[3] (As Gonzalo Sobejano has demonstrated, Giménez Caballero's interpretation is rather distorted and at times based on selected modifications of Baroja's actual texts.[4])

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[2]John T. Reid, Modern Spain and Liberalism (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1937), pp. 60-138. For a general bibliography see Beatrice P. Patt, Pío Baroja (New York: Twayne, 1971), pp. 198-202.

[3]Giménez Caballero, "Pío Baroja, precursor español del fascismo," prologue to his edition of Baroja's Comunistas, judíos y demás ralea (Valladolid, 1938), p. 10.

[4]Gonzalo Sobejano, Nietzsche en España (Madrid: Gredos, 1967), pp. 375-76. See also Antonio Martínez Menchén, "Baroja y la crisis del canovismo," Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, 265-67, (julio-septiembre, 1972).

In 1963 Daniel DiBlasi, in a comprehensive study of Baroja's essays, dedicated considerable attention to the writer's political attitudes as expressed in his fiction,[5] and in 1969 Dr. Carlota Brack S. Cannon devoted her dissertation, "The Liberalism of Pío Baroja," to the study of the liberal traits of Baroja's thought.[6] In the late sixties and early seventies various other studies appeared which are dedicated to different facets of politics in Baroja's works. Among the works which demonstrate the continuing interest aroused by this question are important contributions by Carlos Blanca Aguinaga,[7] Antonio Elorza,[8] Fernando Martínez Laínez,[9] Antonio Martínez-Menchén,[10] and Jaime Pérez Montaner.[11]

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[5] "A Critical Study of the Essays and Other Non-fiction of Pío Baroja" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1963).

[6] (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1969).

[7] "Realismo y deformación escéptica: la lucha por la vida, según don Pío Baroja," Juventud del 98 (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1970).

[8] "El realismo crítico de Pío Baroja," Revista de Occidente 21 (mayo 1968): 151-73.

[9] "El sentimiento político de Pío Baroja," Revista de Occidente 21 (mayo 1968): 185-203.

[10] "Baroja y la crisis del canovismo," Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos 265-67 (julio-septiembre 1972): 234-38.

[11] "La revolución del 68 vista por Baroja: Una reflexión antiliberal," in La revolución del 68, ed. Clara Lida and Iris Zavala, (New York: Las Américas, 1970), pp. 412-23.

The present study, however, proposes a more detailed examination of Baroja's political activity and attitudes and their incorporation into his political novels during what has been considered the most important period of his productivit . In addition, consideration will be given to Baroja's earliest non-fiction writings, dating back to 1890, which have only recently been made available through the efforts of Manual Longares and Luis Urrutia Salaverri.[12]

The chronological limitations of the study (1890-1911) have been dictated by several factors. The year 1890 marks the beginning of Baroja's writing career with the publication of his first article in La Unión Liberal, a brief examination of the contemporary Russian short story, containing also Baroja's first mention of politics.[13] The year 1911 closes the first era of his novelistic production, with the publication of El árbol de la ciencia. This division follows that of Beatrice Patt, who classifies Baroja's work into two periods: one of "diversity" (from 1900 to 1911)

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[12]These early works appear in Manuel Longares, ed., Pío Baroja: escritos de juventud (1890-1904) (Madrid: Cuadernos para el Diálogo, 1972) and Pío Baroja: hojas sueltas, ed. by Luis Urrutia Salaverri, 2 vols. (Madrid: Caro Raggio, 1973). Future references to this work will be indicated as Urrutia I or II and the page.

[13]Longares, Pío Baroja, pp. 173-75.

and one of "uniformity" (from 1912 to 1953).[14] The date 1911 is of particular importance in defining the limit of this study, for it marks the end of what is generally considered the period of Baroja's most important works: the trilogies La lucha por la vida and La vida fantástica, César o nada, and El árbol de la ciencia. This date also marks the beginning of the author's interest in the historical period and many adventures of his distant relative Eugenio Aviraneta (1792-1872), with a simultaneous retreat from Baroja's own historical and political moment.[15] César o nada (1910) contains a vivid description of Restoration politics as well as Baroja's last full-scale portrait of a political character. El árbol de la ciencia (1911) provides a vision of Spain during the Restoration, before and after the disaster of 1898. Although it is not an explicitly political novel it nonetheless indicates Baroja's involvement with his own era and his interest in recording this era novelistically, while Las inquietudes de Shanti Andía (1911), with its

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[14] Pío Baroja, p. 78 and p. 122. Eugenio de Nora, La novela española contemporánea, 3 vols. (Madrid: Gredos, 1970), 1:133-35 offers a slightly different classification of Baroja's works. Baroja offers his own division: Obras completas, 8 vols. (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1948-1951), VII, 831-32. Future references to this edition will be abbreviated in the text as O.C., followed by the volume number in roman numerals, the pages in arabic numerals.

[15] Patt, Pío Baroja, p. 125.

nostalgic recollections of sea adventures, already points in a different direction, away from contemporary political realities to a distant past.

Beatrice Patt has described Baroja's production of the period following 1911 as one in which

> . . . there is a . . . tendency to look backward. The world of fantasy, subservient to the world of reality in almost all of the early novels, begins to offer competition to its former master and at times succeeds in gaining a place of pre-eminence, pushing into the background momentous political problems and offering as a substitute agreeable if unlikely diversions.[16]

Since the present study deals with Baroja's literary treatment of politics--particularly his re-creating of the political realities which surrounded him--the Study is limited to the works of the only period in which such a re-creation actually takes place. Further, it is important to recall that Baroja's own attempts to participate actively in and influence Spanish political life are for the most part limited to this same time.[17]

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[16] Patt, Pío Baroja, p. 123.

[17] Baroja's only attempt to participate in politics after this period is his brief attempt to be elected a member of Parliament in 1918 from the district of Fraga. He describes this episode in Las horas solitarias (O.C., V, 332).

The study is divided into five chapters. The first examines Baroja's actual participation in politics: his desire to influence Spanish political life as well as his attempts to play an active role. This chapter also includes an appraisal of Baroja's emerging political attitudes as they are first expressed in literary form, in both fiction and non-fiction. His early journalism to some extent anticipates his novelistic style, and also provides him with an early proving ground for his own political ideas; further, his political experiences and contacts afforded him first-hand observations on which he could draw for his portrayal of realistic political characters, atmosphere, and dialogue.

The remaining chapters, except for V (the Conclusion), are devoted to the novels. Aurora roja (1904) and to a lesser extent La busca (1903) and Mala hierba (1903), La dama errante (1908), and La ciudad de la niebla (1909) are studied in Chapter II; Paradox,rey (1906) in Chapter III; and César o nada (1910) in Chapter IV.

These novels have been chosen for detailed examination because they in various ways fulfill Irving Howe's definition of a political novel as one in which

> . . . the idea of society, as distinct from the mere unquestioned workings of society, has penetrated the consciousness of the characters in all its profoundly problematic aspects, so that

> there is to be observed in their behavior, and they are themselves often aware of, some coherent political loyalty or ideological identification.[18]

La busca and Mala hierba do not strictly fulfill this definition but are included because they are the first two volumes (Aurora roja is the last) of the trilogy La lucha por la vida, which must be viewed as a unified whole. Nor are La dama errante and La ciudad de la niebla political novels by Howe's definition, but since they do portray several important anarchist characters, they add appreciably to our understanding of Baroja's portrayal of the anarchist movement and its supporters.

The chapters are arranged according to the chronological order of the novels studied, though La dama errante and La ciudad de la niebla, because of their treatment of anarchism, are studied in the second part of Chapter II as a complement to the examination of anarchism in the trilogy La lucha por la vida.

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[18] Politics and the Novel (New York: Meridian Press, 1957), p. 19.

CHAPTER I

BAROJA AND POLITICS (1890-1911)

> Silverio Lanza me dijo varias veces que debía dedicarme a la política, porque tenía un sentido claro de ella, y, cosa extraña, Valle-Inclán me decía lo mismo.
> (O.C., VII, 826)

Baroja's early political involvement and expression

The very idea of a deeply "political" Baroja runs contrary to traditional perceptions not only of him, but indeed of the entire Generation of '98. Yet, as Joaquín Casalduero has pointed out, the Generation of 1898 while essentially apolitical, paradoxically intervened "constantemente en la política."[1] Baroja is a good example of this paradox. His political interest was consistent with his avowed

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[1] Joaquín Casalduero, "Sentido y forma de 'La vida fantástica'", Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos. 265-67. (julio-septiembre, 1972): 429. Among recent critical studies which seek to examine and reevaluate the role of politics in the early years of the Generation of '98 are: Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, Juventud del 98 (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1970), and Rafael Pérez de la Dehesa, Política y sociedad en el primer Unamuno (1894-1904), 2d ed. (Barcelona: Ariel, 1973).

individualism, and not based on dogma or partisan commitments: "No soy socialista, ni entusiasta de la corrupción del Estado, pero me preocupa el porvenir de la tierra donde he nacido y vivo,"[2] and further, he was no more immune to the deep concern elicited by the disasters of Cavite and Santiago de Cuba than many others of his generation.[3] Baroja's politically oriented journalism was intense immediately before 1904, the year in which he also wrote his first political novel. The first part of this chapter is a roughly chronological account of Baroja's political involvements as probable sources for his emerging political attitudes. These include not only his participation in the campaigns of "los Tres," but also his presence in several political

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[2] Urrutia, I, 343.

[3] Baroja's deep concern for Spain and her future developed into mild political activism as a result of the disaster of 1898. He was but one of many Spanish writers who, deeply troubled by Spain's situation, especially after the disastrous loss of her last American colonies in 1898, made an effort to influence the Spanish political scene. In the hope of setting Spain on a new course directed toward the future and away from the mistakes of the past, these writers composed numerous analyses, tracts, and programs. Among the most influential and well known of these "regenerationist" works were: Los males de la Patria y la futura revolución española (1890), by Lucas Mallado; Baroja particularly admired Lucas Mallado. El problema nacional (1899), by Macías Picavea; Del desastre nacional y sus causas (1899), by Damián Isern; and La moral de la derrota (1900), by Luis Morote. See Luis Granjel, La generación literaria del 98 (Madrid: Anaya, 1966), pp. 189-204; Sebastián Juan Arbó, Pío Baroja y su tiempo (Barcelona: Planeta, 1963), pp. 256-71.

tertulias and his unsuccessful attempt to be elected to public office. The second part of the chapter discusses the early essays as they relate to the later political novels.

Baroja's participation in politics (1900-1911)

In 1901 Baroja joined forces with two other members of the Generation of '98, Martínez Ruiz (the future Azorín) and Ramiro de Maeztu, to make a brief regenerationist foray into politics. "Los Tres," as they called themselves, began their activities by founding a magazine, Juventud, and in an undated letter written before July 23, 1901, Baroja told Martínez Ruiz about his plan to start a daily newspaper: "Se me ocurrió la idea la otra tarde en el Congreso, viendo tanto idiota en el Salón de Conferencias. ¿Por qué nosotros, gente joven, que aunque no valgamos nada valemos más que estos señores, no hemos de intervenir en estas cuestiones políticas?"[4] Although this paper did not in fact materialize, the magazine, with the help of the journalist Carlos del Río, did appear.[5]

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[4]Marino Gómez-Santos, Pensando en Baroja (Madrid: Teype, 1972), p. 186. Seventeen of the letters Baroja wrote to Azorín between 1901 and 1903 are reproduced on pp. 186-99 of this work.

[5]See Granjel, La generación, pp. 214-19.

Included in the theoretical doctrines and concrete regenerationist programs promoted by the magazine were: 1.) the study and description of all aspects of Spain with the intent of generating support for changes in the "normas de convivencia" that many Spanish men of letters found unacceptable; and 2.) the "europeizacion" of Spain, to be accomplished through application of European technology, tempered with a dedication to preserving Spain's own very particular brand of nationalism.[6]

The first issue of Juventud appeared on October 1, 1901, the last on March 27, 1902. The most definitive statement of the short-lived magazine's doctrines appeared as the "Manifiesto de Los Tres," published by Baroja, Martínez Ruiz, and Maeztu in December 1901.[7] The "Manifiesto" met with virtually no support, being a rather naive and utopian call to arms urging altruistic and concerned persons to join the authors in the creation of a new social state in Spain. "Los Tres" called for the abandonment of rigid religious and political doctrines, argued that competing moral ideas are only relative, and rejected the alternate dogmas of the Republicans, Socialists and Democrats. They urged that

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[6] See Granjel, La generación, pp. 215-16.

[7] The text of the Manifesto is quoted in Granjel, La generación, pp. 208-10.

regenerationist actions be based on a truly altruistic desire to better the lives of the poor, particularly in rural Spain. Their program addressed itself to the problems of hunger, alcoholism, and prostitution, as well as the urgent need for compulsory education, agricultural credit unions, and civil marriage (that is, with the possibility of divorce). Finally, they proposed using advances in the social sciences in their search for solutions to Spain's problems, with the hope that the thorough and enthusiastic presentation of proposed solutions would result in popular acceptance and governmental action.

Although this "Manifiesto" was written jointly by "los Tres," it bears a striking resemblance to two of Baroja's earlier articles, "Chronique des lettres espagnoles"[8] and "Política experimental."[9] A comparison of these two articles

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[8]This originally appeared in French in L'Humanité Nouvelle (April 1900); the text is in Urrutia, II, 27-37. A friend of Baroja's named Campos translated the article into French, see Longares, Pío Baroja, pp. 25-26 and n. 32, p. 26. This French publication was owned by the anarchist Reclus brothers. According to Pérez de la Dehesa, "Los escritores españoles ante el proceso de Montjuich," Actas del Tercer Congreso International de Hispanistas, ed. by Carlos H. Magis (México: El Colegio de Mexico, 1970), p. 687, Baroja's collaborations in this magazine are an indirect result of the movement for a new trial of the Montjuich prisoners.

[9]First published March 16, 1901 in Electra. It appears in O.C., V, 897-99. Also in Urrutia, II, 37-44. See Granjel,

with the "Manifiesto" and with the subsequent political activity of "los Tres" yields a rather complete portrait of Baroja's political thought and activity during the early years of the century. Such a portrait is especially important because the political views that Baroja expressed in his earliest writings were to remain essentially unchanged throughout his life. In the "Chronique" Baroja laments the lack of informed public opinion in Spain; the dogmatism of its political parties; the country's inability to recover after the 1898 debacle; and its inefficient army, which remained top-heavy with officers. He chastizes Spain's youth for its lack of commitment to any political, social or religious ideal, but of course exempts a few young writers from this accusation, such as Unamuno, Martínez Ruiz, and Maeztu.[10]

In "Política experimental" Baroja presents his assessment of Spain's political needs: experimental politics based on implied moral pluralism, and the elimination of democratic institutions such as the jury system which he felt to be

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La generación, p. 144, for background on the magazine Electra; also Urrutia, II, 67, for further bibliography on this and other magazines of the period. See also Manuel Tuñón de Lara, Medio siglo de cultura española (1885-1936), 2d ed. (Madrid: Tecnos, 1971), pp. 103-44.

[10]Urrutia, II, 36.

arbitrary, universal suffrage, instituted in 1890, and the Spanish Parliament. His attitude is hardly surprising given the wide scale of abuses of these institutions at the time. He proposes government by an elite intelligentsia, a government that would carefully study and be responsive to the needs of each region, city and village.[11]

Baroja's negative attitude toward democratic institutions was based on his scorn of the masses and a glorification of the select man and was typical of the generally aristocratic sensibility of the members of the Generation of 1898. If Spain needs a dictator, he declares, "Busquémosle."[12]

Baroja defines two types of liberalism: the "true" variety (opposed by the Pope), which he describes as springing from freedom of thought and action for a few; and the "false" liberalism that advocates all the "false and ridiculous" liberties of the press, of assembly, etc.[13] Thus, he

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[11] These ideas are later repeated by Roberto Hasting in Aurora roja (1904) and by César Moncada in César o nada (1910). See Chapters II and IV of this study. Fermín Acha has similar ideas in Los visionarios (1932). In Baroja's somewhat later articles in El Pueblo Vasco he also expresses similar ideas. See page 19 of this study, n. 20.

[12] Urrutia, II, 40. See Patt (Pío Baroja, pp. 69-70) for an overview of Baroja's views on a dictatorship for Spain.

[13] Ibid., p. 41.

recommends for Spain a mercenary army, led by a few well-paid officers; independence from Rome for the Spanish Church; the improvement of rural life; and the restoration of beautiful old customs along with the adoption of new ones such as the cataloguing and protection of Spain's art treasures and negotiations with other countries for the return of Spanish art to Spain. Further, ". . . eso sólo se podría alcanzar con una política experimental, que en España se reduciría a un mínimum de ley y a un máximum de autoridad."[14]

The most celebrated undertaking of "los Tres" was their campaign denouncing the arbitrary imprisonment of Fernández de la Lomera (the editor-in-chief of the Málaga newspaper, Noticiero Malagueño) by the governor of Málaga, Cristino Martos, Jr. Fernández de la Lomera had denounced the existence of illegal gambling establishments in the province which were knowingly tolerated by Martos, who was also a well known supporter of the local cacique. "Los Tres" tried to gather political support for a nationwide movement of censure and gave extensive coverage to the situation in the fifth issue of Juventud. They visited such political

[14]Ibid., p. 44.

notables as Pi y Margall, the Carlist deputy Barrio y Mier, and the Republican leader Nicolás Salmerón.[15] Further, they enlisted the cooperation of Miguel de Unamuno, who wrote an open letter of support from Salamanca which appeared in Juventud in February 1902.[16] No doubt because of their relative inexperience, no one paid much attention to their campaigns and manifestos. Maeztu captured their feeling of disillusionment and defeat in his 1910 lecture "La revolución

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[15]These meetings are described (ironically) by Azorín in his novel La voluntad (1902). See José Martínez Ruiz, La voluntad, edited by E. Inman Fox, 2d ed. (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1972), pp. 87-91. See also Granjel, La generación pp. 213-15.

The character Enrique Olaiz in La voluntad is a fictional portrait of Baroja. Azorín describes Olaiz's political attitudes in Chapter VIII of Part II (pp. 235-40 in Fox's edition). Olaiz is critical of socialism and democracy, the latter being an "absolutismo del número." He asserts that the judgment of the masses is untrustworthy and that nature has created all creatures unequal. Olaiz claims that it is science which has brought mankind greater freedom, not democracy. At the end of a monologue Olaiz also rejects the "misticismo ateo" of the anarchists and their belief in the innate goodness of man. He believes that: "Hoy el hombre es malo." However, he holds open the possibility that in the future man's evil instincts could be turned to a more positive direction.

[16]Granjel (Panorama de la generación del 98, pp. 226-27) reproduces the January 24, 1902 letter of Los Tres asking for Unamuno's support, as well as Unamuno's reply, which was published in Juventud.

y los intelectuales," recalling such regenerationist undertakings: "Fue aquella la conspiración de los elogios. No es extraño que Azorín, Baroja y yo pensásemos seriamente en publicar una revista que llevase por título 'Los Tres' ... ¡Oh, candidez de la soberbia! Y cuando cesamos de dar gritos para volver las miradas a nuestro alrededor, nos encontramos dolorosamente con que las cosas seguían como antes."[17]

"Los Tres" did not confine their energies to these efforts alone; they also visited General Polavieja and discussed with him and other military leaders the possible advantages of a dictatorship for Spain, and, less importantly, with the general's backing, they were instrumental in causing a monument to be raised to the Spanish soldiers who died in the Colonial War.[18]

There followed a period of political inactivity in which "los Tres" returned for a time to their literary endeavors. In the summer and fall of 1903 they were again to collaborate

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[17] Quoted in Granjel, Panorama, pp. 232-33.

[18] Longares, Escritos de juventud, gives the text of the manifesto requesting the construction of such a monument (pp. 375-77). It is signed by Baroja, Martínez Ruiz, Silverio Lanza, José Ignacio Alberti, and Eduardo Marquina, among others. The monument was erected in Madrid in the Parque del Oeste.

--though not as a group--in El Pueblo Vasco, a newspaper in San Sebastian.[19] An examination of the articles in this newspaper reveals the continuation of a certain common spirit of criticism and concern for Spain though without the enthusiastic commitment seen previously.[20]

Another political activity during this period was Baroja's participation in two tertulias: the first was associated with Juventud, and the other met in the Press Room of the Department of the Interior (Ministerio de Gobernación). The importance of these tertulias in his political formation and as a source for much of the political information in his novels is demonstrated by his many references to them not only in his contemporary letters, but also in his Memorias (1944-49), and in his later novel, La sensualidad pervertida (1920).

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[19] See Urrutia, II, 311-51, for Baroja's contributions to El Pueblo Vasco.

[20] See Granjel, La generación, pp. 211-12. In this group of articles Baroja criticizes the older generation, then in power in Spain whom he finds unjustifiably arrogant and disdainful of the younger men in Spain like himself who are in turn dissatisfied with the legacy of this older generation: "Ellos nos dieron un arte falsificado, una política falsificada, un honor falsificado" (Urrutia, II, 320). He is also critical of Spain's fixed elections and the general lack of a process of selection which would provide the country with the political leadership it needs.

The tertulia held in the Press Room (el Negociado de la Prensa) of the Department of the Interior included José Ignacio Alberti, a government employee who served as an inside source of information. Baroja referred to his own participation in this tertulia in at least two letters to Martínez Ruiz, and in the previously quoted letter from Baroja to Martínez Ruiz about starting a newspaper[21] Baroja specifically mentions that his projected newspaper would "aprovecharse de los datos del Ministerio de la Gobernación que nos suminstrará el gran Alberti."[22] In another letter to Martínez Ruiz (August 3, 1901) Baroja describes his visit with Alberti every afternoon at the Department of the Interior as an integral part of his daily routine,[23] and he gives a vivid picture of the atmosphere of this tertulia in his Memorias: "Solíamos ir a verle... [Alberti]...al Ministerio.

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[21]See pp. 9-10 of this study and note 4 on page 10.

[22]Gómez-Santos, Pensando en Baroja, p. 181. Carlos Seco Serrano, "Entre la acracia y el 'Cirujano de Hierro': Acotaciones a Aurora roja," in his Sociedad, literatura y política en la España del Siglo XIX (Madrid: Guadiana, 1973), pp. 355-56, states: "Que...Baroja...dispuso de fuentes de información excepcionales, es algo que se hace evidente en algunos pasajes de esta novela." Perhaps Alberti was this exceptional source of information.

[23]Ibid., p. 185.

En aquella oficina del Estado se discutía de una manera libre, como en un club, sin que a nadie se le ocurriera poner coto a aquellas conversaciones, a veces antisociales."[24] In La sensualidad pervertida José Ignacio Alberti's name has been changed to Enrique Martí, but the office is clearly the same: "Esta oficina tenía relación con la prensa y estaba atestada de periódicos de Madrid y de provincias" (O.C., II, 900). The surprisingly free atmosphere of the discussion held in a government office continues to be a noteworthy characteristic of this particular tertulia:

> El jefe de la oficina...era hombre amable, del tipo de la gente de la Restauración, que creía lícito todo, y a quien no le parecía mal que en una oficina del Estado entrara una tropa de bohemios a charlar, a distraerse, a discutir la Religión y la Monarquía, y hasta a exaltar el anarquismo. (O.C., II, 901)

The second tertulia in which Baroja participates during this period sprang up at the Andueza print shop on Valverde Street where Juventud was being printed. Among the topics discussed was the political position to be taken by the magazine. The participants in this tertulia included Azorín, Viérgol, an editor of El Liberal, and Palomero, another journalist noted for his wit. (Not surprisingly, this tertulia ended with the

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[24] Gómez-Santos, Pensando en Baroja, p. 181.

termination of publication of Juventud).

Baroja did not totally give up after the failure of Juventud and of the regenerationist efforts of "los Tres." In the fall of 1902 he again began to write in El Globo,[25] and, shortly after joining the paper's staff, he became its managing editor, serving for a short time (in 1902-3) as its war correspondent in Morocco.[26] Although Jorge Campos finds the novelist very much present in Baroja's articles from Morocco, according to Urrutia, Baroja's stint with El Globo was characterized more by a regenerationist impulse than a strictly literary one: "Su actuación...es más de regenerador que de novelista, de hombre activo en la opinión española en lo que cabe, como periodista."[27] Particularly important are articles which appeared in the first months of 1903: "La obra de los políticos" (February 16), "De política hidraúlica" (April 13-14),

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[25]Baroja had previously written in El Globo during 1898-99. At that time he had published a series of sketches, several of which were later included in Vidas sombrías (1900). From April 30, 1900 to February 24, 1901 Aventuras, inventos y mixtificaciones de Silvestre Paradox appeared in this paper as a serial. See Urrutia, II, 255-60.

[26]These texts are in Urrutia, II, 137-237. See Jorge Campos, "Pío Baroja, corresponsal de guerra (1903)," Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos 265-67 (julio-septiembre, 1972): 270-92.

[27]Urrutia, I, 31.

and "Lo que nos importa" (April 15).[28]

The first article reviews Spanish history as a continual struggle between the action of the intellectuals trying to regenerate Spain with their programs, and the reaction of the politicians plunging her deeper into poverty through proliferating laws, bureaucracy, and taxes. Baroja contends that there exists a "great and patriotic school" of the followers of Krause ("a mysterious and austere German philosopher") which could offer a solid groundwork for the reconstruction of Spain.[29] However, the reaction of the politicians to this philosophy, he maintains, would be even worse than the reactions to previous intellectual proposals, and he repeats a phrase of Costa's as a refrain in the article: "a todos los políticos, nos los sabemos de memoria."[30] It is as if Baroja had looked back on his own brief and unsuccessful participation in the regenerationist movement and then had seen how his failure and frustration were simply

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[28]Urrutia, II, 238-53.

[29]Ibid., 242. Karl Christian Friedrich Krause was a relatively obscure German philosopher, known in Spain thanks to Julián Sanz del Río. For a discussion of Krausismo see Juan López Morillas, El Krausismo español (México: Fondode cultura económica, 1956).

[30]Urrutia, II, 238, 243. Pérez de la Dehesa does not mention this passage (as well as one or two others in which Baroja mentions Costa) in his El pensamiento de Costa y su influencia en el 98 (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y

inevitable: "al final de esta fugitiva excursión por nuestra historia, que nos muestra que todo es uno y se reproduce en la sucesión del tiempo inexorable."[31]

Baroja's article was published February 16, 1903 in El Globo. This paper had published an interview with Costa, "Caracteres de la 'política hidráulica'" just the day before. In this interview Costa was asked if he believed the politicians presently in power (los políticos del turno) were capable of solving the numerous problems he had outlined, the resolution of which was a preliminary step to the implementation of his programs. He replied that he thought they were not, for a variety of reasons:

> Yo no he mirado al ministro como individualidad, sino como tipo. Los que puedan venir detrás, conservadores o liberales, no lo mejorarán, aunque tampoco creo que puedan hacerlo bueno. Nos los sabemos a todos de memoria. Por confesión propia, ya antes de 1898 habían fracasado; después de 1898 se han limitado a fracasar otra vez. Por confesión propia también, necesita España una revolución muy honda hecha desde el Gobierno, y tan urgente que acaso fuera ya tardía; pero esa revolución no se halla al alcance de su mano. Por amor de España, hace tiempo que debieron retirarse: por instinto de la propia

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Publicaciones, 1966), probably because these early articles by Baroja had not yet been collected and edited.

[31] Urrutia, II, 242-43.

conservación, hace tiempo que debemos jubilarlos."[32]

In April 1903 Baroja wrote a series of articles under the general title "De política hidráulica," which were actually telegraphed news stories about a meeting in Jerez, the purpose of which was to request from the government the construction of a dam in Guadalcacín and to stress the importance of this dam for the prosperity of the region. It is interesting to note that in spite of Baroja's general mistrust of all politicians he was quite enthusiastic about the dam and was convinced of its importance. In his dispatches he reports on the speeches given by the various dignitaries attending the meeting, paying particular attention to ex-minister Rafael Gasset's speech. Gasset was proposing not only dams, but also quick and economical transportation, agricultural education, and inexpensive fertilizers. Despite Baroja's earlier claim in "La obra de los políticos" that "Todos los políticos, nuevos, viejos, hidráulicos, hidrófobos, son lo mismo. La política representa, siempre, en todas ocasiones, una reacción en nuestra historia,"[33] he indicated that he

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[32]Joaquín Costa, Oligarquía y caciquismo, Colectivismo agrario y otros escritos, ed. and prologue by Rafael Pérez de la Dehesa (Madrid: Alianza Editorial. 1967) p. 212.

[33]Ibid., p. 238.

considered the meeting significant.[34]

"Lo que nos importa" is an article of protest against the shooting of several students at the University of Salamanca by the police.[35] Baroja writes as one who is aligned with no party and stands to gain nothing from any political arrangement. He is extremely critical of how leaders such as Silvela and Maura were running the government without apparent regard for the safety and well-being of the citizenry, and his last sentences are curiously threatening: "...nosotros, los hombres sin partido político alguno, los que no queremos más que vivir y trabajar en silencio, seremos los que contestemos, y a esas advertencias saludables

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[34]La impresión imparcial es que este acto tiene una grandísima importancia." Urrutia, II, 251.

[35]On April 1 and 2, 1903, students clashed with police at the University of Salamanca; two students died in the confrontation. At the end of March there had been student protests in the Universities of Valencia, Barcelona and Madrid as a result of changes in the curriculum enacted by the Secretary of Education (Ministro de Instrucción Pública), Allendesalazar. Specifically, students and professors in Salamanca protested religious control or supervision of classes or texts. According to Joan Connelly Ullman: "'Libertad doctrinal en la cátedra' was the keyword. And possibly Allendesalazar as a conservative and a Catholic had moved to reinstate some controls suspended by Liberal ministers in 1902." (Joan Connelly Ullman, letter).

del Mauser, necesitaremos contestar con la réplica no menos saludable del revolver."[36] This article appeared "Firmado X" and was immediately denounced by the attorney general (Fiscal). Baroja admitted having written it and had to appear in court. No punitive action was taken, but the court appearance coincided with the virtual end of both El Globo and this phase of Baroja's journalistic career.[37]

Possibly as a reaction to Baroja's court appearance, a note in El Pueblo Vasco four months later announcing Baroja's collaboration on that paper indicates that Baroja had indeed been (as Urrutia suggests) influential in certain sectors of Spanish public opinion while working on El Globo : "Baroja, escritor ... ha triunfado en el periodismo conmoviendo muchas veces las esferas oficiales con sus atrevimientos..."[38]

During this period Baroja wrote only one more article--indeed more of an ironic fantasy--about politics, which appeared

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[36]Urrutia, II, 244-45.

[37]"Nuestra denuncia," signed "La Dirección", April 8, 1903 in Urrutia, II, 245.

[38]"Pío Baroja," El Pueblo Vasco, August 29, 1903, in Urrutia, II, 313-14.

about nine months later in Alma Española[39] as "La república del año 8 y la intervención del año 12."[40] He was no longer attempting to influence public opinion or urging regeneration, but rather, he instead demonstrates his abilities as a Spanish political analyst by predicting the future conflicts and governments of Spain as if he were reporting history. He foresees another situation similar to the 1898 disaster, this time in Fez, but instead of the inertia and apathy produced in 1898, he sees this crisis resulting in the establishment of a republic. But the history of this republic would be stormy: it would have one cabinet of intellectuals (Unamuno was to be Secretary of Agriculture[41]), yet the influence of the intellectuals-- as in"La obra de los políticos"--would be short-lived. The republic invented by Baroja proves unworkable, and, according to his imagined scenario, Spain is torn by the uprising of Carlists, Catalanists, anarchists, and separatists

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[39] See Urrutia, II, 75.

[40] Ibid., pp. 61-66.

[41] This is a bit of irony on Baroja's part if we recall Unamuno's letter to Martínez Ruiz about "los Tres" in which he claims: " ...no entiendo de enseñanza agrícola nómada, ni de ligas de labradores, ni me interesa..." (Granjel, La generación, p. 213).

in Mallorca and the Canary Islands. A "celebrated Manifesto of the three generals," perhaps an ironic reference to "los Tres," appears just as Baroja imagines that General Weyler takes over the government with the intention of "pacifying the peninsula by force."[42]

Indications of Baroja's pessimism regarding the possibility of positive political change in Spain can be discerned in previous articles and pronouncements, but his pessimism is more clearly apparent in "La República del año 8..." (and it was to be expressed even more explicitly in the novels, especially in César o nada). His negative attitude can be seen, at least in part, as a function of the general feeling of defeat in Spain after the regenerationists were unsuccessful in their attempts to promote change. Not only had "los Tres" failed, but so had the professional politicians. "Los Tres" returned to literature with greater dedication, although--unlike Baroja--Azorín and Maeztu were destined to hold political office. In time, the whole venture began to lose importance for Baroja, and he barely touched upon it in his Memorias.[43]

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[42] Urrutia, II, 66.

[43] Granjel in particular acknowledges that Baroja makes only fleeting references to "los Tres;" nevertheless he considers it an important episode and he documents it in his Panorama de la generación del 98 (Madrid: Guadarrama, 1959).

Baroja was, however, moved once more in the period covered by this study to participate in politics. In 1909 he joined Lerroux's Radical Party--a republican group dedicated to the renovation of Spain--and in that year he ran unsuccessfully on the Radical Party ticket for town councilman (Concejal) in Madrid. As a candidate he participated in several political events, but soon realized that he lacked the necessary oratorical skills. At about the same time he collaborated on the party newspaper, El Radical, where in 1910 he published César o nada in serial form. His association with Lerroux was short-lived: he spent some time with that leader, notably on a trip to Barcelona (where he gave a speech "Divagaciones acerca de Barcelona" O.C., V, 524-36), but he separated from the party soon after his defeat at the polls.[44]

Baroja indicated that his separation from the party was for ideological reasons: he felt that Lerroux wished to make the party one of order, while he, Baroja, wished to make it

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[44]See Arbó, Pío Baroja, pp. 460-68; see Joan Connelly Ullman, The Tragic Week: A Study of Anticlericalism in Spain 1875-1912 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 374 for a bibliography of Lerroux. See also Miguel Artola, Partidos y programas políticos 1808-1936, Vol. I: Los partidos políticos (Madrid: Aguilar, 1974), pp. 402-07.

revolutionary: "no para levantar barricadas, sino para fiscalizar, para intranquilizar, para protestar de las injusticias, etc."[45]

Here the political career of Pío Baroja came to an end. His attempt, in 1918, to be elected Member of Parliament from the district of Fraga (an episode he recounted in Las horas solitarias), falls out of the scope of this study.[46]

The essays as related to the political novels

Having examined the extent of Baroja's early participation in politics and his general political ideas during the same period as expressed in his essays, the essays can now be studied in relation to the political novels. The essays embody his first expression of interest in particular character types, political ideologies, and political atmosphere or setting, and they sometimes include political elements which undergo quite extreme transformations before they reappear in the novels; in other instances the distance from essay to novel is not so great, the parallels being easily

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[45] See Arbó, Pío Baroja, pp. 460-68.

[46] This essay is to be found in O.C., V, 263-82.

traced. In either case some continuity of style between the political essays and novels is evident, and is the major factor reinforcing the relationship between the early and later works.[47] In support of this, Campos, in his analysis of Baroja's articles about a brief civil war in Morocco in 1902-1903[48], asserts that even when Baroja was not writing novels, he was a novelist: "De ahí que sus telegramas y crónicas se apartan de la función informativa periodística para lograr ese tono y espíritu de obra de ficción."[49]

Treatment of Political Characters In the Essays

One must agree with Campos' thesis, for Baroja was essentially less interested in political doctrines than in the characters who adhered to them. In other words he was more a novelist than ideologue. To illustrate, in "Burguesía socialista" (1902),[50] Baroja discusses certain types of

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[47] Birute Ciplijauskaite, Baroja, un estilo (Madrid: Insula, 1972), pp. 189-247, discusses the continuity of style in certain early newspaper articles and later novels.

[48] See Campos, "Corresponsal," pp. 273-74 for the background of this dispute.

[49] Ibid., p. 287.

[50] O.C., V, 14-17. See Ciplijauskaite, Baroja, un estilo, pp. 189-91 for a discussion of this article.

socialists, indicating that he is curious about this political ideology and its followers but has not studied its doctrines very closely because he finds its social-scientific aspect repulsive: "además, las ideas me parecen menos interesantes que los hombres; pero si no he estudiado su parte dogmática, he observado a los que siguen esas doctrinas."[51] The political character--most adequately defined as a person who for one reason or another takes part in politics or expresses interest in a political ideology--plays an important role in Baroja's work, not only in the novels, but in the essays as well (where issues would traditionally be more important than personalities). Indeed, the essays contain sketches of several political types which later emerge fully delineated in such novels as Aurora roja, La dama errante and César o nada. These early political characters, hence, merit a brief examination.

Even the first essays that Baroja wrote, a series of thirteen pieces on Russian literature,[52] demonstrate his

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[51] O.C., V, 14-17. Baroja's interest in such men often took a satiric turn. He showed many to be motivated by self-interest, regardless of their outward postures: "...nadie mueve un dedo por la idea pura." (From an 1899 review of Maeztu's Hacia otra España: O.C., VIII, 862.)

[52] This series appeared from February 10, 1890 to April 22, 1890 in La Unión Liberal. Urrutia I, 41-89. See Urrutia, I, 105-109 for a background of Baroja's sources for these articles.

interest in political characters. Baroja's knowledge of Russian literature seems to come from his reading of Saint René de Taillandier, Xavier Marmier, Mackenzie Wallace, Melchior de Vogue, and, especially, Merimée's studies on Russian literature, which were published in the 1880's.[53] His knowledge of the actual literary texts came largely through French translations by Delaven, Marmier and Merimée, although some works were available in Spanish. Baroja's interest in political characters is particularly apparent in his treatment of the "new men," the nihilists, as a result of whose influence he predicted Russian society would undergo numerous changes that would at first destroy but ultimately result in greater human happiness.[54]

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[53]Baroja mentions these authors in his articles. One can suppose that he also read Emilia Pardo Bazán and Juan Valera's studies on Russian literature.

[54]Dissatisfied intelligentsia in the 1860's began to call themselves "nihilists": they believed in nothing--except science--and took a cynical view of the reforming Czar Alexander II, who was assassinated in 1881 by the members of the People's Will. This conspiratorial terrorist group, sometimes associated with the nihilists, and inspired by men like Bakunin sought during the later nineteenth century to achieve constitutional government by a program of organized assassination directed against the autocratic rulers of Czarist Russia.

Baroja traces the beginning of the nihilist movement in Russia to 1857, when authors such as Schopenhauer, Max Stirner, Proudhon, and Louis Blanc began to be known there. Baroja dedicates one article to Turgenieff, the novelist who had in Fathers and Sons dubbed the new generation "nihilists." The character Bazaroff, whom Baroja describes as a young man influenced by Schopenhauer, Stirner and Alexander Herzen, represents the new generation in contrast to the older generation which unquestioningly accepts the status quo. Baroja devotes three further articles to nihilism, one each to Herzen (a forerunner of nihilism), Bakunin, and Chernyshevsky. Baroja is very impressed with Herzen's newspaper Kolokol ("The Bell"), which denounced Russian social abuses, and he briefly discusses his philosophical works and his two novels Who is Guilty? and Dr. Kronpov. Baroja discusses Chernyshevsky's novel What Is to Be Done? and the nihilist characters Lopukhov and Rakhmetov, who are admirably free of traditional views of marital honor. Baroja deems worthy of comment the fact that Chernyshevsky was not content merely to preach the social revolution in his books, and so actively entered the political arena. Together with Herzen and Bakunin he wrote manifestos, although Baroja only briefly mentions one (it is directed at the feudal peasants). In

his discussion Baroja stresses the dual quality of men such as Herzen and Chernyshevsky--men of letters as well as of political action: he clearly admires what he feels to be the nobility of their particular political mission.[55]

Baroja was later to transfigure such individuals into a Spanish setting, with César Moncada, the protagonist of César o nada, and the anarchists in Aurora roja. Though Spain had had its own tradition of anarchism and nihilism, César's rise and fall rather recalls Chernyshevsky's description of the development of the nihilists in Russia, previously quoted by Baroja in 1890: "...dentro de algunos años, quizás no muchos, se llamará a los que componen la secta, se les pedirá su cooperación, y la sociedad se verá obligada a obedecer a sus mandatos. Algunos años más, acaso, en algunos meses, serán encarnecidos, arrojados, silbados, deshonrados. Mas, qué importa? Arrojadlos, deshonradlos,

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[55]Baroja writes: "Herzen...está unido...con los (nombres) de Pestel, con el de Bakounine y con los de todos los que han querido elevar al pueblo, al proletario, al obrero, que son los que tienen por delante lo porvenir. Urrutia, I, 81. Urrutia, I, 104 suggests that Baroja's admiration for Herzen and Herzen's Dr. Krompov may have been influential in his choice of medicine as a career.

maldecidlos; siempre os serán útiles, y ésta será su satisfacción."[56]

Despite his admiration, Baroja also sees the often unrealistic quality of Chernyshevsky's political thought. He, for instance, criticizes the nihilist's refutation of the empirical economic principles of J.S. Mill, Adam Smith, and Thomas Malthus, pointing out that Chernyshevsky suffers from an ailment common to many idealistic innovators who criticize the principles of Mill: "pero cuando quiere establecer los suyos, forja utopías irrealizables que tienen el mismo sello del artificio y convencionalismo que las que ataca."[57] In Aurora roja Baroja levels the same criticism at vague, anarchist utopias, while in César o nada Father Lafuerza seriously questions César's ability to create a better and more realistic order than that gradually created over the centuries by the Spanish Church.

César Moncada's roots can also be detected in the sketch, "Diario de un desesperado," published in La Justicia on January 8, 1894, in which Baroja tells the story of a stock

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[56]Urrutia, I, 85.

[57]Ibid., p. 85.

market speculator who seeks refuge in his sister's small town after suffering heavy losses in the market.[58] He contemplates suicide but is able to overcome that desire, eventually becoming the town's mayor. César is also interested in the stock market and, like the mayor, passes from a period of agitation to one of tranquility. This movement is also experienced by Carlos Yarza, a less important political character who appears in the novels Los últimos románticos (1906) and Las tragedicas grotescas (1907).

The character of César Moncada is also foreshadowed in Baroja's reference to the sixteenth-century writer Sancho de Moncada in the essay "La obra de los políticos."[59] According to Baroja, Sancho de Moncada claimed that an antiquated legal system had caused the decay of Spain's imperial power, and was one of the men of ideas whose plans--like César Moncada's--were continually ignored or distorted by practicing politicians. In addition, César Moncada was to a great extent modeled after Cesare Borgia, a figure fascinating to Baroja (as he indicated in a number of essays and a novel).[60]

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[58] Not in Urrutia, but in Longares, Pío Baroja, pp. 157-59.

[59] See pages 22-24.

[60] See Chapter IV of this study.

Another type of political character foreshadowed in the early essays is the anarchist terrorist. This type first appears in Baroja's sketch "El anarquista y el regicida," which was published December 14, 1893, about a month after Santiago Salvador threw bombs into the stalls of the Liceo Theatre in Barcelona to avenge the execution of the anarchist Pallás (who had thrown a bomb at General Martínez Campos in September of the same year[61]). Baroja contrasts these two activists: the "regicida" had committed his crime because he felt indignant at the hauteur of the king, while the "anarquista" had thrown a bomb into a crowded place and watched the spectacle of death merely for the curiosity. Baroja apparently condemns both men, because he places them in Charon's boat, being ferried across the Styx by "el demonio de los ojos de fuego."[62] Baroja's disapproval of this character type is further indicated in an article written four days later, "La perversidad."[63] Here he speaks of the recent bombing attempts as barbarous crimes, and states that while

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[61]See Gerald Brenan, The Spanish Labyrinth. pp. 131-69.

[62]Urrutia, I, 118.

[63]"La perversidad" in La Justicia, December 19, 1893 in Urrutia, I, 126-28.

some may attempt to justify these crimes by pointing out that they are motivated by "la ilusión del bienestar social," they are actually prompted by "el demonio de la perversidad."[64] The "regicida" later reappears more fully developed as Nilo Brull, the would-be "regicida" in Baroja's novel La dama errante (1908). Even though La dama errante clearly refers to later events--notably the assassination attempt of 1906--the crime and criminal psychology are the same. The allegorically nameless "regicida" and Brull are similarly notable for their resentfulness and their firm sense of a worthy mission.

Another type of character to be found in both the novels and the earlier essays is the cacique or political boss. Baroja published "Los viejos caciques"[65] in Juventud in 1902. The first part of this sketch describes how a cacique of a primitive tribe invites his savage followers to devour him after he realizes that he is no longer an effective leader, and Baroja reflects that "civilized" countries could learn much from the so-called primitive tribes in this respect. In Spain, Baroja suggests, no cacique, whether political, artistic,

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[64]Urrutia, I, 128.

[65]Longares, Pío Baroja, pp. 276-80.

or scientific, has achieved that position by leading people to victory. He suggests that the Spanish caciques who are no longer effective leaders should devour one of their number at their monthly meetings (though he warns of the strong danger of food poisoning!).

Caciques make numerous, and at times, brief appearances in Baroja's novels, César o nada being one study of the cacique phenomenon that particularly echoes the earlier essay. César, for instance, comments on the type of government that would be appropriate for Spain: "Lo único que nos convendría es tener un jefe...para tener el gusto de devorarlo."[66]

Another cacique figure in the essays who foreshadows a character in César o nada is the uncle of Silvestre Paradox's son, described by Paradox's son in the Introduction to La busca[67] and later in the El tablado de Arlequín essay "Confidencias de un hombre de pluma."[68] He describes his uncle in the Introduction as a former minister and in "Confidencias..." as a senator, Don Carlos Eduardo Pérez de los Pasados, conde de la Fumareda del Campo. The senator gives his nephew several political jobs: garbage collector, sewer

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[66] O.C., II. 751. Baroja returns to this idea in greater detail in El cabo de las tormentas (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1932), p. 269.

[67] August, 1901, in O.C., VIII, 834-38.

[68] O.C., V, 68-69.

inspector, mail boy, and speech editor, the latter being a very necessary function, according to the nephew, who makes fun of his uncle's poor style and ignorance. He is relieved of his jobs, however, for showing too much interest in his uncle's unattractive daughter, and in revenge he wishes to expose and ridicule the family shortcomings and pretensions, which he details conscientiously, calling particular attention to the history of the family name. This uncle is the model for Don Calixto García Guerrero, senator and cacique in the province of Zamora in César o nada, who appears in Rome to arrange the last details for getting a papal title. He prefers the title of Count, and because he has a piece of property called "La Sauceda," his desire is to become el conde de la Sauceda. Just as the Count of Fumareda's nephew laughed at his uncle's prose style, so César laughs to himself at this caciqués lack of sophistication and limited power of expression.[69]

[69] Of course Baroja's early treatment of the cacique foreshadows other such figures in his later work, such as the Gobernador de Toledo and the cacique rural in Camino de perfección. However, since Camino de perfección is not, by our definition, a political novel, we have not entered into a lengthy analysis of it.

Treatment of political ideology in the essays

In addition to treating political character types, Baroja's essays and sketches often deal with the three political ideologies that interested him and became important elements in his political novels: nihilism, anarchism, and socialism. Even in his first series of articles--those on Russian literature written in 1890--three are dedicated to Russian nihilism. As Urrutia points out, Baroja: "presenta con cierta satisfacción y entusiasmo la obra e ideas de los nihilistas rusos, que debían ser el coco de la burguesía española de aquel tiempo. Particularmente Bakunin era un peligroso revolucionario para la gran mayoría."[70]

These Russian articles indicate that Baroja had considered the relationship of politics and the novel, regarded literature and ideology as in a sense inseparable, and believed that revolutionary (naturalistic) literature could have a revolutionary effect on human thinking and society. In the first paragraph of the first article, for example, he says: "Hoy, la literatura rusa está llamada a producir una revolución política y una revolución literaria. Revolución política porque está haciendo grandes brechas en la tiranía, y revolución literaria

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[70]Urrutia, I, 109.

porque el moderno naturalismo ruso es la expresión más completa de la novela naturalista."[71] It is worthy of note that Baroja was later to lose this enthusiastic belief in the power of literature to transform society, for in his novels he is a chronicler and a critic: he witnesses and describes political action without championing any one political cause, only what he sees as the general good of Spain.

These articles on Russian literature also reveal Baroja's interest in the religious dimension of political ideologies, a facet captured vividly in several of his novels.[72] In the opening sentence of the article on Chernyshevsky, for example, he claims "El nihilismo ha tenido, como todas las sectas religiosas, mártires y filósofos."[73] Later, he refers to the Russian novelist as an "apostle."[74] Such comparisons are carried over to such novels as Aurora roja, where El libertario claims that Antonio, a sacristan's son, "creía en la anarquía como en la Virgen del Pilar" to which Juan

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[71] Urrutia, I, 40.

[72] See Chapter II of this study.

[73] Urrutia, I, 86.

[74] Ibid., 89.

replies "En todo lo que se cree, se cree lo mismo" (O.C., I, 575).[75] Even stylistically, Baroja juxtaposes "religious" adjectives with "political" nouns--a combination that conveys considerable irony and often humor. "La santa austeridad," for instance, is the title of an essay written in 1903 in which he complains about the mediocrity of Spanish life and certain government austerity measures such as closing the cafés at 2:00 A.M. In "Burguesía Socialista" (which appeared in El tablado de Arlequín) Baroja refers to "el derecho al santo revolver"(O.C., V, 17), while in Aurora roja he presents an anarchist catechism: a description of how bombs are made (O.C., I, 573), and one chapter in La dama errante is entitled "La sagrada propiedad" (O.C., II, 295).

The utopian ideal is treated variously in Baroja's writings, appearing as early as 1890 in the series on Russian literature. One of Baroja's early references to utopia appears in the essay "La guerra y la ciencia," first published in 1896 in La Voz de Guipuzcoa, and divided into three parts-Ayer, Hoy, and Mañana.[76] Virtually the same essay, now divided into

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[75]Beatrice Patt, Pío Baroja, pp. 64-65, comments: "It is enlightening to observe the frequency with which the author attributes to political organization the same defects he finds in religious organization: intolerance, arbitrariness, the need to unify and to codify."

[76]"La guerra y la ciencia" in La Voz De Guipuzcoa, April 26, 1896 in Urrutia, I, 231-41.

I, II, and III, appears in 1899 as "Lejanías" in Revista Nueva,[77] and in El tablado de Arlequín as "Romanticismos."[78] Finally, a portion of the essay is included in the last paragraphs of the novel Mala hierba. A passage from "La guerra y la ciencia," entitled Mañana, appears as follows:

> Sobre la tierra inundada por el sol trabaja el hombre. No más odios, no más rencores. El hombre es solo hombre, y su patria es el mundo a quien encuentra pequeño para sus nuevos planes.
>
> Nada reposa; la materia como blanda cera se amolda al pensamiento del hombre. Está dominada y todas sus fuerzas se utilizan. La ciencia ha matado al egoísmo absoluto del hombre y ha encontrado una fórmula para armonizar el amor de sí mismo con el amor del prójimo.
>
> La oscuridad no existe en el mundo. Todo es amor, todo es luz y todo es vida . . . .

And Section III of "Lejanías" appears:

> En una pradera immensa, inundada por la luz del sol, trabajan los hombres junto a la madre tierra, siempre fecunda y generosa.
>
> No más odios, no más rencores. El hombre es solo hombre; no quiere dividir en rincones su madriguera. El mundo es su patria y lo encuentra pequeño para sus planes. La imaginación presenta mundos mejores, no más allá de la muerte, sino en la vida, quizá en otro planeta, quizá fuera de la órbita del sol.

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[77] O.C., VIII, 860-61. See also Ciplijauskaite, Baroja, un estilo, pp. 179-185.

[78] O.C., V, 66-68.

> Nada reposa. La materia, como blanda cera, se amolda al pensamiento del hombre, está dominada y se van utilizando el mayor número de sus fuerzas.
>
> La ciencia ha matado a la guerra, ha modificado el egoismo del hombre, y con ese manantial de brutalidad y de fuerza ha movido el engranaje de la humana piedad. El amor a la idea y el amor a la especie han nacido de la afirmación enérgica del yo.
>
> El horizonte de la humanidad se ensancha, es cada vez más azul. En los nuevos espacios abiertos a la mirada, al romperse las nubes de las preocupaciones, al desvanecerse la humaredas de los egoismos fieros, las ideas aparecen como planos brillantes sobre un mar de plata, iluminados por luces de infinita blancura.
>
> En la atmósfera rarificada del pensamiento, los espíritus se bañan en el éter puro y transparente, de lo absoluto y de lo abstracto.
>
> Como las gotas de agua de la nube caen en el monte, corren en el arroyo y siguen en el río a perderse en el verdoso mar, así el pensamiento de los hombres, en ansia de lo mejor, va de lo definido a lo indefinido, buscando la senda para hundir su esencia en el mar inmenso de lo infinito.
>
> En el mundo no existe ya la oscuridad ni la noche. Todo es luz, todo es amor, todo es vida . . . .

The text of Section III of "Romanticismos" is essentially the same as the text of "Lejanías." The five final paragraphs of Mala hierba are:

> Jesús no contestó a la pregunta. Luego habló con una voz serena de un sueño de humanidad idílica, un sueño dulce y piadoso, noble y pueril..."
>
> En su sueño, el hombre, conducido por una idea nueva, llegaba a un estado superior.
>
> No más odios, no más rencores. Ni jueces, ni polizontes, ni soldados, ni autoridad, ni patria. En las grandes

> praderas de la tierra, los hombres libres trabajan al sol. La ley del amor ha sustituido a la ley del deber, y el horizonte de la Humanidad se ensancha cada vez más extenso, cada vez más azul...
>
> Jesús continuó hablando de un ideal vago y de justicia, de energía y de piedad; y aquellas palabras suyas, caóticas, incoherentes, caían como bálsamo consolador sobre el corazón ulcerado de Manuel...Luego, los dos callaron, entrados a sus pensamientos, contemplando la noche.
>
> Una beatitud augusta resplandecía en el cielo, y la vaga sensación de la inmensidad del espacio, lo infinito de los mundos imponderables, llevaba a sus corazones una deliciosa calma...
>
> (O.C., I, 507)

Thus, following perhaps the evolution of his own opinion on the subject, Baroja first presents a utopian vision of the future which later appears as an anarchistic character's noble but childish dream. Further indication of Baroja's changing view are the title alterations of the essays from "La Guerra y la ciencia" first to "Lejanías," and then to "Romanticismos."[79]

Another political ideology treated in the essays and novels is the "philosophy of the individualist"--actually Baroja's own personal political posture. For example, César Moncada's reasons for going into politics are quite similar

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[79] See Carlos Seco Serrano, "Acotaciones," p. 355. See also Chapters II and III of this study for a further discussion of the utopian ideals in Baroja.

to Baroja's explanation of his own interest: both claim to be patriots rather than politicians. Specifically, César's political philosophy closely resembles Baroja's, since neither is strongly tied to any party, neither believes in democracy, both consider themselves individualists, and each's views on the best kind of government for Spain (one that is strong and authoritarian) resemble the other's. While Baroja urged the search for a tyrant if one were necessary, César states that: "Somos individualistas, por eso, más que una organización democrática, federalista, necesitamos una disciplina férrea, de militares" (O.C., II, 660). Finally, César, like Baroja and the other authors of the December Manifesto, is concerned with improving the quality of rural life. Other characters--notably Roberto Hasting in the trilogy La Lucha por la vida and Silvestre Paradox in the trilogy La vida fantástica--also subscribe to such individualistic political ideologies.[80]

A number of textual similarities can be identified among the essays and novels with regard to "individualism." Fernando Ossorio in Camino de perfección (1902), for example, a character whose political ideas also correspond to Baroja's, criticizes his rival Pascual Nebot in the following terms:

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[80]See Chapters II and III of this study.

> Que, llamándose republicano y liberal y otra porción de motes bonitos, tiranizaba a su familia y trataba de violentar la voluntad de Dolores.
>
> Muy republicanos, y muy liberales todos ustedes-concluí diciendo;-pero en casa tan déspotas como los demás, tan intransigentes como los demás, con la misma sangre de fraile que los demás.
>
> (O.C., VI, 123-24)

Baroja had expressed this idea directly in his essay "Contra la democracia," which appeared in 1899:[81]

> Quisiera ver a muchos amigos socialistas en posiciones elevadas para demostrarles que serían más tiranos, más insoportables, pero mucho más, que los de ahora, si ocupasen sus puestos.
>
> (O.C., VIII, 864)

And with regard to anti-liberalism there is textual similarity between the expressed attitude of a magistral in El mayorazgo de Labraz (1903), and one of Baroja's earlier essays. The magistral says:

> Es el espíritu revolucionario...Estos muchachos llevarán a España al abismo. ¿Quién tiene la culpa? Sus padres, sus mayores, los que les enseñan a olvidar las prácticas de la religión. Así el espíritu liberal se va extendiendo como la mala hierba; así va entrando en los más apartados rincones; y esos locos no lo ven; esos locos no ven la Iglesia amenazada y la sociedad en peligro.
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> (O.C., I, 118),

while in "Monólogos," an essay written in 1894, Baroja

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[81] This article first appeared in Revista Nueva, April 15, 1899. It was later included in El tablado de Arlequín as "Democracia y mala educación" (O.C., V, 23-25; O.C., VIII, 863-64).

includes the views of El Reaccionario:

> Un año más, y el mundo sigue desalentado y loco hacia el abismo. El espíritu liberal se extiende como la mala hierba; ha llegado hasta el fondo de las más ocultas ideas; amenaza ahogarlo todo con sus furiosas embestidas. Nada está seguro, todo se discute.[82]

And in "Ideales," written in 1896 as a reworking of the earlier "Monólogos,"[83] this same passage reads:

> Pasan los días, pasan los años, y el mundo sigue desalentado y loco hacia el abismo. El espíritu liberal se extiende como la mala hierba; ha llegado hasta el fondo de las más apartadas aldeas, amenaza ahogar la sociedad con sus furiosas embestidas. Nada está seguro, todo se critica, todo se discute.[84]

Treatment of political atmosphere in the essays

In the prologue to La dama errante Baroja states his desire to capture in his novels the events of the day--to chronicle what he sees, hears, and reads in the newspapers:

> El que lea mis libros y esté enterado de la vida española actual, notará que casi todos los acontecimientos importantes de hace quince o veinte años a esta parte aparecen en mis novelas.[85]

Baroja of course began this sort of descriptive recording of

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[82] Urrutia, I, 147.

[83] It appeared in La Voz de Guipuzcoa, January 21.

[84] Urrutia, I, 229-30.

[85] O.C., II, 231. The prologue to La familia de Errotacho (1932) is quite similar. See O.C., VI, 257.

daily political events in his newspaper articles. The atmosphere of Aurora roja (and to a lesser extent that of La dama errante) is foreshadowed in the two early articles dealing with the anarchist bombings of 1893. Aurora roja includes descriptions of these same incidents, but while the events were treated allegorically in "El regicida y el anarquista" and the characters involved were left unnamed both the events and the participants are portrayed realistically and in detail in Aurora roja. La dama errante, based on the later anarchist bombing of 1906, also recaptures the events and atmosphere of anarchist terrorism. Further, La ciudad de la niebla includes descriptions of some similar activities, but in this context they are used to depict the atmosphere of British anarchism at that time.[86]

In Aurora roja, El Libertario describes an anarchist demonstration in Paris at the time of the Dreyfus affair:

> Un día los anarquistas organizaron una manifestación en la plaza de la Republica. A la cabeza iban Sebastián Faure y sus amigos. Se veían tipos raros, melenudos, con levitas largas y entalladas, gente pálida, de mirada triste...; luego venía una tropa que daba miedo, unos tíos de barbas, chillando, amenazando con el bastón y con los puños, y entre ellos aprendices de taller y gomosos elegantes..., una mezcolanza que ni Dios entendía. Iban por el

[86] See Chapter II of this study.

boulevard Magenta, hacia la estación de Estrasburgo.[87]

This description is quite like a section of the fifth chronicle in a series of six entitled "Desde París," which appeared in La Voz de Guipuzcoa in 1899:[88]

> Lo que tomó un aspecto serio de veras, fue la manifestación del día 20 organizada por los anarquistas. Yo los vi pasar por el Boulevar Magenta.
>
> A la cabeza iba Sebastián Faure, con sus amigos, formando un grupo numeroso. Se veían en el caras extrañas, tipos exóticos, melenudos, de largas levitas, gente pálida de mirada triste, ojos alucinados de poetas y rebeldes.
>
> Luego detrás, venía la chusma, la legendaria hidra revolucionaria: caras congestionadas, brutales, sombrías, tipos patibularios, golfos, sietemesinos. Una mezcolanza abigarrada y siniestra.[89]

Baroja also comments on the state of Spanish political journalism, both in the essays and the novels, criticizing the Spanish press for its irresponsibility and lack of originality. In his second article in L'Humanité Nouvelle,[90] for example, he claims that one could easily manufacture newspaper articles expressing alternately republican and

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[87] O.C., I, 574-75.

[88] "Desde París" I-VI in La Voz de Guipuzcoa, July 20, 1899-September 4, 1899, in Urrutia, I, 340-69.

[89] Urrutia, I, 360-61.

[90] "Chronique des lettres espagnoles," April, 1900, in Urrutia, II, 27-37.

monarchistic stances merely by replacing "Les clichés d'une phraseologie par ceux de l'autre."[91] And in Mala hierba, the publisher Sánchez Gómez, "Proteo de la tipografía," is responsible for no less than nine newspapers, the nine being identical in content with the slight exception of one column, in which each expresses its own position. Baroja states that these nine "different" newspapers actually differ only in their choice of clichés:

> El Radical, por ejemplo, furibundo republicano, dedicaba la primera columna a faltar al Gobierno y a los curas; pero sus noticias eran las mismas que las de El Mundo, diario conservador impenitente, que empleaba la primera columna en defender la Iglesia, esa arca santa de nuestras tradiciones; la Monarquía, esa gloriosa institución, símbolo de nuestra patria; el Ejército, baluarte firmísimo de nuestra nacionalidad; la Constitución, ese compendio de nuestras libertades públicas. . . (O.C., I, 429).

One should note that both César o nada and Paradox, rey end with an "objective" commentary on the events previously described, the style of which is an ironic imitation of newspaper jargon.[92] "Newspaper articles" also play an important role in La dama errante, providing the main characters with vital information, which nonetheless is at times inaccurate.

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[91] "Chronique des lettres espagnoles," April, 1900, in Urrutia, II, p. 31.

[92] This ending of César o nada belongs to the first edition (1910), not the Biblioteca Nueva edition (which omits the short chapter).

Another phenomenon described by Baroja first in the essays and later in the novels is that of political meetings, most of them predictably similar. The anarchists and their meetings were of particular interest to Baroja. These men with their often generous and humane outlook, who wished to do away with the authoritarian state, who dreamed of a time when all mankind would cooperate freely, were to be portrayed in a number of variations by our author.[93] In "Burguesía socialista," written in 1902,[94] Baroja states that in the anarchist meetings "se oye hablar de los mendigos, de los niños, de las prostitutas, con un sentimentalismo delirante."[95] In Aurora roja (1904) he describes an anarchist meeting in the Barbieri Theatre and various representative speakers. There, El Libertario: "habló de la miseria, de los niños anémicos . . ." (O.C., I, 611). And at the same meeting Juan offers the opinion that "Antes que el obrero y el trabajador, estaban la mujer, el niño, más abandonados por la sociedad,

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[93]For a fuller discussion of anarchism and its history in Spain see Chapter II.

[94]It first appeared October 27 in El Globo and was later incorporated into El tablado de Arlequín (O.C., V, 16-19).

[95]Ibid., p. 17.

sin armas para la lucha por la vida..." (O.C., I, 614). Andrés Hurtado in El árbol de la ciencia also attends an anarchist meeting and describes Ernesto Alvarez, one of the speakers, as follows: "Habló en aquel mitín de una manera elocuente y exaltada; habló de los niños abandonados, de los mendigos, de las mujeres caídas..." (O.C., II, 470).

Baroja notes that other meetings are equally predictable. In the series "De política hidraúlica" he describes a town meeting in Jerez de la Frontera in 1903, which seems to provide a model for his description of political meetings in César o nada. In particular, the inauguration of Castro Duro's centro obrero resembles the meeting in Jerez, the ex-minister Gasset's speech as reported by Baroja resembling César's speech as written by Baroja.[96] Specifically, Gasset mentions that the only evidence the Spanish people have of intellectual effort on the part of the politicians is their clever phrases: they argue with one another while the country decays. Then, at the end of the speech, he quotes a possible future historian of Spain: "España murió a manos de los que no acertaron a gobernarla. La grandeza de los pueblos no se crea con frases."[97]

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[96] "De política hidraúlica" appeared in El Globo April 13 and 14, 1903. See also Chapter V of this study.

[97] Urrutia, II, 251.

At the end of César's austerely phrased speech his friend Alzugaray is convinced that the words were wasted because the majority of the people present did not understand them: "No han comprendido nada. Unas cuantas frases de relumbrón les hubiera gustado mucho más." But César disagrees: "Ah! Claro; pero eso no importa...ya se acostumbrarán" (O.C., II, 714).

Also in César o nada, Baroja describes the atmosphere surrounding Spanish parliamentary government and its functioning--a subject treated earlier in the essays. Basically, Baroja considered such a government to be the consequence of a perverted system that first manufactured the issues of state and then determined who was to be elected. For example, in the sketch "El vago," which first appeared on Christmas Day 1897,[98] Baroja employs an allegorical device to describe how the government works. The "vagrant" or vago of the title guides Baroja around the city, characterizing for him its different sidewalks (aceras). Baroja ironically admires the vago's wisdom and astute judgment. The political sidewalk, the latter informs him, is where "...se fabrican un

[98]Longares only indicates the April 3, 1899 version which appeared in El País and is included in El tablado de Arlequín as well as in O.C., VI, 1033-34 as story number 28 in Vidas sombrías. In these later versions the section which is of interest here has been eliminated.

sin fin de noticias falsas, de crisis inverosímiles..."[99] However, according to the same commentator, the sidewalk of the Department of the Interior is the most immoral and dangerous because: "...en esa casa se fabrican diputados."[100]

In "Divagaciones: El estancamiento,"[101] an article written in 1905, Baroja describes a talk he had with a Member of Parliament. The politician explains that he will not return to his district for the elections, because they are controlled by the Prime Minister in Madrid: "De este ministerio sale todo el mal que aflige a España. Ahí se pacta siempre con el cacique para trastornarlo todo, para desarreglarlo todo..."[102] When Baroja replies that he thought this ministry was roughly comparable to others, the Member of Parliament answers that those who are not in politics do not really understand: "El ministerio de la Gobernación es la cause activa de la causa pasiva."[103] Similarly, Baroja shows in César o nada how the electoral process is perverted, how Members of Parliament are "manufactured" rather than elected,

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[99] Urrutia, I, 285.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Appeared in El Pueblo Vasco, September 4, in Urrutia, II, 342-46.

[102] Ibid., p. 342.

[103] Ibid., p. 343.

and how deals are made in Madrid with the local cacique, resulting in further political stagnation. The essay describes this perversion as an issue that concerns him personally, and he offers possible solutions--one of which is to teach people to read and write. In the novel he shows César attempting (unsuccessfully) to solve this problem, to overcome the status quo.

Finally, Baroja reconstructs the atmosphere of militarism and imperialism in both his early political writings and novels. The atmosphere of Paradox, rey for example is foreshadowed in Baroja's fifth chronicle from Paris, written in 1899,[104] where he describes French militarism and ironically compares the "great deeds" of certain French generals with what Weyler did in Cuba. Specifically, he points out that the French army destroyed entire villages in Africa, putting a knife through anything and everything in its path: "Pero en cambio han ensanchado los dominos de su país y han plantado la bandera en tierras lejanas! ¿Qué más se le puede pedir a un militar?"[105]

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[104] Urrutia, I, 359-64.

[105] Urrutia, I, 364.

In Paradox, rey, the imperialistic French regiment does almost exactly what Baroja describes in the essays, putting an end to the utopia of Fortunate Isle.[106]

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[106]See Chapter III of this study.

CHAPTER II

THE POLITICAL THEME IN "LA LUCHA POR LA VIDA" AND "LA RAZA"

The first part of this chapter deals with the political themes of the trilogy La lucha por la vida (La busca, 1904; Mala hierba, 1904; and Aurora roja, 1904),[1] with emphasis on the anarchist movement. While the second part discusses the treatment of anarchism in the trilogy La raza (La dama errante, 1908; La ciudad de la niebla, 1909; and El árbol de la ciencia, 1911).

PART I

The Socio-political Theme in "La lucha por la vida"

La lucha por la vida is a unified political work expressing Baroja's view of the kind of socio-political progress necessary for the successful development of the Spanish people as a national group. Further, this "formula" for success is presented symbolically in the personal, social and economic

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[1] La busca was originally published as a serial in El Globo from March to May 1903.

progress of a Spanish Everyman --Manuel Alcázar--a process that spans the trilogy. La lucha por la vida is important as a unified political work and can be most efficaciously discussed by developing 1.) a brief chronology of the trilogy; 2.) a summary of Baroja's formula for Spanish social progress as illustrated in Manuel's development; 3.) a brief discussion of anarchism and its history in Spain; and 4.) a discussion of certain crucial novelistic elements--character and setting--which contribute to the formula for progress.

The trilogy as a unified political work

As we have said, La lucha por la vida is not "political" in the broadest sense, for it is not merely a vehicle for the direct presentation of an ideological position, but is rather a work of art illustrating through character study a a theory about human social experience. In the words of Blanco Aguinaga: "no es 'La política', en La lucha por la vida un tema impuesto por el autor, inventado subjetivamente e incrustado aquí y allá en la novela por 'ensayismo', sino que es la forma de pensamiento y de acción que toma la consciencia

social de los personajes."[2]

If the three novels of La lucha por la vida were to be considered individually, Aurora roja alone of the trilogy could be classified as a "political novel": the first two books follow Manuel's progress, but it only in the third that this process culminates and is presented clearly as having political significance. That is, the majority of "political conversations...meditations on political questions...and political actions"[3] take place in the final volume.

According to Blanco Aguinaga, Aurora roja is one of the first important political novels in the history of Spanish literature:

> De ahí que influyera decisivamente en la novela de los años veinte y treinta...Novela tardía con respecto a Balzac o a Zola (pero contemporánea de Gorki), Aurora roja, sin embargo, se adelanta años a las mejores novelas políticas modernas. Lo tardío con respecto a la novela francesa (o inglesa de fines del XIX) es perfectamente comprensible, ya que tardía es la expansión capitalista en España y tardíamente cristalizada, por lo tanto la lucha de clases. Lo sorprendente es el adelanto, el que Baroja-como Blasco-estuviese tan a tiempo a la altura de su tiempo, sobre todo si pensamos, por una parte en la leyenda del apoliticismo de los del 98 y, por otra, en el tardío florecimiento de la novela política moderna en Europa y en los EEUU.[4]

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[2]Blanco Aguinaga, Juventud del 98, pp. 247-48.

[3]Blanco Aguinaga, Juventud, p. 269.

[4]Ibid., pp. 269-70.

But the three books of the trilogy must be considered as thematically integral parts of the whole, because Manuel's early years of urban low-life manifest a crucial setting for his developing political consciousness.

Chronological summary of the trilogy

Because the unifying theme of the trilogy is symbolically presented in the socio-political development and "coming of age" of Manuel Alcázar, a brief recounting is in order. The three novels present Manuel's life between the ages of 14 and 28, with a gap of four years between the second and last books. And because the novels represent different stages of development, their division is not merely superimposed and mechanical: "La segmentación del relato se basa en interpretaciones internas del protagonista y en las circunstancias ambientales que le rodean y condicionan."[5]

La busca follows Manuel's life from his arrival as a youth in Madrid in the summer of 1888 to the year 1891.

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[5]Emilio Alarcos Llorach, Anatomía de "La lucha por la vida" (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1973), p. 26. See also Soledad Puértolas, El Madrid de "La lucha por la vida" (Madrid: Helios, 1973), pp. 11-12, for a somewhat different interpretation of the chronology. I have followed Alarcos Llorach. Beltrán de Heredia, "Regeneracionismo noventayochista," Sin Nombre II, 1972, gives a similar interpretation of the chronology (pp. 150-51).

Manuel is an outsider in urban society, possessing no employable skills, his activities being divided between work and vagrancy[6] as he struggles to eke out an existence in the marginal world of the poor, the unemployed, the hopeless, the criminal. Both attracted and repelled by such characters, he is unable either to find himself, or to enter the stable working world.

In Mala hierba Baroja traces Manuel's life from 1891 to 1896, as Manuel fluctuates between legal, orderly employment and irregular or illegal occupations. He flirts with crime and Madrid low-life, and although he comes to see the right path to follow, he is for a time unable to rise above his social and economic station. Submitting to positive influences at last, he chooses to be regularly and honestly employed, and learns the printing trade.[7]

Aurora roja picks up the thread of Manuel's life in 1900 and follows it until 1902. During the period covered

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[6] This is in agreement with Alarcos Llorach's analysis (pp. 85-86).

[7] The special prestige of the typographers and others employed in the print shops in this period should be noted. These workers had the reputation of being the most highly educated of their class. Further, the founder and principal figure of Spanish socialism, Pablo Iglesias, was initially the president of the Asociación del Arte de Imprimir. This organization was one of the nuclei of the Partido Socialista Español. It is also significant that Baroja's grandfather had had a print shop in San Sebastian, where Baroja had overheard many political discussions as a child.

by the first two books, Manuel's exposure to and contact with politics is necessarily quite limited by his poverty but as he grows and is integrated into society, his political consciousness develops to a point where he is afforded a moral choice between accepting the established social order or rejecting it in favor of aspirations for a better world. He finds such aspirations articulated by anarchists, a prominent force among the laboring class at that time. In the end Manuel is fully integrated--at least symbolically-- into the working world, as he acquires his own print shop

Thematic Summary

Baroja seems to have developed his theme on two planes--the allegorical and the analytical (or intellectual). Manuel symbolizes the struggle and progress of an Everyman who, confronted by opposing influences, makes the correct choice at every crucial stage in his struggle of upward mobility. Such climbing represents the kind of progress that Baroja believed to be difficult but necessary for the Spanish people.

But La lucha por la vida is less allegorical, more analytical. Manuel observes the Spanish socio-economic system, both as an outsider and later as a member; considers

as well the ideas and actions of the other characters, and gradually comes to articulate Baroja's views of: 1.) the shortcomings of Spanish society and the changes required; 2.) the inadequacy of that society (as a result of assumed racial, cultural and environmental factors) for the task of bringing about the needed changes; and thus 3.) Spain's need for external influence and "enlightened" direction. To supplement Manuel's observations Baroja injects the voice of a narrator, a device that often provides the ironic commentary-cum-criticism that Manuel himself could not supply. (The frequently symbolic or ironic chapter and section headings in the trilogy may be considered as the voice and commentary of the narrator as well.)

Using Manuel as a vehicle, Baroja suggests both that the Spanish are naturally anarchistic, and that the anarchists are incapable of socio-economic reform; Manuel's observations are Baroja's own. They are cogent, objective, and Baroja would have us believe, in a sense quite un-Spanish. Manuel appreciates the theses presented by Morales (who represents the Socialist views), and recognizes that such a political philosophy would be more helpful to the workers than the mere cant of the "revolución providencial de los anarquistas" (O.C., I, 597).

But, again like Baroja, Manuel rejects the socialistic objectives of collectivism, routinization, and uniformity as unacceptable for himself as a supreme individualist and, by extension, for his country.[8]

Under the later influence of characters representing reason, industry, constructive goals, and order, Manuel is able to discern the desirability of such positive concepts, particularly when he follows the positive example of Roberto Hasting, a character who represents another vital requirement for success--will, determination--that Manuel had lacked theretofore. The Spaniard Manuel is thus influenced at every positive stage of his development by an outside force--Hasting, a Northerner who acts as his mentor and provides material assistance at a crucial time. He serves as Manuel's example of social pragmatism, introducing relevant new social concepts, and contributing to Manuel's growing social consciousness. The "Nordic influence" is further emphasized by the introduction of the concept of a need for a leader, a benevolent dictator who would enlighten and give direction to Spanish society while eliminating its major evils.[9]

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[8]As indicated in Chapter I, Baroja saw Spain as needing universal enlightenment--a surge of education--as opposed to a great leveling downward.

[9]Alarcos Llorach, Anatomía, pp. 90-95. José Alberich,

Even though at the close of Aurora roja Manuel does not choose to be a political leader, the possibility that he might develop the capacity to make this choice is not denied. It is a legitimate possibility, in light of the pattern set by the first two novels of the trilogy. As Alarcos Llorach notes, at the end of each novel, Manuel stands in much the same position: capable of further development and of choosing either the path to success or the path to failure.[10]

Baroja contrives the characterization in such a way that the lives of other characters in each of the novels are parallel to Manuel's,[11] presenting in this way a wide range of alternate formulas for success, and illustrating the unfortunate consequences which follow upon a "wrong" choice.

Los ingleses y otros temas de Pío Baroja (Madrid: Alfaguara, 1966), pp. 126-55 discusses the importance of the Northerner in Baroja. On p. 135, n. 22, he gives the possible model for Roberto Hasting.

[10]Alarcos, Llorach (Anatomía, pp. 123-25) develops the idea that at the end of each of the three novels of the trilogy Manuel is always in a position to choose one of two roads.

[11]Alarcos Llorach, Anatomía, pp. 26-27; Donald L. Shaw, "Dos novelas de Baroja: una explicación de su técnica. (Sobre César o nada y El gran torbellino del mundo)," in Pío Baroja, ed. Javier Martínez Palacio, serie "El escritor y la crítica," (Madrid: Taurus, 1974), pp. 385-88. Both authors refer to Baroja's tendency to "manipulate the plot."

Anarchism in Spain

Because of the importance of anarchism in Baroja's novels it would be well to discuss briefly the theory of anarchism and the major events of anarchist history in Spain as a background for the rest of our discussion of La lucha por la vida.[12]

Anarchism is a social philosophy, which despite its many variations can best be viewed as a "system of social thought, aiming at fundamental changes in the structure of society and particularly...at the replacement of the authoritarian state by some form of non-governmental cooperation between free individuals."[13]

There is a tendency to regard anarchism as solely a negative philosophy, as simply a philosophy of destruction. This misunderstanding arises in part from the fact that many anarchists have tended to stress the destructive aspects of

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[12] I have drawn primarily on the following sources for this discussion: Gerald Brenan, The Spanish Labyrinth, pp. 131-69; James Joll, The anarchists (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, and Company, 1964), pp. 11-13; 224-274; and George Woodcock, Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 9-34, 356-73.

[13] Woodcock, Anarchism, p. 13.

their doctrine since the outstanding element in anarchist writings is their criticism of existing institutions while their plans of reconstruction may be characterized as over-simplified and unconvincing. Yet, while the anarchist may accept destruction, he does so based on a belief in man's ability to rebuild a better society on the ruins of the past.

The association of anarchism with political terrorism is common, but can be historically justified to only a limited degree. Although anarchists generally agree on their ultimate general goals, there is enormous disagreement on the tactics needed to reach them. Violence has been one of the most disputed of these tactics. In spite of the popular image of the anarchist terrorist, among the anarchist pantheon, the heroes of violent action are far outnumbered by the theorists, and a policy of terrorism has never been adopted by anarchists in general. Nonetheless, the result of this dichotomy in anarchism has been that the sympathy which one type of anarchist doctrine might have won has been lost by the ruthless and senseless violence and terrorism wiich has been characteristic of another school of anarchist practice. What does unite and characterize all the various tactics advocated by the anarchists--the general strike, resistance to military

service, assassination, etc.--is the fact that they are based on direct individual decisions--with no coercion or delegation of responsibility.. Another important characteristic of anarchists is their refusal to have any dealings with bourgeois political parties and to spurn all compromises on the way towards social revolution. Baroja's rejection of democracy which we have seen in Chapter I is in some ways akin to the anarchists' rejection of it. Baroja was opposed to what he called "el absolutismo del número" while the anarchists reject the right of the majority to impose its will on the minority since right lies in reason, not in numbers and "justice is found not in the counting of heads but in the freedom of men's hearts."[14]

In Spain the real beginning of the anarchist movement may be traced to Michael Bakunin's emissary Giuseppe Fanelli, who arrived there in October 1868, shortly after the Revolution of September. Fanelli converted a number of Spaniards to the Bakuninist doctrine and after he left the movement grew rapidly. In 1870 the Spanish Federation of the International was founded with a membership of about 20,000.[15] The group's Bakuninist

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[14] Woodcock, Anarchism, p. 13.

[15] Ibid., p. 361.

tendencies remained strong despite a split owing to the largely unsuccessful activities of Paul Lafargue, whom Marx had sent to Madrid in 1871 in the hope of swaying the Spaniards from their loyalty to Bakunin. The years 1868-1872 witnessed the struggle between Marx and Bakunin for control of the International. The differences between the two centered around the fact that Bakunin was opposed to the legal intervention in the political struggle demanded by Marx, while Marx favored a highly centralized organization for the International, and Bakunin wanted a loose federation whose impetus for action would come from below. At the 1872 Hague Congress of the International Marx was able to arrange for the expulsion of Bakunin and his associates from the International. The expelled members met shortly afterward at Saint-Imier in Switzerland and there passed a number of Bakuninist resolutions. Thus there came into existence a Bakuninist International whose center was among the small watchmakers of the Jura and whose members were largely in Spain and Italy.

The Spanish delegates at Saint-Imier called a general Congress of the Regional Federation of the International in Córdoba in 1872 at which the resolutions passed at the Congress of Saint-Imier were unanimously approved, and thus the first

organization of a purely anarchist type came to exist in Spain.

When in February of 1873 King Amadeus of Savoy, who had ruled Spain since December of 1870, abdicated and the Democratic Federal Republic was proclaimed, the International had grown to 50,000 members.[16] The President of the new government, Francisco Pi y Margall, pledged to lead Spain toward a decentralized administration in which the regions would become largely autonomous cantons, the power of the Church would be greatly reduced and the peasant communities would take over the uncultivated lands of the large estates in Andalusia.

This new government was short-lived; there was an uprising of Carlists in the North and in June of 1873 the cantonalist insurrections began in most of the large cities of Andalusia and Levante--Seville, Granada, Valencia, Cadiz, Málaga and Cartagena. These cities declared themselves free cantons, Committees of Public Safety were established and the churches were closed and the rich taxed. When the provisional government in Madrid decided to send its troops into the South, Pi y Margall resigned in protest. The insurrections collapsed

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[16]Woodcock, Anarchism, p. 362.

quickly everywhere but in Cartagena, which became a stronghold of federalist extremists, and withstood a siege of almost five months.

While some individual anarchists had played a small part in the cantonalist insurrections, the International as an organization did not, having passed a resolution condemning all political activity. The anarchists did, however, participate in certain independent activities at the same time as the events of 1873, the most outstanding of which was the minor revolution in the paper-making town of Alcoy, near Valencia. An anarchist schoolteacher, Albarracín, was largely responsible for making Alcoy an early Internationalist stronghold and under his influence the paper factory workers went on strike for an eight-hour day. The police opened fire on a workers' demonstration and in the general battle which ensued, about a dozen people were killed on each side. The workers were in the end victorious and in a gesture which is probably largely responsible for the fear of the International generated by this incident, they not only burned several factories and houses, but also shot the offending mayor, cut off his head and those of the police killed in the battle and paraded them around the town.

The International was suppressed in January 1874 by General Serrano when the army seized control of the country and dissolved Parliament in preparation for the restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy. This ban on all working-class organizations lasted seven years.

Juan Oliva Moncasi's 1878 attempt to kill King Alfonso XII marks the beginning of a new and more violent period in Spanish anarchism. A cycle of mass arrests by the government, retaliatory strikes by the anarchists and further repressions on the part of the government evolves and is only broken in 1881 by a decision to once again legalize working-class organizations. The International reappeared, immediately dissolved itself and then arose again as the Federation of Workers of the Spanish Region. From the beginning this organization was split by regional differences between the Catalonians who supported trade-union activities, and the Andalusian peasants who were interested in emphasizing violent action. In 1882 a group calling themselves the Desheredados ("Disinherited") broke away to form their own terrorist organization, whose teachings were denounced at the Federation's Valencia Congress in 1883.

In the same year the mysterious affair in Jerez of the Mano Negra, an alleged secret society plotting to assassinate all the landowners of the district, gave police the opportunity to condemn the leading anarchists of the area regardless of their innocence or guilt. Whether it existed or not, and it seems certain that it never existed in the proportions claimed by the police, the authorities used the Mano Negra as an excuse for a large scale attempt to drive the anarchist movement underground in Andalusia.

In 1888 the Regional Federation broke up as a result of a dispute as to whether anarchist organizations should consist solely of convinced anarchists, as the theorist Prince Kropotkin held, or whether they should include as Bakunin had maintained, all workers who were ready to join.

The early 1890's in Spain, as in France, were characterized by a sudden upsurge of insurrection, bomb throwing and assassinations. There was a brief uprising of four thousand peasants shouting "Long Live Anarchy" in Jerez in 1892.[17] At about the same time in Barcelona the unions called a general strike for an eight-hour day, and a series of bombings, which had started with the 1891 attempt to blow up the Fomento building--

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[17] Woodcock, Anarchism, p. 368.

the offices of the catalan employers' association--grew to epidemic proportions. Some of the bombs were certainly thrown by anarchists but others may be attributed to agents employed by the police or the employers' association. At first the bombings caused no great damage, but in 1893 the violence became more deadly when a young anarchist named Pallás threw a bomb at General Martínez Campos,Captain-General of Barcelona, in revenge for the execution of two anarchist journalists for complicity in the Jerez uprising. Although he only succeeded in slightly wounding the General, he was nonetheless court-martialed and executed. Pallás was avenged by his friend, Santiago Salvador, who threw a bomb into the Liceo Theatre and killed twenty people. The Brigada Social, a special anti-anarchist police force was created after this episode which was also used to justify the arbitrary rounding up of anarchist leaders, several of whom, patently innocent, were executed as well as Salvador.

The violence increased in Barcelona, and the police reacted with further arrests and the use of torture to obtain confessions. In June 1896 a bomb was thrown at the Corpus Christi procession, killing seven working-class people and a soldier, but none of the city dignitaries. The culprit was

never found but the incident was used as an excuse for the wholesale arrest of not only anarchists but also republicans, socialists, freethinkers and Catalan separatists--anyone who might be opposed to the regime and the Church. Some four hundred persons were jailed in the Montjuich prison outside Barcelona, where the agents of the Brigada Social applied such tortures that several prisoners died before ever being tried. The horrors of these tortures aroused such a storm of international protest that only eight persons were sentenced to death, eighteen to long prison terms. In the end only five were executed, but there was not really a strong case against any of them. The accounts of the Montjuich horrors were such that Michele Angiolillo, a young Italian anarchist, was so enraged by what he heard that he went to Santa Agueda where the Prime Minister, Cánovas, was vacationing, and shot him.

An additional assassination attempt which deserves mention here because Baroja makes explicit use of it in La dama errante is that of Mateo Morral, who, on May 31, 1906 threw a bomb at King Alfonso XIII and his bride, killing twenty four people (although the royal couple escaped unharmed).

Spanish anarchism in the 1890's was not merely a terrorist movement, however. As in France, anarchism was quite attractive

to intellectuals and artists. La Revista Blanca, founded in 1896, was the most important anarchist theoretical journal and its contributors included university professors, engineers, professional men of letters and even some former army officers. A growing movement to create libertarian schools, the most famous of which was Ferrer's Escuela Moderna, was a further manifestation of anarchist intellectualism. The trade-union revival of the turn of the century was even more important than the educational movement and the belief that the general strike and not the bomb was the true revolutionary weapon gained credence. Gerald Brenan has commented on the relation between young intellectuals and this belief at the beginning of the century:

> Pío Baroja, Maeztu and Azorín sat for a time in their cafés and flirted with libertarian ideas. In Spain, just as in France, anarchism was the fashion. But the intense seriousness, which seemed to them narrowness and fanaticism, of the Anarchists ended by driving most of these young dilettantes away, and the arrival of syndicalism closed the Anarchist ranks for good and all to bourgeois sympathizers. Since 1910 the attitude of the Spanish Anarchists towards the intellectuals has been consistently hostile. They have had their own writers and thinkers and have not been interested in others.[18]

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[18] Brenan, The Spanish Labyrinth, p. 166.

Historians have noted that anarchism became a mass movement in Spain to an extent that it never did elsewhere.[19] Díaz del Moral points out that socialism spread in the industrialized countries of central and western Europe while anarchism "conquista los países agrícolas, individualistas, inorgánicos, de cultura retrasada, las regiones del sol, los pueblos de tipo oriental."[20] James Joll considers it possible that, as some authors have maintained, the success of anarchism in Spain may be due to the fact that its extremism suits the Spanish temperament:

> Perhaps, again, the individualism, the independent pride and self-respect, commonly held to be characteristic of the Spaniard, made him ready to accept a doctrine which, in a more extreme form than even the Protestant religion, places on each individual the responsibility for his own actions.[21]

Joll also suggests that the Spanish temperament responded to the extremism of anarchist doctrines "because a population accustomed to centuries of religious fanaticism responded readily to a fanaticism of another kind."[22] Baroja finds

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[19]Joll, The Anarchists, p. 225.

[20]Juan Díaz del Moral, Historia de las agitaciones campesinas andaluzas: antecedentes para una reforma agraria (Madrid, 1929), p. 81.

[21]Joll, The Anarchists, pp. 224-25.

[22]Ibid., p. 224.

the disturbing element of fanaticism present in many anarchists.

In his general evaluation of Spanish anarchism Gerald Brenan has indicated that its two most distinguishing characteristics are--1.) its strongly idealistic and moral religious character; and 2.) its resistence to the slavery imposed by the modern capitalist structure of society.[23] The relationship between anarchism and religion is especially important in Baroja's portrayal of anarchism, as we shall see in the next section of this chapter.

Novelistic elements and their contribution to the development of the theme

Race, religion and their relation to anarchism in "Aurora roja." Baroja suggests relationships among anarchism, religion, and the Spanish people in several ways in Aurora roja. Why are Spaniards so attracted to anarchism? What is the resemblance between anarchism and religion that Baroja perceived and that led him so frequently to present anarchism in terms of religious images?

In the novel these questions are discussed by several

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[23]Brenan, The Spanish Labyrinth, p. 188.

characters. Roberto Hasting and Manuel talk about the acquisition of ideas in general and in particular the reasons why Spaniards are drawn to anarchism. Roberto tells Manuel that "En el fondo experimentamos todos la fatalidad de la raza."[24] According to Roberto (who is quoting Taine without acknowledgment),[25] ideas in themselves are not what attract men: what counts is the experience of one's race, one's conditioning, even factors such as food and climate:

> Y es que debajo de las ideas están los sentimientos y los instintos, y los instintos no son más que el resultado del clima, de la alimentación, de la vida que ha llevado la raza de cada uno. En ti está toda tu raza, y en tu raza está toda la tierra donde ha vivido. (O.C., I, 567)

Hasting explains to Manuel that German and English workers, who read much more than the Spanish workers, do not become anarchists--not because they fail to understand the theories but because Germans are, above all, men of order, good for

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[24] O.C., I, 567. The narrator uses almost the same phrase later to describe another character awaiting his execution, p. 589: "El había seguido el fatalismo de su manera de ser."

[25] Hippolyte Taine, History of English Literature, translated by H. Van Laun (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company, 1908), pp. 17-30 discusses the three different sources--race, surroundings and epoch--which contribute to produce the elementary moral state.

commanding and obeying, and the English are practical people who do not want to waste time: "El español, no; es anarquista porque es perezoso; tiene todavía la idea providencial; es anarquista como mañana lo será el moro" (O.C., I, 567).

The narrator finds that there are qualities in anarchism which in addition to its quasi-religious tone appeal specifically to what he calls the Spaniard's "Mediterranean nature." After his description of an anarchist discussion he adds:

> Ya no eran las ideas, eran los hombres los que entusiasmaban. Y entre su humanitarismo exaltado y su culto de sectarios por una especie de religión nueva, aparecía en todos ellos, saliendo a la superficie, su fondo de meridionales, su admiración por el calor, su entusiasmo por la frase rotunda y el gesto gallardo... (O.C., I, 578).

Manuel hears the anarchist, El Libertario, discussing how one absorbs ideas at a meeting. He tells how an Andalusian sacristan's son appeared at his door one day in Paris, a young man who had been working in the mines of Cardiff and planned to go to America, claiming that he found it impossible to live in his own town. El Libertario takes the young man to his restaurant--a nest of anarchists--and explains that these people want to do away with everything...monarchy, republic, priests, kings, bishops. The Andalusian is filled

with admiration, and when El Libertario next sees him, he is struggling to keep the anarchists' red flag waving during a street demonstration.[26] El Libertario's audience comments on the similarity between political convictions and religious beliefs, and another character points out that the young man "creía en la anarquía como en la Virgen del Pilar" (O.C., I, 575), to which Juan, a former seminarian, replies: "En todo lo que se cree, se cree lo mismo" (O.C., I, 575). Juan's vision of anarchism as expressed in Aurora roja is clearly millenarian, and he himself is presented more as a religious than a political figure. A seminarian-turned-artist, "al retirar su fe en los artistas la puso de lleno en los obreros" (O.C., I, 551). His Christ-like quality is brought out in his relationship with la Manila, an unfortunate, exploited Philippine prostitute. In his strolls through the outskirts of Madrid, Juan meets a group of beggars and vagrants, whom he naively believes he can save: "Qué hermoso sería sacar a estos hombres de las tinieblas de la brutalidad en que se encuentran y llevarlos a una esfera más alta, más pura" (O.C., I, 617). Thinking that he can draw out the

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[26] See Chapter I, p.53 for a description of this demonstration.

"gold" in their souls, he goes to speak to them every day, in what appears to be Baroja's conscious imitation of the Gospels:

> Acudían algunos mendigos de San Bernardino y escuchaban con atención, formando un corro. Enfrente, los cipreses del cementerio de San Martín sobresalían por encima de las tapias. Oían todas las palabras de Juan como una música agradable y dulce, y la Manila, quizá la que menos entendía, era la que con más fe escuchaba. (O.C., I, 617)

Juan witnesses several cruel, violent scenes among these people, but no moral change. As the narrator points out, "El oro de las almas humanas no salía a la superficie" (O.C., I, 619).[27] When La Manila, "esta ínfima aprendiz de Magdalena,"[28] later hears of Juan's death she appears at the coffin and showers it with red and white lilies: red for anarchism and white for Christ, clearly symbolizing the anarchistic Christ.

Juan is not the only character demonstrating a religious or quasi-religious nature. The first anarchist introduced is named Jesús--yet Jesús' "devotion" is a devotion to the

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[27] There is an interesting similarity between this episode and elements of Luis Buñuel's films "Viridiana" and "Nazarín." Both films deal with a religious person in a hostile environment, one which the person fails to understand or change.

[28] Alarcos Llorach, Anatomía, p. 86.

sacriligious pursuit of grave-robbing. Jesús is introduced in the trilogy at the same time as another symbolically named character, the hard-working, aspiring bourgeois, Salvadora.[29] It is Salvadora who "saves" Manuel from both vagrancy and anarchism, showing that, for Baroja, salvation lies in such middle-class virtues.

Manuel sees anarchism as a kind of religion but, more importantly, he also sees it primarily as something impractical: "como religión estaba bien; pero como sistema político-social, lo encontraba imposible de llevarlo a la práctica" (O.C., I,595). In his amorous pursuit of Salvadora, Manuel mixes a religious image with a reference to the anarchist flag: "Te besaré con respeto; ¿no quieres? Te besaré como a una santa: ¿No te convences tampoco? ¿Te besaré como si besara la bandera roja, sabes?" (O.C., I, 636).

According to the narrator, the anarchists were waiting for the revolution "como los antiguos el santo adventimiento, como un mana, como una cosa que vendría sin esfuerzos pesados y molestos" (O.C., I, 597), and one arrogant anarchist speaker who feels he possesses a supreme truth is mockingly characterized "como si llevara en la cabeza el Sancta Sanctorum de la

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[29] Birute Ciplijauskaite (Baroja, p. 158) comments on the frequently symbolic names of Baroja's characters: "La preocupación por los nombres seguramente le viene de los autores del siglo precedente, que intentaban caracterizar al personaje a través de su apellido o su apodo."

anarquía" (O.C., I, 611). The narrator also calls the anarchists "devout" and refers to dynamite as a "saint" in a section about bombs entitled "Los devotos de Santa Dinamita" (O.C., I, 600).[30] In this section El Madrileño describes a friend who had written an "anarchist catechism" for his son on the preparation of explosives. The father would examine the boy in front of his friends: ¿Qué es la dinamita, niño?" "La dinamita es una mezcla de arena y de nitroglicerina, que se hace detonar por medio de la cápsula de un fulminante" (O.C., I, 605). When the father is to taken to Montjuich prison the "religious instruction" he had given his son is a comfort to him: "yo no sé si me matarán, pero tengo un consuelo: que me hijo sabe hacer dinamita: (O.C., I, 605).

Another facet of the relationship between anarchy and religion is to be found in one of the French anarchist

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[30] Clara Lida, "Literatura anarquista y anarquismo literario," Nueva Revista de Filología Española 19 (1970) pp. 370-75 points out that despite the attacks on ecclesiastic doctrines by thinkers such as Comte, Huxley, and Taine, "Es curioso observar como el anarquismo incorpora giros religiosos al pensamiento laico y revolucionario."(p. 374) In support of this statement she traces several political tracts, such as Bakunin's Catecismo revolucionario (1865) and the anarchist Nicolas Alonso Marselau's El evangelio del obrero (1872). Baroja's constant association of anarchism and religion, therefore, clearly fits into this documented trend in anarchist literature and attests to his skill as an observer. See also Díaz del Moral, Historia de las agitaciones, pp. 80-85.

Caruty's songs.[31] Caruty sings the song of Père Duchesne, for which the anarchist, Ravachol, had written the lyrics and which he had sung on his way to the guillotine: "Peuple trop oublieux Nom de Dieu" (O.C., I, 573).[32] As Caruty sings, he imagines that he is Ravachol insulting the bourgeoisie. The irony is that he is exhorting the masses to act in the name of God:

> En la canción se le aconsejaba al pueblo que no fuera generoso, que no fuera militar, que tirara todos los cuarteles a tierra, y todo esto acentuado por vigorosos Nom de Dieu. (O.C., I, 573)

A further indication of the interplay between religion and anarchism in Aurora roja is the description of the false conversion of the convicted anarchist-terrorist, Salvador, who, once in prison put on a show of converting to Catholicism in hopes of being pardoned. Although he is able to manipulate the Jesuits and aristocratic ladies to intervene on his behalf, their machinations cannot save him, and when no pardon comes, he reveals that his conversion was a hoax (O.C., I, 577).

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[31] For a general study of songs in Baroja see David Bary, "El cancionero de Baroja," in Pío Baroja, ed. Palacios, p. 123-38.

[32] Francois-Claudius Ravachol, a legendary and controversial figure in the anarchist movement was executed July 11, 1892. He did go to his death singing a song which attacked the Church. See Joll, The Anarchists, pp. 133-36.

Characters in Aurora roja may be categorized according to their personal success or failure. Manuel Alcázar's eventual success in the struggle for life provides the novel's focus,[33] along with the author's major point of view. Other important characters function largely in relation to him as they reflect, accentuate, and point out choices and qualities necessary for success or liable to failure. The division between successful and unsuccessful characters is important in order to understand the role anarchism plays in the novel: no clearly successful character is an anarchist, yet clearly unsuccessful ones are, success being defined as a character's ability to earn an honest living and achieve some sort of personal and financial security.

Manuel moves in a direction opposite to that of the anarchists Juan and Jesús, and succeeds by following a path that parallels that of Roberto and Salvadora (who are not anarchists). Through the novel Manuel explores the two ideologies popular among Spanish workers at the turn of the century: anarchism and, to a lesser extent (though it was in fact the more popular movement), socialism.[34] His political

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[33]Alarcos, Llorach, Anatomía, pp. 75-80 classifies characters in the trilogy as to whether or not they are successful in the "struggle for life."

[34]Soledad Puértolas (El Madrid, pp. 25-35) comments

education takes place primarily in Parts II and III, although there is some evidence of Manuel's political leanings in the description of the gatherings in Rebolledo's electrical workshop, where Manuel "hablaba de la imprenta y de las luchas de los obreros" (O.C., I, 527). Throughout the last two parts of the novel Baroja devotes considerable attention to the portrayal of Manuel's reactions to anarchist theories as propounded by Jesús, Juan, etc., and, to a much lesser extent, to his opinions on socialist doctrines.

Manuel's class consciousness begins to be awakened in Mala hierba through his contact with the printing world, as Jesús introduces the newcomer not only to the workers' routine but also to its ideology. Jesús' class consciousness is much more developed than that of any other character in La busca, his "estado de conciencia revolucionaria"[35] shown especially in his hatred of the rich, who in his view increasingly monopolize industrial and agricultural wealth. (O.C., I, 459).

In Aurora roja Jesús exercises considerably less influence on Manuel than in Mala hierba. Jesús realizes this and, blaming

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on the accuracy of the characters' ideological positions. She makes extensive use of the newspapers of the times in her evaluation.

[35]Blanco Aguinaga, Juventud, p. 263 compares Jesús'

Salvadora, he tells Manuel: "Tú no eres más que un burgués... y la otra tiene la culpa...porque antes eras un buen compañero... pero esa otra te domina, y tú ya no sabes hacer nada sin ella" (O.C., I, 561). Alarcos Llorach points out that both Jesús and Salvadora enter Manuel's life at about the same time, about half-way through the novel Mala hierba, and that they personify the opposite values of disorder and order.[36] In the present study, however, the opposing political terms are anarchism and the "establishment."

Hostile to Manuel's strict interpretation of the work ethic and resentful of his ownership of the shop, Jesús calls Manuel a "cochino burgués, que no piensa más que en el dinero" (O.C., I, 548), and when Manuel later accuses Jesús of being a grave robber, Jesús compares such illegal and sacrilegious activities to those of the anarchist Ravachol. Canuto, meanwhile, his accomplice in grave robbing, is beaten almost to death by a policeman for insulting the Spanish flag at the king's coronation. The gulf which separates the two friends is clearly enormous: Manuel is revolted by Jesús' brand of anarchism, which he sees as only an excuse for robbery.

"estado de conciencia revolucionaria" with that of the other characters in the first two books of the trilogy. (He finds Jesús to be the only one with a developed class consciousness.)

[36] Alarcos Llorach, Anatomía, p. 38.

But the most important anarchist in the novel is Manuel's brother Juan. The novel's prologue introduces Juan, tells of his decision to abandon his ecclesiastical studies, and describes his first encounter with society after leaving the seminary.[37] Juan's disillusionment with hypocritical teachers and his reading of prohibited books like Los misterios de París, El judío errante, Los miserables, and the commentaries of Marcus Aurelius and Ceasar have helped him to see life in a new way, and in his first encounters with life outside the seminary he shows that he is humanitarian and tolerant, even when he comes into contact with vulgarity and injustice. The difference between the two brothers is first indicated when Juan calls the "instinto de propiedad" the most repugnant instinct in the world, while Manuel, acknowledging that he lives well, expresses the desire to live even better by buying his own print shop. Manuel would like to own his own plot of land for the pure joy of ownership, and he asks his brother if one's conscience should

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[37] Alarcos Llorach, Anatomía, p. 54, comments perceptively on Juan's experience in the second part of the prologue: "un ejemplo más del tema tan barojiano de la fuga de un personaje hacia un destino cuya realidad sólo consiste en un pálido brillo de lejanos horizontes. Las evoluciones del espíritu se materializan en movimiento corporal."

prevent one from owning property. Juan feels it does, but Manuel retorts that "Entre explotado y explotador, prefiero ser explotador..." (O.C., I, 343). Juan then offers his brother the prize money he has won in an art exhibition to help him buy a print shop. Juan and Manuel's relationship is only threatened at the end of the novel by their political differences (as is that of Manuel and Jesús).

Juan's political ideas are neither expressed nor fully formed until Part II of the novel, and while in Part I he does express some repugnance at man's instinct to own property, it is only in Chapter I of Part II that he truly finds his political vision and vocation. Juan's sculpture, fittingly entitled Los rebeldes, has attracted the attention of the anarchist journalist and artist El Libertario, who becomes Juan's first anarchist friend.[38] El Libertario interests Juan in anarchism, and suggests that they hold meetings at the tavern "La Aurora."[39]

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[38]José Carlos Mainer, La edad de plata (Barcelona: Los Libros de la Frontera, 1975), p. 35, analyzes the significance of the artistic interests of this important character: "Una estancia bohemia en París le ha hecho escultor y Baroja no olvida señalar al lector dos referencias: el belga Constantín Meunier (¿cómo no comparar el grupo 'los rebeldes' de Juan Alcázar con las vigorosas estatuas de trabajadores que hicieron célebre a aquel artista?) y Auguste Rodin (el mayor excultor europeo de aquellas fechas y el gustado por los modernistas).

[39]The model for the tavern "La aurora" is thought to be

As Juan listens to El Libertario, the narrator describes Juan's disillusionment with the artists he has met in Madrid and his withdrawal of faith in them in favor of a new faith in the workers, whom he sees as essentially more dignified and without the egotism and enviousness of the artists. After talking to El Libertario, Juan comes to understand his own life's task: "En el cerebro del escultor comenzaba a germinar la idea de que había una misión social que cumplir, y que esta misión era él el encargado de llevarla a cabo" (O.C., I, 551), and the very next sentence states how the the lives of the two brothers will be parallel from this point until the end of the novel: "Mientras Juan se reunía con sus nuevos amigos, Manuel trabajaba en la imprenta" (O.C., I, 551). The later image of Manuel "Regando las plantas en su huertecillo" (O.C., I, 551) echoes the end of Candide, while Juan, in sharpest contrast, grows progressively more ill, never ceasing his relentless activity for the cause.

The issue of anarchist methods is the catalyst which provokes the novel's climax. Salvadora saves Juan from the police by alerting Manuel that his brother's mysterious guest

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a tavern called "A la viña de Noé." See Miguel Pérez Ferrero, Vida de Pío Baroja (Barcelona: Destino, 1960), pp. 129-40.

has brought a bomb to the house, and Manuel's realization that there is a bomb makes him carefully consider his anarchist leanings: "Como si aquella máquina infernal hubiese estallado en su cerebro, Manuel sentía que todas sus ideas anarquistas se desmoronaban y sus instintos de hombre volvían de nuevo" (O.C., I, 628). He suddenly sees anarchist terrorism as fanaticism, and wonders how his humanitarian brother could take part in such barbarity. Juan casually informs him that mass death is a means to destroy a corrupt society. It might be unfortunate, but it is necessary. Thus, the lives of the two brothers--earlier started on clearly divergent paths--have reached totally opposite political poles with this issue. Manuel (and it is perhaps Baroja who speaks here) insists that he would not go so far as making one child cry in order to insure general humanity's happiness, though Juan will try any method to bring about the bloody "red dawn" of a new day.

> Esta sería la aurora de un nuevo día, la aurora de la justicia, el clamor del pueblo entero, durante tantos años vejado, martirizado, explotado, reducido a la miserable situación de bestia de carga. Sería una aurora sangrienta en donde a la luz de los incendios crujiría el viejo edificio social sustentado en la ignominia y en el priviligio, y no quedarían de él ni cenizas, y sólo un recuerdo de desprecio por la vida abyecta de nuestros miserables días. (O.C., I, 630)

Juan dies shortly after this dialogue, and as the now disheartened anarchists head back to Madrid, their failure is seen in the last words of the book: "Había oscurecido" (O.C., I, 645).

The important question raised toward the end of the novel is that of the effect of Juan's death on Manuel and on Manuel's political stand. Blanco Aguinaga finds Manuel relieved, glad that he need no longer associate with a group he detests, though, as Alarcos Llorach points out, if Manuel at the end of the trilogy were merely a "burgués" (as Blanco Aguinaga maintains), it would then be impossible to explain his state of mind at his brother's death: "¡Quién le había de decir que aquel hermano a quien no había visto en tanto tiempo iba a dejar una huella tan profunda en su vida!" (O.C., I, 643).[40] "¡Te has ido al otro mundo con un hermoso sueño, con una bella ilusión!" (O.C., I, 643); "¡Maldita vida! Había que reducirlo todo a cenizas" (O.C., I, 643). Alarcos finds these considerations to be "Las de un hombre que enrodera-ado, sí, en la sociedad que le ha tocado vivir, se siente impotente para mejorarla, y piensa que el impulso más elevado consiste en adoptar una actitud ética, comprensiva y piadosa,

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[40] Quoted in Alarcos, Llorach, Anatomía, p. 46. See also his note on p. 33.

y que no importa tanto el triunfo personal práctico como el puro ideal que ilumina la vida, aunque ésta sea breve."[41]

Although Manuel learns from the experience and is affected by his brother and to a lesser extent by Jesús, the most significant forces in his life in Aurora roja, are not these anarchists, but Roberto and Salvadora, successful embodiments of middle-class virtues. Roberto influences Manuel in each novel of the trilogy, first by guiding him in the printing trade, and later by giving him the capital to buy his own shop. Roberto appears only three times in this novel, but each time he engages Manuel in an important ideological discussion, questioning and warning Manuel about anarchism: according to the individualistic, success-oriented millionaire (and one thinks this character is Baroja's auto-biographical wishes fulfilled), anarchism for everyone is nothing, but for the individual it is liberty, and liberty can be achieved first by earning money, and then by thinking. But the masses will never achieve such liberty.[42]

Manuel asks Hasting if he is not perhaps somewhat of an

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[41]Quoted in Alarcos Llorach, Anatomía, p. 46.

[42]Gonzalo Sobejano, Nietzsche, p. 363, comments on the character of Roberto Hasting and his ideas.

anarchist himself, and Hasting replies that he has been one--in his own way, but that one of the lessons he has learned is the necessity of at least appearing to adapt to the bourgeois state. He is actually more of an anarchist than ever, but if he were to enter British politics, he would enter as a conservative, since anarchists don't win elections. Hasting sees life as a primal struggle for food, for love, for glory,[43] or--with Hasting himself--for control (dominio). Manuel asks him:

> "--¿Y siempre habrá que luchar?
> --Siempre.
> --¿No cree usted que vendrá la fraternidad?
> --No.
> --¿No se podrá consequir que deje de haber explotadores?
> --Nunca..." (O.C., I, 566)

Manuel tests out on Hasting some of the anarchist utopian affirmations he has gleaned at "La Aurora," and the answers he receives are so different from the anarchists' line that he immediately thinks of the difference between Hasting's view and El Libertario's. Both see life as a struggle, but El Libertario thinks this struggle can be eliminated, while Hasting sees it as inevitable.

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[43] César Barja, Libros y autores contemporáneos (New York: G. E. Stechert and Company, 1935), pp. 299-359, discusses the continuity of the theme of "the struggle for life" in Baroja's work.

The views of the foreigner, Hasting, resemble ideas Baroja expresses elsewhere on the possible benefits of dictatorship for the governance of the Spanish temperment:

> Yo creo que para los meridionales, para todos los mediterráneos medio africanos, lo mejor sería un gobierno dictatorial, fuerte...El despotismo ilustrado, progresivo, que actualmente en España sería un bien... Si fuera posible que saliera un hombre, sería utilísmo. (O.C., I, 567)

Further, the advantages that Hasting sees in a strong government for Spain resemble the thoughts of César Moncada and some of Dr. Iturrioz's ideas in La ciudad de la niebla and La dama errante. Hasting, for instance, tells Manuel:

> Figúrate tú un dictador que dijera: voy a suprimir los toros y los suprimiera; voy a suprimir la mitad del clero, y la suprimiera, y pusiera un impuesto grande sobre la renta, y mandara hacer carreteras y ferrocarriles, y metiera en presidio a los caciques que se insubordinan y mandara explotar las minas, y obligara a los pueblos a plantar árboles... (O.C., I, 567)[44]

Roberto's ideas also conflict with those of Prats, another anarchist whom Manuel has heard: the Catalonian asserted that in the anarchist society of the future, all would be equal, claiming further that there would be no criminals and those who showed anti-social behavior would be merely termed

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[44] Hasting's ideas also resemble those of Joaquín Costa (the similarity between César Moncada and Joaquín Costa is discussed in Chapter IV of this study).

"sick" and hospitalized. Roberto, on the other hand, thinks simply that all criminals should be exterminated. Prats sees in the future the elimination of such things as money and property, while Roberto, perhaps echoing the conclusions Baroja had arrived at after his own observations and experiences, insists on the near impossibility of radically changing society.

Near the end of the novel Hasting gives Manuel the print shop, a gift which perhaps is not the most significant factor in Manuel's disillusionment with anarchism, but which is definitely a symbol of the rewards middle-class society can offer to those who follow its precepts. It is thus, also a strong incentive for Manuel to remain faithful to this society.[45]

Salvadora's attitudes are similar to Roberto's, though she is his social inferior. The course she follows in Aurora roja is opposed to that of Jesús,[46] and her influence, along with Hasting's is triumphant. She urges Manuel to get

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[45]Blanco Aguinaga (Juventud, pp. 268-69) contends that Robert and his gift of the print shop are the major influences in shaping Manuel's political ideas. Manuel's first-hand experience with a bomb, however, appears to be the determining factor.

[46]Alarcos Llorach, Anatomía, pp. 23-24, points out the dichotomy of these two characters.

the print shop, and suggests that he could ask Hasting for the money, thus aiding Manuel's social rise.

Another "successful" character who contributes to Manuel's political education is Morales, "el buen obrero socialista," the manager of the print shop,[47] whom Manuel hears discussing politics with Juan. Again Manuel, like the novelist himself, is less interested in joining any one political party than in becoming better able to comprehend political points of view. Like Baroja, Manuel realizes that these conversations raise issues that he had not previously considered.

As Manuel listens to Juan, Morales, and at times to Morales' socialist friends, he learns of both ideologies. As we have seen, Manuel favors anarchism as a criticism of existing values but disagrees with its methods and sees it as impossible to implement ("Pero como religión estaba bien" [O.C., I, 593]). Socialism, on the other hand, seems to him more useful to the workers, although he objects to its routinization and uniformity.[48]

In these conversations, Morales presents orthodox

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[47] Alarcos Llorach, Anatomía, pp. 67-68, gives a very different interpretation of the character of Morales from that of Blanco Aguinaga (in Juventud, pp. 275, 279).

[48] Baroja's views on socialism are discussed in Chapter I. See also Beatrice Patt, Pío Baroja, pp. 64-65.

Marxist views, claiming that the slow gains of the socialists and the growing effectiveness of their organization are preferable to "esta revolución providencial de los anarquistas" (O.C., I, 597). Juan's reply to Morales' objections to anarchism is quite telling. Instead of countering Morales' cogent criticism with explanations or justifications, Juan smiles and replies: "La anarquía hay que sentirla" (O.C., I, 597). Juan's assertion of faith over reason also makes it impossible for Manuel to talk rationally with him when he discovers that an acquaintance of Juan's has a bomb. Manuel tells Morales and Juan that they are arriving at the same conclusion--the need to "generalizar la propiedad"--but by different routes. Morales wants the State to redistribute property, and Juan wants this done on an individual basis. Juan considers the kind of socialist state recommended by Morales an impingement on his own personal freedom, and he objects as well to its rigid social uniformity. Manuel, on the other hand, thinks socialism probably better for workers; since anarchism requires no real effort from the people themselves, and does not, therefore, square with the realities of any social change. Moreover, through his friendship with Morales, Manuel sees one other important weakness of the

anarchist movement, that it has become dogmatic, negative, working more against the status quo than for real change.

In this same chapter the narrator--whose views resemble Baroja's even more than Manuel's do--intervenes in a long segment to further classify and criticize various elements of anarchism and socialism and their respective proponents. And if Baroja and the narrator are acutely aware of the flaws inherent in these workers' movements, such movements are also found to be distinctly superior to those of the bourgeoisie, since the workers are at least sincere, while members of the bourgeois parties often have such ulterior motives as money and glory. The narrator praises the workers' internationalism (as their parties were founded outside Spain) and their rejection of such hypocritical bourgeois tactics as adulation and servility.

The function of other characters. Baroja introduces a variety of minor characters who serve to present the history of Spanish anarchism: its various tendencies, the issues involved, and its methods. This is a typical Barojian technique through all of his novels, in which a myriad of characters appear briefly and then disappear. The first and most important of these in Aurora roja is El Libertario, who is first

described by his physical appearance, then by his ironical tone, and then by his actual ideas. Finally comes the indication of his fanaticism, a characteristic repeated in many of Baroja's anarchists: "A pesar de que a primera vista parecía indiferente y hombre que tomaba todo a broma, era un fanático" (O.C., I, 550-55).. Baroja defines El Libertario's view of anarchism as follows:

> Pare él lo principal en el anarquismo era la protesta del individuo contra el Estado, lo demás, la cuestión económica, casi no le importaba; el problema para el estaba en poder librarse del yugo de la autoridad. El no quería obedecer...también...las ideas de bien y de mal tenían que transformarse por completo, y con ellas la del deber y la de la virtud.
>
> (O.C., I, 551)

Here indeed is an anarchist archetype, one whose views correspond to what Clara Lida sees as the attitude of most Spanish writers at the turn of the century who declared themselves in revolt against bourgeois society and the verbosity and frivolity of María Cristina's regency. Such writers would borrow the labels and the attitudes of anarchism: "Subrayando lo que éste tiene de individualista, renovador, iconoclasta e, incluso, humanitario, pero dejando al lado los programas económicos y sociales del anarquismo militante, el único que tiene verdaderas raíces en España."[49]

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[49] Clara Lida, "Literatura anarquista, " pp. 377-78.

In a discussion of anarchist bombings El Libertario tells Manuel that anarchist terrorism is merely an answer to the state's own terrorism:

> Al terrorismo del Estado no hay más remedio que contestar con el terrorismo anarquista--exclamó El Libertario. Pero hay que confesar que los provocadores son siempre los anarquistas--replicó Manuel. -No-no es cierto. El primer provocador ha sido el gobierno
> (O.C., I, 604)

El Libertario then gives a (historically accurate) account of Spanish anarchism as a reaction to and retaliation for the government's provocation, tracing this pattern from the beginning of the Restoration and the government's attempts to eliminate Bakunin's sympathizers.[50] He continues with La mano negra, the uprising of the Jerez workers, and the execution of two anarchists who took no part in contemporary crimes but were executed, he claims, because of their propaganda activities.[51] He explains the actions of Pallás and

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[50] Gerald Brenan, The Spanish Labyrinth, pp. 158-64, discusses this period.

[51] Ibid., p. 162 says the following about this incident: "Two shopkeepers were murdered in the course of this otherwise harmless exploit, but the police made it the excuse for a violent repression, condemning four to death and sentencing eighteen to long terms of hard labor." In Los visionarios (1932) Baroja presents La mano negra from the point of view of a "survivor" who insists fifty years later that there never was, as far as he knew, any organization of that name, and that the accusations made against this group were clearly false. (O.C., VI, 520-22).

Salvador as acts of retaliation, and further suggests that the person who actually threw the bomb in Barcelona's Cambios Nuevos Street (which led to the infamous Montjuich trials and police tortures of 1896) was in fact a police agent He also asserts that Angiollilo assassinated Cánovas in retaliation for the brutality of the Montjuich trials.[52] Manuel cannot decide whether or not to believe El Libertario's claim that the police had carried out bombing attempts merely in order to exert a greater repression, since his basic trust in El Libertario's honest intentions is tempered by his knowledge of the man's fanaticism. Manuel later concluded that El Libertario is right when an Italian anarchist attempts to plant a bomb in his home and another acquaintance is discovered to be a police informer.

Other anarchist characters are the engraver, Skopos; the Catalonian Prats; and El Madrileño. Through their informal reminiscences Manuel learns about the infamous terrorists whose activities rocked Spain: Angiolillo (the assassin of Cánovas), Pallás, and Salvador. The title of this section, "Sinfonía en royo mayor," is a politicized

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[52]See Brenan, The Spanish Labyrinth, pp. 164-65 for a discussion of this incident. See also Chapter I, n. 10 of this study for information about Baroja's interest in the Montjuich trials.

allusion to the famous "Sinfonía en gris mayor"[53] of Ruben Darío. Throughout this section Baroja mentions Manuel's reaction to the question of terrorists and bombs, an issue which will eventually separate him from the anarchists through his growing hatred of anarchist violence: "Manuel tenía los nervios estremecidos..." (O.C., I, 576); "¡Qué barbaridad!--exclamó Manuel" (O.C., I, 577); "No--exclamó Manuel, levantándose; de eso no se puede reír nadie, a no ser que sea un canalla. Matar así de una manera tan bárbara" (O.C., I, 577); "No comprendo cómo se puede tener simpatía por hombres así" (O.C., I, 577). By the end of the chapter Manuel's general feeling is one of revulsion: "Manuel se sentía inquieto, profundamente disgustado en aquel ambiente" (O.C., I, 578).

The anarchist characters here as elsewhere in Baroja's novels are generally given to discussing ideas, not implementing them: unable to act, they spend their time at Sunday afternoon meetings in theoretical debates. The resentful student, Maldonado, argues with Rebolledo, a friend and neighbor of Manuel's about the opposition between natural

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[53]The poem "Sinfonía en gris mayor" appears in Darío's Cantos de vida y esperanza (1896). It is clearly not a political poem. Here "mayor" may be interpreted as major or important, "red" being the color of the anarchists. Professor Rizele Sigele has studied Baroja's allusions to Darío in La

rights and Spanish law, while Rebolledo argues with Maldonado that it is the law and hard reality, not abstract concepts, which essentially determine what one's rights actually are. Maldonado asks Rebolledo if he does not believe that every creature born has a right to life, and everyone laughs when Rebolledo replies that cattle are also born and have a right to life, but, nevertheless, they are killed and eaten as steaks. Manuel is convinced by Rebolledo's reasoning, as is El Libertario, who in fact claims that most Spaniards think the same way. What is more, he adds: "En un pueblo donde hay un cacique no se pregunta si el cacique tiene razón. ¿Es el más fuerte...? pues tiene razón...Es la ley natural... la lucha por la vida" (O.C., I, 557). The discussion then continues between Prats and Rebolledo about the future anarchist society. Rebolledo asks pointedly practical questions: What will be done with criminals? How will life be better for the workers? How will the product of one's labor be evaluated? He, too, is certain that things must change, but he doubts that men like Prats know how things are actually going to change: "Porque usted me dice no habrá ladrones, no habrá criminales, todos serán iguales...no creo...porque si tuviera que creer en esos milagros por su palabra de usted antes

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ciudad de la niebla in an article which will appear shortly in Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos.

hubiera creído en el Papa" (O.C., I, 559).[54]

El Madrileño and Prats, two characters introduced about the same time, demonstrate the political tensions between Barcelona and Madrid as they bicker about the relative importance of the anarchist movement in both places. El Madrileño also provides Manuel with other information, serving as his guide at a meeting, and introducing Manuel to Prats. Prats and El Madrileño are drawn to each other only to belittle each other's region and ideology:

> El anarquismo del catalán era, sobre todo catalán, y Barcelona el modelo ideal de anarquismo, de industria, de cultura; en cambio, El Madrileno, bastaba que una cosa fuera catalana para que le pareciera mala.
> (O.C., I, 601, see also 576,668)

El Libertario laments his colleagues' parochial ideas and realizes that their attitudes are in fact antithetical to the goals of anarchism:

> ¡Vaya unos anarquistas! Se pasan la vida discutiendo si valen más los castellanos o los catalanes. Y luego quieren que desaparezcan las fronteras.
> (O.C., I, 601)

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[54] Rebolledo's scepticism about the anarchists' capacity to make appropriate and necessary changes in society resembles that of Father Lafuerza in César o nada, who doubts the ability of the liberal political forces of rural Spain to create a new order comparable to that of the church. See Chapter IV of this study.

Other minor characters, Ofkin and Caruty, add to the international flavor of Baroja's presentation of anarchism. Manuel sees the Russian Jew, Ofkin, as merely a fanatic, while the Frenchman Caruty's theories are muddled and incomprehensible. His songs, some of which are political, are well received and add to the "political" information presented.

Another type of anarchist familiar in the panorama of Spanish political thought at the turn of the century is the intellectually pretentious bourgeois anarchist. The very chapter title, "Esnobismo sociológico-Anarquistas intelectuales-Humo," indicates the impossibility of any cooperative venture between the groups represented by Prats, El Libertario, Manuel, and Juan, and several middle-class anarchists. After the meeting, El Libertario muses that radical bourgeois elements like these would be best able to help--but these people are reluctant to commit themselves. Nonetheless he observes: "Lo que es interesante es el instinto anarquista que hay en todos los españoles." Manuel's opinion about this is clear ("Sí, desgraciadamente es verdad" [O.C., I, 623]).

Other devices. Baroja uses a number of secondary narrative

techniques to convey his theme: the contrivance is apparent in his often ironic chapter titles, as well as in his use of an intrusive narrator who interpolates wry comments on the events he is relating. He also invests many characters, dreams, and events with a symbolic charge for ideological purposes, as in the anarchist meetings at the tavern, which provide the stage for Manuel to learn about anarchism. The meetings are presented from Manuel's perspective and the reader sees and hears only what Manuel does (although the narrator sometimes comments ironically). The ironic tone of the title of the first chapters of Part II (and it is at this stage that the meetings take place), "Juego de bolos, Juego de ideas, Juego de hombres" (O.C., I, 549), immediately indicates the narrator's view of the meetings, their participants, and the ideas discussed. The comment at the end of the first meeting reinforces the ironic vision by the use of the verb jugar (to play): "Y en todos ellos se notabo cierta alegría de jugar a los revolucionarios..." (O.C., I, 554).

Juan emerges as a leader at these meetings, and it is he who names the group La aurora roja. The tavern is called "La aurora" so that the title of the novel refers at once to the group and its meetings as well as to Juan's vision, at the end

of the book, of a bloody red dawn. Juan also defines the group's reason for meeting: to discuss ideas; to exchange literature; to propagandize; and, if the moment should arise, to act. Each one would act individually or collectively according to his conscience. (O.C., I, 554). The ground rules for the group are established at the first meeting, and soon four tendencies of anarchism become apparent: Juan's view is humanitarian and artistic; that of El Libertario is a rebellious intellectual individualism, more philosophical than practical; Maldonado's, a blend of anarchism and radical republicanism, with certain parliamentary tendencies and a desire to organize for practical goals. Finally there is the brand of anarchism associated with Canuto, El Madrileño, and Jesús, "un anarquismo del arroyo" which demands destruction but has no well defined philosophical orientation (O.C., I, 554-55). Despite his bourgeois tendencies and initial reluctance to attend, Manuel finds the first meeting attractive and the next Sunday he returns.

Canuto is the main speaker at the second meeting and his references give a sketchy but historically accurate history of the anarchist movement in Spain. Canuto had been an enthusiast of the International and had sided with Bakunine

after his split with Marx, but his hopes had been successively dashed by the failure of the Paris Commune and the Cartagena uprising to produce the desired social revolution. He had met such leaders as Fanelli, Salvoechea, General Serrano and Mora.[55] However, the more recent authors whose works circulate among the ever-growing group of La aurora roja--Kropotkine, the Reclus brothers, and Grave[56]--are alien to Canuto. Similarly, those listening to him find him out of date, and the second meeting becomes rather boring.

The third meeting is also seen strictly from Manuel's perspective: since Manuel arrives late, the reader misses the early discussion. The ironic title given to Chapter II indicates the narrator's view of the topics discussed: "El derecho-La ley-La esclavitud-Las vacas-Los negros-Los blancos-Otras pequeñeces" (O.C., I, 557), and the insertion of otras pequeñeces at the end of the list is an indication that Baroja is laughing at the anarchists' attempt to solve all the world's

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[55]Fermín Salvoechea, an anarchist leader, who, although in the Cádiz jail at the time of the 1892 Jérez uprising, was nonetheless sentenced to twelve years hard labor for it. Blasco Ibañez's novel La bodega (1904-1905) is based on this uprising and its hero is intended to be a portrait of Salvoechea.

Francisco Mora, a co-founder in 1888 of the Unión General de Trabajadores (U.G.T.) a social democratic type of trade union.

[56]Jean Grave, prominent French anarchist journalist and editor of Le Révolté.

problems with a Sunday afternoon discussion group. Las vacas is also humorously incongruous in the title and in the chapter.

Manuel becomes friendly with some of the anarchists and sees them more than just at their meetings, yet after the "rojo mayor" discussion with them,[57] he comments to himself that there is an element of madness in all of this: "Habrá que separarse de esta gente" (O.C., I, 606). Still, as ever influenced by his affection for his brother, in the following chapter he helps make arrangements for the anarchists' public meeting in the Barbieri Theatre.

This meeting is the closest the anarchists ever come to action.[58] Among the speakers are a shoemaker; an ambitious journalist; a ferocious, fanatic Andalusian tilemaker; and a comrade whose only real enemy is the Bible. Juan speaks last and the crowd is visibly moved by his lyrical presentation of an anarchism of love and freedom. At the end of the speech Caruty interrupts him with the cry: "¡Viva la anarquía!

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[57] See pages 107-08, n. 53 of this study.

[58] Puértolas (El Madrid, pp. 24-25) discusses an anarchist meeting that took place in the Barbieri Theatre in January 1902 and which might have been a model for the meeting in Aurora roja. She further comments on the fact that these anarchist meetings were regularly reported in the bourgeois press. Antonio Elorza ("El realismo crítico de Pío Baroja," pp. 170-71) provides an excellent analysis of Juan's speech at the Barbieri Theatre and its relationship to the development of Juan's anarchism. He further relates Juan's anarchism

¡Viva la literatura!" (O.C., I, 614). Manuel ponders the significance of this remark, but he feels unable to comprehend the relation between anarchy and literature. According to the narrator, Caruty "había dado la nota verdadera del discourso de Juan." In Memorias Baroja refers to a meeting which he attended at the Barbieri Theatre where Enrique Cornuty had actually equated anarchy and literature. Baroja recalls that the: "Equiparación de la anarquía con la literatura no se podía considerar disparatada, sino más bien certera, porque la anarquía de ese tiempo era cosa más literaria que política."[59]

El Bizco, a character present in each novel of the trilogy, becomes in Aurora roja Baroja's personification of failure. Indeed, Alarcos Llorach sees him as such, one whose life heads in the opposite direction from Manuel's and culminates in his execution as a murderer. The chapter devoted to tying up the ends of El Bizco's life criticizes the Spanish judicial system by examining it from an unlikely point of view--that of the executioner.[60] The chapter opens with an allegorical

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to Baroja's allegorical story Nihil, which appears in Vidas sombrías

[59]Quoted in Lida, "Literatura anarquista," p. 370.

[60]See Antonio Regalado, "Verdugos y ejecutados en las novelas de Pío Baroja," Papeles de Son Armadans, CXXI (abril, 1966): 9-29, for a general view of Baroja's treatment of the executioner.

presentation of justice: instead of the blind-folded matron of Mount Olympus surrounded by immortals, Baroja tells us that the woman in the black toga is a sharp-eyed harpy, surrounded for the most part, not by good people but by "curiales, alguaciles, escribanos, relatores, prestamistas... una large procesión de sacacuartos y de escamoteadores, que empieza muy alto y acaba en el verdugo, que es un escamoteador de cabezas" (O.C., I, 588). The point of the whole chapter is that the executioner is merely the last in a long line of persons responsible for taking the prisoner's life, and that his low social station actually makes him least responsible. Juan and Manuel are paying a last visit to El Bizco when they overhear an old judge telling a younger one that he is eager for a twice-pardoned criminal to be executed. The younger judge suggests that in such cases society must ask itself if it has the right to execute; since it has not educated the criminal, but instead abandoned him, it should not have the right to kill him.[61]

The talk between the two judges is a variation on the earlier discussion among Prats, Maldonado, and Rebolledo,

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[61]Professor Patt has pointed out to me the similarity between Baroja's view of capital punishment as expressed here and that expressed by Mariano José de Larra in his article "Los barateros" (available in Mariano José de Larra, En este país y otros artículos (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1967): 268-74.

and on Roberto's discussion with Manuel (O.C., I, 556-57). The old judge follows the same line of pragmatic reasoning as did Rebolledo in the earlier talk. El Libertario had commented that Rebolledo's reasoning resembled that of most Spaniards: this judge's views are also representative:

> La cuestión de derecho es una cuestión vieja de la que nadie se ocupa...¿Existe la pena de muerte? Pues matemos. Considerar la pena como medio de rehabilitación moral, aquí, entre nosotros, es una estupidez. ¡Enviar a uno a que se rehabilite a un presidio!...El derecho a la pena, el derecho a ser rehabilitado...muy bonito para la cátedra. El presidio y la pena de muerte no son más que medidas de higiene social y desde este punto de vista, nada tan higiénico, como cumplir la ley en todos los casos, sin indultar a nadie."
>
> (O.C., I, 588-89)

In the earlier discussion Juan had acknowledged that Rebolledo was correct, from his point of view, and here Juan acknowledges the logic of the old judge: "dentro de lo suyo, tiene razón...A pesar de eso, yo encuentro a ese viejo sanguinario bastante repulsivo" (O.C., I, 589).

The last part of the chapter revolves around the man who will execute El Bizco. Juan, Caruty, El Bolo, El Libertario and Manuel visit him to ask him to perform the execution as quickly and painlessly as possible, and in the course of the visit it becomes clear that the executioner is himself just another man who has to follow orders to support his

family. What is his responsibility? Baroja asks. He does not sign the death sentence, nor does he refuse to pardon the criminal; the judge and the queen, the executioner points out, are the killers. In the chapter title, "La dama de la toga negra--Los amigos de la dama--El lindo pajecillo," the executioner, a poor and uneducated Andalusian, is the "lindo pajecillo" of a repressive system which he has not created.

According to Antonio Regalado, the characters Don Alonso, El Bizco, and the executioner are three projections of the same person: "La sociedad con su régimen de lucha por la vida convierte al primero en policía, al segundo en criminal, y al tercero en verdugo, siendo los tres víctimas de un orden impersonal que aniquila la humanidad de cada uno."[62]

After the anarchists leave the executioner's home, they ponder society's need for the death penalty and for executioners. El Libertario realizes that as long as there are hungry people there will be people willing to be executioners, while Juan wonders what would happen if executioners developed their class consciousness and went on strike. El Libertario

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[62]Regalado, "Verdugos y ejecutados en las novelas de Pío Baroja," p. 12 notes that the source of the scene with the executioner is a newspaper interview with the Madrid executioner at which Baroja was present and which he later recalls in Final del siglo XIX y principios del XX. (O.C, VII, 732-4).

answers: "Sería quitar un puntal a la sociedad...el verdugo, como el cura, como el militar y el magistrado, es uno de los sostenes de esta sociedad capitalista" (O.C., I, 592).

In Aurora roja, El Bizco is seen in the context of the larger society, and the group of anarchists points out to Manuel the various issues involved in a man's criminality and in society's punishment. The fate of El Bizco makes Manuel even more satisfied with his own security and accomplishments. In La busca Manuel has been somewhat intimidated by El Bizco, in Mala hierba he is repelled by him and consciously distances himself, while in Aurora roja the anarchists help him to see El Bizco more sympathetically, as a victim of society.

Baroja uses dreams in Aurora roja as a kind of enrichment of the narrative, as devices with which to unify the work and further to delineate his own views of the unrealistic, dream-like quality of Spanish anarchism, and the non-committed, wish-fulfillment condition of anarchism's several exponents. Mala hierba, for instance, ends with Jesús' childish dream of how wonderful things would be, and before his death, Juan has a similar dream of his wished for Red Dawn. Near the end of the last chapter of Aurora roja, Manuel also has a dream

about anarchism, in which he finds himself in the Puerta del Sol. It is an important holiday, he realizes, to judge from the size of the crowds. He sees statues labeled "Truth," Nature," "Beauty," and he is ordered to take off his hat to the red flag. A policeman informs him that it is "la fiesta de la anarquía." El Madrileño, El Libertario, and Prats appear in rags and shout: "¡Muera la anarquía!" (O.C., I, 644). Anarchism, thus, is a dream: the characters' dreams, reminiscences and ideas are all that the reader sees throughout the novel since there is scarcely any real action. At another level Manuel's dream shows that anarchism has within it the same dogmatism as other ideologies--the same tendency to set up an inflexible regime. The "Fiesta de la anarquía" in Manuel's dream is no different in form from the traditional holidays. The dream also recalls Canuto's earlier refusal to salute the flag at the king's coronation. Nothing has really changed: Manuel's anarchist friends are still protesting, because--Manuels' unconscious tells him--their personalities are essentially negative, confused and dissatisfied.

PART II

The Treatment of Anarchism in "La raza"

In the trilogy La raza: La dama errante (1908), La ciudad de la niebla (1909), and El árbol de la ciencia (1911), Baroja presents a picture of anarchists different from the one found in the earlier trilogy. Most anarchists in La raza are portrayed as vain hypocrites given to dramatic gesturing; most are not workers but professionals who (as El Libertario noted in Aurora roja) could have helped the anarchist cause but were merely unwilling to make a true commitment. Moreover, there are in the second trilogy fewer political discussions and no long reminiscences about famous anarchists and anarchist deeds. But there is, contrasting with the inactivity in Aurora roja, one significant anarchist act--the attempted assassination of the king and queen by Nilo Brull in La dama errante.

This trilogy is much less concerned with politics than is La lucha por la vida. No novel in the trilogy can be

considered, like Aurora roja, a political novel,[63] and even the titles in La raza lack the strong political overtones of the title Aurora roja. While La dama errante, for example, contains two important anarchist characters, Dr. Aracil and Nilo Brull, the title itself focuses on María--who is not an anarchist--and La raza lacks the biographical-cum-political continuity of a character like Manuel.

La raza portrays two middle-class failures, two examples of a "tired" race: María Aracil(in La dama errante and to a greater extent in La ciudad de la niebla) and Andrés Hurtado (in El árbol de la ciencia). María tries to live a free and independent existence in a foreign country, but eventually returns to Spain and accepts the conventional life of a Spanish woman, while Andrés searches in vain for a philosophy of life that will be personally fulfilling.

In the prologue to La dama errante Baroja asserts that the value of his works is not "precisamente literario ni filosófico; es más bien psicológico y documental" (O.C., II, 229), and he mentions as well the "transcendental importance" of the ethnic factor in the formation of individual character.

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[63]We refer again to Howe's definition given in the Introduction.

In La ciudad de la niebla and La dama errante for instance, he examines the geographical factors in the Latin or Southern character which incline toward anarchism (contrasted with the "Nordic" or "Anglo-Saxon"). Roche in La ciudad de la niebla says, "Las ideas son el uniforme vistoso que se les pone a los sentimientos y a los instintos. Una costumbre indica mucho más el carácter de un pueblo que una idea" (O.C., II, 366).

Anarchism in the trilogy, while not as important as in La lucha por la vida, plays an important role in the development of the narrative in the first two novels: in La dama errante it is in fact the springboard of the action. María Aracil's father becomes involved with the anarchist terrorist Nilo Brull, and it is because Brull throws a bomb at the king and queen that the Aracils are forced to flee. While the first half of the novel describes a theoretical anarchist (Dr. Aracil) and an activist one (Brull), the second half describes the flight of María and her father across Spain to Portugal and their subsequent departure for London, and does not deal significantly with anarchism.[64]

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[64]The second half of the novel does, however, contain severe criticism of the Spanish oligarchy.

La ciudad de la niebla is divided into two parts. The first, "Los caminos tortuosos," is written in the first person from the point of view of María, who describes the Aracils' first months in London. María becomes disillusioned with her father because he makes no attempt to find work, devoting himself to courting a rich widow from Argentina who later pays the Aracils' hotel bill. (Eventually he abandons María to marry the widow and live in Argentina.)

In Part II, "Las desilusiones," the author takes over the narrative and describes María's experiences as she tries to make her own way in London. She has difficulty finding work and her few jobs are tedious. She becomes friendly with the Polish doctor, Vladimir Ovolensky, a writer and revolutionary, but becomes disillusioned when she discovers that, like her father, Vladimir is cowardly and hypocritical, and so she finally returns to Spain where she marries her uncle Venancio.

There is little treatment of anarchism in El árbol de la ciencia. The main character, Andrés Hurtado, a young medical student in Madrid, at one point attends an anarchist meeting in the Liceo Rius, where he is impressed by the speakers, especially Ernesto Alvarez.[65] When Andrés discusses his ideas

[65]Lida ("Literatura anarquista," p. 372) describes this

on social injustice with his friend Dr. Aracil's nephew, Julio, the young Aracil suggests that if Andrés is interested in political justice, he should become a politician, though Julio quickly convinces his friend of the hopelessness of Spanish politics. Andrés continues for a while to feël a certain inclination toward anarchism: "Se iba inclinando a un anarquismo espiritual, basado en la simpatía y en la piedad, sin solución practica ninguna" (O.C., II, 471), but he then loses interest, and the theme is not developed further.

Anarchist characters

Baroja presents four important anarchists in the first two novels of the trilogy: Aracil, Nilo Brull, Baltasar and Maldonado. Another major character, who appears at first to be an equalitarian revolutionary if not indeed an anarchist, is Ovolensky. Two anarchists of lesser importance in the novels are the Barcelona publisher Suñer and a Russian Jewess.

As in Aurora roja Baroja uses chapter titles to convey his attitude toward the material. In La dama errante, Dr. Aracil is described in a chapter entitled "El hombre bajo la máscara," while Nilo, Brull, Suñer, and the Russian Jewess

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well-known speaker, who also wrote frequently in anarchist newspapers.

are introduced and described in a chapter entitled "Farsantes peligrosos."

Ovolensky is a hypocrite, while Maldonado, a defeated, poverty-stricken old man who meets with his anarchist friends in a sort of tertulia in a graveyard is sincerely dedicated to the movement. Maldonado makes a little money mailing bombs for another group of anarchists, while Baltasar, a mechanic, has lost faith in the future of anarchism. He is very helpful to María, and when she remarks to her friend Natalie that people like Baltasar are saintly, Natalie replies that the saints were more egotistical since they expected something, while these men expect nothing (O.C., II, 391).[66]

Dr. Aracil, superficial, selfish, insincere, but charming, is incapable of making a moral decision; Beatrice Patt refers to him as "Baroja's archetypal Mediterranean."[67]

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[66]Baltasar is thought to be a fictional portrait of the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta, whom Baroja met in London in 1906. The description of Baltasar and his home in Islington which appear in the novel closely resembles Baroja's later reminiscences in Final del siglo XIX y principios del XX of his visit to Malatesta's home, accompanied by the Spanish anarchist-journalist Fernando Tarrida del Mármol (O.C., VII, 773-74).

[67]Patt, Pío Baroja, p. 103. On p. 187 she further states that Aracil is considered by some to be based on the figure of José Nákens. She also points out that in Ayer y hoy (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1939, p. 178), Baroja mentions that he once knew an anarchist named José Aracil.

This rhetorical anarchist lacks "Esa tendencia apostólica y utópica, ese entusiasmo por la vida nueva" (O.C., II, 242), and before his Madrid Atheneum speech, "El anarquismo como sistema de crítica social," he tries out his ideas on his friend Iturrioz, telling him that he favors socialism as a "sistema crítico para la transformación de los valores económicos y...el anarquismo como sistema crítico para la transformación de los valores morales y religiosos" (O.C., II, 254).

The two friends also discuss bombings, thought of by Iturrioz as an absurd form of vengeance or protest: "Sólo la idea destruye; sólo la idea crea" (O.C., II, 254), while Aracil finds in them something exemplary and even beautiful, a bomb-thrower resembling "un artista, un escultor, bárbaro y cruel, que modela en carne humana" (O.C., II, 255). Iturrioz acknowledges that there may be some truth in that vision, but he finds that Dr. Aracil "tiene el virus estético metido en las venas, no en balde procede del Mediterráneo."

Aracil's speech is well received, although Baroja makes it clear that his theses are hardly new. Another character finds that for all its verbal brilliance the speech supplied no adequate program, and was a rhetorical rather than a

practical success. His privately held opinion resembles Caruty's exclamation "¡Viva la anarquía! ¡Viva la literatura!" as a reaction to Juan's speech in Aurora roja. This character, Venancio, "consideraba lo dicho por Aracil como una fantasía literaria..." (O.C., II, 255).

Later, Nilo Brull approaches Aracil with several newspaper articles praising the doctor's lecture and, despite María's antipathy, Brull becomes Aracil's protege, having succeeded in appealing to the doctor's vanity. Brull introduces Aracil to Suñer and the Russian Jewess, and with a theatrical handshake Aracil claims to be solidario with the three anarchists. But when he later contemplates this commitment he thinks: "Si esperan que yo haga algo están divertidos" (O.C., II, 260). (And this, the newspapers assert, is a dedicated anarchist. Baroja, one feels, is making his cynical comment as an informed insider in both "professions:" journalism and anarchism.)

The doctor's friendship with Brull, his meeting with Brull's friends, the presence of a personally inscribed copy of his book El anarquismo como sistema de crítica social in Brull's suitcase, and the fact that Brull took refuge at the doctor's home, suggest that Aracil instigated the assassination

attempt and that Brull was perhaps only an instrument, though Brull proudly insists in his suicide note that he carried out his "Great Act" entirely alone. Aracil's initial reaction to the note further underlines the superficiality of his character and his lack of moral judgment: "La parte teatral, enfática, el bello gesto de mediterráneo que había dejado Brull, le producía cierta envidia. La verdad es que era todo un hombre-murmuró" (O.C., II, 282), and he further reflects on the power of self-delusion that leads a man to attach idealistic motives to such rash acts.

Once in England, Aracil enjoys a certain popularity for his supposed role in the bombing, even though he never again participates in political activity, choosing instead to court the wealthy Argentine widow.

Nilo Brull

Brull is the only anarchist in Baroja's works of this period who actually throws a bomb. In the prologue to La dama errante Baroja states that Brull represents a synthesis of the anarchists who came from Barcelona after the Montjuich trials and who "tenían un carácter algo parecido de soberbia, de rebeldía y de amargura" (O.C., II, 231); he is not a

double for Mateo Morral, the man who actually threw a bomb at the king and queen of Spain in 1906.

Brull is exceedingly vain, with a bitter smile "que expresaba esa ironía del mediterráneo, sin bondad y sin gracia" (O.C., II, 256). Like Aracil he possesses a certain rhetorical flair, and desires to be attuned to the latest intellectual fads. Like Juan Alcázar he had studied to be a priest, but the knowledge of his illegitimate birth and a book about the atrocities of Montjuich converted him to anarchism. María points out, however, that Brull's envy of his step-brothers' wealth also helped convert him.

María realizes that Brull is dangerous, and fears that he will drag her father into committing some act of idiocy (tontería). Brull laughs and explains that her father is not the type to sacrifice himself for an idea but adds that he himself is. Indeed, Brull is the type to sacrifice himself, and when, after the bombing, alone in the Aracil's apartment, Brull kills himself.

Brull's bitter and arrogant character is revealed by his suicide note, which is printed in the newspapers. It shows paranoid resentment over not receiving due recognition, and asserts that his personal rebellion owes nothing to the

influence of the "commonplace and idiotic" ideas of Reclus and Kropotkine. He is beyond ideas, above justice, and his plan, he says, is to push the world toward chaos. Like a woman who has just given birth (a simile of Brull's choosing), he feels that he too has given the world something alive--anarchism. He also compares his "estado de automatismo cerebral" from the time of conception to the time of realization with Raskolnikov's in Crime and Punishment (though he notes the enormous difference between his own grandiose deed and the relatively obscure action of Raskolnikov).

Baroja describes the crowds in the Puerta del Sol of Madrid after the bombing:

> ...Por encima del pueblo entero parecía pasar la tragedia del día, llevando a la masa el estupor y la desolación. La gente sentía la desarmonía de aquel zarpazo brutal del anarquismo con la placidez del ambiente. ¡En Madrid! En este pueblo tranquilo, correcto; insensible a la exaltación colectiva; en este pueblo de los senoritos discretos e ingeniosos, de las muchachitas inteligentes y escépticas, de los hambrientos resignados, ¡una bomba! Era absurdo, incomprensible, inexplicable (O.C., II, 270),

and notes how the crowd seeks an explanation: again the complacency of middle-class Madrid is overturned by violence and its aftermath. Aracil and María for instance overhear the comment of an old woman who finds that the rich are at fault for parading among the poor bedecked with jewels

(O.C., II, 270-71). The newspapers soon ridicule the police's failure to find Aracil, and absurd rumors about foreign plots abound.

La ciudad de la niebla

In La ciudad de la niebla María and her father are heroes among the English (though a Spanish journalist explains that the English will praise only foreign revolutionaries, since they consider all continental governments abominable).

María's suspicion of Vladimir's hypocrisy is reinforced by a dream that Vladimir marries her and takes her to Siberia; they cross the fields which are the same fields as those María and her father crossed while fleeing to Portugal. Here again is a link between Vladimir and María's father: Siberia being the destination of political exiles like Portugal for María and Aracil. The dream may further reflect an unconscious fear that Vladimir, like her father, will hurt and abandon her--although María herself makes no such conscious connection. (Both men actually do abandon her to marry rich women, further demonstrating the self-seeking hypocrisy of certain of Baroja's anarchists.) María's suspicions about Vladimir are confirmed when Maldonado receives an order to mail some bombs. María and Iturrioz had previously

criticized Maldonado for such actions, but still he asks her advice. María insists on accompanying him on his mission along with her friends Natalie and Vladimir, but Vladimir disappears. Soon Natalie informs María that he plans to marry the daughter of a wealthy Jewish art dealer who employs Maldonado to mail bombs. Vladimir leaves for Paris with his bride and Maldonado is arrested--betrayed by Vladimir's new father-in-law.

There are several interesting parallels between Aurora roja and La ciudad de la niebla. In both novels the most dramatic moment involves the safe disposal of anarchist bombs. Also in both novels this dramatic incident gives one character a clear insight into the nature of another. And in both, police spies are involved in the bomb plots. In each novel the climactic incident occurs in the next to last chapter--Vladimir's disappearance in Chapter XV of Part II of La ciudad de la niebla, and the recognition of Juan's fanaticism in Chapter VI of Part III of Aurora roja.

As in Aurora roja, anarchism and religion are intermingled in La dama errante and La ciudad de la niebla. Brull regards his suicide as a "sacrilege"; Maldonado spends most of the money he receives from mailing bombs to build

a crèche; and the anarchists hold their meetings at a church, the very church at which the bombs were left for Maldonado.

Although Baroja's attitude towards anarchism in these novels is often ironic (and critical), the fact that he did devote considerable attention to the movement and the men involved in it demonstrates the importance they had for the author during the early years of the century. The qualities Baroja particularly admired in anarchism--self-sacrifice, dedication and "saintliness"--are apparent in such characters as Juan Alcázar and Baltasar. As we have seen, a number of Spanish intellectuals at the turn of the century were drawn to anarchism as a criticism of existing bourgeois society. What was to separate the intellectuals and the anarchists was the arrival of syndicalism and the intense seriousness of the anarchists, seen by the intellectuals as narrowness and fanaticism. Similarly, the final separation between Juan and Manuel Alcázar may be attributed to the anarchist brothers' fanaticism and his acceptance of violence as a means to achieve a better society. Baroja, in spite of his critical perspective on contemporary society, was basically a novelist, a historically bourgeois occupation, and he aspired, it seems, like Manuel to "water the plants in his garden."

CHAPTER III

Paradox, rey: EXPERIMENTATION IN A POLITICAL FORM

In *Paradox, rey* Baroja presents his political ideas by using a personal variation on the classical genre of utopian satire--a category of literature described by Northrop Frye as "...never quite detached from political theory."[1] While *Aurora roja* realistically represents the urban political life of his times, *Paradox, rey* largely defines Spanish society by illustrating what it cannot be, while also indirectly indicating what it is. Baroja subtitled the work "novela," and later classified it as a "half fantasy, half satirical poem."[2] We will examine Baroja's re-creation and transformation of the utopian satire, and the political vision behind this creation.

Paradox, rey is the third volume of the trilogy *La vida fantástica* (with *Aventuras, inventos y mixtificaciones de Silvestre Paradox*, 1901; and *Camino de perfección*, 1902).

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[1] Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopia," in *Utopia and Utopian Thought*, ed. Frank Manuel (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), p. 27.

[2] Pío Baroja, *Páginas escogidas* (Madrid: Calleja, 1918), p. 208

Written in dialogue form, it is divided into three parts with a lyrical prose poem or "Elogio" inserted into each. In Parts I and II the power of speech is granted to things and creatures which do not ordinarily possess it: the wind, the sea, a rooster in Part I; in Part II a dog, a serpent, a bat, an owl, a toad, a swallow, a fish and the moon (the device is dropped in Part III).

The characters Silvestre Paradox and Avelino Diz de la Iglesia are present in both the first and the third novels of the trilogy. The action resumes approximately where it left off at the end of Aventuras, when Paradox and Diz took a train to Valencia. Early in Part I of Paradox, rey Paradox tells Diz of his plan to join an expedition to the Gulf of Guinea, to the Republic of Cananí. According to Beatrice Patt the inspiration for this expedition came to Baroja partly from his trip to Tangier in 1903, and partly from the discussions of some of his contemporaries "on the feasibility of emigrating to Cunaní, a territory between Brazil and French Guiana."[3] Baroja's novelistic version of this expedition is organized by the British Zionist banker

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[3]Patt, Pío Baroja, p. 100. These discussions are reported by Baroja in O.C., V, 989-92 and O.C., VII, 949-50.

Abraham Wolf for the purpose of eventually establishing a Jewish homeland in Africa. Paradox gives his friend Diz some background about Zionism (without ever using the word), and the Zionist Congresses held in Basle (they were held there annually from 1897).[4] Paradox and Diz join Wolf and the rest of the expedition in Tangier, a group consisting of naturalists, explorers, and soldiers. After boarding the boat they discover that Don Pelayo, a former servant who had absconded with all of Paradox's money, is also going to Cananí, ironically enough as the President of the Port

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[4]Paradox explains to Diz that there were two Zionist groups: the traditionalists who wished to buy back Palestine, and the modernists who found the possibility of establishing a Jewish nation in Africa, specifically in Uganda, more practical and economical. This explanation is quite accurate, and the latter possibility was the cause of acrimonious discussion at the sixth Zionist Congress, 1903, which, like the other Zionist Congresses, was held in Basle. The founder of modern Zionism, Theodore Herzl, wrote a utopian novel, Altneuland (1902), in which he envisioned the future Jewish state. The novel was apparently translated into Spanish as Vieja y nueva patria, but investigation in bibliographies and libraries has not yielded any information about its publication during the first years of the century. The Herzl Centenary Committee has published an illustrated edition with reproductions of Zionist documents, in English: Old-New Land, translated by Paula Arnold (Haifa: The Haifa Publishing Company, Ltd., 1960). A history of the Zionist Congresses and Herzl's role in the founding of Israel can be found in the recent book by Amos Elon, Herzl (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1975) and Desmond Stewart, Theodore Herzl (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1974). See also Ismar Elbogen, A Century of Jewish Life (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955), pp. 273-95. Further proof of Baroja's incorporation of information from the press

Authority (Administrador de Aduanas). He tells Paradox about some of the other passengers and explains the important positions that he, Mingote (a character in Mala hierba), and Ferragut will have in the new republic. Wolf's ship, the Cornucopia, heads first for the Canary Islands, but there is the inevitable storm en route and the ship goes off its course. All but one of the crew mutinies, and together with a few of the passengers, they abandon the ship. Those who remain, now led by Paradox, are taken captives in Bu-tata, capital of Uganga, shortly after they reach land.

In Part II the captives are able to outwit their captors and escape to Fortunate Isle, where they all build "Fortunate House," a communal dwelling. They turn back an attack by the Bu-tatans, and become sufficiently settled to put out an issue of the Fortunate House Herald. At the end of Part II Paradox and the German geologist, Thonelgeben, help their former enemies, the Bu-tatans, to repel the Phuls and the Arabs by diverting the course of a river, thus converting a valley into a lake. In Part III the Bu-tatans ask the Europeans to supply an immediate replacement for the tyrannical

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into his novels comes from the fact that in 1904 David Wolfson became President of the Zionist Organization. (He was not British.)

King Kiri, whom they have beheaded. The group confers and sets up a constitution for Uganga, declaring the reluctant Paradox the new king. Under Paradox's rule a model community is established, with practically no bureaucracy. Don Pelayo and Mingote, who had abandoned the Cornucopia with the mutinous members of the crew, find their way here, but their outlook is not compatible with that of the new society and they come before its court of justice. Paradox's reign, however, is short-lived. The French invade Bu-tata, bringing tuberculosis, alcoholism, prostitution. As Professor Beatrice Patt says: "Their civilization is 'syphilization'."[5]

"Paradox, rey" and The Utopian Genre

Northrop Frye finds two social conceptions which can be expressed only in terms of myth: one is the social contract, which presents an account of the origins of society, and the other is the utopia, which presents an imaginative vision of the telos or end at which social life aims. Both myths begin in an analysis of the present, the society that confronts the myth-maker, and they project this analysis in time or space.

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[5]Beatrice Patt, Pío Baroja, p. 99

The contract projects it into the past, the utopia into either the future or some distant place.[6]

The utopian genre, therefore, springs from the writer's analysis of his own society and always contains a strong ironic component. A typical utopia implicitly or explicitly contrasts the writer's own society with the more desirable one he describes (Frye, 27). The greater the difference between the real and the ideal, the sharper the irony. "The very notion of utopia necessarily entails a negative appraisal of present conditions" (Frye, 27). According to Elliott satire and utopia are not really separable, one being a critique of the real world in the name of something better, the other a hopeful construct of a world that might be (15).

The classical utopian genre joins the dialogue form with elements of the "viaje extraordinario." Many such works roughly follow the pattern set by Sir Thomas More in his Utopia (1516): A European adventurer (or the survivor of a

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[6]Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopia," p. 25. These general remarks are drawn from: Robert C. Elliott, The Shape of Utopia (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970); Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopia"; Richard Gerber, Utopian Fantasy (New York: McGraw Hill, 1973); Juan López-Morillas, "Sueños de la razón y la sinrazón: utopía y anti-utopía" in Sistema, 5: 5-19. In the remainder of this chapter I will indicate in parentheses the author and page from which a specific comment is drawn or the page number if the author is indicated in the text.

shipwreck) lands on a distant and unknown island where he discovers a humane, tolerant, well-run and rationally governed society. The traveler, upon his return, tells about his adventures in this country. Often his knowledge of this distant land is attained rather indirectly, since he is frequently escorted by a native guide who explains the society to the visitor (López-Morillas, II), and the story is made up largely of a Socratic dialogue between guide and narrator.

The behavior of society in the utopian genre is described ritually, a ritual being by its very nature a deeply significant social act. The utopian writer, according to Frye, is concerned only with actions typifying those social elements he is stressing. Further, rituals are apparently irrational acts which become rational when their significance is explained. In such utopias the guide explains the structure of the society and thereby the significance of the behavior of society is presented as rationally motivated. Frye explains as a common objection to utopias that they present human nature as governed more by reason than it is or can be. Yet: "The utopian romance does not present society as governed by reason; it presents it as governed by ritual habit, or prescribed social

behavior, which is explained rationally" (26-27). Most utopian writers, Frye says, follow either More (and Plato) in stressing the legal structure of their societies, or Bacon in stressing their technological power. Baroja follows More in his insistence on the separation between technological progress and moral progress.(27). More's type of utopia is closer to actual social and political theory, while Bacon's overlaps with science fiction (Frye, 27-28). Gerber distinguished between "evolutionary utopias" (fantastic visions of the future based upon a doctrine of evolutionary progress), and utopias of social reconstruction. These last he divides into two categories: the scientific--which places emphasis on the material conditions of society--and the arcadian--which emphasizes personal freedom (Gerber, 81; Elliott, 103).

The utopia itself is usually an elite society with the essential tasks of leadership entrusted to a small group. Further, the state usually predominates over the individual; property is communal and "the characteristic features of individual life, leisure, privacy and freedom of movement, are as a rule minimized" (Frye, 35-37).

Critics have found most works of the classic utopian genre boring and didactic. Frye suggests that when one reads

a series of such stories, one grows weary of the pervading smugness of tone (26). This would seem to be inherent in the genre, since the good life is static and uneventful and the dialogue explaining the utopia easily slips into monotonous exposition. The satiric utopias of Swift, Voltaire and Cyrano overcame this tendency, and Professor Juan López-Morillas describes these satiric utopias as literary utopias:

> en la[s] que, si bien el autor reniega implícita o expresamente de la sociedad en que vive, tampoco toma en serio la sociedad que ofrece como sustituto. La utopía satírica es ya antiutopía avant la lettre. En ella se dan en embrión muchos de los ingredientes que entrarán en la antiutopía. Los utopistas satíricos acentúan, si cabe, la índole moralista de sus creaciones, más por un convencimiento de que el hombre y la sociedad son incorregibles, que por apelación a lo que la historia puede aducir en apoyo de su pesimismo radical (López-Morillas, 11).

Frye distinguishes between the pure utopia, which visualizes a world state assumed to be ideal (or at least ideal in comparison with what we have), and the utopian satire or parody, which presents the same kind of social goals in terms of slavery, tyranny or anarchy (28). He discusses two types of utopian satire, the first being "A product of a specifically modern fear, the Frankenstein myth of the enslavement of man by his own technology and by his perverse desire to build himself an ingenious trap merely for the pleasure of getting

caught in it" (39). Books like Zamiatin's We, Aldous Huxley's Brave New World, and George Orwell's 1984 fall into this category. But Paradox, rey corresponds to another kind, in which "Social rituals are seen from the outside, not to make them more consistent but simply to demonstrate their inconsistency, their hypocrisy, or their unreality. Satire of this kind holds up a mirror to society which distorts it but distorts it consistently" (39). Gulliver's Travels is one of the most famous "mirror satires." In much the same way as the Lilliputian society is essentially the society of Swift's England, with its rituals examined satirically, so Bu-tata is the society of Baroja's Europe (especially Spain) seen from a similarly satirical point of view. The contrast between Paradox's reign and King Kiri's is clear.

Both Elliott and Wayne Booth consider the utopian satire to be what Frye calls a Menippean satire or anatomy (Elliott, 102-03). In Frye's definition an anatomy deals less with people as such than with characters acting as mouthpieces of ideas or mental attitudes. Writers in this genre make no attempt to create naturalistic human beings: their characters are stylized, mechanical, flat, so we are misguided to expect 'roundness' and complexity in these characters. Anatomies,

on the contrary, are stacked with "pedants, bigots, cranks, parvenus, virtuosi, enthusiasts; rapacious and incompetent professional men of all kinds are handled in terms of their occupational appraoch to life, as distinct from their social behavior."[7] It follows then that Paradox, rey is modelled after the plot of the classic utopian genre, although Silvestre Paradox and the other survivors of the shipwrecked Cornucopia do not discover a utopian society; rather, they transform a dystopian one.

Not long before Baroja, the utopian satire genre was briefly cultivated in Spain by Angel Ganivet (1865-98), who in La conquista del reino de Maya (1897) also uses a remote African tribe to satirize Spanish politics and society. Here too it is a European, Pío Cid, who transforms a "primitive" society. Yet he institutes things which Paradox abolishes--such as money and tobacco. Both works, however, share an ultimately pessimistic view of the possibility of true progress.[8]

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[7] Frye, The Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 309.

[8] Eugenio de Nora (La novela española, 1: 149, and n. 53), discusses the relationship between the two works.

Two dystopias and one utopia

The original dystopia. Paradox, rey presents three different societies which all occupy, at different times, the same remote geographical space: Uganga. Baroja shows Uganga and its capital city in their original states, ruled by King Kiri, then ruled by King Paradox, then finally Bu-tata as a French colony. The utopian nature of Paradox's Bu-tata is underlined by its placement in between two dystopias, an "uncivilized" one, which reads the future in balls of manure, and a "civilized" one, which brings the pleasures of alcoholism, syphilis and smallpox to its unsuspecting inhabitants. The destruction of Paradox's Bu-tata shows that Baroja's attitude is what López-Morillas describes above as the utopian satirist's pessimistic belief that man and society are incorrigibly evil.

This first dystopia of Bu-tata is a satirical portrait of Spanish society: an oligarchy which oppresses the mass of its citizens, led by fanatical, cruel, ambitious, spoiled, corrupt and irresponsible men. The ridiculous element of the ruling class is immediately clear in the first description of one of its members: Prime Minister Funangué, who appears in the midst of a poor population in a city of miserable huts

and caves carried on a golden litter: "un negrazo con sombrero de tres picos, levita azul con charreteras y sin zapatos" (O.C., II, 185). The juxtaposition of such European symbols of nobility, distinction and authority as the three cornered hat and military epaulets, with the essentially primitive barefootedness, makes this leader seem ridiculous. Funangué is easily manipulated by Paradox and Sipsom, since his desire for rum, gold and fabrics make him agree not to have the foreigners killed. Funangué regards both Paradox's watch and one of his own retinue as "animals," and exchanges one for the other; Funangué's former possession, Ugu, becomes a valuable asset to the Europeans. He and Funangúé are the "guides" to the rituals of Bu-tata, explaining the political structure to the Europeans while Paradox and Sipsom point out the irrational nature of this society's rites. Ugu explains the role of the high priest, Bagu (el primer sacerdote), symbol of the clerical element of European and especially Spanish society: Bagu is considered the most effective and wisest magician in the land, yet in spite of his skills his predictions of the future are never accurate. He is believed merely because he is the magician, even though as such he is incompetent. The fact that Bagu is still believed in spite

of his inaccurate readings of the future in balls of manure suggests Baroja's view of man's need to believe and the nature of this belief. Ugu tells his new owners that Bagu is fanatical, cruel and ambitious; he advises them that the way to save themselves from being killed is to offer the priest something. Bagu's physical appearance, like that of Funangué, is satirical: in the place of a crucifix he wears a necklace of bird skeletons; instead of a cassock he wears "una especie de falda llena de campanillas" (O.C., II, 185). He too is easily manipulated by a promise of personal gain--a way to obtain the woman he loves and the keys to the throne.

Further elements of the power structure of this society are the royal family, the nobles, and the army, though each is completely unproductive. In Uganga, Funangué explains, everything belongs to the king, and anything left over is for his mother, then for his children and his brothers, then his cousins, his aunts and uncles, his servants, then the Prime Minister, then the nobles, the magicians, and finally the soldiers. The people, according to Funangúé, have more than enough with the honor of working to support the king, his family, and everyone else: "La Constitución del rey de Uganga es la mejor del mundo" (O.C., II, 108).

The Europeans are later told that King Kiri rules by divine right and that the citizens of his realm live only at his will. This is Bu-tata's contract myth. It is essentially the same as the European "divine right" of kings, and seen in this context, it is equally logical. The military officer Langa-Ra (whose intricately tattooed chest is a Bu-tatan equivalent of war decorations) tells the outsiders: "Si el rey manda en nosotros es porque Dios le ha conferido ese poder. ¿Quién sois vosotros para negar la armonía de nuestras leyes?" (O.C., II, 192).

The nobles, a satirical portrait of the Spanish aristocracy, do not work, for their honor prevents it.[9] They are: "Criaturas demasiado perfectas para comprometer su honor en viles menesteres" (O.C., II, 192). Like their Spanish counterparts they hunt, ride camels, collect rents. When Paradox asks what merits they possess which allow them to live this way, Funangué gives him, as an explanation, the classic definition of the Spanish hidalgo (hijo de algo) or nobleman. They are, says Funangué "hijos de sus padres"--although perhaps not all of them are really their father's children. The nobles spend

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[9] John T. Reid (Modern Spain and Liberalism, pp. 112-13) discusses Baroja's views of the Spanish aristocracy.

their days praising the king. The soldiers steal all they can in time of peace and run away in time of war. This portrait of a society could refer to any of the European monarchies, but the description of the nobles and the army, especially in light of the then still recent disaster of 1898, suggests that Baroja's target is Spain.

In a chapter ironically entitled "No está la felicidad en las alturas," Baroja presents King Kiri and his daughter Princess Mahu in the royal palace, "Una barraca hecha con adobes" (O.C., II, 186). Each is unhappy and expresses this in a rhetorical, ironical sigh. The Princess wants to live the simple life, far from the ostentation of the court: "Lejos, lejos de estas vanidades, yo quisiera vivir. Lejos de estos refinamientos; sin taparrabos, sin plumas, sin collares . . ." (O.C., II, 186),[10] while the king is bored despite the constant adoration of his subjects and the assurances of the court poet that he is the most magnificent and admirable creature on earth. With mindless cruelty he entertains himself by killing little birds with a bow, or by watching the beheading of one

[10]The irony here is heightened by the similarity between the Princess Mahu and the Princess in Rubén Darío's "Sonatina" (1893), who is also bored and unhappy and longing for another existence while "trapped" in a royal palace: "Pobrecita princesa de los ojos azules!/Está presa en sus tules,/en la jaula de mármol del palacio real."

of his servants or his wives.[11] Yet he insists in a refrain he repeats four times in less than a page that he is really a deeply sensitive and sentimental man (O.C., II, 186-87).

The utopia. Paradox's utopian community, which Sobejano accurately calls "humoristica plasmación del anarquismo de Baroja (tan improductivo en el ámbito español de Aurora roja),"[12] fits the general pattern of utopias described above. In Gerber's scheme it is an arcadian utopia, emphasizing personal freedom. The contract is no longer based on "divine right," but on the choice and willing submission of the governed. It is an elitist society since the Europeans occupy the positions of responsibility, but the Bu-tatans work for themselves and enjoy the fruits of their labor. Land reform has been carried out and everything no longer belongs to the king.[13] Each family has been given both land and tools with which to work it. As in many literary utopias, traditional

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[11] Beatrice Patt (Pío Baroja, p. 100) gives the probable source of King Kiri; in about 1900 Baroja heard about an African king named King Cataclysm who used to devour succulent children and who would, for entertainment, poison his courtiers and guests when they began to bore him.

[12] Gonzalo Sobejano, Nietzsche en España, p. 367.

[13] Reid (Modern Spain and Liberalism, p. 125-26) gives the importance of land reform in Baroja's thought.

education and art are unimportant.[14] There is no jury,[15] and justice is dispensed by the Europeans, specifically by Sipsom. People are not suddenly perfect, but this society follows the utopian premise that whether man is intrinsically good or evil, life can be improved by improving man's institutions (Frye, 42). There is no capital punishment in Bu-tata: murderers are exiled permanently, thieves for varying lengths of time.[16] Religious freedom and monogamy are also part of the new society.

With the question of novelistic structure in mind it is interesting that Wolf's utopian project, as quoted in the English newspaper at the beginning of the novel,[17] resembles

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[14] See Gonzalo Sobejano, Nietzsche en España pp. 355-56, for a further aspect of Baroja's views on education and his consideration of the relationship between a particular educational system and the type of individual it produces. Northrop Frye in "Varieties of Literary Utopia" (pp. 37-38) points out that nearly all utopias depend on education for their permanent establishment: "It seems clear that the literary convention of an ideal state is really a by-product of a systematic view of education. That is education, considered as a unified view of reality, grasps society by its intelligible rather than its actual form, and the utopia is a projection of the ability to see society, not as an aggregate of buildings and bodies, but as a structure of arts and sciences."

[15] Baroja expressed a distrust of juries in Aurora roja (O.C., I, 589).

[16] María Aracil's uncle Justo in La dama errante suggests a similar method of punishment (O.C., II, 265).

[17] Herzl's Altneuland similarly begins with a newspaper advertisement.

the actual organization of Paradox's Bu-tata: ". . . el proyecto del señor Wolf es formar un gran sindicato con el objeto de ir transportando al Africa a los judíos pobres, dándoles luego tierras y útiles de labranzas" (O.C., II, 156). The book begins with a newspaper article suggesting a utopian project, but ends with a newspaper article from L'Echo of Bu-tata which, by claiming that true civilization has entered Uganga ("true" civilization here being alcoholism, tuberculosis, and syphilis), underlines how this original project has been distorted.

The characters and their roles in Paradox's utopia

All the characters on Wolf's original passenger list in Part I are transformed by the demands made upon them by their new circumstances. On the original list Paradox is listed as a surveyor, but he becomes a carpenter in Part II, a king in Part III. People in the new community perform useful functions as civilization is reduced to what is necessary and productive. There are no empty or inappropriate titles and honors, and Mingote and Don Pelayo, two characters who set sail for Africa with bureaucratic posts, are quickly shown how useless these occupations are in Paradox's Bu-tata.[18]

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[18]Emilio González López, El arte narrativo de Pío Baroja:

The most important passenger on the expedition is Silvestre Paradox, whose rise to power is "paradoxical" if we briefly consider his previous political affiliations and aspirations. Gonzalo Sobejano comments on his transformation: "Silvestre Paradox, que si en la primera novela de Baroja era el bohemio dado a las invenciones ya inventadas, en Paradox, rey (1906) enfoca su extraña fantasía hacia el terreno político-social."[19] In the earlier novel Aventuras, inventos y mixtificaciones de Silvestre Paradox, the narrator describes Paradox as sympathetic to the humble but exasperated by political discussions among the sophisticated (O.C., II, 54); he is not a believer in democracy, socialism, or in the parliamentary form of government:

> "le repugnaba la prensa, la democracia y el socialismo. Creía que si un senador necesariamente no suele ser un imbécil, en general, a la mayoría les falta muy poco para serlo. Y entre hablar a un salvaje de la Tasmania o con un diputado, un académico o un periodista, hubiera preferido siempre lo primero, encontrándole mucho más instructivo y agradable." (O.C., II, 54).

While his interest per se in Spanish politics would not foreshadow his becoming a king, he did at one point in the earlier novel envision man's reaching a utopian state.[20]

Las trilogías (New York: Las Américas, 1970), comments on this on p. 134.

[19] Gonzalo Sobejano, Nietzsche en España, p. 366.

[20] "Después de este segundo tratado, Silvestre se creyó

His interest in exploring unknown continents, however, dates from his adolescence when classmates lent him Robinson Crusoe and the novels of Jules Verne and Mayne Reid. He even began a diary in which he intended to describe the numerous voyages of discovery which he planned to make (O.C., II, 31). His previous contact with Africa included only the rather unlikely adventures told by his employer Mr. Macbeth (O.C., II, 40).

Paradox's ideas about Africa and about the virtues of life as he imagines it to be there are important aspects of the major theme of Paradox, rey and a common one to many utopian works: the superiority of a simple, dignified natural life over the distortions of civilization. Sobejano traces the probable source of Baroja's equation of "civilization" with certain "plagas corruptoras de la naturaleza primitiva" to

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en el caso de señalar algunas consecuencias de su sistema y augurar para el porvenir una época de la desaparición del egoismo agresivo, en que el hombre tendría un máximum de libertad, de alegría, de vida y de luz; un mínimum de dogma, de ley, de tristeza y de oscuridad...Llegado a este período de perfección, la Humanidad, superior, iría desapareciendo de la Tierra, y su espíritu formaría parte de la conciencia del Universo, que ascendiendo llegaría a tener Voluntad, a individualizarse y a ser Dios" (O.C., II, 70). Alberto Porlán, "Ultimas indagaciones en torno a la verdadera personalidad de Silvestre Paradox" in Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos 265-67 (julio-septiembre, 1972): 537-61, traces the later adventures of Paradox and describes the utopian communities that he established in several places: "Fraternidad" and "Fraternidad II," etc.

Nietzsche's Genealogie.[21] Paradox introduces this equation in the preliminary stage of the trip. A group of passengers who have assembled in Tangier go on an excursion to Cabo Espartel, where a French doctor, in most unprofessional fashion, gives a rooster some whiskey and is then amused by the beast's drunken distress. Paradox and his dog Yock are repelled by this action, while the rooster curses the foreigners who have disturbed his "spiritual peace" (O.C., II, 160). In an aside Paradox affirms that only nature is honorable and just and that he longs to tread the distant land: "Allí donde se viva naturalmente; allí donde no haya generales americanos; allí donde no se emborroche a los gallos, yo quiero vivir" (O.C., II, 161). A South American general then tries to convince Paradox of the superiority of America: parodying the regenerationists claim that Spain must be "Europeanized," here Europe must be "Americanized." (Paradox replies that it must be "Africanized" [O.C., II, 161]). Note that at the beginning and the end of the work the French are portrayed as perverting or destroying a natural and harmonious civilization. Further, at the end a French doctor is treating the diseases

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[21]Gonzalo Sobejano, Nietzsche, p. 368.

of civilization, among them alcoholism, the final result of the first doctor's amusement.

Paradox respects nature and does not wish to pervert it, yet he also dominates it: It is he who steers the Cornucopia during the storm, his quick thinking that allows the group to regain the rowboat from the beach where the rebellious crew has abandoned it; he fixes the machine gun in the midst of a crucial battle, and then succeeds in frightening away the Bu-tatans with an electric reflector.

According to Professor Casalduero, Paradox is an incarnation of the Nietzschian superman:

> "Paradox Rey es un superhombre dominando la Naturaleza, fuerte, impávido, sereno...Los trabajos de este nuevo Hércules son numerosos. La estructura social es derribada. El mundo será para los genios, no puestos al servico del capital o de la industria sino al de la humanidad."[22]

He is the major "political" figure in Paradox, rey, and when the passengers of the shipwrecked Cornucopia reach land he is declared leader, and he proves an excellent one. The political principles of Paradox's rule resemble Baroja's: both distrust democracy, both hate dogma. Paradox's ideas become clear when he presides at the meeting charged with

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[22]Joaquín Casalduero, "Sentido y forma de 'la vida fantástica,'" p. 443. See also Gonzalo Sobejano, Nietzsche, pp. 364-65.

drafting a constitution and providing a king for the Ugangans: he qualifies the Frenchman Ganerau's suggestion of a constitution of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" by saying Liberty, yes, but not to disturb one's neighbor; Equality, yes, but the Bu-tatans will continue to be of unequal height as well as unequal in all other natural attributes. As for the Bu-tatans all being brothers, Paradox insists that any brother who bites will be properly muzzled (O.C., II,209). These comments are not outright rejections of the proposals, merely warnings about too literal an interpretation. But he is definitely opposed to a parliamentary system. Like Baroja he does not believe in "en la sublimidad de ese procedimiento, que hace que la mayoría tenga siempre la razón,"[23] and feels that Uganga would do best with a paternalistic government, just as Baroja felt this kind of government best for Spain. Paradox satirically points out to Ganereau that a king is no different from a president of a republic: both are equally useless, for they actually govern only rarely. People obey laws, not kings; a king or president is merely an empty representation. In Europe he is either a military man with

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[23] John Reid (Modern Spain and Liberalism, p. 83) comments on this idea. Baroja expresses similar views in "Burguesía socialista" in El tablado de Arlequín (O.C., V, 14-17).

medals on his chest or—as in France--a sort of notary public with a top hat and a ribbon in his button hole (O.C., II, 208).

The comparison with Europe is emphasized again in a conversation with Diz, the new Prime Minister. Diz realizes that without a king the Ugangans would be at each others' throats; Paradox in turn, sharing Baroja's distaste for the masses, points out that the same thing happens in Europe: "¡Y pensar que eso mismo ocurre en Europa! El pueblo es siempre imbécil, necesita llevar algo encima" (O.C., II, 211). Paradox wants education to be useful and appropriate to his natural society, and he agrees to establish a school which he envisions as a kind of workshop where students would observe and then learn whatever trade most appealed to them.[24] Any school established in his reign, however, would have neither teachers nor any other type of authority figure. There would be no instruction in Latin, history, rhetoric, psychology, logic or ethics (O.C., II, 214),[25] since by

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[24]John Reid discusses Baroja's views of education in Modern Spain and Liberalism, pp. 121-24.

[25]Paradox's comment that "El profesor es una especie de papagayo del género Psittacus, familia de los loros" (O.C., II, 214) recalls Ganivet's La conquista del reino de Maya. Here Ganivet describes a society in which teachers are given life-long posts (cátedras) based on their ability to train parrots to recite. In his 1885 essay "Crítica espontánea de

eliminating these subjects Paradox hopes to avoid the results of a traditional Spanish education and to form more productive citizens. Paradox wishes his society to develop in harmony, without unnecessarily overemphasizing any one element. Education in the simple state of Bu-tate should train people to perform needed functions, and thus art, mathematics, and even science do not have a secure place:

> "¿Para qué les sirve ahora estudiar matemáticas? Cuando lo necesitan estudiarán. Hay un grado de civilización material en Bu-tata que por ahora nos basta y nos sobra. ¿Para qué avanzar violentamente si no sentimos esa necesidad?" (O.C., II, 214)

Science is prejudicial to the individual and therefore to society, because it will not give a harmonious end-product: "Porque produce un bárbaro desarrollo del cerebro a expensas de los demás órganos. Y en el cuerpo humano se necesita la armonía, no el predominio" (O.C., II, 214). The role of art in utopia is problematic. Ever since Socrates' Republic

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los niños en Bellas Artes" in his Ensayos sobre educación (Madrid: Ediciones de la Lectura, n.d.), p. 76, the educator Francisco Giner de los Ríos uses a "parrot image" in his critique of Spanish education. He urges that students be taught to think and that meaningless memory work be eliminated: "Entonces se descargarán los odiosos programas de los odiosos exámenes y se exigirá de toda clase de estudiantes que sean hombres, no papagayos;"

recommended crowning the mimetic artist with fillets of wool and escorting him to another city, the theme has echoed in utopian literature (Elliott, 127). As Elliott points out, great art, like heroism, "may prove incompatible with the conditions of a stable and happy society. Eighteenth-century writers mourned the passing of the epic but not the 'barbaric' conditions which made the epic possible" (122). Art is a product of conflict, of passions which no longer exist in a utopia, and it is therefore often seen as obsolete.[26] Paradox feels this way: "El arte es una cosa llamada a desaparecer: es un producto de una época bárbara, metafísica y atrasada" (O.C., II, 214). In a comment which may refer to Spanish bohemian society at the turn of the century, he claims that artists are abominable creatures:

> ¿Hay nada más repulsivo, más mezquino, más necio, más francamente abominable que un hombrecillo do ésos, con los nervios descompuestos, que se pasa la vida rimando palabras o tocando el violín?
> (O.C., II, 214)

The first indication of Paradox's attitudes toward literature, philosophy, and history can be seen in Aventuras, when he and Diz purge the latter's overwhelming book collection: "quemando en el corral todo lo que fuera literatura, filosofía,

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[26] Elliott discusses this further in The Shape of Utopia, pp. 121-28.

historia y demás inutilidades insulsas y repulsivas" (O.C., II, 49). Paradox and Diz do publish an issue of the Fortunate House Herald; including a description of the island's flora, an article about the colony's future, and a laconic narration of the battle with the Bu-tatans--but there is no section devoted to the arts (O.C., II, 200).

In addition to being the "philosopher-king" of Bu-tata, Paradox is also a "guide" to its institutions, pointing out the quality of civilization reached and the elimination of institutions harmful to society. When Mingote and Don Pelayo arrive in Bu-tata, Paradox offers them land and tools, but Mingote, who set out for Cananí with an important bureaucratic title, is not interested in becoming a farmer, he would prefer some kind of office job. When informed that in Bu-tata everyone lives from his own work, and that there are no offices, Mingote exclaims: "Pero a esto le llaman ustedes civilizar un país!"(O.C., II, 218), his exclamations are repeated when he discovers that there is no money (and therefore no money-lending), that it is forbidden to have anyone work for another's gain, and that there is no tobacco.

The first passenger on Wolf's list is the hypocritical

Monsieur Ganereau, a Frenchman of independent means who is accompanied by his daughter Beatrice. Ganereau's belief in parliamentary government and democracy contrast with Paradox's ideas, and the novel's stage directions underline the inappropriateness of Ganereau's republican views in Africa: "Ganereau, como republicano y como demócrata, idiotiza a los mandingos hablándoles de los derechos del hombre" (O.C., II, 192). Nonetheless, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity--his suggestions for Uganga's constitution--do not apply when Thady Bray, a mere cabin boy, wishes to marry his daughter. (The marriage can proceed, however, when Thady Bray can show his lineage to be as old as the Ganereau's family and based on equally foolish distinctions.)

The next passenger on Wolf's list is the Englishman Arthur Sipsom, the type of pragmatic Englishman admired by Baroja. He is a Machiavellian political animal who knows when to make promises and when to use threats. As Paradox tells him, he is "un aventajado discípulo de Maquiavelo" (O.C., II, 190), one who cleverly manipulates both Funanqué and Bagu to facilitate the Europeans' escape from Bu-tata by quickly discovering Bu-tatan weaknesses. By alternately promising good food, women, and rum, and threatening the

Bu-tatan bodyguards with a machine gun, he is able to convince them to desert King Kiri and join the Europeans. Paradox, Ganereau and Thonelgeben had previously been trying to convince them on the rational bases that their king has deprived them of their liberty, that his claim to power is based on the word of magicians who are almost always wrong. In keeping with the theme of the goodness of the simple life, Sipsom has changed from a needle manufacturer in a complex civilization, to a simple ironsmith on Paradox's new list. The basic elements of both occupations are the same, but the scale of operations is greatly reduced. Now, clearly, the needle manufacturer is not exploiting or alienating any of his workers. He derives the benefits of his own labor, and is perfectly content in his new society. As he tells Paradox: "En la vida no hay nada grande más que el amor y el trabajo."[27]

Sipsom comments on the beauty of a life unspoiled by "progress," telling Paradox that he would exchange his entire life as a civilized man for a night of love and unconsciousness, like the night of Paradox's coronation (O.C., II, 212).

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[27] O.C., II, 213. Baroja, like Freud, felt that the most important things in life were love and work.

The refinements of civilization seem ridiculous when compared with the natural life: "¡Todas esas máquinas y artefactos del progreso para correr, para marchar siempre más de prisa; que necios me parecen!" (O.C., II, 212-13). Sipsom further disregards Paradox's suggestion of moral progress: "La moralidad no es más que la máscara con que se disfraza la debilidad de los instintos. Hombres y pueblos son immorales cuando son fuertes,"[28] and pragmatically rejects as unrealistic and inappropriate Ganereau's attempts to make the Bu-tatans republicans. He criticizes the Frenchman for thinking mistakenly that he is in Montrouge (O.C., II, 192, 208), and with the help of some deception he solves Uganga's constitutional crisis by having Paradox acclaimed king. The Englishman later becomes the judge, dispensing justice in accordance with the beliefs of the new society.

Sipsom's justice resembles that of Sancho Panza: he is aware that he cannot always do exactly what he thinks is right, that personal liberty must at times be sacrificed. The cases which come before him reflect the difficulty of putting certain principles into practice, as when in court his

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[28] O.C., II, 213. Gonzalo Sobejano finds a Nietzschean component in Sipsom's character in Nietzsche, pp. 367-68.

pragmatism conflicts with Paradox's idealism, Sipsom logically settles the case of a man stealing chickens from another guilty of hoarding work coupons by making the thief take care of the other man's chickens. The hoarder is made to give up the excess coupons. The thief offers a defense based on King Paradox's statement, "to each according to his needs." "I need those chickens," he claims (O.C., II 221), though Sipsom mumbles that Paradox is crazy and will make the Bu-tatans ungovernable. The problem of a man's refusal to work to support his family is resolved, not as Sipsom would like (by a good flogging) but by forced labor with the salary given directly to his wife. The man's personal liberty is sacrificed; he does not have the right not to work. A humorous touch is introduced in Sipsom's Solomonic ruling in a quarrel between two men who dispute the same mother-in-law (and therefore the same wife). By telling each to take a knife and divide her between them, he can see that the one who dislikes her enough to do it is the rightful son-in-law.

The last case, like the first two, is a problem of social adjustment: Don Pelayo refuses to be exploited by Mingote,

who refuses to work. Sipsom reluctantly intervenes: first he orders Mingote to flog Don Pelayo and then, to Mingote's surprise, he has Don Pelayo return the blows. Sipsom humorously closes the chapter with an ironic last comment on the famous socialist axiom:

> "administro justicia por un procedimiento socialista: a cada uno, según su capacidad; a cada capacidad, según sus obras." (O.C., II, 221)

The Prussian geologist Eichthal Thonelgeben is the next passenger on Wolf's list, another northern type. He is a flat character, demonstrating the usefulness, practicality, and know-how of the man of science. He is the architect of Fortunate House and supplies the technical knowledge necessary to change the course of the river and save Bu-tata from her enemies. It is worthwhile to compare Thonelgeben's manufacture and use of dynamite with the anarchists' in Aurora roja: there are no religious overtones in Thonelgeben's use of dynamite and no loss of human life, either actual or intended, but we do have Nietzschean "creative destruction," for the physical change precedes and anticipates the Bu-tatans' change of government.

In the new society Thonelgeben's role is largely technical, but several of his ideas are incorporated into the political

and social structure. He verbalizes the utopian aim of the new Bu-tatan society--the happiness of its members "aquí lo principal es hacer que el pueblo viva feliz" (O.C., II, 209)—which is in sharp contrast to its previous social contract. Like Paradox, he opposes a European parliamentary system of government, and suggests a socialist dictatorship in which land would belong to everyone, tools would be distributed according to need, and "a cada uno se le dará según sus necesidades" (O.C., II, 209). The geologist considers this form of communism to be natural and economical: "las sociedades europeas son más artificales porque se han separado de la realidad" (O.C., II, 209).

John Hardibras, the soldier, represents the military values of a society in their most positive and useful application. His profession alone is not changed by the new circumstances, his religion still one of military discipline and honor. A faithful soldier, he believes that a leader can do no wrong.(O.C., II, 176). He instructs the women to sew a flag, and then assures the Bu-tatans that with the flag flying the enemy will not dare to attack. Hardibras obeys Paradox in peace-time, but when their camp is threatened he takes command, refusing to allow Paradox to jeopardize the

battle by his interference.

The other passengers are typically "flat," but each has an important function. Miss Pich is a rabid feminist and man-hater who insists that the great men in history, Shakespeare, Socrates, and King David were really women. When she is raped by the Arabs her concern for her family's honor is just as exaggerated as that of a man. While her attitudes suggest that she is a caricature, Paradox does not find Miss Pich's attitudes at all surprising: "antrofobia natural, muy humana" (O.C., II, 167). She is the editor of an women's newspaper in which the articles are distorted, though this distortion is no greater than the distortion of the French Colonel Barban's (barbarian?) letter to the French Secretary of War in which, in an attempt at self-glorification, he asserts that the Europeans had organized a strong military defense of Bu-tata, when actually they knew nothing of the impending attack. Further, Miss Pich's point of view is no less distorted in her newspaper than the view of civilization given in L'Echo of Bu-tata which ends the novel. L'Echo reports on a French priest's sermon in which the Bu-tatans are urged to give thanks to God "porque la civilización de paz y de concordia de Cristo, ha entrado definitivamente en el

reino de Uganga" (O.C., II, 226).

The final dystopia. Baroja contrasts three paradigms of civilization--two dystopias and one utopia--to convey his theory of the ways in which man creates order out of chaos. The vision of the French in Bu-tata is the final example of how modern civilization corrupts nature. The "contract myth" of this final dystopia is based on the superior size and force of the French army. Baroja's description of Bu-tata under French rule is very brief, but the contrast with Paradox's reign is dramatic. The perspective is that of a doctor and his assistant in the Bu-tatan hospital. In Paradox's Bu-tata there was neither hospital nor illness. The Frenchmen comment on the hypersusceptibility of the Bu-tatans to diseases which the Europeans carry but either do not get themselves or are better able to survive if they do. The assistant comments that these are the benefits of civilization; this was the way the Yankees finished off the Indians. But the Bu-tatans have not only had their health ruined, their customs have also been perverted. Princess Mahu is now a burlesque dancer, there are prostitutes on every corner, there is a growing hatred between the races: "Aquí ya hay de todo. Esto es Sodoma, Gomorra, Babilonia, Lesbos, todo en una pieza" (O.C., II, 226).

The function of the "Elogios"

The three lyrical "Elogios" in the novel further develop the book's positive view of the simple, humble, honest and unpretentious aspects of civilization. Each "Elogio" follows and comments upon an action of the novel. "Elogio sentimental del acordéon" in Part I follows a shipboard concert in which the passengers perform. Thady Bray begins to play the accordian after the unbearably tuneless songs sung by the tone-deaf, Môme Fromage and Mingote. The "Elogio metafísico de la destrucción" in Part II follows the creation of a lake from a river (O.C., II, 203). The "Elogio de los viejos caballos del tío vivo" in Part III follows the presentation of Paradox's views on education, art and science in Bu-tata and his announcement that a carousel will be set up in the town square along with classes in "wooden-horse equitation" (O.C., II, 215). In the "Elogio sentimental del acordéon" the author, speaking as a character, praises the unpretentious instrument, finding it appropriate to the times--humble, sincere, somewhat plebeian. Unlike the guitar, the zampoña (flute), the gaita (type of bagpipe), the trumpet, or the drum, the accordion is not associated with the traditional

literary genres, now so removed from everyday values, nor is it associated with the call to war. Rather, it accurately describes the monotony of life, the "melodía vulgar, monótona, ramplona, ante el horizonte ilimitado . . ." (O.C., II, 170).

The "Elogio de los viejos caballos del tío vivo" is similar in theme, and expresses a lyrical yearning for the old carousel horses, the noble, kindly and honorable old horses, so vital to the happiness of children, nursemaids, and soldiers. The author objects to the new and luxurious steam-driven carousel, over-adorned with mirrors and lights. As in the "Elogio sentimental del acordéon," Baroja draws a parallel between one of man's creations designed for his amusement and the meaning of man's existence, the ultimate pointlessness of the carousel's frenetic movements and man's: "Y sin embargo, vuestro sino es cruel; cruel, porque lo mismo que los hombres, corréis desesperadamente y sin descanso y, lo mismo que los hombres, corréis sin objeto y sin fin . . ." (O.C., II, 216).

The "Elogio metafísico de la destrucción" is a further comment on an aspect of man's civilization: destruction as the necessary concomitant of creation, a belief seen earlier in the anarchist Juan Alcázar's desire to first destroy

society in order to rebuild a better one. Here, physical destruction is the prelude to political and social destruction after which will come a new and better order. The "Elogio" resembles Nietzsche's comment:

> "And he who hath to be a creator in good and evil verily he hath first to be a destroyer, and break values in pieces. . . And let everything break up which can break up by our truths; Many a house is still to be built.[29]

The symbolic Cyclops speaks in the "Elogio metafísico de la destrucción,"[30] and his refrain is "Destruir es cambiar; destruir es transformar" (O.C., II, 203-04). He goes on to state that:

> "En la destrucción está la necesidad de la creación. En la destrucción está el pensamiento de lo que anhela llegar a ser . . . Pálidas imágenes del pensar humano, brutales explosiones de la materia inerte: sois equalmente destructoras, sois igualmente creadoras . . . destruir es cambiar. No, algo más. Destruir es crear." (O.C., II, 203-04).

In a brief chapter following this "Elogio" the Europeans marvel at the changes wrought by the dynamite and name the new phenomena which it has created: the lake, the islands

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[29] Nietzsche, Thus Spake Zarathustra (New York: Modern Library, n.d.), p. 127, quoted in John T. Reid, Modern Spain and Liberalism, p. 66. Beatrice Patt (Pío Baroja, p. 100) also comments on the philosophy of this "Elogio."

[30] Joaquín Casalduero, "Sentido y forma de 'La vida fantástica,'" pp. 439-40, discusses the "Elogios."

and the waterfall. Here, unlike the anarchist terrorists' attempts to bring about a new order by destroying the old, dynamite actually does precede the creation of a better world. In the following chapter, "Los buenos y los malos," the world of nature comments on the momentous event. Bagu is indignant at the temerity of European science and he realizes that his religious authority as magician is threatened. The creatures that speak are the denizens of a changed habitat: a serpent, a fish, a toad, a lark, a hyena, Mr. Owl, and then the moon. According to Patt this chapter is a parable of *las dos Españas*: "the petrified Spain that neither knows nor wants to know anything finds its authentic voice in the frog, while the new Spain, the country that welcomes knowledge and with it progress and change is appropriately symbolized by the moon and the creatures of light and movement."[31]

The question of genre

The issue of *Paradox, rey's* genre involves the following elements: the comments of the few critics who have examined *Paradox, rey* from this perspective; Baroja's innovations and

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[31]Beatrice Patt, *Pío Baroja*, p. 100.

their relation to the twentieth-century novel and the Conte philosophique (a narrative category which includes the utopian satire); and Baroja's own views of genre and the role of the novelist.

In his discussion of the trilogy La vida fantástica Professor Emilio González López calls Baroja "un auténtico novelista experimentalista,"[32] stating further that:

> Este mismo afán, de dar con cada novela un nuevo modelo del arte narrativo, está presente en las tres de esta trilogía y quizá de expresar aun con mayor vigor, pues las dos de la serie Paradox aparecen como un anticipo de lo que será el expresionismo europeo . . .[33]

Three months after the publication of Paradox, rey Max Nordau in a letter to Baroja calls the novel a "bella y vigorosa sátira," for its originality.[34] He enthusiastically cheers "cada golpe que usted asesta a nuestra hipocresía de civilizadores."[35] Nordau also praises the innovative

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[32]Emilio González López, El arte narrativo, p. 126.

[33]Ibid., p. 127.

[34]Nordau, "Opinión sobre Pío Baroja," in Baroja y su mundo, 2 vols. plus supplement (Madrid: Arion, 1961), II, p. 32. It should be noted that Max Nordau was an active Zionist and took part in the Zionist conventions held in Basle. His role in Zionism is described in Ismar Elbogen, A Century of Jewish Life (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955), pp. 271-76.

[35]Nordau, "Opinión sobre Pío Baroja," p. 32.

qualities of Paradox, rey with regard to narrative technique, and comments upon questions of genre:

> He ahí una nueva nota de la vieja literatura castellana. Nada de la antigua solemnidad, redundancia y declamación . . . Usted tiene el valor-yo iba a decir la temeridad-de resucitar el cuento filosófico del siglo XVIII. Para renovar este género hay que sentirse un poco pariente y heredero de Voltaire . . . Pues bien, usted lo es. Usted tiene rasgos de la fisonomía del patriarca de Ferney. Es usted casi tan espiritual como él, pero mucho más amargo . . . Para Voltaire el espectáculo del mundo había llegado a ser indiferente; para usted, no; porque usted sufre. Yo lo prefiero.[36]

Nordau's identification of Paradox, rey with the philosophical tale is interesting, since the utopian satire is a variety of this larger classification, a genre which treats the "disillusionments one suffers in trying to apply systems to the unsystematic realities of life."[37]

The conclusions drawn by the American critic Maurice Shroder as he traces the genre of the novel from its origins in Don Quixote to the twentieth century are important for our consideration of Paradox, rey. According to Shroder's lucid definition, the novel:

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[36]Nordau, "Opinión sobre Pío Baroja," p. 32.

[37]Maurice Shroder, "The Novel as Genre," The Theory of the Novel, ed. Philip Stevick (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 16.

> Is an essentially ironic fictional form, occupying a middle position between the non-ironic romance and the philosophical tale, which is ironic but in ways often different from those of the novel. The novel shares with the romance an emphasis on human situations rather than on ideas. Both deal in experimential reality rather than theoretical questions. The novel shares with the conte philosophique a distrust of the romance sensibility, the sentimental and mythopoeic attitudes that makes romances the enchanting and illusory works they are. Like the philosophical tale, too, the novel has a certain didactic purpose.[38]

The action of the novel is essentially a reworking of the basic action of the romance--the familiar story which Northrop Frye, in his Anatomy of Criticism calls "the quest." Typically, a young man goes forth to discover his own nature and the nature of the world. The novel deals with the educational process, an education about the realities of the natural world and of human life. The "going forth" may be metaphorical rather than actual, but the voyage often provides the novelistic framework, and the protagonist's movement is always from a narrow environment to a broader one.[39]

Shroder finds that the pattern for many early novelists was to: "Begin with a parody of romance and to end as realists."[40] But there is a change in fiction in the last decades of the nineteenth century; a different pattern becomes increasingly

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[38]Maurice Shroder, "The Novel as Genre," The Theory of the Novel, ed. Philip Stevick.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid., pp. 15-16.

apparent after 1900--a reversal of Cervantes' paradigm:

> Joyce and Mann, for example, begin in realism and end in mythopoeia. As realism had burlesqued romance, so the authors of the new fiction turned the processes of realistic novels themselves into objects of ridicule.[41]

Shroder explains that with authors such as Zola and Hardy the novel opens itself to a process that he calls "remythification," and the tendency to appropriate the "processes and effects which earlier novelists had avoided as the province of poetry." In Shroder's view, as the novel becomes more "thoroughly comic or more thoroughly tragic, it passes beyond irony and beyond realism into a new area of fictive expression, open to more cosmic and more reflective visions of the world."[42] He asserts that genres do change: "In the same way that the novel grew out of the romance through the ironic attitude and manner that we call realism, so as our views of reality have changed, and as the ironic fiction that depicted the contrast of appearance and reality had made its point-something new has grown out of the novel."[43]

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[41]Maurice Shroder, "The Novel as Genre," p. 27.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid., p. 26.

This change in the genre is important for criticism. Shroder asserts that: "If we are to deal with the various forms of fiction in terms of their essential qualities, we must recognize that the ironic realism of the novel from Cervantes to the late nineteenth century gives way to other fictional modes in the twentieth. We may be forced to continue to use the term 'novel' for the fiction of the twentieth century, but we must adjust our expectations accordingly."[44] Irving Howe in his study of George Orwell's 1984 cautions about the expectations we have come to have with regard to the novel,

> expectations that are mainly the heritage of nineteenth century romanticism with its stress upon individual consciousness, psychological analysis and the study of intimate relations.[45]

The action of Paradox, rey does follow the general pattern of the quest, the pattern of action of both the novel and the utopian genre. The protagonist moves from a small town in the province of Valencia, to cosmopolitan Tangier, the sea, and Africa, and during his voyage he learns about the realities of human life in society. Yet although Paradox, rey follows this part of the pattern, its other

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[44]Maurice Shroder, "The Novel as Genre," p. 25.

[45]Howe, Politics and the Novel, p. 236.

elements link it to Shroder's description of the post-realistic novel. The facets of remythification are manifest first in the use of the utopia myth. Abraham Wolf is the mythic "father" of civilization: the Jewish patriarch Abraham turned a twentieth-century Zionist. The Cornucopia is a version of the ark myth which contains all the elements of civilization, and the "province of poetry" has been invaded by Baroja's use of lyrical "Elogios." The use of talking animals, an ancient device, also deviates from realism and enters the realm of the marvelous. As Paradox and Diz decide to join Wolf's expedition, the former leads the reader to expect a marvelous tale, by his use of a reference to The Thousand and One Nights: "Amigo mío, dijo Denarzada, ¡qué cuento más maravilloso!" (O.C., II, 157). He repeats this comment after the successful creation of a lake from a river (O.C., II, 204). Diz agrees: "Es verdad; esto es un cuento extraordinario." The animals talk soon after these comments. Thus, Paradox, rey moves beyond realism to project a more cosmic and reflective "vision of the world" than the nineteenth century realistic novel; it offers a meditation on the structure and meaning of civilization and human life as well as a satire of European and Spanish society.

Baroja himself clearly rejects the esthetic of the nineteenth-century realistic novel. In Final del siglo XIX y principios del XX[46] he thinks that it is easy to give unity to a work by the use of old formulas and a pompous rhetoric, claiming that these techniques could be learned the same way one learns to make shoes. He views a work's unity as springing from the myth of the work:

> Me gusta la unidad, pero cuando sale del fondo del mito que ha buscado el autor . . . Mejor que esa unidad simulada que ofrece en general la novela francesa. Prefiero la narración que marcha al azar, que se hace y deshace a cada paso. como ocurre en la novela española antigua, en la inglesa y en las de los escritores rusos. (O.C., VII, 754)

As an alternative to the French esthetic Baroja offers his own views on genres in La Caverna del humorismo (1919), views presented here briefly as a complement to Shroder's and as an indication of Baroja's critical affinity for the issue of genre in twentieth-century literature. Not only was Baroja an experimental writer; he was also conscious of how he was experimenting and enriching literary forms. In La Caverna del humorismo Baroja distinguishes between a rhetorician and a humorist-antithetical terms in his opinion.

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[46] Baroja's most extensive statements on the theory of the novel are to be found in the prologues to La nave de los locos and Los amores tardíos, in chapter XI of Las horas solitarias and in a section of his Memorias entitled La

The rhetorician is rigid and traditional, repeating the old, accepted formulas: "Es como quien busca en el guardarropa un buen disfraz ya cosido y, a lo más, se permite añardirle un lazo o una cinta" (O.C., V, 417). The rhetorician believes in the inmutability of "species" and carefully labelled and classified "specimens"; his concern for technique narrows his mental horizons as a writer.

The humorist, however, feels a need to innovate: he believes in continuing evolution, throws out the old labels and takes another look at his specimens. For him there are no literary genres: sometimes they all seem acceptable, at other times they all seem old and faded. The humorist is a disciple of Heraclitus, believing that everything is constantly changing and becoming. Baroja approaches a definition of his own renovation of the utopian satire genre when he says: "Mucho menos son idénticas a las de ayer las figuras literarias y artísticas de hoy. Ríos, montes y personajes literarios pueden ser, hasta con los mismos nombres de ayer, hechos

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intuición y el estilo. The prologue to La nave de los locos is Baroja's answer to Ortega's essay Ideas sobre la novela. For an overview of the controversy between Ortega and Baroja about the novel, see Carmen Iglesias, "La controversia entre Baroja y Ortega acerca de la novela," in Pío Baroja, ed. Javier Martínez Palacio, pp. 251-62.

completamente nuevos" (O.C., V, 416). For the humorist in the constantly changing world there is always a place for new forms, and materials with which to create them (O.C., V, 417), and for Baroja in both theory and practice the humoristic tendency is like a centrifugal force which draws the writer away from literature towards philosophy, science, politics or mere superfluity (O.C., V, 418). In short, we can observe that in his "non-treatise" (rhetoricians might write treatises, humorists do not) Baroja is quite aware of the difficulty of distinguishing humorists from other related species, in much the same way that it is difficult to distinguish the novel from other narrative strains. But this difficulty, says Baroja, is part of the definition:

> No es fácil siempre separar el humorismo de las especies literarias algo afines; el humorista se confunde muchas veces con el cómico, con el satírico, con el bufón y con el payaso. Como el camaleón, cambia constantemente de color, y estos cambios de color, no le confunden, sino que le caracterizan." (O.C., V, 419)

CHAPTER IV

CESAR O NADA: A PORTRAIT OF A POLITICAL "MAN OF ACTION"

In César o nada (1910) Baroja again turns his attention to the real political scene, moving from the universal mythopoeic world of Paradox, rey to the particular world of provincial Spain. While in Aurora roja the novelist described the atmosphere of urban anarchism, here he focuses on the atmosphere of rural political bossism. It is here too that his individualistic and essentially romantic view of politics is most clearly exemplified.

In this political Bildungsroman Baroja traces the political life of César Moncada from his preparation, initiation, and experiences to his ultimate failure to reform life in a typical Spanish community, and finally to his ironic reconciliation with the "system."[1] This pessimistic novel clearly presents regenerationist themes in its portrayal of

[1]The Biblioteca Nueva edition of Baroja's complete works does not include the final chapter of the novel, "Finis gloria mundi" and therefore the irony of César's life is lost. All references to this chapter (XXII of Part II) are from the Editorial Renacimiento edition (Madrid, 1910, pp. 465-66).

rural Spain and in its criticism of bossism, electoral fraud, and the Spanish oligarchy. César advocates programs to improve irrigation, transportation, and education, and calls for an end to "theocratic rule." His ideas resemble those of the regenerationist Joaquín Costa (1846-1911) as well as those of "los Tres." César's failure parallels the failure of these regenerationists, and also reflects Baroja's own unsuccessful candidacy for municipal councilman in 1909.[2]

The pessimism of this work may be a reflection not only of the failure of certain regenerationist programs but also of the atmosphere of Spanish politics of the time. According to D. L. Shaw, Baroja probably began César o nada after Lent in 1909; it first appeared as a serial in Lerroux's newspaper El Radical in the middle of 1910.[3] It was, therefore, written during an extremely tense period of Spanish history, marked by a violent display of anticlericalism, and it would be well to keep certain of the events in mind as a background for our study of the novel. In July, 1909,

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[2]Beatrice Patt, Pío Baroja, p. 107. Also see Chapter I of this study.

[3]D. L. Shaw, "Dos novelas de Baroja: una explicación de su técnica. (Sobre César o nada y El gran torbellino del mundo)," p. 390.

the Spanish army suffered a defeat in one of its perennial wars with the Riffs in Morocco. A column of troops was ambushed at the Barranco del lobo in Melilla while trying to take possession of some iron mines for which a Spanish aristocrat had recently obtained the concession. The War Office subsequently called up the reserves in Catalonia to replace the unit of troops that had been lost. This action has been interpreted as "a deliberately provocative act;"[4] the country had been strongly pacifist since the disastrous war in Cuba and the Catàlonians were violently separatist. Further, the reserves consisted of working class, married men who could not afford the small sum required to buy their way out of military service and there was a widespread belief that the iron mines were the property of the Jesuits. In the last week of July anti-war demonstrations in Barcelona flared up into a ferocious attack upon the property of the Catholic Church in which the industrial workers of Barcelona seized control of the streets and held the police

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[4]Gerald Brenan, The Spanish Labyrinth, p. 34. This discussion of the Tragic Week is drawn from Brenan, pp. 34-35; Joan C. Ullman, Tragic Week: A study of Anticlericalism in Spain, 1875-1912 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968), and George Woodcock, Anarchism, p. 372.

and military forces of the Spanish state at bay for five days. Nearly two hundred workers were killed in the streets alone, and the fires set by the rebellious mob destroyed forty convents and twelve parochial churches. These events were repeated on a lesser scale in manufacturing cities throughout Catalonia. The Conservative government reacted with mass arrests, tortures in Montjuich, and summary executions, including that of Francisco Ferrer. Ferrer was a theoretical anarchist and the founder of the Escuela Moderna, where anti-religious instruction was given. In spite of the lack of evidence implicating him in the uprising, which was a spontaneous affair, not an anarchist plot, he was regarded as having been an instigator of Mateo Morral's 1906 attempt to assassinate the King. Ferrer's execution was a political error; he was well-known abroad and he became an international martyr. The Conservative government of Maura fell as a result of the protests over the methods used by the government during and after this Tragic Week (La Semana Trágica as it is known in Spanish history). Joan Connelly Ullman has interpreted the importance of the Tragic Week and its aftermath:

> The threat to the established order constituted by the events of this Tragic Week . . . together with the harsh government repression that followed, marked the end of an era of economic, political and intellectual

> reform movements through which Spain had sought to make the adjustment demanded by the end of one century and the beginning of a new one.[5]

Gerald Brenan's comment that "the era inaugurated thirty months before with such hope had ended in complete failure "[6] is also a valid summary of César Moncada's political career.

César o nada is divided into two parts, and is preceded by a prologue. Part I, "Roma," deals with César's preparation--his family background, educational experiences and character--and the first stages of his initiation into politics. César gradually defines the goal he will pursue: a place in Spanish politics. He journeys to Rome in an unsuccessful attempt to elicit some favor from his uncle (a cardinal, appropriately named Cardinal Fort). In Rome César is impressed by the lives of the great men Spain has given to the Church--Loyola and Borgia--and is even more impressed by the strong hold the church still has over so many, and the difficulty even a privileged outsider has in penetrating its organization.

César's opportunity to enter politics comes, however,

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[5] Tragic Week, p. 1

[6] The Spanish Labyrinth, p. 35.

not through the Church, but from a chance encounter at the end of Part I with Don Calixto García Guerrero, a political boss or cacique from the province of Zamora. In Part II, "Castro Duro," Baroja narrates César's political rise and fall. He becomes a member of Parliament, makes a fortune in the stock market and begins to make changes in the district of Castro Duro to destroy the power of the old bosses and the Church, and to implement regenerationist programs. The night before the election in which he seeks a third term, César is wounded, his followers are ruthlessly dispersed, and the votes are changed, causing him to lose the election and withdraw from politics.

Our study of the novel will cover the stages of César's political career, and will explain why he ultimately fails to change the life of a Spanish province by political means, and how his failure is developed novelistically.

César, Baroja's most "successful failure"

The Prologue, "El autor discurre acerca del carácter de su héroe," establishes Baroja's theoretical basis for this study of an individual and a society. The needs of the individual and the needs of society, the inevitable conflict between the two, and the outcome of the conflict in favor of

society, are discussed in the first section, "Divagaciones casi trascendentales." Here Baroja presents his view of the ideal society--one that defends the interests of the majority while accommodating the needs of the individual and granting him absolute liberty. Spanish society is clearly not perfect:

> Defiende lo particular contra lo general, porque tiene como norma practicar la injusticia y el privilegio; no comprende lo individual porque lo individual constituye la originalidad, y la originalidad es siempre un elemento perturbador y revolucionario.
> (O.C., II, 574)

Strong individuals are troublesome, and the masses will not encourage their existence: "Las manadas de arriba, como las de abajo, no quieren que florezcan en nuestras tierras las semillas de los César o de los Bonaparte" (O.C., 574). In Spain there is a love of the commonplace and the orderly, and a hatred of the individualistic. The future appears bright for anyone who knows how to exalt "Las ideas y los sentimientos generales, aunque estas ideas y sentimientos pugnen contra el genio de la raza" (O.C., II, 574).

As Gonzalo Sobejano points out, Baroja's intention in this novel is to remind Spain that her future salvation lies in a Spanish Cesare Borgia "y no en la tendencia demócrata-burguesa de la época."[5] Therefore, in the following section,

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[5]Gonzalo Sobejano, Nietzsche en España, p. 372.

"Los hermanos," which introduces César and his sister Laura, "el nuevo Borgia se presenta desde un principio (pero no hasta el final, pues al final fracasa) como el genio individualista del brío y la acción, encargado de ejemplificar la posibilidad de redención de España."[6]

The action of the Prologue is presented in medias res, after César's sojourn in Rome (Part I). César and the country doctor of Cestona, (the first-person narrator of this section) immediately discover their common dislike of priests. The doctor tells his new acquaintance about his utopian plans for Cestona--plans not so different from those put forward by César later for the reorganization of rural Spain. The municipality would distribute the land equally, build roads, and eliminate the useless middleman in commercial transactions (O.C., II, 576). Yet these are "proyectos utópicos" and, therefore, in the doctor's view, unworkable (O.C., II, 575).

César presents himself to the doctor as a political man-of-action who, like Roberto Hasting, sees life as a continuous struggle. César asserts that he knows what must be done in Spain, and he maintains that he is the one to do it. César's vision of the future of rural Spain is utopian,

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[6]Gonzalo Sobejano, Nietzsche en España, p. 372.

but unlike Juan who had utopian visions in Aurora roja, César does not remain a politically marginal character, but enters into the electoral struggle of Spanish political life. From the beginning of the novel his plans are clear:

> "Destrozando a los caciques, acabando con el poder de los ricos, sujetando a los burgueses . . . Entregaría las tierras a los campesinos, mandaría delegados a las comarcas para hacer obligatoria la higiene, y mi dictadura rompería la red de la propiedad, de la teocracia . . ."
>
> (O.C., II, 579)[7]

César explains that he hopes to use the ecclesiasts he has met in Rome to achieve these ends, since he finds any means legitimate. He defines a moral individual as one who adapts his life to a preconceived plan regardless of what this entails, regarding morality as strength and tenacity, immorality as weakness and cowardice (O.C., II, 577).

Although César seems to be a determined and forceful individual with a clear plan of action, he is also plagued by pessimism and self doubt (O.C., II, 576). The doctor comments that César expresses himself with ease and firmness,

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[7] John T. Reid (Modern Spain and Liberalism, p. 126) comments: "It will be recalled that in the few constructive ideas which Baroja has advanced, those of César, those of Roberto Hasting, and those mentioned in regard to the Scandinavian countries, the abolition of latifundia and the ownership of the land by the peasants are constant."

yet he also notices his nervous expression "de un hombre que teme algo" (O.C., II, 577). César's pessimism, reminiscent of Schopenhauer, is apparent in his comment that for him life resembles "una cosa oscura, turbia y sin atractivos" (O.C., II, 578);[8] he asserts that for him: "La gran cosa será olvidar un poco la muerte y el dolor" (O.C., II, 576).

In Part I both aspects of César's character are further developed and his family background, education and his intellectual development are described. Early in the first chapter he acknowledges to his sister that perhaps he is not tough enough to triumph in life:

> ". . . la vida es dura y hay que ser también duro como ella para triunfar.
>
> -¿Y tú no te consideras bastante duro?
>
> -No."
>
> (O.C., II, 581)

Later his brief love affair with Countess Brenda practically shatters his nerves. Yet his family is described as "extraordinaria," characterized by its men of energy and

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[8] There is a striking similarity between this comment of César's and Baroja's own comment in La intuición y el estilo (1948): "Sí, la vida es así. Con raras excepciones es turbia, oscura casi siempre sin brillo."

cunning: "Realizaron actos de un valor, de un atrevimiento y de un desparpajo inauditos" (O.C., II, 583). César's family's fortune, however, is built not on deeds of valor, but on a grocery store.[9]

César's anticlericalism is apparent at an early age, and at eleven he resolutely refuses to become a priest. As a student, he is characterized by his rapid decisions and strongly held convictions, which he was capable of radically changing. At school César becomes friendly with Ignacio Alzugaray. Alzugaray's uncle, Carlos Yarza, a character who appears in Baroja's earlier novels Los últimos románticos (1906) and Las tragedias grotescas (1907) and who was ostensibly killed in the Paris Commune in the latter novel, is described in César o nada as a participant not only in the Commune but in the later Cartagena uprising as well.[10] Removed from active political intervention, Yarza is now employed in a Paris bank and gives César financial advice. After César finishes his

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[9]It is interesting that the fortune of Quintín García Roelas' family was also largely built on the profits of a grocery store. Quintín, the main character of La feria de los discretos (1905), resembles César in that he, too, believes in the glory of struggle, and he, too, seeks his fortune in politics, also becoming a member of Parliament. Quintín, however, lacks César's patriotic zeal for reform.

[10]Luis S. Granjel, "Autor y personaje en la obra barojiana," Cuadernos hispanoamericanos 265-67, (julio-septiembre, 1972): 6-7, describes Roberto Hasting, Quintín Garcia Roelas, César,

legal studies in Madrid, Yarza gives him a short book of his observations on the financial and political worlds, with the ironically Erasmian title Enchiridion sapientiae. Yarza finds the book a "contribución al sentido común o el neomaquiavelismo:"

Meanwhile, César has been developing his own philosophical plan. His conclusions, which he adds to his already-developed Darwinian pragmatism, are: life is a labyrinth and the only way out is through action; man's higher qualities are only sustained by struggle (O.C., II, 593). Parallel to César's pragmatism is his lack of respect for the "useless" disciplines of art and history, an ironic attitude especially within the context of the "eternal city," Rome. This disregard for art and history also recalls Paradox's views on education.[11] César is disdainful of those he considers to be philistines of culture, but if he too is a philistine, at least he is one "de la vida agitada" (O.C., II, 636). He also compares

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Jaime Thierry (Las noches del buen retiro), and Carlos Yarza as a group of characters who are: "hombres nietzscheanos, acuciados por el 'afán de dominio,' en las que, sin excepción, una incurable flaqueza íntima, el morbo sentimental, termina arrojándoles en el fracaso, al igual que una parecida enfermedad hizo del propio Baroja ser incapaz de satisfacer íntimos deseos."

[11] See Chapter III of this study.

himself to a barbarian strolling through monuments which are meaningless to him. Further, he claims: "Para mí sería una molestia conocer muchas cosas sin aplicación." (O.C., II, 635). Yet in spite of this disdain he does allow Kennedy, an English Catholic, to show him some important museums and monuments. Beatrice Patt finds César's astonishing cultural ignorance to be "a lack that seems deliberately imposed by the author to distinguish between the intellectual and the man of action."[12]

The viewing of Bernini's Saint Theresa, significantly a Spanish subject, illuminates an important aspect of César's conflict over art and foreshadows his later withdrawal from politics and his dedication to art. César finds Bernini's work admirable, but he fears its effect to be debilitating and unhealthy: ". . . esta clase de contemplaciones quita fuerza para vivir. Se quiere encontrar hecho en las obras artísticas lo que se debe buscar en la vida, aunque en la vida no se encuentre" (O.C., II, 640). After his political defeat César abandons the political struggle and becomes an art collector,

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[12]Patt, Pío Baroja, p. 107. Gonzalo Sobejano, Nietzsche, p. 374, finds "la impronta nietzscheana" in many of César's opinions, such as Christ as a plebeian Jew among the pompous princes of the Church (O.C., II, 634), or his railing against those whom he calls the "philistines of culture" (O.C., II, 637-38).

choosing to find satisfaction in contemplation, rather than action.

Two of the most important aspects of César's stay in Rome, from the point of view of his later political action, are his initiation into Church politics (and, to a lesser extent, into Spanish politics), and the emergence and first expression of his patriotism. In Rome César sees that the clerical hierarchy in some ways resembles monarchical hierarchies and both prove to be ultimately inaccessible. César criticizes the distribution of papal titles, claiming that they are given to people who are wealthy, regardless of their merit, and often despite their dubious past activities. He further imagines a satirical scene in which all those unworthy people with their inappropriate titles attend the same salon:

> El obispo de Nicea discutiendo con el marqués del Sacro Imperio Romano; la marquesa de la Pascua Florida flirteando con el obispo de Sión, mientras los patriarcas de Tebas, de Damasco y de Trebisonda juegan al "bridge" con el fabricante de conservas señor Smiles, el rey de la carne de cerdo, o con el Ilustre general Pérez, el héroe de Guachinanguito ¡Qué espectáculo más conmovedor!
>
> (O.C., II, 639)

This scene is recalled when, near the end of Part I, César meets Don Calixto García Guerrero, who has come to Rome to

obtain the papal title of "Marqués de la Sauceda." César will discover that membership in the Spanish Parliament will often be awarded on the same basis as a papal title. César further observes that only rarely do men of quality rise in the ranks of the Church. He does not consider Cardinal Fort or practically any of the important clergy that he meets to be intelligent. Similarly, early in Part II, he comments on how the most ineffectual elements in Spanish politics rise to positions of preeminence (O.C., II, 678).

While in Rome César learns about three figures in Church history whose lives in some way parallel and foreshadow his own. The first is Cardinal Tíndaro who attempted to become Pope by making Jesuits cardinals on the assumption they would vote for him on the death of Leo XIII. Although at the papal elections the Jesuit cardinals gave him many votes, they did not give him enough to win, but they arranged for the veto of the Austrian and Hungarian cardinals, which would assure Tíndaro's defeat thus maintaining an appearance of loyalty, without actually returning Tíndaro's favors. Similarly, at the beginning of his career in Parliament César appears to be Don Calixto's man, since Don Calixto's support won him the elections, yet César silently succeeds in undermining

the cacique's power.

Julian the Apostate is another Roman figure whose career parallels César's. César describes him as an extraordinary man whom the Christians needed to slander and whose persecution of the Christians was merely the logical repression of those who threatened the order of the community. Like César, Julian was a philosopher, and his conflict with "Christian" society resembles César's conflict in Castro Duro, a society which also prefers to live in ignorance and resists progress. César portrays Julian as a man who "Quería la ciencia, la higiene, la paz, en un mundo de histéricos y de adoradores de cadáveres que deseaba vivir en la ignorancia, en la porquería y en el rezo" (O.C., II, 673).

The parallel between César and Cesare Borgia is the most developed one in the novel, first appearing in the title, César o nada, a Spanish translation of Borgia's motto "Aut Caesar, aut Nihil."[13] Baroja had gone to Rome to collect material for a novel about the Borgias, and says in his Memorias that he had been curious about Cesare Borgia since he had

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[13]Baroja comments: "Ya sabía yo que la fórmula lógica española sería decir O César o nada; pero así el título parecía más pedantesco" (O.C., VII, 796).

visited his tomb in Viana de Navarra with Ramiro de Maeztu. Baroja's early interest in Borgia is reflected in the Englishman Bothwell, who in El mayorazgo de Labraz (1903) quotes Borgia's epitaph from the church in Viana, while lamenting the lack of such men in modern times (O.C., I, 121). Baroja abandoned the idea of a historical novel at the beginning of his stay in Rome: "Había que averiguar un conjunto de detalles de vestuario, de muebles, de costumbres, cosa que exigía mucho tiempo, mucho estudio, una large estancia en Roma, y que después de consequido, podía producir un libro muy aburrido" (O.C., VII, 795), and decided to write a modern novel, "con algo que recordara el tipo antiguo" (O.C., VII, 795). César is first compared to Borgia in Part I by Cardinal Fort's associate, Preciozi, who, upon hearing César's ambitious plans for power, exclaims: "Habla como un César Borgia ... Es un verdadero español" (O.C., II. 626). When César later learns the story of the Borgias, certain parallels are immediately clear: both César's family and the Borgias are from the province of Valencia, and both are clearly "extraordinary" families. Further, both families established powerful connections in Rome. César's uncle is a cardinal; Borgia's father was Pope Alexander VI, his uncle Pope Calixtus III. This name is of course significant, since it is Pope Calixtus

who is influential in his nephew's rise to power and Don Calixto who initially helps César. Both César and Borgia are ambitious men of action, both have sisters to whom they are very attached (although there is nothing peculiar about César's relationship with his sister).[14] Borgia's violent death on the Mendavia road at the hands of Garcés, a soldier of Count Lerín, is a further parallel which foreshadows César's political defeat, largely brought about by the attempt on his life, also at a crossroads in rural Spain. César's assailants are also representatives of the power structure he threatened: the Church and oligarchy.

The figure of Borgia arouses César's enthusiasm because he identifies with him and his goal: "Su propósito le parecía bien, casi moral. La divisa Aut Caesar, aut nihil era digna de un hombre de energía y de valor" (O.C., II, 658). In Part II César himself draws the parallel between Borgia's ambush of the condottieri at Sinigaglia and his outmaneuvering the Spanish Secretary of the Treasury, a comparison reinforced by the chapter title, "La Emboscada de Sinigaglia." (O.C.,

[14]César and Laura acknowledge that their relationship is warmer and more cordial than most relationships between brothers and sisters. (O.C., II, 631).

II, 714-22).[15] Borgia and Loyola are parallel figures for César: what one attempted in the realm of action the other accomplished in the realm of thought. Further, these "twin Spanish figures" have given direction to the Church: Loyola pushing it towards spiritual power, and Borgia towards temporal power. Professor Sobejano points out that César's plan for the recovery of Spain follows logically upon his meditations:[16]

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[15] Machiavelli discusses Cesare Borgia in Chapter VII of The Prince. Here he describes the incident at Senegallia (in modern Italian Sinigaglia). He further discusses him in his Descrizione del Modo Tenuto dal Duca Valentino Nello Ammazzare Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, il Signor Pagolo ed il Duca di Gravina Orsini (1503).

[16] Gonzalo Sobejano, Nietzsche, pp. 375-76. Professor Sobejano also points out that this same passage was considered in 1938 by E. Giménez Caballero to be: "El primero de los textos fascistas, la primera profecía fascista lanzada en la Europa de hace veinticinco años." E. Giménez Caballero, "Pío Baroja, precursor español del fascismo," Prologue to a miscellaneous collection of Baroja's essays which Giménez Caballero edited and entitled Comunistas, judíos y demás ralea, (Valladolid, 1938), p. 10. Sobejano demonstrates, however, by a close textual analysis the inaccuracy of Giménez Caballero's conclusion. Antonio Martínez-Menchén ("Baroja y la crisis del canovismo," p. 239) also addresses the question of César's pre-fascism: "Acusado de prefascista, César Moncada tiene rasgos ideológicos--comunes, por otra parte, a una gran mayoría de héroes barojianos--que corresponden a la personalidad fascista-autoritaria, pero carece del último rasgo diferenciador del fascismo: el encauzamiento de esa agresividad autoritaria, de esa personalidad irracionalista y mítica, como fuerza de choque al servicio de un capitalismo amenazada.". In Ciudades de Italia (O.C., VII, 741), Baroja comments: "De Roma, pues, saqué la tesis

Este brío español que en sus dos impulsos, espiritual y material, dio nuestro país a la Iglesia-institución no sólo extraña, sino contraria a nosotros-debía intentar España hoy en beneficio de si misma. La obra de España debía ser organizar el individualismo extrarreligioso.

Somos individualistas: por eso, más que una organización democrática, federalista, necesitamos una disciplina férrea, de militares.

Planteada esa disciplina, debíamos propagarla por los países afines, sobre todo por Africa. La democracia, la República, el socialismo, en el fondo no tienen raíz en nuestra tierra. Familias, pueblos, clases se pueden reunir con un pacto; hombres aislados, como somos nosotros, no se reúnen más que por la disciplina.

Además, nosotros no reconocemos prestigios, ni aceptamos con gusto ni rey, ni presidente, ni gran sacerdote, ni gran mago.

Lo único que nos convendría es tener un jefe, . . . para tener el gusto de devorarlo.

El Loyola del individualismo extrarreligioso es lo que necesita España. Hechos, hechos siempre, y una filosofía fría, realista, basada sobre los hechos, y una moral basada en la acción

(O.C., II, 662)

. . . .nuestro plan debía ser constituir un gran imperio euroafricano, imponer nuestras ideas en la península y luego irradiarlas por todas partes.

(O.C., II, 663)

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para un personaje inventado, parecido al tipo fascista, no para defenderlo, sino para exponerlo...La tesis de mi novela era como un supuesto político y novelesco que se podría sentir en un pueblo como Roma, pero nada más. Yo no iba a ser patrocinador ni defensor de ninguna teoría política."

César's patriotism slowly emerges in Part I and is put into action in Part II. His first attempts to seek his fortune in Rome center on his search for an opportunity to make money by using his knowledge of high finance, but he does not care who, besides himself, will benefit from his abilities:

> Yo pongo mi ciencia al servicio del que pague. Soy como uno de vuestros antiguos condottieri, un general a sueldo. Estoy dispuesto a ganar batallas con la Banca judía o contra la Banca judía, con la Iglesia o contra la Iglesia.
> (O.C., II, 626)

He depicts the life that his sister would choose for him in a foreign country, enjoying a bovine tranquility, looking at statues and traveling about aimlessly, and he rejects it: "yo no soy un hombre de sociedad. Yo necesito la agitación, el peligro" (O.C., II, 638), though he also acknowledges that he is not at all brave. (He does believe, however, that he could overcome his cowardice.) His own plan for the future, once established, is quite different from his sister's (although, ironically, his life at the end of the novel closely resembles her vision of a desirable existence). He will return to Spain and enter politics. He asserts that he is a patriot and he explains the meaning of patriotism:

> El patriotismo, como yo lo entiendo, es una curiosidad. Yo creo que en España hay fuerza. ¿Si se encausara esa fuerza en una dirección fija, hasta dónde llegaría?

> Ese es mi patriotismo; como le digo a usted, una idea experimental.
>
> (O.C., II, 638)

César's patriotic ambition conflicts with the Church in both Parts I and II. In Rome he unsuccessfully tries to win support from his uncle's position, even though this support would be merely clerical; but in his pragmatic way he insists: "la cuestión es encaramarme; luego habrá tiempo de ir cambiando" (O.C., II, 638). A warning about the consequences of this approach is given early in the game by his friend Kennedy: "Usted no cuenta, amigo César, con que la Iglesia es fuerte todavía, y que no perdona a quien la engaña...es usted un valiente...dudo de su éxito" (O.C., II, 638). This is not the only foreshadowing of César's defeat in Part I; Miss Cadet, the French governess, reads César's palm at his hotel and tells him that he will take a trip, that he will initiate an intense struggle: "Y vencerá usted, y será vencido" (O.C., II, 624).

César in Spain

Part II concludes César's initiation into Spanish politics and describes his experiences, disillusionment, political defeat and ironic reconciliation with the "establishment." The final stages of César's political initiation occupies approximately one third of Part II, and consists of a

presentation of the political structure of provincial Spain, represented in microcosm by the community of Castro Duro.[17] What César observes in Castro Duro resembles Joaquín Costa's description of Spanish government in his 1901 investigation in the Madrid Atheneum: "Oligarquía y caciquismo como la forma actual de gobierno en España."[18] According to González López, the influence of Joaquín Costa is apparent in Baroja's presentation of a symbolic Castilian town, the political evils which afflict it, and the program of social reform proposed:

> El tema del caciquismo había merecido la atención de Joaquín Costa, que dedicó a este tema, su famosa obra Oligarquía y caciquismo (1902). Baroja recogió este tema presentándolo a lo vivo, en la plástica realidad de la ficción novelesca, en César o nada.[19]

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[17] According to Pérez Ferrero (Vida de Pío Baraja, p. 199), the town of Toro in the province of Zamora is the model for Castro Duro.

[18] The essential sections of Costa's essay are available in Joaquín Costa, Oligarquía y caciquismo, Colectivismo agrario y otros escritos, 3d ed., edited with a Prologue by Rafael Pérez de la Dehesa (Madrid: Alianza, El libro de bolsillo, 1973), pp. 17-45. On page 28 of this edition Costa describes the major components of the political organization of his time: "1º, los oligarcas (los llamados primates, prohombres o notables de cada bando que forman su "plana mayor", residentes ordinariamente en el centro); 2º, los caciques, de primero, segundo o ulterior grado, diseminados por el territorio; 3º, el gobernador civil, que les sirve de organo de comunicación y de instrumento."

[19] Emilio González López, El arte narrativo, p. 233.

César and his friend Alzugaray visit Castro Duro to gather information about conditions there, an undertaking marked by the reference in the first paragraph to "esta primera y quijotesca salida" (O.C., II, 678).[20] A falsely triumphant tone is established by two references to the campaigns of Julius Caesar, which also recall the Roman part of the novel.

At the beginning of the trip Alzugaray tells his friend: "Vamos a atravesar el Rubicón, César" (O.C., II, 678), thus playing on César's name and Julius Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon on his way to Rome to proclaim himself dictator, and after his first day César claims that, like his famous namesake Julius, he can say: "Veni, vidi, vici" (O.C., II, 685). The conquest, however, is merely apparent: references to the victorious Julius Caesar do not foreshadow the ultimate outcome of César's foray as accurately as does the initial

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[20] Baroja's allusions to Cervantes would be an interesting topic for study. Professor Sigele of Sarah Lawrence College has also pointed out to me the numerous allusions to Doña Perfecta in César o nada. Both novels describe the experiences of symbolically named characters with progressive ideas, who are outsiders in traditional, provincial Spanish cities and who come into conflict with and are defeated by the hostile clerical factions of these cities. There are various textual similarities between the two novels. For example, Chapter I of Doña Perfecta, "¡Villahorrenda!...cinco minutos!...," begins with the description of a train stopping to let off passengers. Chapter I of César o nada, "El express Paris-vintimille," also opens with a description of a train stopping at a station.

description of Castro Duro. The approach to the town is a dusty road: "Con restos de arbolillos que plantó un alcalde europeizador, y que murieron todos" (O.C., II, 681), the dead trees planted by a "europeizador" foreshadowing César's own failure. The final description of Castro Duro after César's political defeat, "Castro Duro hoy," picks up the motif of the dead trees and heightens it: they have not just died, but have actually been uprooted as all of César's projects have been: "Las fuentes se han secado, la escuela se cerró, los arbolillos del Parque Moncada fueron arrancados" (O.C., II, 751). This final vision of a town in Castile which has given up all its pretense of living to return to a state of "order," in which everything decays and the inhabitants emigrate, is devastating:

> pero Castro Duro sigue viviendo con sus venerandas tradiciones y sus sacrosantos principios, sin permitir que los advenedizos sin religión y sin patria turben su vida, sin mancillar los derechos sacrosantísmos de la Iglesia nuestra Madre, envuelto en polvo, en suciedad y en mugre, dormido al sol, en medio de sus campos sin riego. (O.C., II, 751)

Antonio Machado's "El mañana efímero" in Campos de Castilla (1907-1917) describes the same reality:

> ...esa España inferior que ora y embiste
> cuando se digna usar de la cabeza,
> aun tendrá luengo parto de varones
> amantes de sagradas tradiciones
> y de sagradas formas y maneras;
> florecerán las barbas apostólicas
> y otras calvas en otras calaveras

brillarán, venerables y católicas.[21]

The forces that César will unsuccessfully confront are described at the beginning of Part II, and from the very first we are made aware of their impregnability. The silhouette of Castro Duro stands out against the sky between two tall polygonal buildings whose very architectural presence defines the city: the church, César's most powerful adversary, honey-colored, old and respectable, and the jail, long, white and modern, where many of César's supporters will eventually be: "Estos dos pilares del orden social se divisan por todas partes, desde cualquier punto de la llanura, que se contemple a Castro" (O.C., II, 681). The church is further described as a "sentinel spying on the valley" from its high perch: "Tiene la vieja fábrica, sólida y fuerte, filas de aspilleras debajo del tejado, que denuncian su caracter

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[21] Machado, Poesías completas (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1962), p. 152. Leo L. Barrow, Negation in Baroja (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), pp. 66, 74, comments on the affinity of the atmospheres created by Baroja in El mayorazgo de Labraz (1903) and Antonio Machado in Campos de Castilla. Juan Uribe Echevarría also comments on this similarity in Pío Baroja: técnica, estilo, personajes (Chile: Ediciones de los Anales de la Universidad de Chile, 1957), p. 140. The depressing atmosphere of rural politics, controlled by the cacique system is also portrayed in El árbol de la ciencia. Alcolea del Campo resembles Castro Duro and

guerrero" (O.C., II, 683).[22]

Once in Castro Duro, César explores the political possibilities it offers him: he reads its newspapers and visits two of the town's most important conservative leaders, Don Calixto and Don Platón Peribánez. Don Calixto informs César of the town's political structure. The conservative forces are represented mainly by three men: Don Calixto, who represents the modern conservative tendency, the "Cánovas of the district," and whose following is made up largely of the wealthy members of the Casino, certain professions and the large landowners; Don Platón, a jeweler whose following is made up of craftsmen, small shopkeepers and poor priests; and Father Martín Lafuerza, prior of the Franciscan monastery, "ultramontano con toda la barba," who leads the clerical

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Andrés Hurtado, the protagonist of El árbol, is also in a sense "defeated" by this system, although his struggle is not political and the novel is not a political novel.

[22]Leo L. Barrow (Negation in Baroja, p. 86) comments on the portrayal of Spanish towns in Baroja's works: "It seems that many of the towns in Baroja's novels are much the same, because the same signs of desolation, solitude and sadness are used in describing them. Yécora in Camino de perfección, Monleón and the nameless town in Alava which appear in El cura de Monleón, Arbea of Las mascaradas sangrientas, Castro Duro in César o nada, Herrera in El mundo es así furnish excellent examples of such cities. The dark hues with which these cities are painted almost destroy their individuality, reducing them to a dark and amorphous mass."

elements. In addition to the three conservative leaders there are the supporters of the present liberal Member of Parliament, García Padilla. These "friends" will side with whoever is in power. At the end of the novel García Padilla runs on the conservative ticket and joins Father Lafuerza's coalition against César. The opposition is a small group which meets in the workers' club: a republican bookseller, a republican apothecary, an anarchist doctor, a weaver, a freethinker, and a tavern keeper.

Don Calixto makes it clear to César that with his support and Don Platón's, the election is secure. The democratic process is clearly just a myth, and the moral poverty of Castro Duro's politics can be summed up in Don Platon's prior obligation to support the Duke of Castro Duro, who is also interested in running for Parliament, even though he is a prisoner in a Paris jail. García Padilla is later revealed to have been convicted of fraud, but he wins the election anyway. The hypocrisy of this system of government is also underlined by Don Platón's requirement that César, in exchange for his support, must not, when elected, intervene in the district's affairs (O.C., II, 689). The bookseller's view further describes the situation in Castro Duro--the rich and the clergy dominate the area: "Todo lo que no sea favorecer

a los ricos y al elemento clerical no hay que esperarlo." (O.C., II, 691). Tío Chino, the tavern keeper, has a similar view: the town's problems are the result of cowardice. The two or three political bosses and Father Lafuerza exercise power arbitrarily and no one else dares to act. The poor, he explains, do not understand that by joining together they could overcome the rich and even control them. But the domination of the rich is quite effective and they are able to do as they please. The poor fear that any action on their part would bring painful consequences: their taxes would be raised; they would not be given work; their sons would be drafted; they would be jailed on any pretext; the town bully would beat them up. In the final stages of César's political career many of these accusations are substantiated.

César does not yet meet his most powerful opponent, Father Martín Lafuerza. His name, suggesting "strength" (as did César's uncle's), accurately indicates his position in the community and his eventual triumph over César. Observing him from a distance, César's first physical impression of his rival further indicates his strong position. He is tall, imposing, regal: "parecía un pacha recorriendo sus dominios..." (O.C., II, 699).

César also explores the towns of his district. The

results of his incognito visit there are disappointing for he finds almost total political apathy and ignorance, although he does glean some practical information about the mechanics of the elections. The only facet of the political system which César can actually observe is the minor revolution produced after every change of government, when the political spoils change hands from those "who called themselves liberals to those who called themselves conservatives" (O.C., II, 703). No one in the small towns is aware that there will be elections soon and these matters are of no importance to them anyway:

> En general, en los pueblos no estaban enterados de política; cuando César les iba preguntando qué pensaban de los diversos asuntos que preocupaban a un país se encogían de hombros...En los poblados lejanos no sabían ni quién era el rey ni como se llamaba.
> (O.C., II, 703)

César is briefly able to transform this apathy into enthusiasm in the final stage of his political career when for the first time there are "real" elections. Throughout this final stage of his political initiation César follows the pragmatic strategy first mentioned in Part I: "La cuestión es encaramarse; luego habrá tiempo de ir cambiando" (O.C., II, 638). He plans to run on the conservative ticket and later adopt whatever

position suits him. In a conversation reminiscent of the Prologue he explains that there is a tendency for all the ambitious mediocrities to join together against whomever shows talent, and therefore he will at first disguise his superiority. Spanish politics is like a pond, he explains, in which heavy wood sinks to the bottom while cork and straw are able to float on the surface. He sees the need for pretending to be cork (O.C., II, 679), and thus refrains from going to Castro Duro immediately after his candidacy is assured, for fear of showing too much interest and giving away his real ambition: "César pensó que valía más que le considerasen como un gomoso, sin otras ambiciones que darse tono, que no como un futuro amo del pueblo" (O.C., II, 702).

César's first political experience comes with the meeting of the Conservative Party leaders at which he is introduced as the candidate. Again there is a total lack of enthusiasm: everyone arrives late, no one is interested in the candidate. The election itself is greeted with complete indifference, and César has himself paid poll watchers to make sure that the election certificates are not changed illegally. The proportions of his victory surprise his associates who begin

to realize that César is not as naive as they had thought.

Moncada's first term in Parliament is a useful experience and he profits from it by freeing himself from his original political sponsors and beginning to put his plans for improving Castro Duro into action. He cultivates the Secretary of the Treasury, and then uses his influence to have all the local political employees connected with Don Platón and Don Calixto removed from their posts. At the end of a year and a half César has greatly weakened all the bosses, while in Parliament he does not participate in the debates and often abandons his party to vote with the Liberals. He has no apparent social life, for, he is devoted exclusively to his patriotic goal of improving Spain, even though it is not apparent to a casual observer:

> ...No era lógico pensar que este hombre, frío poco expansivo, fuera en el fondo un patriota que sintiera dolorosamente la decadencia de España y buscara los medios de levantarla. Nada de placeres, ni de satisfacciones burguesas - pensaba -; Vivir para un ideal patriótico, empujar a España hacia adelante y hacer con la carne de su patria una gran estatua, que fuera su figura histórica.
>
> (O.C., II, 705)

Though César's patriotism is channeled toward improving life in Castro Duro, he also has time to earn a fortune on the stockmarket at the expense of the Secretary of the

Treasury.[23] He compares the Secretary's reasons for playing the stock market with his own: "Juega a la Bolsa con el objeto de hacerse rico y dejar una fortuna a sus repugnantes hijos. En cambio, yo juego con un objeto patriótico" (O.C., II, 722).

César's regenerationist program for irrigation canals, a cooperative, a park, a school, a lending library, and better roads (called by César "La política del pan") clearly resembles Costa's regenerationist motto, "Escuela y despensa." Costa was an important early influence on the Generation of 1898: according to Rafael Pérez de la Dehesa, "Las ideas de Costa determinaron al menos la fase regeneracionista del 98."[24] The influence of Costa on Baroja, however, was relatively unimportant by comparison with the lasting mark left on Azorín and Maeztu by this nineteenth century regenerationist: "Baroja, en cambio, parece simplemente haber

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[23]Miguel Pérez Ferrero, Vida de Pío Baroja, 2d ed. (Madrid: Editorial Magisterio Español, 1972), p. 135, indicates that certain aspects of Raimundo Fernández Villaverde's tenure as Secretary of the Treasury and his subsequent resignation appear to have been the model for this episode. In a March 26, 1903 letter to Martínez Ruiz (Gómez Marino, Pensando en Baroja, pp. 194) Baroja also comments on this incident: "He estado atareado con un asunto financiero que ayer terminó lo más desfavorablemente para mí con la salida de Villaverde del gabinete."

[24]Rafael Pérez de la Dehesa, El pensamiento de Costa y su influencia en el 98 (Madrid: Sociedad de estudios y

aceptado unas influencias ambientales y momentáneas. Las pocas veces que posteriormente se refiere a Costa lo hace sin ningún aprecio."[25]

Baroja's later reflections, however, sometimes distort or underplay the influences which were important to him in his youth. He does speak rather disparagingly of Costa in Juventud, egolatría (1917), suggesting that he belonged in the Cortes de Cádiz because he was "Solemne, pomposo, retórico y engolado; era de estos tipos de histrión que se dan en los países meridionales, que se van a la tumba sin sospechar jamás si su vida entera habrá sido una función de teatro," yet in comparison with the "Hombres bailarinas" of the September Revolution he considers Costa to be austere (O.C., V, 270).[26] In 1945 in Final del siglo XIX y principios del XX Baroja claims to have read very little of Costa, and what he did read, he found to be written for lawyers, not for laymen.

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publicaciones, 1966), p. 206. A condensed version of Costa's proposals may be found in Pérez de la Dehesa's edition of Oligarquía y caciquismo, pp. 39-45.

[25]Rafael Pérez de la Dehesa, El pensamiento de Costa, p. 200

[26]Baroja also refers negatively to Costa in his 1926 speech "Tres generaciones" (O.C., V, 574, 579-80).

But he is impressed that Costa could become famous on the basis of his erudition and historical knowledge (O.C., VII, 748).

In his 1903 article "La obra de los políticos, " however, it is clear that Baroja read and was impressed by Costa,[27] and he insists that Costa, whom he calls "el ilustre sociólogo," is right in his assertion that all Spanish politicians are the same, thoroughly incapable of improving Spanish life. Costa's phrase about Spanish politicians, "nos los sabemos de memoria," is a leitmotif in this important article in which Baroja agrees with Costa's negative view. To demonstrate the accuracy of this view, Baroja traces the history of Spain from the Reconquest until the present and finds a continuous pattern: men of ideas develop plans which are quickly thwarted by the Spanish politicians. In 1903, when Baroja writes, the topic of vehement discussion is Costa's "política agraria," and Baroja pessimistically predicts its future: "Una nueva reacción nos amaga más tremebunda y deplorable que la pasada."[28] In the novel César's experience in Castro Duro and that of

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[27]This article appears in Urrutia, II, 238-43. See also Chapter I of this study.

[28]Ibid., p. 242.

the previous "europeizador" (who planted the trees that died) prove Baroja's cyclical interpretation of Spanish political history first put forth in the essay.

Costa attempted to replace the values of an aristocratic society based on military glory and conquest with elementary and technical education, hydraulic systems, and improved lines of communication, all based on the need to "europeizar España." Spain must not live in its past: "Desinchemos esos grandes nombres: Sagunto, Numancia, Otumba, Lepanto, con que se envenena a nuestra juventud en las escuelas y pasémosles una esponja."[29] César's goals are similar and in his speeches he refuses to play on the rhetoric of past victories, but after César's first speech, in which he outlines his program, his friend Alzugaray in convinced that the audience has not understood anything and that he should have given them a few stirring phrases instead. César insists that they will learn to understand. His Costa-like speech contrasts with the rhetoric of his corrupt opponents: each of las dos Españas has its own language. The penultimate chapter of the novel closes with a suggestion of the cliché-ridden victory speeches of César's opponents, the pretentious rhetoric of these speeches

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[29] Manuel Tuñón de Lara, Medio siglo de cultura española (Madrid: Editorial Tecnos, 1971), p. 62, quoting Joaquín Costa.

being all the more ironic because of the crudity of the recent campaign:

> Después el abogado gordo y grasiento hizo desfilar todas las glorias de España, con su correspondiente adjetivo: el Cid, Colón, Isabel la Católica, el Gran Capitán, Hernán Cortés.
>
> (O.C., II, 751)

César and Costa believed in a "revolution from above"; and shared what Tuñón de Lara calls a "weakness for elites." According to Manuel Azaña, Costa, like Baroja, was distrustful of democracy: "Quería que se hiciese una Revolución, pero poniéndola en buenas manos;"[30] César's programs are aimed to benefit all classes of society, but his candidates for the municipal government are "casi todos gente de buena posición" (O.C., II, 739). Further, Costa's much-discussed doctrine of a strong, dictatorial kind of leader is reflected in César's statements that Spain needs a strong discipline and that his "dictatorship" would solve many of Spain's problems (O.C., II, 579, 660). Costa's phrase about the need for a strong ruler, "un cirujano de hierro," appears to be reflected in César's evaluation of himself: "Soy un hombre fuerte, soy un hombre de hierro" (O.C., II, 748).[31]

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[30] Manuel Tuñón de Lara, Medio siglo de cultura española p. 65, quoting Manuel Azaña, Obras completas, I, (Mexico: Ediciones Oasis, 1966), p. 563.

[31] Costa, like César, has been seen as a prefascist.

César's programs, rhetoric, and orientation not only recall Costa[32] but also, quite logically, the regenerationist Manifesto of los "Tres." César closes his first and most important speech with an appeal for cooperation from other concerned citizens: "César hizo un llamamiento a todos los hombres progresivos de ideas liberales y amantes de la ciudad a que colaboraran en su obra" (O.C., II, 714), which echoes

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Enrique Tierno Galván, Costa y el regeneracionismo (Barcelona: Editorial Barna, 1961) views him in this light. Pérez de la Dehesa, El pensamiento de Costa y su influencia en el 98 rejects this view and affirms Costa's essential liberalism. Manuel Tuñón de Lara in Costa y Unamuno en la crisis de fin de siglo (Madrid: Cuadernos para el Diálogo, 1974), p. 245, also warns against labelling Costa a prefascist:

> "Y no se le tilde de prefascista, puesto que no quiere prescindir de la libertad (ni de las libertades), sino hacer de ellas una realidad. Recuérdese que el fascismo vino porque esas "libertades" sin despensa fueron debilitándose, quedaron inermes, y que con él no hubo libertades, cierto, pero tampoco despensa ni escuela."

Elías Díaz, La filosofía social del krausismo español (Madrid: Cuadernos para el Diálogo, 1973), p. 205, analyzes Costa's liberalism: "La actitud de Costa suponía una muy profunda crisis de confianza en el liberalismo, por lo menos en las posibilidades del liberalismo en ese momento de la historia...Costa, de fondo indudablemente liberal, es puede decirse, expresión objetiva de esa crisis del liberalismo." According to Alberto Gil Novales, Derecho y revolución en el pensamiento de Joaquín Costa (Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 1965), p. 23, Costa "resulta un valor de transición entre el mundo seguro y confiado del siglo XIX y el comprometido del XX...Entusiasta de los progresos técnicos, adivina la pavorosa crisis que se cierne sobre España y Europa."

[32] A further, if minor, similarity between César and Costa is the fact that César, too, withdraws, defeated, from politics. Costa withdrew from politics in 1904.

the opening statements of the 1901 Manifesto of "los Tres":

> Muy Señor Mío: Deseosos los que firman de cooperar, dentro de sus modestas fuerzas, a la generación de un nuevo estado social en España, dirígense a usted, que tanto puede hacer por nuestra idea, y le invitan a prestar su adhesión, contribuyendo a concretar en hechos un ideal naciente.[33]

A further similarity between the Manifesto and César's first speech is the concern both express for the problems of rural Spain and the desire to solve them. The Manifesto specifically aimed at: "Poner al descubierto las miserias de la gente del campo, las dificultades y tristezas de la vida de millares de hambrientos... Señalar la necesidad de la enseñanza obligatoria, de la fundación de cajas de crédito agrícola..."[34]

As César's political personality emerges, his natural adversaries, the Church and oligarchy, are alerted to the threat he represents, and a series of moves and counter-moves illustrate the methods used by these forces to control Spanish life. The process culminates in César's confrontation with Father Lafuerza and his defeat by his stronger and more corrupt enemies.

The Church takes more and more active steps to thwart

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[33]Manuel Longares, ed., Pío Baroja: escritos de juventud, p. 371.

[34]Ibid., p. 373.

César's growing influence, recommending, for instance, that religious persons refrain from attending the reopening of the Workers' Center, where César first presents his program. From the pulpit they attack the immorality and irreligiosity rampant in the town and attempt to convince the women to influence their husbands to abandon the Center, whose impact was growing thanks to César's efforts to revitalize it. Yet a sermon threatening "penas eternas" to those who belong to sectarian groups and who refuse to return to the Church, has only limited success (O.C., II, 726). The clergy insists that allowing laborers to take home a book not previously examined was leading innocents into error, but César is able to thwart the clergy's attempts to destroy the Workers' Center lending library of scientific, technical and light literary works. When books are returned with obscene drawings and the illustrations torn out, César carefully limits borrowing privileges to those known personally by the staff. César is also able to prevent the merger--and ideological takeover--of the municipal old age home with the Catholic one, further exacerbating the conflict with the clerical elements.

Lead by Father Martín Lafuerza, the Church replies to the

growing importance of César and the Worker's Center by establishing competitive organizations: the Patronato de San José and the Caja Agrícola Castreña. The Patronato is composed of landowners (among them César's father-in-law, who agree to hire only laborers who belong to their organization) and the Caja makes loans at a reduced interest rate to small landowners. Thus, the town is divided between the Catholic institutions and the Worker's Center. The majority, Catholics, are richer and control the areas outside of the city: the liberals, or Moncadistas, control the city; they are determined and enthusiastic.

Manuel Tuñón de Lara discusses the influence of the Spanish Church on the Spanish political structure of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in his Historia y realidad del poder (1967),[35] pointing out how the Church's influence on the power structure from the outside of that structure derives from spiritual authority, its vast means, its network of teaching establishments, and its ties to a certain type of press. The Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas, founded in 1909 by Father Ayala, is an outstanding

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[35]Manuel Tuñón de Lara, Historia y realidad del poder (Madrid: Cuadernos para el Dialogo, 1967), p. 49.

example of such an organization: it is a vocational pressure group that applies the indirect pressure of the Church upon the power structure, and an ideological group tied to certain economically powerful social strata.[36] The Catholic landowner-run agricultural labor unions, exemplified in the novel by Father Lafuerza's Patronato, are clearly pressure groups whose importance was to grow:

> Otra cosa fueron los sindicatos católicos agrarios que no agrupaban asalariados, sino propietarios pequeños y medianos, principalmente de Castilla la Vieja, que llegaran a ser verdaderos grupos de presión en relación con los partidos políticos, principalmente con uno, a partir de 1932.[37]

According to Tuñón, men of the Church frequently issue temporal judgments and evaluations which become part of the "techo ideológico" which legitimizes the political power structure. Tuñón applies the term "elites de orientación" to the clergy in this role, a role which Father Lafuerza plays in Baroja's novel until he takes a more active part in his defense of the political "establishment."[38]

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[36]Manuel Tuñón de Lara, Historia y realidad del poder, p. 50

[37]Ibid. Tuñón de Lara is referring here to what would later be the Confederación Española de Derechos Autónomos or Ceda. Gerald Brenan describes the Ceda's activities in The Spanish Labyrinth, pp. 268, 269, 279, 280, 289-94.

[38]Tuñón de Lara, Historia y realidad del poder, p. 50.

The conflict between César and Lafuerza is carried on throughout Part II without the two men actually confronting each other until the end. Up to this point Lafuerza is known only by a brief physical description and his maneuvers in the war with César. In a chapter entitled "Declaración de Guerra" he clarifies his opposition to César and emerges as the true leader of Castro Duro's conservative forces, Don Calixto and Don Platón's positions of leadership having been earlier eroded. César's discussion with Lafuerza is a confrontation between las dos Españas and a challenge to determine who is the stronger and who will give in.

Lafuerza is the more active participant in the discussion, and he draws out César's ideas. César acknowledges that he believes in science rather than history and tradition. For him Catholicism is "una doctrina ruinosa...que produce la decadencia (O.C., II, 741).[39] Father Lafuerza argues with César "como el que lleva toda la ciencia humana en el bolsillo del hábito" (O.C., II, 741), insisting on the value of tradition, the security of man's knowledge accumulated over the years.

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[39] César believes that a Catholic country is one headed for disaster. Emilio González López in El arte narrativo de Pío Baroja, p. 231, points out that: "Uno de los temas predilectos de la Generación del 98, tratados por Baroja en las novelas de esta serie, es el del carácter del catolicismo español, reflejo a su vez del carácter del pueblo español como algo distinto al catolicismo de los otros pueblos europeos."

César is for him an enemy of Castro Duro's tranquility, and he would wish things to continue the way they were before the interloper became a Member of Parliament. He challenges César's belief that he can create a society more orderly and harmonious than that created by the Church in twenty centuries, and he emphasizes the utopian aspect of César's undertaking.

> Nosotros impedimos sus locuras. Nos ponemos enfrente de sus utopías. ¿Es que cree usted que van a resolver el problema de la tierra y del capital? ¿Van ustedes a resolver la cuestion sexual? ¿Van ustedes a instaurar una sociedad sin desigualdades y sin injusticias...?[40] (O.C., II, 742)

Father Lafuerza is opposed to changing Spain's traditional society, and fears the "anarchy" César and his followers will introduce into the established order. The challenge is clear: César claims the right to bring about changes because he is the stronger, but Father Lafuerza expects that César will not complain if he becomes the weaker and Father Lafuerza's side takes advantage of its strength. At the end of the interview they openly declare themselves enemies--although the possibility of peace is offered to whomever gives in. To Lafuerza's offer

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[40] Father Lafuerza's reasoning resembles that of a character in Aurora roja, Robolledo, who questions the mechanics of the future anarchist utopia. Rebolledo, however, does acknowledge the need for change; what he doubts is the anarchists' ability to institute such changes (O.C., I, 556-60).

of peace César replies--"Sí, si me someto; yo le brindo a usted la paz también, si se somete" (O.C., II, 743). Lafuerza and his coalition--the oligarchy and its allies--prove to be stronger,[41] and César submits, withdrawing from politics and giving up his dream of being Caesar. In the closing line of the book he states: "Yo no soy nada, nada."[42]

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[41]Father Lafuerza's role here as the representative of the conservative establishment of Castro Duro is analogous to the role of the Jesuit Domingo Arruabarrena at the end of Los amores tardíos (1927). The protagonist José Larrañaga tells the Jesuit:

> "Ahora, coger todo eso [el cielo, el infierno, el pecado] y convertirlo en arma de defensa de una burguesía estólida, egoista y rapaz, me parece repugnante y antipático. Porque vosotros los curas y los frailes, sois como un anejo de la Guardia Civil. Lo sancionáis todo siempre que favorezca al fuerte...Vuestro ideal es que el mundo no se mueva, que no haya trastornos...Lo único que conseguís es que no se revuela el estiércol y que pasajeramente haya menos olor, pero a la larga todo eso hiede." (O.C., I, 1375-76).

John Devlin, Spanish Anticlericalism (New York: Las Américas, 1966), pp. 129-30, refers to this quotation and indicates that here Baroja makes no attempt to "single out historical instances. The general impression is that the Catholic Church favors war. No mention is made of the Church's great work toward peace and the arts of peace." On pp. 131-32 Devlin discusses Baroja's portrayal of the Jesuits in César o nada and other works. For a general view of the Jesuits in Baroja's works see Ignacio Elizalde, "Baroja y los jesuitas," Razón y Fe 186 (1972): 295-311.

[42]Editorial Renacimiento, p. 466. César's withdrawal from the political struggle and his acceptance of the status quo resemble María Aracil's decision at the end of La ciudad de la niebla. She decides to reject a free, independent, but difficult life and to submit to the tranquil, sedentary existence of middle class marriage. Her choice, like César's, is a vital one, and although it is not political it does parallel his. A friend explains the alternatives to her, they are almost the same as the ones facing César: "La vida libre te

But César's withdrawal from politics is not only the result of the superior strength of the opposition and their "dirty tricks" in the last campaign;[43] it can also be traced to weaknesses in César's character and his marriage to Amparito. His marriage is the turning point of his career, since it affects his political drive and his personality. Amparito's influence on César is similar to Salvadora's on Manuel; both symbolically named, these strong female characters guide their husbands away from the turbulence of politics and towards an existence of tranquil domesticity. Further, César's marriage to Amparito, an extremely wealthy girl, joins him to his political foes, the oligarchy, although he does not immediately realize it.

César is hostile to Amparito when he first meets her and senses the presence of another strong character (O.C., II 696). At their first kiss he feels a sudden pain and weakness: "como si en el fondo de su alma se hubiera quebrantado

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llevará probablemente al fracaso...si te sometes, tendrás un amo y la vida te será más fácil" (O.C., II, 443).

[43] Such tricks are described on pp. 473-50 of the novel. Gerald Brenan (The Spanish Labyrinth, pp. 123-25) describes similar ones, from the historian's point of view. Manuel Tuñón de Lara also documents this type of political activity, which he refers to as "esta faceta picaresca de nuestra historia contemporánea" (in Costa y Unamuno en la crisis de fin de siglo, pp. 11-15).

y fundido lo más fuerte de su personalidad" (O.C., II, 728). During their courtship César abandons the political affairs of the district and dedicates himself entirely to his fiancée. The chapter, aptly entitled "La intransigencia perdida," describes the initial effects of marriage to Amparito on César. In spite of his anticlericalism, César, in preparation for his marriage, goes to confession and takes communion without resistance, considering these actions merely "customs." Further, he puts up with social visits from Father Lafuerza. Amparito's "catolicismo fetichista" resembles that of Fernando Ossorio's wife, Dolores, in Camino de perfección (1902), since both women are married to men who struggle, in different ways, with the force of religion. César's struggle takes place in the political arena, Fernando's is a personal quest for freedom from what he perceives to be the oppressive emotional power of Spanish Catholicism. At the end of Camino de perfección, Fernando muses about his infant son's future education which he imagines as free of useless studies, sad ideas, and the mysterious symbols of any religion whatsoever. Dolores' mother, however, acts to impose her own views: "Y mientras Fernando pensaba, la madre de Dolores cosía en la faja que había de poner al

niño una hoja doblada del Evangelio" (O.C., VI, 129). Similarly, César's actions and Amparito's stand in contrast. When César returns from a clandestine political meeting, he finds Amparito praying: "La Amparito, con su vieja nodriza, rezaba delante de una imagen iluminada" (O.C., II, 747).

Amparito's influence on César is further stressed when she and her father convince him to open a law office, even though the law is a profession that has always repelled César. At the end of six months César realizes that Amparito has changed his life and his ideas while he has not influenced her at all. He is slowly joining Amparito's class and separating himself from his former concerns. He allows pity, "the mask of cowardice," to prevent him being the prosecutor in an important murder trial; and though he realizes the consequences of his action, he cannot help himself. He confesses to his wife that he is frightened, and she helps him avoid the problem by suggesting a trip to Italy. He contemplates withdrawing from politics, but his friends from the Workers' Center remind him of his obligation to their struggle and his plans for a cooperative and a school. The cooperative runs into a snag with the local merchants, and César abandons the project, but the school is built, albeit

with some difficulty. The chapter describing the first effects of César's marriage ends with a description of César's thoughts as he speaks at the inauguration of the new school. The event is parallel to César's first speech at the Worker's Center, but the feeling now is of doubt, not of confidence. César is no longer at ease among his former friends because he realizes that he is abandoning them. He doubts himself;

> Además, dudaba de sí mismo, empezaba a creer que no era el héroe, empezaba a creer que se había asignado un papel superior a sus fuerzas, precisamente en el momento mismo en que el pueblo tenía más fe en él.
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> (O.C., II, 733)

and also doubts that Castro Duro can emerge from its backwardness and become something in the modern world, a doubt which contrasts with his original belief in the possibility of change (O.C., II, 684, 711-12).

At the end of the novel César has clearly joined ranks with his wife. The final ironic chapter "Finis gloriae mundi" is a note from the society pages describing César's home, the ducal palace of Castro Duro, and his life as an art collector. Note is made of the fact that his wife, a distinguished artist, helped him assemble the collection.[44]

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[44] E. H. Templin, "Tres conceptos fundamentales en Pío Baroja" in Pío Baroja, ed. Javier Martínez Palacio, pp. 91-118,

This "aristocratic dwelling" recalls the Altemps Palace, residence of Cardinal Fort, which is also filled with works of art. César's comment in Part I that if he could achieve his goals he would be happy living in a garret also comes to mind, underlining the failure that these surroundings camouflage. César's active patriotism has been reduced to a passive love of the art of his country's Golden Age.

The final proof of César's submission is the fact that Father Lafuerza, "sabio franciscano," is a visitor in César's home. In the article, he is ironically described as a man to whom "the population of Castro Duro owes so much,"[45] although the preceding text makes clear the sorry state of the town.

The conception of politics in "César o nada"

César o nada provides perhaps the clearest fictional example of Baroja's essentially individualistic view of politics. This conception of politics personified in the character of César consists mainly of a belief in the resolution of political problems through the intervention of a charismatic

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discusses the importance of collectors and collections in Baroja's works.

[45] Editorial Renacimiento, p. 466.

leader acting on the strength of his own will, rather than being oriented by a sociological analysis of economic and political forces, and signifies a disdain for organized political parties representative of disparate interests and opinions. Yet this individualistic view partakes of certain romantic characteristics.

Critics have commented on the several facets of Baroja's romantic tendency, although they have not yet analyzed it in the context of politics in César o nada. E. A. Peers in his classic study of Spanish romanticism, Historia del movimiento romántico español, refers to Baroja as "probablemente romántico puro en el fondo..."[46] After a brief discussion of certain of Baroja's romantic stylistic traits he concludes: "Como estilista, sigue la tradición romántica, y, en efecto, su descuido y su desprecio por la exactitud, manifiestamente deliberados, no permiten sacar otra conclusión."[47]

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[46] E. Allison Peers, Historia del movimiento romántico español, 2d ed., translated by Jose María Gimeno, 2 vols. (Madrid: Gredos, 1967), 2: 419. In 1903 Baroja said of himself: "Soy por mis aficiones literarias y artísticas aunque no por mi vida, un romántico" Urrutia, II, 346.

[47] Ibid., p. 420. I am grateful to Professor Juan López-Morillas for pointing out to me the study by Edmund L. King, "What is Spanish Romanticism?" Studies in Romanticism II (Autumn 1962):1-11. Professor King has reevaluated Spanish Romanticism and he asserts that Don Francisco Giner de los Ríos infused "a generation of young Spaniards with genuinely Romantic concerns that would inevitably be expressed in the arts and letters of what we call the Generation of '98." (p. 11).

Both Professor Patt and Fernando Martínez Laínez have traced a number of Baroja's political views to his romantic inclinations. Professor Patt finds Baroja's animosity towards the Spanish Republic to be: "Particularly consistent with his romantic view of history...to the worshipper of individual effort and private distinction, the practical politician is but a dim figure alongside the charismatic revolutionary chieftain."[48] Martínez Laínez offers the explanation that if in politics Baroja was antidemocratic and antisocialistic, "Es porque ambas cosas chocaban demasiado con su individualismo de corte romántico y decimonónico."[49]

There are definite romantic overtones in César's conception of his own political career as the fulfillment of a **personal** mission or destiny.[50] From the very beginning, from the very title, we become aware of César's either/or thrust: to be Caesar or be nothing. In addition the romantic idea of César's heroic destiny in Spain derives in part from the Nietzschean concept of the superman; César's sense of his

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[48]Beatrice Patt, Pío Baroja, p. 67. She also mentions the romantic elements of several of Baroja's novels of this period, pp. 98, 101, 106.

[49]Fernando Martínez Lainez, "El sentimiento político de Pío Baroja," p. 202.

[50]A romantic notion of destiny is also apparent in Zalacaín, el aventurero (1909). At the end of the nineteenth

mission is also an expression of his will. As Gonzalo Sobejano has said, César is: "El hombre de acción que más cerca está de la Voluntad nietzscheana."[51]

When César is first introduced in the Prologue he is filled with a sense of his future task. He has consciously prepared himself for what he perceives to be his vital role in Spanish politics: "Yo me figuro que sé lo que hay que hacer en España. Yo seré un instrumento. Ideas, costumbres, preocupaciones, quiero crearlas para el papel, que voy a representar" (O.C., II, 579). His belief in his calling is expressed even more clearly immediately before his defeat:

> Yo quitaré todos los obstáculos y las fuerzas saldrán a su vida, que es la acción. Este pueblo, luego otros, y después España entera...Que no quede nada oculto ni encerrado, que salga todo a la vida, a la luz del sol. Soy un hombre fuerte, soy un hombre de hierro, para mí ya no hay obstáculos. Las fuerzas de la Naturaleza me ayudarán. ¡César! He de ser César. (O.C., II, 751).[52]

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century Zalacaín meets essentially the same fate as Martín López de Zalacaín in 1412, death at the hands of a relative of the enemy Ohando family.

[51] Gonzalo Sobejano, Nietzsche, p. 371.

[52] In his 1926 speech "Tres generaciones," Baroja described his generation in terms which suggest that he maintained his romantic conception of politics as a mission of national redemption long after he wrote César o nada:

> "...fue una generación más consciente que la anterior y más digna; pretendió conocer lo que era España, lo que era Europa, y pretendió sanear el país. Si al intento hubiera podido unir un comienzo de realización, hubiese sido de esas generaciones salvadoras de una patria. La cosa era difícil, imposible." (O.C., V, 574).

The references to Machiavelli, Julius Caesar, and Cesare Borgia during César's period of preparation further support the idea of the magnitude of César's undertaking. Later, the chapter titles "Sí, es el héroe" and "¡César! ¡César!" again exalt César's mission and charisma by reference to the great leader.

Even César's failure is a component of Baroja's romantic conception of the character. First, there are two predictions of his defeat in Part I, one of them by a "sibyl." Later, after being defeated by forces which he had not properly analyzed or evaluated, César totally withdraws from politics and takes refuge in his private life. Like any traditional romantic hero, he becomes a victim of his destiny.

The essentially conservative nature of this view is clear. If the individual by himself is powerless in the face of destiny, his attempts to change things are futile. Martínez Laínez has analyzed the philosophical basis of Baroja's conception of politics and its conservative ramifications:

> Frente a la concepción racionalista hegeliana de la Historia como realización progresiva originada por causas efectivas, impersonales y objetivas, que aspira a desentrañar la aparente confusión existente en el proceso histórico, Baroja adopta la posición irracionalista y casuística, sin ley rectora ni motor fijo. Esta filosofía de pasividad e indolencia, fundamentalmente conduce a quedarse en el contenido episódico y externo de los acontecimientos, aparentemente faltos de propósito, y lleva consigo la renuncia

> a toda organización formal, a toda integración permanente. Un concepto fatalista así concebido de la Historia, termina ahogando cualquier intento serio de renovar el orden y la escructura establecida.[33]

In much the same way as Baroja's defeat at the polls in 1909 appears to mark the end of his attempts to actively and seriously participate in Spanish political life (except for a brief foray in 1918), so César o nada marks the end of his novelistic interest in contemporary Spanish politics for many years. The pattern of the character's life seems to anticipate that of the author. César withdraws from politics and the contemporary world, lives in the ducal palace of Castro Duro, and in a sense takes refuge in the collection of Spanish art objects. In 1912 Baroja purchases "Itzea," his Basque country home where he spends long periods and where he installs his own collection of rare books, engravings, and illustrations, mostly of the nineteenth century. His novelistic interests begin to turn away from contemporary Spanish reality, from such characters as César (the novelist's most important contemporary political portrait). A year later El árbol de la ciencia, although not a strictly political work, nonetheless still indicates Baroja's involvement with

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[33]Martínez Lainez, "El sentimiento político de Pío Baroja," p. 200.

his own time. Yet, in 1911 Baroja first becomes interested in the adventures of his ancestor Eugenio Aviraneta, part of an interest in the nineteenth century which will occupy him, with some interruptions, from 1911 to 1935.

Baroja's interests are a form of escape, escape related to his own individualistic conception of politics; his inability to connect workaday politics with a profound historical or sociological analysis of a given situation: and, ultimately, his inability to make a lasting commitment to any single political party or ideology.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The preceding study has attempted to appraise Baroja's political attitudes, his participation in politics, and above all, his literary treatment of the subject from his earlier works through the political novels written during the years of his greatest creativity. Baroja's essays, sketches, letters, recently edited early journalism, and biographical information have served as points of departure. An examination of this material sheds light on Baroja's early interest and participation in politics and his first prose treatment of the subject, yet despite this considerable political interest, Baroja never made a lasting commitment to any political party, never espoused any contemporary political program or ideology. He maintained his own peculiar brand of liberalism throughout his life: the concept of an ideal society based on individualism and liberty, freedom of conscience and tolerance. Yet, as Professor Patt asserts: "It is evident that Baroja's self-proclaimed liberalism was

genuine but so profoundly anti-establishment and so completely impractical as to ultimately negate itself."[1]

Baroja's attempts to participate in and influence political life met for the most part with failure, yet they are important in his formation as a writer and an observer: the tertulias; the short-lived regenerationist magazine Juventud; the largely fruitless campaigns of "los Tres;" his collaborations in various newspapers and magazines (according to Urrutia "de hombre activo en la opinión española en lo que cabe"[2]); his brief court appearance following the publication of one article; his brief affiliation with Lerroux's Radical Party; and his unsuccessful candidacy for town councilman on that party's ticket. These experiences constitute his apprenticeship as a writer and as a politician; they supplied him with first-hand observations and inside sources of information upon which he was later to draw in his portrayal of realistic characters, atmosphere, dialogue and ideologies.

Baroja's political attitudes are first presented in these early journalistic essays. Here he expresses his distaste for

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[1]Beatrice Patt, Pío Baroja, p. 71.

[2]See Chapter I, n. 27.

socialism, domocracy and "el absolutismo del número," as well as his abhorrence of anarchist terrorism. Yet he is sympathetic to the humanitarian goals of anarchism, and is intrigued by the utopian world view which lies behind them. Even in his early writing, Baroja perceives the rigidity of political ideologies which can so easily resemble religious dogma in their form if not their content. Baroja's rhetoric-free patriotism is also displayed in these essays. His understanding of Spain's past and how it has produced her present coincide at the beginning of the century with Joaquín Costa's interpretation (which he quoted admiringly).

Baroja's first political characters are also found in his early articles and essays. The anarchist and the cacique appear originally here and foreshadow important characters in later novels.

The trilogies La lucha por la vida and La raza as well as the novels Paradox, rey and César o nada either directly or indirectly portray and interpret contemporary Spanish political reality--both urban and rural. In an urban context Baroja examines anarchism and socialism as alternatives to and criticisms of the social order of the Restoration, and he also criticizes the apathy and corruption of rural politi-

cal life as manifested in the oppressive cacique system. Further, in these works he presents a number of political characters who are imbued with a sense of a mission to somehow improve society.

In Aurora roja, La dama errante and La ciudad de la niebla Baroja introduces various types of anarchists--humanitarian, literary, intellectual, purely rebellious, etc. Most of them are maladjusted, ineffectual, and fanatical individuals, although some, especially Juan Alcázar, are sincere and altruistic. He suggests ethnic-cultural reasons which predispose the Spanish to this philosophy--their enthusiasm for the well-turned phrase, the "gesto gallardo," the "idea providencial," the " culto de sectarios por una especie de religión nueva" (O.C., I, 567, 578). Baroja captures the religious element of anarchism with numerous comparisons, and shows how this "new religion" has its own kind of dogmatism. Anarchism's value as a criticism of existing society is important, but its naiveté on the one hand and its association with terrorist methods on the other account for Baroja's ultimate rejection of it. Socialism, the other political philosophy popular

among the working class at the turn of the century presents more realistic goals than those of the anarchists but the socialist movement seems to impose an ultimately stiffling conformity--which is anathema to Baroja.

In spite of the ample criticism directed at both socialism and anarchism, Baroja finds them somehow superior to the parties of the middle class. He praises their internationalism and the fact that since their chances for gaining power were practically nonexistent they were not thronged by the self-seeking adulators who populated middle-class factions.

In Paradox, rey the utopia of Bu-tata, the incarnation of a number of Baroja's political attitudes, also proves to be a dead end. The rule of a meritocracy in harmonious surroundings cannot endure in a world dominated by European imperialism.

César o nada, a political Bildungsroman, also involves a utopian vision. In this case,however, the ideal state is to be developed, not in a mythical country, but in Spain itself. The respnsibility for the failure of César Moncada to implement Costa-like regenerationist programs in a typical

district of Castile rests ultimately on the realities of the power structure of rural Spain, the Church, the oligarchy and the cacique. His defeat also shows the futility of a romantic approach to political action. This would-be reformer's final ironic reconciliation to a situation he has been unable to change is an example of upward mobility, but on a higher social level than that of Manuel Alcázar. The pattern of César Moncada's life also follows that of the town mayor in Baroja's early writings; he is a man who lives an adventure but then retires to a more tranquil existence.

César Moncada is Baroja's most detailed contemporary political portrait, and his most important one. What joins him to other important political characters in the novels analyzed is his desire, like the desire of Brull and Alcázar, to change significantly his environment, and his belief in his own personal mission to do so.

All of these characters appear in works written before 1911. D.L. Shaw has defined Baroja's fiction from 1902 to 1910 as his "vitalist phase"[3] in which the author explores

[3]Donald L. Shaw, A Literary History of Spain: The Nineteenth Century (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1970), p. 167.

"the possibility of seeking life's finality... in life itself, in living as the ultimate absolute, and in action as its real manifestation."[4] In this phase Baroja clearly envisioned politics as a form of action with which to confront the enigma of life, even though the political characters usually met defeat.

Politics, however, plays a much smaller role in Baroja's later works: his novelistic interests change after 1911 when he first becomes interested in the life and times of his ancestor, and the series of historical novels based largely on Aviraneta's adventures, Memorias de un hombre de acción, is considered a second phase in Baroja's works,[5] a phase which does not concern itself with contemporary Spain and its politics. Two thirds of this new phase was written in the interval between El mundo es así (1912) and La sensualidad pervertida (1920), an interval during which Baroja wrote no novels in a modern setting. Shaw considers the final

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[4]Shaw, A Literary History, p. 167.

[5]Ibid.

phase of Baroja's work to begin with La sensualidad pervertida,[6] a phase characterized by "the search for ataraxia, serenity through self limitation."[7] The political content of the trilogy Las ciudades -- César o nada; el mundo es así; and La sensualidad pervertida--typifies the shift in Baroja's attitude toward politics after 1910. The first novel is a political novel, dealing with Spanish political problems. Although it was written only two years later, the second novel is clearly not political, even if it contains some anarchist characters.

Luis Murguía, the protagonist of La sensualidad pervertida, may be viewed as the opposite of César: in contrast to the political man of action, the autobiographical Murguía affirms an ideal of "vivir y contemplar" (O.C., II, 894), shunning great projects and great hopes. This character refuses to get involved with the larger world around him; he is unable to commit himself whether to another person or a political party or philosophy. José Larramaga, the central character of the trilogy Agonías de nuestro tiempo (El gran torbellino

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[6] Shaw, A Literary History, p. 167.

[7] Ibid.

del mundo, 1926; las veleidades de la fortuna, 1926; Los amores tardíos, 1927) resembles Murguía in that he, too, is simply one of life's spectators. Larrañaga travels more, visiting and commenting on a number of countries in Europe after The Great War. But he is a commentator, not a participant; politics is discussed but action is never taken. Larrañaga is a dissatisfied conservative, but has no hopes for change:"La vida, en todas partes, es casi igual; es difícil que sea diferente" (O.C. , I, 1057).

It is only in 1932, twenty-two years after the publication of César o nada, that Baroja returns to the theme of contemporary Spanish political reality in his trilogy La selva oscura (La familia de Errotacho, 1932; El cabo de las tormentas, 1932; and Los visionarios, 1932). Here Baroja attempts to portray the turbulent events in Spain from World War I through the early days of the Republic. Actual political events occupy the foreground of this trilogy whereas in the trilogies written before 1911 real events were only part of the background of the novels. In the Prologue to this trilogy Baroja states that in these newer novels:"La novela anda entremezclada con la crónica y la crónica con la novela " (O.C., VI, 257). Yet the events Baroja depicts: the era of

"pistolerismo" in Barcelona, the 1924 anarchist uprising in Vera, Fermín Galán's attempted coup in Jaca, and the early days of the Republic, are observed and reported by the novelistic characters Baroja has created who are usually observers and commentators exclusively. The few instances in which these characters do participate in a political activity, their actions are obscured by the larger chronicle of events. There is no major character like César who is moved by patriotic concerns to change and shape his country. Fermín Acha, the most memorable character in the trilogy, shows his concern for Spain not through any political involvement of hiw own but by examining and appraising the activities of others. Fermín offers some familiar opinions; he is a pessimist who doubts that communism or any other monolithic "ism" will be able to make rapid changes in society. He is distrustful of the masses, and is concerned above all with freedom and the unfettered development of the individual. He finds that political doctrines resemble religious doctrines a little too much: "El socialismo se parece demasiado a la religión. El uno predica al Estado y la otra al individuo" (O.C., VI, 515). His musings about the possibility of a future dictatorship recall Hasting and César's ideas as well

as Baroja's own early comments. According to Acha,

> --Quizá con el tiempo aparezca algún grupo de jóvenes inteligentes y escogidos que conquisten el Poder y hagan las reformas necesarias del momento sin dejarse llevar por utopías ni por sentimentalismos.
> (O.C., VI, 513)

Although Acha shares an ideological kinship with other Barojian characters, and he is curious about contemporary events, these novels are not entirely successful. Eugenio de Nora has commented that in these works "La invención novelesca sostiene apenas lo que hay de pulsación de un 'ambiente de epoca'...;"[8] while Professor Patt finds that Baroja in this trilogy "is suspicious and ill at ease with the prospect of involvement in events he wished only to report as a disinterested observer. The past alone grants immunity."[9]

After La selva oscura contemporary Spanish politics

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[8] Eugenio de Nora, La novela española, p. 211.

[9] Patt, Pío Baroja, p. 69. Martínez-Menchén ("Baroja y la crisis de canovismo," p. 246) comments on the escapist tendency of Baroja's later works, a tendency he finds to coincide with the beginning of the Great Crisis of the Restoration in 1914. He offers this evaluation of La selva oscura and the works of the period preceding it (1914-1931):

> "Vemos, pues, que Baroja en los años que corresponden a la gran crisis de la Restauración, se refugia en una narrativa no testimonial, y cuando posteriormente pretende hacer una crónica histórica contemporánea, trata aquella época de una menera superficial y anecdótica."

plays a very small role in Baroja's work. In his last trilogy, La juventud perdida (Las noches del Buen Retiro, 1934; El cura de Monleón, 1936; and Locuras de carnaval, 1937) there are several characters who participate in politics, but their political activity, like that of Vladimir Ovolensky, is not a sincere patriotic commitment but a means of accomplishing personal goals by means of the proper political affiliation.

The most significant political action in the trilogy is the young priest Javier Olarán's decision in El cura de Monleón, not to take sides in the political conflicts which follow the establishment of the Republic. This decision is nonetheless a political one and offends his superiors. Throughout the section describing the political disturbances which erupted in Monleón with the advent of the Republic, Javier is constantly shown in his garden, a Voltairian allusion which also recalls a similar description of Manuel Alcázar in Aurora roja. It is the loss and subsequent decay of this symbolic garden which seems to affect Javier the most. Javier's choice reflects Baroja's own desire to cultivate his garden, even in the face of events which demand that a stand be taken.

After El cura de Monleón there are no political characters, only uncommitted ones such as Luis Carvajal in El cantor vagabundo (1950) who chooses to remain aloof from both sides in the Civil War or Antonio Zabala in Los amores de Antonio y Cristina (1953) who goes to France during the Civil War because he finds himself in sympathy with neither side.

Thus it was only in his youth that Baroja even toyed with the idea of political involvement and it was only in the works of his early period that he portrayed politics as a type of action which could give meaning to an individual's existence. In his later years he at first withdrew his attention from the problems of contemporary Spain and then even later presented them in an anecdotal way, from the perspective of a mere observer, rather than a participant.

Pío Baroja felt that "unas cuantas obras literarias dan más la sensación de un país que unas cuantas obras de Historia"(O.C., V, 1100). Indeed his own works do give us an immediate sense of Spain's political climate more than would a detailed historical account. Through Baroja's works the reader comes to realize the hopelessness of the political situation that the Generation of '98 experienced;

it is not surprising that this hopelessness would lead to a yearning for a strong leader. Finally, the immediacy with which Baroja has apprehended his political situation keeps both his situation and his works vital for the modern reader.

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