“Feminine” Bestsellers: Gender and the Question of Modernity in the Spanish Short Novel (1907-1936)

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Introduction

On the night of May 6, 1910, in Valladolid, a group of three-hundred (or five-hundred depending on the source) indignant students rallied outside the editorial office of *El Norte de Castilla* protesting the publication of an article by Ángela Barco the previous day. They then directed themselves to her residence, where, according to a report in *El Lábaro*, "los escolares promovieron un tremendo escándalo que motivó la intervención del Gobernador." Local authorities had to be called in to dissolve the protest, and Barco was subsequently dismissed from her residence.

The article that sparked such outrage, "El hijo," criticized the hypocrisy of a middle class that favored a son's education (and the prestige that accompanied it) over the family's economic well-being. Barco says,

> ¡Las tristezas, las amarguras por las cuales es necesario pasar para ver al hijo *hecho hombre*, con su título redentor bajo el brazo!… ¿Que se come poco? No importa, con tal que *el niño* no carezca de nutritivo principio. ¡Tiene que estudiar! […] Y así, viene a ser la única preocupación, el eje de la miserable familia, que se cree casi aristocrática porque tiene un hijo estudiando. (380-381; emphasis in the original)[1]

Moreover, by condemning this practice Barco delivered a second blow to the middle class because she did so in specifically gendered terms, attacking the underlying sexism of a culture in which success is measured according to the son's prestige. She asks, "Y mientras tanto, ¿se fija alguien en esas dos o tres figuritas anémicas, de lindos rostros, que abren pasmadas sus grandes

[1] References to "El hijo" come from the original publication in *España Futura*, no. 7, 1909, pp. 380-383.

ojazos de desheredadas, como no comprendiendo que de ellas no se ocupe nadie, dejándolas en el olvido, para soñar, no que son reinas, pero sí princesitas encantadas" (381). Thus, Barco considers the daughters to be the true victims of this system because they are neglected and left to become "ese tipo de mujer anodino e insustancial, incapaz de ser otra cosa que la eterna esclava" (382-383). Therefore, in criticizing the hypocrisy of middle-class practices, Barco was also providing an implicit, but radical, condemnation of conventional, middle-class gender discourse, attacking the commonplace bourgeois stereotype of the self-sacrificing and obedient wife and daughter whose role in society is defined relationally (to men) rather than individually. More radically, by suggesting that social and familial pressures force girls into this role, Barco was defying entrenched nineteenth- and early twentieth-century gender theories that viewed woman's subservience as an inherent and irreducible consequence of her biology.

At about the same time—April 8, 1910—Barco published the short novel *Fémina* in *El Cuento Semanal* to critical acclaim.[2] As I show in more detail in Chapter One, it dramatizes the negative effects that the middle-class discourse of domesticity has on the female protagonist, Gabriela. In short, she is forced to become the "tipo de mujer anodino" described in "El hijo" not as an extension of her biology but by societal pressures beyond her control. The text, moreover, frames this issue within the larger context of Spain's modernization, thus inviting readers to consider the relationship between a non-essentialist notion of femininity and an emergent

[2] *El Cronista* published the following review of the novel: "Publica esta popular revista [*El Cuento Semanal*] un delicadísimo boceto de novela titulado *Fémina*, original de Ángela Barco, notable escritora castellana. Fue éste uno de los cuentos recomendados en el concurso que organizó *El Cuento Semanal* y del que fueron jurados Pío Baroja, Valle-Inclán y Felipe Trigo. De los que merecieron esta honra, *Fémina* es, sin disputa, uno de los mejores. La novedad del asunto y la exquisita sensibilidad con que está desarrollada su interesantísima trama, son las notas que sobresalen en este cuento, que ha de ser, ciertamente, acogido por el público con general aplauso."

Spanish modernity. If, in Spain, the nineteenth century was a period "when the boundaries of gender were shifting and redefining themselves" (Charnon-Deutsch and Labanyi 2), Barco's *Fémina* reveals an inherent relationship between this constant redefinition of gender categories and modernity more broadly.

This study explores the ways in which women writers of early twentieth-century Spain explored the complex relationship between gender and modernity. In addition, it explores the ways in which women writers engaged with this question in the popular *novela corta*, a new and lucrative medium in which both established and novice writers could publish. A few scholars have raised the question of the "best" genre through which we can perceive collective anxieties surrounding gender in the nineteenth century. Jo Labanyi has argued that the realist novel is the genre best suited for this task because of its capacity to "invent stories, tailoring them to highlight specific concerns" (*Gender and Modernization* 5) and its importance in the formation of a national literary canon. David Gies, in response to Labanyi, has argued that "it is in the theatre where we can most accurately and powerfully detect the subtle changes taking place in the period's gender culture" ("Genderama" 109). Without arguing for the invalidity of either of these positions, I am proposing that the *novela corta*, because of its inherent relationship to modernity and the modernization of literary production—as a genre that signaled "the transformation of literature into a battlefield of social reform … A whole literature developed on the basis of changing sexual mores" (Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa, "Literary Collections" 40)—is a unique and useful medium through which we can track anxieties in early twentieth-century Spain. Moreover, given the popularity of the genre, particularly among women writers—personally, I have cataloged over three hundred female-authored novellas, a small yet noteworthy percentage of the thousands of novellas published between 1907 and 1936— they

offer scholars fruitful opportunities to explore the ways in which these writers engaged with the most pressing political, social, and cultural questions concerning woman's place in an increasingly modernized Spain. I argue that many of the concerns about constantly-shifting notions of gender in turn-of-the-century Spain were inherently linked more broadly with anxieties surrounding modernity's perceived destabilizing effects on traditional conceptions of essential gender differences.

Between 1907 and 1936, thousands of short novels were published in the dozens of *revistas literarias* available. Among the most popular of the time, in Madrid, were *El Cuento Semanal* (1907-1912), *Los Contemporáneos* (1909-1926), *El Libro Popular* (1912-1914), *La Novela Corta* (1916-1925), *La Novela Semanal* (1921-1925), *La Novela de Hoy* (1922-1932), and *La Novela Mundial* (1926-1928), not to mention dozens of others, each, as the dates above indicate, lasting for different amounts of time.[3] Although some collections were more specialized and were dedicated to a specific genre, such as erotic literature[4] or theatrical works,[5] the most popular ones appealed to a broader range of literary tastes and sensibilities. In Barcelona, the two most notable and popular collections were *La Novela Ideal* (1925-1938) and *La Novela Libre* (1933-1937), both publications of the anarchist magazine *La Revista Blanca* (1923-1936).

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[3] These particular collections have also been the most studied by literary scholars of the late twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries. See Mainer, Granjel, Sainz de Robles, Fernández Gutiérrez, Mogin-Martin, García Martínez, and Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa and Santamaría. In addition, Alberto Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa's *Bibliografía e historia de las colecciones literarias en España (1907-1957)* is the most comprehensive catalog of literary collections of the first half of the twentieth century in Spain.

[4] Collections of erotic content include *La Novela Sugestiva*, *La Novela Pasional*, *La Novela Picante*, all of which appeared in the latter part of the 1920s. See Litvak, pp. 44-56, and Zubiaurre, pp. 289-329, for comprehensive introductions to popular erotic literature in early twentieth-century Spain.

[5] See, specifically, Pérez Bowie, García-Abad, and Esgueva Martínez for studies that focus on these collections.

Given the sheer quantity of primary material, the present study will focus exclusively on the women writers based in Madrid. Madrid and Barcelona were the two main cultural hubs during the early twentieth century, with the latter having the reputation as the more modern(ized) and radically leftist of the two metropolises. As a result, women writers of early twentieth-century Spain were almost invariably publishing in one of these two cities with little overlap. Two distinct groups of writers of the *novela corta* formed. An in-depth analysis of the effects that the specific historical, cultural, and political context of the cities in which these women were writing had on their work is beyond the scope of the present study, but there were certainly differences in the ways in which they wrote about and artistically represented women, women's roles in society, and the clash between traditional and modern notions of femininity.

In Madrid, the collections appealed to various generations of writers. For example, some of the most widely read and established writers since the 1880s, such as Benito Pérez Galdós and Emilia Pardo Bazán who were nearing the end of their careers (Galdós and Pardo Bazán died in 1920 and 1921, respectively), often published in these popular magazines. Alongside these realists, younger generations of writers were also publishing short works in addition to more "serious," long-form novels for which they are best known today. These included the great modernists of the so-called Generation of '98, Ramón del Valle-Inclán, José Martínez Ruiz, Pío Baroja, and Miguel de Unamuno. Other writers, more active during the 1910s and 1920s, include Álvaro Retana, Antonio de Hoyos y Vinent, Rafael Cansinos-Assens, Ramón Pérez de Ayala, and Ramón Gómez de la Serna.

Most of the producers of the short novel were male. However, more important to the present study is the presence of a significant minority of established and burgeoning women writers attracted to the new medium as a lucrative means to publish their work. Among the most

well-known to scholars today are Carmen de Burgos, Margarita Nelken, Sofía Casanova, and Blanca de los Ríos, whose work has received important critical studies in the twenty-first century. Others, despite differing degrees of notoriety during their own lives, are practically unknown today, such as Ángela Barco, Sara Insúa, and Adela Carbone.

These women were witnesses to and participants in a period of modernization for women as they began to enjoy more personal freedoms than did previous generations (although these were still limited by modern standards). If late nineteenth-century activists such as Pardo Bazán and Concepción Arenal argued that a woman's access to education was the most urgent feminist issue of the time, the early twentieth century was a period when these goals were being realized, albeit slowly and only in the more modernized sectors of the country. According to María Rosa Capel Martínez, illiteracy among women decreased between 1900 and 1930, from 71.4% to about 50%, which was due in large part to the increased access to education that women gained in the twentieth century (362). In 1910 the government granted a woman's right to higher education without the restrictions that had been imposed on them since 1888. The opening of the Residencia de Señoritas in 1915 marked another important moment in the evolution of women's access to education. Directed by María de Maeztu, it sought to provide young women with a living space for girls pursuing an education in the capital. In addition to complementary classes offered at the residence, the Residencia, via lectures and other events, fostered an environment in which these young girls would be introduced to some of the most significant cultural developments of the time.[6] As one Luis de Zulueta wrote in 1916 in a column in *La Libertad*, the

[6] After the publication of the seminal *Ni convento ni college* (Zulueta, 1993), our understanding of the Residencia de Señoritas has increased immensely in the past few years thanks in large part to Isabel Pérez-Villanueva Tovar's *La Residencia de Estudiantes* (2011), Raquel Vázquez Ramil's *Mujeres y educación* (2012), and Almudena de la Cueva's *Mujeres en vanguardia* (2015). See also, Cuesta et. al., *La Residencia de Señoritas y otras redes culturales femeninas*

Residencia was the best option for fathers who, "aún respetando sinceramente el esfuerzo que la Iglesia realiza '*pro devoto femineo sexu*,' desearían para sus hijas una educación, bien que religiosa, más seglar, más extensa, más *moderna*" (emphasis mine).

In fact, early twentieth-century Spain—commonly referred to as an artistic *Edad de Plata*—marked a golden age in women's artistic production. Modern and avant-garde painters and illustrators such as Maruja Mallo, Victorina Durán, Delhy Tejero, Joaquina Zamora, and Menchu Gal (all of whom lived at some point in the Residencia either as students or instructors) were active in predominantly male artistic circles. Although information about the lives and works of the male poets of the so-called Generation of '27 makes up the majority of modern literary histories, the 1920s was also a period in which significant women poets were producing work. Elisabeth Mulder, Josefina de la Torre, Ernestina de Champourcin, Concha Méndez, and Rosa Chacel are a few among many.[7] This was also a time when women were becoming more engaged in politics, as the appearance of for-women periodicals, such as *Aspiraciones*, *Mujeres Españolas*, *Ellas*, and *Cultura Integral y Femenina*, attests. The women who produced short novels were an integral part of this cultural transformation. As Ángela Ena Bordonada explains,

> Las escritoras [de novela corta de principios del siglo XX] son genuinas representantes de este acceso de la mujer, de clase media y alta, a la sociedad desde una sólida base cultural: enseñanza secundaria—y en algunos casos superior—, dominio de varios idiomas, afición a viajar, capacidad y aptitud

(2015) and Vázquez Ramil, "La Residencia de Señoritas de Madrid durante la II República" (2015) for more specialized studies concerning the Residencia.

[7] For a comprehensive introduction to and anthology of these poets' texts, see Pepa Merlo's *Peces en la tierra* (2010).

> oratoria, desempeño de diversas profesiones, defensa de unos ideales, etc. ("Introduction" 20)

Concerning the *revistas literarias* themselves, the consensus among scholars has been to highlight *El Cuento Semanal*, founded in 1907 by Eduardo Zamacois, as the pioneering collection. Brigitte Magnien et al. have identified the existence of collections prior to *El Cuento Semanal* (p. 49), not to mention the existence of serial collections that by 1907 had already existed for decades. However, Zamacois's *El Cuento Semanal* sparked a wave of dozens of other literary collections until the outbreak of the civil war in 1936. The true novelty of *El Cuento Semanal* lay in its format and in the founder's conception of the collection as what Alberto Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa has called "a true compendium of cultural information with a complementary layout" ("Literary Collections" 35). The label *novela corta*—translatable as "novella" or "short novel"—indicates more than length. The *novela corta* was a specific object that evolved between 1907 and 1936. *El Cuento Semanal*, along with its sister collection *Los Contemporáneos*, best fits the idea of a literary *magazine*. For example, the front cover of Pardo Bazán's *Cada uno* (1907), the seventh novella published in *El Cuento Semanal*, shows the title of the collection in the upper right-hand corner and the title of the novella's centered, both alongside a colored caricature of the author. The following page contains formal details about the novella (issue number, edition, and date of publication, for example), subscription advertisements, and some general news. The text of the novella begins on the third page. Various illustrations—mostly in black and white—were scattered throughout. Additional stylistic characteristics are summarized by Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa: "Like the most important of the non-specialized magazines [of the *fin de siècle*], they [*El Cuento Semanal* and *Los Contemporáneos*] adopted a folio-sized layout and used couché paper, photochromic prints, two columns of print,

and illustrations with wrap-around text" ("Literary Collections" 38). The magazine measured 230 mm x 155 mm, and individual novellas averaged 24 pages in length (Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa, *Bibliografía* 103).[8] Individual numbers cost 30 *céntimos* (cts.) while a three-month subscription cost 3.25 pesetas (6 pesetas for biannual subscriptions within Spain and 10 pesetas for foreign subscriptions).

This magazine-like model would eventually be replaced by a cheaper, pocket-sized format. Issues of *La Novela Corta*, for example, were much less elaborate than anything published in *El Cuento Semanal*. They measured 173 mm x 108 mm and cost 5, 10, and 20 cts. throughout the almost ten-year existence of the collection (Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa, *Bibliografía* 106). A brief comparison between Sofía Casanova's *Lo eterno* (*La Novela Corta*, no. 218, 1920) and Margarita Nelken's *Una historia de adulterio* (*La Novela Corta*, no. 442, 1924) further illustrates the evolution of individual collections within short periods of time. Casanova's novella was sold at 10 cts. per issue, included a black-and-white photo of the author on the front cover, and did not contain illustrations. On the other hand, an issue of Nelken's *Historia* cost 20 cts. and included a colored illustration of one scene in the novella on the cover. Additional black-and-white illustrations were scattered throughout.

These collections were prolific. As Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa explains, "It grew common to reprint existing works, and print runs for new works ranged from the 10,000 initial copies of long novels to the 200,000 copies of certain issues of the collection *La Novela Corta*" ("Literary Collections" 40). Ena Bordonada specifies that the average number of weekly prints was between 30,000 and 50,000 ("Sobre el público" 235). They were often sold at street kiosks,

[8] Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa's *Bibliografía e historia* contains detailed data about the physical attributes of each of the collections.

although issues could also be bought from mobile street venders, newspaper stands, train station libraries, or from the editorial company directly. In terms of payment, the *novela corta* became a lucrative means for writers to publish their work. Sánchez Álvarez-Insúa explains, "Many authors lived exclusively off their writing and were paid between 1,000 and 3,000 pesetas per short novel" ("Literary Collections" 40).

To put these statistics into perspective, in the original, unabridged edition of *La rampa* (published in its entirety in 1917 and then republished as an abridged novella in 1921) Carmen de Burgos lists the expenses of her working-class female protagonist. Her monthly costs sum to about 125 pesetas, too steep for the protagonist's humble salary but nonetheless indicative of the affordability of the short novel, especially considering that a year's subscription to *El Cuento Semanal* would cost around 13 pesetas.

The popularity and diffusion of the *novela corta*—or kiosk literature as it is also called by scholars—points both to a growing, diverse readership in and a changing relationship between reader and author. As Christine Rivalan Guégo notes about the author-reader relationship, "Indudablemente la inmensa demanda de novelas y de novelas cortas por parte de revistas y de editoriales constituyó una oleada de aire nuevo para los autores" (*Fruición-ficción* 27). She also argues, "En efecto, la expresión literaria dejó de responder únicamente a una necesidad del escritor y pasó a convertirse en una actividad pensada primero para satisfacer a un lector cuyas posibilidades y capacidades se estaban calibrando" (*Lecturas gratas* 16). It is also significant to note that the success of the *novela corta* was the product of the modernization of culture in early twentieth-century Spain. As Juli Highfill has noted about the "society of spectacle" in 1920s Madrid, "a burgeoning advertising industry found its place in print media, enticing customers to purchase the streamlined merchandise that signified modernity. Women were largely the target

audience for … magazines and their advertisers" (4). This is particularly true of the *novela corta*, as many collections also included advertisements, some of which were directly targeted to a female audience.

Considering available statistics about literary and which demographics had access to education in early twentieth-century Spain, the majority of readers of the *novela corta* belonged to the middle class. However, Ena Bordonada has concluded that the collections attracted a more diverse readership than this.[9] The paratext is an important indicator of implied readership. For example, on the inside cover page of Sara Insúa's *La mujer que defendió su felicidad* (*La Novela Mundial*, no, 61, 1927), readers see a full-page advertisement for a pianola. This implies a wealthy, middle- and upper-class readership. In addition, the pianola is a specifically domestic object, which could also imply a specifically female readership. Concerning women readers, *La Novela Femenina* (1925-1926) was a collection that exclusively published novellas written by women.

There is also evidence that suggests that working-class individuals were specifically targeted as potential consumers of the *novela corta*. The growth of a working-class readership was due to changes in the country's economic model in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (predominantly agricultural to more industrialized in certain parts of the country). This change, coupled with the beginnings of growing urbanization, was creating new and increasing demand for inexpensive means of entertainment. How do we know that some collections advertised specifically toward this readership? Playwright Joaquín Dicenta wrote a letter to José de Urquía, founder of *La Novela Corta*, in response to Urquía's asking permission to publish the

[9] Her article "Sobre el público" is the most comprehensive study of the implied readership of the *novela corta*.

text of Dicenta's *Juan José* (premiered 1895) in the collection. (This letter has been republished in the 1992 Cátedra edition of Dicenta's *Juan José* as "Carta a modo de un prólogo.") Urquía published the play on May 1, 1916 in *La Novela Corta*, no. 17, but the fact that Urquía had originally asked Dicenta for permission to dedicate the text to "los obreros españoles" indicates an implied readership made up, at least in part, of working-class individuals.

More important to the present study is early twentieth-century kiosk literature's intimate connection with modernity. Not only was it a direct product of the modernization of editorial and printing technologies, but it also reminds us of the modernization of daily life. According to Jeffrey Zamostny, it reveals an inherent relationship to modern perceptions of time and space. On the one hand, "The proximity of kiosks to modern modes of transportation reminds us that their wares regularly crossed city limits and regional and national borders" (Zamostny 14), thus indicating that kiosk literature was an inherently mobile form of literature for an increasingly mobile urban population. *El Cuento Semanal*, as mentioned, advertised international subscriptions, further emphasizing the cosmopolitan "reach" of these objects. On the other hand, Zamostny has analyzed the abundance of collection titles that allude to time: *La Novela de Una Hora* or *La Novela de Hoy*, for example, the latter of which claims "not just to keep apace with time or embody the new, but to inscribe the present as it happens" (15). In other words, if one of the defining characteristics of modernism is what Andreas Huyssen calls "its intent on distancing itself and its products from the trivialities and banalities of everyday life" (43), then mass-culture, another product of modernity, is defined by its immediate relationship to and engagement with the present. Additionally, and most importantly, "kiosk literature's fragility brings us face to face with loss as a condition of modern change today, even as digitization creates the illusion of infinite memory" (Zamostny 4). This inherent ephemerality points to why

this corpus remains largely understudied today—particularly concerning the female-authored short novel—and to the urgent need to digitize these works. After all, the short novel was conceived of as a disposable object. This is not to deny the important work that has been in the past couple of decades to recover many of these authors, such as Carmen de Burgos and Margarita Nelken, from oblivion. However, few of these works have been edited and republished.[10] Those that remain intact are located either in the Biblioteca Nacional de España or in the small collections of other university libraries, in most cases deteriorating after a century (or more) of disuse.[11] As part of my investigation, I have digitized any female-authored *novela corta* not already digitized as part of larger efforts to preserve entire collections. Therefore, given kiosk literature's inherent relationship to modernity, and given that the redefinition of gender boundaries was one of the feared consequences of modernization in early twentieth-century Spain, the short novel gives us unique insight into the diverse ways in which women writers carved out their own space in a male-dominated literary scene and engaged with questions of gender and its relationship to the modern.

Anxieties about modernity and modernization were particularly acute in the discourse of *fin-de-siècle* Spain because it was clear that modernization would bring fundamental changes to the country. According to Javier Fernández Sebastián, "[L]a palabra [modernidad] llegó a adquirir la fuerza de un eslogan, de un esquema de acción orientado a la ruptura con el pasado para mirar decididamente hacia el futuro" (775). Manuel Azaña (1880-1940), for example, recalled that in the early twentieth century modernity became what he called the "consigna" of

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[10] In addition to Ena Bordonada's *Novelas breves*, Concepción Núñez Rey's *La flor de la playa y otras novelas cortas* and Sonia Thon's *Posición ante la vida* have been crucial reeditions of Brugos's and Nelken's work respectively.

[11] This deterioration is also a result of the widespread use of cheap, highly acidic paper that over time yellows then crumbles.

the epoch (170-171). However, whether the solutions to the nation's problems would be resolved or exacerbated as a result of modernization was a matter of intense debate. Modernization—specifically understood as industrialization, the further development of a capitalist market, scientific and technological innovation, and urbanization—either promised to bring progress to an economically, politically, and socially backward country, or it represented a danger to traditional Spanish values. According to Sebastian Balfour, this "national polemic" on the state of the Spanish nation became more acute following the Spain's defeat in 1898: "The deeply conservative view was that Spain had lost the empire because it had abandoned those virtues which had once made it great: unity, hierarchy, and militant Catholicism.… Much more widespread was the [more liberal] view that attributed Spain's decline to its failure to modernize" (25-26). Modernity also implied changing cultural models as well, as proponents of cultural modernization—most notably the intellectuals of the Republican project of the 1930s—increasingly desired to empower the masses through culture and education in the face of the Church's and eventual Nationalists' authoritarian insistence that culture and power remain in the hands of elites.

By "modernity," late twentieth-century and twenty-first-century scholars generally refer to the fundamental transformations in (Western) society from rural to urban life, the political, social, and cultural dominance of the bourgeoisie, the wrestling of epistemological authority from the Church, and a confidence in scientific reasoning and progress inherited from the Enlightenment, among other aspects. Modernity, in short, tends to imply a break with the past. Recent scholarship has problematized the tradition-vs.-modern paradigm, arguing that it risks oversimplification. Turn-of-the-century writers and intellectuals—especially women—

understood "modernity" in diverse ways, yet there is a general understanding that modernity did indeed imply some form of break with the traditional order.

Gender, especially among women, became an important focus of public debate as the country's modernization process problematized (or threatened to problematize) conventional, bourgeois conceptions of "naturally" (or "divinely") sanctioned gender roles. Speaking about Europe in general terms, Rita Felski has argued, "The figure of woman pervades the culture of the *fin de siècle* as a powerful symbol of both the dangers and the promises of the modern age" (*Gender* 3). This is true for Spain as well. As Susan Kirkpatrick notes, turn-of-the-century Spain was a time when gender became "a focus of debates about the possibilities and discontents of modernity" ("Gender and Modernist Discourse" 117). Many viewed modernity as fundamentally destabilizing to the nineteenth-century, patriarchal conceptions of gender difference that, according to Mary Nash, "legitimated a hierarchical order based on the subordination of women and social assymetry [sic] between the sexes" (26). Thus, many of the social anxieties surrounding modernity's perceived threat to patriarchal social organization were often linked with concerns about the breakdown of a strictly biological conception of gender.

Women intellectuals in particular were divided over the potential benefits or drawbacks of modernization on women's lives, thus revealing a spectrum of ideological diversity that we can also track in the *novela corta* of the time. To use the cultural figure of the New Woman as a representation of this divide, she represented to feminists and left-wing allies the promises of modernity, specifically female emancipation and a society free from socially imposed restraints on women's liberty. To critics, she signaled the degeneration of society and the erosion of traditional values brought about by modernity. This debate intensified in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Spain as modernization concurred with the arrival of feminism.

Feminism as an organized movement coalesced much later in Spain than in other Western countries such as Great Britain or the United States (there did not exist an official, organized feminist movement until the founding of the Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Españolas [ANME] in 1918). However, a greater concern for the "woman question" was growing in the latter half of the nineteenth century, pioneered above all by Pardo Bazán.[12] Amparo Hurtado explains that the "woman question" had evolved from the late nineteenth-century concern with the improvement of women's access to education to the broader question in the early twentieth century of social and political emancipation "como una exigencia más del progreso y de la modernización de España" (140). However, *feminism* was a problematic and highly debated concept in Spain at the turn of the twentieth century. Despite what Alda Blanco has called a common "espíritu combativo" among feminists ("Teóricas" 447), writers often disagreed about what concrete forms an organized feminist movement would take. In this case, it has become much more productive to speak about multiple *feminisms* rather than a single unified or homogeneous feminism. For example, many of Spain's early feminists of the second half of the nineteenth-century—Pardo Bazán and Arenal were the most notable—viewed greater access to education as the key to women's empowerment. By the late 1920s, Carmen de Burgos had become increasingly interested in feminism as a legal issue, which she argued in *La mujer moderna y sus derechos* (1927): "La base [de profundos cambios sociales] está en las leyes, en la proclamación de la 'Igualdad de derechos'" (60). Margarita Nelken, meanwhile, maintained in 1922 that "el verdadero problema feminista es un problema económico" (*Condición* 75).

[12] Scanlon's seminal *La polémica feminista* remains one of the most comprehensive resources about the history of Spanish feminism(s) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For a more recent history, see Bermúdez's and Johnson's *A New History of Iberian Feminisms*.

Access to employment was another important issue among women intellectuals. As with education, employment varied by class. Almost categorically, members of the middle-class were presented with few options beyond their domestic duties as wife and mother. Working-class women, however, were afforded more opportunities out of economic necessity. They were frequently employed as servants (chambermaids or cooks, for example) in wealthier homes. In fact, Carmen Eva Nelken's *La carabina* (1924) represents the difficulties faced by single women with few labor opportunities beyond these domestic jobs. These women could also work as seamstresses, launderesses, etc., although these were tasks that were still associated with the domestic, though not necessarily carried out within the home. As we will see in texts such as Pardo Bazán's *La dama joven* (1885; 1914) and Pilar Millán Astray's *Las dos estrellas* (1928), stage performance was also a possibility during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but this stigmatized career was a more controversial issue. In short, by 1900 women made up 18.32% of Spain's active population (14.51% of all women), the majority in agriculture.[13] By 1930 women made up a smaller percentage of the active population, the majority working in domestic service, although the presence of women in industrial jobs had grown significantly since the beginning of the century.

Politically, many women disagreed over what rights empowered women would receive. One of the most well-known examples is the debate over universal women's suffrage between Clara Campoamor and her co-parliamentarians Nelken and Victoria Kent, all three Spain's first female parliamentarians and staunch supporters of the Second Republic's left-wing, progressive reforms. Campoamor fervently defended women's right to vote, while Nelken and Kent opposed the measure out of a fear that the majority of women would vote for right-wing parties. (They

[13] All statistics come from Capel Martínez's *El trajabo y la educación de la mujer en España*.

were right to worry: right-wing parties won the majority of votes in the elections of 1933, the first elections in which women participated.) These political differences were not isolated on the Left, moreover. Leading up to the national elections of November 1933, women of the far-right, pro-fascist propaganda periodical *Aspiraciones* ran a series of articles urging women to vote *en masse* to ensure the victory of right-wing parties. Moreover, activists often modified the term *feminism* to describe their ideological position and in order to differentiate itself themselves from other groups. Examples include "radical feminism," "socialist feminism," "conservative feminism," and "Catholic feminism."

Mary Nash has argued against defining Spain's historical women's movements primarily as politically motivated by the liberal emphasis on universal human rights ("Experiencia y aprendizaje" 156). She draws an important distinction between equality feminism and difference feminism, arguing that

> el feminismo igualitario, basado en el principio de la igualdad entre hombres y mujeres y el ejercicio de derechos individuales, no representa la fundamentación teórica exclusiva del feminismo español sino que coexiste con un fuerte arraigo de un feminismo que se legitimiza a partir del presupuesto de la diferencia de género y del reconocimiento de roles sociales distintos de hombres y mujeres. ("Experiencia y aprendizaje" 158)

María Martínez Sierra (under her husband's name) pinpoints the general tension in turn-of-the-century Spain between feminism and conventional notions of femininity. In a sample questionnaire copied in her *La mujer moderna* (1920), she asks an implied interlocutor, "¿Cree usted que en realidad existe una oposición esencial entre feminidad y feminismo, entendiendo por feminismo la igualdad de la mujer y el hombre en derechos civiles y políticos, y, por lo tanto,

la facultad de intervenir efectiva y directamente en la vida de la nación?" (13). Her understanding of feminism as equality feminism was a progressive and, given Nash's arguments, a minority position. However, the question reveals the ways in which the stereotype of feminism as based on gender equality challenged the conventional discourse of "immutable" gender differences between man and woman. There was a widespread belief at the time that feminism—understood more generally as equality feminism despite the predominance of difference feminism in Spain—was antithetical to conventional conceptions of femininity. In fact, many women intellectuals—whom scholars might retroactively label feminist—often opposed the label "feminist" because of the term's "dirty" associations with the masculinization or defeminization of women. In fact, this position was so widely held that Carmen de Burgos, undoubtedly one of Spain's most radical feminists of the early twentieth century, criticized this fallacious argument. She maintained that one of feminism's great achievements was precisely the fact that, in general, "[s]e alejó de la palabra feminismo el concepto de desequilibrios y *ridiculeces*, la idea de hegemonía femenina y de peligro para la sociedad" (*Mujer moderna* 61).

Lacking political organization or representation, coupled with the growing stigma of being labeled a feminist—Pardo Bazán lamented in 1904 that, in Spain, feminist discourse still scandalized the people in a way unbefitting to a modern nation ("La cuestión feminista" 275)—women tackled issues above all by taking up the pen. According to Maryellen Bieder, "As the issues of female education, emancipation, and suffrage reverberate throughout Europe, women in Spain insert themselves into the debates in essays and fiction" ("Feminine Discourse" 459). Although the essay had become a valuable tool for these women to explore questions of gender, the short novel also became one of the most popular tools for women writers to engage engaged with prominent questions of women's roles in modern society.

In the short novels analyzed in this study, what unites these women, regardless of their political or ideological affiliations, is their awareness of and engagement with conventional nineteenth-century gender discourse. The dominant gender discourse in early twentieth-century was the specific, middle-class ideology of domesticity that had solidified during the nineteenth century. (Not every protagonist analyzed in this study is from the middle-class, but the authors invariably were.) According to Catherine Jagoe,

> El concepto de 'mujer' fue obsesivamente discutido [en el siglo XIX]. Sobre todo a partir de 1840, se publicaron innumerables tratados, artículos, monografías, antologías y discursos describiendo la naturaleza de la mujer y prescribiendo su papel en la sociedad. Era un tema que fascinaba y preocupaba a su vez una abigarrada multitud de ambos sexos: alienistas, higienistas, religiosos, políticos, filósofos, docentes, sociólogos, literatos y literatas, conservadores y radicales, periodistas y novelistas. ("La misión" 23)

Female physiology, the conventional argument went, was naturally inclined more toward the affective than the rational. Thus, in 1863 Francisco Alonso y Rubio could legitimate gender-specific women's education on sexual differences, writing that "las [facultades] perceptivas y afectivas sobresalen en la mujer.… La mujer no es inclinada a la contemplación, a los estudios abstractos, a buscar la causalidad de los hechos, a elevarse a la esfera de los principios; … La mujer ha nacido para amar" (35-37). Don Miguel Mayoral y Medina's *Discurso pronunciado ante el claustro de la Universidad Central* (1859) is another example. In it, the author claims, "El Creador, al dividir el género humano en dos sexos, estableció entre ellos una diferencia que sostuviese el equilibrio social … De aquí la mujer no es igual al hombre … [El hombre] fue destinado al trabajo, y al ejercicio del pensamiento, el otro a las ocupaciones sedentarias, y al

ejercicio de las afecciones del corazón" (7). This remained the authoritative scientific position on sexual differences throughout Europe during the first decades of the twentieth century. For example, Paul Julius Möbius's *Über den physiologischen Schwachsinn des Weibes* (1900, translated into Spanish by Carmen de Burgos as *La inferioridad mental de la mujer* in 1904) and Otto Weininger's *Geschlecht und Charakter* (1903, translated into Spanish as *Sexo y carácter*) maintained woman's inherently passive and dependent nature.[14] Weininger, whom Möbius accused of plagiarism, explained, "As a rule, the woman adapts herself to the man, his views become hers, his likes and dislikes are shared by her, every word he says is an incentive to her, and the stronger his sexual influence on her the more this is so.… She rejoices in being dependent" (262).[15] In 1920 the celebrated Spanish endocrinologist Gregorio Marañón maintained that "no es posible la igualdad absoluta de los dos sexos, porque su estructura biológica es … fatalmente distinta.… Nuestra mujer … está hecha para ser madre, y debe serlo, por encima de todo" (14).

Moreover, these discourses sanctioned distinct, "natural" gender roles for man and woman based on biological differences. As Nash ("Un/Contested Identities"), Aldaraca ("The Medical Construction of the Feminine Subject"), Jagoe ("Sexo y género en la medicina del siglo XIX") and Celaya Carrillo have all shown about nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spain, medical and "scientific" discourses surrounding anatomical differences between the sexes were used to legitimate a theoretically stable, "natural" order between the sexes, used to legitimate the

[14] For information on Burgos's role as translator, see Simón Palmer, "Carmen de Burgos, traductora" (2010).

[15] Both of these works were known in Spain very shortly after their original publication. Möbius's study was reviewed in the *Revista de Ciencias Médicas de Barcelona* in 1900, while Max Thal lambasted Weininger's book in *La Lectura* in 1903 as a "funesto influjo en la cultura moderna" (573).

gendered social division between men and women and between public and private spheres. The idealized model of domestic femininity, the *ángel del hogar*, represented woman's "naturally" prescribed "mission" of matrimony, maternity, and domesticity as an extension of female physiology (i.e. of Nature). According to Bridget Aldaraca, as bourgeois society increasingly preoccupied itself with the question of "appropriate" roles for women (*what* they could do), the question of *where* they could do it became an equally important one: "The essence of the ideal woman is not that she is modest, industrious, thrifty, and, in the nineteenth century, *ilustrada* (educated), but that she embodies all of these virtues in and only in the house. The ideal woman is ultimately defined not ontologically, not functionally, but territorially, by the space she occupies" (*El ángel del hogar* 27). By delineating the confines of the household as woman's sphere of influence, a woman who deviated from this norm risked social stigmatization. This stigmatization stems from the fact that a "proper" middle-class woman could not stroll the city streets, considered a masculine domain, without being mistaken for a prostitute.[16] However, this stigma also stems from the broad cultural preoccupation with honor, reputation, and shame, all of which depended on woman's honor (i.e. virginity). The influence of Church teaching is also significant, as Eve frequently served as the model for woman's inability to resist temptation.

Although the social reality of many women's lived experiences in Spain was more complicated than what was represented on the page, this is not to deny the very real consequences of these models of ideal femininity on middle-class society. Shirley Mangini, for example, has argued, "La reinvención de la mujer subalterna en la clase burguesa decimonónica hizo realidad el hecho de que la mujer que buscara sobresalir en el mundo de los hombres fuera

[16] In fact, as of 2020 the Real Academia Española's *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* [DRAE] still defines the *mujer pública* as "prostitute."

objeto de agresiones y burlas; siempre sería tildada de aberrante, extraña, viril, como se advierte en la literatura del siglo XIX y principios del XX" (26). Perhaps the most striking example of this is the codification of this constructed gender inequality in the Civil Code of 1889, the principal foundation of Spanish civil law during the Restoration period until the ratification of the Constitution of 1931. Article 22, establishing that "La mujer sigue la condición y la nacionalidad de su marido," defined woman as a purely relational being. Likewise, Article 57 further codified woman's subordination to man, stating that "El marido debe proteger a la mujer, y ésta obedecer al marido." Therefore, the Civil Code systematized the increased inequality of the sexes based on middle-class discourse on gender differences. In fact, Pardo Bazán criticized the *growing* inequality between men and women in "La mujer española," arguing that men and women were more equal *before* the nineteenth century precisely because of the political progress won by men that was systematically denied to women (87).

I am interested above all in tracking the complex evolution of these theoretical constructions of woman—from the domestic *ángel del hogar* to the turn-of-the-century New Woman to the modern woman of the 1920s—as representations of differing concerns about modernity more broadly. Therefore, I have organized the following chapters around three main female archetypes: (1) the conventionally domestic "angel" that was the most common literary model during the nineteenth century, (2) the New Woman who, also a common literary figure in the nineteenth century, represents either a liberation from or rebellion against conventional, gendered limitations placed on woman, and (3) the modern, flapper-like woman of the 1920s. According to Lou Charnon-Deutsch, the New Women of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries "are not *liberated* in any modern sense of the word, but neither do they imagine themselves as victims of social and familial conventions in the way that their predecessors of a

few decades earlier did" (*Narratives* 142). As I show in Chapter One, this paradigm is more complex than Charnon-Deutsch argues. In fact, the lives of the female protagonists of the earliest short novels are characterized above all by a tension between social and cultural discourses surrounding "appropriate" feminine behavior and a more modern desire to transgress rigid social norms. In Chapter Two, I analyze the differing representations of the flapper-like modern woman as often-idealistic models of the emancipated woman who was defined by her increased presence in the public sphere and her participation in activities gendered as exclusively masculine. Whereas the lives of the three protagonists on which I focus in Chapter One are defined above all by an inherent tension between duty and desire, by the twenties and thirties, many of the female protagonists leave the confines of the bourgeois drawing rooms in a way unthinkable for their predecessors. If these female characters often embrace modernity, in Chapter Three I analyze more conservative and conventional representations of woman as the embodiment of a specifically anti-modern position. Because of the sheer quantity of primary material, I have limited my analyses to three authors per chapter.

In short, I will show the ways in which the image of woman served as a site on which many writers, both male and female, explored important political, social, and cultural questions concerning what it meant to be a woman in a rapidly modernizing society. By organizing my analyses around these general archetypes, it is possible to tease out diverse and nuanced conceptions of gender as presented in the texts. If, as Jane Flax has noted, "[a] fundamental goal of [modern] feminist theory is (and ought to be) to analyze gender relations: how gender relations are constituted and experienced and how we think or, equally important, do not think about them" (40), the women writers of early twentieth-century Spain were engaging with these same questions. Modern gender theory has allowed us to distinguish between concepts such as

female, *feminine*, and *feminism*. These refer, respectively, to a biological category (sex), a socially or cultural constructed category in which "male" and "female" are defined contingently by various social, cultural, or medical discourses (gender), and a political or social ideology that stems from an awareness of woman's subordination in a patriarchal society. Feminist literary critics today have inherited a vast and still-growing corpus of scholarship that has allowed us to speak about the social constructed-ness of gender and gender relations as represented in literary texts. Claims such as Flax's "Gender relations thus have no fixed essence; they vary both within and over time" (40) are commonplace in literary criticism. However, early twentieth-century women writers lacked our modern terminology, and as I have hinted at, terms such as *feminine* and *feminism* were slippery terms.[17] Despite this, women writers were indeed exploring the boundaries between these categories. They seem to have been preoccupied with a common set of questions: Is being female the same as being feminine? Are the gender differences between man and woman natural, that is to say a product of biology, or rather influenced by societal forces beyond their control (i.e. constructed)? My analyses in the following chapters will tease out many of the important nuances in early twentieth-century Spanish discourse surrounding the relationship between sex and gender. S. Kirkpatrick has analyzed "la heterogeneidad de la participación de las mujeres españolas en la modernidad y cómo esta participación alteró de manera productiva las categorías generales de 'feminidad' y 'modernidad española'" (*Mujer* 16). Likewise, Labanyi has recently argued in favor of analyzing the construction of feminine subjectivity in nineteenth-century Spain as a non-linear process "cuyos vaivenes responden a la

[17] This is further complicated by the fact that Spanish lacks the same distinction between *feminine* and *female* that English makes. For an excellent, succinct discussion of the inherent problems that this lack of distinction in Spanish causes, see María Inés Lagos's introduction to her *En tono mayor* (1996).

dinámica de las relaciones entre las diversas culturas liberales" ("Afectividad" 43). As I will show, this is particularly true of the short novels of early twentieth-century Spain, from which it is possible to tease out many of the complexities of social and cultural discourses surrounding questions of gender and modernity.

Finally, my analyses often reveal the texts' awareness of and engagement with a tradition of popular literature that had been pejoratively considered "feminine." By the early twentieth century, women writers had inherited from their nineteenth-century predecessors a popular literary tradition largely made up of sentimental and domestic novels that privileged self-sacrifice as specifically "feminine" ideals. Concerning the stigma of popular literature in general, Stephanie Sieburth has argued, "The new availability of serialized fiction [in the nineteenth century] was assumed to lead to corruption, and the development of this kind of mass cultural product was often seen as a metaphor for the development of an organized working class. Mass culture therefore meant, in the eyes of the dominant class, a threat to social control" (6).[18] This popular literature was often unidimensional. As S. Kirkpatrick explains, by the second half of the century, "[t]he complex and ambiguous images of female subjectivity produced by the Romantic women writers disappeared from discourse about women in the literature of mass consumption after 1850" (*Las románticas* 291). Likewise, Blanco has argued that these texts were, specifically, an extension of the growing middle-class ideology of domesticity:

> Si … los hombres de letras hicieron de la novela un ámbito literario idóneo para promover los fundamentos de una nueva moral burguesa en cuyo centro se ubica a la mujer virtuosa y su inquietante sexualidad, … las escritoras de esta misma

[18] Juan Ignacio Ferreras posits that between 2,000 and 3,000 serial novels were published in the second half of the nineteenth century (12).

> época compartieron con ellos la condena de la narrativa romántica, estuvieron de acuerdo en que la escritura novelística debería ligarse a la moralidad y, también, asintieron a la represión de la sexualidad de la mujer. (*Escritoras virtuosas* 73)

Moreover, this points to a decidedly gendered conception of literature, as popular literature was increasingly gendered as feminine while "sophisticated" novels (the realist in particular) were often associated with masculine values. Alicia Graciela Andreu argues that, although men made up a higher percentage of the literate population, nineteenth-century popular novels functioned primarily as manuals of moral conduct delivered, at times, to a specifically female public (51). The goal was to emphasize a specifically "feminine" mode of behavior. As Jagoe has also explained about the emergence of the realist novel in Spain,

> Moreover, in the latter part of the [nineteenth] century, we can trace the emergence of a new discursive tactic linking the [pre-realist] novel's inferior literary value with *feminization*, as male writers and critics began to equate what they saw as the need to improve the aesthetic standards of novels with increased textual *virility*. ("Disinheriting the Feminine" 230; emphasis added)

Galdós himself, in his essay "Observaciones sobre la novela contemporánea en España" (1870) dismissed the popular serial novel of the nineteenth century as imitative of foreign models, which contributed, according to Blanco, to the further feminization of popular literature and, by extension, to the systematic exclusion of women from the national literary canon ("Gender and National Identity" 125). (It is interesting to note that Galdós himself praised the *novela corta* and actively contributed novellas to various collections.) In fact, Ángela Barco's writing was praised, at least implicitly, for its masculine qualities. Her feminist work was celebrated in a column in the newspaper *La Cataluña* (1909) in which the commentator mentions that the author "posee

innegables dotes de escritor sustancioso y ningún resabio de la *literata* tradicional.… Su primer estudio … se distinguió por la agudeza de la observación, por el sentido objetivo y realista, por el desembarazo de la frase, libre de todo adorno empalagoso y falsamente sentimental" (419; emphasis in the original). In short, she does not seem to be a stereotypically *feminine* writer.[19]

Given the *novela corta* as a specifically twentieth-century form of literary production, the question (and gendering) of modernism is also important. Modernism, like the "virile" realism/naturalism praised by Galdós, was often characterized as a "masculine" genre. According to Roberta Johnson, "Canonical modernism, cosmopolitan and abstract, subjectivized knowledge and eschewed the realism and domesticity often associated with women" (*Gender* 1). And yet, as we have seen, the *novela corta* is a specifically modern form of literary production, thus problematizing the notion that to be modern, literature must also be modernist. As the *"Feminine"* of my title suggests, it also problematizes the gendering of modernity as exclusively masculine, a paradigm that has only succeeded in further excluding women from national canons.

This is important for the present study because, as I will argue throughout, a common thread among the texts analyzed in this study is a modern awareness of being handed down a series of literary stereotypes (of domestic angels, of self-sacrificing women, of swooning heroines) from a specifically "feminine" tradition of sentimental and domestic fiction. These texts are not only aware of being preceded by this tradition, but, in many cases, they are also breaking from the negative valuations of "feminine" literature. In most progressive cases, many

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[19] This was a slippery terrain that Pardo Bazán, most notably, had to navigate as well. For a general discussion of the ways in which late nineteenth-century Spanish women writers dealt with the issue, see Bieder, "Gender and Language: The Womanly Woman and Manly Writing." For specific studies about Pardo Bazán's relationship to the male-dominated literary scene, see Bieder, "En-Gendering Strategies of Authority" and "Sexo y lenguaje en Emilia Pardo Bazán."

women understood that tradition, in Johnson's words, "can be dead weight in the march toward modernity, an inertia that hinders the forward energy of cultures and augurs for the status quo" (*Gender* 21). This was true in other Western cultures. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed the predominance of the New Woman in European literature. Ibsen's Nora and Hedda Gabbler, as I will show in more depth in Chapter One, were particularly controversial among the Spanish public. In the American context, works like Kate Chopin's *The Awakening* (1899) and Charlotte Perkins Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper" (1892) reveal many of the same anxieties as do some of the texts analyzed below (I am thinking specifically about Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna* and Barco's *Fémina*, respectively). Of course, not every female-authored short novel subverts patriarchal standards of gender relations. Blanca de los Ríos's texts, for example, support an inherently domestic femininity, but the linguistic complexity and sophistication of her texts implies a well-educated reader, thus subverting the concept of a "cheap" or widely accessible popular literature. If, as Ernst Behler explains, to be modern "means essentially a departure from exemplary models of the past" (3), many of the female-authored short novels are modern in that they actively engage with, dialogue with, criticize, and reimagine common literary stereotypes.

Moreover, because "[m]any of the key symbols of the modern in the nineteenth century … were indeed explicitly gendered [masculine]" (Felski, *Gender* 16), and due to the increased association of popular culture (serialized feuilleton novels, magazines, bestsellers) with the feminine during the nineteenth century (Huyssen 47), the female-authored short novel problematizes the traditional gendering of modernity and modernization as masculine in two ways. The new medium offered women writers the opportunity to carve out their own space in the male-dominated cultural scene of the time by positioning itself in opposition to the (male)

modernist canon, thus directly associating the modern (mass-production and consumerism) with the feminine (the popular short novel and "low" culture). Additionally, it distances itself from the negative valuations of so-called "feminine" forms of literatures of the nineteenth century, among them the domestic novel and sentimental romances with which many of the texts self-consciously engage. Many are rather sophisticated and complex compared to these genres.

Janet Wolff has explained, "The literature of modernity describes the experience of men. It is essentially a literature about transformations in the public world and in its associated consciousness.… And these are areas from which women are excluded, or in which they were practically invisible" (37). However, many of the early twentieth-century female-authored short novels are modern in their awareness of their own role in transforming the male-dominated public world. Roberta Johnson, moreover, has argued for an understanding of what she calls women's "social modernism" of the early twentieth century (*Gender* vii). Despite the fact that early twentieth-century women's writing is less aesthetically experimental than that of the contemporaneous male modernists, it is modern, Johnson posits, in that "women writers felt an urgency, born of a variety of personal circumstances, to address social concerns, especially those that related to women's social and legal circumstances" (*Gender* 9). Thus, these texts are modern without necessarily being modernist. There was an acute awareness among early twentieth-century women writers that modern society would be fundamentally different from that of the previous century. Where they differ is in their conception of modernity as either beneficial or harmful for women. By analyzing the range of representations of women, we can understand more clearly this diverse ideological spectrum.

A Note on Citations and Appendices

All in-text citations to novellas refer to the original publication in their respective literary collection. However, not every collection included page numbers in the issues. To facilitate references, I have added pagination where none was included in the original publication. In these cases, I have ignored the front covers or advertisement pages and have considered Page 1 as the page on which the text of the novella itself begins. To avoid confusion, I have placed my personal page references in italics, while references to pages originally numbered appear in regular text.

Due to the poor condition of many of these works and due to incomplete or otherwise inaccurate library records, cataloging these works has been difficult. Therefore, this is an ongoing effort, and it is inevitable that some novellas are missing from my appendices, which, however imperfect, is the most complete and accurate record of female-authored short novels that we have.

Chapter One

Between Duty and Desire: Feminism and Gender Discourse in the Early Short Novel (1907-1920)

"Grande, generosa, noble, titánica es nuestra empresa: derrocar el edificio de las falsas ideas … que envuelve el entendimiento de la mujer."

~ Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer, *La mujer española* (1877)

"[La] emancipación [de la mujer] ha de ser únicamente en las esferas de la inteligencia."

~ Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer, *La mujer española* (1877)

The two epigraphs of this chapter point to one of the most common positions that many women intellectuals held in early twentieth-century Spain: one that criticized woman's systematic subordination in society while still recognizing the existence of inherent gender differences. On the one hand, Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer (1850-1919), similar to many of her contemporaries who formed an increasingly vocal presence in the debate surrounding the so-called "woman question," fervently fought against the widespread notion of women as the "weaker sex." She attacked this claim throughout her career, arguing, "Denominar débil a la mujer en nuestra nueva era es un anacronismo.… Guiadas por la clara antorcha de la razón, nos alistamos en las filas de la justicia enarbolando la bandera de la verdad … El hombre quiere débil a la mujer para hacerla su juguete, para explotar su debilidad" (*La mujer española* 143-145).[20] Three aspects of this passage are important. First, Gimeno fervently believed woman to

[20] The chapter of Gimeno's *La mujer española* (1877) from which this quote is taken, "No hay sexo débil," was originally published under the same name in *La Moda Elegante*, June 22, 1874.

be as rational as man—a position not wholly accepted at the turn of the twentieth century—and argued that women would win the fight against injustice via the use of reason, or "Guiadas por la clara antorcha de la razón," as she puts it. Second, she also understood that woman's so-called "weakness" was not an immutable consequence of biology, but rather the result of social forces imposed on her, particularly by men. Third, she recognized this position as a modern one. It was "modern" in the sense that "nuestra nueva era" would be fundamentally different from previous generations and that changing conceptions of woman would be a significant part of this change.

On the other hand, she defended the existence of essential gender differences between the sexes, thus preserving woman's "naturally" feminine propensity for domestic roles. For example, she argued, "La mujer debe ser cosmopolita de los mundos del arte y de la ciencia…. No queremos a la mujer libre del deber [maternal/doméstico]" (*La mujer española* 41-42). As a result, as the second epigraph reveals, she maintained that the empowerment of woman must be purely intellectual. Therefore, to synthesize Gimeno's feminism, what she called *feminismo moderado*, she argued that the "creed" of this moderate feminism was to combat the negative stereotypes about the "weaker sex" while simultaneously "conservar a la mujer muy femenina, porque masculinizada perdería la influencia que ejerce sobre el hombre" ("El problema feminista" 13). Thus, Gimeno's brand of feminism was one that advocated for the intellectual parity of the sexes and also accepted the existence of "natural" gender differences that suited man and woman to gender-specific roles.

In fact, in addition to political differences, much of what divided the earliest feminists in Spain at the turn of the twentieth century were ideological differences surrounding gender

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She republished the text as an article published in *El Álbum Iberoamericano* (her own periodical) in 1893 under the same title.

differences and whether the emancipation of women would be legitimated on the grounds of gender difference or equality. To take two of Gimeno's contemporaries as counter-examples, Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851-1921) and Ángela Barco (1878?-19??) also decried women's subordination to men in society but differed in their conceptions of a woman's place in society. Pardo Bazán shared Gimeno's ideas about the urgent need for improving women's education a woman should have free access to the same educational opportunities as men. However, unlike Gimeno, she did not legitimate her beliefs on a conception of woman's inherently moral duty to the family. She argued in an essay read at the Congreso Pedagógico Hispano-Portugués-Americano in 1892 that "la mujer tiene destino propio; … sus deberes naturales son para consigo misma, no relativos y dependientes de la entidad moral de la familia" ("La educación del hombre y de la mujer" 169). Similar to Gimeno, she maintained that woman's subordinate social status was a construction of dominant patriarchal ideologies. In "La mujer española" (1890), for example, she argues that "los defectos de la mujer, dado su estado social, en gran parte deben achacarse *al hombre*, que es, por decirlo así, quien *modela* y *esculpe* el alma femenina" (84; emphasis added). The use of the verbs *modelar* and *esculpir* is important, for it calls to mind the image of Pygmalion and Galatea, which was recurrent in the late nineteenth-century Spanish realist novel "as the expression of concern both with the need to instill morality in women … and with the anxieties produced by the consequent demonstration that femininity was a social construct that could be variously defined" (Labanyi, "Galateas" 91). In other words, she understood, as Gimeno did, that dominant social pressures play an important role in the definition of femininity and, therefore, woman's "appropriate" roles in society. Ángela Barco shared her contemporaries' view concerning the subordination of the middle-class woman. She denied that woman was specifically suited for domesticity and stridently criticized (sparking the

student riot in Valladolid mentioned in my introduction in the process) the injustice and hypocrisy of a middle class that, by favoring a son's education over the well-being of the daughter, created a useless type of women.

These similarities and differences in opinion are significant because they reveal an inchoate debate about the relationship between sex and gender. They reveal the ways in which women intellectuals of the turn of the twentieth century, lacking the vocabulary of modern gender theory, understood that a woman's biology (sex) was different from the social and cultural importance that these sexual differences assumed (gender), despite whether they believed gender differences to be natural or socially imposed on the sexes. Moreover, analyzing the representations of femininity and teasing out the nuances and, at times, contradictions of the texts' discourses provides special insight into the ways in which the early twentieth-century fiction can reveal many of the sociocultural anxieties surrounding constantly shifting notions of womanhood.

This chapter will focus on three texts published in the early years of the *novela corta*: Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna* (1909), Barco's *Fémina* (1910), and Pardo Bazán's *La dama joven* (1885; 1914). Despite the uniqueness of each of the three female protagonists, what unites these three texts is an awareness of and a desire to combat the dominant social discourses around femininity that legitimated woman's systematic subordination to male authority in a patriarchal society. The earliest women writers of the short novel, both progressive and conservative, were grappling with specific, nineteenth-century, middle-class conceptions of inherent gender differences because much of the discourse concerning woman's "proper" role in society was rooted in these essentialist notions of sex and gender. Despite important class distinctions, each of the three female protagonists—Luisa, Gabriela, and Concha, respectively—finds herself

trapped to some degree between the socially prescribed, gender-specific role to which she is expected to conform, and her individual desires for personal freedoms denied to her, which by definition conflict with dominant gender discourses that value self-sacrifice as the supreme feminine virtue. In fact, Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna*, Barco's *Fémina*, and Pardo Bazán's *La dama joven* reveal a fundamental tension between conventional notions of womanhood—embodied by the cultural ideal of the *ángel del hogar*—and more modern ideals of female emancipation. Luisa and Gabriela, for example, are wives and/or mothers confronting many of the same social pressures to conform to male conceptions of femininity as the heroines of the major realist novels. Concha, however, is a working-class girl and will therefore experience different, class-specific pressures, although there are many gender-specific similarities between her situation and that of Luisa and Gabriela. If, as Jo Labanyi argues, "the Spanish novel shifted from an 1880s preoccupation with the representation of male attempts to mold women in a variety of modes of femininity, to explorations in the 1890s of the New Woman" ("Galateas" 87), then the earliest female-authored short novels form an integral part of this continued debate of woman's agency and her role in shaping her own subjectivities. Each text, moreover, by criticizing the dominant discourses that ultimately trap the female protagonists into limited, gender-specific roles that do not conform to the individual woman's identity also raises important questions about a woman's place in a modernizing Spanish society.

The female protagonists of the early novellas are not as independent or self-empowered as the modern protagonists of the 1920s, nor are they as fully subservient as the protagonists of the popular domestic novel of the previous century. They exist in a liminal stage between self-sacrifice and independence and between the private and public spheres. Thus, they serve as metonyms for Spanish society, caught between tradition and modernity. They raise important

questions about the relationship that women have with modernity: How does the modern notion of female empowerment challenge the existing bourgeois domestic order? How do these texts engage with the tradition of supposedly "feminine" or domestic literature? As we will see, the texts are often (but not always) more sophisticated than purely propagandistic thesis novels. Rather, the short novels of writers such as Gimeno, Barco, and Pardo Bazán, (and Carmen de Burgos, María Martínez Sierra, and others) offer readers complex, and sometimes contradictory, representations of femininity, often subverting the notion of a simplistic "feminine" literature.

Gimeno's only short novel, *Una Eva moderna* (1909), is a perfect starting point. It not only presents a female protagonist whose own modern ideas of female subjectivity represent many of the most prevalent feminist ideals of the time, but it also serves as a prime example of some of the tensions inherent to Gimeno's own difference feminism. The text, in many ways a defense of the author's beliefs, combats the prevailing stereotype of the "weaker sex" via its representation of an independent, intellectual protagonist, while also maintaining a woman's "natural" duty to her family as a warning against the "de-feminizing" effects of the more radical aspects of the protagonist's feminism. The plot centers on Luisa, an intelligent, educated, middle-class feminist activist who is trapped between conflicting honor-bound duties and personal desires. She married her husband to save her father from financial ruin, but she finds a more intellectual and political connection with Carlos, her husband's friend. When forced to choose between fleeing with Carlos to fulfil their love affair and remaining loyal to her family, she ultimately chooses the latter as an expression of a "natural" feminine essence. At the end of the novella, she writes Carlos a letter, informing him that she cannot abandon her family because she must—out of a moral imperative to her family—educate her daughter.

This triangular conflict—the female protagonist caught between her husband and potential lover, between duty and desire, and between domesticity and self-empowerment—provides the primary impetus of the drama. Luisa's actions are motivated by competing forces: on the one hand, her loyalty to her family and her devotion to her daughter and, on the other, her feminist and intellectual desires that only Carlos can satisfy. And yet, the text makes clear that her feminism—her staunch position in favor of women's empowerment and suffrage—is antithetical to the domestic order. Because Luisa advocates for complete equality to men, and because she is "dispuesta a salir a la calle" (*7*), she neglects her daughter and other domestic duties. At the end of the novella, her rejection of Carlos is framed as a return to her "natural" maternal role. As Maryellen Bieder argues, these two discourses—"feminine submission to father and husband—the young woman who sacrificed herself to an incompatible marriage—and feminist liberation from patriarchal authority" ("Contesting the Body" 7)—compete in the text. Moreover, it is via this internal discursive contradiction that we can most effectively analyze the representation of Luisa as a stand-in for many of the social, political, and cultural debates that occurred within early twentieth-century feminist circles.

Luisa is a bourgeois feminist ideal, and many of the components to Luisa's feminist thought mirror Gimeno's. She is educated, cultured, politically conscious, sees Spain's attitudes towards women as politically and socially backwards, and supports women's suffrage. In fact, universal women's suffrage is the most important point on which Luisa and her author disagree. Gimeno opposed women's suffrage. In 1903, in a lecture delivered at the Ateneo, "El problema feminista," she argued, "Los feministas templados no pedimos para la Eva moderna derechos políticos: siendo inevitable que la política *desmoralice* a un sexo, evitemos que *corrompa* a los dos. Si la mujer tuviera voto, haríanla responsible de la falta de sinceridad electoral que aquí se

observa, y que hoy no le pueden achacar" (13-14; emphasis added). Thus, Gimeno's moderate feminist ("feminismo templado") positions are predicated on the assumption that political rights would "corrupt" woman's moral superiority to men. Because of her belief in the moral superiority of women, she argued in favor of the indispensability of woman in the home: "queremos que la mujer enarbole la bandera del progreso *dentro de la familia*, porque fuera de ella es la mujer un ser incompleto" (*La mujer española* 227; emphasis added). In general, Gimeno's feminism is one that, in Bieder's words, "attempts to retain the strengths of the integrated roles of wife, mother, and daughter, while allowing for intellectual growth and expression" ("Feminine Discourse" 463). Thus, the texts can be read as a dialogue between Luisa's progressive feminism and Gimeno's moderate feminism. However, the fact that the title refers to *a* modern Eve, rather than *the* modern Eve is significant. Luisa represents the progressive "New Eve," one that, according to the narrator, "se adaptaba a los ideales del progreso, un espíritu abierto a reformas e innovaciones.… [S]emejaba la mujer fuerte de un futuro Evangelio" (*4*). In the end, Gimeno's moderate feminism triumphs over Luisa's progressivism. At the end of the novella, Luisa experiences a quasi-religious conversion and understands, more in line with Gimeno's conception of the modern Eve, that her "natural" place is in the home.

The intellectual foundations of Luisa's feminist "gospel" are extensive, representing an impressive level of education that only privileged women could have achieved in early twentieth-century Spain:

> En la mesita-estante veíanse hacinados libros que descubrían el espíritu moderno de la poseedora de ellos. Eran obras feministas de Bebel, Stuart Mill, Rosler, Novicow, Menghetti, Lamy, Legouvé y Bois. Entre éstas aparecían opúsculos de

> Teresa Labriola y Olga Lodu, esas dos italianas que tan incansablemente luchan por la mejora de la suerte de la mujer, y algunas conferencias de Marya Chéliga, Margarita Durán, mademoiselle Schemall, Dik May y Clemencia Royer. También había novelas de Marcela Tynaire, Matilde Serao, Gracia Deledda, Dora Melegari y madame Adam. (*4*)

The diverse array of nationalities represented on her shelf—which includes some of the most influential, if not controversial, feminist thinkers and artists of the time—points to Luisa's impressive intellectual appetite. In addition to the presence of two Italian feminists, of note are August Bebel (1840-1913), a German socialist whose *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (1879) radically criticized the institution of marriage, and Marya Chéliga (1854-1927), a Polish pacifist and feminist. Least surprising is the presence of John Stuart Mill on Luisa's bookshelf, whose *The Subjugation of Women* (1869) was widely read in Spain thanks to Pardo Bazán's 1892 translation, *La esclavitud femenina*. In addition to the sheer breadth of reading material, the description of Luisa's intellectual interests as "modern" is perhaps the most important aspect of this passage because it implies a radical break with the conventional understanding of woman as inherently inclined toward affective response (the feminine) rather than rationality (the masculine). Thus, it is not surprising that Luisa should find a more intimate connection with the progressive politician Carlos (whom Luisa assists in order to pass important legislation about universal female suffrage) than with her more conventionally minded husband (about whom we know very little).

In this way, she differs from her cousin Mercedes, who represents a more conventional version of femininity that is more resigned to the current state of Spanish women in society. For example, Mercedes fails to see the social benefits of a woman's education. She reminds Luisa

that "cuando aquí adquiere una joven fama de instruida, dificúltase su casamiento" (*1*). For her, in line with conventional middle-class gender discourse, a woman's primary purpose is to marry, and education does not improve her prospects of finding a husband. Carlos, however, sees the value of girls' education. (In this respect, Carlos is similar to Luisa's father who is responsible for her education.) Not only is he a progressive parliamentarian on the vanguard of the fight for women's political rights, but he also admires Luisa's intellectual tastes. In one scene, Luisa is reading Taine's *Philosophie de l'Art* when he arrives at her house. He comments, "Es delicioso encontrar una española con quien poder comentar el concepto estético de Ruskin y Taine" (*4*). Both he and Luisa consider the other an intellectual equal. The failure of legislative reform in favor of women's suffrage makes clear, however, that Luisa, her father, and Carlos are ahead of their society concerning this and other feminist issues.

The failure of Carlos's legislative agenda signals that the modern, what in the text serves as a synonym for the political, social, and cultural progress for women, is resisted in Spanish society. This places Luisa, as a feminist, in between and the possibilities of modernity and strongly entrenched traditions about a woman's role in society. Luisa recognizes that Spanish society is hostile to modernity. She says, "si seguimos estacionados, España no será más que museo arqueológico, panteón de glorias, la última trinchera de la tradición" (*7*). Thus, Luisa views modernity as fundamentally beneficial to Spain, especially when compared to other countries. Moreover, Luisa's progressivism is decidedly secular, for her initial decision to enroll her daughter in the Colegio del *Sacré Coeur* is made more out of reluctance to duty than out of a genuine appreciation for traditional religious education for girls. She confesses that she would have preferred "un colegio más en armonía con las corrientes modernas" (*17*). Luisa, therefore,

is a fundamentally modern woman, one who is fundamentally aware of that traditional society is under threat by modern advancements.

Luisa's feminist thought, moreover, has moderate elements that are more similar to Gimeno's. We have seen that she is a radical in her support of universal female suffrage—which would not be achieved in Spain until 1931—and in her awareness that feminism constitutes a threat to the traditional order. The moderatism of Luisa's feminism—where she and her author most agree—stems from her belief that feminism can only be realized in Spain via gradual rather than radical change. Feminism, she suggests, should reject the violent model of the British suffragettes, whose tactics appear too strident to the intellectual Luisa (and to Gimeno as well). She argues that these actions do not constitute true feminism, but rather "histerismo" (*7*). However, Luisa's opposition to the suffragette model is more a question of execution rather than ideological. That is to say that she disagrees with the suffragettes' violent tactics rather than their specific theories. She argues, as Gimeno did, that "[l]os feministas sanos son sensatos" (*7*).

Education is the central component to Luisa's feminist ideals, which directly challenges the conventional gender-specific approach to girls' education common in the nineteenth century. The nineteenth-century discourse of gender differences as natural manifested itself in a distinction between the intellectual *instrucción* of boys and the affective *educación* of girls. The *Informe Quintana* (1813), for example, is an early marker of this shift towards a gender-specific approach to girls' education (*enseñanza*): "La Junta entiende que, al contrario de la instrucción de los hombres, que conviene sea pública, la de las mujeres debe ser privada y doméstica; que su enseñanza tiene más relaciones con la educación que con la instrucción propiamente dicha" (43). In the same vein, Antonio Claret (1862) argued that a girl's education must reflect the idea that a woman's virtue was paramount to her domestic mission: "Es tan necesaria la ocupación a la

mujer para ser buena y perfeccionarse, que si falta esta no habrá virtud sino vicios y pecados" (26). Therefore, he maintains, "[t]res ramos de instrucción ha de haber para las niñas: Primaria, secundaria y de adorno" (27). The third branch, "de adorno" is what Quintana understood as *educación* or what can more accurately be called the gendered socialization of women. For example, here is Claret's suggested course of study for primary education:

> 1º Religión y Moral.—Catecismo y Rezo.—Virtudes de Obediencia, Modestia, Paciencia.
>
> 2º Leer, escribir y aritmética,
>
> 3º Encaje, calceta, coser, bordar costura. (28)

Claret does indeed allow for a slightly more flexible—or "intersectional" using the vocabulary of modern gender theory—approach to girls' education, acknowledging that working-, middle-, and upper-class girls should receive an education that reflects their class-specific duties. However, in line with what Bridget Aldaraca has argued—that "[t]he propagandists for the *ángel del hogar* consistently refer to woman or women without any apparent class distinction" (*El ángel del hogar* 64)—a focus on modesty, purity, and duty is the common feature of Claret's suggested models of schooling for girls. Despite Claret's support of formal instruction for girls—that is, reading, writing, and arithmetic—it is clear that the principal aim of a girl's education was not to develop her intellect but rather to mold her into the ideal domestic angel. What Quintana's and Claret's texts reveal is and fundamentally gendered understanding of the education of girls and boys. Their theories are firmly rooted in the bourgeois discourse on gender difference that increasingly associated men with rationality and public life and women with emotions, sensitivity, virtuousness, and private life.

Luisa, therefore, exemplifies the modern alternative to the ideal domestic angels constructed in Quintana's and Claret's texts. Luisa, as Gimeno was, is aware that a woman's intelligence and capacity for reason is no more or less "natural" than a man's, something not wholly accepted at the turn of the century.[21] In fact, Luisa's feminist claims about the rational capacities of women combat the misogynistic trope of the principally affective woman. She laments the fact that, although working-class women have earned the freedom to work in factories, workshops, and mines, in contemporary society "lo que se regatea son los empleos intelectuales" (*7*). What Luisa ultimately wants, then, is a greater participation of women in the public sphere, that is in Habermas's sense of civil society or a group of private individuals who play an active role in public life (pp. 27, 56). She seeks intellectual and rational answers to society's problems, and she believes progress for women can be achieved through better education.

Luisa's support of women's education is also predicated on the idea that social conditioning plays an important role in the development of woman's intellectual capabilities. She recognizes that education is ultimately a product of upbringing. Luisa's and Mercedes's outlooks on gender and woman's place in society are different because of their backgrounds. Mercedes, for example, is more resigned to conventional feminine roles because she has internalized insistence in bourgeois gender discourse that "nuestra naturaleza es débil" (*1*) and that women

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[21] Labanyi ("Galateas") has shown that the concern about a woman's "nature" was a central component to the nineteenth-century realist novel's preoccupation with "the woman question." Analyzing the common trope of the adulterous wife in the novels of Galdós, Clarín, and Pardo Bazán, she argues that "[t]his concern with female adultery should be read as the expression of anxieties stemming from the realization that women, like men, are 'made' rather than 'natural.' The difference is that, for men, 'self-making' is 'natural,' whereas women are 'constructed' regardless of whether they attempt to 'make' themselves in opposition to such 'natural' norms. Women's drama is thus the lack of a 'natural' self, making femininity by definition unstable and volatile" (89).

have to be passive and "aceptar los hechos como son" (*1*). Luisa's progressive father, however, is the one who "[le] despertó el afán de saber," and the use of the transitive verb *despertar* makes clear that her intellectualism was molded by her environment (her family), further problematizing any conventional notion of an immutable, inherently irrational feminine nature. Luisa, commenting on her father's unorthodox views of women's education, echoes Gimeno's views that women's subordinate status in society is constructed by men who want to keep women weak in order to "ejercer en su hogar un predominio tiránico" (Gimeno, *La mujer española* 144). Luisa argues that "la mayor parte de nuestros hombres opinan … que la mujer debe ser sana y tonta, por eso no *cultiva* la inteligencia femenina" (*4*; emphasis mine). The verb *cultivar* makes explicit Luisa's understanding that social conditioning plays an important role in the formation of gender difference.

This is not to say, however, that Gimeno or the text ultimately argue in favor of gender as a pure social construction. As the novella's ending makes clear, Luisa's beliefs are in some ways antithetical to an innate feminine essence. Rather, what Luisa advocates for is an understanding of the subordination of women as a social construction. Carlos and Luisa explain that in ancient Egyptian society woman "considerada fisiológicamente, obtuvo allí superioridad sobre el varón por su exquisito temperamento nervioso, que la dota de sentidos más aguzados, más sutiles" (*16*). While not denying that woman's biology predisposes her to certain sex-specific "temperaments," Carlos and Luisa understand that the subordination of woman is not an inevitable consequence of nature but of society. They believe that this is a fundamentally backward understanding of woman's capabilities.

The tension and ultimate self-contradiction of the text stems precisely from the fact that the ending reveals Luisa's feminism to be antithetical to an implied feminine essence. In other

words, if we are reading for a discernable "thesis" of the text, it would be that Luisa's specific brand of feminism is not entirely beneficial to women. Luisa's criticism of the subordination of women is ultimately subverted by her realization that her fundamental duty to her family and daughter is to sacrifice her own desires. At the end of the novella, virtuous self-sacrifice ultimately trumps her desires for intellectual partnership. Luisa's change of heart concerning her daughter's and her futures marks the climax. Upon seeing her daughter's tearful refusal to be left at school, "Gran reacción sentimental operose en el alma de aquella madre. Despertó su conciencia adormecida por arrullos morbosos, diose cuenta de sagrados deberes olvidados" (*18*). This is the key quotation in the text. On the one hand, the affective language of the passage—its use of words such as *sentimental*, *alma*, *madre*, *sagrados deberes olvidados*—mirrors the triumph of Luisa's dormant, domestic feminine essence over her rationality. This distances readers from Luisa's intellect. The word *conciencia*, moreover, operates at two levels, meaning both *consciousness* and *conscience*. Therefore, what the child's complaints awaken is not just her *awareness* of an innate maternal connection with her daughter, but also the sense that these feelings translate into *moral* imperatives. As she argues in her letter to Carlos, "Mi padre me hizo amar la filosofía kantiana, y en ella esa ley moral que la razón impone a la voluntad con la fórmula del *imperativo categórico*" (*18*; emphasis in the original). Thus, Luisa believes that she arrives at her moral duty via her use of reason, but the language in the above passages makes explicit that her change of heart is something that happens *to* her. These passages contradict her appeal to Kantian reason (the categorical imperative) as the basis for change of heart. Rather than a rational conclusion to her dilemma, her final decision is in reality more of a religious conversion.

In fact, the religious rhetoric that surrounds Luisa's decision was common to the dominant, middle-class ideology of domesticity. Jagoe explains that despite the fact that

> [l]a sociedad patriarcal occidental siempre había recomendado controlar el movimiento de las mujeres, … lo que distingue a la discusión sobre el papel de la mujer en el siglo XIX … [es] la retórica peculiarmente religiosa del nuevo discurso de la domesticidad. La mujer se convierte en la *sacerdotisa* del hogar-*santuario*. ("La misión" 24; emphasis in the original)

In fact, Gimeno uses the same vocabulary to describe her own definition of the modern woman. According to her, the modern woman was the "sacerdotisa de las ideas redentoras, apóstol de la regeneración, [que] tiene una maternidad moral, ilimitada e infinita" (*La mujer intelectual* 10). The quasi-religious emphasis on maternity echoes the language used to describe Luisa's conversion. By the end, Luisa abandons her feminist "gospel" in favor of her more "natural" role as domestic angel. When read alongside Gimeno's own beliefs, the "Eva moderna" of the title points to the fact that Luisa is a feminist who supports the cultivation of a woman's intellect *and* a dutiful mother. Gimeno's alternative to Luisa's predicament ultimately subverts Luisa's feminist ideals. Luisa's self-sacrifice not only contradicts her own desires for emancipation, but via the supersession of Luisa's intellect by her maternal instincts, the text ends up contradicting its own (and the author's) claims that the equality of the sexes would be achieved "en las esferas de la inteligencia."

Unlike Ibsen's Nora, who in pursuing her own self-fulfillment abandons her husband and daughter, Luisa does not abandon her family. Although it is impossible to know whether Gimeno intentionally paralleled her own protagonist's situation with that of the protagonist of Ibsen's *A Doll House* (1879), these parallels may not have been missed by Gimeno's readers, given that

Ibsen's text first appeared in translation in 1892 and was staged as early as 1893 (Seguán 2161). Labanyi, moreover, establishes a direct link between Ibsen and a greater interest in female "self-making" in late nineteenth-century discourse. She argues, "The shift away from representation of male attempts to 'improve' women to representations of women's attempts to 'improve' themselves was directly linked to the influence of Ibsen and to growing Spanish involvement in the European women's movement" ("Galateas" 87-88).[22] In fact, Cristóbal de Castro noted the same thing in an article in *Blanco y Negro* in 1925, holding Ibsen's plays responsible for early feminist ideology in Spain: "Veinte años ha, el feminismo era algo especulativo, literario o filosófico, recluido en las Academias.… [T]oda la ideología femenina de aquel tiempo se habían refugiado en Ibsen y en los problemas de emancipación planteados por Nora y Hedda Gabler."

Moreover, this play had a divisive impact on Spanish society, especially among women, who according to contemporary critics almost universally disapproved of Nora's actions. The endocrinologist Gregorio Marañón said in 1920 that during the three productions of the play that he had seen the public, "del que formaban parte gran número de mujeres muy distinguidas y cultas, ha acogido con risas y protestas, o por lo menos con absoluta indiferencia, las escenas del último acto" (31). In other words, Nora's actions did not appeal to women. An earlier reviewer of Ibsen's drama, Zeda, explained in a column in 1899 why Nora's actions provoked such outrage, especially among women. Zeda characterized Nora as a modern woman "[a]partándose de los prejuicios que aún dominan en la sociedaad, dignificándose, conquistando su libertad, no reñida a la ley moral." Moreover, this same commentator who recognized the logic of Nora's rebellion against her husband's selfishness, criticized her final act—abandoning her children—as

[22] See also Bieder, "The Modern Woman on the Spanish Stage" (1981) for an analysis of Ibsen's influence on late nineteenth-century Spanish theater.

"inadmisible," one that "repugna los sentimientos del público": "No; ni en España ni fuera de España hay madres buenas capaces de hacer lo que hace Nora. La mujer que por sus hijos no acepta los mayores sacrificios; la que por ellos no da su felicidad y su vida; la que los sacrifica a un sentimiento de amor propio, es un ser odioso." Thus, as both Zeda and Marañón point out, Nora's rebellious final act of abandoning the home and her children serves as a broader rebellion against her feminine nature. In *Una Eva moderna*, there is no defiant slamming of the door to symbolize Luisa's emancipation from the patriarchal order. Instead, Luisa represents the antithesis to Nora. If what Luisa ultimately wants is, as Nora does, a sense of self not bound by the restrictions of the domestic sphere, then her final decision effectively ensures that she will remain confined to the home. Luisa's conversion therefore serves as a warning to potential Noras who are considering abandoning their maternal duties.

Herein lies the point of greatest conflict between the text's competing representations of femininity. Luisa's conflict between duty and desire not only represents Luisa's individual conflict, but it also represents a broader debate between the ideals that the traditional *ángel del hogar* and the New Woman represent. On the one hand, Luisa's feminism is foregrounded in the text, and, as the New Eve, she embodies the new "gospel" for a more modern Spain. As such, she anticipates the ideal of the modern, emancipated woman more common in the 1920s and 1930s that comes to replace the nineteenth-century ideal of the *ángel del hogar*. However, the privileging of Luisa's self-sacrifice as woman's moral imperative fundamentally contradicts the representation of Luisa as a viable model of modern womanhood. She comes to embody the traditional, "naturally" domestic feminine type that supersedes the ideal of a self-actualized modern woman. As Bieder correctly argues, the protagonist's conversion at the end ultimately overpowers her feminist ideals: "Gimeno's [and Luisa's] unwavering invocation of self-sacrifice,

abnegation, and virtue as a woman's highest obligations ultimately subordinates feminist concerns to fictional conventions" ("Feminine Discourse" 474). In other words, the text not only privileges individual Luisa's self-sacrifice, but it also conforms to traditional literary stereotypes of the domestic woman that, at least at the outset of the novella, seem to be challenged.

At first, Luisa is not only a prolific female reader, but she represents a new, modern Emma Bovary who is not caught up in the illusions of sentimental fiction with its various tropes of sentimental romance, courtship, and love. Instead, she represents a new ideal woman reader, who reads intellectual texts. She represents a female protagonist who thinks and reasons instead of swoons. Luisa's life is initially modeled after feminist heroes, rather than the sentimental heroines of the romantics and the realists. And yet, she also reads novels such as Madame de La Fayette's *La Princesse de Clèves*, in which the protagonist's conflict between marital fidelity and her love of another man mirrors Luisa's. Luisa, similar to the Princesse, ends up choosing duty over personal passions, thus subverting the notion of her as a model of modern literary protagonist. The plot of *Una Eva moderna* indeed undermines the conventional adultery plot structure in which women are seduced by their Don Juans, but in doing so it supports conventional representations of the virtuous woman. Thus, the text, mirroring the conflict of its protagonist, finds itself caught between modern and traditional nineteenth-century bourgeois literary conventions, ultimately resorting to traditional representations of women as virtuous and as responsible for the preservation of the "natural" order.

Una Eva moderna thus allows for a metaliterary reading of the cultural conflict between different creative modes available to the woman writer. As I mentioned in the introduction, early twentieth-century women writers had inherited from the nineteenth century a popular tradition of sentimental and domestic literature that was praised for its "feminine" character. Luisa is a more

complex protagonist than some of her nineteenth-century predecessors, but this is not to deny the negative valuations of so-called "feminine" literature that existed. As Andreu has shown, the popular literature of the latter half of the nineteenth century was the "portadora de la ideología de los tradicionalistas [burgueses]" (19) that privileged the virtuous woman as the supreme feminine type. Despite the initial complexity of the protagonist, the ending of Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna* shares the moralizing attitude of nineteenth-century domestic fiction.

Thus, analyzing Gimeno's novella reveals many of the ways in which she and her contemporaries wrestled with complex questions about gender, woman's role in society, and so-called "feminine" literary forms. *Una Eva moderna*, therefore, is a complex yet ultimately self-contradicting work that ultimately eclipses its own feminist themes when its protagonist sacrifices her own desires out of a sense of duty to her family. Early twentieth-century Spanish women writers were aware of the literary conventions of popular fiction, and many of their texts, as *Una Eva moderna* does, self-consciously engage with the question of these gendered conventions as the "appropriate" literary form consumed and produced by women readers and writers. As the analysis of Ángela Barco's *Fémina* (1910) will show, however, not every text is as self-contradictory as Gimeno's.

The feminist protagonist of Barco's novella, Gabriela, is a less self-contradictory and in many ways a more radical figure than Luisa.[23] Gabriela, trapped by societal pressures into the

[23] Little is known about Barco's life, but what few details I have managed to piece together paint the picture of a rather remarkable woman dedicated not only to the empowerment of women but also to understanding the lives of women from different social classes. She was born in Salamanca, probably in 1878, although it is impossible to corroborate a specific year. Her first published writings appeared in 1901 under the pseudonym Pedro del Valle, and in 1903 she began to publish under her own name. She became increasingly interested in the state of rural women, publishing a brief study titled *Del ruralismo femenino* in 1909. She was granted financial support by the Junta Para la Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas (JAE) to continue this line of study in France between 1911-1912, but any trace of her written

limited role of the self-sacrificing wife, does not experience none of Luisa's personal conflict between feminism and self-empowerment on the one hand and a woman's traditional duty as mother and wife on the other. Instead, *Fémina* confronts the hypocrisy of bourgeois domestic ideology head on, dramatizing the negative effects that middle-class discourse of domesticity has on Gabriela. It criticizes the societal pressures that limit a woman's opportunities beyond the domestic sphere, impede female empowerment, and prohibit her right to express her own individuality. In addition, by representing Gabriela as a victim of this discourse, the text simultaneously criticizes the conventional idea that woman's "natural" function was inherently domestic. Trapped by societal pressures into the limited role of the self-sacrificing wife, Gabriela does not find the same self-fulfillment in domesticity as Gimeno's Luisa does. Rather, she is driven to hysteria within the stifling milieu of the bourgeois household, thus criticizing the commonplace belief that specifically "feminine" maladies, such as hysteria, were biologically determined.

The action of the novella takes place in a provincial city (which we can safely assume is a transposition of the Salamanca of the author's youth) on the threshold of modernization. It tells the story of Gabriela, age 24, who, married to a rich man for her family's financial benefit, becomes increasingly bored with the lack of opportunities that her "comfortable" bourgeois life affords her. Her husband Don Sebastián, twice her age and a traditional man, is a wealthy banker who believes that he has provided his wife with the best luxuries his money can buy. From Don Sebastián's perspective, this is true, but Gabriela finds their life monotonous. (As we will see, the gendered disconnect between Don Sebastián's perception of their life together and his wife's

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work from this trip has been lost. She continued to publish short stories in newspapers, but unfortunately the trail goes completely cold after 1916.

is precisely what the text criticizes.) Don Sebastián specifically orders the household to be "severa y tranquila, en la que todo era muelle, dulce, reposado; en la que no se oía una voz más alta de lo regular ni un grito desagradable porque a él no le agradaba" (*7*). Gabriela feels trapped in this insular world. She is driven to desperation and contemplates suicide, but she ultimately cannot come up with a "decent" way to do it. Her increased isolation within the household causes her to suffer an attack of hysteria. One day Don Sebastián receives an anonymous letter informing him of the infidelity of his wife with one of his brothers: "Tu mujer te engaña con uno de tus hermanos" (*8*). This news, which ultimately turns out to be false, causes him to punish his wife by locking her away in her room, triggering the further deterioration of her health. On her deathbed, Gabriela, true to her namesake as the messenger of truth, reveals that it had been she who wrote the letters. When asked why, she exclaims, (and the novella ends with these words), "¡Me aburría …!" (*19*).

Similar to Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna*, questions of gender, modernity, and the relationship between the two are central to *Fémina*'s criticism of traditional bourgeois conceptions of femininity. Thus, *Una Eva moderna* and *Fémina* can be considered sister works that dramatize a different answer to the same question: What happens when a woman's desire for individuality and self-empowerment conflict with traditional bourgeois ideology that values a woman's self-sacrifice and submission as the supreme feminine virtues? Each text shows how these two extremes are fundamentally incompatible concepts. However, whereas Luisa renounces her feminism in favor of a traditional maternal role, Gabriela's hysteria and subsequent death are the result of her inability to live in a stifling, insular world that, by definition, is structured around the negation of woman's personal dreams and passions. Thus, while Luisa survives by conforming to society, Gabriela dies precisely because she cannot bring

herself to conform. She is a prisoner, and the text explicitly represents the house as her prison: "Todo aquello que [ella] veía la hizo el efecto de una gran celda almohadillada … en la que se ahogarían sus gritos de pasión y de juventud" (*7*). Moreover, the use of the adjective "*almohadillada*" is more than an ironic description of the prison-like decorative drawing room. It also calls to mind the padded cell—the *celda acolchada*—of an insane asylum. The text draws an implicit connection between Gabriela's growing mental instability that accompanies her isolation. Thus, whereas Luisa's conversion is framed as a victorious return to the "natural" (i.e. patriarchal) order, Gabriela is represented as a victim of middle-class gender discourse. Her death is presented as a renunciation of life and an admittance of surrender and defeat in the face of a society that only values her subservience to her family.

A specific, class-based notion of gender underlies the text's criticism, for it is through this lens that we can understand her struggles. In Barco's novella, unlike Gimeno's, woman's proclivity for domesticity is shown to be a socially imposed ideology rather than a biological prescription. Gabriela's victimization is predicated on the unconventional assumption that women are not inherently submissive but rather, to borrow Emilia Pardo Bazán's terminology from "La mujer española," "molded" by societal, that is to say, male idealizations of femininity to which female behavior is expected to conform.[24] This is emphasized throughout the text via Gabriela's recurrent association with statues (pp. *4*, *7*, *11*, and *18*). In one respect, this imagery

[24] Barco's and Pardo Bazán's writings both present a similar understanding of female maladies as imposed on women by society rather than inherent. Although impossible to corroborate, I suspect that Barco knew well, and perhaps was influenced by, Pardo Bazán's work. Margarita Nelken would argue the same in her *La condición social de la mujer en España* (1919): "La mujer [burguesa] sin fortuna y sin medios de ganarse la vida conforme a sus necesidades, ha de considerar fatalmente el matrimonio como una salvación, como un refugio contra la implacable lucha por el sustento.… ¿Culpa de la mujer? ¿De su naturaleza? De ningún modo … La culpa corresponde por entero a la educación dada a las muchachas" (51).

represents her as a commodity that the wealthy Don Sebastián can purchase, thus transforming her into his property. To Don Sebastián "[ella] no era otra cosa sino una bella estatua que se adquiere en un impulso de millonario, acaparador de todo lo mejor porque puede comprarlo" (*7*). Before her wedding, Gabriela realizes her marriage to be a property exchange: "Desde aquel día … ya no hizo carga de nada; vivía como una muerta al comenzar, en verdad su vida. Sólo algunos días después se fijó en el que iba a ser su esposo, su *dueño*" (*5*; emphasis in the original). Gabriela is "sold" off to Don Sebastián in marriage because her middle-class family, poor despite her father's preoccupation with the appearance of wealth and status, uses their marriage as a means to economic success. Remembering her childhood, Gabriela "[s]e vio en la casa con apariencias de lujo, en la que muchos días faltaba el pan.… Su padre, pretencioso, pedante, convertía, para vivir aparentando bienestar, los ocho mil reales de su empleo … en una *renta* de ocho mil duros" (*4*, emphasis in the original). Gabriela's "worth" as a woman, therefore, is defined in purely relational terms, that is to say relative to what the men in her life want. It is based on those qualities—her beauty—that make her more "marketable" to the wealthy and powerful Don Sebastián. Thus, her family, similar to the middle-class families criticized in Barco's scandalous article "El hijo," privileges the external appearance of wealth over the daughter's well-being.

Thus, the statue imagery also suggests that gender difference is the result of the societal sculpting of woman (Galatea) to conform to masculine standards of beauty and behavior (Pygmalion) rather than being a biological prescription. Her "act of sacrifice" occurs relatively early in the plot, which characterizes her as a victim, whereas in Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna*, the analogous act occurs at the very end. Gabriela's personality is manipulated by the external ideological pressures of her family and husband who serve as metonyms for conventional

nineteenth-century middle-class ideology. Her victimization is presented as the result of a long and gendered process of social conditioning that begins during childhood. She received a minimal education in which her beauty was privileged over formal learning. The narrator explains that she grew up "sin saber otra cosa más sino que era bellísima, … que era digna de ser reina.… Nunca supo hacer nada; siempre vivió mecida por una ociosidad de princesa, sin otra distracción que las novelas" (*4*). In other words, Gabriela is molded from an early age into her family's conception of the ideal woman, which the text unmasks to be the "tipo de mujer anodino e insustancial" described in Barco's "El hijo." As Bridget Aldaraca reminds us, "Idealization implies control within the imagination over the desired object. The idealization of another human being demands the transformation of the human subject into object in order to achieve this imaginary control" (*El ángel del hogar* 83). Moreover, *Fémina*'s criticism of the family's idealization of Gabriela is expressed in explicitly gendered terms: the success of the family is defined by male, patriarchal standards of wealth and influence, and the daughter is reduced to the material object through which this can be achieved.

Barco's text further reveals the level of control that nineteenth-century theorizations and idealizations of gender difference exerted over the lived experiences of middle-class women. Whereas Gimeno's Luisa initially resists conforming to socially prescribed gender roles, Gabriela's middle-class upbringing teaches her early in her life that men and women are cast into neat, gender-specific roles. These are modeled and performed by her own parents: her mother represents the dutiful housewife while her father plays the role of the powerful and influential bourgeois man. (The father's status is quite literally a performance in that his appearances of wealth and status are purely external projections of internal desires.) Reading offers the child Gabriela glimpses of alternative ways of life to the socially prescribed role of wife and mother.

The narrator says that she wants to "moverse, viajar, viajar hasta sentir el vértigo; salir de la ciudad pequeña y gris, amurallada como una cárcel … ver otros pueblos, otras gentes desconocidas … ver, ver, hasta saciarse" (*7*). On two occasions, the narrator refers to her suppressed "alma de fuego" (*6*) or her "alma ardiente" (*11*), emphasizing that there is a part of Gabriela's subjectivity that exists outside the "clear-cut" gender boundaries established by social norms and legitimated by biological treatises of the time. However, these desires are conditioned out of her. Both her family and husband deny her the opportunities to fulfill these passions. For example, when young Gabriela shows little enthusiasm at the prospect of marrying Don Sebastián, her mother reminds her of her feminine duty: "Muchas veces, su madre tuvo que sacudirla furiosa, al ver que no gozaba con la alegría de ellos. ¿Pero es que era una mala hija, que prefería verlos morir de hambre?" (*5*). To be a "good daughter," then, is to sacrifice her personal desires for the (economic) well-being of the family. Don Sebastián's influence over Gabriela, however, is subtler, achieved by imposing his own will on their relationship. As the narrator mentions, "Pero el marido, en el tono tranquilo y cariñoso con que se habla a los niños, impuso sus gustos" (*7*). The verb *imponer* underscores the imbalance of power in Don Sebastián's and Gabriela's marriage. Unlike in Gimeno's novella, marriage is positioned, quite radically, as the direct antithesis to the expression of Gabriela's desires and subjectivity, for to conform to middle-class standards of femininity means that her individuality is forced out of her by social conditioning.

This stifling of Gabriela's individual desire is the most serious consequence of her social conditioning. Lou Charnon-Deutsch has analyzed the representation of female desire in the nineteenth-century, female-authored domestic novel, a literary tradition whose principal characteristics Barco's *Fémina* both shares and undermines. She argues that "[w]hat is desired

often is the *other*: adventure, agency, culture, the outside world… [which] usually leads to disappointment, degradation, or death" (*Narratives* 24). In this respect, Gabriela has much in common with Emma Bovary, who uses literature as an escape from the monotony of provincial life. Moreover, *Fémina* reveals that Gabriela's most intimate desires are also understood in gendered terms. As Felski reminds us, gender is central to understanding the experience of the woman reader. Speaking specifically about the differences between Emma Bovary and Don Quixote, she argues that "[Emma's] status as a middle-class woman shapes what she reads, how she reads, and the kind of salvation she awaits from fiction. It steers her toward a destiny that is very different from Cervantes's hero" (*Literature* 23). Unlike Emma, whose preferred sentimental romance novels are decidedly gendered as feminine, Gabriela only has access to her father's novels, which are described as follows:

> No eran insípidas novelas ni de malos y desconocidos autores; pero en ella producían fiebres de ambición, despertando en su alma soñadora, vehemente, brutales deseos de vivir, de verlo todo, de tocarlo todo, de gozar lujos y fastuosidades irrealizables. […] [N]inguno de [los] muchachos atildados [de la ciudad] […] se atrevía a ser para ella el esperado… otro gentil Caballero del Cisne que la llevase en su barca. (*4*)

We are not given more information about the novels and their contents than this, but they are almost certainly adventure novels whose male protagonists travel to exotic places and rescue women from dangerous situations. Therefore, unlike Emma's circumstance, there is a clear gendered disconnect between Gabriela's desires (influenced by her reading) and her socially dictated gender role within the private sphere. Gabriela's most intimate desire is to travel, but "traveling" and "the outside world" are coded as masculine actions and spaces that contrast with

the "feminine" confines of the home. This is where *Fémina* breaks with the literary tradition of the nineteenth-century popular domestic novel: while the latter teaches that women are passive beings, "that women do not want except to be wanted or serviceable, and [that] this is the only way for women to achieve a measure of marital, social, personal, and material well-being" (Charnon-Deutsch, *Narratives* 38), Gabriela wants agency that is unrestricted by gendered limitations. She does not want to be defined relationally to the men of her family, but rather individually. Gabriela's death, then, is a pessimistic reminder that this is impossible within her male-dominated, insular bourgeois world.

Moreover, *Fémina* does not present the stifling of her individuality as consciously malicious, which suggests that her social conditioning is much more insidious. Gabriela is not the victim of neglectful parents or a physically abusive husband. Gabriela cannot deny Don Sebastián's love for her: "No podía ni debía dudar de su amor, puesto que ella sólo logró atraerle con su belleza, no habiendo tenido él inconveniente alguno en elegir la compañera que necesitaba entre las más pobres, cuando las más ricas se le ofrecían" (*7*). And yet, the disparity between Don Sebastián's perception of the life he believes he is providing his wife and Gabriela's lived experiences is precisely the target of the text's criticism. This is because the gendered division of society by which male idealizations of womanhood influences the upbringing of girls transforms women into the passive objects of male desire. Gabriela is not shown to be a "naturally" domestic being. Rather, her internal desires conflict with societal expectations of woman's domestic function.

Thus, the hysteria Gabriela develops throughout the text is the direct consequence of the boredom she experiences and of her inability to conform to her socially prescribed role. In addition to Emma Bovary, Gabriela's situation calls to mind that of Ana Ozores of Clarín's *La*

Regenta (1884-1885), whose "tragedy," as Labanyi puts it, "is, quite simply, that of the bourgeois wife who has nothing to do" (*Gender* 217). Gabriela's dissatisfaction with her position is immediately apparent to the reader when, on the first page of the novella, she would rather be alone than spend time with him. When she is left alone, her positioning reveals her dissatisfaction with her situation:

> Y quedó otra vez con su martirio iluminado de sueños trágicos, de pálidas quimeras, tenues y fugaces como todo lo increado. ¡Oh, y cuánto la agradaba quedarse así, sola, en el salón grande y lujoso, tendida como una muerta en la *chaise-longue*, tejiendo y destejiendo su triste pasado, su fastuoso presente, sin que el ignoto porvenir se dejase entrever por ningún resquicio. (*2*)

Not only does the description of her as figuratively dead ("tendida como una muerta") foreshadow her literal death at the end of the novella, but her state of mind is described in equally despondent and ironic terms. She is happy to be alone to avoid contact with her husband, but the descriptors *triste* and *ignoto* accentuate the hopelessness and the helplessness of her situation. This passage reveals that lacking any sort of outlet for expressing her emotions or to occupy herself, Gabriela must take refuge in the tenuous and fleeting realm of her imagination. In addition, the verbs *tejer* and *destejer* used to describe her thoughts refer to feminine domestic duties, emphasizing the extent to which her subjectivity is molded by the domestic sphere despite her suppressed *alma de fuego*. To further stress the monotony of her life, Gabriela occupies the same position two chapters later in a passage that is described in almost the exact same language (*4*). Moreover, by coupling domestic language with explicitly religious language (her martyrdom), this passage recalls the same religious language of conventional nineteenth-century gender discourse used to describe Luisa's conversion in *Una Eva moderna*. Thus, whereas

woman's self-sacrifice was conventionally seen as morally beneficial to the social order (something that Luisa "learns" at the end of her story), Gabriela is presented as a tragic victim of these same societal pressures.

The text establishes a clear, gendered distinction between the freedoms afforded to Don Sebastián because of his sex and the opportunities denied to Gabriela because of hers. Gabriela's situation in the opening lines, for example, contrasts sharply with her husband's: "Se estremeció y volvió la cabeza con el ansia contenida de quien aguarda impaciente lo que ha de venir y no se conoce… En el hueco de la puerta apareció, arrogante y pulcro, el marido, don Sebastián López-Sierra, abrochándose el gabán, amplio y rico, con movimientos reposados" (*1*). Gabriela is lying on the *chaise-longue* whereas Don Sebastián is preparing to leave the house for the *casino*. Thus, the relationship between gender and spatial mobility is important from the start. Don Sebastián, as a man, is able to move between both private and public spaces with complete freedom. Gabriela cannot transgress—figuratively or literally—the "feminine" space of the house. Moreover, to escape the monotony of the household, Don Sebastián enters *into* the world—he confesses that "no estaría a gusto sin salir de casa todos los días" (*1*)—whereas Gabriela, as a woman with few alternatives to domestic life, must retreat *from* the world into her imagination, that is to say, in precisely what does not exist externally. In fact, Gabriela never explicitly voices her thoughts. Moments of free indirect style and Gabriela's recollection of her past are the only access readers have to Gabriela's subjectivity.

As the passage above indicates, Gabriela is denied a future that does not entail adherence to conventional gender roles. She contemplates her past and her present, but never the *ignoto porvenir*. She understands that her situation will not—and in fact does not—change. When Gabriela is on her deathbed, Don Sebastián's perception of her as a "bella estatua de mármol"

(*18*)—because of her paleness and lifelessness—highlights the fact that Gabriela's situation, despite her game with the anonymous letter, is almost exactly the same as at the beginning of the novella. Her figurative lifelessness has now become a literal death. Gabriela cannot live in the house because the house represents the conventional, gendered order that forces her to renounce her individual desires. The mansion, then, which on two occasions is as "pequeña y triste, como un cementerio" because of its detachment from the modernizing world, has now become the marble mausoleum in which her now literal corpse resides (*2*, *7*).

The "deception" of the anonymous letter accusing her(self) of adultery, moreover, is predicated on a modern understanding of the inherent instability of supposedly natural gender roles. This applies to both femininity and masculinity. Concerning Gabriela, she recognizes that to receive attention and to exert any individuality denied to her she must play the role of the adulterous wife to free herself from the monotony of domesticity. Unorthodox gender performance initially seems to offer Gabriela more control over her life because it allows her the opportunity to break free from the archetype of the dutiful, self-sacrificing wife. In other words, gender performance gives initially gives her more agency. For example, her overall mood changes dramatically with the arrival of the letters. She stands more confidently (she no longer lies on the *chaise-longue*), she laughs more, and she becomes more active, taking strolls out of the house supervised by Don Sebastián's brothers (pp. *10-11*). Concerning her relationship with her husband, she even begins to contradict his authority by refusing to listen to his orders at dinner (p. *12*). Moreover, Gabriela's actions reveal the ways in which masculinity and outdated codes of honor are likewise dictated by patriarchal discourse. For example, Don Sebastián believes the anonymous letters (it can be inferred through Gabriela's behavior that she is responsible for them, but this is not definitively known until the last page), and as a result he

must perform the Calderonian role of the dishonored husband. Don Sebastián himself chalks the cause of his outburst up to "el monstruoso rugido de su virilidad burlada" (*15*). Thus, the text does not criticize Don Sebastián too harshly as an individual because it suggests that he too is a victim of patriarchal standards of gender.

Moreover, by dramatizing the ways in which Gabriela's transgressions ultimately prove disastrous for the perceived order of the household, the text reveals the inherent instability of social and domestic organization built on adherence to strict gender roles. Don Sebsatián, in response to the accusatory letters, exiles his brothers from the house (p. *15*) and more radically threatens to kill Gabriela (p. *13*).[25] He shuts Gabriela away in her room, lamenting that "era necesario un castigo para ella, la inútil muñeca, vana y soberbia, que tuvo, sin embargo, el inaudito poder de destruirlo todo: hogar, tranquilidad, amores, familia" (*16*). Thus, he blames Gabriela for the destabilization of the household, which is meant to be read ironically given the text's representation of Gabriela as a victim. In the final scene, with Gabriela on her deathbed, Don Sebastián believes that forgiving her will restore her and, by extension, the patriarchal order of the house. He says, "Reconstruir el hogar… Gabriela, al verse perdonada, no moriría" (*18*). What he does not understand is that Gabriela's recovery cannot restore stability to the household because this perceived stability is shown to be built on false assumptions of gender difference and imagined "natural" roles for man and woman. Thus, *Fémina*'s criticism of conventional gender discourse—revealing the way gender roles are imposed by society rather than inherent, and by exploring the ways in which Gabriela's hysteria destroys the domestic order of her

[25] The implicit presence of Article 438 of the Penal Code of 1870, which stated, "El marido que sorprendiendo en adulterio a su mujer, matare en el acto a ésta o al adúltero … será castigado con la pena de destierro," would probably have been understood by Barco's readers. Its repeal was a topic of debate in female intellectual circles in the 1910s and 1920s. Carmen de Burgos was at the forefront of this debate.

household—also reveals that the concept of the "natural" is equally contingent on dominant social conventions. In other words, the "natural" refers not to what is established by Nature, but rather to what conforms (or in Gabriela's case is *made to conform*) to the strict behavioral boundaries established by the dominant group.

Gabriela's transgressions, however, parallel what can be perceived as her declining mental stability. For example, her youthful laughs at dinner, "que incitaba a los dos jóvenes [hermanos de don Sebastián] a reírse, a verter su juventud en una cascada de alegrías" (*11*) also disrupt the order of the household. She begins to drink excessively at dinner (p. *12*). She is even pleased when Don Sebastián snaps: "horrible en su furor contenido, balbucía palabras inteligibles.… Gabriela, con una llamarada extraña en sus ojos negros, que parecieron más negros por la mirada infernal que en ellos lucía, levantó los brazos … para arreglar un rizo despeinado y *ocultar la sonrisa que arqueó sus labios*" (*12*; emphasis added). The smile, hidden from her husband, does not hide her contentment from readers. She even seems to welcome her husband's honor-bound threats against her life: "Y con los vibrantes acentos de un *insulto*, exclamó: ¡Mátame!" (*13*; emphasis added). The noun *insulto* emphasizes that her exclamation is a direct threat to Don Sebastián's authority because it suggests that she does not believe he can "perform" his honor-bound duties. When Don Sebastián punishes her for her behavior by locking her in her room, she is described as a "loca pegada a la puerta—que abarcaba con sus brazos de cruz" (*14*). The ironic Christ imagery reinforces the characterization of woman's domestic "martyrdom" as tragic rather than as heroic.

In fact, her current bout of hysteria is the second time she has suffered from this malady. Shortly after her marriage, she realizes the extent to which she is denied the freedom to pursue her dreams: "Todo inútil.… Lloró con rabia la primera desilusión; cayó enferma" (*7*). When she

recuperates, she decides to flee: "Al ponerse buena huiría de aquella gran celda puesta para ahogar sus gritos de pasión y de juventud, en busca de la libertad" (*7*). However, she is unable to go through with her plan because she is afraid to do so, emphasizing the extent to which she has become dependent on her husband and the extent to which societal pressures stifle her agency and determination. Her condition is much more severe now. She contemplates suicide as the only remedy to her situation, but she cannot bring herself to do it. The earlier suggestion that the prison-like drawing room (the *celda almohadillada*) might also be the *celda acolchada* of an asylum becomes much more explicit as her mental stability deteriorates.

Thus, the text shows that hysteria, believed at the time to be a result of woman's "naturally" oversensitive nervous system, is itself the result an inability to conform to socially imposed, gender-specific roles. Hysteria was, by nineteenth-century medical standards, a "feminine" disease. The writings of the time reveal this gendered conception of the condition. Baltasar de Viguera in his *La fisiología y patología de la mujer* (1827), for example, calls hysteria "[v]inculada únicamente al bello sexo" (62), and Juan Cuesta Ckerner in his *Enfermedades de las mujeres* (1868) explains that "Las causas de esta enfermedad requieren principalmente una predisposición especial de la mujer" (52). According to the scientific and medical discourse of the nineteenth century, the symptoms could be physical or psychological, and they could manifest themselves in a number of ways. Gabriela's are purely psychological, and her actions suggest that she is beginning to crack under the weight of social pressure. However, her hysteria, while seeming to manifest itself as a defiance of her husband's authority, is not a rebellion against the patriarchal order. Instead, it marks Gabriela's recognition of defeat in the face of rigid, conventional gender roles. As Toril Moi explains, "Hysteria is not … the incarnation of the revolt of women forced to silence but rather a declaration of defeat, the

realization that there is no way out. Hysteria is … a cry for help when defeat becomes real, when the woman sees that she is efficiently gagged and chained to her feminine role" (192). In this respect, if Luisa's situation calls to mind the same conflict experienced by Ibsen's Nora, Gabriela's situation is similar to that of Ibsen's Hedda Gabler. As Gail Finney argues, "Ibsen depicts Hedda's mild hysteria as the reaction to her entrapment in female roles to which she is unsuited" (161). Gabriela's illness is a reaction to a similar predicament, but, unlike Hedda, she does not have the will to commit suicide. In fact, the text suggests that her elaborate "adultery" scheme is a much more insidious ploy to force her husband to kill her in a "suicide by jealous husband" event. We have already seen that when Don Sebastián threatens to kill her, she responds, "Y con los vibrantes acentos de un insulto, exclamó: ¡Mátame!" (*13*). However, when read in context of the following sentence—"[s]e acercaba a él, terca, anhelante, como si la atrajeran las brutales manos" (*13*)—the word *anhelante* suggests, strikingly, a literal desire for punishment. Her "¡Mátame!" therefore becomes a literal plea for him to end her life.

Similar to Luisa's situation, Gabriela's is framed within the larger context of Spain's modernization, thus inviting readers to draw connections between modernity and its effect on the conventional belief in supposedly irreducible gender differences. Modernity implies a break with tradition and therefore is inherently destabilizing to societies traditionally structured around the perceived stability of gender-specific roles. The question of modernity in the text is most evident in Chapter II, which is structured as a debate among a council of the city's influential men over plans to modernize the city. Don Sebastián strongly opposes the project despite the rest of the council's insistence that modernization—which in this case entails industrialization and urban development—will bring jobs and economic prosperity to "el número de obreros que podrían

emplearse" (*3*).[26] The proponents of modernization characterize Don Sebastián's disagreement as selfish, greedy, and, more significantly, antiquated. One man in particular calls him "retrógado, incapaz de comprender las bellezas del arte moderno" (*3*). The reference to modern art hints at a parallel between the question of modernity and the question of gender. Don Sebastián's opposition to the city's modernization is framed as a defense of its classical architecture, which mirrors his preference for Gabriela, the supposed dutiful housewife, as a classical statue. Don Sebastián is, therefore, the nexus between the text's exploration of the connection between the "woman question" and the "social question." Don Sebastián opposes the city's modernization because he seeks to preserve the city's "glorious" past in the same way that he seeks (less consciously) to preserve the gendered *status quo* of the household. Don Sebastián's anti-modern, conservative defense of the traditional social order in which men of wealth hold power and influence over the economically disenfranchised parallels his (unconscious) complacency with the conventional order in which gender differences reinforce the subordination of women. Labanyi has argued that in the latter half of the nineteenth century the "woman" and "social" questions were impossible to separate because they were "linked by a common fund of imagery whose function is to articulate anxieties that cannot be directly acknowledged or resolved" (*Gender* vii). Identical imagery is used in Barco's text to emphasize the link between Don Sebastián's frustration of the city's modernization project and the hopelessness of Gabriela's situation. For example, Don Sebastián describes the city (positively) as "pequeña y triste como un cementerio" (*2*), which is repeated verbatim when describing (negatively) Don Sebastián's

[26] Throughout her life, Ángela Barco was dedicated to studying the social question, particularly when it applied to working-class and rural women. Some of her early short stories, such as "¡Despedido!" (1901), depict poor working-class characters. In addition, she published an academic study of rural women titled *Del ruralismo femenino* (1909), and a now-lost chapter on "la mujer obrera," which made up a significant portion of her academic project in France.

authority over and complacency with the current state of the city and the household (*7*). Thus, the frustration of the city's modernization project parallels the stagnation of Gabriela's life in the house and the stifling of her desires. For Don Sebastián, modernity represents a threat to the perceived stability of the "natural" social order, which mirrors the effect that Gabriela's digression from socially prescribed gender roles has on the household. Thus, this reading suggests that a redefinition of gender differences as social constructs is an essential component of the process of modernization.

In this way, Barco's *Fémina* is a more radical text than a self-contradictory text such as Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna* in its straightforward condemnation of societal pressures that force women into submitting to gender norms. There was an acute awareness among the women writers of early twentieth-century Spain that their society could be fundamentally different from that of the previous century. This is particularly true of *Fémina*. Barco's novella condemns what it characterizes as an immediate issue in a modernizing society, namely the negative effects of conservative—and backward—reactions to modern forms of female desire that force women into submitting to conventional gender norms. Moreover, *Fémina*, unlike Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna*, achieves this in a way that subverts negative, misogynistic connotations of the woman writer's role as purveyor of popular, inherently "feminine," and moralistic literature that celebrates the protagonist's self-sacrifice. Gabriela does not experience the same "conversion" as Luisa does, thus subverting the notion that domesticity is a natural function of woman. Nor does Gabriela commit adultery, unlike Emma Bovary, Ana Ozores, Anna Karenina, and other nineteenth-century heroines faced with similar predicaments. *Fémina*, therefore, self-consciously draws on traditionally "feminine" genres of literature (the domestic novel) and plot structures (the romance and adultery plots) and undermines them, revealing them to be futile for modern

female self-expression. Barco's text is proof that women played an active role in Spain's modernizing process at the turn of the twentieth century. As Felski reminds us, the gendering of modernity was complicated, and images of the feminine were often the sites on which anxieties about modernity's perceived threat on the traditional order were projected (*Gender* 3). Thus, *Fémina*, which contributes to the emergence of a new, modern genre of popular literature, suggests that a reevaluation of nineteenth-century notions of femininity is an integral part of the modern project.

Barco exemplifies a woman's role in the modernization process, and *Fémina* should be considered a radical and modern text. If, as Charnon-Deutsch argues, "[t]he literature of domesticity teaches that suffering is a necessary prelude to satisfaction and that women should always try to make the best of things … for the sake of (pre)serving society" (*Narratives* 47), Barco's text, in its modern representation of female suffering as a social tragedy, criticizes the hypocrisy of a middle class that prides itself on constructing a facade of wealth and influence via the subjugation of women to these gendered standards. It unmasks the oppressive social forces that construct supposedly natural gender differences and reveals the negative consequences that lie beneath the thin veneer of bourgeois domestic ideology. By situating Gabriela's situation within the context of Spain's modernization, the text makes the radical claim that the ideal of the self-sacrificing wife is untenable in modern Spanish society—for to be completely selfless she must be self-less.

Emilia Pardo Bazán's *La dama joven* (1914) also depicts the consequences of the clash between a woman's desire and her feminine duty. However, Pardo Bazán's protagonist is a working-class girl, and therefore the text raises interesting questions about the intersection of class and gender. Pardo Bazán originally published *La dama joven* in 1885 but republished it in

Los Contemporáneos in 1914. In total, she published twenty-one short novels from the appearance of *Bucólica* in 1884 until her death in 1921 (Biggane 29). Within the time frame on which this study is concentrating (1907-1936), she published seventeen, some of which were republications of earlier works. These novellas, moreover, cover a wide range of topics. *La gota de sangre* (1911), for example, is a mystery story, whereas texts such as *Finafrol* (1909) and *En las cavernas* (1913), deal more explicitly with questions of gender (albeit in unique ways). Unlike Gimeno's and Barco's novellas, whose endings make explicit the ideological stance of the text apropos of the protagonists' situations—or unlike *Finafrol*, whose criticism of the male protagonist's exploitation of the female protagonist is rather Manichean—Pardo Bazán's *La dama joven* is much more ambiguous in its treatment of the female protagonist's dilemma and does not offer an easily discernible thesis or allow for a simple reading. In addition to *La gota de sangre* (1911), *La dama joven* is probably the short novel that has received the most critical attention by scholars, and, as such, it has garnered a range of interpretations.[27] Carmen Bravo-Villasante, for example, reads the text autobiographically, analyzing the protagonist's life as a projection of the author's lived experiences, while Nelly Clémessy sees it unequivocally as "l'une des revendications de ses campagnes féministes" (511). However, the text presents a much more nuanced understanding of class-specific gender relations that affect the protagonist's life than these interpretations allow for. It depicts the dilemma that a working-class girl faces when her desire for self-actualization—her desire to become a famous actress—conflicts with her sister's and her fiancé's gendered conceptions of feminine modesty.

[27] Of all of the studies dedicated to Pardo Bazán's work, only Biggane's *In a Liminal Space* (2000) and Parrón's *Arte y literatura* (2008) are dedicated exclusively to her short novels.

The story revolves around two working-class orphans—sisters—who work as seamstresses to earn a modest living. As we will also see about Blanca de los Ríos's novellas, the two sisters each represent distinct feminine types. The older, Dolores, is the more religious and maternal one. The younger, Concha, is the more rebellious and ambitious. Concha's successful interpretation of the leading female role of Adelardo López de Ayala's *Consuelo* (premiered 1870) catches the eye of two actors, and she is offered a promising career as an actress. However, Dolores and Ramón, Concha's betrothed, disapprove because of the social stigma associated with women who pursue a career in stage performance. At the end of the novella, Concha is ultimately given a choice between her domestic duty to her sister and future husband, and her desire to pursue what we can assume will be a successful career. She renounces her career as an actress and accepts her future role as wife and mother.

Questions of gender and class are, as in Gimeno's and Barco's texts, central to the understanding of the protagonist's conflict. Although Concha's situation is similar to Luisa's and Gabriela's in that her desires threaten the conventional understanding of "appropriate" feminine roles, a profession, for example, would be unthinkable for Luisa or Gabriela as wealthy middle-class women. In other words, Concha, as a working-class girl, although less well-off than Luisa or Gabriela, is afforded alternatives to her situation in a way that the other two are not. Whereas Gabriela and Luisa are married to wealthy men, Concha's marriage to Ramón, a humble woodworker, would not afford her the same level of economic stability. *La dama joven* is therefore about the possible alternatives to a working girl's limited situation. Concha's desires to pursue a career in stage performance are not motivated—at least in her mind—by a desire to escape the gendered limitations imposed on her by society, but rather by an attraction to the fame and fortune that would allow her to escape her humble economic circumstances as an

independent woman. She says, "¡Artista! ¡Qué bien le sonaba a Concha el nombre! Ser *artista* era pertenecer a una clase aristocrática, superior a la humilde condición de costurera" (4; emphasis in the original). The contrast between the adjectives *aristocrática* and *humilde* emphasizes this point.

Although Concha naively believes her motives to be purely economical, the text reveals the gendered discourse surrounding a woman's economic self-empowerment. Thus, the question of gender is inseparable from Concha's ambitions, for these carry a series of gendered assumptions about proper gender roles in society. Marriage and conventual life, for example, would be socially acceptable alternatives to acting. However, these are presented as the antitheses to Concha's desires because they entail, by definition, a renunciation of her individuality. What the text explores, then, is not whether or not Concha, as a woman, can work, but rather the gendered stigma around the specific profession of female artist. To be a seamstress is socially acceptable for the two sisters because it is a specifically feminine job whereas the figure of the actress entails a certain independence that would have been considered indecent for women, irrespective of class. (The gendered stigmas of professional women are an important factor in many of the female-authored short novels, particularly in those of Carmen de Burgos.)

Dolores and Ramón represent the female and male versions of the conventional societal pressures that oppose Concha's career. The immediate motivator for Dolores's opposition is a desire to protect her sister from the dishonor she herself experienced at age sixteen (Dolores is about thirty and Concha is about eighteen at the "present" time of the narrative). She was seduced, impregnated, abandoned, and after the subsequent death of the malnourished infant, "no tuvo Dolores tiempo de llorar a su hijo" because she had to ensure the survival of the four-year-old Concha (2). As a result, she developed a strong mistrust of men, particularly wealthy middle-

class men, the *señoritos*, who prey on naïve women. She therefore sees it as her maternal (and therefore specifically *feminine*) responsibility to protect her sister from masculine desire. Ramón, moreover, does not "consent" to his future wife's career. Because of the social stigma of the actress as a public woman, he becomes jealous when other men admire her performances and disapproves of the low neckline of her costumes. He tells her, "Pues cuidado cómo te arreglas… no quiero que nadie se divierta a cuenta mía" (7). Thus, Ramón represents a specifically *masculine* desire to control Concha's behavior based on the negative valuations associated with the female artist and on the ways in which her "scandalous" behavior affects his own honor. Therefore, Dolores's and Ramón's arguments against Concha's emancipation are themselves gendered.

What was initially described as Concha's desire for economic well-being can now be interpreted as a conscious rebellion against the gendered order that Dolores and Ramón represent. As Margot Versteeg explains about the figure of the actress in nineteenth-century Spain, "[T]he figure of the female performance artist became a source of both attraction and anxiety.… [S]he was a self-sufficient subject and a threatening subversion of the idealized model of the wife and mother" (126). Therefore, Concha's desires are inherently transgressive and modern in that by definition they defy conventional gender discourse around "appropriate" feminine behavior. The clearest examples of Concha's rebelliousness are her refusal to enter into a prompt marriage with Ramón and, specifically, her desire to wear the low-cut costume on stage. The text reveals that Concha, irrespective of the class differences between her, Luisa, and Gabriela, experiences many of the same, gender-specific limitations. Concha's situation therefore points to the significance of gender relations in constituting other social relations, in particular class relations. As Gerda Lerner has argued, "Class for men was and is based on their

relationship to the means of production … For women, class is mediated through their sexual ties to a man, who then gives them access to material resources" (*Creation of Patriarchy* 9). For Concha, as for Gabriela, to be defined relationally to men is to be denied individuality. Because Concha's dilemma is framed as a choice—unlike Gabriela who is "sold off" to Don Sebastián—marriage is presented as a surrender. At first, Concha explicitly rejects these notions of feminine modesty as a direct expression of her individuality and agency.

In short, what both Dolores and Ramón strongly oppose is the idea that Concha's career aspirations effectively transform her into an object of (male) desire. As Felski explains about *fin-de-siècle* Europe, "Like the prostitute, the actress could also be seen as a 'figure of public pleasure,' whose deployment of cosmetics and costume bore witness to the artificial and commodified forms of contemporary female sexuality" (*Gender* 19-20). This anxiety surrounding the commodification of the female body is the key to understanding of the gendered stigma that Concha's potential career assumes. (This is an issue that we will also see in Chapter Three when analyzing Pilar Millán Astray's *Las dos estrellas* [1928].) Historically, the profession of actress carried with it a bad reputation, and in many countries and many epochs actresses were often more or less equated with prostitutes. Dolores's and Ramón's obsession with Concha's modesty is, thus, directed specifically toward her body and how she presents it. For example, neither approves of Concha being the focus of the gaze of the male spectators during the performance of *Consuelo*, and both share a discomfort with Concha's revealing costume. Dolores laments that in the theater, "las muchachas se exponen a… a…" (14). The reader is left to fill in Dolores's silences, but it is not difficult to conclude that "*al público*" or "*a los hombres*" are the most likely possibilities for what she refuses to voice out loud. An acting profession would indeed provide Concha with more independence, but, by definition, her

profession necessitates her presence in public, and more scandalously, in front of a mostly *male* public. Therefore, if the "public" is coded as inherently masculine, the figure of the public woman by definition transgresses her "natural" place apart the masculine public sphere and obfuscates the distinctions between public and private—between masculine and feminine—by inhabiting a liminal space between these gendered spaces.

Moreover, the text reveals that even acting would not provide Concha with the independence for which she yearns. Thus, there are no easy answers for Concha when faced with the final question of which career path to choose. Neither marriage nor conventual life can offer her the same degree of independence and self-actualization that Concha believes a career in stage performance can. Despite the fact that Concha's ultimate choice seems to favor a domestic role, as Luisa's does in *Una Eva moderna*, the tone of the ending is tragic in the same way that the ending of Barco's *Fémina* is. The final lines of the novella, voiced by Estrella, a former actor who takes an interest in Concha's talents and offers her the deal, suggest that Concha made the wrong choice, thus criticizing the negative treatment wives receive at the hands of their husbands. When Estrella's partner suggests that marriage to Ramón would make her happy, Estrella responds, "¿Ese? … Lo que le dará ese bárbaro será un chiquillo por año y si se descuida, un pie de paliza" (19). Likewise, what to Concha seems to be the most fulfilling choice—acting—is itself an ambiguous and imperfect one. When Estrella tells another male character that "[l]a voz de esta chica será un tesoro cuando la pueda explotar bien" (12), the use of the verb *explotar* suggests that his primary goal is to achieve financial gain from her talent. The verb likewise reveals the way in which, unbeknownst to her, Concha's independence will still be influenced, if not actively controlled, by men in the form of theatrical impresarios, actors, and the male-dominated (though not exclusively male) audience. She can try to perform different

social roles, but she will never have complete independence. If the "feminine" literature of nineteenth-century Spain privileges this type of feminine self-sacrifice, Pardo Bazán's text makes it clear that Concha's ultimate submission is a tragic ending for her.

Therefore, the text suggests, via the representation of Concha as a victim, that to be a female artist in general is to experience inherently gendered disadvantages, for society demands feminine submission to masculine regulation and desire. Pardo Bazán criticized "[e]l error fundamental que vicia el criterio común respecto de la criatura del sexo femenino" as "el de atribuirle un destino de mera relación; de no considerarla en sí, ni por sí, ni para sí, sino en los otros, por los otros y para los otros" ("Una opinión sobre la mujer" 76-77). Thus, the tragedy of *La dama joven* is not just that Concha's individuality is stifled by society, but that she could never have had done so in a male-dominated society in which woman is defined relationally to man. Pardo Bazán's text, moreover, while not resolving any of these issues, highlights the gendered discourse surrounding the woman artist's self-empowerment. Most importantly, it criticizes the gendered, patriarchal structure itself that cannot conceive of woman as having individual subjectivity apart from the gendered order.

Chapter Two

Women Writing the "Modern Woman" in 1920s Spain (1920-1936)

"Se alejó de la palabra feminismo el concepto de desequilibrios y *ridiculeces*, la idea de hegemonía femenina y de peligro para la sociedad"

~ Carmen de Burgos, *La mujer moderna y sus derechos*

The protagonists of the early twentieth-century novellas of Gimeno, Barco, and Pardo Bazán are fundamentally different from the ones represented in the 1920s texts of Margarita Nelken (1894-1968), Concha Espina (1869-1955), and Carmen de Burgos (1867-1932). In general terms, by the 1920s the representations of domestic women who symbolized deep-seated anxieties about the tensions between modernity and traditional gender roles began to give way to a new social and cultural ideal of the emancipated woman who embraced a modern lifestyle. In fact, Pardo Bazán predicted this. She had argued at the end of the nineteenth century that the classic archetype of Spanish womanhood, the pious, devoted, domestic woman, "no podía menos de desaparecer al advenimiento de la sociedad moderna" ("La mujer española" 86). Here, I am referring to the new archetype of modern womanhood as the "modern woman" in order to distinguish her from the New Woman of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for the *mujer nueva*, despite the label, was not a "new" creation of the 1920s. The general figure of New Woman emerged in the nineteenth century to signify changing attitudes toward women, gender, and a woman's role in society. The emergence of the archetype of the "modern woman," however, reflected a broader change in Western society that occurred after the First World War. As Mangini explains, "[L]a moderna no lo era sólo por su formación cultural, su vocación

profesional y su conciencia liberal (a veces feminista), sino también porque aplaudía los avances tecnológicos y reflejaba la modernidad en su aspecto físico y su modo de vestir" (74). The *mujer moderna*, most famously embodied by the imported image of the American flapper, came to represent an almost utopian dream of a new mode of femininity that represented a new political, social, and cultural reality that did not necessarily exist in pre-civil war Spain.

1920s Spain was a period of rapid modernization. This was the period when Spain's major urban centers were being developed at a more rapid pace than during previous decades, and this postwar modernization—as in many Western countries—caused a fundamental change in the way Spaniards lived day-to-day. According to Javier Pérez Rojas, this postwar change

> viene en gran medida por la dinamización que genera la vida de la ciudad y todo un sistema nuevo de relaciones que se establecen y que se reflejan en la crisis de valores tradicionales, la irrupción de las nuevas modas, el incipiente consumismo, la liberación de ciertos sectores, la superación de tabúes, o un mayor laicismo en una España tradicionalmente religiosa. (16)

Thus, modernity came to be increasingly associated with the rupture with tradition, consumerism, and an increased pace to daily life. In 1935, the intellectual Manuel García Morente further reflected on this change:

> En ningún tiempo de la historia humana ha sido tan ruidosa como en el nuestro.… [L]a plaza pública, el rumor de las masas, la trepidación de las actividades muy bien pueden ocultar una penuria de la vida auténtica; la cual no es ni embriaguez ni oleaje, ni mecánica repetición. En nuestros días la vida suena y truena como nunca.… Nuestro vivir de hoy es un vivir extravertido, lanzado fuera de sí mismo, al aire libre de la publicidad. Y paralelamente, como fenómeno de recíproca

> penetración, la publicidad, la exterioridad invaden nuestros más íntimos recintos personales por mil agujeros que a propósito hemos abierto en ellos.… En suma, los modos de nuestra vida presente prefieren lo público a lo privado. (90-91)

García Morente's rather negative characterization of the effects of modernization—of the hustle and bustle of modern life, of the alienation of the individual from "authentic" meaning, of the preference of the public over the private—reveals the fundamental change that modernity brought to Spanish society. In the next chapter, I will analyze the ways in which anti-modern sentiments like García Morente's manifested themselves in the female-authored short novel, for despite the growing influence of feminism in Spain, a sense of national tradition in which women played an important part was still strong and increasingly associated modernity with a threat to those traditions. This chapter, in contrast, will focus on those writers who perceived these effects of the modernization of Spanish society as ultimately beneficial for women.

If, as Pérez Rojas explains, "[a] partir de 1914 se despierta entre los artistas españoles una mayor sensibilidad por la representación de la vida moderna" (15), one of the defining characteristics of the works analyzed in the present chapter is a "greater sensibility" toward the modern woman's eagerness to take advantage of the opportunities and pleasures that modern life offered her. Many writers and intellectuals were sensitive to the changes to society following WWI, and Sofía Casanova (1861-1958) in particular noted these specific changes in the lives of women. In an article published in 1921 in *ABC*, "El feminismo triunfante," she wrote, "De las ruinas candentes de la guerra, del desconcierto que persiste en el actual período mal denominado de paz, ha surgido una fuerza motriz incalculable en sus efectos: es la mujer, políticamente nivelada al hombre en las sociedades nuevas" (3). Thus, not only were women affected by these changes but were active participants in the process itself. If literary women such as Gimeno's

Luisa or Barco's Gabriela represented a general anxiety about woman's embrace of modernity, then the ideal emancipated woman of the twenties was a symbol of modernity or, as S. Kirkpatrick has put it, "una sinécdoque de la modernidad misma, por cuanto estaba ligada a las nuevas tecnologías e industrias que producían mercancías para un mercado masivo y a nuevos desafíos a las estructuras políticas tradicionales" (*Mujer* 221). Moreover, the modern woman represented a rejection of old-fashioned ideas of woman's place in society.

The principal concern guiding my analyses in the present chapter is the extent to which this figure, as a positive symbol of modernity, challenged entrenched conceptions of gender difference. One of the defining characteristics of modern womanhood was woman's irruption into the male-dominated public sphere, which represented a challenge to conventional notions of appropriate, feminine behavior. Indeed, the characteristic modern woman often performed traditionally masculine tasks and activities such as smoking, drinking, playing sports, or driving cars. However, does modernity—as represented by the modern female protagonists analyzed below—imply a negation or denial of an inherently "feminine" nature, as many anti-feminists and conservative commentators feared? Nelken, Espina, and Burgos, for example, each accepted the existence of a distinct, inborn feminine nature possessed by women (Johnson, "Feminist Thought" 48). Do their novellas support these notions, however? The texts analyzed below give to understand that men and women experience modernity differently. Likewise, they criticize conventional gender discourse that categorizes man and woman into separate gender categories. However, this does not necessarily entail a redefinition of the gender categories themselves.

The modern woman was a cultural ideal, a sign interpreted by different sectors of society for different purposes. As Ann Heilmann explains of the British "New Woman" (she uses "New Woman" to describe the "modern woman" to which I am referring), "The semantic instability of

the term 'New Woman' derives in part from the multiplicity of agents who had an ideological stake in constructing her.… [T]he New Woman constitutes a complex historical phenomenon which operated at both cultural (textual and visual) and socio-political levels" (2). As with most cultural or political ideals, however, the social reality of many women's lived experiences in Spain was more complicated than what was represented on the page. For a variety of political or religious reasons, not all women embraced the emergent lifestyle of modern womanhood or even the Second Republic's radical project in favor of women's rights.[28] However, on paper the modern woman represented a liberation from traditional, nineteenth-century constraints and a rupture with entrenched traditions and gender conventions. This is perhaps most clearly exemplified in the changes in fashion that occurred during the twenties. In some quarters the notion that new fashion trends, such as the bathing suits that women sported and the diminishing length of the skirts that revealed more of a woman's leg, was considered scandalous. In fact, the leaders of the Catholic Church in Spain condemned these trends in a pastoral letter of 1926.[29] Such an opposition to evolving fashion trends was predicated on anxieties concerning the general shift away from nineteenth-century conceptions of feminine modesty and virtue. The figure of the modern woman, therefore, represents a lifestyle unimpeded by gendered societal pressures. She is, in many ways, the self-actualized woman whom characters such as Luisa, Gabriela, and Concha strive to be but cannot because of the limitations placed on them because of their sex. She is also a figure who has much more freedom of movement than her predecessors. As I will show, whereas a character such as Barco's Gabriela cannot leave the house without male

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[28] Frances Lannon argues that the Second Republic "was strongly characterized by a determination to challenge and change many existing social relationships, including those based on gender" ("Gender and Change" 274).

[29] See Lannon et al., "Los cuerpos de mujeres y el cuerpo político católico" for a detailed analysis of this case.

supervision, a woman such as Nelken's Kate (*La aventura de Roma*, 1923) is free to travel abroad without supervision and without worry.

Similar to the protagonists analyzed in Chapter One, class is an important aspect to consider when analyzing the cultural construction of the modern woman. The lives of the modern woman of the twenties represents—at least on paper—a new, urban cosmopolitanism, one that also reflected the wealthy middle-class woman's increased role as modern consumer. Speaking of the American flapper, Martin Pumphrey has explained her role as modern consumer: "Young, with no future or past, existing in many media, angular and posed yet always in motion, she is an ironic realization of modernist principles. Inhabiting the eternal present, she lives only to *consume*" (186; emphasis in the original). The modern woman, therefore, was a figure who represented a lifestyle limited to urban cities and to economically well-off individuals. (The life of the rural woman did not change much before the civil war.) As Pérez Rojas explains, this cosmopolitanism is one "que refleja un espíritu mundano y hedonista, atento a la exteriorización y al gesto, un cosmopolitismo de gran hotel y transatlántico, de salón de té, de vagón de primera" (25). Thus, specifically female expressions of cosmopolitanism and consumerism not only manifested themselves in new fashion styles and cosmetics, but also signaled the modern woman's increasing association with the foreign and, in particular, with foreign metropolises such as Paris, London, and the New York.[30] We will see this association of the modern with the foreign principally in the novellas of Nelken and Burgos.

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[30] The specifically American influence on images of the modern is important. Pérez Rojas has commented, "Y a ese nuevo ritmo que nace de la Gran Guerra hay que agregarle el influjo americano que en estos años se hace presente y ya de manera omnímoda desde un principio" (32). He sees the American influence most notably in 1920s fashion, which is delivered to the public through the emergent art of illustrated magazines and cinematography (42).

Fashion was a highly discussed topic in *fin-de-siècle* Europe and, in particular, Spain. Ilya Parkins, for example, has analyzed the ways in which Charles Baudelaire, Georg Simmel, and Walter Benjamin "frequently turned to fashionable dress as a material embodiment of the spirit of modernity" (96). Labanyi has explained the relationship between fashion and modernity in the nineteenth-century Spanish realist novels, where fashion and in particularly female consumerism was inherently related to concerns about self-representation and the lack of inherent value in cultural signs: "Fashion is the key theme of Galdós's novels of contemporary Madrid because in the modern city one is what one represents—hence his insistence on 'apariencias'" ("Modernity as Representation" 240). As Juli Highfill has argued about the role of fashion in early twentieth-century Spanish modernist and avant-gardist circles,

> Fashion 'molds' and 'models'; it is at once normative and cutting-edge, ever defining and defying new limits.… As [the avant-gardists] saw it, to 'follow fashion' was not to submit to the dictates of commodity culture but rather to assume creative agency, to insert oneself into the ever-mobile present and to join with the creative forces of history. (151)

In short, fashion quickly become a symbol of the modern.[31]

The modern woman of the 1920s was, among other things, a fashion symbol, and her fashion speaks to changing attitudes towards female sexuality and female roles in society that challenge nineteenth-century constructions of femininity. As Mangini summarizes about the physical appearance of the typical modern, flapper-like woman, "Se reemplazó la moda

[31] There were many magazine and book illustrators of this period through whose work we can trace the evolution of the cultural image of the modern woman's fashion. Rafael Penagos best exemplifies this group. The illustrative magazine *Blanco y Negro* also attracted the most important illustrators of the time.

decimonónica por la moderna: trajes de líneas rectas que no acentuaban las curvas, faldas que eseñaban el tobillo … y el pelo corto, a lo *garçonne*. La corpulencia fue rechazada en favor de la delgadez" (75). Although concern about women's physical beauty was not new to the twentieth century, the 1910s and 1920s witnessed a boom of advertising that specifically targeted women, be they about fashion, hygiene, or other products. Ads specifically selling cosmetic products that would help women lose weight ("Para adelgazar seguramente y sin peligro"), depilate, or develop firmer breasts littered the pages of newspapers, magazines (especially *Blanco y Negro*), and even some of the short novels themselves. In addition to the growing fascination with fashion in modernist and avant-garde circles, Carmen de Burgos was particularly interested in *la moda*. She believed that it was much more an expression of general ways of life than about clothing (*Mujer moderna* 259). She argued that it was possible to tease out different sociohistorical ideologies based on the fashion trends of different epochs. In other words, she viewed fashion as a sign on which to read the changing attitudes toward women. For example, she believed that one of feminism's greatest triumphs was to provide women with the freedom to develop their own fashion styles (*Mujer moderna* 263) as a sign of their independence and liberation from gendered limitations.

In reality, as Pérez Rojas argues, the image of the modern woman "responde a un distindo [sic] canon de belleza *femenino*, creando otros prototipos femeninos que se convierten en modelos para las modernas" (22; emphasis added). In other words, despite the fear that the changing physical appearance of the modern woman, with her short skirts and shorter, bobbed hair, was a striking departure from conventional images of femininity, she also reflected new, emergent and specifically *feminine* expressions of modernity. On the cultural level, this stylized image of the modern woman signified changing attitudes toward the female body and feminine

sexuality. Lily Litvak has also noted the different descriptors used to describe the sexuality of the archetypical modern woman: "[C]uriosos epítetos que la definían conjuraban una imagen compuesta de nociones diversas y contradictorias: asexuada pero libidinosa, infantil pero precoz, independiente pero democrática, económica y socialmente superflua, un emblema de tiempos modernos y, a la vez, una reencarnación de Eva" (31). Sexual androgyny was a common descriptor of the so-called modern "Eve," which in many cases revealed deep-seated anxieties and fears about the further obfuscation of the supposed delineations of the two genders.

Opponents of the values that this new image of modern femininity represented, however, feared the masculinization or defeminization of woman. Three examples, each written by a prominent man, illustrate these anxieties. In 1915 Juan Pujol published an article in *Blanco y Negro* about the dangers that this new feminine figure represented:

> La civilización inglesa ha producido un tipo femenino delicioso y peligroso: el de la *flapper*, es decir el de las niñas-mujeres.… En España parecerían colegialas. Pero aquí se mezclan en las conversaciones de los hombres, van y vienen por todas partes, se dejan cortejar.… Son hijas de la burguesía, modesta en su origen y llena de ambición … Esas divinas historias románticas que todavía son posibles con las novias españolas de provincias … harían reír a los *flappers* si alguien tuviera la flaqueza de ofrecérselos como ejemplos.… El galán más apuesto, más audaz, será fríamente abandonado por ellas para seguir a quien las ofrezca, aunque sea por un instante, arrebatarlas en su automóvil.… Y las de ahora no han hecho más que perfeccionar su arte inocente y diabólico; conservan la gracia aparentemente ingenua, la espontánea coquetería, la habilidad precisa para que el … hombre enamorado se someta a sus caprichos.

Most notable is Pujol's association of the flapper with modernity. Throughout his brief article, there is an awareness that the London flapper represents something fundamentally new, particularly in terms of her not-very-feminine taste. Pujol also touches on the modern woman's presence in traditionally male-dominated public spaces, as she mixes so freely with men. Finally, and most alarmingly for Pujol although rather exaggerated, the flapper represents a liberal, albeit exaggerated, eroticism that dwarfs that of the most illustrious male seducers of history, Don Juan and Casanova. She is a frivolous seductress who plays with men to get what she wants.

Antonio de Hoyos y Vinent published "La señorita andrógina" in *La Esfera* (1920) in which he describes a conversation with his friend one afternoon about the type of women that they see passing the bar in Madrid. His companion, a provincial man, describes the women as "chicos feminados." In particular he says, "Todas parecen la misma: flacas, pintadas, oliendo a demonios, fumando, con unos sombreros que las tapan toda la cara y unos trajes que no son trajes." The mention of cosmetics and perfume are typical references to the consumerist fashion of the modern woman. Moreover, he calls one woman in particular "[b]onita, ambigua, insexuada, casi andrógina, con su atavío de colegial." This is the key of the article. Hoyos's interlocutor is not just describing the quintessential flapper, but there is an awareness that she represents something fundamentally new and, perhaps, not quite "natural." The friend continuously makes references to the differences between the modern women whom he is observing and the provincial (that is to say, more "naturally" Spanish) women who "son muy mujeres con formas."

What these examples reveal are general anxieties about emergent expressions of modern femininity that obfuscate the theoretically stable boundaries between man and woman. In 1918

Carlos Luis de Cuenca published in *Blanco y Negro* a poem, "Variaciones," in which he laments the androgyny and sexual ambiguity of the modern woman:

> Pues señor al recordar
> aquel refrán popular […]
> que nos ordena llamar
> al pan, pan, y al vino, vino […]
> llamando a los hombres hombres
> y a las mujeres mujeres,
> no se suele ver
> las antiguas diferencias entre varón y mujer,
> y es expuesto a mi entender,
> juzgar por las apariencias. […]
> Las pícaras modas son
> las que a mujer y a varón
> llevan con esta tendencia
> a punto de coincidencia,
> o más buen de intersección. (qtd. in Pérez Rojas 51)

Most striking about this poem is Cuenca's general preoccupation with the role that fashion plays in the supposed "intersection" of male and female figures. Thus, Pujol's, Hoyos's, and Cuenca's texts all point to the fact that general anxieties surrounding the modern woman stem from the association of modern femininity with the *artificial* rather than with the natural. Charnon-Deutsch has argued that "in nineteenth-century iconography, animals and plants are both associated with the feminine because both are part of the *natural* world of unreasoning

existence" (*Fictions* 13). In other words, woman's association with nature, uncorrupted by the chaos of modern life, reflected the conventional notion of a "natural" femininity. Felski has shown that the signifiers used to refer to femininity were changing in *fin-de-siècle* Europe, from the conventional (nature, flowers, etc.) to the modern (jewelry, artifice, consumerism, etc.). Therefore, "[modern] femininity loosened itself from its moorings in the natural body; … Through its very artificiality, femininity was to become the privileged marker of the instability and mobility of modern gender identity" (Felski, *Gender* 94-95). Thus, the modern woman's irruption into the male space of the urban city not only signaled the crossing of gender-specific spheres of activity but also the transgression of the concept of a supposedly natural femininity. By extension, as much a part of the iconography of modernity as the skyscraper was to the modern city, she represented an inherent threat to conventional understandings of the "natural" differences between men and women. If social hierarchies were legitimated on the grounds that woman was "naturally" subordinate to man, the modern woman represented a threat to entrenched gender hierarchies and social organization.

As writers such as Pujol and Hoyos have hinted at, one of the fundamental characteristics of the modern is the awareness of the present as distinct from the past. As Calinescu explains, this concept of time as linear and irreversible is essential to understanding modernity (13). Following Calinescu, Felski has described the ways in which this conception of time was used by early twentieth-century feminists:

> [T]he resonant associations of the modern and the new were to play a central part in the self-representation of the women's movement … The feminists of the period explicitly espoused what can be described as a quintessentially modern time awareness … For many women, such an experience of historicity …

> announced a dawning public intimation of the significance of women as political agents, as subjects of, rather than simply subjects to, history. (*Gender* 147)

As the texts analyzed below will show, if the conflicts dramatized in the novellas of Gimeno, Barco, and Pardo Bazán represent the text's engagement with the important debates about their present circumstances, then Nelken and Espina seem to create an almost utopic vision of society. If Barco's Gabriela represents a "typical" middle-class woman, then Nelken's and Espina's protagonists do not necessarily exists. They represent an ideal. Burgos, as we will see, presents a much less idealistic vision of the modern woman.

Margarita Nelken's texts embrace the figure of the modern woman not as representative of the degeneration of society but as a positive and powerful symbol of modernity. Interestingly, however, the novellas of this committed socialist and feminist are not preoccupied with the *condición social de la mujer en España* (this was the title of her social critique of early twentieth-century Spanish society). Rather, her female characters are often utopic embodiments of modern womanhood that did not exist off the page in 1920s Spain. In fact, women are not necessarily the protagonists of the texts. These stories are about male characters who get trapped in the narrative plots that they structure around their own lives but that do not exist beyond their perception. Thus, these lighthearted, often comical novellas, in which female characters are admittedly relegated to the sidelines, also serve as rather sharp criticisms of male chauvinism and patriarchal society.

In *La aventura de Roma* (1923), we encounter a radical type of female protagonist. The American Kate Findlay represents in many ways the ideal modern woman. The action of the novella is set in Rome and tells the story of the failed attempts by Andrés, a traditional *señorito* from Andalucía, to woo Kate. Physically, Kate is described as follows:

> Era alta, un poco masculina, sin pecho ni caderas casi, con su pelo pajizo cortado a media melena, su sombrero flexible y su traje de seda cruda de hechura completamente sastre. Pero tenía unos ojos dorados bastante hermosos, y, bajo la nariz, algo grande, una boca carnosa y sensual. El cuello, largo, y el escote con esa verdura roja que el sol pone en las carnes muy blancas y muy finas. (13)

This description of Kate, presented to us from Andrés's perspective, conforms perfectly to the ambiguous figure of the modern woman feared by many commentators. She is at once masculine and feminine, sexual without overtly enticing physical attributes. Despite Andrés's immediate interest in her looks, however, her most salient quality is her intellect. When Andrés, whom the narrator describes as "educado en la severa separación de sexos que alimenta toda la baja lujuria burguesa española" (27), meets Kate for the first time in a rooftop bar in Rome, he takes an immediate interest in her and obsesses over the idea of seducing her. As the narrator describes, "Y embelesose *in mente* con esta imagen: en un casino provinciano español, un joven gallardo (él) contando a un corro de pobres diablos atontados de envidia y admiración su *aventura de Roma*" (15). Thus, we see Andrés's guiding motives through the text are purely sexual, strongly rooted in—and scripted around—traditional notions of masculinity, courtship, and conquest in which women are to be the passive objects of male desire.

Andrés represents the "typical" Spanish upper-middle-class man. The narrator explains about his upbringing that

> [a] los diez y ocho años, Andrés era un muchacho *como todos*; … Se levantaba a la hora de almorzar; iba al casino; daba unas vueltas por el *Porvenir* para ver las chicas; … y acababa su día de palique en la reja de alguna novia entradita en carnes y no muy severa. Los domingos iba a misa, y, de vez en cuando se

> acostaba con una criadita zafia, pero frescota, o una *chiquilla* traída de Cádiz de tapujo a alguna casa amiga del callejón de Rosario. (19-20; emphasis in the original)

This passage about Andrés's idle life and casual sexual encounters emphasizes his behavior as ubiquitous among a certain class of economically well-off Spanish men. Where Spain was most changing in the 1920s was in the cities and large towns, not in the countryside. Therefore, Andrés represents a "typical" Spanish male unaffected by modernization. He is a *señorito*, privileged enough not to have to work in order to enjoy certain luxuries, but these privileges are also decidedly gendered. Andrés, as a man, has the freedom to stroll throughout the city streets in a way that would have been unthinkable for an unsupervised woman of various classes. Thus, the liberty with which Kate interacts in public without supervision is inherently radical. She represents a fundamentally new type of economically well-off woman that Andrés cannot comprehend.

Because Andrés represents—and views himself as—a conventional, donjuanesque form of masculinity, he also assumes that Kate will adhere to equally traditional conceptions of femininity. At first glance he believes that she will be an easy sexual conquest, but it is quickly made clear to readers just how ambiguous Kate's intentions or desires are to Andrés. She accepts Andrés's invitations to stroll throughout the city yet shows little sexual interest in him. What little we do discover about Kate comes only from what she reveals to Andrés and from his perceptions of her. For example, we find out early on that she is in Rome to study the monuments, but it is not revealed until the end that she is there on behalf of a fiancé who is writing a book on Roman architecture. After a more or less innocent kiss while touring the sites, Kate disappears without a trace, and in a letter left to Andrés the next day she writes, "Yo acepté

[su amistad] porque vi en usted a un camarada, a un camarada agradable… que me podía enseñar precisamente lo que yo vine aquí a aprender" (59). Kate therefore does not surrender to Andrés's plan. She is a woman who remains, to the end, very much in control of her sexual desires.

Moreover, what Kate's final letter suggests is the radical idea that men and women ought to be able to have a relationship based exclusively on companionship ("camaraderie") unburdened by strictly gendered conceptions of sexual roles. In this text, the modern woman is defined by her independence and constant rejection of traditional feminine stereotypes. On the one hand, Kate is not the domestic angel. She is free to travel the world and to associate with men in public as freely as Andrés can, something rather unthinkable according to conventional standards. In doing so she subverts the conventional understanding of the public space as an exclusively masculine arena. She is an intellectual, defined not by her aptitude for maternity and domesticity, nor by her sexual promiscuousness, but by her mind. If part of the nineteenth-century paradigm of gender difference was based on the notion that women feel while men think, then Kate—as an extension of the modern woman in general—shows Andrés—who represents traditional notions of masculinity—the falsity of this deep-seated gendered dichotomy. On the other hand, she does not fit the opposite role of licentious whore. From the beginning, she not only understands the game that Andrés in playing but also consciously frustrates any expectations, either by Andrés or by the reader, of seduction or infidelity. She is not ignorant of Andrés's motives and refuses to perform the roles that he expects her to play. Her appeal to camaraderie at the end of the novella, therefore, expands the range of possible relationships between unrelated men and women to include one based solely on companionship. Of course, Andrés fails to live up to the new "norm" that Kate is establishing. Thus, the text questions why Andrés is incapable of having friendships with women that are unhindered by sexual impulses or

expectations. Because Andrés is presented as a "typical" Spanish male "educado en la severa separación de sexos," the text suggests that social conventions have dictated ("taught him") the terms of relationships between the sexes as purely sexual.

Despite the importance of Kate as an ideal model of modern womanhood, it is significant that Nelken should place Andrés's perspective at the center of the text rather than Kate's. In fact, everything about Kate is filtered—if not distorted—through Andrés's perspective, which has been socially constructed by his upbringing. The text is more about the perception and reception of Kate as an example of the modern woman than about the representation of her individual subjectivity. Thus, the test invites us to read his perplexity, frustration, and ultimate anger towards Kate's modernity as a widespread inability to understand the modern woman as an untraditional, cultured, and self-sufficient individual.

Una historia de adulterio (1924) presents a similar theme, although the text's gendered critique is much subtler than in *Aventura*. The protagonist Pepe Rubio is, like Andrés, a Spaniard living abroad in Italy (Milan). The action of the novella opens in the Piazza del Duomo with Pepe patiently waiting for his friends, Gabriel Sotero, Diego Ramírez, and Diego's wife Lolita, to arrive to dinner. When he realizes his guests will not be arriving, he immediately goes to Sotero's hotel, where he finds no one home. He then goes to Diego and Lolita's hotel where Lolita's servants inform him that Sotero arrived suddenly, broke into Lolita's writing desk, and took away with him a small bundle of papers. This sends Pepe spiraling, frantically traveling throughout Milan to understand what happened to his friends. He fears the worst, that Lolita and Sotero have run away together. When Pepe finally discovers the truth, it turns out that no such adultery existed. Diego, Lolita, and Sotero apparently had bought a lottery ticket the previous year, and they have only just found out that theirs was the winning ticket. Sotero retrieved the

ticket from Lolita's desk so frantically because they had to claim it in Paris by the following day. Therefore, the whole "adultery tale" was imagined by Pepe. The novella ends, comically, with Pepe having a nervous breakdown.

Lolita is not the protagonist, and she is a much more peripheral character than Kate. Despite Lolita forming a central part of the story imagined by Pepe, Lolita never physically appears in the novella. What little we know about her has to be pieced together with information given by the other characters. As with Kate and Andrés in *Aventura*, the information about Lolita's life is filtered through Pepe's perspective. All we know is that Lolita was once a popular singer and has since married Diego. Whatever stigma Pardo Bazán's Concha experiences as a stage performer does not seem to be a factor in Lolita's and Diego's relationship. Diego, it seems likely, does not disapprove of his wife's behavior, although this is impossible to conclude definitively because he does not express his own feelings toward Lolita's behavior. Interestingly, it is Pepe who reveals his disapproval of her "flirtatious" attitude as a married woman: "Sí, al principio le chocaba—lo recordaba muy bien—la libertad de vida de Lolita, su desenfado, y esa camaradería con los amigos, residuo de su paso por las tablas, pero asaz extraño en una mujer casada" (*13*). Thus, Lolita represents a form of modern womanhood not constrained by conventional gender discourse embodied by Pepe. Similar to Kate, Lolita is married, but she is not confined within the spatial limits of the home nor reduced to the *ángel del hogar*. She appears to have friendships with men not defined around sexual activity. Unlike a character such as Barco's Gabriela who cannot leave the house without being accompanied by her husband's brothers (in place of Don Sebastián himself), she is free to have friendships not impeded by marital or domestic limitations. Similar to *Aventura*, *Historia* is raising an implicit question about whether men and women can interact based solely on companionship. Moreover, the text

places the blame on Pepe as a conventionally minded Spanish male for misunderstanding her companionships as "flirtatious." Thus, the text suggests, radically, that modernity entails some form of change in the traditional Spanish male psyche in order for this ideal form of companionship to exist.

This disconnect between the male protagonist's assumptions and reality is precisely the target of the text's criticism. Sonia Thon has argued that theme of the text is "la pérdida de la oportunidad de obtener aquello que más se anhela. El complejo de inferioridad de un individuo de limitados recursos económicos lo llena de resentimientos y recelos hacia aquellos que tienen más posibilidades materiales" (37). However, Thon's interpretation rests on the assumption that the text primarily represents a psychological exploration of Pepe's obsessions about his own *economic* position *vis-à-vis* that of his friends (although she is correct to identify his "inferiority complex"). When read through the lens of gender criticism, however, Pepe's obsessions are entirely about Lolita, despite her total absence from the foreground of the novella's action. The hypocrite is Pepe, not Lolita, for assuming that her liberties necessarily lead her to adultery. Pepe's story is not only false, but his panic is predicated on false and ultimately gendered (pre)conceptions of Lolita and of feminine behavior. In the imagined "historia de adulterio," Pepe plays the role of the rational male detective (the text's language suggests a comparison with Sherlock Holmes). Lolita, on the other hand, "plays" or, more accurately, is given, the role of the weak-willed woman dominated by her feminine passions who surrenders to the will of her Don Juan (Gabriel).

Similar to *Aventura*, this is not a story about Lolita's life nor about exploring the social condition of women. Rather, the text is about the clash of two worlds: the one inhabited by the friends—the reality of the lottery ticket—and the one imagined by Pepe based on gendered

stereotypes about mysterious letters and secret, sexual affairs between men and women. Put another way, the text is an exploration and exposé of a typical male psyche molded by traditional society.

In fact, this clash between the reality inhabited by the female characters and the tales invented by men is a theme that many of Nelken's novellas share. *El viaje a París* (1925), for example, is about the frustrated "adventures" of Don Faustino, a self-described Don Juan who, now middle-aged, travels to Paris in order to fulfill his "donjuanescas esperanzas" (*6*). While on the train, he catches the eye of an attractive woman. When the rather ugly and brutish service woman of the train suggests that for an extra fee he might receive a nighttime visit by a special "*gentille petite femme*" (*13*), he immediately assumes it will be the attractive woman. He agrees and has sex with the prostitute in the dark. The next morning, he discovers that it had been the service woman with whom he had spent the night.

In general terms, Nelken's short novels are ultimately about male attempts to force women into socially constructed gendered roles and about the impossibility of women to fit these roles. In fact, Kate and Lolita represent utopic versions of the modern woman that did not necessarily exist in a Spain governed by traditional men. If what differentiated the modern woman of the 1920s from earlier feminist iterations of the New Woman was her entrance into the male-dominated public sphere, it is significant that the plots of many of these novellas take place almost exclusively outdoors, and more importantly *not* in Spain. The setting of *Aventura* in Rome, for example, and Kate's American nationality emphasize that the ideals that a character such as she represents do not necessarily exist beyond the textual world of the novella. Thus, the texts can be read as less about the actions of women such as Kate and Lolita than about the ways

in which a conventionally minded society fails to accept the unconventionality of the modern woman.

Furthermore, the stories that both Andrés and Pepe construct are ultimately gendered in that they rely heavily on gendered assumptions of acceptable feminine behavior and of conventional literary plot structures about male seducers and weak-willed women who fall prey to the Don Juan figure. The novellas' titles—"La aventura de Roma," "Una historia de adulterio," "El viaje a París,"—call our attention directly to the men's *fantasies* rather than to the *reality* experienced by the women. That is, they alert us to what Bieder has called the "non-events" of the story ("Canon" 319), rather than to what really happens. As Bieder explains, "Nelken's male characters thus run straight into their own textuality; they find themselves outmaneuvered in a plot they do not control" ("Canon" 319). To put it slightly differently, Nelken's male characters find themselves victims of a plot that they *believe* they control (because they are taught to believe this) but do not. The men of Nelken's texts, who are quick to liken themselves to great (male) literary archetypes such as Don Juan or, in Pepe's case, Sherlock Holmes, are instead Quixote figures who fall victim to their own fantasies. Johnson has explained the ways in which early twentieth-century Spanish male modernists—Unamuno, Ortega y Gasset, Azorín, and Maeztu in particular—appropriated the figure of Don Quixote to represent the male individual alienated from modern society:

> Many of the protagonists of the male-authored Spanish modernist novels are hopeless idealists of the quixotic type, tilting against the windmills of crass reality. Although their approach to life usually yields unfortunate results, like Quixote, the characters are vindicated in their idealism within a cruel,

> materialistic world (a materialism often perpetuated by women and marriage). (*Gender* 71)

Nelken's appropriation of the Quixote myth, however, relies on a more classical interpretation of the Quixote as a comical figure who, unlike the modern idealist, fundamentally misunderstands the world around him because the lens through which he (mis)interprets reality, that is to say the "scripts" or narrative structures of the chivalric romances, are insufficient. In her texts, her "Quixotes" are equally ill-equipped with fundamentally flawed, gendered "scripts" through which they interpret the actions of their lives. Quixote's repeated failures, moreover, are humorous in the same way Pepe's and Faustino's reactions to the truth of their own situations are meant to provoke laughter in the reader, thus representing their inability to comprehend modern society.

Similar to the way in which *Don Quixote* serves as a criticism of the outdated literary form of the chivalric romance, Nelken's texts self-consciously undermine common literary "scripts" such as the adultery plot, the romance, and the Don Juan myth. Via their self-awareness and subversion of these conventions, Nelken's texts distance themselves from the negative valuations of so-called "feminine" forms of literature of the nineteenth century, such as the domestic novel and the sentimental romance, that relied on these plot structures.

That the characters who weave these narrative webs are men can also be read as a criticism of the dominance of the male writer in early twentieth-century Spain. Whereas the male characters fall victim to their own misreading of events, women are associated, at least implicitly, with truth and reality. Similar to the way in which the ending of Barco's *Fémina* bestows upon Gabriela the position of truth-bearer, Nelken's *Aventura* ends with Kate's letter to Andrés. More specifically, it ends with her own signature. Thus, the first-person female

perspective might not be central to the narrative of Nelken's texts, but this is not to say that the texts do not privilege the female characters' truth over the gendered narrative created by the males. This directly contradicts the masculine qualities of contemporary modernism, which celebrated the supremacy of the male artist over the work of art. Thus, Nelken's texts show the false dichotomy of literary discourse that at the time privileged the masculine (the modern, the experimental, the sophisticated) over the feminine (the conventional, the popular). *Aventura*, *Historia*, and *Viaje* might not be aesthetically experimental, but their engagement with the immediate question of male chauvinism in a patriarchal society, and by extension a woman's relationship within this society, is a fundamentally modern stance.

Concha Espina's (1869-1955) *oeuvre* as a whole does not fit easily into a chapter on the modern woman given her conservative ideology (she would support the Falange in the 1930s and Franco's dictatorship following the war).[32] Hardly any of her female protagonists represent the modern woman in the same way that Nelken's do. My inclusion of Espina in this chapter further highlights the problematic nature of attempting to categorize early twentieth-century Spanish women's writing into neat, ideologically-based categories. Despite Elizabeth Rojas Auda's interpretation that Espina represented "una mujer reivindicadora en una época de profundos cambios sociales, políticos y económicos … una mujer que tiene visión de futuro, la visión moderna del progreso" (9-10), the consensus among scholars has been to recognize Espina's conservative ideology. Judith Kirkpatrick has called Espina "a conservative contemporary of the Generation of '98" ("From Male Text to Female Community" 262). She also explains that

[32] There is some disagreement among scholars about the year of Espina's birth. Mangini, for example, lists it as 1869 (65), while Catherine Davies lists it as 1877 (109).

"Espina, a respected albeit controversial novelist, seldom took a clear stand on women's issues …, although she often vacillated in her political affiliations" (*Redefining* 14).

However, women are undeniably the central focus of her novels and short narrative (she published twelve short novels between 1910 and 1936). Early twentieth-century critics and scholars noticed Espina's preoccupation with women and often interpreted her female characters as representations of the author's own psyche. Charles Wesley Smith, for example, wrote in 1933 that the author "seems to employ the emotions and actions of these [female] figures as a medium for the expression of her own fundamental theories of life and, as a central theme, this feminine element forms the philosophical, moral, and physical core of her literary productions" (v). This is certainly true of Espina's novella *Tierra firme* (1929), in which the tribulations that the female protagonist experiences while living in Chile mirror the author's own marital difficulties.[33] As another contemporary critic put it in 1939, "[L]a obra de Concha Espina es esencialmente femenina, especialmente en sus novelas, en las cuales la figura central, el eje alrededor del cual gira toda la acción, es casi siempre una mujer, y una mujer que no ha logrado conseguir la felicidad en este valle de lágrimas" (Cano 54). Of Espina herself, J. Kirkpatrick argues that "[s]urvival as a female author and as an individual is the most important underlying aspect of Concha Espina's life and work" (*Redefining* 105), and both Cano's and Kirkpatrick's assessments are certainly true of many of Espina's female protagonists who must persevere in the face of adversity. However, these generalizations fail to accurately describe the female protagonist of Espina's *Aurora de España* (1927). Despite the complicated relationship Espina had with contemporary feminism, *Aurora* is a rather radical meditation on the status of the

[33] See Lavergne, *Vida y obra de Concha Espina* (1986) for the most detailed biography of the author.

modern woman in Spain and, similar to Nelken's novellas, explores the ways in which Spanish society is incapable of accepting the modernity of her character.

The aptly named, eponymous protagonist of *Aurora de España* is, in fact, unique among Espina's female characters. But Aurora is not *the* characteristic woman of Espina's texts. She is the modern woman *par excellence* who represents a fundamentally new type of woman in Spanish society. She does indeed encounter adversity in a patriarchal society, but she does so precisely because she does not conform to conventional models of womanhood. Moreover, there are some striking differences between Aurora and a modern woman like Nelken's Kate that will illuminate the different ways in which these novelists engaged with questions of gender and modernity.

The novella tells the story of Aurora de España who upon the death of her father lives with her paternal grandfather, a sailor who takes Aurora with him on his world travels. Aurora has arrived in Madrid to receive a doctorate in Law in order to help disenfranchised women. While in Madrid, she lives with her traditionally minded mother, step-father, and half-sister. She rejects two potential suitors and, after an argument with her mother, abandons her family's home in a defiant symbol of rebellion against the conventional order that her family members represent.

Espina expanded *Aurora* into a full-length novel, which was published in 1929 under the title *La virgen prudente*. As we will see in the next chapter with Sofía Casanova's *El doctor Wolski* (1920), teasing out the differences between the full-length novel and the abridged novella reveals different characterizations of the female protagonists. *Aurora*, for example, presents a much more idealistic image of Aurora as a symbol of the modern woman than *Virgen*. If, as J. Kirkpatrick has correctly argued, *La virgen prudente* is "the closest to a 'manifesto' of the

possibilities for a 'modern' Spanish woman to be written in the first half of the twentieth century" (*Redefining* 104), then *Aurora* in fact provides a much less conflicted representation of its protagonist. For example, in *Virgen* Aurora ends up seduced by one of her male suitors, Guillermo, and gets pregnant. This plot in *Virgen* is absent in *Aurora*, painting the picture of a less-conflicted woman who does not surrender to carnal temptation. Her only conflict in the novella is with her mother and the internalized patriarchal ideology that she represents. In other words, Aurora of *Aurora* is in many ways perfect, free from the temptation of sin.

Aurora is a perfect example of the modern woman. She is, similar to Nelken's Kate, an intellectual, having studied Law "con el deseo codicioso de inclinarlas [las leyes] a los más necesitados: a las mujeres sin duda" (18). Despite the narrator's pejorative use of the adjective *codicioso* and the verb *inclinar*, it is clear that Aurora is dedicated to the pursuit of social justice for disenfranchised women. Aurora's aims are described in more detail later: "Y la viajera [Aurora] … se enorgullece de su tierra castellana, pensando, con fina ambición, en lo mucho que se puede hacer con tanto dinero y tanta luz hasta conseguir que ningún pobre se muera de hambre y ningún niño de abandono" (57). Aurora's professional goals are fleshed out in more detail in *Virgen*—for example, she explicitly advocates for legal parity among the sexes and supports universal women's suffrage—but in *Aurora* it is simply mentioned that her goals are radical. In fact, the text draws a sharp contrast between Aurora and the other female university students in Valladolid, where she completed her university education. Although all of these women share the same academic passions, their professional goals are not as lofty as Aurora's: "La bondadosa [compañera de Aurora] juzgó muy altivos semejantes deseos, asegurando, con mucho aplomo, que 'estaban fuera de la realidad'. Ella sólo pretendía convertir sus estudios en una honrada profesión, con decentes honorarios, sin arbitrariedades ni exotismos" (37). Thus,

Aurora's aims—her desire to become a professional woman and a political reformer—are highlighted as rather exceptional, especially when compared to other university women, whose studies by conventional standards were radical in their own right.

Education is a key component to the formation of her current identity. After the death of her father, she is unofficially adopted by her paternal grandfather, Don Juan, "hombre todavía sazonado y bien erguido, tan aventurero y errabundo, que para justificar sus andanzas se había hecho marino mercante y apenas descansaba en las orillas" (16). He takes Aurora, three years old at the time of her father's death, on his voyages and exerts a strong influence over her education. In addition to her formal schooling—"[aprobó] los cursos del Bachillerato en distintos puertos de su patria" (18)—her travels with her grandfather have awakened in her a more acute awareness of other peoples: "Quería don Juan que la muchacha se hiciese una íntima religión de conocimientos y atenciones" (36). As a result, when Aurora travels she is more interested in learning about and from other peoples: "Él [el abuelo] la hizo conocer idiomas y países, libros y gentes que le multiplicaron la personalidad y le dieron una conciencia distinta en cada diverso matiz" (19).

The text, however, makes clear that Aurora's grandfather is responsible for molding Aurora into the woman she has become. The above passages preface descriptions of Aurora's education with transitive verbs ("Él la hizo conocer…") or other verbs of influence or desire ("Quería don Juan …") that assign responsibility to Don Juan. Don Juan's responsibility is made even more explicit in the following passage: "Pero de pronto [don Juan] necesitaba recoger un legado de su hijo, lo que sagradamente creyó suyo: la niña. Debía modelar en aquella carne virgen el espíritu silvestre; quería encender con llama gloriosa la divina cera de Dios" (17). The use of the verb *modelar* calls to mind similar Pygmalion imagery used by Pardo Bazán in her *La*

mujer española. Yet whereas Pardo Bazán's use of the verb *modelar* represents a criticism of the construction of woman as inherently inferior to man, Espina does not condemn her Galatea as a slave to Pygmalion's influence and desire. In many respects, Don Juan civilizes the young child, which the text categorizes as fundamentally beneficial to her. By doing so, Espina's text reveals that Aurora's identity is influenced by social forces beyond her control. Society—social discourse around gender, in particular—often attempts to mold women into submissive wives (as we have seen in Pardo Bazán and Barco), but Espina's *Aurora* reveals that influence by more liberally minded individuals can benefit women.

The fact that Aurora, who symbolizes a fundamentally new type of woman, spends much of her childhood traveling is significant. It suggests, similar to the ways in which Nelken's and Burgos's novellas do, that the conservatism of Spanish society is antithetical to the type of woman Aurora becomes. The narrator describes Aurora as "una mujer descentrada en el mundo perezoso de las mujeres" (21), but it is precisely because she is modern that she does not conform to societal discourse around femininity. As Rojas Auda summarizes, "En la figura de Aurora tenemos a Concha Espina creando un nuevo tipo de mujer, la mujer autoconsciente. Es la inversión del rol de la mujer del ángel del hogar, de la mujer pasiva a la mujer activa quien toma sus propias decisiones" (69). In other words, she is "descentrada" in the sense that her modernity fundamentally contradicts standard feminine models constructed in conventional discourse. The differences between Aurora's education and the limited learning received by her half-sister Cándida's from their ironically named mother Doña Purificación proves this point. I will return to the differences between the two sisters, but Cándida's father, Severo Moraleja, also explicitly blames his wife for their daughter not turning out as cultured or intelligent as Aurora (60). As I will explain below, the text criticizes Severo's superficial moralizing in favor of Aurora's

lifestyle, but the differences between the two girls suggest that Aurora most likely would have received the same limited education as Cándida had Don Juan not taken her under his care.

Moreover, there is an additional way in which to interpret Aurora's radical education. Aurora, by the conventional standards of the time, receives an education that many Spanish men would not have received. And yet, her education is gendered in that the opportunities to travel provided by her grandfather are coded as masculine and therefore reserved exclusively for men. Don Juan's desires to travel are described as follows: "Decíase que la mala suerte de una viudez pesarosa le había desterrado así, y que sus viajes eran una fuga más que una diversión" (17). That Don Juan can flee from his troubles by traveling is an inherently gendered concept. Women, such as Gabriela in Barco's *Fémina*, cannot shirk personal responsibilities in this way because social discourse privileges their self-sacrifice as a virtue. In *Fémina* Gabriela's only desire is to travel, but she cannot because the cultural discourses around her gender and social class dictate that she cannot leave the gender-specific delineations of the home. Thus, Aurora, similar to Nelken's Kate, represents a self-actualized woman who has the radical freedom to travel the world on their own. Thus, the text not only criticizes Spanish society for limiting the social possibilities for women, but it also suggests that women can only achieve this by earning the same rights and opportunities as men.

The effects of Aurora's modernity on conventional Spanish society are the focus of the novella. The expressions used to describe her alone signal that Aurora represents a fundamentally "new" type of woman. In one particularly explicit passage, she is described as a "criatura nueva, la mujer encarnada en el fondo de los milenios, renacida hoy por el llanto de los siglos" (19). Moreover, when she meets her two male suitors who will compete (and fail in the novella) for her affection, they notice "el recio aroma de su feminidad, la expresión vigilante y

apasionada, el sabor nuevo de la criatura conseguida por el angustioso parto de muchas generaciones, al través de una larga esclavitud" (25). Thus, despite the tenuous relationship Espina herself had with the feminist movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the text, specifically via its use of the oft-used noun *esclavitud* to describe women's subjugation in Spanish society, establishes a clear break between Aurora's modern femininity and the subordinate status that generations of women had experienced.[34]

This new, "reincarnate" woman is fundamentally different from traditional forms of femininity represented by her mother Doña Purificación and her half-sister Cándida. Doña Purificación describes herself as "una mujer de orden y de hogar, educada a la antigua española, con mucho recato y precaución, y mi estricto deber está cerca de mi hija" (44). Cándida, likewise, is a more traditional woman who, unlike Aurora, desires to marry one of the two men. Her marital priorities are revealed when she prefers Jaime, the surgeon, "porque le supone mejor porvenir" (29). Cándida, in other words, prefers the surgeon because he will provide her with a stable and economically advantageous future. The difference between Aurora and Cándida, moreover, is that whereas Aurora is self-sufficient and wants to secure her own financial security, Cándida, just as conventional discourse would dictate, desires to achieve this security via marriage.

Despite her characterization as a modern woman, Aurora does not represent a masculinized or defeminized woman. Unlike Nelken's Kate, who is described physically as a rather androgynous women, Aurora is described as specifically feminine. Therefore, Aurora's physical appearance subverts the negative valuations of the so-called masculine modern woman.

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[34] For information about Espina's views on feminism see specifically chapter four of Lavergne, *Vida y obra* (1986), pp. 263-288.

At one moment, the narrator explains that "[n]o ha vuelto Aurora de los mares híbrida y desnaturalizada, como una sirena" (36). On the surface, the narrator is referring specifically to the fact that Aurora was not corrupted by her travels. She has adapted very easily to life in Spain when she returned to complete her university studies. However, it is possible to interpret the language of this passage, specifically the use of the words *híbrida*, *desnaturalizada*, and *sirena* to refer specifically to Aurora's uncorrupted femininity. If one of the most common anti-feminist positions of early twentieth-century discourse was the fear about the de-feminization of women, then this passage emphasizes that modern forms of womanhood—as represented by Aurora—are not inherently antithetical to femininity. The simile, *como una sirena*, also calls to mind the pejorative characterization of the modern women, at least implicitly, as a sexual temptress in Pujol's article in *Blanco y Negro*. Thus, the text demystifies the figure of the modern woman as an androgynous figure by removing the negative valuations that it assumed. In other words, although Aurora's education suggests that modern ways of being for women cannot be associated with traditional Spanish society, the text does suggest that to be modern does not require sacrificing of specifically feminine characteristics.

The text further emphasizes this via Aurora's religious faith. For example, unhappy about her current circumstances in Madrid—her mother and sister are actively trying to marry her off to one of two potential suitors in whom she is not interested—she prays, in a rather unique show of piety among the protagonists of the female-authored short novels: "Aurora pide ayuda y valentía al Señor, vuelca su alma en Él, y luego se sienta a descansar como si esperase recibir de un modo tangible las gracias que ha demandado" (54). More important than these actions, however, is her faith, which is described as follows: "Aurora es cristiana de una manera transparente. Su sentimiento religioso se acentúa con los rasgos universales de ese catolicismo

que *todavía* no ha logrado hacerse español" (21). Aurora's Christianity is spiritual without the type of rigid dogmatism for which the Catholic Church in Spain had been criticized in the early twentieth century. In other words, Aurora represents a pure and sincere form of Christianity motivated by altruism and compassion. She is described as follows:

> La mujer que adora esta quietud de los templos solitarios, esta hora de confidencia espiritual que permite a las criaturas, dentro de sus limitaciones, entregarse a Dios, se arrodilla y acude a sus rezos improvisados, esas íntimas plegarias que nadie nos enseña y que brotan de la súbita ascensión del Sentimiento con un ritmo entrañable de lágrima y fervorín. (53-54)

Her religiosity is not necessary anti-Catholic, for the narrator says explicitly that she is Catholic. However, this passage reveals a sincerity of devotion and an individuality not expressed via specifically Catholic means, that is to say that she does not blindly recite official prayers or perform rituals.

Within this context of her religious faith Aurora is not only the perfect example of the modern woman, but also a modern example of the perfect woman. This suggests a specific association with the perfection that the Virgin Mary is afforded in Catholic theology. According to Catholic doctrine, Mary is the Second Eve, the woman through whom God's salvation enters into the world, which mirrors the way in which sin enters the world through Eve's disobedience in Eden.[35] In the discourse of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the new woman was often described as the "new" or "modern" Eve. Aurora as a "modern Eve," however, retains the perfection and purity of the Virgin, the ultimate model of feminine perfection. The narrator

[35] For a more detailed analysis of the evolution of the representation of Mary as the Second Eve in Catholic Mariology, see, in particular, chapter four of Warner's *Alone of All Her Sex* (1976), pp. 50-67.

explains that "[n]o es una santa, Aurora, ni mucho menos" (21), and although the narrator is referring specifically to the fact that Aurora only seems a saint when compared to the "mundo perezoso de mujeres," Aurora's behavior and lack of internal conflict do indeed point to her as a *morally* pure character. Because the novella, as precursor to the expanded novel, lacks the conflicts that Aurora experiences in *Virgen*, and more specifically because Aurora does not have sex with Guillermo, the novella presents her as a *sexually* pure woman, still virginal and free from concupiscence. The text is explicit: "Con la misma firme simplicidad [Aurora] resistió el asedio rijoso de los hombres" (39). This freedom from the temptation to sin forms the fundamental basis of the Catholic doctrine of the Immaculate Conception by which, to borrow Marina Warner's words, "the Virgin Mary is set apart from the human race because she is not stained by the Fall" (253). In short, the Aurora of *Aurora de España* is represented as a perfect woman, not tainted by human sin in the same way that the Virgin is free from sin in Catholic theology.

Therefore, Espina's version of the modern woman challenges the conventional stereotype of the modern as inherently secular. (As I will show in the next chapter, Blanca de los Ríos in her *Los diablos azules* (1910) directly associates the modern not only with the secular but also with decidedly anti-religious attitudes.) Thus, the modern woman in *Aurora* represents a synthesis of tradition and modernity. To be modern means, by definition, to break in some way with the existing gendered order. Aurora is a new type of woman who, similar to Nelken's modern women, confounds conventionally minded individuals (mostly men, but also women). Moreover, she synthesizes the modern and the religious, the masculine and the feminine.

Moreover, she does not conform to the negative stereotype of the sexually liberated woman as corrupted or perverted. Doña Purificación most explicitly denounces "con solapadas

acusaciones a las mujeres 'libres,' a las atrevidas que aprenden lo que no les importa; a las que viven lejos de sus madres, sabe Dios cómo" (44). What Doña Purificación laments on the surface is the freedom with which modern women live their lives, but her language reveals a much more deep-seated internalization of conventional discourse around feminine domesticity. She disapproves precisely because proper women should remain at home. In addition, she disapproves of Aurora's lifestyle because of the negative sexual connotations that surround the image of the emancipated and self-sufficient woman. To her, her daughter Cándida is also imperfect: "con los ojos esquivos y la sonrisa floja, alude, por su parte, a las coquetas robadoras de novios, pervertidas por las 'malas lecturas,' inútiles para los menesteres caseros, incapaces de hacer la felicidad de un hombre" (44). The "bad readings" that "pervert" otherwise domestic angels could refer most directly to erotic literature that had increased in availability and popularity during the first decades of the twentieth century, but, given Doña Purificación's conservative outlook, these readings could refer to any subject not directly "appropriate" for a domestic woman.

Aurora also does not conform to the stereotypes that the male characters have about her. When she first meets Guillermo and Jaime, they arrive "llenos de curiosidades, prevenidos por cuanto de ella sabían estridente y notorio, y nunca la imaginaron revestida de una gracia luminosa y fácil" (25). That they arrive believing that she will lack traditional feminine grace and beauty is indicative of their inability to think past the misogynistic stereotypes that surround the figure of the modern woman. In more explicit terms the narrator explains, "Oyeron criticar a la amazona y a la marinera, a la estudianta exigente y rotunda en sus presunciones varoniles" (25). Thus, the two men have internalized the stereotype of the modern woman as a fundamentally masculine anomaly of nature. That they are shocked at her "recio aroma de feminidad" further

highlights their—and society's—inability to comprehend her. Her two suitors are conventional men who are seeking wives: "A estos dos hombres … unidos por una pareja situación económica y social, les ha parecido, en ocasiones, que la mujer, si no como amante y compañera, puede servirles de medio como hacendada esposa" (28). Therefore, on the surface, Aurora does not conform to their basic assumptions about domestic femininity.

Moreover, the text suggests, more strikingly, that Aurora cannot "fit" in this society because she represents a pure authenticity that each character lacks. Throughout the novella, Aurora is repeatedly described as authentic, pure, or sincere. For example, the narrator explains that "la *auténtica* novedad de Aurora databa del corazón aristocrático … reflejo de una moralidad *pura*" (21; emphasis mine). There is also a simplicity to her character. If part of the social anxieties surrounding the figure of the modern woman was her artificiality—that is to say her disassociation from supposedly "natural" expressions of femininity—then the simplicity of her dress and her motives further undermine the negative valuations of the modern woman. Unlike the ironically named Cándida, whose use of make-up and various flirtations are, as Severo puts it "una parodia de la modernidad" (60), Aurora represents an authentic, self-actualized woman both uncorrupted by the excesses of modern life and who serves as a pure, feminine representative of the modern. Her fashion, for example, is modern without being excessive:

> Llevaba la falda corta sólo como una consecuencia del paso largo, sin tacones. Su elegancia, inconfundible, se reducía a un sombrero y un abrigo que no eran prendas de lujo. Nada de maquillaje. El tizón de los ojos, natural, … los labios, de fuerte dibujo, se encendían con el color propio de la sangre, en una tez sobredorada por el viento y la luz. (25-26)

Her physical attributes are likewise pure and "natural," which contrasts with Cándida's use of make-up and otherwise performative flirtations. As Smith explained about Cándida in 1933:

> The sole object of this girl's life is the acquisition of a suitable husband. For this purpose, she becomes a parody of modernity and a false image of virtue, the thin veneer of which barely serves to hide a fundamental cowardice and fear. Cándida is an expert in all the artifices of flirtation: a look, a smile, a fall, the dropping of her handkerchief or fan. (53)

Aurora, on the other hand, remains modest, despite her education and beauty. She is uncorrupted by her travels nor by the "vulgar" lower classes (p. 39).

The text constructs this sense of "aristocratic" superiority around the cultured Aurora via its sharp contrasts with the false appearances of characters such as Cándida, Severo, and her two suitors. Guillermo and Jaime are described as having "cierta afectación" (26) that the narrator describes as the result of "el contagio pueril de términos y manera que padecen como una enfermedad adquirida entre libros superiores y gente cursi" (26-27). Thus, the text criticizes both the artificial superiority of the "libros superiores" and the artificiality of the men. This criticism is inherently gendered, moreover. The two suitors learn this false behavior from societal norms around masculinity and also from literary models. They are described as "dos hombres de fuste, un poco dañados por el *intelectualismo* vulgar, un poco influidos por el ambiente del Club y la moda ensayista de una disección barata, autopsia de ideales, cerebros y designios, en los folletones de cualquier periódico" (26). In fact, all three male characters, Severo, Guillermo, and Jaime, can only attempt to comprehend Aurora, that is to say interpret her, through the lens of the modern literature of Shaw and Ibsen. Guillermo and Jaime do not necessarily believe themselves to be Don Juans, but it is clear from their attitude that they understand traditional "scripts" that

they perform in order to "conquer" the desired woman. As the narrator reveals, "Para nuestros amigos la mujer es todavía un problema universal, aunque ellos han salido de las fronteras patricias, con el viajecito inevitable a París … Han acrecido, en suma, la fantasía y las posibilidades de comprensión; pero no han trascendido el secreto de la mujer nueva, raro brote que apenas estalla en el polvo terrenal" (28). The reference to a trip to Paris calls to mind the same type of donjuanesque trip taken by Don Faustino in Nelken's *El viaje a París*. In fact, except Jaime and Guillermo's names, which are conventional and common male names in Spanish culture used to symbolize the ubiquity of their mentality, Aurora's is the only name not used ironically. Severo Moraleja's moralizing at the end of the novella in defense of Aurora's self-determination is ironic because he is also complicit in the same artificial system as the other characters. Aurora understands this. At the end of the novella, immediately before her final departure from her mother's house, she understands that Severo's defense of her lifestyle is as insincere as the other characters': "Conoce [Aurora] los antecedentes de don Severo, … suponiendo en aquel hombre un producto artifical hecho de metáforas y literatura, un ente inútil para el auxilio de la viadora" (61). Doña Purificación is unable to "purify" her eldest daughter's lifestyle, and the less-than-innocent Cándida can only perform certain actions that she views as modern.

In short, Aurora, true to her name, represents the dawn of a new era for women. Severo describes her as a Christlike figure correctly identifying her as representative of something fundamentally novel in society: "Por esta criatura … se podrían repetir las palabras evangélicas: 'Vino a lo que era suyo y los suyos no le recibieron.'…Trae la novedad inquietante de los precursores, viene a construir, a emprender todo aquello que a las mujeres os redima ¿y os convertís en sus encarnizados enemigos?" (59). As mentioned, Aurora does not need nor accept

Severo's praise. As a self-determined individual, Aurora looks to the future and actively leaves the insular world that is so hostile toward her:

> [V]olvió silenciosa a la calle y anduvo, liberada, al azar, casi feliz en su agitación … siente un optimismo dulce.… El paso firme, el porte elegantísimo, la intensa vida mental de la mirada, parece que la empujan, triunfante y milagrosa, bajo el oreo de la primavera.… Hay algo de enigma y de prodigio en esta mujer que se repite a solas el credo augusto de la Esperanza, caminando hacia sí misma, escrutadora y valiente, en esforzada visión del Porvenir. (61)

Thus, the text ends on a triumphant note. The "message" of the text is clear: Aurora represents a woman who can take care of herself in a society that cannot understand her.

Carmen de Burgos (1867-1932), or "Colombine" as she was also known as, was the most prolific female writer of the *novela corta* in early twentieth-century Spain, of which she wrote seventy-seven. Writer, journalist, essayist, feminist, and political activist, she was also one of the best-known and most widely read cultural figures of her time. Despite what Michael Ugarte, among others, lamented in 1998 as her "omission from Spanish literary history" (27), there has since been a widespread effort among feminist scholars of early twentieth-century Spain to recover her literature. The number of studies dedicated to her work in the twenty first century attests to this.[36] In fact, with the exception of Pardo Bazán, she is the early twentieth-century

[36] In particular, worth mention are Helena Establier Pérez's *Mujer y feminismo en la narrativa de Carmen de Burgos* (2000), Rita Catrina Imboden's *Carmen de Burgos "Colombine" y la novela corta* (2001), Anja Louis's *Women and the Law: Carmen de Burgos, an Early Feminist* (2005), and the most recent collection of studies dedicated solely to Burgos's work *Multiple Modernities: Carmen de Burgos, Author and Activist* (2017). This is not to exclude the significant portions of other studies (Mangini, *Las modernas*; S. Kirkpatrick, *Mujer, modernismo y vanguardia*; Celaya, *La mujer deseante*; Espino Bravo, *Resistencia al matrimonio*) dedicated to Burgos's *oeuvre*. In addition, Burgos is one of the few women writers of early twentieth-century Spain whose works have received reeditions.

woman writer whose work has most been studied by literary critics. She was a staunch and rather radical feminist, especially by Spanish feminists' standards of the time. She advocated in favor of a woman's right to divorce, universal women's suffrage, and the abolition of Article 438 of the Penal Code of 1870, which stated, "El marido que sorprendiendo en adulterio a su mujer, matare en el acto a ésta o al adúltero … será castigado con la pena de destierro," and by which the husband, in Burgos's own words, "conserva el derecho a matar" (*Mujer moderna* 189). Bieder argues that her principal concern "lies with redressing the subordination of women in Spanish society, a sexual hierarchy that, she affirms, has no basis in nature ("Modern Spanish Woman" 255). Undoubtedly influenced by her own failed marriage, her campaign in favor of divorce and against the institution of marriage is evident in texts such as *La flor de la playa* (1920) and *Artículo 438* (1921), which openly criticize the institution of marriage and a woman's lack of access to divorce.

What most modern studies of Burgos's *oeuvre* have in common is a recognition that Burgos herself was a fundamentally modern woman, having separated from her abusive husband, moved to Madrid, and earned a living to support her child as a single mother while living out of wedlock for a number of years with the significantly younger Ramón Gómez de la Serna. Mangini, for example, argues, "Carmen de Burgos es una 'mujer nueva,' tal como fue descrita en la literatura occidental finisecular, y su trabajo supuso un desafío al *establishment* al reclamar para la mujer española la reestructuración general del sistema social" (71). Espino Bravo has called Burgos "la encarnación viva de la mujer moderna que permitió que otras mujeres aparecieran y pudieran expresarse a través de los personajes de sus novelas" (173). In addition to Burgos's politics, Johnson has analyzed her progressive social positions, arguing that "Burgos was one of the earliest and most sustained dreamers of a modern Spanish society … [who]

constructed a variety of new sociosexual arrangements to propose alternatives to traditional gender roles" (*Gender* 228). This is particularly evident in Burgos's *Ellas y ellos o Ellos y ellas* (1916), which, set in the peripheral world of homosexual and transgender subculture of 1910s Madrid, "daringly deploys homosexuality, lesbianism, and transvestism to probe Spain's reaction to the moral confusion of the modern world" (Johnson, *Gender* 205). In doing so, the novella criticizes social discourses around gender that attempt to delineate clear boundaries between masculinity and femininity, between heterosexuality and homosexuality, and between man and woman.

Burgos's modernity is inherently linked to feminism as a movement that advocated for legal parity between the sexes. She argued that the core of feminism was focused on the attainment of equal rights for women (*Mujer moderna* 60). Johnson has argued that Burgos "is the only Spanish feminist thinker of her own generation, which includes María Martínez Sierra and Margarita Nelken, who argues for their feminist program from a strictly legal point of view" ("Genealogy" 46). If we compare Burgos's feminist thought to Nelken's, whose perspective on feminist issues was more economic, Burgos seems much less class-conscious than Nelken. In fact, in many of Burgos's texts, it is clear that the female protagonists are economically poor but are not necessarily responding to class-specific pressures in the same way that we will see in, say, Pilar Millán Astray's *Las dos estrellas* (1928). And yet, Burgos affirmed a woman's right to work as essential to her liberation. We will see in Burgos's *¡La piscina! ¡La piscina!* (1930) that the female protagonists' desires to work affords them freedom to live their own lives as they wish. In short, what all of Burgos's texts share is a desire to change the current injustices that women are subjected to. For example, in *La rampa*, one of Burgos's few long novels originally published in 1917 and then as an abridged novella in 1921, the protagonist Isabel is a victim of a

lack of proper medical care for abandoned pregnant women, thus revealing the need for an improvement in specifically feminine healthcare.

However, despite her staunchly political feminist positions, her views on gender are rather more complicated. Burgos's *La mujer moderna y sus derechos* (1927) is her feminist manifesto, and in it she does not deny inherent gender differences between man and woman. Instead, she denied these as a justification of the subordination of women in society. She argued:

> Una ojeada, por ligera que sea, dedicada al estudio del sexo femenino, nos demuestra que la subordinación de la mujer no es obra de la naturaleza. Por eso el triunfo del feminismo puede considerarse como el restablecimiento de la justicia y de los fueros de la ley natural, largo tiempo violada con la desigualdad. Nada hay en la naturaleza que justifique la esclavitud de la mujer. Se ve claramente que en las misteriosas germinaciones de la existencia, ambos sexos tienen un papel claro y bien definido, de extraordinaria importancia, admirablemente determinado y apto para las funciones que ha de desempeñar. La mujer es algo más que la hembra, como el hombre es algo más que el macho, desde el momento en que la inteligencia les permite no quedar reducidos al papel de simples reproductores de la especie. (*Mujer moderna* 73)

In this rather lengthy passage, Burgos affirms the core tenets of her feminist beliefs. Man and woman are naturally biologically different, and as such they have gender-specific roles according to their specific physiology. Woman is naturally mother and is better suited for educating her children, but this, in Burgos's mind, does not justify social subordination. Therefore, Burgos advocated for legal parity to men, without denying inherent gender differences between the sexes. As Johnson puts it, following the work of Bieder ("Modern Spanish Woman") and Anja

Louis, "Burgos's feminist position is a high wire act that navigates between difference and equality feminism" ("Genealogy" 43). In fact, we can see how some of these fundamentally modern positions manifest themselves in the author's novellas.

La flor de la playa (1920), for example, is one of Burgos's better-known texts in which the institution of marriage is criticized as ultimately antithetical to a woman's self-fulfillment. Anne Hardcastle, for example, has argued that in the novella "Burgos intersects [the] inquiry on how the female role is stylized through the body and physical appearance with a more overtly political statement about women's rights to/need of divorce" (241). In *Flor*, the young couple Elisa and Enrique are in love. They are unmarried and more significantly show no interest in matrimony. The narrator explains, "No hablaban nunca de casarse sino como de una cosa lejana" (*1*). Moreover, their life together is described as idyllic. To celebrate Enrique's job promotion, the two decide to take a month-long trip to Portugal where they pass as a married couple. (Divorce was legalized in Portugal in 1910, and as Deborah Madden notes, "Carmen de Burgos saw Portugal as a haven for feminist ideas in the early twentieth century" [207].) The trip takes its toll on the young couple, however, and both quickly lose interest in the other. As the narrator puts it, "En ellos se había apagado la pasión" (*19*). But this is not simply a story about lost passion or two individuals who fall out of love. The text draws an explicit connection between the failure of the relationship and the "marriage" that they role-play. For example, at one moment the narrator explains, "Ella [Elisa] hacía el papel de esposa y estaba en ridículo" (*9*). In addition, marriage—specifically marriage without the possibility to divorce, for Elisa remarks that "[e]star casados en un país donde existe el divorcio es estar como nosotros" (*10*)—is characterized as a renunciation of individuality for each partner. This is especially true for Elisa. Focusing on Elisa's reaction (the third-person omniscient narration is focalized much more

significantly through Elisa's subjective experiences than through Enrique's), the narrator explains, "no era Enrique el hombre en cuya compañía pasaría Elisa la vida entera sin casarse. Era bueno, atento, condescendiente; pero ella no podía *resignarse* a estar constantemente a su lado" (*19*; emphasis mine). The verb *resignarse* indicates that marriage entails surrendering certain individual liberties that she enjoyed in Madrid. By the end of the trip, both Enrique and Elisa "[l]levaban ya ambos demasiado deseo de separación, de *liberación*" (*20*; emphasis added). When they return to Madrid, each understands that their relationship has effectively ended, and, in a gesture that represents a symbolic "divorce" (not legalized in Spain until 1932, overturned under the Franco dictatorship, then officially reinstated in 1981), she removes the hat that she had bought in Portugal to symbolize their marriage.[37] Thus, the text, more pro-divorce than anti-marriage, nevertheless reveals the various limitations placed on women who enter into marriage without the possibility of divorce.

The idea of matrimony as antithetical to a woman's independence is a common theme in many of Burgos's novellas. In *La mujer fría* (1922), for example, Blanca de Hazenchis (twice widowed by two wealthy foreigners) is the object of male desire precisely because of her independence and lack of interest in other men. She has fallen in love with Fernando but refuses

[37] It is significant that the specific article of clothing that Elisa removes to symbolize her emancipation is a hat. In the 1920s in Spain, this *sinsombrerismo* became a symbol of social rebellion, especially among women. For example, in footage from a recent documentary, *Las sin sombrero* (2015), Maruja Mallo speaks about the act of removing her hat as a defiance of social norms: "Todo el mundo llevaba sombrero, era como un pronóstico de diferencia social. Pero un buen día, a Federico [García Lorca], a Dalí, a mí y a Margarita Manso, otra estudiante, se nos ocurrió quitarnos el sombrero. Y al atravesar la Puerta del Sol nos apedrearon, insultándonos como si hubiéramos hecho un descubrimiento, como Copérnico o Galileo. Que nos llaman maricones, porque creían que despojarse del sombrero era una manifestación del tercer sexo" (00:03:30-00:04:10).

to engage in sexual activities because she thinks sex will pervert their love. In the following exchange between Blanca and Fernando, Blanca expresses these sentiments:

> [B]: No quiero ser tu amante.
>
> [F]: Sé mi esposa.
>
> [B]: No.
>
> [F]: ¿Por qué?
>
> [B]: Tengo la seguridad de que el amor se extinguirá al realizarse. (*9*)

Thus, Blanca understands marriage and sex to be antonymous to love. Luisa of *Hasta renacer* (1924), similar to Blanca of *La mujer fría* but more representative of the modern woman of the 1920s, draws the same distinction between an ideal love and one that is in some way spoiled when expressed via sexual activity. She says that "el amor al dejar de ser ilusión deja de ser amor" (*15*). María Luisa of *El brote* (1925) rejects all potential suitors not only because her inheritance is contingent on her remaining unmarried (her aunt left her a sizeable fortune on the condition that María Isabel never marry), but also because, as the narrator explains, "[a]maba su casa, su independencia" (*10*). In her own words, "[e]stoy acostumbrada ya a ser la dueña de mi casa, a tener mi libertad y no me adaptaría a debérselo todo a mi marido" (*12*). And, finally, in *La rampa* (all citations refer to the abridged novella), the two friends Isabel and Águeda seek companionship and equality: "Ellas no eran como una gran parte de mujeres, pervertidas ya por la galantería de los hombres, deambulaban por las calles en busca de aventuras fáciles y de promiscuidad vergonzosa.… Deseaban ya un tipo superior de hombre, el compañero de la mujer liberada" (*6*). In short, many of Burgos's texts reflect the author's own sentiments regarding important feminist issues in early twentieth-century Spain.

At the same time, Burgos's *oeuvre* is so vast that it would be unreasonable to expect discursive consistency between texts. Many contradict each other, while others profess more conservative positions for which Burgos herself was a staunch feminist advocate. Thus, Burgos's texts reveal a vast, nonlinear spectrum of ideas and positions. For example, if *La flor de la playa*, *Hasta renacer*, *La mujer fría*, and *El brote* all depict protagonists who in some ways eschew marriage, matrimony is celebrated in other texts as the means by which the protagonist can achieve fulfilment. *Cuando la ley lo manda* (1932), for example, which is very similar to *El brote* (and even borrows an entire scene from it!), is ultimately a more conservative defense of marriage despite the female protagonist's initial resistance to marry.[38] Luisa, similar to María Isabel of *El brote*, rejects matrimony because she does not find the idea of sharing her life with a man appealing. She says, "No puedo sufrir la idea de un señor que entrase de visita en mi casa y no se fuera nunca" (17). Thus, the text connects marriage with the renunciation of woman's personal liberties, which echoes María Isabel's sentiments. However, both *El brote* and *Cuando la ley lo manda* end in ways that contradict the protagonists' independent lifestyles. Each woman ultimately decides to marry the man with whom she has fallen in love. At the end of *El brote*, María Isabel and Jorge, her lover, consummate their relationship, which is described as follows: "La evasión de la Primavera había triunfado. La pareja humana había obedecido sus leyes cantando la gloria del amor en el vergel.… El espíritu de doña Isabel [la tía], queriendo imponerse después de muerta, para prohibir el amor, no lograba aflojar las leyes de la

[38] The similarities between *Cuando la ley lo manda* and *El brote* are hardly coincidental. Each protagonist has an affinity for gardening and is passionate about horticulture. Each meets, falls in love with, and ultimately decides to marry a British man born and raised in Gibraltar. Each has an almost identical conversation with her female friends about their differing opinions on marriage. The most striking difference between the two novels is that *El brote* is set in the outskirts of Madrid and involves a wealthy protagonist, while Luisa of *Cuando la ley lo manda* is a working-class typist living in Madrid on the eve of the Republic.

Naturaleza" (*20*). *Cuando la ley lo manda* ends even more strikingly, given that Luisa not only renounces her independence, but also her nationality. The presence of Article 22 of the Civil Code of 1889, which stated that "La mujer sigue la condición y nacionalidad de su marido," is made explicit in the text. Thus, the *ley* of the novella's title refers to Article 22: Luisa is called to renounce her nationality because of her love. However, the title also refers, as in *El brote*, to the law of Nature, thus privileging a woman's love and self-sacrifice over her rational independence. The denouements of these texts ultimately contradict the protagonist's initial oppositions to marriage, suggesting that there is indeed an inborn feminine nature that needs to be satisfied through matrimony, at least for these specific women. This position directly contradicts Burgos's own arguments in *La mujer moderna y sus derechos* that women need to develop their rational capacities, and also contradicts the texts' feminist discourse.

These contradictions also apply to the representation of the sexually liberated, modern woman. As Beatriz Celaya Carrillo puts it,

> Si en *El brote* (1925) Burgos ofrece como modelo positivo a una mujer joven que vive al margen del matrimonio … en *La mujer fría* [1922] Burgos castiga a la mujer que se muestra sexualmente inaccesible al hombre, [y] en *Hasta renacer* [1924] impone la destrucción total sobre la mujer que no es pasiva o sumisa sexualmente en relación al hombre. (188-189)

To elaborate on this point, both *La mujer fría* and *Hasta renacer* condemn the female protagonists for rejecting men. For example, there is an "unnatural" quality to Blanca in *La mujer fría*. The adjective *fría* principally refers to her "cold," unsociable attitude in public, particularly to men, which is itself a gendered point given that their characterization of her as a distant woman in reality refers to her lack of romantic or sexual interest in them. Despite the

men's negative characterization of her, the text ultimately contributes to this because Blanca's "coldness" also refers to a physical, almost corpse-like coldness that Fernando feels when he kisses her: "En el arrebato de su pasión, Fernando se apoderó de las manos de Blanca y las estrechó entre las suyas. Aquellas manos estaban heladas, yertas; … era la frialdad de la carne helada, la frialdad de la muerte.… En aquel beso de amor había percibido claramente el vaho frío y pestilente de un cadáver" (*9*). By extension, there is something fundamentally "unnatural" about Blanca's lack of sexual interest in Fernando. Likewise, Luisa in *Hasta renacer*, as an example of the modern woman of the 1920s, is characterized as selfish, capricious, and only interested in the ephemeral activities of modern life: "Pero Luisa tenía un temperamento dulce y casto. Estaba demasiado enamorada de sí misma para reparar en ningún hombre, entretenida con las satisfacciones de amor propio" (*5*). Renée, Luisa's friend and likewise a symbol of modernity, becomes addicted to drugs, to which she resorts when she cannot receive the attention of the man to whom she is attracted. Therefore, it is difficult to characterize Burgos's work as a whole, given the sheer number of novellas that she published, the diverse themes explored, and the various contradictions between and within those texts.

I would argue that many of these contradictions are due to an ambiguous attitude toward modernity and woman's relationship to it. In Burgos's writings, both fiction and nonfiction, modernity is often associated with the legal enfranchisement of women. In *La flor de la playa*, the relationship between a woman's right to divorce is explicitly connected to modernity, and thus the text celebrates Portugal's acceptance of women's rights over what the text characterizes as Spain's backwardness: "Aunque el viaje era tan corto como ir a un pueblo de España, al fin esto era salir al Extranjero… ir a una nación más libre" (*2*). Portugal is a freer country because it provides women with certain rights denied to them in Spain (which would not grant suffrage to

women for at least another decade). However, Burgos's texts do not wholeheartedly accept as positive the changes that accompanied modernization. In *La rampa* (1917, novel; 1921, novella), for example, the modern city (Madrid) is associated with urban decay and degeneration. The text presents a sharp contrast between the "invasión de alegría y de regocijo" of the local festival and the "tristeza de las calles" and "tráfago de la vida urbana" of Madrid (*7*).[39] Moreover, whereas women are afforded more social and economic opportunities in the city, they are also represented to be specific victims of these phenomena. When Isabel, the protagonist, becomes pregnant she signs herself into the local maternity ward, where she and the rest of the women live in abject misery: there are not enough beds, and their medical care is substandard. The text is thus a demystification of maternity and a naturalistic study about the tragedies of single motherhood that women are forced to endure. *Hasta renacer*, via Luisa's capriciousness and self-centeredness, condemns the ephemeral nature of modern life. Renée ends up dying, abandoned by Luisa, due to her addiction to drugs, and Luisa's life, because of her boredom and insatiable desire for novelty, lacks inherent meaning. *Hasta renacer* also criticizes Luisa's sexual flippancy, while *La mujer fría*, *El brote*, and *Cuando la ley lo manda* condemn the protagonists' denial of their sexuality. (As we will see in *¡La piscina! ¡La piscina!* the girls' sexuality is celebrated.) *Guiones del destino* (1932), furthermore, condemns the hyper-sexualization and victimization of young girls in modern erotic culture when the protagonist as a young fifteen-year-old girl is forced to work in an underground, erotic café under the false promise that she will be a famous singer.[40] One of the most common themes in Burgos's *oeuvre* is this type of

[39] Citations refer to the novella.

[40] The young girl, Lina, is essentially a stripper in this café who entertains the male public with bawdy folksongs while taking her clothes off. More importantly, her body is described as "andrógino casi insexuado" (18), which calls to mind the figure of the modern flapper. She is also described as having an "aspecto de colegiala" (20), which is the same wording Juan Pujol

criticism of the ephemerality of modern pleasures. Similar to Espina's *Aurora de España*, which celebrates the simplicity and sincerity of the modern woman, Burgos's texts often criticize the artificiality of modern ways of living that privilege pleasure or commodity above everything else. In short, Burgos's novellas offer much more realistic depictions of modern life than Nelken's or Espina's. In what follows, I will analyze Burgos's *¡La piscina! ¡La piscina!* (1930), which is a celebration of the freedoms that modernity offers women, in order to trace an ultimately positive, but not ideal representation of modernity and woman's relationship to it.

¡La piscina! ¡La piscina! (1930) is ultimately about the clash between a strict, conservative father's traditional ideas and his daughters' modern lifestyles. The action of the novella takes place in Paris, a haven of modernity compared to what the text characterizes as Spain's backwardness. The Bermúdez daughters, Julia and Isabel, recently relocated with their parents because of their father's business opportunities, embrace all of the freedoms that the modern metropolis offers them. The daughters' modern desire for liberation clashes with the closed-minded and unwavering conservatism of their father Don Antonio. As a result, Isabel and Julia begin to live modern, independent lives behind his back. As Don Antonio allows them an increasing number of freedoms, he is steadfastly opposed to the daughters' desires to frequent the public pools, where both men and women swim together. At the end of the novella, he

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used to describe the London flapper. In fact, Lina is a popular commodity in the club, which reveals much about the growing underground erotic culture in Spain during the first third of the twentieth century. Zubiaurre has described early twentieth-century popular erotica in Spain as *Wunderkammer* "where collectable erotica led a semi-clandestine and often highly subversive existence (4). In particular, Burgos's *Guiones* criticizes this erotic world that takes advantage of young women and even girls. There was a growing sexual interest in the young, prepubescent bodies of teenage girls. Called the Lolita or *tobillera* effect (*tobillera* referring to a young girl who no longer dresses like a child but who nonetheless "tenía entonces algo de la Lolita de Nabokov, cierta insinuación sensual" [Villena 66]), Zubiaurre explains that "sicalipsis [the general name for popular erotica in early twentieth-century Spain] hungers for very young bodies and barely sexed anatomies" (41-42).

discovers that his daughters, under the supervision of their mother, are at one of these pools. He arrives, furious, chastises them in public, and decides that, as punishment, he will send them back to Spain the following day while he remains in France alone.

The text is ultimately about modernity, the new freedoms modern life offers women, and about the threat that these pose to conventional gender roles. Thus, it is significant that Burgos sets the action of her novella in Paris. If Paris serves as the center of modern life in *Hasta renacer*, this connection between Paris and modernity is made more explicitly in *Piscina*. For example, the city is described as a cosmopolitan hub in which individuals from different countries and ethnicities intermingle. It is called "el gran centro de atracción de los extranjeros" (7), emphasized by the racial diversity that the girls notice in public cafés. They see, for example a Japanese man reading a newspaper as well as two mulattoes (p. 8). (In *Hasta renacer* Luisa falls in love with a Chinese man.) Moreover, Don Antonio recognizes the city's modernity and does not appreciate it in the same way that his daughters do. He thinks, "Sería un ambiente muy parisién y muy moderno, pero a él no le agradaba para sus hijas" (9). Thus, an explicit contrast is made between Don Antonio's conservatism and the city's modernity. He is resistant to change. As the text explains, "Don Antonio confesaba su contrariedad. Venía de Valencia y no se acostumbraba a una vida tan diferente" (8). His resistance to Parisian life, moreover, is characterized as a broader resistance to modernity. For example, the narrator explains that Don Antonio "hacía culto de un españolismo antiguo régimen … La autoridad de don Antonio en la familia era absoluta" (18). Thus, Don Antonio's authority is likened to an absolute monarch of the Old Regime (at one moment his authority is also described as a dictatorship [p. 15]). More strikingly, the text characterizes his "absolutist" mentality as uniquely Spanish position. Thus, Don Antonio represents a broad conservatism of nineteenth-century Spain. By extension, if Paris

represents modernity and social liberation, then Spain represents tradition and social backwardness.

Don Antonio's position is also a fundamentally gendered one. As one of the above passages indicates, Don Antonio is particularly opposed to the effects the city can have on his daughters. By extension, he is wary of modernity's threat to traditional gender roles. The text describes the Don Antonio's world as the stereotypical, hierarchical world of provincial Spain in which men, because of their sex, hold power and women are reduced to the domestic *ángel del hogar*: "En las costumbres provincianas españolas del siglo XIX el hombre, por ser hombre, era la autoridad suprema y todas las mujeres de la casa se desvivían por complacerlo y servirlo" (18). Women are not only reduced to household servants but also lack the agency or individuality to think for themselves. The text explains that Doña Dolores, Don Antonio's wife, "antes de dar su opinión de las cosas, se aseguraba de la conformidad con la opinión de su marido" (19).

In addition to the strictly gendered hierarchy of Don Antonio's world, there are strict gender codes that men and women are expected to follow. To be feminine is to be obedient to male authority, but to be masculine is to be strict and firm, especially when exerting authority over women. The text explains, "En cambio la peor nota de un hombre era la de ser demasiado blando con la mujer, consentirle ser una biltrotera y plegarse a sus gustos para prescindir de sus hombradas, que solían ser a veces jaranas y juergas" (19).[41] Furthermore, the narrator reveals that Don Antonio engages in certain "ribetes de picardía" precisely "para no estar en ridículo ante los otros hombres con una conducta demasiado pura" (19). Thus, the contrast between this hierarchical world of provincial Spain and the more egalitarian world of modern Paris suggests

[41] Despite its acceptance as late as 1989, *biltrotear* is no longer recognized as an official spelling. The DRAE only lists *viltrotear*.

that specifically masculine and feminine behavior is influenced by social expectations, which are themselves contingent on environment. There is, therefore, a direct connection between the modern world of Paris and the daughters' rebellious behavior.

Don Antonio's opposition to modernity is predicated on the idea that modernity is fundamentally threatening to "appropriate" feminine behavior. For example, he sees a prostitute in the café, thus connecting—at least in his mind—the modern milieu of Paris with sexual immorality and "loose" women. The freedoms that modern life offers Julia and Isabel threaten the gender hierarchy of Don Antonio's world, which is based on strict conceptions of feminine modesty. Don Antonio explains, "¡Bueno fuera que yo dejase que mis hijas hicieran esas desvergüenzas de irse solas de bailoteos y de piscinas!" (15). Thus, the idea of independent women is associated with shame and dishonor, and hence Don Antonio's insistence on the girls' being chaperoned. Don Antonio's is a world in which honor of the family depends on the "honor" (i.e. virginity) of the daughters. When Julia and Isabel do not return from the movies until later than expected, Don Antonio is worried about the safety of his daughters, but he refuses to go out and look for them because he is more preoccupied with the family reputation: "¡Echar una mancha sobre nosotros buscando a las niñas como si fuesen unas aventureras! ¡De ningún modo!" (28). Therefore, the "stain" on the family's reputation is directly associated not only with the daughters' freedoms but specifically with their potential sexual promiscuity.

Don Antonio's opposition to modernity is contrasted by his daughters' embrace of the possibilities that the modern city has to offer them. The models of modern womanhood are not, in fact, Julia nor Isabel but rather the daughters of Don Antonio's business associate Don Manuel. They show Julia and Isabel the modern wonders of Paris: "Las niñas ponían al tanto a Julia e Isabel de las diversiones y las modas" (9). Don Manuel's daughters have complete social

and economic independence. For example, "Cada una [de las hijas de don Manuel] era dueña de su bolsillo y gastaba en sus diversiones y en sus trajes, que las demás no discutían" (23). In addition, they also reject serious romantic relationships in favor of more carefree sexual arrangements: "solían variar de acompañantes de una vez para otra" (37). In short, it is no accident that Don Manuel's modern daughters identify more intimately with Paris than with Spain. Thus, *Piscina* can be read as a *Bildungsroman* in which the Julia and Isabel achieve the same level of self-fulfillment that Don Manuel's daughters do.

Modernity is associated above all with the girls' individual freedoms. For example, Julia and Isabel are attracted to the freedoms of modern life: "Habían sentido deseos de aire, de luz, de volar libres, de sentir su personalidad afirmada.… Y al mismo tiempo, ellas se hacían más visibles" (30-31). Personal freedoms contrast with the "esclavitud" to which women are subjected in more conservative societies (32). This involves a recognition that women have changed with the times. As one of Don Manuel's daughters puts it, "La mujer ha variado y sabe defenderse mejor. Antes eran tan tontonas que en estando media hora solas con un hombre ya les sucedía una desgracia" (34). Women can better protect themselves, and this is precisely because of their economic independence, as the text suggests: "Tenían que convenir que el mejor guardián de la virtud de la mujer era su independencia económica" (34).

In short, the Bermúdez family serves as a synecdoche of a society in which traditions (specifically regarding gender) are under threat by modernity. Don Antonio loses influence the more independence the girls gain: "Iba don Antonio perdiendo autoridad, sin darse cuenta. Las dos niñas habían vencido en su empeño de buscarse un empleo" (33). This not only represents the clash between tradition and modernity, but also the diminishing influence of patriarchy as society progresses. In fact, progress, as in *La flor de la playa*, is directly associated with the

empowerment of women. Don Antonio's and Don Manuel's realization that "los hombres modernos no deben ir contra el progreso" (33) is related to the different activities in which they permit their daughters to engage. In short, their opposition to their daughters' desires for social and economic independence is characterized as backwards: "Don Antonio ya apenas se metía en nada. Tenía miedo a que lo llamasen 'hombre atrasado' las amigas de sus hijas" (53).

Modernity also entails a rebellion against specifically patriarchal authority. In the following dialogue, Julia and Isabel reveal not only their desires, but that their "rebellion" is specifically against their father's authority:

> [I] Ya te aseguro que no me conformo.
>
> [J] Ni yo tampoco.
>
> [I] Somos jóvenes, tenemos el derecho a gozar.
>
> [J] Yo quiero vivir mi vida. (15)

This rebelliousness in the girls is not entirely new, however. Before moving to France, Don Antonio was generally unaware of his daughters' activities: "Las creía don Antonio modelos de inocencia, ignorante de los libros que habían pasado por sus manos, de los noviazgos de que no se había enterado, y de los bailes y las fiestas adonde las llevaba la madre con el mayor secreto" (20). In France, his daughters continue to disobey his orders: "Las niñas pensaban en vivir con libertad todo aquel ambiente novelesco y poder burlar mejor la autoridad del padre" (20-21).

However, there is an explicit relationship between space and gender. Don Antonio's authority is directly associated with the insular world of provincial Spain, while Paris is associated with the modern. As Griselda Pollock has argued about modern painting of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century France, space—that is, specific locations available to men and women—reveals many of the underlying ideologies and structures of power that

inscribe gender differences onto man and woman.[42] In other words, the relationship of man and woman to specific spaces carried different gendered assumptions about masculinity and femininity. In *Piscina*, the public spaces of the city, specifically the movie theaters, dance clubs, and public pools, while traditionally gendered as masculine spaces, provide Julia and Isabel with freedom from the patriarchal authority of their father. Thus, as in Espina's *Aurora*, woman's freedom depends on the deterioration of the socially constructed limits between gendered spaces. *Piscina* criticizes the double standard in which men can move freely between spaces while simultaneously prohibiting women from interacting in these same spaces. Don Antonio, for example, will only allow his daughters to engage in certain activities: "De ninguna manera consentía don Antonio que sus hijas fuesen a un baile. Sólo al teatro cuando eran obras morales, acompañadas siempre de la madre o de personas de respeto, y nada de noviazgos" (20).

This is not to say that the vision of modernity in *Piscina* is entirely positive (although it is mostly positive). In fact, the text criticizes the artificiality and ephemerality of modern life and the increasingly commodification of the female body. As Pollock argues, "[M]odernity is a matter of representations and major myths … The key markers in this mythic territory [of the modern city] are leisure, consumption, the spectacle, and money" (52). *Piscina* shows the way in which this association of the modern with consumption appeals to the Bermúdez sisters. Their initial desire is to be noticed, and therefore they come to embody a specifically feminine type of modern consumerism increasingly preoccupied with external appearances, cosmetics, and slender physique. Fashion is an important issue in many of Burgos's texts, and in *Piscina*, fashion becomes a symbol of modern femininity. For example, as Julia and Isabel adopt more

[42] See, specifically, Chapter Three of her *Vision and Difference* (1988), "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity."

modern styles of dress and cosmetics, Don Antonio resists these changes and needs to be persuaded to allow his daughters to dress as they do. Don Manuel says, "Verdaderamente, las cosas no tienen ya la significación de antes.… Hoy se pintan y se escotan las mujeres decentes. Todo lo hace la costumbre" (33). In other words, changing fashion styles implies different societal standards of appropriate feminine behavior. The text echoes Burgos's own beliefs that a woman's right to fashion was one of the more positive symbols of modernity. The narrator explains that "entre los refinamientos de la mujer moderna está el embellecerse para ella misma" (36).

Consumerism and the increased use of cosmetics therefore signal a shift from the representation of femininity as natural to artificial. As Pérez Rojas notes of the representation of the modern woman in the graphic art of the 1920s, "En líneas generales la Eva Art Déco no es de una belleza natural en estado puro, sino una belleza realzada, completada, matizada por el artificio que bien pueden corregir aquello que la naturaleza limita pero cuyo efecto general es más bien subrayar los rasgos, el hacer resplandecer en toda su plenitud la belleza" (Pérez Rojas 116). Thus, in Burgos's *Piscina* the modern woman is not a defeminized or masculininzed woman, but rather she embodies a new type of modern femininity specifically expressed via external adjustments to the female body. Unlike Espina's Aurora, however, the girls embrace the artificial standards of modern feminine beauty.

This is most clearly the case with Isabel. Both she and her sister work stereotypically feminine jobs (Isabel a typist and Julia a secretary), but Isabel pursues a career as a fashion model. Despite the economic freedom this job provides Isabel, the text emphasizes the negative consequences of this job on Isabel's body. Not only is the female figure commodified given that Isabel's body is the means via which the designers advertise their clothing, but the text

specifically highlights the dehumanizing effect on Isabel. During the auditions for the job, for example, the interested women are brought to a back room where they are made to stand on a scale, weighed, and then inspected by the female employer. The language of the text reflects this dehumanization. The women who have come out to "audition" are referred to as a "rebaño" and "bellas muñecas de cera" (43). It is also significant that the official term for their job in Spanish is *maniquí*, which can be understood as both *model* and *mannequin*. In the text, this term refers more directly to an individual who models different fashion styles in order to attract the attention of the consumer. Isabel, for example, is hired because she has a specific figure that is accentuated by a particular style of clothing. However, the second meaning of the term, a moveable wax figure, underscores the dehumanizing effect the job has on women and the female body.

The job entails a stricter regulation of the female figure. For example, Isabel develops a growing preoccupation with her weight, fearing to gain or lose it. The text says, "El engordar era el peligro de la cesantía. Necesitaba conservarse en el mismo estado. Ni menos ni más" (46). In *Piscina*, the girls have a specific beauty regiment to follow when going to the pools: "Los cuidados de tocador para la piscina necesitaban ser más minuciosos. Era preciso hacerse las uñas de los pies y pintárselas de rojo, como los de las manos; cuidar de la depilación de piernas y axilas; perfumarse y usar cremas resistentes al agua, que no descubrían el engaño del color" (54). Thus, the feminine figure is becoming increasingly "enhanced" via the use of cosmetics. In short, Burgos's text, similar to *Hasta renacer*, criticizes these more ephemeral qualities of modern femininity.

In *Piscina*, modern expressions of femininity are also related to female sexuality. Unlike certain female characters in Burgos's novellas who seem rather "unnaturally" asexual, such as

Blanca of *La mujer fría*, Julia and Isabel are sexual beings. They come to appreciate the sexual freedom that Don Manuel's daughters have. As the text mentions, "Entonces se daban cuenta las hermanas de cómo era justificda aquella aparente frivolidad de sus amigas, que llamaban 'flirt' a los noviazgos y no tomaban en serio horas de romantizar con sus amigos" (52). Unlike in *Hasta renacer*, for example, in which the sexual flippancy of Luisa is criticized as a capricious desire for immediate gratification, *Piscina* celebrates the sexualities of the girls as natural to the female body. The narrator explains, "Los [sic] dos chicas tenían novio, sin que lo supiera el padre, que las creía 'faltas de naturaleza' y tan inocentes, que no pensaban en el amor" (37). Celaya Carrillo has argued that "la creación y extensión de la sexualidad moderna dentro del discurso social y cultural representó, en parte, la reacción de la autoridad masculina ante el proceso de liberación de la mujer" (7).[43] This is particularly true of Burgos's *Piscina*. The fact that the father conceives of his daughters as essentially asexual beings ("faltas de naturaleza") suggests that woman is a naturally sexual being. Thus, the text draws a positive connection between modernity and female sexuality.

Don Antonio's views on appropriate feminine behavior and his daughters' sexuality clash when in one of the final scenes of the novella the girls decide to go to one of the public pools. The public pools are the only aspect of his daughters' modern lifestyles about which Don Antonio remains inflexible. The girls consider the pools the place where they are the least inhibited, thus characterizing the pools as the ultimate space of modern freedom for women: "Se hacía más intenso el placer de la piscina que el del baile, mayor agilidad de movimientos, sin sujetarse al ritmo de la música, y mayor libertad de escoger pareja, de nadar juntos, de correr y

[43] See chapter four of Celaya Carrillo's *La mujer deseante* (2006) for more detailed analyses of Burgos's novellas.

chapotear cogidos de las manos y del talle" (54-55). On the one hand, Don Antonio's inflexibility has to do with the association of the public pools in his mind with the interaction between the sexes. He argues that his inflexibility about the pools is justified because, as he puts it, "[l]a decencia es la decencia… y ¡eso de meterse juntos hombres y mujeres en una balsa!" (53).

On the other hand, Don Antonio's disapproval is also predicated on the idea that it is indecent for women to reveal their bodies. In Don Antonio's mind there is little distinction between the pools and brothels. He highlights a few advertisements that only fuel his paranoia: "Mm. [sic] Recarder, gran piscina, descreción y recato. Se facilitan relaciones con personas de calidad"; "Boulevard Montmartre, piscina lujosa, todo confort, frecuentada por las mujeres más bellas de París. Cenas y gabinetes reservados"; "Grandiosa piscina, clientela americana, abierta toda la noche. Se proporcionan buenas amistades" (55). Zubiaurre has analyzed the sexualization of the image of the female bather in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spain. She argues that "beaches made it increasingly difficult to tell 'virtuous' women apart from their 'sinful' counterparts. This not unlike the urban landscape, sand seashores became dangerously promiscuous and democratizing loci" (170). This idea of "dangerously promiscuous and democratizing loci" can also be applied to the public pools in *Piscina*. The girls, however, are attracted to the scandalous atmosphere of the pools:

> No se lucía tanto en ninguna parte como allí, pues además del atavío de la calle, se mostraba la ropa interior y luego toda la frescura de su carne joven, tersa ungida y pulida para la exhibición. Los bañadores no cubrían apenas nada, servían sólo para poner más de relieve la desnudez, subrayando con el color los tonos de

> la piel, y con la línea la gracia de las formas. Las muchachas, que envidiaban en secreto las desnudeces de las 'bataclaneras', podían competir con ellas. (54)

Thus, father and daughters all share the same association of the pools with eroticism, but in the daughters' case it is liberating. In fact, the girls have a sensual, almost erotic experience while swimming:

> Gozaban la voluptuosidad inmensa de darse al agua, como si se entregaran a todos los hombres que estaban dentro de ella. La caricia del agua fresca sobre sus carnes era como la caricia de las miradas que se clavaban en su desnudez con un cosquilleo de pestañear. Una sensación de alegría, de placidez, se apoderaba de ellas. (56)

Thus, the text describes the girls' experiences at the pools as a pseudo-sexual one.

The text, moreover, celebrates this as a positive experience and criticizes Don Antonio for his inflexibility. The narrator explains, "No pudo dominarse más. En realidad ya no era él, Antonio Bermúdez, el que protestaba. Se convertía en una encarnación y un símbolo de toda una época: era todo lo que quedaba de principios y de prejuicios de varias generaciones enfrentándose con un mundo completamente distinto" (62). Thus, the text's criticism is not directed at Don Antonio the individual, but rather at the mentality—the pre-modern, misogynistic conservatism that opposes the increased freedoms of women—that he represents. He says he will send them back to Valencia as punishment and that he alone will remain in France. Thus, the end of the novella serves as a criticism of Spanish society, not only because Don Antonio seems to "win" against his daughters, but also because it is suggested that the girls are being relocated to Spain precisely because it is a society that is more hostile to women's empowerment.

However, Espino Bravo interprets the ending optimistically, arguing that the girls' relocation to Spain suggests that the father's "punishment" is in reality a blessing for the daughters given that they will be free from his authority. She explains that "todas esas ideas innovadoras y modernas se van con las hijas y la madre a España … [y] vivirán algunas de las libertades que tuvieron en París una vez en España" (211). This is particularly true given the girls' rebellious natures. There is no evidence to suggest that the will experience a fundamental reversal of character once back in their home country. Thus, Burgos's *Piscina* serves as a direct criticism of a backwards Spanish society that is not open to women enjoying the freedoms afforded to them by modernity.

Chapter Three

Woman as Symbol of the Anti-Modern

"[N]o soy feminista … porque considero que el remedar y pretender suplantar sistemáticamente al hombre es *desfeminizarse*"

~ Blanca de los Ríos, "La mujer española en 1926"

If writers such as Margarita Nelken, Concha Espina, and Carmen de Burgos imagined a radically new, modern woman whose attitudes and behaviors challenged gendered hierarchies, the texts analyzed in the present chapter almost categorically criticize the idea of modernity as beneficial to society and to women in particular. This chapter will focus on three writers working between 1907 and 1936: Sofía Casanova (1861-1958), Blanca de los Ríos (1862-1956), and Pilar Millán Astray (1879-1949). Each of these writers presents a conservative view of gender and women's relationship to modernization in early twentieth-century Spain. They share a general awareness of the importance of tradition in early twentieth-century Spanish society and viewed modernity as a threat to traditional, gender-specific social structures. To be conservative in this sense is, by definition, to resist change and to defend the *status quo*. Thus, the principal question guiding my analyses is how more traditional representations of gender found in the novellas in question reflect broader anti-modern anxieties about shifting notions of Spanish womanhood. For example, whereas Nelken's *La aventura de Roma* (1923) affirms woman's central importance in modern Spanish society, Casanova's *Princesa del amor hermoso* (1909) criticizes a woman's independent and modern lifestyle as destabilizing to the social order.

Historically, conservative authors almost categorically opposed modernity and its perceived threat to the so-called "natural" order. The legitimacy of feminism as a political movement was an obvious point of contention between conservatives and their more progressive contemporaries. Feminism, the opposing argument went, threatened to redraw the "natural" boundaries between men and women. However, to argue that this anti-feminism necessarily manifested itself in a stance against the general empowerment of women is to ignore a body of evidence to the contrary. Even the most fervently right-wing, pro-fascist periodicals of the early twentieth century, *Mujeres Españolas* (1929-1931) and *Aspiraciones* (1932-1936), shared with left-wing feminist movements a support for women's increased participation in Spanish politics and an opposition to antiquated stereotypes of the weak, helpless, and overly sentimental woman. For example, on the eve of the Spanish Civil War, in April 1936, *Aspiraciones* published a redefinition of feminism, which consisted of ten bullet points. Among these was listed the following:

> La educación masculina que ha de recibir [la mujer] será exactamente la misma que el hombre; podrá asistir a institutos, universidades y academias y reclamará el puesto que le corresponda mediante sus títulos, exámenes y concursos, no presentando jamás como arma su sexo—todo lo contrario, procurará sobresalir del sexo contrario con una aplicación que raye en el sacrificio. ("Nuestro feminismo" 3)

It is clear from this passage that education was a key component to their "feminism," and it is significant to note that they, similar to their progressive contemporaries, were actively advocating for equal access to all levels of education. In fact, the columns of *Aspiraciones* and *Mujeres Españolas* never oppose women's suffrage, as, say, Gimeno, Nelken, and Victoria Kent

did. The first issues of the second phase of *Aspiraciones* (1933-1935)—the periodical had been censored and appeared briefly under the name *Realidades* between October 1932 and October 1933—leading up to the elections of November 1933 are essentially political propaganda, encouraging women to vote *en masse* to ensure the victory of right-wing parties.

This is not to say that right-wing women discarded the conventional belief in the inherent gender differences between the sexes and that the domestic sphere was the appropriately feminine domain. In the same 1936 column of *Aspiraciones*, for example, the first point makes it clear that feminism, as an ideological and political commitment to improving the lives of women, must preserve woman's essential feminine nature, "sin la cual resulta la negación de la palabra [feminismo]." To protect women, therefore, meant to protect femininity from leftist or otherwise *modern*, attempts to redefine it. For example, the eighth point of the right-wing redefinition of feminism makes clear that feminine duty (specifically to marry) trumps a woman's desire to work, which she is free to pursue only if necessary: "una vez casada … dejará su puesto a la feminista que lo necesite." What these examples show, and I argue that this is perhaps the most common characteristic among conservative women writers, is an inherent tension between advocacy for women's rights and a defense of a "natural" feminine essence that by definition is superior to these desires. Even in Blanca de los Ríos's texts, which are some of the most unambiguously conservative in that the implied solution to the challenges facing women at the turn of the century is the restoration of the patriarchal order, there is still a feminist awareness of the uniquely gendered injustices facing women in the early twentieth century.

I would posit that what most distinguishes conservative women from their progressive contemporaries had nothing to do with women's political or social freedoms at all. As I have repeatedly shown, to label specific writers as feminist or non-feminist is problematic because of

the diverse positions held by women in early twentieth-century Spain. Indeed, where progressive and conservative women most diverge ideologically was in their support for or rejection of the specific effects that modernity would have on traditional conceptions of femininity. For example, Blanca de los Ríos's *Las hijas de don Juan* (1907), Casanova's *Princesa*, and Nelken's *Aventura* offer a common criticism of the particularly masculine vices that Don Juan represents, but these texts differ in their overall conception of modernity as either the solution to or cause of the negative consequences of masculine excess associated with the myth. If for Nelken the modern woman (Kate) represents an embracing of modernity's challenge to traditional masculine archetypes rooted in sexist gender stereotypes, in de los Ríos's and Casanova's works, modernity is ultimately a negative process because it presents an inherent threat to tradition. The implied solution in both of these texts, therefore, is the restoration of the patriarchal order.

Anxieties about modernization were particularly acute in the discourse of *fin-de-siècle* Spain because it was clear that modernization would bring fundamental changes to the country that many conservative intellectuals and politicians worried would bring about the erosion of Spanish traditions. This anti-modernism manifested itself in two general trends: a nationalistic opposition to what conservative intellectuals feared was the deterioration of a national identity, and a religious opposition to modernity's perceived attack on religious institutions. Concerning the latter, there was a general opposition to all things modern and modernist within the Catholic Church. In Spain, the "Catholic conservative" movement, detailed by José Álvarez Junco, opposed modernization as synonymous with secularization: "Lo importante de esta movilización católico-conservadora de finales del XIX es que se defendía en ella la 'tradición española,' que a la vez significaba el enfrentamiento del catolicismo con la modernidad, con la revolución, con el materialismo ateo" (454). At the same time, writers such as Casanova and de los Ríos

exemplified what Philip W. Silver has called the "nacionalismo neorromántico" of their male contemporaries of the so-called Generation of 98 whose purpose "fue el de inventar la imagen políticocultural, 'intrahistórica' u orgánica de una España unida" (62). Thus, in many of the texts presented, modernity is not only presented as fundamentally dangerous to traditional society, but also to the unique *Volksgeist* of the Spanish people whose collective identity is constructed around these traditions and around a unified sense of the nation. Woman was often seen as the protector of Spain's traditions, and by this logic is threatened by modernity in unique and gender-specific ways.

With respect to the texts of Casanova, de los Ríos, and Millán Astray, the relationship between gender and modernity is particularly problematic. On the one hand, what unites many of their texts are the following beliefs:

(1) that gender differences are natural rather than constructed;

(2) that women experience Spain's modernization in gender-specific ways;

(3) that modernity's destabilizing effect on traditional gender boundaries presents a danger to women and to the society whose social organization depends on strict adherence to gender-specific roles.

On the other hand, despite these underlying similarities, these texts belong to a more complex ideological spectrum than has been afforded to them.

The following analysis of Casanova's *Princesa del amor hermoso* will introduce many of the ways in which more conservative writers raised questions about woman's relationship to modernity. *Princesa* tells the story of Laura, a thirty-year-old woman who belongs to a social circle of upper-class Galicians. Fed up with waiting for her repeatedly unfaithful boyfriend Fernando to commit to marriage, she rejects both him and, more significantly, the self-sacrificing

and devoted role of the *ángel del hogar* that she has been performing for many years. In the first chapter of the novella, which consists almost exclusively of Laura's final letter to Fernando in which she breaks off their relationship, we read the following:

> Me lanzo a nueva vida, y como tus madrigalescas epístolas me han convencido de que son fascinadores mis encantos, voy a divertirme, a *flirtear*, a ver pasar junto a mí las emociones que inspiro y no comparto… Voy a coquetear, sí, a coquetear, que es jugar a los dados con los ojos y las almas. [...] Adiós, Fernando, y no envidies al triste mortal que caiga en mis redes, porque aun sin poner mis cinco sentidos en vengarme de tu malhadado sexo, de ti y de tus perfidias, presiento que voy a hacer daño, que voy a ser cruel con todos y con el primer imbécil que se me acerque. (*2*)

This rather loaded passage reveals much about Laura's character and her motivations. More importantly, it uncovers the way in which the text represents the relationship between non-normative gender roles and modernity. Similar to the way in which Kate's modern lifestyle in Nelken's *Aventura* represents a stark rejection of traditional conceptions of womanhood, Laura's desire for more independence and self-actualization can only be understood in relation to normative models of so-called "acceptable" feminine behavior. The association of Laura's condition at the beginning of the novella with traditional models of femininity is emphasized in the opening paragraph. She sits on the traditionally feminine space of the "balconcito" of her home, waiting for Fernando's return and thus the fulfillment of her matrimonial desires. Thus, Laura represents Penelope waiting for the return of her husband, yet whereas the balcony might recall the romantic encounter between the two lovers of *Romeo and Juliet*, the "murmurio vago

del atardecer" and the "rayo póstumo del día" (*1*) emphasize the absence of her Romeo/Ulysses and reflect her inner anguish.

Moreover, her decision to end the relationship, renouncing her devoted role as Penelope and domestic angel, reflects a fundamentally modern desire to live for herself rather than for her husband. She rejects marriage and the convent as her alternatives. As Johnson puts it, "In many ways, Laura prophesies the new Spanish woman—strong, morally courageous, eschewing dependence on men—that will be depicted in a number of novellas by women in the 1920s and 1930s" (*Gender* 135). In this light, a "new" or "modern" lifestyle means for Laura that her desires can only be achieved by leaving the traditionally feminine spaces of the home and enjoying the same romantic or sexual freedoms as *men*. Although not entirely explicit, we can infer that Fernando, "diplomático de renombre" (*1*), has been repeatedly unfaithful to Laura, as the mention of his "perfidias" strongly suggests. The last straw has been what Laura calls his "odioso *flirt* con mi propia hermana casada" (*2*). Laura wants to feel the same freedom, to enjoy herself, which represents a stark contrast to the traditional demands of feminine duty that she has been following for the past ten years.

This freedom, however, is ultimately characterized as negative, thus problematizing the notion of modernity as inherently beneficial for woman that I analyzed in Chapter Two. Laura's actions, the text mentions, are motivated principally by revenge. Not only does she explicitly use the verb *vengarse*, but she writes, "Estoy en el período agudo de rencor sin objeto, de una sorda, inquietante rebelión que pide víctimas" (*3*). The word *rebellion*, similar to the ending of Espina's *Aurora de España*, is often used in celebration of the protagonist's defiance of and liberation from the constraints placed on her by the gendered order. However, the fact that Laura's rebellion specifically requires "victims" subverts this notion. It suggests that women who dare to

"rebel" against or deviate from their gender-specific roles cause harm, either to themselves or others. The text suggests that both men and women are harmed by this behavior, but as we will see, Laura's lover suffers the most.

Furthermore, the language of the passage cited above also reveals the ways in which her desires are associated specifically with the modern, further establishing a connection between modernity and unorthodox gender roles. The use of the verb *flirtear* (officially recorded in 1917 in Alemany y Bolufer's *Diccionario de la lengua española* but evidence points to its use in the late 1870s) is significant.[44] As in Nelken's *Aventura*, it associates the modern with the foreign, thus placing the modern in opposition to ideal Spanish feminine virtue that Laura originally represents. Thus, the rest of the text serves as a detailed exploration of the negative consequences of Laura's actions rather than as a celebration of modern forms of femininity. If, as Johnson rightly describes, the new woman prefigured by Laura "rejects an independence that assumes typical male attitudes (such as donjuanism) and forges an alternate path that engages in meaningful, morally responsible relationships" (*Gender* 135), then *Princesa*'s depiction of Laura's modernity is meant to be read as a criticism of and a cautionary tale against women who dare to stray beyond gender-specific roles. However, Laura's modern lifestyle is not exactly that of the modern woman of the 1920s, for her "rebellion" does indeed "assume typical male attitudes," to borrow Johnson's words. Laura's issue—or better put the text's issue with Laura—is that she assumes the same lifestyle as Fernando. Her new lifestyle is harmful because she becomes his female "equivalent"—a "Doña Juana" to an extent. Her behavior is, therefore,

[44] The verb *flirtear* appears as early as 1878, in the October 16 edition of *El Campo*. A brief scan of the Hemeroteca Digital of the Biblioteca Nacional de España shows that there are instances from 1883 and 1888, and then numerous ones from 1891 onwards, suggesting its assimilation into standard vocabulary.

"unnatural." Thus, the text's criticism is predicated on the notion of inherent gender differences between the sexes. Woman is inherently domestic, and by extension deviations from this norm result in chaos.

One of the consequences of Laura's "unnatural" behavior is that traditional gender roles within her new romantic relationship have been inverted. We discover through the gossip of other aristocratic women that as a result of her new lifestyle she has been romantically involved with her cousin, José Luis, a young, tubercular romantic poet and son of the marquise. They say that Laura "tiene acaparado a ese pobre muchacho" and that she "se está poniendo en ridículo" (*4*). The inversion of gender roles feminizes José Luis and masculinizes Laura. She has become the dominant yet ultimately disinterested one, and her lover the romantically obsessed, self-sacrificing, submissive one. As Johnson notes, José Luis is a "character feminized not only by his disease but by the intensity of his gaze and the redness of his lips" (*Gender* 134). When Fernando shows up unexpectedly at the marquise's Galician estate, José Luis begins to obsess over his girlfriend's imagined infidelity to the point of madness. If, as I have analyzed in my discussion of Barco's *Fémina* (published one year after Casanova's *Princesa*), hysteria was considered a traditionally feminine disease, José Luis's symptoms further feminize him. This inversion of the gendered social order echoes many of the anxieties surrounding modern forms of femininity that many of Casanova's anti-feminist contemporaries held.

If Laura's transgressions are inherently connected with the modern (Fernando himself understands Laura's actions as fundamentally modern, telling her, once again using English to draw the connection between modernity and the foreign, "Veo que te has hecho una *modern woman my dear*" [*9*]), then Laura's final repentance signals a return to the pre-modern, "natural"

order. Fernando confronts Laura about her dishonorable behavior towards José Luis, after which she repents entirely to the poor poet:

> José Luis … ¡Perdóname! He sido contigo cruel [...] ¡Oh! Sufriré toda mi vida, toda […] Tu amor me crucifica... Soy indigna de él, indigna mil veces... Me divertí contigo los primeros días, sin tomar en serio tu ternura. Yo aborrecía los sentimientos de los hombres... quería burlarme de ellos… vengarme. Y te oí, te incité, te enloquecí pérfidamente... (*17*)

José Luis faints as a result, and Laura shrieks, afraid that she has killed him. The marquise runs in and blames Laura, but the scene ends as follows: "María [la marquesa] echó los brazos al cuello de Laura y, unidas, lloraron las dos solitarias mujeres... La madre lloraba por amor... Laura, por no haber amado..." (*18*). This chaotic, melodramatic scene is the result of José Luis's hysterical jealousy brought about by Laura's transgression of the "natural" gender boundaries between the sexes. Therefore, Laura's repentance represents a reaction against the emergent figure of the modern woman—as an extension of modernity itself—as the harbinger of social disorder and dysfunction. To compare to Barco's *Fémina*, the implied restoration of the "natural" order is precisely what Don Sebastián believes will happen when he "forgives" Gabriela, but whereas Barco's novella understands gender differences to be molded by societal pressures, Casanova's criticism is predicated on the understanding that these differences as natural.

I preface this chapter with a brief discussion of Casanova's *Princesa* because it raises important questions about the ways in which more conservative writers engaged with the problematic relationship between gender and modernity in early twentieth-century Spain. Although ultimately different in its treatment of a female protagonist, Casanova's early novella in many ways anticipates the same problems and anxieties present in the works of Nelken and

Burgos, namely the consequences that the socially transgressive modern woman can have on a social order legitimated on supposedly inherent and stable gender differences. The novella, similar to Nelken's *Aventura* and Burgos's *¡La piscina!*, codes modern femininity as international, cosmopolitan, and subversive to the nineteenth-century model of domestic womanhood. In their own ways, these texts ultimately reveal what can occur when women transgress the rigid social boundaries that had traditionally separated men and women into separate spheres of activity and equally rigidly prescribed the legitimate forms of interaction between them. The difference between them, however, is in their celebration or rejection of modernity as beneficial to woman.

Casanova's text has been read by critics as ambiguous, but I disagree with these interpretations. For example, the association of traditionally "feminine" characteristics such as submissiveness and romantic obsession with José Luis in Casanova's novella rather than with Laura has invited counter-interpretations concerning the text's subversion of these traditional gendered ideals. Thus, it would seem that *Princesa*, similar to Nelken's *Aventura*, tackles the societal expectations surrounding gender relations and the ways in which the female protagonist cannot fit neatly into the roles that male individuals have created for them. Similar to the ways in which Nelken's Andrés becomes a victim of the narrative he has constructed around Kate (as the Doña Inés to his Don Juan), José Luis, influenced by the romantic poetry of Leopardi and Rosalía de Castro, ultimately falls victim to the impossibility of Laura to conform to the expectations he has formed around their relationship. Moreover, the melodramatic ending has also caused some critics to reread the text's so-called defense of traditional gender roles. The effect of the ending, the argument goes, is that it ironizes Laura's repentance, thus subverting the conventional trope of the overly repentant or melodramatic woman. According to Kirsty Hooper,

for example, the text "has a consciously ambiguous ending, in which the author exploits reader expectations and generic conventions to open up a variety of interpretive possibilities" (134).[45]

However, the text is ultimately conservative in its anti-modern posturing. This is not to ignore the fact that there exists an inherent tension in the text between an emergent model of New Womanhood that disrupts the normative order and a more conservative, nineteenth-century image of femininity on whose conformity to gender-specific social roles the stability of the "natural" order depends. Where Casanova's text ultimately reveals its conservatism is in Laura's return to a traditionally feminine position with respect to men. Unlike Nelken's Kate, who lives an authentic, modern life not constrained by gendered limitations, Laura's "modern" lifestyle is specifically modeled after Fernando's and therefore comes to understand that she has committed a sin against the natural order. It makes clear, through the inversion of gender roles in Laura's and José Luis's relationship, that Laura's modern lifestyle is unnatural, thus echoing the common anti-feminist fear of the masculinization of women.

Casanova's text, therefore, points to common positions held by conservative women in early twentieth-century Spain, and her other novellas—she wrote twelve in total—further echo *Princesa*'s defense of traditional models of femininity. For example, the ending to *El doctor Wolski* (Casanova's first full-length novel, published in its entirety in 1894 and subsequently as an abridged novella in 1920), similar to that of Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna*, privileges literary conventions that limit female characters to socially appropriate passive, domestic roles. The

[45] In fact, Hooper offers a rich and insightful analysis of the ways in which Casanova's text melds different narrative discourses in a way that "consciously intervenes in the *fin de siglo* transformation of traditional literary and cultural models, disproving the claims … that such renovation was limited to a tiny group of [male] intellectuals" (135). See chapter five of her *A Stranger in My Own Land*, pp. 105-135.

action of the novella, as do many of Casanova's, takes place in Eastern Europe—Poland in particular.[46] The setting, as Hooper explains about the full-length novel,

> provides a smoke screen for Casanova's participation in many of the great debates that preoccupied European thinkers at the *fin de siècle*—from the growing authority of science and technology to the relevance of Romantic paradigms in a post-positivist society and from the debates surrounding women's education to the fears of racial and cultural degeneration. (25)

The novella, while eliminating entirely the subplot about women's education, tells the story of Dr. Enrique Wolski, a scientist and eugenicist who, after his graduation in medicine from the University of Kazan, spends two years abroad developing his theory that eliminating hereditary illness can improve the human race. Meanwhile, Wolski's "angelic" fiancée, Mara (Margarita), faithfully playing the role of Penelope, has been waiting for his return. Mara, determined to be Wolski's "ángel tutelar de ese hogarcito tan higiénico, tan confortable y tan polaco como Enrique lo sueña" (*5*), is sick with tuberculosis when Wolski returns, indicating that his future wife will almost certainly die in childbirth.[47] Her illness, and more significantly the fact that it is heritable, means that Wolski's dream of molding strong, healthy children who will one day save the Polish nation from foreign interference is threatened (when Casanova first published *Wolski* in 1894, Poland had not yet gained independence from the powers that had partitioned it centuries earlier). Mara, true to her self-sacrificing role as *ángel del hogar*, breaks off their

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[46] There is an autobiographical element to the choice of scenery: Casanova married the Polish philosopher Wicenty Lutosławski in 1887, and their relationship opened her up to a complex world of Eastern European politics. Writing from Eastern Europe, Casanova was Spain's only war correspondent in that area during the First World War and the Russian Revolution. See Alayeto's biography of Casanova for more information.

[47] All citations refer to the abridged novella published in *La Novela Corta*.

engagement so as not to compromise his ideals. Years later he meets and marries Gelcha, but only after he has assured himself that "*ni en su familia, ni en la mía, ha habido desde cuatro o cinco generaciones un solo caso de enfermedad hereditaria*" (*14*; emphasis in the original). Tragedy strikes again. Gelcha gives birth to a son after a difficult delivery and, due to the complications, will need a double ovariectomy. The son dies after one week. On top of this, Wolski's hospital, built to take care of tubercular children, burns down, thus marking a definitive end to Wolski's project. The final scene of the novella reveals that Mara is still alive, serving women and children in Lithuania happily surrounded by the children she could never bear herself.

Even in its abridged form, there are numerous discourses that intersect in *Wolski*. Most notably, readers are constantly made aware of the discourse on Polish nationalism, which can also be read as part of the broader context of nationalist discourse of *fin-de-siècle* Spain. Second, the novel depicts different ideologies, particularly concerning Wolski's eugenics. Third, and most importantly to the present study, is the novella's discourse on gender. Hooper has argued for a reading of the ending of the full-length novel in line with Johnson's view of social modernism:

> Mara's actions—setting up a commune for battered wives, making education universally available—are indeed modern: socially modern.… Far from the backward-looking, repressive Catholicism of Inquisitorial Spain, however, Mara's is the new, social Catholicism, which promoted a woman-centered ethos based on philanthropy and caring.… Casanova is deliberately employing imagery than can be evoked in support of either reactionary or utopian arguments. (49)

In this reading, the novel's ending is utopian, but the ending of the novella is decidedly less radical than that of the novel. In fact, the removal of the subplot concerning Mara's education and the lack of specific details about Mara's utopia signify that the novella ultimately offers a fundamentally conservative representation of gender and its relationship to modernity.

Mara is almost entirely absent from most of the action of the novella, and this places the focus entirely on the eponymous protagonist and his project. This is not to say that Mara is uneducated. On the contrary, Mara receives an education, but the novella lacks any discussion of the role of women's education in society. At the end of the novella, it is suggested that Mara has established a community for abused women in Lithuania and serves as a schoolteacher to the children, but these aspects are left to be intuited. Thus, the focus of the final chapter of the novella is not on Mara's work, but on her sacrifice. Throughout the novella, Mara is presented as a unidimensional character who exists solely for the good of Wolski. At the end of the novel, years after her relationship with him ended, Mara is defined not by her potentially utopic, woman-centered activism, but by her specifically *feminine* sacrifice. The last glimpse into Mara's psychology we read is her thanking God "por haber puesto en mi camino al hombre que amé, que amo y admiro siempre" (*20*). Thus, the text establishes Mara's identity relationally to Wolski's rather than focus on her independence.

Moreover, the final sentence of the novella relies heavily on conventional, feminine imagery: "En la diáfana serenidad de la tarde vibró pausado y melancólico el *Ángelus*. Mara cruzó las manos sobre el pecho, y a través de los frondosos árboles, los rayos del sol que se apagaba descendían sobre su cabeza, colocando un nimbo de luz en sus sienes" (*20*). This description is significant. The light rays—specifically the nimbus—recall the aureole of saints in Catholic iconography. Thus, the final image of the novella is one of Mara surrounded by a

celestial halo, which establishes her as a saint. This calls to mind specifically images of the Virgin Mary, who is often represented in Catholic iconography with her hands, if not outstretched welcoming the faithful to paradise, folded on her chest in reverent prayer as Mara's are. Moreover, Mara's soul is described as "próxima a caer en la tumba sin pecado y sin miedo" (*20*). "Sin pecado" makes Mara's association with the Virgin much more plausible because of Mary's (the names Mary/María and Mara are linguistically similar) unique position among humanity in Catholic theology (and we can presume that Mara herself has remained a virgin).

More significantly, the novella's representation of gender positions femininity in opposition to the modern, which in *Wolski* is defined by the eponymous protagonist's scientific ideals. Wolski's life, similar to the protagonist of Blanca de los Ríos's *Los diablos azules* (1910) analyzed below, is governed strictly by scientific reasoning. He tells a friend, "[L]a energía del hombre … puede transformar el mundo. El hombre a todo llega y todo lo alcanza cuando la voluntad y la ciencia le guían" (*4*). Thus, modernity here implies the turn away from religious epistemologies toward specifically rationalistic and positivistic modes of viewing the world and of extracting value from life. Unlike de los Ríos's Adalid (analyzed below), Wolski's eugenicist ideas, while idealistic, are motivated by a desire to improve the lives of human beings. He argues that science, the process by which man (used in the philosophical sense of "humankind," but by no means bereft of the word's gender-specific connotations) can unlock the mysteries of Nature, will be able to improve the human species: "El hombre entonces prolongará su vida, evitará el dolor, podrá comunicarse con los mundos [i.e. secretos] de que hoy está separado" (*4*). He is a Promethean figure who believes that his scientific principles can improve human existence by reducing suffering. His project fails, and the text is decidedly anti-modern in its condemnation of his promethean struggle against fate.

Moreover, the text can be considered anti-modern with respect to its conservative representation of women. In Hooper's reading of the full-length novel, the ending reveals the ways in which women, particularly Mara, have potential that is not restricted to the gendered confines of the home. Mara's philanthropy represents the antithesis to Wolski's, and the text celebrates her project given that hers has had success whereas Wolski's has failed. Hooper reads this as a fundamentally (social) modern position. However, in the novella, instead of representing Mara's new life as modern, the text positions it as a refuge from the modern as represented by Wolski. According to Felski, a common trope of *fin-de-siècle* literature was the association of the feminine with "Romantic depictions of woman as a redemptive refuge from the constraints of a modern civilization identified with a growing materialism, the worship of scientific reason, and an alienating urban environment" (*Gender* 38). Aldaraca has also analyzed the representation of the feminine as the antithesis of the modern, industrial public sphere. She argues, "[T]his belief in a materialistic and dangerous public world provokes in turn the creation of an idealized image of an isolated feminine domestic sphere which can be a timeless spiritual refuge and stable locus outside the turbulent flow of history" (*El ángel del hogar* 56). Mara inhabits such an idyllic space in nature that is at once a Romantic portrait of the Eastern European landscape and a representation of a timeless *locus amoenus* isolated from urban life:

> Al Norte de Polonia está Lituania. Sus fértiles campos, la salubridad de sus montes y los recuerdos de otra edad que evocan ruinas, hacen de aquella región que fecunda el Niemen, una de las más interesantes y pintorescas.… Extendíase ante su puerta [de Mara] un jardincito en el que crecían rosales, pensamientos, las níveas y olorosísimas *Convalias* y le daban sombra y frescura algunos árboles (20).

Bram Dijkstra's classic study has shown the ways in which the association of women with flowers in *fin-de-siècle* Europe was a reminder of her purity, passivity, and domesticity (14-16), and the specific mention in Casanova's passage of the *convalia*, the lily of the valley, confirms this. Moreover, the abundance of nature imagery also reveals the way in which, in Felski's words, "[w]oman was identified with a primitive or preindustrial era" (*Gender* 39). Thus, the ending to *Wolski* might indeed be utopic, but the representation of Mara's "feminine" utopia in the novella cannot be considered modern because it relies heavily on conventional imagery associated with conservative ideals of feminine duty and self-sacrifice.

Blanca de los Ríos's three short novels—*Las hijas de don Juan* (1907), *Madrid goyesco* (1908), *Los diablos azules* (1910)—share the anti-modern stance of Casanova's texts and also express a romantic nostalgia for a traditional Spanish society.[48] At the same time, they reveal a prescient understanding of the uniquely masculine character of modernity. As a result, the female characters of most of these texts, usually cast into unidimensional types (the *ángel del hogar*, the hysteric, the *femme fatale*), are often positioned as victims of modern life. Thus, one could argue that de los Ríos's texts present a "feminist" discourse that criticizes the gender-specific ways in which women are victims of misogyny and masculine vices. However, I argue that this discourse in effectively undermined because this anti-modern position is predicated on the existence of an inherently virtuous feminine nature and implies that the solution to these dangers is precisely the return to an inherently patriarchal society.

De los Ríos never considered herself a feminist, but she shared feminists' dedication to combatting the prevalent stereotyping of women as intellectually inferior to men. At the same

[48] González López rightly identifies seven novellas by Blanca de los Ríos (57), but only the three that I mention were published during the time period focused on in this study (1907-1936).

time, she held the conventional belief that fundamental biological ("psychophysical") differences between males and females better suited them for gender-specific roles in society. This positioned was summed up in an article published in *ABC* in 1927. She argued, "No hay tales inferioridades; pero sí existen entre ambos sexos diferencias psicofísicas que … han de armonizarse en bien de las dos mitades de la Humanidad" ("Las mujeres españolas en 1926" 10). Her belief in inherent gender differences went beyond the biological, moreover. She accepted the existence of a unique, feminine nature that influenced woman's behavior. For example, she viewed women's writing as inherently different from men's, arguing in the same article that "[l]o que caracteriza, exalta y avalora toda obra de mujer es, ya lo dije, la potencia sentimental, esa llama de fe y de amor que enciende el arte y suscita e impulsa todos los heroísmos" ("Las mujeres españolas en 1926" 10). She further shared the widespread anti-feminist fear of the so-called "defeminization" of women:

> Declaro que yo … no soy feminista con ese feminismo … de las que adoptan la tonsura, el peinado, el traje y las despreocupaciones varoniles, porque considero que el remedar y pretender suplantar sistemáticamente al hombre es *desfeminizarse*, y, por tanto, abjurar del sexo en vez de aceptarlo tal como Dios y la Naturaleza los hicieron. ("Las mujeres españolas en 1926" 10; emphasis in the original)

Thus, de los Ríos's article reveals a conventional understanding of gender differences as natural extensions of biology, and therefore considered any transgression of these boundaries to be a violation of the divinely ordained sexual order.

In this passage there is also clear relationship between modernity and the "unnatural" obfuscation of gender boundaries. De los Ríos's descriptions of feminists recalls the images of

the modern woman, which here suggests that modernity presents a unique threat to traditional expressions of femininity and by extension to traditional, patriarchal social structures. Therefore, modern forms of femininity—represented here by woman's assumption of specifically male dress—are "unnatural." In fact, one of the principle questions in her texts concerns where women fit into a Spanish society whose traditions are under attack by the modernization process. González López's summarizes best the general outlook conveyed in de los Ríos's texts:

> [R]eflejan los usos y las costumbres de diferentes estratos sociales que conviven en un mundo que se preparaba para cambios radicales que, en ocasiones, se dejan intuir. Pero también, y muy poderosamente, nos hablan de la concepción de una mujer de la clase media culta, preocupada por la evolución de las costumbres y por los temas y problemas que más inquietaron a la sociedad de su tiempo que, de una manera u otra, quedaron recogidos en ellos. (58)

Las hijas de don Juan and *Los diablos azules*, like Casanova's *Princesa* and *Wolski*, ultimately defend a conservative view of womanhood and of women's "natural" role in society in opposition to modernity. As in Casanova's texts, this is a common characteristic of de los Ríos's representations of gender, and it is here that we find a central contradiction of many of her texts. By affirming a uniquely feminine nature that arises out of sexual differences, de los Ríos simultaneously undermines her own opposition to misogyny by echoing the same gender tropes used throughout the nineteenth century to legitimate the social subordination of woman.

Las hijas de Don Juan (1907), for example, is a complex and rather contradictory study of the social and familial forces that lead to the downfall of two sisters, and as such it has invited

a wide range of interpretations.[49] Scholars overwhelmingly disagree about the interpretation of this text, especially concerning its appropriation of the Don Juan myth and its discourse on gender. Concerning the former, explorations of the Don Juan myth were common in *fin-de-siècle* Spain. As Johnson explains, "In the nineteenth century (and similarly in the twentieth century), Don Juan was the subject of disperse and often conflicting renditions" (*Gender* 111). Gies has also elaborated on the variety of nineteenth-century parodies of Zorrilla's Don Juan: "La obra de Zorrilla (1844) no fue tanto 'fuente' sino catarata que inspiró a docenas de autores dramáticos a lo largo del siglo XIX. La cantidad de imitaciones, continuaciones y parodias del *Tenorio* es … sorprendente" ("Subversión" 93). Yet critics have been divided over whether de los Ríos's rewriting of the myth is, in Davis's words, a "cautionary tale for women in Restoration Spain" (1), one that shows that there is "no room for Don Juan and his progeny in a world that is more hospitable to women" (Johnson, *Gender* 131), or rather a conservative expression of "el temor ante los cambios que la sociedad española estaba experimentando en la vida familiar, moral y sexual" (González López 87), one in which "se contempla con nostalgia la falta de un padre calderoniano, capaz de restaurar el honor a la manera más conservadora del siglo XVII, que [Don Juan] sólo ejemplifica más tarde" (Lázaro 474). I agree with Lázaro more than with any other critic when she argues that "*Hijas* no es, simplemente, un texto desmitificador, puesto que la narradora no achaca los males nacionales al mito en sí, sino, más bien, a la desaparición de valores que, en su opinión, representaba originalmente" (470). Therefore, despite the text's

[49] *Hijas* is not only de los Ríos's most analyzed short novel, but I would venture to say that it also might be her most studied work of fiction. There are no less than seven scholarly articles dedicated exclusively to the discussion of the text, in addition to analyses included in book-length studies. I would posit that much of this novel's popularity among critics is due to it being the only of de los Ríos's short works that has been reedited in a critical anthology (see Bordonada's *Novelas breves*).

feminist discourse—"feminist" in that it reflects common feminist concerns of the time period around the victimization of women in patriarchal societies—the implied solution to these issues is a restoration of the patriarchal order as represented by the traditional values and honor of the figure of the Calderonian father.

As its title makes clear, *Las hijas de don Juan* tells the story of Don Juan Fontibre's two daughters, Dora and Lita, and of the family's ruin brought about by the libertine's neglect. De los Ríos's Don Juan, however, is radically different from Tirso's or Zorrilla's, whom she admired as "un símbolo de la raza de los hombres" in whom "se cifra lo más típico y vividero de nuestra raza [española]" (*Los grandes mitos* 8). In *Hijas*, the narrator praises traditional *donjuanismo* as "español de origen y de *naturaleza*" (*1*; emphasis in the original). In this new, modern incarnation, Fontibre is a dandy. A social and artistic decadent, he no longer represents the romantic grandeur of Zorrilla's rebellious antihero but rather all of the degenerative aspects of modern Spain. He is a gambler, a womanizer, and, perhaps most significantly, neglectful of his paternal duties. He is described as "una de las personalidades más típicas del Madrid de la Restauración" (*1*). Therefore, the text serves as a broader criticism of turn-of-the-century Spanish society.

What is lamented most in the text—and it is for this reason that Ena Bordonada argues that she should be called "la mujer de la Generación del 98" ("Introduction" 32)—is the lost glory of the Spanish nation represented by the decadent figure of the *fin-de-siècle* Don Juan. By extension, this is framed as the direct result of modernity's threat to traditional values. In *Hijas*, the narrator associates modern Spain with cultural and social decadence and with the superficial adherence tradition:

> [E]l valor legendario resolvíase en bravuconería y en matonismo; las *orgías* de los melenudos degeneraban en *juergas* de colmado; las *Jarifas* esproncedianas, en hembras de pañolón; a la espada caballeril sustituíase la navaja canallesca; a la lira, la guitarra; a la estrofa, el *jipido*, y en todo, en el traje, en el aire personal, en el habla, introdújose y abrió surco la avenida flamenco-tauromáquica, que constituyó *género* en el teatro por horas, y en cuadritos y panderetas, de los que *pagan* los ingleses. (*2*; emphasis in the original)

Given the text's publication in 1907, the immediate target here are the *modernistas*, among whom were the bohemians and the dandies who, as symbols of modernity, radically opposed traditional bourgeois customs and values.[50] More importantly, *Hijas* dramatizes the consequences of this behavior on the familial order. This is a common characterization of modernity in de los Ríos's texts. In *Los diablos azules*, modernity specifically refers to the same type of excessive scientific rationalism as in Casanova's *Wolski*, but the text highlights its negative effects on the stability of the traditional family. Modernity is therefore synonymous with the degeneration of national traditions around which a collective identity has been constructed. In *Hijas*, modernity is directly associated with the foreign. As the text explains, "la leyenda [de don Juan] concluye donde la europeización empieza" (*1*). In other words, national

[50] In fact, Johnson reads *Hijas* as one of a number of direct responses to Valle-Inclán's modernist (and *modernista*) rewriting of the Don Juan myth in his *Sonatas*. She argues, "One of the recurring intertexts in the female-authored fiction of the modernist period was the archetypal figure Don Juan, who often appeared filtered through his contemporary reincarnation, Ramón del Valle-Inclán's Marqués de Bradomín" ("Domestication" 223). Elsewhere she elaborates on the ways in which many women writers of early twentieth-century Spain "rejected Valle-Inclán's narratorial positioning of the Don Juan figure as a parodic, self-aware seducer whose sentimentality 'saves' him from moral condemnation" (*Gender* 122). In *Hijas*, the mother's name being Concha and the daughters' shocking discovery all point specifically to Valle-Inclán's *Sonata de otoño* (1902).

myths are under threat from foreign "invasion." Therefore, similar to Casanova's and Nelken's novellas, modernity is destabilizing to traditional, uniquely Spanish society.

This discourse is inherently gendered. Don Juan's actions directly lead to the family's ruin, and the primary victims are women, specifically his wife Concha and daughters Dora and Lita. As Vázquez Recio explains, "De este modo, el determinismo hace a don Juan destructor de la libertad femenina. El donjuanismo condiciona fatalmente a las mujeres: las aniquila y hace esclavas, como a la esposa, o las transforma patológicamente en seres anormales, como a las hijas" (398). As in all of de los Ríos's novellas analyzed here, the male protagonist's wife represents the self-sacrificing martyr who suffers from her husband's neglect. In this text, as in *Los diablos azules* (1910), there is a direct relationship between the husband's distant attitudes and the decline of the wife's physical health. The narrator is explicit about Don Juan's culpability: "Y como el padre de familia andaba reñido con la luz y con el orden, la casa toda era modelo de desequilibrio y trastorno" (*3*). Thus, the stability of the family—and by extension social stability more broadly—depends on appropriate male behavior. The suggested remedy to society's problems, therefore, is the return to inherently patriarchal social structures.

Because the focus of the text is the effect of Don Juan's actions on his daughters, *Hijas* invites analyses about modernity's negative effects on women. A common trope in de los Ríos's short fiction is that of the two daughters of opposing natures. Dora is the obedient daughter—spiritual, sentimental, prone to "hysteric" expressions of emotions—whereas Lita is "un organismo fino, acerado, resistente, con elásticas energías, bien armado para la lucha" (*4*). (In *Madrid goyesco* [1908] the two archetypal women of the Spanish nation are Goya's *maja* and the witch.) Because of Concha's lack of influence over the (feminine) household, the daughters develop behaviors and tastes similar to those of their father, which represents the corrupting

influence of modernity on younger generations of women. When they find their father's secret, adulterous love letters in his study, the shock exacerbates their downfall. As the narrator puts it, using biblical imagery, "El mal hallazgo de las cartas operó en la vida de las niñas cambio visible; fue comienzo de otra edad, iniciación amarga en la vida, pérdida de la gracia genesiaca" (*7*). In other words, the specifically masculine vices of the father corrupt the daughters' "naturally" feminine innocence. Dora, the more introverted daughter, retreats further into her spirituality, finding inspiration through reading Santa Teresa.[51] As a result, she comes to embody an extreme mysticism. Lita, on the other hand, develops a wilder personality. She frequents parties, develops a taste for erotic literature, and ultimately is forced to prostitute herself out of necessity.[52] Thus, the two daughters represent two imperfect alternatives of Spanish womanhood when the ideal positions of wife and mother are unavailable: on the one hand, the devoted yet hysterical mystic and ascetic who escapes the material world through her death and, on the other, the prostitute who embodies a life of abject, carnal sin. The fact that these two feminine models are in some ways inadequate for the daughters is predicated on the notion that the domestic

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[51] See the fifth chapter of Denise Dupont's *Writing Teresa* for a detailed discussion about de los Ríos's admiration of Santa Teresa.

[52] Davis offers an insightful analysis of the ways in which the daughters' subjectivities are informed through reading. He argues, "Choosing to read either Santa Teresa or pornographic material literature confers upon the girls a specific social subjectivity that is decidedly negative and ultimately leaves them vulnerable to harmful influences and people" (5). To take this argument one step further, what the girls read is decidedly gendered. Thus, Dora's religious devotion being informed by the writings of Santa Teresa, rather than by the works of the male Church fathers, is reminiscent of Ana Ozores's readings of the Spanish mystic in Clarín's *La Regenta*). Lita's fascination with pornography is interesting. We might expect that a traditional "feminine" reader such as Emma Bovary would be drawn to sentimental romance, rather than to a work designed to arouse sexual desire. Because pornography is often equated with the perversion of sexual purity, Lita's choice of literature is, therefore, more subversive to the gendered norm than Dora's.

model of femininity is the appropriate one. Don Juan, recognizing the consequences of his actions on his family, commits suicide.

Thus, in *Hijas*, the future of Don Juan's family—and by extension the myth itself—is effectively snuffed out. The narrator mentions at the end of the text, "en Lita acabó la estirpe de don Juan" (*20*). This can be read as a moral allegory about what happens to women when men (as fathers and husbands) reject traditional masculine values and familial responsibility. By extension, this is also story about Spanish society. As Johnson notes, "The daughters are melodramatically typecast, but these stereotypes combine with the Don Juan intertext to represent genuine social problems in the material world—parental neglect, donjaunism, and prostitution" (*Gender* 131). Parental neglect is perhaps the key theme of this work. While Don Juan's vices are condemned as the direct cause of the family's ruin, the narrator does not let Concha off the hook. Concha is equally to blame for her daughters' destruction. Thus, the text suggests that better parental care and oversight would have produced different outcomes in the girls' lives. In this way, women are both victims and victimizers in this system. The text, however, is ultimately anti-modern in its bolstering of a social order that is inherently patriarchal. Despite what Lázaro calls the text's "feminocentric" approach in rewriting the Don Juan myth, the text does not posit alternative modes of female experience or subjectivity beyond that of the self-sacrificing mother, the self-destroying mystic, and the socially immoral prostitute. Kathleen M. Glenn notes this as well: "It is obvious that demythification of Don Juan does not necessarily lead to idealization of the female figures around him" (227). Only domesticity is ideal for the Fontibre sisters. Domestic women, therefore, are the systematic victims of the (masculine) excesses of modernity. The irony of *Hijas*, and indeed the irony of all three of de los Ríos's short novels, is that in decrying the damaging effects of modernity on women, the text ends up

supporting patriarchal social structures because the implied solution to social instability is the restoration of the patriarchal order in which women are inherently subordinate to men.

This is a common tension in de los Ríos's texts. At the end of *Madrid goyesco* (1908), for example, when Pepito, the man with whom the protagonist Maravillas falls in love, dies (he kills himself *à la Romeo and Juliet* when he thinks Maravillas has been killed by a stray bullet), she retreats from society into the convent where she can devote the rest of her life to God. This signals the ultimate sacrifice of her individuality. The final lines of the text read as follows: "Pepito se suicidó; Maravillas se enterraba viva en el claustro; los dos murieron … ¡pero la raza vive! (*20*). The use of the verb *enterrarse* to describe Maravillas sacrifice suggests—as in *Hijas*—that the religious life is an inherently inferior lifestyle to domesticity, but the text praises Maravillas's sacrifice for the good of the nation. The narrator praises Pepito and Maravillas as "dos ejemplares de nuestra excelsa raza" (*20*). Therefore, the wellbeing of the individual—in particular the feminine—never exceeds the good of the collective in de los Ríos's texts. This is an inherently anti-modern position given modernity's focus on the individual.[53] The ideal woman in de los Ríos's texts is self-sacrificing, and as such she sacrifices herself not only for men but also for the good of the (gender-specific) *patria*.[54]

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[53] This association of the feminine with the collective rather than with the individual was a common trope of discourse surrounding the "woman question" in the nineteenth century. As Aldaraca notes, "In a period of history during which the social individual is acquiring a new definition and importance, woman is often perceived not as an individual but as *genre* or type" (*El ángel del hogar* 60; emphasis in the original).

[54] In one of de los Ríos's short novels not analyzed here, *Sangre española* (1899), the female protagonist, Rocío, sacrifices herself for the survival of the nation by agreeing to marry the commander of the French invading forces (the novel is set during Spain's war against Napoleon). In drawing a clear parallel between Napoleon's conquest of Spain and the French commander's conquest of Rocío, the text romaticizes Rocío's sacrifice as a uniquely feminine renunciation of life and individuality for the good of the collective (the Nation), thus privileging the traditional order over one affected by foreign influence. Rocío, therefore, as a fervent defender of the Nation and as a woman, simultaneously defends the unique Spanish essence under threat.

Where *Hijas* is a rewriting of the Don Juan myth, *Los diablos azules* (1910) is a rewriting and condemnation of the Faust myth that exemplifies negative aspects of modernity. Much like the legendary Trickster of Seville, Faust is an important symbol of modern (male) individualism and ambition in Western culture. In fact, de los Ríos in a public lecture delivered at the Ateneo mentioned Faust and Don Juan, along with Don Quixote, Hamlet, and Segismundo, as the "great myths of the modern age." Unlike *Hijas*, in which the narrator criticizes not the existence of the Don Juan myth *per se*, but rather a modernizing society hostile to the intrinsically Spanish values that the myth represents, *Diablos* does not seek to redeem the qualities that Faust represents. Rather, the text reveals the negative consequences of the Faustian drive towards progress that ultimately destroys others—particularly women—in the process. If, as González López states, it is the case that in *Diablos* de los Ríos "de nuevo denunciará a la ciencia como cómplice del anarquismo y principal informadora de sus valores disolventes de la sociedad tradicional" (78), when read from a gendered perspective the text seems to criticize the modernizing process and what happens to women as a result while simultaneously defending a uniquely pre-modern understanding of woman's role in society.[55]

The action of *Diablos* parallels the basic trajectory of the Faust legend. In *Faust* the German doctor is an "unrepentant elitist" (Watt 206) who, dissatisfied with book-learning and other forms of human knowledge—Faust, in Goethe's play, calls his library "a cell which stifles, / A universe of moths where I am pent" (vv. 657-658)—seeks more profound meaning in life. Mephistopheles offers him access to worldly pleasures in exchange for his soul. Faust's first

[55] "Anarchism" is, I believe, too strong an interpretation, but González López is right in her assessment that the novel criticizes "science," particularly the protagonist's extreme ideology, as the appropriate basis for civil—and civilized—society. What González López does not consider, however, are the gendered implications of the novel's anti-modernism, which problematize the text's criticism of its protagonist's misogynistic ideology.

request is Gretchen. However, Faust ultimately destroys her and their child in the process. Mirroring Faust's downfall, *Diablos* takes the form of the confessions of Dr. Adalid, a renowned neuropath who has been arrested for the murder of one of his female patients, Lena.[56] His life, similar to Wolski's, is guided by a strict and excessive form of scientific rationalism but is given new meaning when he finds himself in love with Lena (Faust's Helena). His Faustian drive to possess her, however, ends up destroying everything in his life. He neglects his wife Clara, whose growing hysteria and physical deterioration ultimately lead to her death. His son Luisín is also killed when a car driven by Lena and her lover accidentally runs him over. Adalid, reacting to his son's death, shoots and murders Lena, which marks the end of the novella.

Women in *Diablos*, as in *Hijas*, are cast into distinct feminine types, and the text can be divided structurally based on these types. The first half of the text centers on Clara, who is meant to be Adalid's *ángel del hogar*. When Adalid meets Lena, the focus of the text shifts to the consequences of Adalid's obsession with her. Lena is represented as his *femme fatale*, who through her own passionate life "seduces" him away from his rationalism and slowly "converts" him into a romantic hero for whom love and passion become his *raison d'être*. Moreover, analyzing the representation of Clara and Lena as distinct female types reveals the ways in which

[56] Today, in both English and Spanish, a neuropath/*neurópata* is someone who suffers from a nervous disease or an overly sensitive nervous system. In the early twentieth century, however, the word referred to a medical professional who treated such conditions. This meaning is listed both in Manuel Rodrigo Navas y Carrasco's *Diccionario general y técnico hispano-americano* (1918) and in the RAE's *Diccionario manual e ilustrado de la lengua española* (1927). In the latter, the word's meaning is listed simply as a synonym for *neurólogo*. The word's current meaning was not officially registered in the DRAE until the 1936 edition, where the former meaning is completely erased. By the end of *Diablos*, Adalid indeed suffers from a nervous breakdown leading to Lena's murder and his incarceration, but it is impossible to conclude whether or not de los Ríos was consciously playing with the two meanings of the word.

the text characterizes modernity and masculine vices, respectively, as inherently dangerous to women.

Adalid embodies a specific yet exaggerated form of the modern, unrepentant, destructive drive of progress, which the text criticizes as fundamentally dangerous for society. As his name suggests (an *adalid* refers to a high-ranking military officer in medieval Castile), he sees himself on the frontlines of the battle to bring modernity to Spain. A disciple of social Darwinism and eugenics—he claims that "la vida es para los fuertes, para los robustos de salud y de cerebro" and that "el débil, el enfermo, el mal constituido, el decrépito, ¿para qué han de vivir?" (*3*)—Adalid orders his life solely through logic and reason. He personifies the quintessentially secular modern spirit in that his "scientific dogma," what he also calls his "credo de asepsia física" (*4*), is divorced from religion, emotions, and aesthetics (particularly romanticism), which he views as impediments to progress. He also sees Spain as fundamentally pre-modern, that is to say scientifically backwards and less modernized than other European countries. In one moment, for example, he defines Europe's geography in terms of light and darkness, representing knowledge and ignorance respectively. In his view, Spain "quedaba en plena sombra" (*4*). Admiring Lena's cosmopolitan cultural tastes, he remarks that for such a refined and well-off woman, "¡es tan imposible el plegarse a este mezquino e indigente vivir de aquí de España!" (*9*), further criticizing Spain for its cultural backwardness with respect to other European countries.

Adalid's rhetoric further reflects his dissatisfaction with the present state of Spanish society. He calls his ideal way of life a "falansterio científico, un paraíso higiénico, un mundo de asepsia y de intelectualidad *positiva*, donde no quedase un microbio, ni un libraco viejo, ni un clerizonte, ni un erudito, ni un poeta" (*2-3*; emphasis in the original). His use of the word *falansterio* (from the French *phalanstère*) is significant. On the one hand, the (negative)

association of the *phalanstère* with socialism reflects broader anxieties about the perceived dangers of the growing socialist movements in early twentieth-century Spain. On the other hand, Adalid dreams of a self-contained utopia (*paraíso*) in which intellectualism and rationality are the sole foundations for social organization, free ("paraíso *higiénico*) from the negative influences of, above all, art, religion, and romantic sentimentality as important aspects of human experience. Concerning these, he declares, "¡Se acabaron los romanticismos, los amoríos a la luna, los lloriqueos en iglesias penumbrosas y reumáticas!" (*3*). Following the logic of his scientific "creed," these must be eliminated from society for science and reason to prevail. Moreover, the *diablos azules* to which the novella's title refers represent everything antithetical to the modern project because they distract man from the rational and lead him towards the irrational. Specifically, they initially refer to a type of bacteria that are the enemies of pure reason, "los microbios del idealismo, del misticismo, de la pasión, del arte, de la fantasía" (4). They are, according to Adalid, what lead to his own downfall. (At the end of the novella they come to refer more specifically to Lena's blue eyes, which "seduce" him.)

The tropes of hygiene and sterilization that make up his rhetoric further echo the common tropes in the eugenic discourse of the time. Nash, for example, argues,

> The key feature in Spanish eugenics was its socio-medical approach. Social hygiene rather than race hygiene defined this stream of eugenics …The main drive of social eugenics centered on reproductive policies and the elimination of degenerative diseases … as the major problems impeding the overall improvement of the race. ("Social Eugenics" 744)[57]

[57] See also Zubiaurre, pp. 31-57, for a discussion of the relationship between sexual reproduction and eugenics in early twentieth-century Spain.

The similarities between Adalid and Casanova's Wolski are clear, but there are some significant differences between the two men. Wolski is motivated by a general—and genuine—philanthropic desire to better human existence. If a reader has any sympathy for the Polish doctor, that same feeling toward Adalid is absent, who is much more chauvinistic than Wolski. Wolski's eugenics is also fundamentally areligious, while Adalid represents a specifically anti-religious ideology.

Thus, by establishing a clear connection between Adalid's beliefs and modernity, the negative effects his ideology has on Clara—similar to the ways in which in *Hijas*, Fontibre is a stand-in for the degenerate aspects of modern Spanish life—can be read more broadly as an allegory of the broader dangers that modern poses to traditional Spanish society. Modernity, by this logic, is a Faustian bargain that is fundamentally dangerous to traditional, gendered social structures, and to Clara more specifically. One way in which the text illustrates this broader conflict is through Adalid's appropriation of religious language to represent linguistically the triumph of scientific modernity over tradition. Not only does he subscribe to what he calls his "*credo* de asepsia física," but in his worldview scientists have become the apostles of a new truth. Adalid even reveres the celebrated histologist Dr. Vida as the "pontífice del excepticismo" (*3*). Even more significantly, Adalid structures his narrative as a modern version of the biblical fall from grace. After his "awakening," that is to say after he understands the romantic sentiments that meeting Lena have awakened in him, he exclaims that "[u]n hombre nuevo, genesiaco, nacía en mi selva interior" (*9*). The prelapsarian Adalid is the man who governs his life through logic and reason. His Eden is the envisioned aseptic community governed by rationalism. The fallen Adalid, the Adalid who in prison writes down the events we are reading, is, similar to Faust, the romantic Adam who tastes the seductive fruit of romantic passion and

who finds himself "tempted" carnally by Lena, whom he calls a seductive Eve. (The text ironizes Adalid's exaggerated sense of self-worth as a tragic victim of Lena's "seductive" femininity, as I explain below.)

It is in his belief in the inexorable march forward of progress and in his desire to fundamentally change traditional structures of society that Adalid most resembles Faust. "Progress" for Adalid means the destruction of the old order in favor of the new. According to him, in order to bring about this modern utopia "[h]abía que demoler mucho y que crear otro tanto" (*3*). Marshall Berman characterizes this as a fundamentally modern, Faustian position. He states that Faust recognizes that "[t]he only way for modern man to transform himself … is by radically transforming the whole physical and social and moral world he lives in" (40). Because modernity is characterized by "dynamic activity, development, and the desire for unlimited growth" (Felski, *Gender* 4), Faust, Adalid, and, by extension, modern *man*, "won't be able to create anything unless he's prepared to let everything go, to accept the fact that all that has been created up to now … must be destroyed to pave the way for more creation" (Berman 48).

The text's criticism of modernity is, moreover, gendered. *Diablos* dramatizes the ways in which Clara, conspicuously absent from most of the narration, is the principal victim of Adalid's modern beliefs. This victimization takes many forms. She is his physical victim in that she dies by the end of the novella as a direct result of Adalid's neglect. She is the ideological victim of his misogynistic worldview that does not value her beyond the so-called feminine qualities of maternity and domesticity. Finally, she is what we might call a textual victim in that, as author and narrator of his life story (the majority of the text is presented as Adalid's confessions), Adalid limits her roles as character to traditional, gender-specific roles based on nineteenth-century stereotypes and values. Adalid defines Clara solely by her biological capacity for

reproduction, limiting her function as woman to maternal and domestic duties. Adalid, like Faust, says he wants a wife to attain a more complete life, but his motives are purely biological and reveal the underlying misogyny of his motives. He explains, "Busqué una hembra mansa, insignificante como carácter y mentalidad; robusta, sana, bien constituida para la maternidad; una hembra dócil que me diera hijos y me cuidara la casa y la ropa, sin obstruir con su vida la mía" (*4*). He further dehumanizes her by associating her with animals, calling her his "vaca lechera" (*9*). These images, along with the repetition of the word *hembra*, are significant because it reduces her to her reproductive qualities in service to the evolution of the human race. In fact, the only time Adalid uses the word *mujer* to describe Clara, he specifically means "wife," and even here the word follows the possessive adjective *mi* (*15*). Thus, Clara is positioned as a victim of Adalid's modern and specifically masculine ideology because she is denied the same type of individual subjectivity that defines Adalid, Faust, and more generally modern man. His wife, Adalid says, "no llegaba a ser *femenina*, era hembra solamente" (*5*). In other words, she does not come to develop a "self" in the modern sense of the word. She remains a purely biological, reproductive animal. In fact, textually Adalid does not name her explicitly until page five and relegates her to the background of the drama as a disembodied name who bears him a son. Therefore, *Diablos* condemns the ways in which this specifically modern ideology presents uniquely gendered dangers to women.

The text not only reveals the ways in which men and women experience modernity differently, but it also characterizes the modernization process as strictly masculine. Beyond the fact that Adalid, Vida, and their scientific peers are all men, the discourse of progress and social regeneration, as understood by Adalid, praises those qualities such as reason, science, and ambition that are themselves gendered as quintessentially masculine. Clara, as a woman, does

not have the freedom to wed whom she wants in the same way as Adalid does, who can decide to settle down so capriciously and who can choose a specific type of woman with few societal pressures. As Ian Watt explains about the modern individualism of Faust, Don Juan, and Don Quixote, "[A]ll three adopt the posture of *ego contra mundum*. Moreover, they live out their lives unaffected by, and even hardly noticing, the normative intermediaries between themselves and the existential social and intellectual realities around them" (122). Adalid, similar to these figures (and decidedly unlike Wolski), is a solitary man. Even more importantly, they are solitary figures precisely because it is socially acceptable for men to act this way. For example, the literary archetypes of modernity in Spain (Baroja's Fernando Ossorio, Unamuno's Augusto Pérez, and Martínez Ruiz's Antonio Azorín) are all men who are free to wander throughout the city and countryside uninhibited by gendered limitations. However, similar to the way in which Fontibre, as a dandy, represents the superficiality and insincerity of modern art in *Hijas*, Adalid's "victimhood" is a criticism of modernism, the literary archetype of which is the solitary man who suffers from the alienating effects of modernity.

If Clara is a victim of Adalid's specifically modern ideologies, Lena is represented as the victim of Adalid's specifically masculine obsessions. Adalid's unfettered behavior does not change when he falls in love with Lena, but his motivations do. The text, in a sense, abandons its criticism of modernity because Adalid's drive to possess Lena is no longer motivated by his modern worldview but rather the passions awakened in him. However, the text criticizes Adalid's behavior toward Lena not as inherently modern but as specifically masculine. For Adalid, Lena represents everything contrary to his own modern values and to his perception of the ideal domestic woman (Clara). Lena, in Adalid's mind, is frivolous and greedy. She seems to care most about superficial appearances and her husband's lost fortune. During one house call,

for example, she confesses to Adalid, in what is a harsh criticism of the superficiality of bourgeois customs, that she believes "que para vivir la vida opaca, atrofiada, sórdida de la burguesía, sin los goces regios del capricho, sin los riesgos y emociones de la alta pasión del *sport* y del azar, sin sorpresas y alegrías fulminantes, vale más morir bellamente, paganamente, antes que las arrugas deshonren nuestra juventud gloriosa…!" (*15*). She is likewise overly emotional ("hysterical") and prone to sudden outbursts of tears, what Adalid calls the "la otra omnipotencia femenina, la omnipotencia de las lágrimas" (*14*). Adalid feels tempted sexually by her although Lena never reciprocates Adalid's love or desire. He consequently likens himself to Faust as a quintessential romantic hero and even victim of romantic desire: "¡Cómo comprendí entonces la leyenda divina de Fausto, la abdicación de nuestra soberbia intelectual ante los pies de rosa del amor!" (*9*). He begins to be attracted to the sensual aspects of Lena's beauty—her perfume, for example (8)—which contrasts with his purely biological needs from Clara. He calls himself "enfermo de pasión, como damisela romántica o doncel trovadoresco" (*12*). The use of the word *enfermo* negatively characterizes his "condition." In fact, he characterizes her as a "Don Juan-hembra" (*17*), resenting this "control" that she exercises over him. He writes, "Lena seguía jugando con mi alma y con mi vida; yo me sentía poseído, embrujado y enloquecido por ella.… [M]e sentía oprimido, sofocado entre los hilos de una red invisible e inquebrantable" (*17-18*). Thus, he awards himself the privileged position of victim of his own story.

We are meant to read Adalid's victimhood ironically, however, because Lena's apparent affection for him are figments of his own imagination and delusions of grandeur. His language and the story that he constructs with it are explicitly gendered and reveal the textual strategies in reliant on conventional sexist tropes of ideal womanhood to gender his female "characters" as

"feminine." For example, when he first meets her, she is lying outstretched on the *chaise-longue*, which reminds him of Goya's *maja*:

> Renuncio a describir aquella mi primera entrevista con Elena; el sortilegio de aquel ambiente de lujo, … de la calculada negligencia de aquella *toilette* blanda, sutil, indiscretísima que tan estudiosamente acusaba el cuerpo de diosa recostado en la silla-larga, en posición que recordaba perturbadoramente a las dos *majas* de Goya, singularmente a la *vestida*, peligrosa insinuación de la *desnuda.* (*8*; emphasis in the original)

The verb *recordar* suggests that Adalid is the one who, without evidence, characterizes her as a seductress. She never reciprocates his feelings. The fact that Adalid is the one to diagnose her crisis as "hysteria" (p. 9) further reveals that Lena is the victim of his story and of his specifically masculine drive to possess her. Thus, the text's criticism of Adalid's behavior is gendered in that he represents a type of unfettered masculinity of which Lena is his principal victim. The text, then, is similar to Nelken's in that it criticizes the ways in which women are "textual" victims of male attempts to define women using literary types.

However, there is an inherent tension between this admittedly "feminist" position and the association of the feminine in *Diablos* with tradition and the collective. In other words, the text's criticism of modernity shows a distinctly feminist awareness of the unique dangers of the unfettered, masculine discourse of progress that characterized modernity, but the irony is that the text's positioning of the feminine in opposition to the modern reinforces the same patriarchal system it initially criticizes. In this way, de los Ríos's texts exemplify, similar to what Lerner has argued, women's "[collusion] in the creating and generationally recreating the system which

oppressed them" (*Feminist Consciousness* 6). Similar to *Hijas*, *Diablos* suggests that honorable masculine behavior can restore (patriarchal) order to society.

Reading *Hijas* and *Diablos* from a gendered perspective, therefore, reveals the texts' discursive instability. In positing the restoration of the patriarchal order as the solution to societal problems that affect men and women differently, the texts silence the female characters, denying them their own forms of subjective expression in the same way that Adalid does in his confessions. In the end, everyone loses. In *Diablos* Clara, Lena, and Luisín all die, and Adalid ends up incarcerated for Lena's murder. In *Hijas*, Don Juan commits suicide, Dora dies, and Lita lives the rest of her life in destitution. Thus, *Diablos* and *Hijas* contribute in important ways to the *fin-de-siècle* polemic of where women fit in a man's world by dramatizing what happens to women when men embrace the (masculine) excesses of modernity. As an ironic consequence, however, both set as the ideal a world in which women are effectively removed from participating in it.

Pilar Millán Astray's short novels—she wrote six between 1928 and 1931—offer a different perspective from Casanova's and de los Ríos's because of their later date of publication. As I showed in Chapter Two, by the late 1920s, the image of the emancipated, modern woman had replaced the nineteenth-century domestic *ángel del hogar* as the primary cultural symbol of modern femininity. What most differentiates Millán Astray's novellas from Casanova's or de los Ríos's, therefore, is closely linked to the figure of the modern woman. Whereas Casanova's and de los Ríos's texts primarily see modernity as an approaching phenomenon, Millán Astray's texts reveal an awareness that much has changed for women, at least socially and culturally if not politically. However, it is in their use of conventional tropes of femininity that Millán Astray's texts are most similar to Casanova's and de los Ríos's.

Las dos estrellas (1928) is an exploration of modern female desire. In particular, it explores, as Pardo Bazán's *La dama joven* does, the clash between the protagonist's desire for true love and her equally strong ambitions to become a famous stage performer. The tone of Millán Astray's text is different, however, from that of Pardo Bazán's *Dama*. In Chapter One, I read the ending to Concha's renunciation of her presumably successful career for the good of her family as an ambiguous yet tragic decision. At the end of *Las dos estrellas*, however, whatever ambiguity Pardo Bazán's text leaves its readers is ultimately absent. The text offers a clear moral: fame is fleeting, and only true, unconditional love will bring happiness to Margarita, the protagonist. In doing so, the novel positions itself in opposition to the type of modern femininity that Margarita initially represents in favor of traditionally feminine virtues of love and domesticity.

The novella tells the story of Margarita, a poor girl from a supposedly aristocratic family who becomes a famous singer. At first, her career serves as a means to earn enough money to get by, yet it soon becomes clear that Margarita and her best friend Charito are no mere amateurs. Both achieve international renown. Throughout her career, and despite her enormous fame, Margarita yearns for true love yet cannot achieve it. The novella ends on a somber note, suggesting that modern desires for fame and fortune are not as fulfilling for Margarita than true love would have been. Therefore, through the depiction of these struggles the text not only raises interesting questions about gender, class, and a woman's place in a more modern Spain, but also tackles head on the supposed ideal of emancipated womanhood as beneficial to women.

From the first page, the text establishes a conflict between conventional standards of feminine behavior and Margarita's initial desire to earn a living. The first lines, which readers happen upon *in medias res*, are a heated dialogue between Margarita and her mother over

whether or not it would be acceptable for Margarita to work. Although not part of the dialogue that appears in the text, Margarita has just suggested that she use her talent to earn money for the good of the family. The opening line is a clear negative by Doña Carmela: "No y mil veces no. ¡Antes prefiero morirme de hambre! … Pero ¿eso es trabajar? Pero ¿tú llamas trabajo a salir en un escenario medio desnuda? Yo le llamo impudor, falta total de dignidad" (5). Doña Carmela's description seems specifically related to the model of the *variedades* or vaudeville shows in which this was the usual attire for the singers and dancers. Considering the context of Carmen de Burgos's *Guiones del destino*, which was published only a few years after *Estrellas*, it is also possible that Doña Carmela has erotic shows in mind. Thus, the text not only establishes a clear and important generational divide between Carmela's ideas of acceptable feminine behavior and Margarita's ambitions, but also points to the ways in which Carmela's opposition to Margarita's career are rooted in, as in Pardo Bazán's *La dama joven*, specifically gendered notions of modesty and honor.

Moreover, it suggests the ways in which class and gender intersect in unique ways in the text. Similar to Dolores's and Ramón's opposition to Concha's career in Pardo Bazán's *La dama joven*, Carmela's disapproval of Margarita's suggestion stems not from a categorical dissatisfaction with the idea of a working woman. Rather, it reflects both an overall distaste for the stigma that her specific work would carry and a disapproval of the idea of a high-class woman earning a living. (Despite their poverty, Doña Carmela insists that their family belongs to a distinguished lineage of nobles.) Carmela distinguishes between what is acceptable for women in general and what is acceptable for a woman of Margarita's social rank. Charito's humble origins, however, make her better suited for the stage. Doña Carmela says, "lo de Charito lo encuentro *natural*, pertenece a una familia humilde … Tú en cambio, eres nieta de los Barones

de la Santa Espina, en tu alma sólo anida la distinción" (7; emphasis added). For her, stage performance, as one of the few means of economic success for women in early twentieth-century Spain, pushes the boundaries of so-called "respectable" feminine behavior in upper-class society. Carmela is aware—more than her daughter is, for Margarita naively believes that "la mujer honrada lo es en todos los sitios" (7)—that Margarita's public career presents gender-specific dangers to women, namely the commodification of femininity. This is made clear through the association of the actress with the consumeristic gaze of the public, represented by a group of *señoritos*—Pepito, Alfonso, Luis, Julio—who attend performances specifically in order to pick up women.

The stage, moreover, represents a fundamentally new, modern space for women, and there is a clear sense that the so-called respectability of the bourgeois world of early-century novellas such as Barco's *Fémina*, Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna*, or Casanova's *Princesa* has ceded to the more modern, sexually charged café society of 1920s Madrid. The atmosphere is sexually charged. The *señoritos* ogle the women's figures—"Los ojos del marqués se retorcieron dentro de la órbita. –¡Qué piernas…, qué líneas!" (18)—and the other female performers openly take off their clothes in the dressing rooms between performances—"La preciosa danzarina Azucena … quedó completamente desnuda ante los ojos de sus compañeras" (19). The eighteen-year-old Margarita understands that this world is different from the one in which she was raised. The narrator reveals these feelings: "Margarita estaba avergonzada. ¿En dónde se había metido?" (21). This is a world in which Carmela's idea of "feminine" respectability has become old fashioned. This is not to say that the female performers are overtly promiscuous. However, Margarita becomes aware rather quickly that they engage in sexual relations rather more flippantly than her mother's vision of an ideal woman would. Moreover, there always exists the

danger of sexual exploitation. Margarita and Charito are young when they debut. Charito has just turned sixteen, and the narrator makes clear the sex-specific risks they run as female stage performers. Alfonso flirts with Charito during the afterparty, and when Charito shows interest the narrator reveals to readers Alfonso's true intentions: "Sonrió Alfonso con pena. ¡Pobre ingenua; qué pronto arrancarán a tirones la venda que cegaba sus ojos!" (25).

These modern women are not sexually naïve. Her co-performers, for example, understand the game the *señoritos* are playing. Perla Blanca, for example, is particularly angry with Pepito because he "deceived" one of her close friends, that is to say that he slept with her most likely under false promises and then abandoned her. Significantly, her anger is not the result of the sex act itself, but rather directed toward Pepe's dishonest tactics. This suggests that pre-marital sexual relationships are more commonplace—or at least more openly discussed—among this modern generation of women. By the end of the novella both Margarita and Charito have lived sexually adventurous lives. Ten years later, both Margarita and Charito have had numerous sexual relationships. All have failed. Charito even has a daughter with one of her (unnamed) lovers and is about to marry a different man, contrary to what conventional standards would dictate.

In this modern environment, women are observed performing modern activities that obfuscate the rigid gender boundaries of nineteenth-century society: "En el 'foyer' unas artistas fumaban medio echadas en los divanes, otras sostenían tiernos coloquios con sus amigos; muchas bailaban en el centro de la sala con hábiles parejas" (22). Smoking in particular had always been considered a specifically masculine activity, and the modern woman was often portrayed smoking. From the beginning there is an awareness that society's acceptance of public women has changed. When Doña Carmela refuses to let Margarita sing, the daughter defends

herself, arguing, "Ahora el arte se mira de distinta manera *que antes*; las artistas van a Palacio a cantar delante de los reyes; son obsequiadas con banquetes" (7; emphasis added). Margarita understands that women are able to succeed more freely in public than previous generations. For example, *Estrellas* makes clear that this is much more common among Margarita's generation than that of Pardo Bazán's Concha.

However, despite the increased access to non-domestic careers that this young generation of women has achieved, the text reveals the way in which men still retain power through their money. Women might be able to earn a living, but *Estrellas* does not celebrate this in the same way that Nelken's *Aventura* celebrates Kate's independence. Similar to Pardo Bazán's Concha, the young Margarita has potential, but when her mother falls ill, she cannot afford proper care. She subsequently begins a sexual relationship with Julio, the richest of the *señoritos*, in order to use his money to save her sick and dying mother. Thus, Margarita reveals herself to be much less sexually naïve than readers are initially given to understand. Similar to her fellow "*artistas*" as they are referred to in the text, she understands that her femininity can be used as a means by which she can achieve her goals. However, the text criticizes Margarita's "sacrifice" because far from being the virtuous sacrifice of the conventional domestic heroine, her "modern" actions—that is to say her the surrendering of her virginity and her honor in order to pay for her mother's healthcare—is disingenuous. Margarita is a modern woman who is sexually independent, but the "problem" with her decisions is that her use of sex is conditional. Not unlike the prostitute, her use of sex is entirely transactional. Thus, *Estrellas*, similar to Burgos's *Hasta renacer* (among others), criticizes the ephemerality of modern sexuality. Margarita's plan fails. Doña Carmela dies before Margarita can transport her to a Swiss sanatorium, and the narrator reveals, "¡De nada le sirvió su sacrificio a la pobre huérfana!" (28).

If the clear moral of *Estrellas* is that modern lifestyles do not offer women happiness, this is because Margarita's modern lifestyle is artificial and insincere. Women who embrace the more sexually active lifestyle of the modern woman are characterized as superficial, and this theme is emphasized via Margarita's and Charito's failed relationships. In short, they are quintessentially modern, self-made women whose wealth and fame have been achieved through will and talent. However, the text ultimately condemns the two girls for the superficiality of their decisions to eschew traditional domestic roles. Ten years after the action begins, on the anniversary of their debut, they reminisce about their lives: "Por la imaginación de las dos artistas pasó la película cinematográfica de su vida.… Al fin la vanidad estaba satisfecha, la admiración general las llenaba de orgullo, la riqueza de comodidades … ¡Sólo una cosa les faltaba: un amor verdadero, un amor desinteresado y leal, y ese amor no venía!" (43-44). This is the key to the text's "moral": that fame and love are fundamentally incompatible because fame is commercial, and therefore conditional, whereas true love is not. Margarita's relationship with Juanito failed because Margarita's motives—at least in part—were economic. Both women come to understand this. For Charito, this is the direct result of becoming a mother. She will not abandon her daughter in order to marry another man who is not the girl's father (this is the man's only stipulation). Margarita agrees, saying that "[a]mor que impone condiciones … no es amor" (41). Therefore, it is in its privileging of love and marriage of the domestic woman over fame and fortune of the modern, self-made woman that the text ultimately reveals its conservatism with respect to the intersection of gender and modernity.

Millán Astray's texts, perhaps more than those of any other woman producing short novels in early twentieth-century Spain, are decidedly more self-consciously indebted to the conventional plot structures of the popular sensational novel. Whereas texts such as Barco's

Fémina and Nelken's *Aventura* subvert conventional plot structures of nineteenth-century popular domestic fiction, Millán Astray's texts adhere to these conventions. Millán Astray confessed herself interested in the people of the *barrios bajos* of Madrid, particularly in the women (*La ramita de olivo* 8-9). However, rather than assuming a *costumbrista* stance, the resulting novellas are rather kitschy, sentimental texts with exaggerated emotions and melodramatic plots designed to entertain readers. *Las veladas de San Isidra* (1929), for example, is a frame novel in which a group of women hold gatherings during which they read aloud the next installment in a popular serial novel. The serial novel that the women of *Veladas* read, *Los misterios del gran mundo o el ángel de los barrios bajos*, is a story of orphaned children separated from their mothers at birth, confused identities, and scheming villains who seek the protagonist's large fortune. *Un caballero español* (1929) relies on typical popular conventions about a widowed wife who is blackmailed by a former lover to create suspense and drama. At the end of this novella, another admirer challenges the blackmailer to a duel to defend her honor.

In particular, Millán Astray's texts, in their conventionality and abundance of floral imagery associated with the female characters, end up bolstering stereotypes of conservative femininity. As Felski has explained about *fin-de-siècle* the relationship between kitsch and the modern, "Thus while kitsch is quintessentially modern in terms of its technical reproducibility, it is also anti-modern in its aesthetic conservatism, its appeal to 'old-fashioned' feelings, and its reliance on outmoded convention" (*Gender* 118). Millán Astray's novellas perfectly exemplify this conservative anti-modernism. Throughout *Una chula de corazón* (1931), for example, one of the characters, Hipacio (a minor character), makes repeated references to popular writers and titles of sensational novels. They become the means through which he characterizes the dramatic events unfolding around him. *Chula* mimics the same conventions of the novels that its

characters read, thus reinforcing the conservative, gendered stereotypes of women in popular literature.

Chula, "nuestra verídica historia" (25), tells the story of Patro, "la chula más chula y castiza de barrios bajos" (6) who, unable to conceive a child, adopts a daughter, Azucena. One day, on Azucena's fourteenth birthday, a woman claiming to be her true mother arrives reclaiming her daughter. This woman is not the original mother, who has since died and left a hefty fortune to Azucena. The story ends, much like a Shakespearean comedy, with the restoration of the proper order: Azucena is reunited with her adoptive parents, she receives her fortune, and she is betrothed to a neighborhood boy.

Chula explores the question, What makes a good mother? The text presents a number of female characters who exemplify positive and negative models of motherhood, and each woman has an opinion about what constitutes "good" motherhood. For example, la señá Longina, Patro's mother-in-law, scolds Patro for not being able to conceive a child and openly accosts her when Patro suggests that the fault might not lie with her but rather with Sandalio, Patro's husband and Longina's son. Thus, in Longina's mind, the full responsibility of conceiving children is placed onto the woman. Longina, moreover, exemplifies good motherhood because she is willing to work (she works as a vegetable-seller in order to provide her eleven children with food) for the economic stability of her poor family. Thus, it is unacceptable for Margarita to sing in *Estrellas* because it is considered indecorous for a woman of her class to do so, while for Charito (*Estrellas*) and Longina it is perfectly acceptable for them to work in order to support their economically and socially disadvantaged families. Moreover, Longina's ability to work can only be understood as extensions of feminine duty to the family. Her actions, for example, serve a specifically maternal purpose, and she prides herself on the sacrifices that she has made in order

to provide for her family (it is unclear what has happened to the father of the family). Thus, Longina's criticizes Patro because she views her daughter-in-law's inability to conceive as a failure of her sex. The text therefore establishes that the female characters' lives revolve solely around motherhood.

Bad motherhood is modeled principally by Cristeta, one of Patro's neighbors. She physically disciplines her son, to which Patro responds, "Pues por muy tuyo que sea no tienes derecho a maltratarlo así" (18). Patro's—and by extension the text's—definition of good motherhood does not involve physical discipline whereas Cristeta sees it as her right to do so.

In one particularly dramatic case, this dichotomy between good and bad representations of motherhood is contextualized in relation to modernity and women's rights. A neighbor's husband beats her for suggesting that women will one day have the right to vote. The husband Aligustre, a civil guard, is an anti-feminist conservative who opposes modern feminine lifestyles. Gabriela's suggestion that women will have the right to vote represents modern progress for women.[58] Aligustre's anger stems from his conservatism because resents any threat to the perceived social hierarchy. Thus, it is significant that he should be a civil guard whose job it was to maintain order in society. When Gabriela runs to Patro, he says,

> ¿Qué? [¿]Ya estás contando a tu amiga que eres una femenista [sic] de las que quieren usurpar nuestros derechos, y que a fuerza de palos quiero meterte en la

[58] Millán Astray finished writing *Chula* in April, 1930, one year before the proclamation of the Second Republic (1931-1939). The novel was published in August, 1931, after the Republic had been established but before the constitution had been passed granting the women the right to vote. Assuming that the novel ends in the "present" time, that is to say the time in which the novel was published, this scene would have occurred in the 1920s. In this case, Gabriela's comments about women's suffrage must be understood within the context of political discourse of the 1920s, rather than a direct reference to the Republic. However, the readers of Millán Astray's novel, who were living under the newly proclaimed Republic, would have been conscious of the debates surrounding female suffrage.

> cabeza que en mis casa no hay más pantalones que los míos? … Pues mi mujer será siempre mujer, o la degüello.… Que la mujer siempre será la esclava, y nosotros los amos. (16)

Aligustre echoes much of the anti-feminist rhetoric of early twentieth-century Spain. He might represent an extreme form of machismo, but the fear that feminism would somehow "usurp" male hegemony, that somehow feminism implied a defeminization or masculinization of women, reveals the general anxieties towards the potential threat to the supposedly stable—and "natural"—hierarchy of patriarchal society. That Gabriela's opinion is associated with the modern is also clear: when Gabriela says that someone had suggested to her that she not marry Aligustre, Aligustre responds that "[a] esa otra *modernista* le voy a decir yo cuatro verdades cuando me la eche a la cara" (16; emphasis mine). To be a "modernist," then, is, in Aligustre's mind, fundamentally destabilizing to the gendered order.[59]

However, the text ends up placing the blame on Gabriela, the abused wife, for being modern rather than on the husband. Patro rebukes Aligustre for the cruelty of his actions, and the narrator even calls Aligustre a tyrant (17). However, Patro tells Gabirela that "a la que le toca un bolchevique en suerte tié que jorobarse y tragar quina" (17). In other words, Gabriela must suffer her torment in silence. Therefore, the text ends up placing the burden of responsibility on Gabriela. She has no other alternative except to suffer. Twelve years later, when the Aligustres return from abroad, they are the model happy couple, the abuse clearly forgotten. Therefore, the

[59] In *Chula*, as in *Estrellas*, certain aspects of society have changed due to Spain's modernization. The children see movies, and it is clear that they are exposed to sexuality through the films. For example, two children of the neighborhood kiss because they saw the protagonists of a movie do so.

text undermines its characters' critique of Aligustre's cruelty, ironically supporting the same misogyny that it is criticizing.

The ideal model of good motherhood is Patro, who will do whatever is necessary to care for a daughter that she did not birth. Azucena, twenty-two-months-old at the time of her adoption, is a sickly child. Many of the characters tell her that "[o]s costará mucho criarla" (21), which recalls the biblical scene where Simeon tells Mary, presenting the infant Jesus in the temple, that her life will be difficult (Lk 2:25-35). Thus, Patro's self-sacrifice for the well-being of her daughter is associated with the Virgin's model of perfect motherhood. At the end of the novel, Azucena, before understanding her true identity, would rather live with her adoptive mother than with her "real" mother because, as she recognizes, true mothers do not abandon their daughters. Thus, *Chula*, similar to *Estrellas*, presents maternity as the most fulfilling role to which a woman can commit herself. Unlike Margarita who in *Estrellas* has sacrificed true love for fame, however, Azucena and Patro represent the perfect mother-daughter pair.

Conclusion

Throughout this study, I have shown the ways in which the new, popular medium of the *novela corta* allows us to track both the ideological diversity of women writers in early twentieth-century Spain and overall anxieties about modernity and its perceived effects on conventional notions of gender. Whatever the specific ideological discourses underlying individual female-authored short novels, they collectively raise similar questions: What does it mean to be a woman? Is being a woman necessarily the same as being female? Where does woman fit in a rapidly modernizing Spain? What is her role in the specific modernization process?

In Chapter One, I analyzed the ways in which questions of female desire and its consequences on the social order are central to Gimeno's *Una Eva moderna*, Barco's *Fémina*, and Pardo Bazán's *La dama joven*. At the core of these texts is an awareness that social norms are, to different degrees, the product of dominant social discourse based on gender difference. Each dramatizes the conflict between woman's modern desire—inherently antithetical to the normative gender order—and social norms that privilege feminine domesticity and submission. Although each contributes to the "woman question" in a unique way, the three protagonists analyzed above ultimately serve as a precursor to the fully self-empowered modern woman of the 1920s.

In Chapter Two I analyzed this figure of the modern woman as a fully emancipated individual. I showed the ways in which Nelken, Espina, and Burgos all held different positions *vis-à-vis* Spanish society's relationship with modernity. However, *La aventura de Roma*, *Aurora de España*, and *¡La piscina! ¡La piscina!* all reveal a gendered understanding of the specific ways that modernity affected women, their roles in society, and the supposedly clear-cut and

stable gender categories. They each reveal a general optimism—if not total idealism—about the opportunities that modernity can provide women.

On the opposite side of the spectrum, Millán Astray's novellas, along with Casanova's and de los Ríos's, serve as proof that not every woman of early twentieth-century Spain that subverted conventional gender discourse about women's "naturally" domestic roles or even literary conventions that celebrated domestic femininity. All of the texts analyzed in Chapter Three raise questions about where conservative women fit in a man's world and dramatize the often-negative consequences of women who embrace the specifically masculine vices of modernity. Moreover, the texts, to different degrees, reveal the ways in which women are affected by a rapidly modernizing Spain, but in many of these cases modernity represents a threat to ideal forms of womanhood.

Throughout this study, I have also been concerned with the writers' awareness of and engagement with a tradition of so-called "feminine" popular literature. Despite the range of representations of women, one of the commonalities of nearly all of these texts is the subversion of the idea that popular literature is inherently one-dimensional or inferior to "high" cultural products. Blanca de los Ríos's texts are an appropriate example. Despite what I view as their ultimately conservative defense of patriarchal gender relations, the infusion of these texts with sophisticated language and foreign words effectively problematizes notions of accessibility and therefore rewrites the rules for what at the time constituted *literatura de consumo*. If we imagine an ideal implied reader of de los Ríos's texts, he or she is certainly well-educated, cultured, and cosmopolitan. If we imagine and ideal *female* reader, she is no longer the sentimental Emma Bovary, seeking refuge from the day-to-day minutiae of provincial life. She is, rather, a

fundamentally modern woman in her education. In short, she no longer fits the mold of the conventionally "feminine" reader.

In Nelken's *Aventura*, Andrés asks himself about the mysterious Kate, "*¿qué clase de mujer era ésta?*" By asking this same question concerning the female protagonists of the largely unknown corpus of female-authored short novels, I have uncovered a diverse range of characters and revealed many of the nuanced conceptions of femininity that existed in early twentieth-century Spain. Through my analyses of different cultural archetypes of woman, I have also shown the diversity that existed between texts of different authors, between texts of the same author, and even within the same individual text. More importantly, these concerns about woman's role in society represent a broader concern about modernity and the threat it presented to theoretically stable gender categories. Women, it is clear, viewed modernity in diverse ways, and their texts emphasize the importance of problematizing the notion of modernity as monolithic. The relationship between gender and these modernities is, therefore, equally complex. The society in which women writers of early twentieth-century women lived might have been strictly patriarchal, but this is not to say that they did not experience or benefit from the changes brought about by the modernization of different sectors (cultural, political, social) of Spanish public life. In fact, the small yet significant role of Spanish women in the production of the *novela corta* is proof that modernity was opening new literary opportunities to new generations of women writers who, whether or not they viewed modernity as beneficial to Spanish society, were nevertheless active participants in the modernization of Spanish society and literature.

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Appendix 1: Novellas Organized Chronologically

Revista / Collection	Author	Title	Nº	Year	City	Notes
El Cuento Semanal	Martínez Sierra, María	Aventura	3	1907	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Cada uno	7	1907	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	El tesoro del castillo	25	1907	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Ríos, Blanca de los	Las hijas de Don Juan	42	1907	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Ríos, Blanca de los	Madrid goyesco	68	1908	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Martínez Sierra, María	Tierra de marfil	73	1908	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	Senderos de vida	81	1908	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Allende la verdad	95	1908	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Belcebú	103	1908	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Finafrol	105	1909	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Martínez Sierra, María	Égloga	110	1909	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	En la guerra (Episodios de Melilla)	148	1909	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Gimeno de Flaquer, Concepción	Una Eva moderna	152	1909	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Casanova, Sofía	Princesa del amor hermoso	156	1909	Madrid	
Los Cuentistas	Burgos, Carmen de	Églogas	4	1910	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Ríos, Blanca de los	Los diablos azules	54	1910	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El veneno del arte	57	1910	Madrid	

El Cuento Semanal	Barco, Ángela	Fémina	171	1910	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Espina, Concha	La ronda de los galanes	179	1910	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La gota de sangre	128	1911	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	El honor de la familia	238	1911	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Prada, Gloria de la	Por una coleta	258	1911	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	En las cavernas	2	1912	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Burgos, Carmen de	La indecisa	10	1912	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Burgos, Carmen de	Justicia del mar	24	1912	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Siempre en tierra	172	1912	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Arrastrada	174	1912	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La muerte del poeta	222	1913	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Casanova, Sofía	La madeja	241	1913	Madrid	
La Novela del Bolsillo	Burgos, Carmen de	Sorpresas	8	1914	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Casanova, Sofía	El crimen de Beira-mar	8	1914	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Burgos, Carmen de	Malos amores	11	1914	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Burgos, Carmen de	Frasca la tonta	26	1914	Madrid	Published as *Venganza* in *La Novela Corta* (1918)
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La dama joven	292	1914	Madrid	Originally published in 1885 in *Artes y Letras*
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El abogado	340	1915	Madrid	Publicado más tarde como "La hora del amor" en *La hora del amor* (1917)
La Novela Romántica	Burgos, Carmen de	Las tricanas	?	1915	Madrid	
La Novela Para Todos	Insúa, Sara	La que no pudo ser mala	2	1916	Barcelona	Seems to be a dfferent collection than Burgos's novel

La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La aventura de Isidro	4	1916	Madrid	
La Novela con Regalo	Burgos, Carmen de	Lo inesperado	5	1916	Valencia	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Villa María	8	1916	Madrid	
La Novela Para Todos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los míseros	17	1916	Madrid	Seems to be a different collection than Insúa's novel
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El hombre negro	27	1916	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La última Fada	46	1916	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Instinto	367	1916	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los usureros	371	1916	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Ellas y ellos, o ellos y ellas	388	1916	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Don Manolito	416	1916	Madrid	
La Novela con Regalo	Burgos, Carmen de	Una bomba	4	1917	Valencia	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El perseguidor	59	1917	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Espina, Concha	El jayón	67	1917	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Pasiones	81	1917	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Clavileño	86	1917	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Carbone, Adela	El crimen de Lotino	424	1917	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El permisionario	437	1917	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El desconocido	459	1917	Madrid	
La Novela Contemporánea	Burgos, Carmen de	Las inseparables	?	1917	Barcelona	
La Novela Corta	Espina, Concha	Talín	106	1918	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	¡Todos menos ese!	117	1918	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Venganza	137	1918	Madrid	Republication of Frasca *la tonta*
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El mejor film	155	1918	Madrid	

Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Bucólica	476	1918	Madrid	Originally published in 1884
Los Contemporáneos	Carbone, Adela	La huella	490	1918	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Los tres arcos de Cirilo	514	1918	Madrid	Originally published in 1895
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los inadaptados	518	1918	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Böhl de Faber, Cecilia ("Fernán Caballero")	La gaviota	109-110	1918	Madrid	Republication of selections of the full-length novel from 1849
La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Dioses	162	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Dos amores	180	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Triunfo del amor	186	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Los negociantes de la Puerta del Sol	195	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Sobre el Volga helado	196	1919	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Carbone, Adela	La hermanastra	543	1919	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El fin de la guerra	559	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Sentimental	Gibert, María Teresa	Flor de almendro	8	1920	Barcelona	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Lo eterno	218	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La flor de la playa	231	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La Emperatriz Eugenia	240	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Rodando	253	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Los amores de Faustino	254	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	El doctor Wolski	255	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Coronado, Carolina	Jarilla	258	1920	Madrid	Originally published in 1850 (Coronado had died in 1911)
Los Contemporáneos	Carbone, Adela	El amigo ahorcado	615	1920	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Confidencias	623	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	Artículo 438	15	1921	Madrid	

Esquemas	Opisso, Regina	Nocturno trágico	15	1921	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Luna de miel	267	1921	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La entrometida	292	1921	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Episodio de guerra	299	1921	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La ciudad encantada	310	1921	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	La rampa	655	1921	Madrid	Abridged version of novel by the same name (1917)
La Novela Semanal	Espina, Concha	Cumbres al sol	28	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Casanova, Sofía	La princesa rusa	55	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La mujer fría	328	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El suicida asesinado	339	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Valor y miedo	348	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La princesa rusa	356	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Nelken, Margarita	Una historia de adulterio	448	1922	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El último contrabandista	689	1922	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los huesos del abuelo	724	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Gráfica	Burgos, Carmen de	La herencia de la bruja	20	1923	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Nelken, Margarita	La aventura de Roma	40	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	El extranjero	94	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Casanova, Sofía	Kola el bandido	101	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	El anhelo	106	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La pensión ideal	371	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La que se casó muy niña	384	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La mujer fantástica	398	1923	Madrid	Republication of a novel of the same name
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El hastío del amor	410	1923	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	La tornadiza	772	1923	Madrid	

La Novela Pasional	Burgos, Carmen de	La que quiso ser maja	23	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Sentimental	Amparo Borrás, María del	La amada ideal	24	1924	Barcelona	
La Novela de Hoy	Nelken, Carmen Eva	La carabina	129	1924	Madrid	Signed under the pseudonym "Magda Donato"
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	La melena de la discordia	193	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Hasta renacer	422	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Las ensaladillas	438	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Nelken, Margarita	Pitiminí Etoíle	456	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La miniatura	457	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Nelken, Margarita	Mi suicidio	474	1924	Madrid	Also titled *Un suicidio*
Los Contemporáneos	Nelken, Margarita	El milagro	816	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Morales, María Luz	Maestrita rural	1	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Català, Víctor	Carnaval	2	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Florecimiento	2	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Burgos, Carmen de	La prueba	3	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Opisso, Antonia	Cuentos	4	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Las santas	5	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Ríos, Blanca de los	Cuentos andaluces	5	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Condesa del Castellá	Cuentos	6	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Montseny, Federica	Vida nueva	7	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	O'Neill, Carlota	Historia de un beso	8	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Martínez de Cervera, Leonor	Ester	9	1925	Barcelona	

La Novela Femenina	Pruenca, Rosario	La dama de la Cruz Roja	10	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Escolano Sopena, Josefina	La eterna bestia	11	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El amor nuevo	12	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Olariaga, María de	Amor de niña	12	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Cervera Martínez, Lelia	Deuda pagada	13	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Maymón, Antonia	Madre	14	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Ventós y Culell, Palmira	La caída	14	1925	Barcelona	Signed under the pseudonym "Felip Palma"
La Novela Femenina	Veñasco de Encinas, María Mercedes	Los desposorios de Odette	15	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Reina, Elvira	Paso al amor divino	16	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Borrás, María del Amparo	Tragedia sentimental	17	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Doménech de Cañellas, María	Él…	18	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	¿Cuál de las tres?	19	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Opisso, Regina	Mar adentro	19	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Burgos, Carmen de	El silencio del hijo	20	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Espina, Concha	Agua de nieve	21	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Karr, Carme	Por la dicha	22	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Graupera, Ángela	Carmela	23	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Los hijos de la calle	24	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Regis, Celsia	La medalla	24	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Abad, Carmen de	Compensación	25	1925	Barcelona	

La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Maternidad	29	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	O'Neill, Carlota	Pigmalión	31	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La alondra	33	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El otro amor	34	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La última primavera	39	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La venganza de Jaime	42	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Resurrección	43	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Mayer, Romilda	La hija del banquero	47	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Martirio	48	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Semanal	Espina, Concha	El príncipe del "cantar"	182	1925	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Casanova, Sofía	El dolor de reinar	213	1925	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	La nostálgica	222	1925	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Nelken, Margarita	El viaje a París	488	1925	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El brote	491	1925	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Astray Reguera, Margarita	Pasión de moro	879	1925	Madrid	
La Novela Mundial	Burgos, Carmen de	La misionera de Teotihuacán	21	1926	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Nelken, Margarita	La exótica	26	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Carvia, Amalia	Cambio a tiempo	27	1926	Barcelona	Advertised but probably never published
La Novela Femenina	Prada, Gloria de la	El candilejo	27	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Ferrer, Ivonne	Sueño de verano	28	1926	Barcelona	Advertised but probably never published
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La hija del verdugo	52	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	María de Magdala	56	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela de Noche	Burgos, Carmen de	La confidente	58	1926	Madrid	
La Novela Ideal	Maymón, Antonia	La perla	59	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela de Noche	Viguri, Encarnación	El hombre que vivió dos vidas	59	1926	Madrid	

La Novela de Noche	Sade, Clara Isabel de	Las simulaciones de Charito	61	1926	Madrid	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El rescate de la cautiva	62	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El amor errante	72	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Colomer, Joaquina	Flora	73	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La vida que empieza	79	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Sor Angélica	83	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Del cielo al penal	85	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Mundial	Insúa, Sara	La mujer que defendió su felicidad	61	1927	Madrid	
La Novela Mundial	Burgos, Carmen de	El "misericordia"	73	1927	Madrid	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La ruta iluminada	89	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El último amor	94	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Aura popular	95	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	¡Era su madre!	101	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El corazón de la esfinge	106	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Nuestra Señora del Paralelo	107	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Los hijos del otro	110	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La pequeña hechicera	113	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El derecho al hijo	115	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Pedro el «Justiciero»	117	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Los caminos del mundo	120	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El retorno a la tierra	123	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	Aurora de España	258	1927	Madrid	Expanded and published later as *La virgen prudente*
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Muy siglo XX	290	1927	Madrid	
Los Novelistas	Millán Astray, Pilar	Las dos estrellas	11	1928	Madrid	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Mi honor... ¡No importa!	125	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Mundial	Insúa, Sara	La dura verdad	126	1928	Madrid	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La hija de las estrellas	128	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La tentación	133	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Frente al amor	136	1928	Barcelona	

La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	La tragedia de Leonora	137	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Como las abejas	142	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	La víctima	146	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	En las garras del hombre	151	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Bajo los cerezos	161	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Sol en las cimas	162	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	¡Me basto yo!	165	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El sueño de una noche en verano	168	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Camino de amor	173	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Delito de amor	174	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El juego del amor y de la vida	175	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La infinita sed	181	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Tú eres la dicha	185	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La moral de la gente de bien	188	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Se quedó sin ella	352	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	Huerto de rosas	356	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	Un caballero español	364	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	Marcha nupcial	367	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Salomé de hoy	375	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	Las veladas de la señá Isidra	394	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	Tierra Firme	397	1929	Madrid	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Sonata patética	190	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Pasionaria	198	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El abismo	200	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Tú eres la vida	207	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Corazón de mujer	214	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El ocaso de los dioses	216	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	Lydia	218	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La mujer que huía del amor	224	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	El dorado trópico	404	1930	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	La ramita de olivo	411	1930	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	¡La piscina! ¡La piscina!	417	1930	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Llama de bengala	422	1930	Madrid	

La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Vida y milagros del pícaro Andresillo Pérez	450	1930	Madrid	
La Novela Roja	Nelken, Margarita	El orden	5	1931	Madrid	
La Novela Ideal	Amparo Borrás, María del	Vidas humildes	229	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El batelero	231	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Una historia triste	232	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montes, Rosario	La señorita de compañía	234	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Maymón, Antonia	El hijo del camino	237	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Nocturno de amor	242	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Ferré, Dora	El hijo	245	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	El soto del cerezal	247	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El amor que pasa	251	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Los viejos	253	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	Las montañas de Bohemia	255	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	La venganza de una mujer	258	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montes, Rosario	Sor Luz en el infierno	265	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Un hombre	268	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El despertar	273	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Ferré, Dora	Fango en el oro	276	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Cara a la vida	279	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Mala vida y buena muerte	452	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Nelken, Carmen Eva	Las otras dos	464	1931	Madrid	Signed under the pseudonym "Magda Donato"
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	El hermano Caín	472	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	La ironía de la vida	478	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	Una chula de corazón	482	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Perdónanos nuestras deudas	487	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	La miniatura de María Antoñeta	490	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Puñal de claveles	495	1931	Madrid	
Novelas y Cuentos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los endemoniados de Jaca	207	1932	Madrid	Abridged version of *Los espirituados (1923)*
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La cigarra y la hormiga	285	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Espinosa, Marta	Dos hermanas	288	1932	Barcelona	

La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	Julieta	292	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La rebelión de los siervos	294	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Una mujer fatal	296	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Alma del inquisidor	301	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Gutiérrez, Manolita	El estigma	305	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Una mujer y dos hombres	312	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Padre y verdugo	317	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La vocación	329	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	La sonrisa de Venus	333	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Guiones del destino	510	1932	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Cuando la ley lo manda	518	1932	Madrid	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	Los rebeldes	2	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Una vida	4	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La mujer que se vendió	341	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	En familia	355	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	La coquetería de Consuelo	361	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La pequeña rebelde	370	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Sacrificio	386	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	Ofrenda de amor	7	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Aurora roja	8	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Ana María	12	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	El amo	15	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Felisa salva su casa	171	1934	Madrid	
La Novela Ideal	García, Cecilia	¿Locos o vencidos?	389	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Morales, Celia	El mayo tesoro	398	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La romántica	406	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Bosque, Libertad de	Aurora de amor	409	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Pérez, Cristina	Nueva aurora	411	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Gutiérrez, Manolita	El último discípulo	414	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Morales, Celia	Una historia de amor	422	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La mancha de sangre	426	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Amor en venta	435	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Heroínas	20	1935	Barcelona	

La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	La redimida	22	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Vampiresa	24	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	En busca del amor	26	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	La sombra del pasado	28	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El vagabundo	441	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Nada más que una mujer	452	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Calvario	456	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Los dos caminos	459	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Pérez, Cristina	Camaradas y rivales	467	1935	Barcelona	First name listed as Cristino due to a typo
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Vidas sombrías	469	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Hernández, Asunción	Todo un caballero	474	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	El dilema	478	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Odio y amor	490	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela de Una Hora	Espina, Concha	Nadie quiere a nadie	5	1936	Madrid	
La Novela Vasca	García, Cecilia	Rosa del rosal cortada	13	1936	San Sebastián	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	La cadena	30	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Sinfonía apasionada	31	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Amor de un día	36	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	La herencia	37	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	Ansias de volar	40	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Amador, Margarita	¡Por fin triunfantes!	41	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	García, Cecilia	Mujeres	497	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Flor de pasión	506	1936	Barcelona	Subtitle: "Historia de una pobre muchacha"
La Novela Ideal	Amador, Margarita	¡Tú, mi hermana!	510	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La casita blanca	522	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Amador, Margarita	Venganza no, justicia	529	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	La madre	45	1937	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Amador, Margarita	El Señorito	558	1937	Barcelona	

Appendix 2: Novellas Organized by Author

Revista / Collection	Author	Title	Nº	Year	City	Notes
La Novela Femenina	Abad, Carmen de	Compensación	25	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Amador, Margarita	¡Por fin triunfantes!	41	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Amador, Margarita	¡Tú, mi hermana!	510	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Amador, Margarita	Venganza no, justicia	529	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Amador, Margarita	El Señorito	558	1937	Barcelona	
La Novela Sentimental	Amparo Borrás, María del	La amada ideal	24	1924	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Amparo Borrás, María del	Vidas humildes	229	1931	Barcelona	
Los Contemporáneos	Astray Reguera, Margarita	Pasión de moro	879	1925	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Barco, Ángela	Fémina	171	1910	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Böhl de Faber, Cecilia ("Fernán Caballero")	La gaviota	109-110	1918	Madrid	Republication of selections of the full-length novel from 1849
La Novela Femenina	Borrás, María del Amparo	Tragedia sentimental	17	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Bosque, Libertad de	Aurora de amor	409	1934	Barcelona	
El Cuento Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	El tesoro del castillo	25	1907	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	Senderos de vida	81	1908	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	En la guerra (Episodios de Melilla)	148	1909	Madrid	
Los Cuentistas	Burgos, Carmen de	Églogas	4	1910	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El veneno del arte	57	1910	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	El honor de la familia	238	1911	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Burgos, Carmen de	La indecisa	10	1912	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Burgos, Carmen de	Justicia del mar	24	1912	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Siempre en tierra	172	1912	Madrid	
La Novela del Bolsillo	Burgos, Carmen de	Sorpresas	8	1914	Madrid	

El Libro Popular	Burgos, Carmen de	Malos amores	11	1914	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Burgos, Carmen de	Frasca la tonta	26	1914	Madrid	Published as *Venganza* in *La Novela Corta* (1918)
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El abogado	340	1915	Madrid	Publicado más tarde como "La hora del amor" en *La hora del amor* (1917)
La Novela Romántica	Burgos, Carmen de	Las tricanas	?	1915	Madrid	
La Novela con Regalo	Burgos, Carmen de	Lo inesperado	5	1916	Valencia	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Villa María	8	1916	Madrid	
La Novela Para Todos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los míseros	17	1916	Madrid	Seems to be a different collection than Insúa's novel
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El hombre negro	27	1916	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los usureros	371	1916	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Ellas y ellos, o ellos y ellas	388	1916	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Don Manolito	416	1916	Madrid	
La Novela con Regalo	Burgos, Carmen de	Una bomba	4	1917	Valencia	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El perseguidor	59	1917	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Pasiones	81	1917	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El permisionario	437	1917	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El desconocido	459	1917	Madrid	
La Novela Contemporánea	Burgos, Carmen de	Las inseparables	?	1917	Barcelona	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	¡Todos menos ese!	117	1918	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Venganza	137	1918	Madrid	Republication of Frasca *la tonta*
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El mejor film	155	1918	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los inadaptados	518	1918	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Dos amores	180	1919	Madrid	

La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Los negociantes de la Puerta del Sol	195	1919	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El fin de la guerra	559	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La flor de la playa	231	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La Emperatriz Eugenia	240	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Los amores de Faustino	254	1920	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Confidencias	623	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	Artículo 438	15	1921	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Luna de miel	267	1921	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La entrometida	292	1921	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La ciudad encantada	310	1921	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	La rampa	655	1921	Madrid	Abridged version of novel by the same name (1917)
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La mujer fría	328	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El suicida asesinado	339	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La princesa rusa	356	1922	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El último contrabandista	689	1922	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los huesos del abuelo	724	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Gráfica	Burgos, Carmen de	La herencia de la bruja	20	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	El extranjero	94	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	El anhelo	106	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La pensión ideal	371	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La que se casó muy niña	384	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La mujer fantástica	398	1923	Madrid	Republication of a novel of the same name
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El hastío del amor	410	1923	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	La tornadiza	772	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Pasional	Burgos, Carmen de	La que quiso ser maja	23	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	La melena de la discordia	193	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Hasta renacer	422	1924	Madrid	

La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Las ensaladillas	438	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La miniatura	457	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Burgos, Carmen de	La prueba	3	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Burgos, Carmen de	El silencio del hijo	20	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	La nostálgica	222	1925	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El brote	491	1925	Madrid	
La Novela Mundial	Burgos, Carmen de	La misionera de Teotihuacán	21	1926	Madrid	
La Novela de Noche	Burgos, Carmen de	La confidente	58	1926	Madrid	
La Novela Mundial	Burgos, Carmen de	El "misericordia"	73	1927	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Se quedó sin ella	352	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	El dorado trópico	404	1930	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	¡La piscina! ¡La piscina!	417	1930	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Vida y milagros del pícaro Andresillo Pérez	450	1930	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	La ironía de la vida	478	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Perdónanos nuestras deudas	487	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Puñal de claveles	495	1931	Madrid	
Novelas y Cuentos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los endemoniados de Jaca	207	1932	Madrid	Abridged version of *Los espirituados (1923)*
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Guiones del destino	510	1932	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Cuando la ley lo manda	518	1932	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Carbone, Adela	El crimen de Lotino	424	1917	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Carbone, Adela	La huella	490	1918	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Carbone, Adela	La hermanastra	543	1919	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Carbone, Adela	El amigo ahorcado	615	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Carvia, Amalia	Cambio a tiempo	27	1926	Barcelona	Advertised but probably never published
El Cuento Semanal	Casanova, Sofía	Princesa del amor hermoso	156	1909	Madrid	

Los Contemporáneos	Casanova, Sofía	La madeja	241	1913	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Casanova, Sofía	El crimen de Beira-mar	8	1914	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Triunfo del amor	186	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Sobre el Volga helado	196	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Lo eterno	218	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	El doctor Wolski	255	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Episodio de guerra	299	1921	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Casanova, Sofía	La princesa rusa	55	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Valor y miedo	348	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Casanova, Sofía	Kola el bandido	101	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Casanova, Sofía	El dolor de reinar	213	1925	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Català, Víctor	Carnaval	2	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Cervera Martínez, Lelia	Deuda pagada	13	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Colomer, Joaquina	Flora	73	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Condesa del Castellá	Cuentos	6	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Corta	Coronado, Carolina	Jarilla	258	1920	Madrid	Originally published in 1850 (Coronado had died in 1911)
La Novela Femenina	Doménech de Cañellas, María	Él…	18	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Escolano Sopena, Josefina	La eterna bestia	11	1925	Barcelona	
El Cuento Semanal	Espina, Concha	La ronda de los galanes	179	1910	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Espina, Concha	El jayón	67	1917	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Espina, Concha	Talín	106	1918	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Espina, Concha	Cumbres al sol	28	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Espina, Concha	Agua de nieve	21	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Semanal	Espina, Concha	El príncipe del "cantar"	182	1925	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	Aurora de España	258	1927	Madrid	Expanded and published later as *La virgen prudente*
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	Huerto de rosas	356	1929	Madrid	

La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	Marcha nupcial	367	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	Tierra Firme	397	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	El hermano Caín	472	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Una Hora	Espina, Concha	Nadie quiere a nadie	5	1936	Madrid	
La Novela Ideal	Espinosa, Marta	Dos hermanas	288	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Ferré, Dora	El hijo	245	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Ferré, Dora	Fango en el oro	276	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Ferrer, Ivonne	Sueño de verano	28	1926	Barcelona	Advertised but probably never published
La Novela Ideal	García, Cecilia	¿Locos o vencidos?	389	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Vasca	García, Cecilia	Rosa del rosal cortada	13	1936	San Sebastián	
La Novela Ideal	García, Cecilia	Mujeres	497	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Sentimental	Gibert, María Teresa	Flor de almendro	8	1920	Barcelona	
El Cuento Semanal	Gimeno de Flaquer, Concepción	Una Eva moderna	152	1909	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Graupera, Ángela	Carmela	23	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La alondra	33	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La venganza de Jaime	42	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Aura popular	95	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El corazón de la esfinge	106	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La pequeña hechicera	113	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El retorno a la tierra	123	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La tentación	133	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Como las abejas	142	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	En las garras del hombre	151	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Bajo los cerezos	161	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Camino de amor	173	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La moral de la gente de bien	188	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El abismo	200	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Corazón de mujer	214	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El batelero	231	1931	Barcelona	

La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Los viejos	253	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El despertar	273	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La cigarra y la hormiga	285	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Alma del inquisidor	301	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Padre y verdugo	317	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La vocación	329	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	Los rebeldes	2	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La mujer que se vendió	341	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	En familia	355	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La pequeña rebelde	370	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Sacrificio	386	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	Ofrenda de amor	7	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	El amo	15	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La romántica	406	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La mancha de sangre	426	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	La redimida	22	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	En busca del amor	26	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El vagabundo	441	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Los dos caminos	459	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Odio y amor	490	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	La cadena	30	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	La herencia	37	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	Ansias de volar	40	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La casita blanca	522	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	La madre	45	1937	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Gutiérrez, Manolita	El estigma	305	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Gutiérrez, Manolita	El último discípulo	414	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Hernández, Asunción	Todo un caballero	474	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Para Todos	Insúa, Sara	La que no pudo ser mala	2	1916	Barcelona	Seems to be a dfferent collection than Burgos's novel
La Novela Mundial	Insúa, Sara	La mujer que defendió su felicidad	61	1927	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Muy siglo XX	290	1927	Madrid	
La Novela Mundial	Insúa, Sara	La dura verdad	126	1928	Madrid	

La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Salomé de hoy	375	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Llama de bengala	422	1930	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Mala vida y buena muerte	452	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Felisa salva su casa	171	1934	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Karr, Carme	Por la dicha	22	1925	Barcelona	
El Cuento Semanal	Martínez Sierra, María	Aventura	3	1907	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Martínez Sierra, María	Tierra de marfil	73	1908	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Martínez Sierra, María	Égloga	110	1909	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Martínez de Cervera, Leonor	Ester	9	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Mayer, Romilda	La hija del banquero	47	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Maymón, Antonia	Madre	14	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Maymón, Antonia	La perla	59	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Maymón, Antonia	El hijo del camino	237	1931	Barcelona	
Los Novelistas	Millán Astray, Pilar	Las dos estrellas	11	1928	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	Un caballero español	364	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	Las veladas de la señá Isidra	394	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	La ramita de olivo	411	1930	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	Una chula de corazón	482	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	La miniatura de María Antoñeta	490	1931	Madrid	
La Novela Ideal	Montes, Rosario	La señorita de compañía	234	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montes, Rosario	Sor Luz en el infierno	265	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Montseny, Federica	Vida nueva	7	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Una vida	4	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Aurora roja	8	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Ana María	12	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Heroínas	20	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Vampiresa	24	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	La sombra del pasado	28	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Sinfonía apasionada	31	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Amor de un día	36	1936	Barcelona	

La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Florecimiento	2	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Las santas	5	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El amor nuevo	12	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	¿Cuál de las tres?	19	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Los hijos de la calle	24	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Maternidad	29	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El otro amor	34	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La última primavera	39	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Resurrección	43	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Martirio	48	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La hija del verdugo	52	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	María de Magdala	56	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El rescate de la cautiva	62	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El amor errante	72	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La vida que empieza	79	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Sor Angélica	83	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La ruta iluminada	89	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El último amor	94	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Nuestra Señora del Paralelo	107	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El derecho al hijo	115	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Los caminos del mundo	120	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La hija de las estrellas	128	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Frente al amor	136	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Sol en las cimas	162	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El sueño de una noche en verano	168	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El juego del amor y de la vida	175	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La infinita sed	181	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Sonata patética	190	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Pasionaria	198	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Tú eres la vida	207	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El ocaso de los dioses	216	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La mujer que huía del amor	224	1930	Barcelona	

La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Una historia triste	232	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Nocturno de amor	242	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El amor que pasa	251	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Un hombre	268	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Cara a la vida	279	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La rebelión de los siervos	294	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Una mujer y dos hombres	312	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Amor en venta	435	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Nada más que una mujer	452	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Calvario	456	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Vidas sombrías	469	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Morales, Celia	El mayo tesoro	398	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Morales, Celia	Una historia de amor	422	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Morales, María Luz	Maestrita rural	1	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela de Hoy	Nelken, Carmen Eva	La carabina	129	1924	Madrid	Signed under the pseudonym "Magda Donato"
La Novela de Hoy	Nelken, Carmen Eva	Las otras dos	464	1931	Madrid	Signed under the pseudonym "Magda Donato"
La Novela Corta	Nelken, Margarita	Una historia de adulterio	448	1922	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Nelken, Margarita	La aventura de Roma	40	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Nelken, Margarita	Pitiminí Etoíle	456	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Nelken, Margarita	Mi suicidio	474	1924	Madrid	Also titled *Un suicidio*
Los Contemporáneos	Nelken, Margarita	El milagro	816	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Nelken, Margarita	El viaje a París	488	1925	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Nelken, Margarita	La exótica	26	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Roja	Nelken, Margarita	El orden	5	1931	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	O'Neill, Carlota	Historia de un beso	8	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	O'Neill, Carlota	Pigmalión	31	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Olariaga, María de	Amor de niña	12	1925	Barcelona	

La Novela Femenina	Opisso, Antonia	Cuentos	4	1925	Barcelona	
Esquemas	Opisso, Regina	Nocturno trágico	15	1921	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Opisso, Regina	Mar adentro	19	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Del cielo al penal	85	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	¡Era su madre!	101	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Los hijos del otro	110	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Pedro el «Justiciero»	117	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Mi honor... ¡No importa!	125	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	La tragedia de Leonora	137	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	La víctima	146	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	¡Me basto yo!	165	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Delito de amor	174	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Tú eres la dicha	185	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	El soto del cerezal	247	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	La venganza de una mujer	258	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Una mujer fatal	296	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Flor de pasión	506	1936	Barcelona	Subtitle: "Historia de una pobre muchacha"
El Cuento Semanal	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Cada uno	7	1907	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Allende la verdad	95	1908	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Belcebú	103	1908	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Finafrol	105	1909	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La gota de sangre	128	1911	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	En las cavernas	2	1912	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Arrastrada	174	1912	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La muerte del poeta	222	1913	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La dama joven	292	1914	Madrid	Originally published in 1885 in *Artes y Letras*
La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La aventura de Isidro	4	1916	Madrid	

La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La última Fada	46	1916	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Instinto	367	1916	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Clavileño	86	1917	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Bucólica	476	1918	Madrid	Originally published in 1884
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Los tres arcos de Cirilo	514	1918	Madrid	Originally published in 1895
La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Dioses	162	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Rodando	253	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Ideal	Pérez, Cristina	Nueva aurora	411	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Pérez, Cristina	Camaradas y rivales	467	1935	Barcelona	First name listed as Cristino due to a typo
El Cuento Semanal	Prada, Gloria de la	Por una coleta	258	1911	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Prada, Gloria de la	El candilejo	27	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Pruenca, Rosario	La dama de la Cruz Roja	10	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Regis, Celsia	La medalla	24	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Reina, Elvira	Paso al amor divino	16	1925	Barcelona	
El Cuento Semanal	Ríos, Blanca de los	Las hijas de Don Juan	42	1907	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Ríos, Blanca de los	Madrid goyesco	68	1908	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Ríos, Blanca de los	Los diablos azules	54	1910	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Ríos, Blanca de los	Cuentos andaluces	5	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela de Noche	Sade, Clara Isabel de	Las simulaciones de Charito	61	1926	Madrid	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	Lydia	218	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	Las montañas de Bohemia	255	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	Julieta	292	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	La sonrisa de Venus	333	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	La coquetería de Consuelo	361	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	El dilema	478	1935	Barcelona	

La Novela Femenina	Veñasco de Encinas, María Mercedes	Los desposorios de Odette	15	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Ventós y Culell, Palmira	La caída	14	1925	Barcelona	Signed under the pseudonym "Felip Palma"
La Novela de Noche	Viguri, Encarnación	El hombre que vivió dos vidas	59	1926	Madrid	

Appendix 3: Novellas Organized by Collection

Revista / Colección	Author	Title	Nº	Year	City	Notes
El Cuento Semanal	Martínez Sierra, María	Aventura	3	1907	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Cada uno	7	1907	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	El tesoro del castillo	25	1907	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Ríos, Blanca de los	Las hijas de Don Juan	42	1907	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Ríos, Blanca de los	Madrid goyesco	68	1908	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Martínez Sierra, María	Tierra de marfil	73	1908	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	Senderos de vida	81	1908	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Allende la verdad	95	1908	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Belcebú	103	1908	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Martínez Sierra, María	Égloga	110	1909	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	En la guerra (Episodios de Melilla)	148	1909	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Gimeno de Flaquer, Concepción	Una Eva moderna	152	1909	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Casanova, Sofía	Princesa del amor hermoso	156	1909	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Barco, Ángela	Fémina	171	1910	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Espina, Concha	La ronda de los galanes	179	1910	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	El honor de la familia	238	1911	Madrid	
El Cuento Semanal	Prada, Gloria de la	Por una coleta	258	1911	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	En las cavernas	2	1912	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Burgos, Carmen de	La indecisa	10	1912	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Burgos, Carmen de	Justicia del mar	24	1912	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Casanova, Sofía	El crimen de Beira-mar	8	1914	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Burgos, Carmen de	Malos amores	11	1914	Madrid	
El Libro Popular	Burgos, Carmen de	Frasca la tonta	26	1914	Madrid	Published as *Venganza* in *La Novela Corta* (1918)
Esquemas	Opisso, Regina	Nocturno trágico	15	1921	Madrid	
La Novela con Regalo	Burgos, Carmen de	Lo inesperado	5	1916	Valencia	
La Novela con Regalo	Burgos, Carmen de	Una bomba	4	1917	Valencia	

La Novela Contemporánea	Burgos, Carmen de	Las inseparables	?	1917	Barcelona	
La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La aventura de Isidro	4	1916	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Villa María	8	1916	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El hombre negro	27	1916	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La última Fada	46	1916	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El perseguidor	59	1917	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Espina, Concha	El jayón	67	1917	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Pasiones	81	1917	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Clavileño	86	1917	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Espina, Concha	Talín	106	1918	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	¡Todos menos ese!	117	1918	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Venganza	137	1918	Madrid	Republication of Frasca *la tonta*
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El mejor film	155	1918	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Böhl de Faber, Cecilia ("Fernán Caballero")	La gaviota	109-110	1918	Madrid	Republication of selections of the full-length novel from 1849
La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Dioses	162	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Dos amores	180	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Triunfo del amor	186	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Los negociantes de la Puerta del Sol	195	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Sobre el Volga helado	196	1919	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Lo eterno	218	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La flor de la playa	231	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La Emperatriz Eugenia	240	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Rodando	253	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Los amores de Faustino	254	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	El doctor Wolski	255	1920	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Coronado, Carolina	Jarilla	258	1920	Madrid	Originally published in 1850 (Coronado had died in 1911)
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Luna de miel	267	1921	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La entrometida	292	1921	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Episodio de guerra	299	1921	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La ciudad encantada	310	1921	Madrid	

La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La mujer fría	328	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El suicida asesinado	339	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Casanova, Sofía	Valor y miedo	348	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La princesa rusa	356	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Nelken, Margarita	Una historia de adulterio	448	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La pensión ideal	371	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La que se casó muy niña	384	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La mujer fantástica	398	1923	Madrid	Republication of a novel of the same name
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El hastío del amor	410	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Hasta renacer	422	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	Las ensaladillas	438	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Nelken, Margarita	Pitiminí Etoíle	456	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	La miniatura	457	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Nelken, Margarita	Mi suicidio	474	1924	Madrid	Also titled *Un suicidio*
La Novela Corta	Nelken, Margarita	El viaje a París	488	1925	Madrid	
La Novela Corta	Burgos, Carmen de	El brote	491	1925	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Nelken, Margarita	La aventura de Roma	40	1923	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Nelken, Carmen Eva	La carabina	129	1924	Madrid	Signed under the pseudonym "Magda Donato"
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	Aurora de España	258	1927	Madrid	Expanded and published later as *La virgen prudente*
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Muy siglo XX	290	1927	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Se quedó sin ella	352	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	Huerto de rosas	356	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	Un caballero español	364	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	Marcha nupcial	367	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Salomé de hoy	375	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	Las veladas de la señá Isidra	394	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	Tierra Firme	397	1929	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	El dorado trópico	404	1930	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	La ramita de olivo	411	1930	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	¡La piscina! ¡La piscina!	417	1930	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Llama de bengala	422	1930	Madrid	

La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Vida y milagros del pícaro Andresillo Pérez	450	1930	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Mala vida y buena muerte	452	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Nelken, Carmen Eva	Las otras dos	464	1931	Madrid	Signed under the pseudonym "Magda Donato"
La Novela de Hoy	Espina, Concha	El hermano Caín	472	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	La ironía de la vida	478	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	Una chula de corazón	482	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Perdónanos nuestras deudas	487	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Millán Astray, Pilar	La miniatura de María Antoñeta	490	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Puñal de claveles	495	1931	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Guiones del destino	510	1932	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Burgos, Carmen de	Cuando la ley lo manda	518	1932	Madrid	
La Novela de Hoy	Insúa, Sara	Felisa salva su casa	171	1934	Madrid	
La Novela de Noche	Burgos, Carmen de	La confidente	58	1926	Madrid	
La Novela de Noche	Viguri, Encarnación	El hombre que vivió dos vidas	59	1926	Madrid	
La Novela de Noche	Sade, Clara Isabel de	Las simulaciones de Charito	61	1926	Madrid	
La Novela de Una Hora	Espina, Concha	Nadie quiere a nadie	5	1936	Madrid	
La Novela del Bolsillo	Burgos, Carmen de	Sorpresas	8	1914	Madrid	
La Novela Femenina	Morales, María Luz	Maestrita rural	1	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Català, Víctor	Carnaval	2	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Burgos, Carmen de	La prueba	3	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Opisso, Antonia	Cuentos	4	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Ríos, Blanca de los	Cuentos andaluces	5	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Condesa del Castellá	Cuentos	6	1925	Barcelona	

La Novela Femenina	Montseny, Federica	Vida nueva	7	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	O'Neill, Carlota	Historia de un beso	8	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Martínez de Cervera, Leonor	Ester	9	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Pruenca, Rosario	La dama de la Cruz Roja	10	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Escolano Sopena, Josefina	La eterna bestia	11	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Olariaga, María de	Amor de niña	12	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Cervera Martínez, Lelia	Deuda pagada	13	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Ventós y Culell, Palmira	La caída	14	1925	Barcelona	Signed under the pseudonym "Felip Palma"
La Novela Femenina	Veñasco de Encinas, María Mercedes	Los desposorios de Odette	15	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Reina, Elvira	Paso al amor divino	16	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Borrás, María del Amparo	Tragedia sentimental	17	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Doménech de Cañellas, María	Él…	18	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Opisso, Regina	Mar adentro	19	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Burgos, Carmen de	El silencio del hijo	20	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Espina, Concha	Agua de nieve	21	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Karr, Carme	Por la dicha	22	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Graupera, Ángela	Carmela	23	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Regis, Celsia	La medalla	24	1925	Barcelona	

La Novela Femenina	Abad, Carmen de	Compensación	25	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Nelken, Margarita	La exótica	26	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Carvia, Amalia	Cambio a tiempo	27	1926	Barcelona	Advertised but probably never published
La Novela Femenina	Prada, Gloria de la	El candilejo	27	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Femenina	Ferrer, Ivonne	Sueño de verano	28	1926	Barcelona	Advertised but probably never published
La Novela Gráfica	Burgos, Carmen de	La herencia de la bruja	20	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Florecimiento	2	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Las santas	5	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El amor nuevo	12	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Maymón, Antonia	Madre	14	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	¿Cuál de las tres?	19	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Los hijos de la calle	24	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Maternidad	29	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	O'Neill, Carlota	Pigmalión	31	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La alondra	33	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El otro amor	34	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La última primavera	39	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La venganza de Jaime	42	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Resurrección	43	1925	Barcelona	

La Novela Ideal	Mayer, Romilda	La hija del banquero	47	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Martirio	48	1925	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La hija del verdugo	52	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	María de Magdala	56	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Maymón, Antonia	La perla	59	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El rescate de la cautiva	62	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El amor errante	72	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Colomer, Joaquina	Flora	73	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La vida que empieza	79	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Sor Angélica	83	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Del cielo al penal	85	1926	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La ruta iluminada	89	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El último amor	94	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Aura popular	95	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	¡Era su madre!	101	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El corazón de la esfinge	106	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Nuestra Señora del Paralelo	107	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Los hijos del otro	110	1927	Barcelona	

La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La pequeña hechicera	113	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El derecho al hijo	115	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Pedro el «Justiciero»	117	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Los caminos del mundo	120	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El retorno a la tierra	123	1927	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Mi honor... ¡No importa!	125	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La hija de las estrellas	128	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La tentación	133	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Frente al amor	136	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	La tragedia de Leonora	137	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Como las abejas	142	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	La víctima	146	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	En las garras del hombre	151	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Bajo los cerezos	161	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Sol en las cimas	162	1928	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	¡Me basto yo!	165	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El sueño de una noche en verano	168	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Camino de amor	173	1929	Barcelona	

La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Delito de amor	174	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El juego del amor y de la vida	175	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La infinita sed	181	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Tú eres la dicha	185	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La moral de la gente de bien	188	1929	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Sonata patética	190	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Pasionaria	198	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El abismo	200	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Tú eres la vida	207	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Corazón de mujer	214	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El ocaso de los dioses	216	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	Lydia	218	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La mujer que huía del amor	224	1930	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Amparo Borrás, María del	Vidas humildes	229	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El batelero	231	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Una historia triste	232	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montes, Rosario	La señorita de compañía	234	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Maymón, Antonia	El hijo del camino	237	1931	Barcelona	

La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Nocturno de amor	242	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Ferré, Dora	El hijo	245	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	El soto del cerezal	247	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	El amor que pasa	251	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Los viejos	253	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	Las montañas de Bohemia	255	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	La venganza de una mujer	258	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montes, Rosario	Sor Luz en el infierno	265	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Un hombre	268	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El despertar	273	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Ferré, Dora	Fango en el oro	276	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Cara a la vida	279	1931	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La cigarra y la hormiga	285	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Espinosa, Marta	Dos hermanas	288	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	Julieta	292	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	La rebelión de los siervos	294	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Una mujer fatal	296	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Alma del inquisidor	301	1932	Barcelona	

La Novela Ideal	Gutiérrez, Manolita	El estigma	305	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Una mujer y dos hombres	312	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Padre y verdugo	317	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La vocación	329	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	La sonrisa de Venus	333	1932	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La mujer que se vendió	341	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	En familia	355	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	La coquetería de Consuelo	361	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La pequeña rebelde	370	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Sacrificio	386	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	García, Cecilia	¿Locos o vencidos?	389	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Morales, Celia	El mayo tesoro	398	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La romántica	406	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Bosque, Libertad de	Aurora de amor	409	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Pérez, Cristina	Nueva aurora	411	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Gutiérrez, Manolita	El último discípulo	414	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Morales, Celia	Una historia de amor	422	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La mancha de sangre	426	1934	Barcelona	

La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Amor en venta	435	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	El vagabundo	441	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Nada más que una mujer	452	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Calvario	456	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Los dos caminos	459	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Pérez, Cristina	Camaradas y rivales	467	1935	Barcelona	First name listed as Cristino; most likely a typo
La Novela Ideal	Montseny, Federica	Vidas sombrías	469	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Hernández, Asunción	Todo un caballero	474	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Solá, María	El dilema	478	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	Odio y amor	490	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	García, Cecilia	Mujeres	497	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Opisso, Regina	Flor de pasión	506	1936	Barcelona	Subtitle: "Historia de una pobre muchacha"
La Novela Ideal	Amador, Margarita	¡Tú, mi hermana!	510	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Graupera, Ángela	La casita blanca	522	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Amador, Margarita	Venganza no, justicia	529	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Ideal	Amador, Margarita	El señorito	558	1937	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	Los rebeldes	2	1933	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Una vida	4	1933	Barcelona	

La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	Ofrenda de amor	7	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Aurora roja	8	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Ana María	12	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	El amo	15	1934	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Heroínas	20	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	La redimida	22	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Vampiresa	24	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	En busca del amor	26	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	La sombra del pasado	28	1935	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	La cadena	30	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Sinfonía apasionada	31	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Montseny, Federica	Amor de un día	36	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	La herencia	37	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	Ansias de volar	40	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Amador, Margarita	¡Por fin triunfantes!	41	1936	Barcelona	
La Novela Libre	Graupera, Ángela	La madre	45	1937	Barcelona	
La Novela Mundial	Burgos, Carmen de	La misionera de Teotihuacán	21	1926	Madrid	
La Novela Mundial	Insúa, Sara	La mujer que defendió su felicidad	61	1927	Madrid	
La Novela Mundial	Burgos, Carmen de	El "misericordia"	73	1927	Madrid	
La Novela Mundial	Insúa, Sara	La dura verdad	126	1928	Madrid	

La Novela Para Todos	Insúa, Sara	La que no pudo ser mala	2	1916	Barcelona	Seems to be a dfferent collection than Burgos's novel
La Novela Para Todos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los míseros	17	1916	Madrid	Seems to be a different collection than Insúa's novel
La Novela Pasional	Burgos, Carmen de	La que quiso ser maja	23	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Roja	Nelken, Margarita	El orden	5	1931	Madrid	
La Novela Romántica	Burgos, Carmen de	Las tricanas	?	1915	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	Artículo 438	15	1921	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Espina, Concha	Cumbres al sol	28	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Casanova, Sofía	La princesa rusa	55	1922	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	El extranjero	94	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Casanova, Sofía	Kola el bandido	101	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	El anhelo	106	1923	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	La melena de la discordia	193	1924	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Espina, Concha	El príncipe del "cantar"	182	1925	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Casanova, Sofía	El dolor de reinar	213	1925	Madrid	
La Novela Semanal	Burgos, Carmen de	La nostálgica	222	1925	Madrid	
La Novela Sentimental	Gibert, María Teresa	Flor de almendro	8	1920	Barcelona	
La Novela Sentimental	Amparo Borrás, María del	La amada ideal	24	1924	Barcelona	
La Novela Vasca	García, Cecilia	Rosa del rosal cortada	13	1936	San Sebastián	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Finafrol	105	1909	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Ríos, Blanca de los	Los diablos azules	54	1910	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El veneno del arte	57	1910	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La gota de sangre	128	1911	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Siempre en tierra	172	1912	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Arrastrada	174	1912	Madrid	

Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La muerte del poeta	222	1913	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Casanova, Sofía	La madeja	241	1913	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	La dama joven	292	1914	Madrid	Originally published in 1885 in *Artes y Letras*
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El abogado	340	1915	Madrid	Publicado más tarde como "La hora del amor" en *La hora del amor* (1917)
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Instinto	367	1916	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los usureros	371	1916	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Ellas y ellos, o ellos y ellas	388	1916	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Don Manolito	416	1916	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Carbone, Adela	El crimen de Lotino	424	1917	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El permisionario	437	1917	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El desconocido	459	1917	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Bucólica	476	1918	Madrid	Originally published in 1884
Los Contemporáneos	Carbone, Adela	La huella	490	1918	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Pardo Bazán, Emilia	Los tres arcos de Cirilo	514	1918	Madrid	Originally published in 1895
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los inadaptados	518	1918	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Carbone, Adela	La hermanastra	543	1919	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El fin de la guerra	559	1919	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Carbone, Adela	El amigo ahorcado	615	1920	Madrid	

Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Confidencias	623	1920	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	La rampa	655	1921	Madrid	Abridged version of novel by the same name (1917)
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	El último contrabandista	689	1922	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los huesos del abuelo	724	1922	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Burgos, Carmen de	La tornadiza	772	1923	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Nelken, Margarita	El milagro	816	1924	Madrid	
Los Contemporáneos	Astray Reguera, Margarita	Pasión de moro	879	1925	Madrid	
Los Cuentistas	Burgos, Carmen de	Églogas	4	1910	Madrid	
Los Novelistas	Millán Astray, Pilar	Las dos estrellas	11	1928	Madrid	
Novelas y Cuentos	Burgos, Carmen de	Los endemoniados de Jaca	207	1932	Madrid	Abridged version of *Los espirituados (1923)*