

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JOSÉ MILLA Y VIDAURRE

by

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INTRODUCTION

José Milla was one of Guatemala's most prolific and popular writers. Today he still stands as one of the great literary figures of his country. Luis Alberto Sánchez speaks of him as "el prócer de las letras nacionales guatemaltecas."¹ Rubén Darío considered him to be one of the three best writers of all Central America² along with Enrique Gómez Carrillo and Ramón A. Salazar; Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo thought of him as "uno de los escritores más fecundos y notables de las repúblicas del Centro."³ Others have variously called him: "honra y prez de la literatura nacional,"⁴ "padre de la novela nacional,"⁵ "padre de las letras nacionales,"⁶ "padre de la novela centro americana,"⁷ "escritor más fecundo de Guatemala,"⁸ "una gloria nacional de Centro América,"⁹ and even "el ilustre decano de la literatura centro americana."¹⁰ Yet, curiously enough, despite so many flattering epithets, no one up to the moment has studied Milla's total literary production adequately.

Much of what has been written about Milla praises him greatly but is seriously lacking in critical analysis. This was especially true before 1940. In 1885, three years after his death, the Guatemalan government approved a petition to publish the Corona fúnebre dedicada a la grata memoria del insigne literato guatemalteco José Milla (Salomé Jil) and the result was a one hundred and twenty-eight page memorial consisting of contributions by various outstanding Central American literati. It contained a wealth of praise for Milla, some biographical information, but almost no analysis or critical evaluation of his works. Some four

years later, a similar eulogy was accorded him when the Academia Guatemalteca dedicated a special number of La Revista to his memory. Again in 1922, on the centenary of his birth, a special issue of La Revista de la Universidad was dedicated to him, but it too was heavy in laudatory comment without offering any real literary analysis.

After the period of 1935-1937, when the government of President Jorge Ubico published Milla's Obras Completas (which unfortunately are not complete),¹¹ some studies of a more critical nature began to appear, but still the picture of his literary work remains fragmentary and inadequate. In 1940, John Martin, at the University of Pittsburgh, wrote a doctoral dissertation called "The Literary Works of José Milla" which, despite the title, is only a brief and sketchy study. A few years later the Guatemalan author and critic David Vela, with more facilities and information at hand, discussed various aspects of Milla's life and works, but then only to the extent needed for his survey of Guatemalan literature. "José Milla y Vidaurre, Historian of Central America (1822-1882)," Walter A. Payne's Ph. D. dissertation at the University of Florida (1955), concentrates on his life and historical works.¹²

Considering the nature of the various extant works on Milla, with their limitations and in some cases serious lacunae, I undertook the present study. It is my desire and purpose to examine, discuss and evaluate all of Milla's literary production.

My research has been carried on both in the United States and in Guatemala. I feel greatly indebted to those who have helped me in this

endeavor. I wish to thank the library staffs at the Universities of Kansas, Virginia and San Carlos, La Sociedad de Geografía e Historia, the Archivo Nacional and the Biblioteca Nacional in Guatemala, as well as the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. Above all, I should like to express my gratitude to Dr. Seymour Menton for the time, effort, and words of encouragement expended in this project.

CHAPTER I

MILLA'S LIFE¹ AND TIMES

Independence and Milla's Childhood

In 1822, the year of José Milla's birth, Guatemala included virtually all of Central America and even portions of Mexico: Chiapas and Soconusco. However, its demographic and geographic divisions made a lasting union of the entire territory difficult. In an area where the social structure was geared to European culture, the population was overwhelmingly Indian. The latter lived apart from the ladinos and the few contacts he had with them only served to emphasize his own inferior position. His education was grossly neglected and generally he could not read nor write. On the other hand, the white minority constituted the aristocratic ruling class. This relatively small and élite group supported by the Church dominated the political scene as it had during the days of the colony.

Lying between the rich and important viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru, Guatemala was relegated to the lower status of a captaincy-general throughout the colonial period. But despite a general lack of interest in the area, due to an absence of large quantities of precious metals, it was not altogether abandoned, and at least, it could claim some cultural achievements. It acquired a university in 1620² and a printing press in 1660.³ In the field of literature, Guatemala could claim such distinguished writers as the historian Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1492-1581?), and the poets Rafael Landívar y Caballero (1731-1793), Fray

Matías de Córdoba (1768-1828) and Rafael García Goyena (1766-1823).⁴ However, it was really not until the nineteenth century that Guatemala began to develop its own literature. Unquestionably, the most outstanding figure of this period was José Milla.

José Domingo Juan Milla y Vidaurre, the first son of José Justo Milla and Mercedes Vidaurre, was born in Guatemala City on August 4, 1822,⁵ shortly after Guatemala had become an independent nation.

The immediate movement for independence in Guatemala differed from that of the other Latin American countries in that it involved no violent revolution. The royalist governor, Brigadier Don Gabino Gaínza, yielding to the wishes of the citizenry, merely changed his allegiance from the king to the people of Guatemala. Formal independence, however, came as only a brief interlude in an otherwise turbulent period of history. Much strife and conflict had preceded the year 1821,⁶ and much more was to follow.⁷ The actual signing of the Declaration of Independence was only a very weak culmination of the early forceful attempts at independence and at the same time an ironic portent of the chaos to come. In fact, at the time of Milla's birth, a Mexican army under Vicente Filisola, Emperor Iturbide's representative in Central America,⁸ occupied the province of Guatemala. Although the Mexican army could not be considered an invading horde, its presence in Guatemala nevertheless did arouse some hostility which at times led to acts of violence. In El Salvador, actual fighting, fierce and sustained, took place before the Mexican forces finally withdrew.

At this time, José Milla's father, José Justo, was a member of the Guatemalan militia which supported Filísola's forces as they marched into the capital city. José Justo Milla himself by birth was not a Guatemalan but a Honduran who, while stationed in Guatemala, met and married Mercedes Vidaurre. Both of José Milla's parents were of aristocratic families. His paternal ancestors had lived in a town in the province of Honduras called Gracias a Dios, and he was the first Milla to be born on Guatemalan soil.⁹ After his birth the family estate still remained in that part of Honduras and Miguel García Granados, in referring to one episode of his civil war experience of 1828, said: "En Gracias hicimos alto unos días, para reponernos un tanto, habiéndonos alojado en su casa, (a mis hermanos y a mí) un señor Milla, pariente de los señores de este nombre, con quienes teníamos íntimas relaciones en Guatemala."¹⁰

While civil wars were constantly to disturb the provinces of Central America, the threat of Mexican domination did not last long. In December of 1822, General Antonio López de Santa Anna led a revolt against Emperor Iturbide which brought about the latter's abdication on March 19, 1823. Filísola, who was still waging futile war in El Salvador, hastened to return to the more friendly Guatemala City. However, there, a newly organized national constituent assembly declared, on July 1st, that the provinces which comprised the Kingdom of Guatemala should be independent of Spain, Mexico or any other foreign power. The Guatemalan Congress ordered the Mexican troops of occupation to leave

on July 18, and they finally withdrew from Guatemala on August 3rd. On the journey northward, however, Filisola laid the groundwork for the subsequent annexation of Chiapas to Mexico.

After Iturbide's fall from power and while Filisola was making ready to leave, a government was formed in Guatemala City which was called "Las Provincias Unidas de Centro América." The union consisted of five provinces: Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica, and by November 22, 1824, a constitution was signed providing for a president of the federation of Central American states and a Jefe de Estado as a governor of each state. The first elections were held early the next year and Manuel José de Arce, running against José Cecilio del Valle, was elected president of the newly formed federation.

Unfortunately, right from its inception, this union of five states was plagued by dissension. Provinces were jealous of each other and, even within the same province, groups banded together in rival political parties. "El Centro de América, Las Provincias Unidas, como se las llamó, estaban profundamente separadas desde antaño, y contenían tales elementos de destrucción, que duró más de dieciocho años de guerra civil. Prevalció la miseria y el vandalismo, la discordia y el odio hasta entre individuos de una misma familia."¹¹ Two major factions, which were to become perennial combatants, crystallized: the Conservatives, supported by the aristocracy and the Church, who believed in a strong central government and the Liberals, who believed in a loose federal union of states.

President Manuel José Arce, although a Liberal, did not adhere completely to the Liberal cause. In attempting a reconciliation with the Conservatives and the clergy, he managed to antagonize his own party. The federal congress, which was predominantly composed of Liberals, including Juan Barrundia, the Liberal governor of Guatemala, did not approve of the President's conduct. Arce, playing into the hands of the Conservatives, further aroused the suspicion of his party by imprisoning Barrundia and by moving the capital to Quezaltenango. The President's break with his own party became irreparable when he convoked a new, unauthorized congress more to his liking.

During the presidency of Arce, the Conservatives in Guatemala gained strength until finally the strain became too great. On December 6, 1826, a military uprising took place in El Salvador to protest against the President's having exceeded his legal powers. Honduras and Nicaragua followed suit and all three states promptly became battlefields.

José Justo Milla, the author's father who was by then a colonel, played an important part in these Central American wars. Supporting the federal government of Manuel José Arce, he waged war in his home province of Honduras and campaigned successfully for most of the year of 1827. However, his military triumphs were short-lived. Pressing the attack toward the south, he met the forces of General Francisco Morazán and was defeated on November 11 in the famous battle of Trinidad. This was a particularly serious defeat, not only for the federal government, but also for Justo Milla. Because he had been a high ranking official

in the Honduran government until 1826, he was tried for treason and sentenced to exile in 1829. Accompanying many other political criminals, he boarded the brigantine "General Hidalgo" in Acajutla and some forty days later, landed in Mexico, where he died in exile.¹²

Because of Justo Milla's military career, José had little chance to get acquainted with his father. And unfortunately, at the time of the latter's banishment, he could not turn to his mother either for guidance or love since she had died a year earlier.

Morazán, Gálvez and Milla's Education

After his triumph in Trinidad, the Honduran Liberal Francisco Morazán continued to fight until he captured Guatemala City on April 12, 1828. Manuel José Arce, like Milla's father, was sent into exile and Morazán was elected president by the Liberals in 1830. During his administration, many reforms were made in education, industry and commerce. The government was reorganized and immigration was encouraged. Church holdings were confiscated and marriage became a civil contract.¹³ In 1832, a criminal code drafted by Edward Livingston and originally proposed for the state of Louisiana was adopted by Central America. On the strength of his liberal program, Morazán was reelected in 1834.

Doctor Mariano Gálvez, Jefe de Estado of Guatemala from 1831 through 1838, also sponsored a liberal program. His anticlerical reforms included the elimination of certain holidays and tithes, the secularization of cemeteries and their location outside populated areas. Education received particular attention during his administration. The laws

of 1832 and 1835 established public primary schools. The University of San Carlos, which had been somewhat neglected during previous periods, was revitalized when Gálvez transformed it into an academy of studies, and the illustrious Pedro Molina, a leader in the independence movement, was appointed its chief administrator. The Biblioteca Nacional and the Museo were also established during this period. In addition, President Gálvez provided academies for workers and strove to educate the Indian population. F. Hernández de León described Gálvez's educational program in these terms:

Se abrían las escuelas públicas para niñas; la enseñanza no era un patrimonio de una casta, sino que se constituía en el regalo de todas las clases sociales y, con las doctrinas delineadas embrionariamente, se sentaban ya las bases de la imposición del credo liberal que habría de ofrecer la obra definitiva en el principio proclamado en 1879; la instrucción primaria es obligatoria; la sostenida por la nación, es laica y gratuita. Para un desenvolvimiento mejor de los planes de enseñanza, el Doctor Gálvez fundaba la escuela de niñas, la escuela normal, dejaba la acción mantenida en el colegio de Infantes y en el Tridentino; pero fundaba a manera de contrafuertes, la Academia, asociación de todos los profesores y literatos del Estado, destinada a promover y fomentar la educación, en sus tres aspectos: físico, moral e intelectual.¹⁴

These educational advancements were important to José Milla's intellectual development despite the fact that he studied at a church school, the Colegio Seminario Tridentino. "El pensamiento de José Milla se formó a la luz de las reformas liberales, que implantara el Doctor Gálvez, en el primer periodo de su gobierno. La influencia religiosa y tradicional, imperante en los sistemas educativos antes de 1830, desapareció en los nuevos planes de estudio y la obra legislativa de la época derogó todas las disposiciones que tendían a confundir la educación con la enseñanza religiosa."¹⁵

After the death of Milla's mother, the maternal side of the family cared for him briefly. Later he was placed under the protective wing of Padre José María Castilla, the famed prócer, who was at that time rector of the Tridentino. Milla enrolled in that school with "una beca de familia."¹⁶

At the Tridentine School, Milla was considered by his classmates as "decidor y comunicativo, siendo muy agradable en su conversación y en su persona."¹⁷ He studied a number of subjects, including natural law from the historian Alejandro Marure and Latin literature from Santiago Barberena. However, he showed most interest in the field of literature. As Lorenzo Montúfar, who was also a student at the school, observed, Milla "devoraba cuantas novelas caían en sus manos y cuantos versos, buenos o malos, llegaban al Colegio Tridentino..."¹⁸ He also demonstrated a precocious literary talent of his own. His friend further noted that: "Su afición a la bella literatura y sus progresos en ella, fueron conocidos fuera del colegio, y los literatos más notables que entonces tenía Guatemala lo visitaban con frecuencia. Estas visitas lisonjaban a Milla, fortificaban sus inclinaciones y lo retiraban más del estudio del Derecho."¹⁹ Because of the time spent on literature, "no podía sufrir el estudio del Derecho y casi nunca sabía sus lecciones."¹⁹ The same Montúfar, in his Memorias autobiográficas, supplies a particularly interesting anecdote which tells something of Milla as a student of law:

En el primer año de leyes Milla, Arbizu (Gregorio Arbizu who later became Minister of Foreign Relations for El Salvador), y yo fuimos designados por elección de las clases respectivas para sostener un acto público en Derecho romano y en Derecho natural.

En el acto de Derecho natural, Milla habló mucho con bastante corrección literaria y todos quedaron satisfechos del examen.

No le sucedió lo mismo en el acto de Derecho romano.

Para disertar sobre las doce tablas y sobre la ley "Julia y Papia Popea" no basta saber de memoria las obras de Larra ni de Lamartine. Es preciso haber leído las Instituciones de Justiniano y sus comentadores.

En aquel examen, Milla lo hizo muy mal. Fué aprobado y se le dió la enhorabuena; pero él, guiado por su propia conciencia, se retiró al colegio, se amarró la cabeza, se metió a la cama y dijo que estaba enfermo.²⁰

Before Milla was fifteen years old, there was much unrest in the provinces and several anti-government demonstrations and uprisings took place. The numerous reforms effected during this period by both Gálvez and Morazán had greatly incurred the wrath of the Conservative classes. Conflict was not long in coming. The ignorant masses were aroused by the clergy and led to believe that the federal government was responsible for an epidemic of cholera. The Indian population rebelled and the battle which took place at Santa Rosa de Mita in June 1837 resulted in defeat for the government forces. The leader who was to emerge from all this turmoil and later become president of the Republic of Guatemala was an illiterate half-caste named Rafael Carrera.

With the war against his government continuing into 1838, Gálvez, seriously threatened by Carrera's Conservative forces, and having lost the support of his own party, which had broken into two segments—the opositores and the ministeriales—resigned and fled. He was quickly replaced by the Vice-Jefe, José Valenzuela, but Carrera, named "El caudillo adorado de su pueblo" and "El Rey de los Indios," continued to wage savage warfare until he finally entered the capital on April 13, 1839. The undisciplined mob that accompanied Carrera, which caused the

name cachurecos²¹ to be given to all of his subsequent followers, raged through the streets shouting "Viva la religión, y muerte a los extranjeros." Morazán, who, along with José Francisco Barrundia, was one of the leading opositores, had relocated the federal capital in El Salvador some years before, and only reluctantly responded to the pleas of help from the citizens of Guatemala City. With Honduran and Salvadoran troops, he recaptured the city for the Liberals early in 1840, but was soon thereafter driven out.

During those years of strife, the Central American federation of states was gradually disintegrating. The federal congress passed an act on May 18, 1838, allowing each state to choose the kind of government it desired. That same year, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica all declared themselves independent. El Salvador followed in 1841 and Guatemala, although not officially declaring its independence until 1847, had acted independently for almost a decade.

Carrera and Milla's Conversion to the Conservative Cause

General Rafael Carrera did not at first wish to be president. After the fall of the Liberals, he was content to manipulate the government from behind the scenes. In 1839, he deposed Carlos Salazar and replaced him with Mariano Rivera Paz. It was obvious that he himself would eventually become president of Guatemala.

All through the turbulent years leading up to Carrera's presidency, Milla continued to attend the Tridentine School and in 1842, was still

a blue-cloaked seminarian.²² Slightly behind Lorenzo Montúfar in his schooling, he was no less rabid a Liberal. The latter said of him: "fué liberal y muy exaltado."²³ Milla demonstrated his Liberal views by speaking out against both the aristocracy and the clergy and by being especially vehement in his attacks on Carrera.

In May 1844, some eight months before Carrera assumed the office of president, Milla wrote a poem called ironically "Himno patriótico, en loor del exmo. teniente general, R. Carrera, jefe del ejército, etc., con motivo de la expedición salvadoreña," a part of which reads:

Lobos, Paiz, Carrera, veteranos
Del crimen, y el terror en las banderas
Farsa vil y burlesca de tiranos
Parodias de Cartuch con charreteras.

Aycinena, Pavón, fuera señores,
Fuera con nuestro rancio servilismo
.....²⁴

He continues to denounce the Conservatives, warning them that:

Los tigres de Texigua ya se lanzan,
Tiemble vuestro cobarde corazón
Y ¡ay! de vosotros, zorros, si os alcanzan
Con sus fieros lebreles de León.

Milla was referring to the short-lived invasion of Guatemala by the president of El Salvador, General Francisco Malespín. When Malespín was forced to retire in June 1844, Milla's hopes for the defeat of Carrera were crushed.

The poem which Milla had written made good propaganda for the Liberals. Their leader José Francisco Barrundia visited the Tridentine School and requested a copy of the poem from Milla. Lorenzo Montúfar

says that Milla did not dare refuse the great man a copy but that Barrundia wisely kept the author's identity hidden in order to protect him. The poem was signed J.D.M., José Domingo Milla being his customary school-boy signature, and was dated May 24, 1844.

After leaving the Seminario, Milla became a part of a literary circle which included a number of poets who were in time to achieve fame: José Batres Montúfar, Juan Diéguez Olaverri, José María Urioste, Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and María Josefa García Granados. The topics of discussion were essentially literary but invariably political ideas were introduced. It is interesting to note that, in those meetings, José Milla favored the Liberal cause of Morazán, the general who had defeated his father.

Soon, Milla and the entire literary group were shaken by the death of José Batres Montúfar, undoubtedly the most outstanding of the tertulianos. On the occasion of his death, Milla wrote a long triptych entitled "Soldado, artista y poeta" which sang the praises of Batres in a forceful manner. Dated August 10, 1844, it was preceded by an introduction directed "A la Señora Doña E[ncarnación] B[atres] de P[alomo]," José Batres' sister and his closest living relative. The poem, which perhaps can only be found in its entirety in the first edition of Batres' poems,²⁵ ends:

Adiós... En la tumba obscura
 Descansa ya, bardo mío
 De esa vida de amargura,
 De dolor y de aflicción;
 Triple corona ceñiste
 Soldado, Artista y Poeta;
 Mas sus espinas sentiste
 Coronar tu corazón.

Milla felt a particular closeness to Pepe Batres and as Antonio Batres Jáuregui explains: "El literato José Milla, que por aquel entonces era liberal y romántico, siempre de claro talento, sintió mucho al poeta que acababa de salir del mundo."²⁶ To express his respect for his dear friend in other tangible ways, Milla promptly set about collecting and editing the poet's works. The first edition of Batres' poetry appeared the following year, and has since become immensely popular.²⁷ Almost twenty years after Batres' death, Milla imitated his poetic style in a long narrative poem Don Bonifacio, written in the same satirical octavas reales as "El reloj."

It was not long after the death of his idol that Milla's political views began to change. In 1846, the poet Juan Diéguez Olaverri, another famous member of the literary circle, became involved in a conspiracy against Carrera which was discovered in time. On June 26th, while Carrera was attending the funeral of Archbishop Ramón Casaus y Torres, Diéguez and other plotters were apprehended and subsequently exiled to Mexico.²⁸ Milla stood by without helping. About the same time, his uncle, Santiago Milla, furthered his political conversion by placing him in an official government position. He was influential with Manuel Francisco Pavón, one of the Conservatives whom the impetuous Milla had violently attacked in the poem of May 24, 1844, and sought to use his influence on his nephew's behalf. In 1846, he was able to convince Pavón, then Minister of Foreign Relations, Government and War, that José should write a speech for the twenty-fifth anniversary of Guatemalan Independence.

According to Lorenzo Montúfar, the pro-Conservative speech which Milla composed in collaboration with Pavón aroused such animosity in the Liberal Party that the Conservatives would not even publish it at government expense. After that date, Milla was irrevocably enrolled in the Conservative ranks. Licenciado Ignacio Gómez answered the Conservatives with the statement: "Sensible es que un individuo que pertenece a la juventud y al pueblo, abogue por lo que sucumbió en 1821."²⁹ The best Lorenzo Montúfar could do was to try to excuse Milla's conversion, explaining that "Aquel joven carecía de fortuna y su situación era angustiada."³⁰

Throughout the years, it has always been difficult for Liberals (a designation which includes most of the Central American literati, many of whom were Milla's own students) to reconcile Milla's merit as a writer with his political affiliation. They usually try to divorce the two as Ramón A. Salazar claims to have done when he wrote the prologue for the 1897 edition of Historia de un papa. He said: "De sus ideas políticas no me ocuparé, pues... el señor Milla pertenecía a una escuela que he combatido desde mis primeros años..."³¹ In more recent years, Milla's ex-student, the Honduran Liberal Ramón Rosa, in an attempt to excuse him even went so far as to attribute his adherence to the Conservative Party to the death of his parents when he was a child. According to Rosa's reasoning, Milla sought a kind of emotional security in a relatively stable Conservative Party.³²

Milla was in time to perform many services for his party, although even in this matter there are some differences of opinion. Lorenzo Montúfar considered him as little more than a pawn of the Aycinenas, Batres, and Pavóns.

Milla y Pavón escribieron en la Revista un artículo titulado "La Estabilidad." Digo que escribieron porque Pavón tenía un sistema particular para escribir. Su cabeza producía mucho, pero sin orden ni regularidad. No se fijaba en la ortografía ni en ninguna regla de gramática. Cubría muchos pliegos con pensamientos en desorden; llamaba a Milla y le decía: "Tome usted eso y póngalo bonito." Poner bonitos los pensamientos de Pavón era darles todas las formas literarias. El artículo sobre estabilidad lo escribió Pavón, y Milla lo puso bonito.³³

Ramón A. Salazar, less impassioned, gave him greater significance: "Milla vivía consagrado a las labores administrativas tan complejas para él, pues que tenía consejo, voz y voto en todos los ramos del Ejecutivo. Por más que estuviese relegado a un segundo rango, todos comprendían que él era la lumbrera de aquella administración."³⁴

Starting out in a modest fashion, Milla was to gain ever-increasing responsibility and prestige. Many of his earlier duties were in connection with La Sociedad Económica de los Amigos del Estado, an organization intimately linked to the Conservative government. Milla became a junior member on December 9, 1845. In November of 1846, he presented in the drawing salon of the Society the chief funeral oration on the death of Francisco Cabrera, the famous miniaturist. By December 1847, he was elected first secretary of the organization, a position which also involved the writing of articles for La Revista, their official publication. Milla's writings supported Conservative politics and dealt with social notes of interest to the aristocracy. Some articles, for instance, described the dedication of the Church of San Juan de Dios and the private club of Las Variedades, which was to become the scene of many government functions.

In other spheres, Milla was also making headway. In December 1846, he played a role in establishing the short-lived Sociedad Estudiosa as a part of the University of San Carlos and became its first secretary. A year later, he was elected síndico, a kind of trustee of the municipal council of Guatemala City. The same month, as a committee man of the Commission of Statistics, he was called upon to collaborate with Rafael Arévalo on a report describing the status of the city's schools.

By this time, Carrera had been president of Guatemala for almost three years. On December 14, 1844, he took over the presidential office to become an implacable despot for the next two decades. His administration represented a reaction to all that had gone before and the Church and other Conservative elements regained their power. Conservatives exiled by Morazán were allowed to return and the Jesuits were again made welcome. Church properties were restored and tithes, which the Liberals had abolished, were reestablished.

Carrera's reactionary government, however, was soon to meet with opposition. A very difficult economic situation which was ineffectually handled provoked uprisings outside the capital and in 1847, a resistance movement began to rage in the rural areas. The guerrilla fighting was known as the Rebelión de las Montañas and was led by Los Lucíos, who took their name from the martyr, José Lucio López, who was decapitated after one of Carrera's haciendas had been raided. By 1848, the area of the western highlands actually reasserted its right to be independent under the name of Los Altos, thereby constituting at least for the moment, a

sixth Isthmian state.³⁵ The threat was serious enough for the President to take immediate action.

Part of Carrera's program was to eliminate newspaper opposition. He decided to allow only the government publications, La Revista and the Gaceta, to operate. Lorenzo Montúfar bitterly referred to the newspapers as: "Los dos únicos periódicos Guatemaltecos, expresión genuina del más refinado reaccionarismo."³⁶

Despite Carrera's suppression of all civil liberties, Milla's enthusiasm for Conservative rule did not diminish. He continued to assume more responsibilities in the government. In March 1848, he was named Secretary of the Consejo Consultativo, a body whose purpose was to advise the president and his cabinet on matters of state. His new position also included editorship of the powerful Gaceta de Guatemala. At the same time, he continued to edit the sister publication, La Revista, until it was discontinued on May 26, 1848.

While Liberal publications were kept from operating, the Gaceta was encouraged to extend its operation and influence as a vehicle of propaganda for the government. It carried on an unrelenting fight against the Guatemalan Liberals, but in some cases, even went beyond the bounds of national politics. Milla made the French Revolution of 1848 a target for his journalistic attacks when his aristocratic sympathies led him to believe that the Second Republic had been created by the undignified rabble. He expressed this view so forcefully that the French consul furiously demanded a retraction and an apology. Milla, however,

was adamant, claiming that his criticism was only directed at the "populacho francés" and not at the French government. The controversy actually provoked a severance of diplomatic relations between the two governments.³⁷

That same year, Milla accompanied Carrera as his personal amanuense on a trip to Los Altos. The journey into the highlands west of Guatemala City was made for the purpose of checking the rebels' successful resistance. Although Carrera's forces decisively defeated the rebel leader Serapio Cruz on the plains of Patzún, he was never able to suppress completely revolutionary activities in western Guatemala. In fact, by August, the state of Los Altos, receiving the support of the Liberal government of El Salvador, then headed by Doroteo Vasconcelos, was able to proclaim its independence.

The month of August 1848, was most crucial for Carrera, for besides the trouble in Los Altos he had another serious problem. He had lost political favor at home and was obliged to announce that he would resign as soon as a constituent assembly could be convened for the purpose of replacing him.³⁸ It is doubtful that he ever intended to act upon his promise, but he nevertheless soon found it necessary to make the concession. When the Liberal Juan Antonio Martínez was elected interim president to succeed him, Carrera submitted his resignation. On August 17th, Martínez assumed the executive office and the following day the ex-President left Guatemala.

Although Milla was not to be punished in any serious way, he did lose something by the change in government. His name was glaringly

absent from the masthead of the August 25th edition of the Gaceta de Guatemala. However, rather than regret his plight and change his political stand as some Liberals had expected of him, Milla continued to stand firmly behind his views. The picture that the Liberal Montufar unsympathetically paints of him is hardly one of repentance: "Don José Milla y Vidaurre, sin empleo entonces, sin carrera literaria porque no llegó a recibirse de abogado, sin la redacción de la Gaceta, sin la redacción de la Revista de la Sociedad Económica y sin tener en que ocuparse, esperaba a Carrera como a su Salvador e iba de casa en casa y de tertulia en tertulia, hablando en favor del hombre a quien había llamado "hijo de la miseria y de la nada."³⁹

For the moment, the Liberals surged back into control of the Guatemalan Congress. However, the selection of a Liberal as president once again provoked an untimely division within the party and hampered any real concerted action. José Francisco Barrundia led a group of dyed-in-the-wool Liberals while Pedro Molina and his son Luis led a splinter group of Moderates. The animosity which existed at that moment was intense and in the opinion of one writer: "Esos dos partidos se odiaban más en 1848 y 1849 que en 1837 se habían odiado los partidos ministerial y de oposición."⁴⁰ In the stages of disintegration, Juan Antonio Martínez was quickly followed in office by José Bernardo Escobar and Mariano Paredes.

During the time these changes were taking place, Carrera was not satisfied to sit idly by in his role of deposed president and continually

threatened to assume his former position. He was quick to take advantage of the division in the Liberal ranks and during the presidency of Mariano Paredes, a nominal Liberal at best, forced the government to make concessions to him. By early 1849, he had already regained the status of Commander-in-Chief of the Army and on August 8, 1849, arrived in Guatemala City. By entering the capital city, Carrera openly defied Congress, which had expressly prohibited his return. Although he was not immediately elected president, he was clearly the man in charge from the moment of his reappearance in Guatemala City.

Milla quite naturally was to profit from the turn of events, but even before Carrera's return, he benefited from the pressure that the powerful ex-President brought to bear on a weakened and divided Liberal Party. In February of 1849, while the Liberals were supposedly still in power, the Gaceta de Guatemala announced that President Paredes had elected Milla to a post on the Commission of Foreign Relations. Soon after Carrera reentered Guatemala City, Milla was chosen to fill a vacancy as Oficial Mayor (Chief Clerk), a much more important position in the Ministry of Foreign Relations than the one he had previously held. The appointment also included the editorship of the Gaceta de Guatemala, so that he was picking up in the same place he had left off. He even regained the secretaryship of the Consultative Council, which he held from September 21, 1849 to July 22, 1851.

Carrera continued in control of the Guatemalan government and in the year 1851, was to fortify his position in a number of ways. The Constituent Assembly of that year once again elected him to the presidency of the republic. One of Carrera's first acts was to resolve the

problem of the Guerra de la Montaña which had been a serious and constant problem for the Conservatives. He further strengthened his hand by having a conservative constitution adopted in October⁴¹ which granted him great powers and which, as it turned out, was to be the constitution of Guatemala for some twenty-eight years. Also in 1851, Carrera took advantage of a situation which at first appeared to spell disaster for him and his party. Although the rival Liberal Party of Guatemala was hardly in a position to challenge him, the Liberals of the other provinces thought that they were. El Salvador, Nicaragua and Honduras formed a united front against him but after an unsuccessful attempt to invade Guatemala, were thoroughly defeated in the battle of La Arada. Although the fighting resumed in 1853, the battle of La Arada represented the turning point of the wars in Central America. Because of his overwhelming victory, Carrera was able to dictate policy for all the provinces. He was to become even more powerful and ruthless in his second period of rule. He had a secure grip on Guatemala and all of Central America. His position in Guatemala was fortified by the fact that he was governing in accord with the wishes of the aristocracy and clergy, two most powerful groups. What especially pleased the clergy was that the Carrera administration negotiated the first concordat of any Latin American nation with the Vatican on October 6, 1852. Carrera himself was decorated by the Pope for his services to the Church.⁴² It is little wonder that on October 22, 1854, both civil and religious officers unanimously voted to make him president for life with power to select his successor.

With the continued success of the Conservatives, Milla gained further importance in politics. He was the representative for the department of Huehuetenango in the Constituent Assembly and a signer of the conservative constitution of 1851. At various times from 1851 to 1871, he served in the Chamber of Deputies and in October 1854, when Carrera was designated President of Guatemala for life, he signed the proclamation with the impressive title of "Representante y Oficial Mayor del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores."⁴³

The Gaceta de Guatemala, which Milla edited, kept operating as a weapon of propaganda for the Conservatives. The anticlerical Lorenzo Montúfar tells what kinds of items were included in that newspaper with what he calls, "admirable perseverancia": "...las funciones religiosas ...la muerte y biografía de las monjas y ...la venida de los padres de la compañía de Jesús."⁴⁴ In 1855, the newspaper's emphasis seems to have been on biographical sketches of important Conservatives who died that year: Mariano de Aycinena, Felipe Molina and Manuel Francisco Pavón. Milla particularly mourned their death because he feared that the absence of these men could possibly mean the waning of social and political order in Guatemala.

Up to 1858, Milla's numerous governmental duties were fulfilled within Guatemala but in October of that year, he was appointed to an official government mission in Washington and reported to Antonio José de Irisarri, Guatemala's outstanding literary figure of the Independence period, who was then Ambassador to the United States. While in the

United States, Milla divided his time between Washington and New York and met many dignitaries, among whom were President James Buchanan, Secretary of State Lewis Cass⁴⁵ and Gabriel Garcia Tassara, the Spanish romantic poet who was then Minister in Washington.

Milla's first trip to the United States was a short sojourn, lasting only until the beginning of 1859. Other than the impressions of a foreign land seen for the first time, and perhaps the excitement of meeting important political and literary figures, there was nothing particularly noteworthy about his visit. In the last stages of the trip he missed what probably would have made a most interesting story. In a letter sent to the Moderate Luis Molina, he told how he almost shared part of his voyage back to Guatemala aboard the "Golden Age" with the notorious William Walker, whom he referred to as the "maldito filibustero."⁴⁶

Walker's trip to Central America, to which Milla made reference, was not his first and by 1859, he had already gained his great reputation as a powerful figure on the Isthmian scene. In fact, by then he had been defeated and was close to the calamitous end which he was to meet the following year. After returning to Guatemala, Milla followed the escapades of the bold American freebooter with grave concern and rejoiced when Walker was captured and summarily shot.⁴⁷ Like the vast majority of Guatemalans, whether Conservative or Liberal, he considered Walker to be a threat to Central American stability.

During the 1850's, Walker's presence was not the only problem of foreign intervention in Central America. Both England and Guatemala

claimed the territory of Belize. The British based their argument on the fact that early in the seventeenth century, an English pirate named Peter Wallace had settled along the coast of Petén and had claimed the region for England. In 1859, with the British still firmly entrenched in the area, Carrera negotiated a treaty which stipulated that the British could retain this land in exchange for a highway to be British-financed and engineered which would stretch from Guatemala City through the Petén region to the Caribbean. Carrera's solution to the problem was at best only a temporary one. The British never carried out the terms of the agreement but neither have they relinquished their rights to the territory, which today is known as British Honduras. Carrera has repeatedly been criticized for his role in this territorial dispute, which has continued right up to the present moment.

After Milla's return to Guatemala in 1859, he was appointed to the post of Subsecretario del Gobierno. Two days later on July 2, he married Mercedes Vidaurre, a cousin on the maternal side of the family who had the same name as his mother. Many important people attended the wedding and Pedro de Aycinena, the Minister of Foreign Relations, was Milla's best man. A dance given the evening of July 4 was also attended by numerous influential people: the Bishop of Camasco, Dr. José María Barruntia, who had performed the wedding ceremony, the Minister Resident of the United States Beverly L. Clarke, the Chargé d'Affaires of France and the Vice-Consul of the British Legation and even Rafael Carrera himself.

President Carrera, unschooled and uncultured, was always one to recognize Milla's cultural achievements, his taste and aesthetic sense. In September, not quite three months after the marriage, he named Milla, along with the Counselor of State Juan Mathen, to direct the Carrera Theatre, which was to be the scene of many cultural activities. The September 29 issue of the Gaceta de Guatemala, which contained Milla's appointment, also announced the arrival of an Italian Opera Company to perform at the theatre. On November 8, the opera Hernani o el Honor Castellano was the first program presented.

In August of the following year, the Millas had their first child, whom they named José Mariano. Of the father, the Colombian Miguel Antonio Caro was to remark: "respetable padre de familia";⁴⁸ José María García Salas called him: "padre tierno y cariñoso"⁴⁹ and Ramón A. Salazar: "amoroso padre de familia,"⁵⁰ but none of the writers goes into any real detail. The latter furnishes a brief picture of Milla in his home, but it appears to be somewhat idealized. He says: "Joven, lleno de ideales, distinguido en la sociedad, rodeado de sus chicuelos que endulzaban su hogar con canto de alondra en las primeras horas de la vida."⁵¹ Unfortunately, there is amazingly little else known about Milla's family life and little anecdotal material to report.

In the way of more precise information about Milla's family, it is known that the second child was a girl born October 26, 1862,⁵² and named Ana. It is also known that the marriage produced a total of six children and that only one son followed in his father's journalistic

footsteps. Pedro Milla, in 1907, became director of La República, a newspaper which had begun to operate in 1892. The first son José Mariano had the unique distinction of being honored in a poem composed by his famous father. On the occasion of this son's first birthday, José Milla published a poem in the first issue of the newspaper El Noticioso, October 19, 1861.

In 1861, just two months after El Noticioso began to operate, another newspaper, La Hoja de Avisos, to which Milla made regular contributions, also made its first appearance in Guatemala. It was a weekly which ran through forty issues, from December 13, 1861, to August 29, 1862, and included Milla's first series of Cuadros de costumbres guatemaltecas. Here for the first time Milla used the now famous anagram pseudonym of Salomé Jil.⁵³ Early in the following year, he published the long and unique narrative poem, Don Bonifacio, leyenda antigua. It is his only narrative poem, his longest, possibly his most important work of poetry, and one of his few works to be published outright in book form.

While Milla was writing creatively and at the same time attempting to become a successful newspaper man, Carrera continued his policy of controlling Central America. In 1863, a full-scale war broke out as a result of Guatemala's attack on the Salvadoran town of Coatepeque. With the aid of Nicaragua, Carrera was able to defeat both El Salvador and Honduras.

However, Carrera was not so successful in his handling of domestic problems. His programs for the improvement of roads and ports and the

development and diversification of subsistence and export crops were doomed to failure. A slight reduction of the public debt was probably the most notable domestic accomplishment of the dictator's régime. When he died in 1865, his record of achievements showed that his administration in general had been a magnificent example of a strong but misdirected government.

Upon the death of the President, Milla composed a poem full of praise, "Al General Carrera," which appeared in the April 23, 1865 issue of La Semana. Dated April 14 and signed with the initials J.M., his eulogy stood in sharp contrast to his earlier poem of 1844. He also honored the Conservative leader by composing an inscription in Spanish for his catafalque.

The newspaper La Semana, in which the poem "Al General Carrera" appeared, was started in 1865. It continued to be published for the next six and a half years. It was a weekly, usually coming out on Sundays, whose full name was La Semana, Periódico Político y Literario. It owes its importance to the fact that it carried the bulk of Milla's work, including the three historical novels, La hija del Adelantado, Los Nazarenos, and El Visitador. The second series of Cuadros (1865-1867), some historical articles (1865), Libro sin nombre (1870-1871), and some of Milla's poems (1865-1866) also appeared in its pages. Of importance too is the fact that La Semana, throughout its existence, campaigned for the utilization of Guatemalan historical materials and that a section of the paper called "Documentos Históricos" published both edited and unedited materials concerned chiefly with colonial times.

During this period of 1865-1871, Milla was particularly productive. Ramón A. Salazar refers to it as "la grande, la gloriosa, la tranquila y casi me atreveré a decir, la época feliz de Salomé Jil..."⁵⁴ Of course, Milla was not only required to compose numerous articles and installments for his newspaper, but he had his official government duties as well. He still held the important post of Consejero de Estado which he had gained in 1864, in addition to a number of other less important positions. He remained active in the Sociedad Económica, becoming a socio consultor early in 1867. In February of the following year, the director of the organization, Juan Matheu, named him a counsellor. In April 1868, he was appointed to study the electoral law for deputies, which was to be presented to the government for consideration, and in 1870 and 1871 was a member of the legislature, having been elected a deputy for the Consulado de Comercio.

As if these many duties were not enough, Milla still found time to do some teaching. He was professor of Spanish literature and international law at the Colegio de Abogados, starting in July of 1868,⁵⁵ and also held private classes in his own home, where he gave lessons in literature, international law and public speaking between the hours of five and six in the afternoon. Ramón Rosa, one of the students, later wrote: "Nunca olvidaré las lecciones que Milla nos daba, de cinco a seis de la tarde, en su cuarto escritorio y a la moribunda luz del poniente que penetraba a través de los limpios vidrios de la ventana de la habitación. Nos explicaba los preceptos del arte del bien decir, las reglas del arte

poética, y por vía de ejemplo, pasaba en revista los escritos en prosa y verso de los más afanados clásicos de la literatura española, que conocía profundamente."⁵⁶

Milla's students were enterprising and promising young men, many of whom became famous not too many years later. Ricardo Casanova y Estrada became Archbishop of Guatemala; Antonio Batres Jáuregui, Ramón Uriarte and Salvador Falla important literary figures; Marco Aurelio Soto and Ramón Rosa distinguished personages in the Honduran government as well as in literature. The latter, probably the most eloquent in reminiscing about the private classes, writes with warmth and nostalgia when he reflects on his first meeting with Milla:

¡Como tengo grabado el recuerdo de aquellos días y aquella fecha en que conocí a José Milla! Era una sombría tarde del mes de Junio; el calor primaveral aún se sentía, y las primeras recias lluvias de invierno iban a caer. Después de haber recorrido, en estudiantil paseo, la bella alameda del Teatro de Guatemala, formada de frondosos amates y de copados naranjos, que perfumaban el aire con las ricas emanaciones de sus miles de azahares, llegué acompañado de Marco Aurelio Soto, a la modesta casa de Milla, que vivía a la sazón cerca del barrio de la Merced. Llegué con toda la timidez y hasta con el encogimiento propio del estudiante provinciano. Iba a cumplir un gran deseo; pero temía encontrar algo grande que me avasallase, cariñoso amigo, y la buena acogida de Milla, del hombre modesto, afable y civilizado, me hicieron olvidar bien pronto mis secretas inquietudes, mis penas de estudiante, motivadas por la presencia del literato que había admirado a través del tiempo y de la distancia.⁵⁷

These were good times for Milla, but they were not to last. He was again to find out that his good fortune depended on the favorable political climate of Guatemala.

When Carrera died in 1865, Vicente Cerna, whom the dictator had indicated as a worthy successor, took over as president. His government

was a continuation of Conservative rule with an even more reactionary bent. Cerna was a great friend of the Jesuits, went to confession once a week, and had the complete backing of the Church. However, he lacked Carrera's strength. In 1869, Cerna was inaugurated for a second term but only after barely defeating the Liberal candidate Victor Zavala by a vote of thirty-one to twenty-one.

His government gave further indications of weakness when revolts broke out in various parts of Guatemala. Despite the fact that Cerna was momentarily successful in handling them, they relentlessly persisted. The most serious threat was a rebellion led by Serapio Cruz protesting against the tyranny and inefficiency of the government. Although Cruz was defeated, captured in the battle of Palencia in 1870, and later decapitated, his brother Francisco allied himself with another revolutionary, Justo Rufino Barrios, and continued the struggle. Together these two fought against the Conservative forces and withdrew to Mexico after being defeated three times. While in Mexico, Barrios met Miguel Garcia Granados, another Liberal refugee, and the two men planned the revolution that was to overthrow the Cerna government. With a modest start, barely more than a handful of soldiers, but enjoying the support of the United States and the Mexican government of Benito Juárez, the revolt gained momentum. The time was right and the seeds of revolution well sown. As the revolutionaries moved through Guatemala defeating the government troops around Quezaltenango and Totonicapán, they attracted many sympathizers to their cause. As they marched towards the capital,

they could be heard singing a newly composed popular song called "Mama Vicenta"⁵⁸ which condemned both Cerna and Milla:

Y cante Pepe Milla
 con triste lira rota
 la caída del idiota
 que idolatró tenaz;
 y al son de sus cantares
 huyó mama Vicenta
 cual lo hizo con afrenta
 en Totonicapán.

At Patzicía, the successful army paused momentarily to formulate El Acta Patzicía--which outlined the Liberal program--and to elect Miguel García Granados as provisional president. This accomplished, the rebels encountered only slight resistance in the battle of San Lucas on the outskirts of Guatemala City. Their victorious entrance into the capital on June 30, 1871 represents the beginning of an era of liberal progress known as La Reforma.

Barrios and Milla's Later Years

Although Miguel García Granados headed the new Liberal government, he was replaced by Justo Rufino Barrios just two years later. In June 1873, Barrios took charge of the presidency and boldly pursued the liberal policies initiated forty years earlier by Morazán and his colleagues. Carlos Samayoa Chinchilla succinctly presents the accomplishments of Barrios:

El nuevo presidente, lleno de fuerza constructiva y animado por el deseo de que el país evolucionara, fundó escuelas primarias en toda la República, institutos de segunda enseñanza, escuelas normales y escuelas nocturnas para artesanos, decretando una nueva ley de instrucción pública; reglamentó las

relaciones entre jornaleros y patronos; creó la policía urbana y la guardia civil; mejoró el ornato de las ciudades y modernizó los ramos de comunicaciones; estableció servicios de alumbrado de gas y de tranvías; regularizó las fuerzas militares; favoreció el incremento de la propiedad territorial; organizó las aduanas y reguló los impuestos; tendió puentes y construyó carreteras; hizo llegar a la capital la primera locomotora y proyectó un ferrocarril interoceánico; limitó el poder del clero, expulsó a los jesuitas y despojó a la Iglesia de sus inmensas propiedades; promovió y favoreció la creación de nuevas industrias, fomentando especialmente la del café.⁵⁹

Still other significant advancements were made in this period: the modernization of the judicial system and the adoption of an improved constitution to replace the conservative Acta Constitutiva de la República de Guatemala of October 1851. The Constitution of 1879,⁶⁰ among other things, separated church and state and reestablished the right of divorce.

Historians agree that the President's reforms were laudable and he has been called an "hombre consecuente."⁶¹ Yet, despite all the praise heaped on him, invariably one defect is cited. In his overzealous desire to do good, he was guilty of excesses which gave him the appearance of a dictator. As Lily Aguirre puts it, "Justo Rufino Barrios, mientras que demostró su inteligencia y actuó del modo más progresista durante los años que tuvo el mando, también se hizo conocer como un hombre cruel, descortés, y anticlerical."⁶²

After the Conservative Party was ousted from power, Milla, possibly fearing reprisals from the victorious Liberals, went into voluntary exile. He had been the object of verbal attacks, beyond those in the song "Mama Vicenta," and had at least some justification for thinking that his position in Guatemala was insecure. The most violent assault on him came in

an open letter written by José Mariano Micheo and published in the Imprenta de Luna Sucesores, probably around the beginning of July, 1871.⁶³

Whether Milla was in any real danger is still a matter of conjecture, but at any rate, he left his beloved Guatemala on July 18, 1871 and spent the next three and one half years traveling in the United States and Europe. On the continent, he visited England, France, Belgium and Italy, but because of the Carlist wars, never entered Spain. While in Paris he worked as sub-director of a newspaper with which he had long been associated in Guatemala, the Courrier d'outre mer. In 1873, while Milla was an exile in Paris, Ramón Uriarte wrote: "Según estamos informados, ha fijado su residencia en Paris, en esa capital del mundo civilizado, en donde actualmente forma parte de la mesa de redacción de 'El Correo de Ultramar.' Si bien sentimos la ausencia de este distinguido compatriota, no dudamos que los viajes acabarán de ilustrar su privilegiada inteligencia, y siempre será para nosotros motivo de noble orgullo saber que con sus obras da lustre en el antiguo continente a esta bella sección de la América Latina."⁶⁴ Unfortunately, what Milla wrote in the Courrier is unavailable. Speaking about these writings, F. Hernández de León in 1935 said that Milla "Conocía el francés con la perfección del castellano; su pluma trazó una serie de escritos, perdidos en la actualidad, en la balumba de artículos sueltos del periódico."⁶⁵

What is significant about Milla's exile is that it answered the question posed by the Liberal Lorenzo Montúfar in a letter of February 18, 1866. He had written:

Ahora nosotros preguntamos, ¿se hallará en la misma situación el señor Milla: o las opiniones que hoy defiende furiosamente serán las mismas que ayer combatía con frenesí? ¿Su refinado servilismo actual será obra del convencimiento, o procederá tan sólo de circunstancias y de intereses? ¿Si cambiara de una manera definitiva la situación de Guatemala, y un régimen filosófico y por consiguiente progresista, sustituyera el sistema que creó el cólera de 1837, continuaría Milla siendo servil, o bien haría la apoteosis de los nuevos gobernantes?⁶⁶

To Milla's credit, one must say that both times, in 1848 and 1871, when the government fell into the hands of the Liberals, he stood by his convictions. True, he had been a Liberal in his youth, but once he joined the Conservative ranks he remained faithful to their cause. Ramón Rosa said of him: "...fue siempre probo."⁶⁷

When Milla returned to his homeland in 1874,⁶⁸ he found that he was not entirely a persona non grata. For one thing, he discovered that he could have some articles published. As early as September 1875, his name appeared in print when he wrote a biographical sketch of Juan Mathieu, the important Conservative who had been his friend.⁶⁹ Also during the first year of his repatriation, he managed to publish an account of his travel experiences in Un viaje al otro mundo, pasando por otras partes, a three-volume work which combines autobiographical information and fiction. The following year, he published his fourth novel, Memorias de un abogado, a historical novel in a sense, but one containing many realistic elements and a more contemporary setting than his earlier ones.

After his return, even the ardent Liberal Lorenzo Montúfar treated him in a civil manner. A third party describes a meeting which the two men had one day.

Nunca se nos olvidará que en cierta ocasión lo (refers to José Milla) acompañamos a hacer la compra de un sombrero en el almacén de Castanet. La casualidad quiso que a esa misma tienda llegara momentos antes el Doctor Lorenzo Montúfar; el saludo fué cordial entre los dos hombres eminentes, no obstante estar distanciadas por las ideas políticas y religiosas; se inició entre ellos, acto continuo, una conversación franca, agradabilísima y culta: abundaron en esos instantes recuerdos de épocas lejanas, se oyeron rasgos de ingenio y peregrinas observaciones, demostrando los dos exquisita afabilidad. ¡Qué hombres y qué tiempos aquellos!⁷⁰

Naturally, there were some Liberals who were hostile to Milla, but he had the confidence of the President and his government. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that in November 1876, Barrios' Liberal government commissioned Milla to write a history of Central America. Promptly and graciously accepting the honor, the author retired to his farm in Jutiapa to work in semi-retirement for the next few years. The first volume of the Historia de la América Central was published in 1879.

Despite being on good terms with many important Liberals, Milla did not actively seek an official position with the government. Victor Miguel Díaz's words adequately describe what Milla preferred to do: "Desde su regreso de Europa el señor Milla permaneció ajeno a la política, entregado a sus trabajos y al amor de la familia."⁷¹

Barrios' first term of office was successful. When he called a Constituent Assembly on March 15, 1879 to consider the adoption of the new constitution, he actually declared that such absolute powers which he had enjoyed in the early days of his administration were no longer necessary. The constitution promulgated on December 11 of the same year, although granting him some broad and flexible powers, was an outgrowth

of his desire to curtail some of the power of the presidency. In the beginning, Barrios made good use of the powers and in March of the following year, an election was held in which the popular president polled 36,627 votes to less than one hundred for all other candidates.

Not long after beginning his next term of office, Barrios announced his wish to go abroad and asked Congress for a year's leave of absence. With José María Orantes substituting for him, he left in July of 1882 for the United States. In Washington, he agreed to a treaty negotiated with Mexico fixing the boundary between that country and Guatemala and permanently settling the status of Chiapas. He afterwards toured Europe and returned to Guatemala in November via the United States.

Once back home, Barrios made it known that he wished to tender his resignation. He felt that the settlement of the Mexican border dispute, plus a general friendly relationship with the other republics, would allow him to abandon his post without jeopardizing national security. Nevertheless, because of his popularity, he was asked to remain in office and finally acquiesced.

The President's second term of office, however, was less successful than his first. For years he had interfered much too much in the affairs of neighboring republics and, in fact, was responsible for keeping the Liberal governments of Honduras and El Salvador in power through some very unstable periods. But an even more serious cause for ill-feeling was his strong desire to impose a Central American Union on all the other states, wholly against their wishes. This ambition, which at times almost reached the proportions of an obsession, was eventually to lead to his downfall.⁷²

On February 28, 1885, Barrios issued an order creating the Union of Central American States. His idea was first to organize a "union" and then have the other Central American states become members. The plan passed easily in Guatemala, but such was not the case in other places. Marco A. Soto, Milla's former student, and at that moment President of Honduras, resigned in order not to accept the plan. His place was taken by a Consejo de Ministros made up of Dr. Rafael Alvarado Manzano and Generals Enrique Gutiérrez and Luis Bogran who were disposed to accept Barrios' proposal. In El Salvador, President Rafael Zaldívar, who practically owed his office to Barrios, did not quite approve of the plan either. When the time came, he joined Nicaragua and Costa Rica in opposing the union. Barrios, nevertheless, was determined in his plans. On March 23, 1885, he departed from Guatemala City to lead an army which was already massed on the border of El Salvador. However, his dreams came to an abrupt end when on April 2, he was killed in the battle of Chalchuapa.

During the Barrios régime, Milla, for the most part, was busy with the writing of his history of Central America, but he did manage to find time for other things. In early 1880, he was named by the Junta directiva of El Porvenir, a literary group, to a board of judges to decide on a National Anthem before March of that same year when the new constitution was to go into effect.⁷³ In the same year, when the Liberals established a government commission to plan a national exposition for 1882, he was appointed a member of the Sección de Redacción y Prensa.

as one of the vocales while at the same time representing Jutiapa on one of the Comisiones Departamentales. In December, the Diario de Centro América, newly founded by Marco J. Kelly, proudly announced that Milla had consented to become one of its collaborators. For this newspaper, Milla produced some cuadros (1880-1881), a number of similar articles, which he called El canasto del sastre (1881-1882) and a few historical articles (1880-1881).

It was while Milla worked for the Diario that the writer Víctor Miguel Díaz became acquainted with him. Díaz explains how it happened:

...llegábamos constantemente a la casa de la imprenta del "Diario de Centro América" en la 6ª Avenida Sur, casa vieja donde hoy se alza el edificio del Banco Internacional; trabajaban en el taller tipográfico el mexicano Francisco Samayoa, Maximiliano Mazariegos y otros. El señor Milla necesitó un día enviar una carta a don Julio Rossignon y no habiendo quien lo hiciera, le ofrecimos nuestros servicios, que fueron aceptados con aquella bondad que siempre lo distinguió, llamándole la atención la prontitud con que cumplimos el cargo. Don José llamó a Samayoa para indicarle que nosotros podíamos hacer el servicio constante de llevar las "pruebas" a la casa de los colaboradores del Diario...⁷⁴

Fortunately, Víctor Miguel Díaz has supplied other anecdotal material on Milla, including a description of him: "...teniría cuando lo conocimos, de 57 a 58 años, poco más o menos. Era bajo de cuerpo, de robusta complexión, de fisonomía agradable, reveladora de una bondad exquisita: frente despejada, cabello lacio y bigote bien cuidado; usaba trajes sencillos al par que elegantes; acostumbraba llevar saco o levita ribeteada con cinta fina de seda negra; tuvo siempre especial cuidado de llevar cuello limpio y elegante corbata negra y el calzado esmeradamente lustrado."⁷⁵

While writing for the Diario, Milla also resumed teaching, this time in the Colegio La Enseñanza, a school for children from five to twelve. The position might be considered somewhat degrading except that Milla was doing something he enjoyed. He taught Spanish grammar and also the early history of Central America so that at least he was utilizing his vast knowledge and extensive research in those fields.

In April 1882, the first installments of Milla's last novel, Historia de un papa, began to appear in the Diario. His last work of extended fiction, it was similar to his other recent historical novel, Memorias de un abogado, in that it treated events of the same century. By contrast, however, it was more heavily marked with the romantic techniques of his first three novels. Historia de un papa continued to appear in the newspaper, the final installment being included in the June 23 issue, so that Milla was able to see the entire work in newsprint before he died. This was not the case with the multi-volume history for he was never able to see this ambitious task brought to completion. Volume II, in a work which probably was to have run five or more volumes, was the last one to appear, because on September 30, 1882,⁷⁶ José Milla, at the age of sixty, died of a heart attack while still making corrections on it. Víctor Miguel Díaz describes Milla's last hours.

Un día enfermó nuestro ilustre literato. Vivía el maestro en la 14 Calle Poniente, número 3, frente al llamado "Cantarrillón." Así, sufriendo penosamente, se ocupaba de corregir las pruebas del índice de su obra "Historia de la América Central."

Al llegar la noche del 30 de septiembre del 1882 el caso de la enfermedad era considerado perdido. El paciente presentaba algunas manifestaciones de energía. A las doce su voz se iba apagando, haciéndose dificultosa la palabra.

De pronto llamó a su esposa e hijos: "que se acerquen todos," decía con voz débil y reposada.

Un profundo sentimiento de dolor embargó el ánimo de los presentes, haciéndose la escena triste y conmovedora.

Las personas que se hallaban en la habitación, presenciaban profundamente emocionadas cómo se iba extinguiendo la vida del ilustre ciudadano, cuyo desaparecimiento afectaría a Guatemala entera.

En esos instantes sostenía el cuerpo del moribundo el Doctor Pedro Molina Flores.

A las doce y quince minutos el paciente hizo un esfuerzo supremo; envolvió en una mirada a los seres queridos que rodeaban su lecho y luego, como si fuera esa la expresión de su postrer despedida, después de brevísima conmoción se dormía en brazos de la muerte!⁷⁷

Although Milla's last years were not really unpleasant ones, they were marred by some cruel personal attacks which continued even after his death. The most violent one appeared in El Horizonte, a weekly started in January 1879, and directed by Gregorio Carrión de Martínez de la Rosa. Throughout 1881 and 1882, this newspaper continued its barrage of insults⁷⁸ which culminated in the issue of September 9, 1882, less than a month before Milla died. It spoofingly listed the name of Signore Salomé Jil as a "Proveedor de Libretos y Apuntador de Libretos" in the "elenco" of an opera which supposedly was to be presented the following month.

Even after Milla's death, the same newspaper continued its diatribes. When the friendly Diario de Centro América printed Milla's necrology on October 2, it countered with "Un artículo y un muerto," which objected to the rival newspaper's praise of him. It did the same when the Salvadoran newspaper El Diario de Avisos honored him in an article entitled "Duelo Nacional." The affair, however, in this instance, took on larger

proportions and El Horizonte had to publish an apology in an article called "Falsa interpretación," when it was rumored that their attack had been interpreted in El Salvador as being directed against the government of Rafael Zaldívar.

While Milla was alive, he had received many honors. He had been appointed a member of the Academia de Bellas Artes of Santiago, Chile, Socio Correspondiente of La Real Academia Española, honorary member of the International Literary Society of Paris, Asistente of the Sociedad del Porvenir de Guatemala and of the Ateneo de León (Nicaragua), delegate in Guatemala for the Congress of Americanists in Brussels for 1879 and for the same organization again in 1881 in Madrid. Added to all these distinctions, there was one, however, which Milla was never able to cherish because as Miguel Antonio Caro explains: "No le alcanzó vivo el diploma de académico honorario que le envió la Academia Colombiana a mediados de septiembre."⁷⁹

Although Milla's advancement in the Conservative government had depended on his political views and especially his role of propagandist for that government, his real honors were never of a partisan nature. Even those who violently opposed him on political grounds were ready to laud his strictly literary work. Ramón Uriarte, writing about him while he was in exile (1873), echoed the sentiments of a number of the Liberals when he said: "No es nuestro objeto hablar del hombre público. Milla como tal, pertenece a la escuela de los Pavón y de los Batres, escuela que nosotros hemos combatido desde nuestros primeros años, y por la cual,

de consiguiente, no tenemos las mejores simpatías. Pero si como político, nada hallamos en Milla que le haga digno de nuestra admiración, preciso nos es confesar que como literato, debemos consignar su nombre con orgullo en las páginas de nuestra Galería. Digase lo que se quiera, Salomé Jil es en la actualidad el escritor que más honor hace a Centro América."⁸⁰

Even El Horizonte, which abused Milla so much in the last few years of his life, recognized his great merit as a literary figure. The article of October 8, which followed closely on his death, while condemning him as "un funcionario," had to confess that he was also a "buen literaro."⁸¹

The article, probably penned by Gregorio Carrión de Martínez de la Rosa, who delighted in lashing out at him, further stated: "...no negamos a Milla sus talentos literarios: no podemos negar que figurará siempre con honra en la literatura centro-americana."⁸¹

In the many years following his death, Milla has not been forgotten. He has not been forgotten because he rendered a true service to Guatemalan culture, distinguishing himself as a successful author, journalist, teacher, and public servant. Since his death, he has been honored time and time again. In 1885, the Guatemalan government agreed to publish a Corona fúnebre dedicada a la grata memoria del insigne literato Don José Mills, to which a number of Central American literary men contributed. Four years later, La Revista, the publication of the Academia Guatemalteca, dedicated a special number to his memory. On the occasion of the centenary, a plaque was erected at his home on Ninth Street "Oriente," while his bust was placed in the park of "la Concordia" (now called

"Gómez Carrillo") and a lapidary set in one of the arcades of the San Carlos University Law School, above which can be read the name "José Milla" set in bronze. On the road just outside of Antigua, there is a monument dedicated to one of his historical novels Los Nazarenos.⁸² As recently as 1945 the Guatemalan government gave further recognition to Milla's achievements by adopting a resolution to print a special issue of stamps in his honor.⁸³

In spite of all his other activities, Milla is remembered mainly as an author. His costumbrista sketches, historical novels, histories, travel adventures and poetry make him an excellent representative of his century. His skill in writing accurately and interestingly about all things make his writings always readable, always enjoyable. His works are still popular today. Every schoolboy is familiar with his writings, and when referring to this celebrated nineteenth-century author, they always speak of him as a good friend, affectionately calling him "Pepe Milla." Time seems to have borne out Ramón Uriarte's prophecy:

Talento eminente, carácter afable y bondadoso, corazón de niño, alma de gigante, Milla vivirá en el recuerdo de cuantos...tuvieran la dicha de conocerle como maestro y como amigo que en él se confundían estos dos títulos en armónico consorcio. En cuanto a la posteridad, jamás olvidará su nombre.⁸⁴

CHAPTER II

THE CUADROS

José Milla made one of his most significant contributions to Guatemalan literature in the cuadro. One of the first in his country to cultivate this genre,¹ even to the present day, he has not been surpassed.

In the cuadros, Milla shows himself to be a perspicacious observer of human nature. While he is quick to laugh at human weaknesses, he is thoughtful and generous in his studies of both universal and Guatemalan types. At times, he even pokes fun at himself. His cuadros are characterized by humor, wit, irony and satire and reveal an extraordinary interest in language. Marked by a familiar and simple tone, they always make pleasant and interesting reading.

Milla's costumbrista sketches originally appeared in newspapers at various times over a twenty year period: La Hoja de Avisos, 1861-1862; La Semana, 1865-1867 and El Diario de Centro América, 1880-1881.² While he gave the title Cuadros de costumbres to his collected sketches of Guatemalan life, he also refers to them as artículos and artículojos. Nowhere does he adequately define any one of the three terms, and says of the cuadro form only that: "Considero este género de escritos como los postres de la literatura."³ Within the sketches themselves, he uses the term "artículo" more often. However, in a conversation with Prudencio Corrientes in "Saber vivir," he confesses that he is not sure just how to describe artículos de costumbres: "Pues vea Ud. señor padrino; no sabré decir a Ud. lo que es, a punto fijo. Pero figúrese Ud. una cosa que divierte a algunos; que no gusta a otros, y de la cual la mayor parte no

hace caso. Eso son artículos de costumbres."⁴ A witty and perhaps pertinent retort, it hardly sheds light on any precise concept he had of the genre. In 1939, F. Courtney Tarr made an important distinction between artículos de costumbres and cuadros de costumbres when he described the latter as a "...more detailed and affectionate description of picturesque types and customs, presented primarily for their own sakes rather than for humorous or critical purposes, and leading directly to the regional novel of manners and customs..."⁵ However, since Milla did not distinguish between the terms cuadro and artículo, they will be considered synonymous in this study.⁶

A further indication that Milla held no limited concept of the form is the fact that he does not use the conventional term costumbrista to indicate a writer of cuadros. He chooses to call himself an "escritor o descriptor (mejor dicho) de costumbres"⁷ or an articulista, and the only information he gives about such a writer is: "Donde nace el articulista brota el comentador, que sigue a aquel como la sombra al cuerpo. La existencia de esos dos seres es correlativa; el uno completa al otro, y la sabia naturaleza los ha hecho, por decirles así, gemelos..."⁸ In order to understand how Milla really conceived the cuadro form and the role of its writer, it would be helpful to mention some background material on the cuadro and the status of this interesting genre at the time Milla began to write.

By Milla's day, the cuadro was well known. It had been quite fashionable in Europe and claimed a number of distinguished authors. In

very early times, Theophrastus (372-287 B.C.) produced his Characters, thirty-one little moral studies, which bear some connection to the modern form. In 1688, in France, La Bruyère published Les Caractères ou les Moeurs de ce siècle based on the work of his Greek predecessor. Much closer to Milla in time and spirit were a number of other European writers. In England, Richard Steele (1672-1729) and Joseph Addison (1672-1719) delighted and instructed the new middle class with their Spectator sketches. In France, at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, Louis Sebastian Mercier (1740-1814) and Victor Joseph Etienne Jouy (1764-1814) painted the mœurs and coutumes of the French people.

The increasing success of the genre was in part due to its facile adaptability to newspapers and journals, which became popular during the nineteenth century. The sketch, often a satiric or burlesque impression of contemporary life, even became popular in the graphic arts. Both the British artist George Cruikshank (1792-1878) and the French Honoré Daumier (1808-1879) achieved fame with their caricatures of contemporary customs.

In Spain, the literary genre also reached its culmination in the nineteenth century. Among the outstanding figures who distinguished themselves in this genre were: Mariano José de Larra (1809-1837), Ramón Mesonero Romanos (1803-1882), Serafín Estébanez Calderón (1799-1867), Fernán Caballero (1796-1877) and José María de Pereda (1833-1906). The most ambitious undertaking by nineteenth-century costumbristas was a monumental collection of cuadros called Los españoles pintados por sí mismos (1843-1844).

A little later in the century, Latin Americans also began to explore the possibilities of this genre: from Mexico, Guillermo Prieto (1818-1897) and José Tomás Guéllar (1830-1894); from Cuba, José Victorino Betancourt (1813-1875) and José María Cárdenas ("Jeremías Docaransa") (1812-1882); from Venezuela, Daniel Mendoza (1823-1872), Francisco de Sales Pérez ("Justo") (1836-1926) and Nicanor Bolet Peraza (1838-1906); from Colombia, José Caicedo Rojas (1816-1897), Juan de Dios Restrepo ("Emiro Kastos") (1823-1894), José María Vergara y Vergara (1831-1872) and José Manuel Marroquín (1827-1908); and from Chile, José Joaquín Vallejos ("Jotabeche") (1811-1858).

Most of the Latin American costumbristas were writing about the same time as Milla but the Guatemalan was not influenced by any of them. For him, the cuadro was strictly an import from Europe and he simply borrowed the form and adapted it to his own milieu. He was familiar with the writings of Addison and Steele, Jouy, Larra and Mesonero Romanos and credits all of them for their contributions to the field.⁹ In his articles, he refers and alludes most often to the last two writers and it is obvious that he wished to emulate them. While they wrote mainly about Madrid and other Spanish cities, he was to depict life in his own capital city of Guatemala.

Throughout Milla's articles, allusions are constantly made to Larra. Even when Milla introduced the last group of cuadros (1880), he asked the question, "¿Quién no es el público y dónde no se le encuentra?"¹⁰ which was probably a negative paraphrasing of Larra's own words, or as

Milla called it, "variaciones sobre una paradoja." However, while Larra was a hero to Milla, he was certainly less of an inspiration to him than the Guatemalan believed, and in a sense it is unfortunate that some critics have chosen to call him the "Figaro of Central America."¹¹ The epithet, although well intended, seems rather inappropriate because of the glaring differences between the two writers. One of the most obvious is that Milla's temperament was never such as to flavor his articles with Larra's intense bitterness and disillusionment. He never felt at odds with society and life to the extent the Spaniard did.¹² Milla's cuadros, unlike Larra's, constantly reflect the man that Ramón A. Salazar described in these words: "Su risa era llana, sana e ingenua. Quien vea su retrato y estudie su fisonomía tan interesante no dejará de descubrir en el rincón de las comisuras de sus labios, una sonrisa picaresca que tenía el don de comunicar a sus lectores hasta transformarla en hilaridad general. Cuando Milla ríe, ríe de veras, de una sola pieza; es comunicativo, buen compañero y excelente amigo para ahuyentar el spleen y la melancolía."¹³ The Guatemalan critic, José Rodríguez Cerna remarked of Milla: "...tiene su propio aspecto de admirable costumbrista, aunque sin llegar a Larra porque su mismo carácter sin pathos le impidió penetrar lo hondo trágico de las cosas y los hombres. El se queda a la par de las familiares cumbres de Mesonero Romanos, aunque sobrepasándolas en alegría vivaz."¹⁴

Certainly there is more spiritual affinity between Milla and the other Spanish urban costumbrista, Mesonero Romanos.¹⁵ They were both moderate and stable, but they too differed in the manner in which they looked at the customs of the capital cities. Mesonero Romanos held more

liberal views and looked to the future for much reform and progress. Milla, on the other hand, sometimes turned fondly and somewhat nostalgically to the past, and like Fernán Caballero and Fareda, found there a certain amount of quaintness and charm. In the article called "Mi casa de altos," he complains about modern innovations in house construction and expresses a definite preference for the old. He projects this impression to a larger plane and says: "El Tiempo, ese gran trastornador de las cosas humanas, a cuyo influjo modifican sus costumbres aun los países más apegados a sus hábitos y a sus tradiciones, ha introducido en nuestra sociedad cambios notables, haciendo que Guatemala sea hoy, en muchos conceptos, tan diferente de lo que era cincuenta o sesenta años hace... El examen comparativo de nuestra sociedad de hoy con la de principios del siglo, y aun con la de la época en que verificó la Independencia, sería tan entretenido como útil..."¹⁶

For the general structure of his cuadros, Milla was also indebted to Larra and Mesonero Romanos. His cuadro might be outlined structurally as follows:

1. an introduction of the subject (type, event, custom, institutions) in very general terms, including, perhaps, a brief discussion of things as they were in the past.
2. a serious note of scholarship: documentation, definition with much philology.
3. a type to represent a certain custom.
4. the assignment of a comic name.
5. the situation in which the type finds himself and the narration of an episode.
6. the moral lesson.

Although the steps in the outline might act as guideposts, they represent a grand oversimplification of the cuadros' structure, for Milla shows considerable variation within this framework. In "El telégrafo," for instance, he by-passes step number one and begins with the second step. He achieves the serious note of scholarship by engaging in a technical discussion of real telegraphy, before going on to discuss the type of person whom he characterizes as El telégrafo. In "Un baile de guante," rather than let the moral lesson be extracted by the reader, which is more often the case, he makes his point perfectly clear when he ends the cuadro with these words produced in bold italics: **NO TOMAR PARTE JAMAS NI POR MOTIVO ALGUNO, EN UN BAILE DE GUANTE**. In "El telégrafo, segunda parte," he summarizes with: **Ab humano telegrafo maligno, Libera nos Domine**, and in "Las medias naranjas," closes with two proverbs: "Antes que te cases, mira bien lo que haces" and "vale más estar solo que mal acompañado." Other sketches state the advice less picturesquely and still others do not have any particular lesson. Sometimes in a cuadro, Milla deals with more than one type. In certain sketches, he includes as many as four kinds of monopolistas, five kinds of tertulianos and four kinds of temperamentos. In all these instances, the general types or characteristics are mentioned at the beginning of the cuadros before being discussed individually.

At times, the articles include direct comments by the author, disguised as Salomé Jil, an out-of-towner coming to the city to observe urban customs. This technique provides a certain degree of objectivity. Milla introduces himself in his first cuadro by explaining his pseudonym:

"me llamo Salomé, nada tengo de común ni con la madre de los hijos de Zebedeo, ni con la hermana de Herodes el Grande ni con la bailarina hija del otro Herodes que pidió y obtuvo la cabeza del Bautista, cuyas tres damas eran mis tocayas."¹⁷ He then proceeds to explain that after attending school in his youth, he decided to live in the country as a nopalero. After buying a nopal and finding rural life not to his liking, he sold his business. He has since been in the city enjoying himself. His problem now is "¿qué hacer? ¿Cómo emplear útilmente mi tiempo?" He considers a number of possibilities: "Ya se me ponía la tentación de solicitar una plaza de agente de policía y vivir descansadamente; ya la de aumentar el número infinito de los abogados sin pleitos, ya la de hacerme médico o boticario (que deseché por no ser suficientemente enemigo de la humanidad); ya la de convertirme en empresario de ópera (de la que desistí por no morir de inacción); ya en fin, otras igualmente diabólicas."¹⁸ He finally decides to become a writer of cuadros. Here Milla ridicules himself. He had the habit of ridiculing all professions but in certain instances not even his own were spared. Don Pedro in "Los hombres graves en el baile" says to Salomé Jil, "Yo no acostumbro...perder mi tiempo en escribir para el público."¹⁹ In "La palabra," Salomé himself confesses that "El abogado, el profesor, el escritor público que otra cosa hacemos sino vender palabras."²⁰ In "La Feria de Jocotenango," he asks the question "¿Qué nos importan los animales con cuernos a mí y a tantos otros como yo, que somos animales de pluma?"²¹

As for the nopalero who has come to the city, Salomé Jil does not stray very far from home. When he writes about Escuintla or London, he does so by means of letters which he supposedly receives from traveling friends.²² This technique is used in "Un amigo" and "Las medias naranjas."

However, despite the fact that Milla used many conventional costumbrista patterns and although most of his cuadros generally conform to the structural outline, he made use of a number of techniques and devices which differed from any standard procedure. Some of the most interesting are demonstrated in a sketch called "La capa." This article involves a conversation between a capa and a gabán, in which the former relates a series of adventures it has witnessed. Because it has had many owners, the adventures are varied and the result is a type of picaresque tale, a convenient framework for some of Milla's social criticism. The cape's first owner was don Pedro de Racacarrá, "un catalán tan arrevasado como su apellido."²³ The cape was then stolen by six lanas and became the possession of one of them. After the cape passes through the hands of many more owners, a student pawns it and the usurer Isaac Garduña sells it back one day to Racacarrá, the original owner. Finally, upon the Catalan's death, it is inherited by a nephew. Out of all these experiences, the lesson that the cape draws for the coat is a parody of a coplas:

Ayer ancha capa fui,
Hoy un pobre andrajo soy;
Aprende gabán de mí
Lo que va de ayer a hoy.²⁴

The actual conversation between the two articles of clothing is prefaced by the customary serious discussion of the term capa--what it was in

years gone by and how it was used. The meaningful and humorous names persist and the moral is clearly stated so that at least some aspects of the typical cuadro are visible. Yet, on the other hand, there are some elements which are not at all common to most of the cuadros. There is a conversation between two inanimate objects which lends an uncommon fantastic element to the sketch.²⁵ Also many of the adventures that the cape relates happen well in the past, starting in 1798. The point has been made that Milla usually contrasted facets of contemporary Guatemalan life with those of earlier times, but here the references to the past are more than just fleeting.²⁶ Salomé Jil appears in the sketch, but his role is limited to that of bystander while the cape relates its story. Another significant but rather typical characteristic of "La capa" is a definite narrative. Although it is a sketch, there is a narrative thread which moves along in an episodic fashion over a significant period of time.

Milla's first series of cuadros appeared in La Hoja de Avisos, a newspaper whose expressed aims were to tell the truth, to laugh at eccentricities and to be read.²⁷ It might be said that the aims of his sketches coincided perfectly with those of the newspaper. Being a newspaper man and naturally interested in selling copy, Milla made his cuadros entertaining and attractive to his reading public. He notes that "Para un editor de periódico, no es público el que no se suscribe al diario."²⁸

While Milla was especially interested in the entertainment value of his sketches, stating that he wished to offer "a los lectores del diario unos pocos ratos de solaz y entretenimiento,"²⁹ he also had a didactic purpose in mind: "Mas como mi objeto no sea el de alcanzar renombre, sino el de contribuir, siquiera en mínima parte, a la mejora de nuestras costumbres y matar el tiempo..."³⁰

Nonetheless, Milla did not delude himself into expecting any great impact from his moral lessons and corrigerere ridendo mores was more his idea. In 1880, after fifteen years of writing cuadros, he modestly stated that "se propone únicamente corregir si es posible algunos defectillos."³¹ By then, he had long decided that "la gente no se corrige con artículos de diarios, cuya verdad no nos impedirá a los periodistas a seguir censurando las costumbres, ni a éstas el continuar su camino, sin hacer maldito el caso de los periodistas."³²

To show that some of his advice was not meant to be taken literally, Milla himself disregarded the wisdom of some of his own observations. In one of the earliest cuadros, "Nunca más nacimiento" (1862), he called smoking a vice, and in 1867, wrote an entire article on "Puros y cigarros," pointing out some of his objections to smoking: "Horripilado por la consideración del cúmulo de males que acarrea a la humanidad fumante ese que se ha calificado siempre de vicio inocente, me imaginaba, ya ver salir de esta planta aromática, hija preciada de la zona tórrida, cánceres, parálisis, reblandecimientos del cerebro, dispepsias, delirium tremens y las demás enfermedades..."³³ At that moment, he declared himself to be a:

"fumador empedernido, contumaz y vitando," but despite his advice to others, he never gave up the habit. In a description, which was made years later by Víctor Miguel Díaz, he appears as a man who likes a good cigar: "Gustaba de fumar 'puro' y al sentarse a escribir lo colocaba sobre un pequeño platillo de metal."³⁴

The reason for the apparent contradiction is probably that Milla considered weaknesses merely to be human attributes. "Ved las debilidades de las almas grandes!"³⁵ he observed. He makes the point even clearer when he says, "Mi compadre, a quien considero, bajo muchos respectos, como un hombre verdaderamente superior tiene también su lado flaco."³⁵ But this is the kind of human understanding present in all his cuadros, for when Milla criticizes, he always tempers his criticism with compassion.

Milla especially liked to focus his attention on typical scenes of his day: the fair at Jocotenango, the bullfights on Carnival day, and vacation time in Escuintla. "La Feria de Jocotenango," for example, is an eye-witness account of a lively spectacle.

La plaza y la calle principal de Jocotenango presentan el espectáculo más animado y pintoresco. Millares de personas de condiciones diversas y de trajes tan diferentes como sus condiciones, se empujan unas a otras y apenas dejan espacio suficiente para que puedan abrirse paso individuos de menor volumen que el mío. Las vendimias se ostentan por todas partes en ordenado desorden, bajo las anchas sombras de patata. Aquí las mesas cubiertas de vasos y garrafas de agua loja; allí los dulces, ofreciendo a las moscas, gratuito y espléndido banquete; acá las delicadas tunas de Panajachel; los zapotes, los pepinos, las naranjas, la chancaca, la pepitoria y las rapaduritas. Todo se ofrece abundante y barato a los aficionados menos las nueces de Momostenango...³⁶

The description, full of local color, is mainly visual, but the other senses are not neglected. "El calor es insoportable; el viento gira bajo la razón social de Aire, polvo, y compañía; millares de pitos de Patzún, sopladados por vigorosos alientos infantiles, producen un ruido infernal, capaz de romper los tímpanos menos delicados."³⁷

Although Milla has an eye for scenic detail, he is much more interested in people. Occasionally, he attempts to assign general characteristics to the Guatemalan people as a whole. He calls the population "quieta, soñolienta, costumbrera,"³⁸ and given to "la murmuración."³⁹ While he claims that his countrymen are imitators, he finds them lacking in sociability. However, he recognizes their extreme gregariousness in certain situations: at the fair, at the cemetery, which often becomes a festival site for the Guatemalan, and at the bullfight, which prompts him to call one article "Doscientos diez minutos de locura."

More often, Milla concerns himself with specific types. Some of the most colorful are the chapín, guanaco, cucuxque, lana and zajorín. Although there may be comparable types in other parts of the world, Milla identifies them exclusively with Central America and especially Guatemala: "El zajorín guatemalteco es un tipo enteramente indígena, como el cucuxque y como el lana..."⁴⁰ In talking of the lana, he makes it clear that this Guatemalan type is not exactly the lépero of Mexico, or the roto of Chile or the jarque of Andalusia.⁴¹ To characterize the cucuxque, he says: "Es algo peor que el gueux de los franceses, que el beggar de los ingleses, que el pardiosero de los españoles. Ninguno de los diferentes tipos de

mentigos que puedan representar esos nombres, iguala la miseria, la repugnante asquerosidad y la abyección del cucuxque."⁴² The chapiñ, on the other hand, is a much more admirable person. He is the typical Guatemalan as seen by Milla and future generations alike:

...hospitalario, servicial, piadoso, inteligente; y si bien por lo general no está dotado del talento de la iniciativa, es singularmente apto para imitar lo que otros hayan inventado. Es sufrido y no le falta valor en los peligros. Es novelero y se alucina con facilidad; pero pasadas las primeras impresiones, su buen juicio natural analiza y discute, y si encuentra, como sucede con frecuencia, rindió el homenaje de su fácil admiración a un objeto poco digno, le vuelve la espalda sin ceremonia y se venga de su propia ligereza en el que ha sido su ídolo de ayer. Es apático y costumbrero; no concurre a las citas, y si lo hace, es siempre tarde; se ocupa de los negocios ajenos un poco más de lo que fuera necesario y tiene una asombrosa facilidad para encontrar el lado ridículo a los hombres y a las cosas.⁴³

There is nothing seriously objectionable about what he finds to be "defectos" in the chapiñ, and he himself was willing to be included in this class. He even chose the chapiñ to accompany him a decade later on his "viaje al otro mundo."

The chapiñ was for Milla an urban type: "El verdadero chapiñ... ama a su patria ardientemente, entendiendo con frecuencia por patria la capital donde ha nacido; y está tan adherido a ella, como la tortuga al carapacho que la cubre."⁴³ He is metropolitan, but not cosmopolitan. "Para él, Guatemala es mejor que París; no cambiaría el chocolate, por el té ni por el café."⁴⁴ Far from objecting to the true chapiñ, Milla feared that he was fast disappearing.

The guanaco is the antithesis of the chapiñ. He is the rural person who is lacking in intelligence and sophistication.⁴⁵ Both the chapiñ

and Milla make fun of this country bumpkin. The best that Milla can say is that, thanks to the strides made in civilization, this type is gradually disappearing.

Other types that Milla treats are more universal in nature: el tertuliano, el telégrafo, el petardista, la chismosa, el enfermo, el torcido (Guatemalan term for desdichado), el monopolista, el distraído, el sordo, el egoísta, el condescendiente, el indeciso, el perezoso, and el embrollón. However, even these are cast in a peculiarly Guatemalan mold. They are presented in the same manner as the native types; they still dress and talk like chapiques and move about in the Guatemalan environment.

In treating either Guatemalan or universal types, Milla always attempts to characterize them with humorous and satirically appropriate names. Usually the last name denotes the type's salient characteristic. The petardista is Blas Trampea; the hombre telégrafo, Blas La Parla; the monopolista gastrónomo, Zenón Tragabalas; the monopolista hablador, Facundo Lenguaraz; the tertuliano meteorológico, Juan de la Ventolera; and the tertuliano anatómico, Anastasio Tijerino. At times, both names seem to be significant. The vain man in "Un hombre feliz" is called Don Perfecto Cumplido; the cautious and flexible person is Don Prudencio Corrientes; Modesto Cortés is a "caballero tan cortés como modesto."⁴⁶ Sometimes the names are quite long and absurd as Juan Ante-portam-latinam Pollin y Revolorio in "Mis huéspedes"; the Portuguese Joachim Alfonzo Silva Carvalho Saldanha Meneses y Albuquerque in "Las medias naranjas"; and the

visiting German "sociologist" Humberto Lichtingsterpstrobachumberlich. Further examples of non-Spanish names in the cuadros are the French merchant of "Un hombre de desempeño," M. Sans-Souci and a M. Pointu in "Las presentaciones." True, Milla often used preposterous names, but he defended himself in a humorous way by referring the reader to what happens in actual practice. He felt that if a person could choose his own name, "no habría tantos Ladrones, Barrigas, Cabezas de Vaca, Toros, Caballos, Borregos, Cachos, y otros apellidos semejantes."⁴⁷ At times, a name ironically represents a characteristic which is directly opposite to the one which the type is to symbolize. The retorcido is called Próspero and the true friend in "Un amigo" is Don Judas Malaobra.

However, Milla's irony never becomes bitter. Although he satirized all phases of Guatemalan life, with the exception of political affairs,⁴⁸ his tone was always moderate. The Guatemalan critic J. M. Vela Irisarri explains that: "De la lectura de cualquiera de los 'Cuadros' sale uno sin saña en el corazón... Ve uno la ridiculez sin odiarla. La risa es una cosa bonachona, como cuando se juega alguna mala pasada a un amigo, por sólo divertirse. Los 'Cuadros' cosquillean, pero no arañan; aprietan pero no estrujan. Hacen oficio como de rubefaciente que excita la piel; no el vejitorio que levanta ampolla."⁴⁹ J. Rodríguez Cerna concurs in this opinion and similarly states: "Mas no hace sangre, porque con todo el mundo bromea, le echa los brazos y es amigo cordial. Sus caricaturas rebosan decididamente el más franco buen humor."⁵⁰

The "franco buen humor" is really the dominant characteristic of the cuadros and Milla achieves it in a number of ways. Not only does he paint

an assortment of humorous types with comic names but he also places them in many funny situations. One of many amusing episodes occurs in the article "Los temperamentos" when Simón Torbellino, el bilicoso, vexed by Angel Bonazo's comportment, challenges him to a duel. Bonazo, el linfático, given the choice of weapons, selects some highly unorthodox ones:

--Llevaremos al campo dos cántaros llenos de agua y dos vasos.

--¿Dos cántaros de agua? --exclamó don Simón --¿y para qué diablos?

--Es muy sencillo --replicó Bonazo --Beberemos vaso tras vaso hasta que uno de los dos revienta.⁵¹

The humorous situations may be tinged with a bit of pathos, as is the case in "El torcido." Próspero, the torcido whose life has been a series of calamitous failures, finally gets his big chance to perform on the stage. He has only one line, "Suelta esa mano," which is important to the tragedy. He studies his part a full eight days and at the precise moment, poises himself and says quite seriously, "Suelta esa mona."⁵²

Sometimes the type is placed in situations which bring out his major defect to most ridiculous extremes. Pedro Maraña, as the prototype of the embrollón, allows his proclivity for getting involved to carry him one day as far as the altar. After Florencia del Anzuelo has said "Yes" to the all-important question and the priest asks Maraña if he will have the woman, he answers with "un NO redondo, claro y bien pronunciado."⁵³ The outcome is even more astonishing and amusing because Milla adds a further complication. Maraña's behavior has caused so much scandal and humiliation to Florencia that the only way she can possibly save her self-esteem is to return to the altar with Pedro Maraña and reject him.

Maraña, always ready for entanglements, accepts this plan to save Florencia's face, but this time: "El cura hizo al contrayente la pregunta de ordenanza, y respondió clara y distintamente que sí recibía por esposa y mujer a doña Florencia del Anzuelo, que estaba presente. Volviéndose entonces a la dama, la requirió el eclesiástico para que dijese si recibía por esposo y marido al señor don Pedro Maraña a lo que la bella ca respondió con un SI tan sonoro, que retumbó en las bóvedas del templo."⁵⁴

Milla purposely does not make the circumstances very plausible. He loved exaggeration and made no pretense to hide it. He stated: "mis bocetos no son retratos, sino caricaturas...naturalmente, exagerados, los rasgos, líneas y sombras del dibujo."⁵⁵ Occasionally Milla exaggerates too much. The scene in which Modesto Cortés is knocked down by a goat and then pursued by dogs is funny to begin with, but the author pushes it further. The parrot, who is a spectator, picks up Modesto's cries of "auxilio," chants an "auxilium christianorum" and continues with "Consolatrix afflictorum...Ora pro nobis."⁵⁶ Here the exaggeration and resultant humor are achieved by contrasting the mundane situation with the loftiness and solemnity of the expression. Again Milla does the same when he writes of the bullfights. He is reminded of the spectacle of the Romans and the words of the Christian martyrs who say, "Ave, Caesar, morituri te salutant."⁵⁷ Then as he leaves the plaza de toros with a huge crowd that raises clouds of dust, he quotes, without meaning to be irreverent, "in pulverem reverteris."⁵⁸

There is often a significant difference between the prosaic subjects Milla writes about and the erudite flavor he gives to the articles. The intentionally stuffy erudition of his sketches comes from dictionary definitions, author's names, foreign words and expressions, quotations and numerous literary allusions.

Milla explains the word "zajorín" as a "corruptela de la palabra castellana zahoríes, que significa hombres que poseen zahoría o arte de adivinar lo que se encierra en las entrañas de la tierra."⁵⁹ People who attend a tertulia can be called "tertulianos, tertulios o tertuliantes" according to the dictionary. In both instances, he cites Padre Esteban de Terreros' Diccionario Castellano, (1786-1793) as his authority. In the discussion of the chapín, he first gives the definition of the term according to the Diccionario de la Academia and then delves extensively into the etymology of the word for a humorous effect. When the chapín, whose name is Cándido Tapalcate (Tapalcate meaning trasto or mueble inútil), is to leave on his trip to England, Salomé Jil says, "no me fué posible hacerlo separarse ni del batidor, ni del orinal del abuelo."⁶⁰ When Milla wishes to explain the word cucuxque, he even pauses to give a lesson in pronunciation: "En efecto, esa x colocada entre la u y la q, no suena como en examen, sexo, etc. Suena como la ch de los franceses en lache, choux y otras muchas voces semejantes, y como la sh de los ingleses en shade, ship, bushel, etc..."⁶¹ Next he concerns himself with its philological implications: "...he creído que probablemente los primeros religiosos españoles que vinieron a estos países con los conquistadores, serían de Cataluña o de Galicia, provincias de las cuales aquella

letra suele pronunciarse de la manera indicada, y que por analogía la emplearon cuando tuvieron necesidad de representar por escrito un sonido semejante en la lengua de los naturales. Así, adoptaron la *x* para escribir Xelahu, Xenacoh, Mixco, etc..."⁶¹

Among other things, Milla knew much about literature and was well-grounded in the classics. His contemporary Ramón Uriarte said about him, "...posee un vasto caudal de conocimientos. Le son familiares los clásicos antiguos, por los que tiene una predilección manifiesta, y conoce a fondo las literaturas española, francesa, inglesa e italiana."⁶² In the cuadros, he alludes to various authors and their literary works and frequently cites lines from some of them. However, he does not try to impress the reader with his erudition but chooses and quotes well-known passages. He never wants to discourage a reader by making his writing incomprehensible or his meaning elusive. When he uses foreign words that his readers might not be expected to know, he follows them with a Spanish translation. In quoting from Chateaubriand, "Les rois s'en vont," he immediately translates into Spanish: "Los reyes se marchan."⁶³ After he had been reminded in the bullfight arena of the words of the martyrs, "Ave, Caesar, morituri te salutant" he parodies them with "Aves, Proe-asis, revolcandi te salutant."⁶⁴ Then after reducing the phrase to this macaronic Latin, he applies the words "Dios te guarde, oh presidente! (de la función), los que van a ser revolcados te saludan,"⁶⁴ so that there is no question of what he means.

Milla was familiar with several foreign languages: Latin, French, Italian, Greek and English. This provided him with still another means of enriching his humor. The chapin, finding himself in unfamiliar London and experiencing some difficulty with English, complains: "En vano he recurrido al consejo que en esa me dieron algunos amigos, y que es un recurso tan sabido, de pedir sombrero cuando quiero pan, botas, si necesito mantequilla, y nombrar a la Pepa mi prima para pedir papel. Ni por esas. Me responden siempre: Ay, no sé onde están. Figúrese Ud., mi amigo, si yo he de creer que los criados del hotel no saben donde está el pan, la mantequilla y el papel."⁶⁵ A footnote explains that "ay, no sé onde están" sounds like "I don't understand," "no entiendo."

Also in his own tongue, Milla, like other outstanding Guatemalan writers from Antonio José de Irisarri to Miguel Angel Asturias, took delight in playing with words. Ingeniously, when he tells the story of Judas Guzmán, the niño mimado, also ironically called "Guzmán el Bueno," he says, "Como no era lo que se llama asno, pudo pasar del Qui vel qui; pero no adelantó mucho, pues cuando estaba conjugando le pareció preferible quitar el con al gerundio y quedarse haciendo lo demás."⁶⁶ In another place when the Barón de Montes-Umbrosos, cad and impostor of "Las medias naranjas," deserts his wife after stealing her jewels, he writes her a letter and in the postscript adds: "Ustedes no deben dudar de la autenticidad de mi título; soy en efecto barón sin más diferencia que la muy pequeña de la primera letra, que debe cambiarse la b en y."⁶⁷ Milla does the same sort of thing in other places and puns with words

like "cogedera" and "cojera," "socialifias" and "sacalifias," "anomalifias" and "animalifias."⁶⁸ He even coins new words. The telégrafo maligno is bothered by infirmities variously called "chismitis," "calumnitis," and "falso-testimonitis." Don Próspero's sickness in "Don Anselmito Vidriera" was diagnosed by one doctor as "amoritis" complicated by "mieditis." In "Una Tertulia," Milla again evokes a bit of humor by having the stuttering Don Policarpo ask: "...Don Bo...bo...nifacio, no oye la ca...ca ...vatino?" Don Bonifacio Aguado answers with a question: "La ca...ca ...qué?"⁶⁹

Milla also makes capital use of the linguistic eccentricities of his many types. Tío Climas, who comes to the fair at Jocotenango, is a rustic with little education who speaks an incorrect but picturesque Spanish. He says "napor" instead of "vapor" and calls the "hipódromo" a "hipógromo, porógromo, opróbromo" and "bicógromo." This rustic type seems only sure of the stress of the word. By reproducing actual speech, Milla lends verisimilitude to this sketch.

The emphasis on things familiar is certainly an important characteristic of Milla's costumbrista writing. Despite his frequent use of foreign words and expressions, he uses many well-known and peculiarly Guatemalan ones such as pisto, entelerido, bolos, chucho and suvacal,⁷⁰ to mention only a few. He also repeats numerous well-known Guatemalan proverbs and sayings. But even more important is the fact that the places, events, institutions, customs, and types must have been very familiar to Milla's public. As a literary artist, the author was able to bring keen insight and fresh perception to them, but the subject matter was certainly not new.

In addition to familiar, traditional themes, Milla also employed some current events in his sketches. Much of what he wrote could have been read in the news of the day. In "Un hombre feliz" (1865), Don Perfecto participates in a conversation which includes a discussion of the Civil War in the United States and the failure of the cochinilla crop. Since all the articles appeared originally in newspapers, they naturally included pieces on national holidays, festivals and celebrations. The description of "El martes de Carnaval en la plaza de toros" appeared in early March and "La Feria de Jocotenango" in August, which would coincide closely with the times of those events. The article "Por inocentes" which takes its theme from "el día de los inocentes," December 28, was printed on December 31, 1865. This same article is interesting for another reason. It is one of the shortest of all, and purposely so because Milla abruptly closes with "...el que comenzó a leer este artículo con la esperanza de encontrar en el un cuadro completo, todos esos, me pesa el decirselo, ...se la han pagado por inocentes!!!"⁷¹ In another article, "Los perezosos," he employs much the same device, saying: "ahora mismo voy sintiéndome sin fuerzas para concluir este artículo; y no sería extraño que si lo alargara un poco más, la pluma se me escapara de manos y no pudiera terminarlo..."⁷²

Because Milla wrote about annual holidays and celebrations, he often repeated his subject matter. For instance, he often wrote articles to celebrate the beginning of a new year, which summarized events of the previous year and made predictions for the coming one. In January of

1881, he wrote "Astronómicas y meteorológicas" which included "El año viejo" and "El año nuevo" and at the end of the same year wrote another "El año nuevo." Milla realized very well that he was repeating the same subject matter. In "Dos cientos diez minutos de locura," which repeats an earlier theme, he reports: "Amados lectores míos: en La Hoja de Avisos del 8 de marzo de 1862, describí el martes de carnaval en la plaza de toros; y como no tengo noticia que de entonces acá este gran pueblo haya acordado hacer cosa alguna nueva en igual día y sitio, cumpla con reproducir aquel artículo."⁷³ Then once again, he expresses his doubts that his readers pay much attention to what his articles say: "Esto me ahorraría algún trabajillo, y el articulejo siempre sería nuevo para las noventa y nueve centésimas partes de mis lectores, que apuesto las orejas han olvidado lo que entonces dije."⁷³

Milla seems to have had a special fondness for repeating certain humorous situations in which he employs reappearing characters. Doña Gregoria, la chismosa from "Un baile de guante," Perfecto Cumplido from "El hombre feliz" and Facundo Lenguaraz from "Los monopolios" are all present in the article "El telégrafo." Zenón Tragabalas of "Los monopolios" is in "Las semejanzas." In "Los temperamentos," Angel Bonazo, el linfático, is compared to Marianito Corriente of "El condescendiente." However, long before Angel Bonazo represented the linfático in "Los temperamentos" (1881), this type had assumed the guise of Bonifacio Aguado in "Una tertulia" (1865). The zajorín is momentarily previewed in the article "Por inocentes" before he has the next article devoted entirely to him. "Por inocentes" also mentions the petardista, the

cucuxque and the telégrafo while "Las mudanzas de casa" also repeats the last two types. The telégrafo type is referred to again in "Un niño mimado" and "Un enfermo," the cucuxque in "Puros y cigarros." While Milla uses this technique of reappearing characters to reinforce the salient characteristics of the types, he does not actually develop them as individual human beings.

Milla also frequently repeats some favorite names. He uses the sur-name Garrafuerte in "Un duelo," "Las medias naranjas" and "Los egoístas." The name Judas appears in "Un amigo" and "Un niño mimado"; Mastuerzo appears in "Una tertulia" and "El telégrafo, segunda parte" and Ventolera in "Una tertulia" and "Las mudanzas de casa."

The result of the repetition of themes, types and names is that individual sketches become interrelated and in some cases almost interdependent. Although the typical cuadro is complete in itself, Milla's cuadros frequently group themselves about certain familiar themes or types. Some articles seem to assume that the public should have read earlier ones. "El telégrafo," which appeared in January of 1865, was supplemented in October with "El telégrafo, segunda parte." In 1880-1881, Milla actually carried the idea of relating his cuadros even further by writing five of them in a row about the fair at Jocotenango. The use of the central figure Tío Climas and a fine single narrative that runs through all of them makes it difficult to consider any one cuadro separately. This treatment of sketches in a sequence, although loosely joined, results in a kind of novelita which may be considered an outgrowth of the cuadros.

A much more positive step in the direction of converting the cuadros into a novel was made in "El esclavo de don Dinero," whose antecedents may be found in Milla's own cuadros. The figure of "el poderoso caballero don Dinero" first appeared in the cuadro "Por inocentes" in 1865. In the first half of 1881, Don Dinero was used as the central figure in an article in El canasto which bore his name as the title. He was mentioned again in "La necesidad" before "El esclavo de don Dinero" was finally published in June 1881. The hero of the story, Canuto Delgado, is the embodiment of avarice. When the barber Teodoro Rajacuero runs off with some of his money, he pursues him through Central America. During the fantastic chase, Canuto has numerous adventures involving many picturesque types with curious names and many humorous incidents take place. Unable to regain his money, he returns to Guatemala. Although he has a chance to marry the young and attractive niece of the woman who owns the rooming house in which he lives, he chooses the old aunt. He gives eight reasons for doing so, all practical ones having to do with money. However, Canuto becomes sick and the niece and her boy friend steal his remaining money. Canuto thereupon goes crazy. Milla ends the story by moralizing "que si no me equivoco, nos enseña, con las aventuras y triste fin de don Canuto Delgado, los graves inconvenientes de poner el alma y el cuerpo, como él hizo, al servicio de tal amo."⁷⁴

Although Milla chooses to call "El esclavo de don Dinero" a "Novela galopante en pocos capítulos," it is an attempt at producing a short

realistic novel concerned with the contemporary scene. Despite its episodic nature and its rather trivial and underdeveloped plot, the narrative is exciting and the background has an authentic ring. Although Milla's novelette is a modest effort, it reveals the influence of Cervantes, Quevedo, Molière and the Guatemalan Irisarri. It proved that it was possible to apply many of the cuadro devices to the novel.

"El esclavo de don Dinero" was published in El canasto del sastre (1881-1882), and the five sketches surrounding Tío Climas were published as cuadros (1880-1881).⁷⁵ Another collection of sketches was given the humorous name, Libro sin nombre (1870-1871). The latter is explained to be a "linterna mágica que va representando a la vista de los lectores objetos y escenas de diferente naturaleza; ora alegres, ora tristes; ya serios, ya festivos; algo importantes alguna vez; insignificantes y triviales las más..."⁷⁶ El canasto del sastre is made up of "partes tan heterogéneas... Lo grave andará revuelto con lo jocoso, lo familiar con algo que sea un poco más elevado."⁷⁷ In both cases, although stress is placed on variety, the overwhelming majority of these articles are cuadros. Yet curiously enough, Milla himself made a point of distinguishing between his cuadros and the articles in Libro sin nombre and El canasto del sastre. In 1880, when he resumed writing cuadros he said: "Al dar principio a esta segunda hornada de 'Cuadros de costumbres Guatemaltecas,' después de una solución de continuidad (como dicen los cirujanos), de trece o catorce años..."⁷⁸ which implies that the last cuadros were written in 1867, and that El libro sin nombre, written in

the interim, was not considered as belonging in the same category. Also in the year 1881, although many cuadros and canasto "articles" appeared in the Diario de Centro América at irregular intervals, a distinction was made between the two. Milla said: "No me impongo determinado asunto ni me comprometo a dar estos artículos en períodos fijos. 'El canasto del sastré' saldrá a figurar cuando no haya 'Cuadros de costumbres,' o trabajos serios con que colaborar en el diario."⁷⁹

One wonders what motivated Milla to differentiate between the three collections because it is exceedingly difficult to establish any clear-cut distinctions.⁸⁰ Many of the same subjects are treated in each collection. To open the year 1881, Milla wrote a cuadro called "Astronómicas y meteorológicas, El siglo -- el año viejo -- el año nuevo -- almanaque" and to close it wrote an article for El canasto called "El año nuevo." In Libro sin nombre he has a similar article called "El almanaque." He had mentioned in his cuadros that the Guatemalan people were imitators like monkeys; for El canasto he wrote "La imitación" in which he says his compatriots imitate like the Chinese. "La lotería," in Libro sin nombre, presents man's weakness for playing the lottery, a vice which is used again to advantage in El canasto's three articles, "La fortuna," "El sorteo extraordinario" and "Don Dinero." In Libro sin nombre, Milla also writes about Jocotenango as he had in a cuadro of 1862 and in the article of 1870, actually makes reference to the earlier one. In "Memorias de un duro," which is also included in Libro sin nombre, a coin speaks and relates the adventures which transpired as it was being passed from owner

to owner. Here again Milla uses the picaresque device and inanimate speech, noting that he had employed these devices before when he says that he had allowed inanimate objects to talk in the cuadros "La capa" and "Puros y cigarros."

It is equally difficult to think of "La fortuna" as falling outside Milla's broad concept of the term cuadro. One of the characters in this article is Julián Torcido who had appeared in the cuadro, "Los hombres graves en el baile." "Los tontos" can hardly be less a cuadro than "Los sordos." It closely follows the pattern outlined for Milla's typical cuadro. It begins with definitions of the word tonto, one from Boileau and the other from the Diccionario de la Academia. Then, Salomé Jil, who is in his customary role as observer, explains that while out for a walk, he meets Diego Espeso, Clodomiro Pomposo, Luisa Repulgo and Tadeo Asnal, each one a particular species of tonto. A little story is given about each one in turn and although each has the reputation for being a tonto, he demonstrates accomplishments in certain special areas. The moral of the article is that people who are considered to be fools should not be judged too hastily. Surely this article from El canasto del sastre may be called a cuadro.

In the two works, Libro sin nombre and El canasto del sastre, there are some few articles which differ slightly from the cuadro. As indicated by their titles, they treat more universal problems: "el hambre," "las lágrimas," "el agua," "la lengua," "la vejez," "el olvido." However, even in these articles, despite a serious reduction in picturesque

types and funny names, the humor has not changed. Despite the serious subject matter, the treatment is just as light and frivolous.

"El esclavo de don Dinero," the Cuadros de costumbres, and all the other related articles greatly amused the people of Milla's day. Victor Miguel Díaz said of them: "...hay tanta exactitud en la descripción de sus escritos, así como de los caracteres, tanta lozanía de ideas, tanta pureza en el lenguaje, que la sociedad guatemalteca poco adicta a la lectura recibió con agrado todo cuanto el señor Milla escribía."⁸¹ Since their initial appearance, the articles have continued to be immensely popular in Guatemala. The fifth edition of the Cuadros, published in 1952 in four volumes, has been widely circulated⁸² and is now almost completely out-of-print.

Some of the articles have at times been published separately in Guatemalan newspapers. Some were, in fact, successful enough to be reproduced later in other newspapers in America and even translated for European newspapers.⁸³ "El sombrero" was inserted into La Revista de la Universidad (1922), and three other articles, "El zajorín," "El chapín" and "El guanaco" were included by Joaquín Méndez in his Colección de artículos y composiciones poéticas de autores centro americanos (1895).

As early as 1903-1906, a textbook of Spanish in the United States included the article "El almanaque."⁸⁴ In 1951, "El esclavo de don Dinero" and the five cuadros dealing with Tío Climax were published as a textbook by Professor Thomas B. Irving of the University of Minnesota under the title of Aventuras en Centro América.

Not only are Milla's articles a constant source of enjoyment, but they also make excellent social documents. Juan Fermin Aycinena felt that "En los Cuadros de costumbres de nuestro inolvidable Salomé Jil, encontramos gráficamente dibujados nuestro carácter nacional, nuestro modo de ser, nuestros hábitos, nuestros vicios y nuestras virtudes."⁸⁵ Similarly, Victor Miguel Díaz noted that "Las costumbres del país, idioma y nuestras canciones y dicharachos populares, todo lo pintó Milla con mano maestra, en páginas inmortales."⁸⁶ The sociologist Jorge del Valle Matheu has said in recent years that Milla's information and evaluations are still quite valid for the student of Guatemalan sociology.⁸⁷

It must be remembered, however, that Milla wrote primarily for the enjoyment of his reader and not for any future generations of sociologists. The tone of the cuadros surely reflects this point of view. Although Milla dissects many interesting character types with great precision, he always demonstrates some very human qualities. Whether analyzing either the Guatemalan or mankind in general, he consistently shows himself to be most generous and kind. His cuadros invariably reflect a warm and good-hearted humor, only mild satire and a subdued irony. They demonstrate an interest in and an acute awareness of language and consistently show a knowledge of literature, without making the erudition distasteful. The cuadros are structurally simple and thematically familiar.

Milla was one of the first cuadro writers of Guatemala and has maintained his position as the most important one, although several have followed in his footsteps. Juan Fermin Aycinena, Antonio Batres Jáuregui

and Javier Valenzuela all wrote in this genre. While the first two had high regard for Milla's costumbrista work, Javier Valenzuela apparently did not quite share the same enthusiasm. He considered "...mucho más grande el mérito de Milla como novelista y patrio historiógrafo, que como narrador de nuestras costumbres."⁸⁸ However, he has been contradicted by other critics. Ramón Uriarte and F. González Campo declared in 1885 that the quadro was actually "...el género en que más sobresale."⁸⁹ The present-day critic Luis Cardoza y Aragón, although not always so complimentary to Milla's other writings, praises him as a costumbrista.⁹⁰

With more than one hundred quadros to his credit, Milla is one of Spanish America's most prolific writers of this genre. Not only their quantity but also their quality compare favorably with those produced by his contemporaries in some of the larger countries like Mexico, Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia and Chile.

CHAPTER III

MILLA'S HISTORICAL NOVELS

José Milla was one of the first to cultivate systematically the historical novel in Latin America. Luis Alberto Sánchez said of him: "...fue uno de los escampavías de la novela histórica americana."¹ The Spanish writer Antonio Rey Soto conceded him an even more outstanding position in the development of the Latin American novel, saying: "Comparte Milla con José Mármol y con Jorge Isaacs el cetro de la novela grande en América..." He further adds: "...aun podemos decir que supera a los dos colegas del triunvirato en la invención creadora y en el dominio absoluto con que doma la riquísima lengua."²

Much of Milla's fame in Guatemalan literature emanates from his role as historical novelist. He wrote on national themes, popularized the genre in Guatemala, and influenced later novelists. For his efforts in the field, he has been called "padre de la novela nacional."³ The Guatemalan critic David Vela considers him to be a "maestro del género."⁴

Spreading his work out over almost twenty years, Milla wrote three novels (La hija del Adelantado, Los Nazarenos, and El Visitador) in rapid succession between the years 1866-1869 and, with significant pauses in between, Memorias de un abogado in 1876 and Historia de un pene in 1882. Four of the five novels appeared in newspaper installments before they were published as books, an important fact which will help explain some of their characteristics. His three earliest novels appeared in La Semana and his last one in Diario de Centro América. Only Memorias de un

abogado was published outright in book form and the reason for this was that after returning to Guatemala in 1874, Milla had, momentarily at least, lost his good contacts with newspapers.

Milla's novels, although they appear in the second half of the century, are for the most part romantic. Consistent with the romantics' disregard for the classic unities, the action is multiple and the tales take place over a period of years in a variety of places. There are several plots developing simultaneously and various classes of society are represented. All the novels treat different periods in Guatemalan colonial history. The action of La hija del Adelantado takes place in the first half of the sixteenth century; El Visitador, the first half of the seventeenth century and Los Nazarenos roughly at the mid-point of the seventeenth century. The story in Memorias de un abogado, like that of Historia de un pepe unfolds in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The action of all the novels takes place almost exclusively in Guatemala.

The length of the novels varies considerably. La hija del Adelantado is the shortest, appearing in La Semana in eleven installments. El Visitador, the longest, consists of thirty-six installments in the same newspaper and published today, constitutes a book of over six hundred pages.⁵ Memorias de un abogado had 266 pages in the first edition.⁶

Milla's first three novels, written within a short space of time, all conform to the same pattern. In the "Advertencia" to the first edition of La hija del Adelantado, which was published in 1866, and which has not appeared in the four subsequent editions, Milla explained his concept of the historical novel:

Al escribir esta novelita, ha sido mi objeto principal dar a conocer algunos personajes y ciertos acontecimientos históricos, de los cuales no tiene sino muy escasa noticia la generalidad de los lectores a quienes están dedicadas estas líneas. Me he sujetado a la verdad, hasta donde lo ha permitido la necesidad de dar algún interés dramático a la novela; procurando conciliar los hechos que efectivamente tuvieron lugar, con los que he debido añadir para adornar una obra de imaginación. En muestras antiguas Crónicas apenas se encuentran delineados los caracteres de los personajes y referidos los acontecimientos más someros. Respetando unos y otros cuanto ha sido posible, he dejado correr la pluma libremente en todo aquello que no fuese directamente opuesto a la verdad histórica. Así, los personajes que figuran en esta relación existieron todos realmente; pero el carácter y los hechos que se atribuyen a algunos de ellos, corresponden a la parte novelesca de la obra. Las fechas están citadas con la posible escrupulosidad. Por no hacer demasiado difuso el escrito, o distraer la atención del lector con notas no he citado los pasajes para probar la exactitud de muchos de los sucesos referidos.⁷

For the historical fabric of his first novel, Milla chose what is probably the most famous portion of Guatemalan history: the reigns of Pedro de Alvarado and Doña Beatriz which ended with the tragic destruction of the second capital of the captaincy general, Santiago de los Caballeros (Almolonga, now called Ciudad Vieja). This material was particularly fresh in his mind because he had used it less than a year before in an article entitled "La destrucción de la primitiva ciudad de Guatemala."⁸ Milla starts his narration with the return of Pedro de Alvarado from Spain where he had defended himself before the king. Alvarado is accompanied by his wife Doña Beatriz de la Cueva and Doña Leonor, his daughter by the Indian princess Jicoténcal. The main historical episodes treated in the novel are the Indian uprising of 1539, the death of Alvarado and the rigorous mourning by Doña Beatriz, "la sin ventura." Other historical characters included are Francisco de la Cueva, Pedro de

Portocarrero and Gonzalo de Ovalle. To make his narrative appear more authentic, Milla mentions the histories of Fuentes y Guzmán, Remesal Vázquez, Bernal Díaz del Castillo and the Memorial de Tecpán Atitlán.

For the other novels, Milla chose less known events but followed essentially the same procedure. The action of El Visitador takes place about 1620 and deals with those serious difficulties which existed between the Visitador Juan de Ibarra and the Oidor Ambrosio Fernández de Araque during the presidency of the Conde de la Gomera. The story of Los Nazarenos is based on happenings some thirty-five years later which include the vicissitudes existing during the presidency of Don Fernando de Almirano y Velasco, el Conde de Santiago de Calimaya, especially the rivalry between the Padilla and Carranza families. The events of both periods are treated again by Milla in Chapters XIII and XVII of the second volume of his Historia de la América Central.

In all three novels, the main historical event is a conspiracy against the government. The story in La hija del Adelantado hinges on the historical conspiracy against Alvarado formed by el Veedor Gonzalo Ronquillo, the treasurer Francisco de Castellanos, el Comendador Francisco de Zorrilla and el Regidor Gonzalo de Ovalle. In the case of Los Nazarenos, it is the conspiracy of a secret society against the President, el Conde de Santiago de Calimaya. In El Visitador, both Juan de Ibarra and el Oidor Ambrosio Fernández de Araque oppose the government of el Conde de la Gomera.

Although Milla's novels are based on specific historical events and personages, he does not hesitate to take liberties with the truth in order

to enhance the artistic effect of the novel. In fact, in spite of what he said in the "Advertencia" to La hija del Adelantado, Milla asks the reader's forgiveness in the introduction to the first edition of Los Nazarenos (1867) for the inclusion of deliberate and necessary anachronisms. D. Rodriguez de Maldonado, the protagonist of this novel, which takes place between 1655-57, did not actually achieve notoriety in Guatemala until some ten years later.

The non-historical plot of the various novels is based on a number of impossible love affairs involving both real and fictional characters. In La hija del Adelantado, the real protagonists Doña Leonor and Pedro de Portocarrero fall in love but cannot marry because Alvarado has decided that his daughter should marry his brother-in-law Francisco de la Cueva. The exemplary love of the two is further complicated by the intervention of secondary fictional characters: the widow Agustina Córdoba, ex-lover of Portocarrero, who still loves him and Diego Robledo, who in turn is in love with Agustina. The jealous Robledo tries to take revenge by plotting against Portocarrero. A parallel case of unrequited love involves Juana de Artiaga, one of Doña Leonor's ladies in waiting, and Dr. Juan de Peraza. Rejected earlier in Spain because of his humble origin, Peraza seeks out the virtuous Doña Juana in the palace of the Adelantado and continues to court her in vain.

Tragic love affairs also play an important part in Los Nazarenos. The most significant one involves Rodrigo de Arias Maldonado and Elvira de Lagasti, who is married to the Adelantado de Filipinas, Enrique de

Altamirano. Of almost equal importance is the tragic love affair involving César de Carranza and Doña Violante de Padilla. The hindrance to their love is the mortal hatred which their families hold for each other, suggesting the situation found in Romeo and Juliet. Subsequently, a further difficulty develops when it is discovered that they are brother and sister. Secondary impossible affairs of the heart, which are based on unrequited love, find García de Altamirano in love with his stepmother Elvira and Doña Guiomar de Escalante enamoured of Rodrigo. Within this novel the author asks the question whether it is worse "amar y no ser amado, o ser amado y no amar,"⁹ which is a fundamental consideration in all the novels.

El Visitador shows an even greater use of tragic love affairs but without any single one dominating the whole novel. They are different from those of the preceding novels in that they stem from the willful action of people rather than from predestined forces. Although the love of Luis Melián and Margarita Girón at first seems to be without obstacles, it is seriously impeded as the story progresses. All that is required to fulfill their desire to wed is the approval of Luis' father, who is not in Guatemala. However, his consent never arrives because of El Visitador's intervention. The matter becomes more complex when the son of the President, Captain Fernando Peraza, also takes a fancy to Margarita as does Francisco Molino who is afraid to confess his love because of his humble background. Juan de Ibarra, El Visitador, is also involved in a love affair in which he vilely mistreats Genoveva Molinos. When he saved her

from being trampled by a horse, she immediately fell in love with him. He is somewhat attracted to the girl but will have no part in a marriage which her uncles try to arrange for reasons of social prestige. However, he has convinced Genoveva that he is sincerely in love with her to the point that she yields to his passionate advances. He uses her to spy on his political enemies and when he no longer needs her, he abandons her. This love affair is distinct because it is one of the few not to be complicated by other suitors. Juan de Ibarra's insidious actions are attributed by Milla to an earlier unfortunate love affair which is presented by means of a flashback. Some twenty years before in Spain, both he and his friend Enrique Grantzius fell in love with Estela Zúñiga. Juan petitioned for her hand and she, confusing the identity of the two friends, accepted. When she realized her mistake, it was too late. The wedding took place and Juan, unaware of the situation, invited Enrique to spend some time with them at their country home. Enrique and Estela were unable to suppress their love and fled together. Juan pursued them and in Naples found both suffering from a terrible fever. Estela died but Enrique survived. After the latter recuperated, Juan stabbed him several times, leaving him for dead. It is not until years later that we find Enrique still alive and very much a part of the action, living under the assumed name of Dr. Correa. Luisa, the Mayor's wife, is the center of a series of minor love affairs which provide comic relief to the novel. She carries on a torrid love affair with Fernando Peraza, using el Oidor Araque to make Fernando jealous. Her husband, Jerónimo de Utrilla, does not even figure in the love triangle.

In all three of the historical novels, the author cloaks the love affairs in suspense and mystery by means of a series of romantic and melodramatic devices, many of which had been popularized in the Spanish Golden Age and, in some cases, Romantic theater. A number of servants, some loyal and some disloyal to their masters, play important roles as spies. In La hija del Adelantado, the most faithful of all is Pedro Rodríguez, the old servant of Pedro de Alvarado. He is the secret witness to a scene in the Capilla de la Vera Cruz in which Gonzalo Ronquillo and Francisco de Castellanos loosen a portion of Pedro de Portocarrero's visor the night before he is to do battle with Ronquillo. After Portocarrero is humbled in the tourney because of the foul play, Rodríguez denounces both villains. Throughout the story, he continues to show his good faith by trying to solve the mystery of how Leonor's relicario, given to Portocarrero for good luck, has fallen into Agustina's hands. Furthermore, it is Rodríguez who saves Leonor from the flood at the end of the novel. By contrast, there are two servants who spy against their masters. Leonor's Melchora Suárez works as Diego Robledo's accomplice while Margarita, Agustina's old servant, aids both Robledo and Pedro Rodríguez at different times in the story.

The espionage in Los Nazarenos is carried on to a great extent by Adriano, who, although he is the Adelantado's servant, is really under orders from Silvestre Alarcón, the leading conspirator against the government. He helps Alarcón steal the green ledger in which are recorded Diego de Padilla's debts. He also helps Doña Guiomar escape from a difficult situation by supplying her with a man's suit of clothes.

Nevertheless, with this novel, the spying servant gradually loses importance. In El Visitador, so much of the spying is carried on by the leading characters that the servants are relegated to insignificant positions. Only three of them intervene in the novel. Brígida informs Peraza, her master, of Basilio's actions. Ricardo, Luisa's lackey, imprisons Captain Peraza to aid El Visitador and Juan Patraña's servant Chomo betrays both his master and Basilio when he flees with the money that the two have stolen.

The espionage scenes often involve hiding places. In La hija del Adelantado, Robledo hides under a sofa in order to overhear a conversation between Agustina and Peraza. Rodríguez makes use of the darkness of the cathedral to learn of the plans of Portocarrero's enemies. Throughout the novel, the basement of Juan de Peraza's house is a favorite hiding place. In this "subterráneo," the conspirators meet, Peraza keeps Juana de Artiaga a hostage and Peraza himself meets his death.

In Los Nazarenos, the characters also take to hiding places, but more as a measure of safety. While Elvira, in the disguise of Adriano, is speaking to Rodrigo, her husband Enrique calls at the door and she is forced to flee to the adjoining room. Enrique himself has to hide in the same room when the people revolt and his life is endangered.

In El Visitador, Captain Peraza takes refuge in Luisa's chamber when Juan de Ibarra enters in his pursuit. On another occasion, Luisa hides in Doctor Correa's basement. Also in this novel, as in the first one, conversations are overheard from hiding places. Jerónimo de Utrilla, from the basement, learns of the plot against him by overhearing the plans of the

Oidor. From the same place, el Visitador listens in on Doctor Correa. El Visitador also learns the secret of blacksmith Andrés Molinos' box by observing him in the latter's basement through a hole drilled in the floor. Luis Melián becomes aware of the treachery of his supposed friend Fernando Peraza by overhearing a conversation between the latter and his father, el Conde de la Gomera. In each of the three novels, there is one favorite hiding place: Juan de Peraza's "subterráneo" in La hija del Adelantado; the "casa de los espantos" in Los Nazarenos; and Molinos' basement in El Visitador.

One of the favorite devices of Spanish Golden Age and also Romantic literature is the use of the illegitimate child who, unaware of his true parentage, usually becomes involved in tragedy. Milla employs the device for the first time in Los Nazarenos. Actually much of the intrigue of the novel revolves about the various attempts to uncover César's true origins. At the beginning of the story, he is left on the doorstep of the Carranza home. Because Tomás de Carranza and Gertrudis de Medinilla need a child in order to inherit a large sum of money, they raise him as their own son. It is not until the end of the novel that it is discovered that César is the illegitimate son of Juan de Palomeque and Diego de Padilla's wife.

In El Visitador, Milla makes use of the same device a number of times. Francisco is reared as the son of the blacksmith Andrés Molinos, yet somehow suspects that he is not of such humble birth. The reader knows from the beginning that he is the son of the famous pirate Sir Francis Drake. The explanation of the birth of Genoveva, who is also reared

as Andrés' daughter, is likewise highly romantic and very reminiscent of El trovador of García Gutiérrez. She is in reality the illegitimate child of Francisco Girón Manuel and owes her presence in the Molinos' household to an intentional switch of babies. Genoveva, unlike Francisco, never learns of her origins, but she also somehow rather instinctively senses the truth. In both cases, it is as if the voix du sang were calling. Right at the end of the story, el Visitador discovers from Grantzius that he is the father of a son born to Estela after she had deserted him. Just at the moment when the dying Enrique Grantzius is making his disclosure, the son appears on the scene for the first time. However, he rejects his real father and embraces the dying Grantzius.

In Milla's novels, the ominous and sinister embozado misterioso is a favorite figure just as he was in Golden Age and Romantic literature: "se embozó en su capa, bajo su sombrero hasta cubrirse casi los ojos."¹⁰ Other characters appear simply as anonymous or disguised figures. At the moment Luis Melián and Margarita Girón see el Visitador during the fiestas reales before meeting him, Luis notes: "Es la primera vez que le veo...; y a lo que puedo juzgar desde aquí, tiene un no sé que de siniestro y terrible."¹¹ The description helps reinforce the general atmosphere of mystery and suspense while giving at the same time a presentiment of the events to follow. At different moments in the same novel, the Visitador, Basilio and Correa all appear as unidentified people. In La hija del Adelantado, Agustina Córdoba disguises herself as a man as does Elvira in the second novel when she puts on Adriano's Nazareno suit in order to meet Rodrigo. In the same novel, Doña Guiomar also assumes a disguise.

Related to disguises is the use of mistaken identity to further embroil the plot. In El Visitador, Don Jerónimo is made a prisoner by Captain Fernando Peraza when he is taken for the protagonist of the novel. Francisco Molinos actually kills Francisco Girón Manuel, thinking him to be Peraza.

In the various novels, objects as well as people are shrouded in mystery. In La hija del Adelantado, a relicario, a mysterious package and a particular key all have a special significance which is purposely kept from the reader for much of the narrative. In the same novel, the faithful Pedro Rodríguez transports secret documents. The melodramatic device of using a secret document appears somewhat more often in Los Nazarenos. Silvestre Alarcón deceives Fadrique de Guzmán by signing a promissory note in disappearing ink. When the latter tries to claim the money due him, he is astonished to find that the signature has vanished. Doña Guiomar saves Rodrigo by hiding documents compiled by her father which are to be used against him. The secret documents which are of most significance to the story of El Visitador are the letters involving permission for the two lovers, Luis Melián and Margarita Girón, to marry. Other significant secret documents are those containing the history of Francisco, which were given to Andrés Molinos at the time the child first appeared. These papers, written in English, are kept well hidden in a box protected by an ingeniously rigged weapon which will kill the person trying to open the box.

Many of the aforesaid romantic devices are placed in lugubrious settings. In La hija del Adelantado, Juan de Peraza appears in the palace

as a phantom to Juana de Artiaga, while outside the mysterious mood is created by the blackness of the night, the heavy rain, thunder and lightning. In Los Nazarenos, César was left on the doorstep of the Carranza home on a stormy night, amid resounding thunder and great bursts of lightning. In the same novel, Silvestre Alarcón, shrouded in the darkness of night, makes use of an empty tomb in the church to hide the book of debts which he has stolen from the casino. Enrique de Altamirano, in an equally lugubrious setting, shows Elvira a grave which is prepared for Rodrigo should she be unfaithful. Often in the novels, the barking of dogs is heard in the distance.

The various novels also present many aspects of horror. In Los Nazarenos, after Silvestre Alarcón has been captured, he is tortured without ever denouncing his fellow conspirators. After he is hanged in the jail in order to avoid an uprising of the Nazarenos, his body is suspended from a palace beam. An even more morbid scene in this novel occurs when César de Carranza makes Fadrique de Guzmán count out twenty thousand pieces of copper before finally killing him because Fadrique had revealed the secret surrounding César's birth for that sum.

In La hija del Adelantado, after Peraza helps the rebellious Indians escape from prison, he is unsuccessfully tortured by officers of the Inquisition. The same Peraza, who had earlier poisoned Francisco Cava, Agustina Córdoba's husband, drugs Pedro de Portocarrero in order to steal Leonor's relicario from him. The drink plus the loss of the cherished item results in madness for the hero. "El médico" Peraza, further delving into black magic, also prepares a potion which he hopes will stir Juana's heart and make her fall in love with him. However, it does not

produce the desired effect and later Agustina dies poisoned by an overdose of the same drink administered by Robledo. Peraza is himself a victim of his own machinations when, after being locked in his basement, he dies of hunger. One of the most horrible of all scenes occurs when the conspirators meet in the "subterráneo" and find his body. A look at the right hand indicates that the doctor in his hunger tried to eat two of his own fingers. The morbidity and horror of the tale are carried right to the end. Almost all the remaining characters in the novel are victims of the flood.

The tragic endings of the characters of La hija del Adelantado established a model for the other two historical novels. Like Portocarrero, César de Carranza in Los Nazarenos and Genoveva and Bonifacio in El Visitador become insane. And like Doña Beatriz, who dies in the flood, a number of characters in the other novels meet violent death. In Los Nazarenos, Juan de Palomeque, whose life was once spared, is finally killed by Macao who, unjustly accused of killing his new master, is put to death in Mexico. In El Visitador, Francisco Molinos kills Girón Manuel; Basilio is killed when he opens the secret box with the firing mechanism; Doña Guimar dies of love; Margarita, realizing the futility of her passion for Luis Melián, meets a similar fate. At the end of the novel, ten years after its main action, Luis Melián, who has become a fraile, comes across the corpse of Francisco who has just died embracing Margarita's skeleton in the tomb. Elvira is saved from death when, at the last moment, she is miraculously resuscitated by Fray Pedro de Bethancourt, but she must go off to Spain to live with a husband she does not love.

In Milla's novels, villains and heroes alike meet tragic ends. However, one feels that the latter are to find reward in heaven, a concept which conveys much the same idea expressed by Sir Walter Scott for his novels when he said: "...the author may, in passing observe that he thinks a character of a highly virtuous and lofty stamp is degraded rather than exalted by an attempt to reward virtue with temporal prosperity."¹²

Although there is much horror and death, Milla makes constant use of the miraculous escape from death. This is one of the most melodramatic aspects of his novels. Juan de Peraza, the arch villain of Milla's first novel, is to be hanged, but drinks an elixir which temporarily gives him the appearance of being dead and thus allows him to be revived and escape once he is in the cemetery. When Pedro Rodríguez is attacked by three men after denouncing the traitors, Portocarrero happens along to engage the would-be-murderers and save the faithful old servant. When Peraza is about to kill Juana in a fit of rage, the servant Melchora Suárez opens the door just in time to save her.

The miraculous escape from death probably receives even greater emphasis in Los Nazarenos and right at the outset of the story, Juan de Palomeque avoids being killed by a bullet fired by the runaway slave Macao when he is stricken blind and falls into the arms of his companion Gonzalo Méndez. Doña Elvira also has a close brush with death when a fragment of an arch in the Church of San Francisco falls down and barely misses her. On two separate occasions, Rodrigo is miraculously saved by Fray Pedro de Bethancourt from certain death at the hands of assassins hired by the jealous Enrique de Altsmirano.

The miraculous escape device continues with undiminished force in El Visitador. Francisco Molinos is about to deal Peraza a mortal blow with a hammer when he is halted by Basilio who shouts "¡Detente insensato! ¡Es el hijo del Presidente!"¹³ Basilio himself is saved twice: once from a fire and once when his nephew Francisco recognizes his voice just in time. Francisco saves another life when he stops his uncle from hanging the servant Brigida. Juan de Ibarra also has a close call when the populace in revolt is about to kill him. Again, Francisco, having a great influence on the people, restrains them because the Visitador has promised to reveal to him the secret of his birth. Luis Melián, supposing that his attempts to marry Margarita will be futile, is about to end his life when he is struck down by a mysterious force which leads to his conversion to monastic life. In Los Nazarenos, religious miracles form a frame around the novel: Palomeque's restoration and subsequent loss of sight after his trip to Esquipulas at the beginning of the book and Elvira's resurrection at the end of the book.

Much of the action of the novels depends on chance and destiny. In La hija del Adelantado, Leonor and Pedro can never realize their ambitions because they are ill-fated lovers. Margarita Girón and Luis Melián of El Visitador, in spite of the purity and modesty of their love, are also victims of destiny, doomed to unhappiness. In fact, in most of Milla's novels the hero is actually called "desdichado," "desgraciado," or "desventurado." Milla himself explains his use of chance when he remarks that "la casualidad..., dígame lo que quiera, hace siempre un gran papel en las cosas de este mundo."¹⁴ In Los Nazarenos, chance determines Alarcón's capture.

César was left on the doorstep of the Carranza home by accident just as "el plazo fatal"¹⁵ was to end. The great role played by chance and destiny makes the reader immediately think of the famous romantic work, Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino.

Milla's treatment of religion, love, honor and monarchy also bears a strong resemblance to that found in both the Romantic and Golden Age theatre. Pedro de Portocarrero, the hero of La hija del Adelantado, faithfully serves the Church, the monarchy (in addition to Alvarado) as well as his true love, Doña Leonor. His every act is guided by a lofty sense of honor and duty. He goes to the gallery of the Casas Consistoriales prepared to give Ronquillo public satisfaction for a supposed affront, before Pedro Rodríguez stops him by his denunciation of the traitors. The common people think that he will surely make use of the juicio de Dios, an ancient custom which establishes the innocence of a person by his surviving a duel to the death, but Portocarrero does not. The Adelantado wishes to have the case brought before the king, who is "soberano" and "caballero,"¹⁶ but even this he refuses on a point of honor. Justice is further associated with the monarchy when Rodríguez denounces Ronquillo and Castellanos, calling for "Justicia en nombre del rey."¹⁷ Ultimate justice, however, is tied up with religion and in the second novel, the author confesses: "La justicia humana se engaña así frecuentemente, pero la justicia divina nunca se equivoca."¹⁸ In El Visitador, when el Conde de la Gomera indicates to his son Fernando Peraza his duties and obligations, he explains that "... el Rey destina a cada uno de sus vasallos al punto que mejor conviene al servicio de Dios y al bien de la monarquía..."¹⁹ Love, which Milla defines

in Los Nazarenos as "uno de los más nobles, más espirituales y más desinteresados sentimientos del corazón,"²⁰ is of prime importance to the women of the novels. The heroine's choice is solely between the person she loves and the Church and in El Visitador, Margarita, finding herself a victim of an impossible love for the poet Luis Melián, responds in a manner typical of romantic heroines: "o suyo o de Dios."²¹ The words are almost identical to those spoken by Leonor when she begs her father to consider Pedro de Portocarrero as a worthy husband for her.

Generally, the characters, whether taken from history or Milla's fertile imagination, lack depth. They are either wholly good or wholly bad. There is very little in the way of gradation or shading. In La hija del Adelantado, both Leonor and Portocarrero represent the pinnacle of virtue and excellence. "Don Pedro de Portocarrero es el tipo de los caballeros de su época. Es un apuesto hidalgo de arrogante al par que simpática figura, generoso, sentimental, y delicado, lo mismo que leal, valeroso e inteligente soldado que milita bajo la bandera de su rey a las órdenes de Alvarado en la conquista de estos reinos."²² To match this picture of undiluted goodness, Leonor is also endowed with superb qualities. "Había en aquella frente serena, aunque no espaciosa, en aquellos ojos grandes y animados, en la nariz exactamente modelada, en la boca pequeña y ligeramente desdeñosa, en el conjunto todo de las facciones, un sello de majestad tranquila..."²³ In contrast, within the same novel, the opposition is painted black. Diego Robledo is, among other things, unscrupulous, treacherous and odious. Agustina Córdoba, who tries to win Portocarrero's love, is completely perverse and covetous. Juan de Peraza, who plays the

part of "médico, cirujano, botánico," and "herbolario," but who is, in reality, the leader of the conspirators, presents an entirely sinister, diabolic, and unsympathetic aspect.

In these novels Milla matches the character traits with physical appearance. A beautiful soul never resides in an ugly body. In his description of Judas Patraña, one of the villains of El Visitador, Milla writes: "...no hubiera sido difícil a un discípulo de Lavater encontrar en aquella fisonomía indicios inequívocos de una perversidad aquilatada."²⁴ Basilio has only one eye, for which reason he is called "cíclope." Don Dieguillo, the villain of Los Nazarenos, is described as "un viejecillo de pequeña estatura, cara picada de viruelas, ojos vivos y penetrantes y labios delgados, entreabiertos siempre por una sonrisa burlona."²⁵

The characters in Los Nazarenos are somewhat more complex than those of the first novel. True, the perfidious Fadrique de Guzmán exhibits no redeeming features and Doña Guiomar seems to be all good, but the other figures appear to be more a combination of good and bad qualities. Even Silvestre Alarcón, despite many undesirable characteristics, almost becomes the hero of the novel. He shows great courage and loyalty, remembering always the slogan of his secret society, "Malo mori quam foedari." When he is tortured, he refuses to name his accomplices. He is sharply contrasted to the page Adriano, who cannot stand the torture of the enemy and confesses the truth about Doña Guiomar's escape. However, despite the fact that Milla makes the characters much more human in this second novel, they are still not very realistic.

Although there is a general lack of psychological insight into the characters, Milla, in some instances, does attempt to explain the base actions of his villains. In the case of Peraza of his first novel, he uses unrequited love to account for the doctor's ignoble deeds. Guzmán's vile behavior in Los Nazarenos is explained in much the same way, and el Visitador's cruel disposition is also supposedly the product of an unfortunate love affair.

One characteristic found in Los Nazarenos and El Visitador which was not included in the first novel is the use of a title for each chapter. The following titles of Los Nazarenos are significant because they contain key words, create suspense, and in general, are typically romantic: "El hijo del pirata," "Presentimientos," "Valorio, cencerrada y serenata," (demonstrating the three-part title which was popular with the romantics), "Los secretos del sótano," "Las píldoras del alquimista," "El ahorcado y su viuda," "Hijo y padre."

There are some facets of the Spanish theatre which Milla includes in his novels, but never fully exploits. In the conspiracy against the government in La hija del Adelantado, he makes the pueblo, which was important to both Spanish Golden Age and Romantic dramatists, side with Alvarado, who represents legally delegated authority. In Los Nazarenos, he sides with the conspirators in their struggle against the government, although the uprising is not really popular but rather a clash between two groups of nobles. In both cases, the pueblo is kept well in the background and not dignified in the manner it was in the theatre. Popular figures from the Romantic theatre are also present in the novels, but they too generally

lack any real dignity or identity. The outcasts of society, el reo and el verdugo, for instance, are present in La hija del Adelantado but lack stature and are nothing more than names. El pirata Sir Francis Drake is mentioned in El Visitador as the father of Francisco Molinos but never actually takes part in the novel.

Unlike some romantic writers, Milla did not show much concern for the "exotic" non-white races. In his novels, he was treating the white aristocratic society of Guatemala almost exclusively and neither the Indian nor the Negro gets much attention. Here it must be remembered that although Milla was in many respects a romantic, he was not a Liberal. In a letter sent to the Moderate Luis Molina, he once remarked: "Me alegro mucho de ver tu resolución para oponerte a las remesas de negritos. Aquí hemos escrito sobre el particular a Nicaragua. Sabrás, sin duda, que Costa Rica los pidió; es cosa que confunde. Aquella república tiene la gran fortuna de tener una población homogénea, y quiere poner café en la leche."²⁶ The most important non-white is the Negro slave Macao of Los Nazarenos. Chomo, the Negro of El Visitador, is characterized by "esa estupidez tan común en la raza a que pertenecía."²⁷ In La hija del Adelantado, Milla uses the Indian Diego Tziguin in a typically romantic fashion: he plays the part of the alchemist who prepares the love potion for Peraza. In the same novel, however, Milla fails to exploit the romantic possibilities of other characters. He could have made good use of the fact that Leonor was the daughter of the Indian princess Jicoténcal.²⁸ He also loses the chance to idealize the Cakchiquel and Quiché chiefs,

Sequechul and Sinacam, limiting them to imprisonment in the tower of the Casas Consistoriales. The Indian chiefs, although viewed rather sympathetically, do not receive the extended romantic treatment.

In contrast with many of his fellow romantics, Milla does not indulge in descriptions of nature. The action of his novels takes place almost exclusively in the capital; usually within a house; often in a dark room or a cellar; and very frequently at night. There is little emphasis given to either light or color and in general the scene is somber. In La hija del Adelantado, the only nature descriptions involve a volcano and a sunrise, which although good are very brief. The action of the other two novels covers a larger geographical area than the first and involves limited descriptions of rural Guatemala. Some scenes transpire in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Mexico, Spain and Italy, but without these countries being described. Los Nazarenos begins on the road to Esquipulas and contains some of the few good nature descriptions of all of Milla's novels. The battle between the runaway slave Macao and the tiger takes place amid a setting of lush vegetation reminiscent of Jorge Isaac's María.

In spite of the preponderance of romantic concepts and devices, there are some elements of realism in Milla's novels, particularly the costumbrista descriptions of the colonial period. The critic Ramón A. Salazar felt that Milla "...logró penetrar, por medio de los cronistas, en el misterio de la sociedad colonial pintando al vivo, personajes, costumbres, vicios y virtudes de aquellas gentes."²⁹ The prime example in La hija del Adelantado is undoubtedly the tournament scene which quickly brings to mind Sir Walter Scott. Another is the public ceremony in which Pedro de

Portocarrero is to give satisfaction to Ronquillo's charges. In El Visitador, Milla includes a fine description of the fiestas reales.

Other costumbrista elements in El Visitador are similar to those found in the cuadros and at the same time suggest the influence of Cervantes. However, this type of costumbrista study is carried on only in the sub-plots and does not involve the leading characters of the story. Basilio, the one-eyed barber, is a picturesque and humorous type who might well be the subject of a character sketch. Like Sancho Panza, he speaks in proverbs which he regularly prefaces with the expression "como decia mi abuela." He is also placed in some Sanchoesque comic situations. His uncontrolled wild dash on the fierce horse Lucifer recalls the experience of Sancho with Clavileño. An equally ridiculous situation involves Fray Pablo Molinos who is made to do penance for his acts of indiscretion by reciting each day, for a period of six months, a Pater noster and an Ave Maria for each one of the eleven thousand virgins. Beset by this impossible task, he accumulates a deficit of 1,222,004 before the end of the novel. Fray Bonifacio, who has hopes of becoming Bishop of Chiapas, goes around mouthing an affected kind of Latin and pretending to possess a vast erudition. When the President consults him about a just punishment for his son Fernando Peraza, for having dared to kiss Margarita, Fray Bonifacio decides that the youth should be whipped, but only gently. The episode was probably inspired by a similar one in which Sancho was whipped. Even some of the chapter headings appear to have their origins in those of the Quijote. A few examples are: "Donde el lector conoce a Fr. Pablo y a Fr. Bonifacio, y verá que el uno era sonámbulo y el otro dormía con un ojo abierto," "Como

el maestro Basilio Molinos comenzó a poner las bases para el engrandecimiento de su familia," and "En que comienzan a prepararse algunas aventuras que han de parar en desaventuras para el maestro Basilio."

In El Visitador, Milla indicates that he was moving toward a more realistic concept of the novel, a fact which was to become still more evident in his next novel. Of course, while he was composing his historical novels he was also writing cuadros and it was only natural that he introduce into the former some of the realistic detail and costumbrista observation of his sketches. After the publication of El Visitador, eight years elapsed before Milla wrote his next historical novel, Memorias de un abogado. With his return to the genre, he demonstrated a change in emphasis and this fourth novel is different from his earlier ones in that in addition to being historical, with romantic touches, it has a more realistic focus. It is an attempt to reconcile the recipe for the historical novel with elements from his cuadros. David Vela expresses the opinion that Milla within this novel "concilió tres de sus aptitudes: conocimiento de la historia, ingenio para hilvanar una intriga romántica y su gracia inimitable de la factura de cuadros de costumbres."³⁰

While most of the realism of the novel is limited to a very minor plot involving costumbrista studies, realistic details are also supplied in the portrayal of various aspects of Guatemalan life around the turn of the nineteenth century. Milla's presentation of the judicial and penal systems includes glimpses of the slow process of litigation in the courts and of prison conditions with all the criminal types, their nicknames and slang. The examinations which the student had to undergo to become a

lawyer are also described in detail. The fact that the story is related in the first person by the protagonist Francisco Roxel also gives a certain realistic tone to the whole novel. Both in the exposure of social injustices and in portraying the sufferings of a young boy, Milla clearly shows the influence of Charles Dickens.

The protagonist begins his humble career as an apprentice in his uncle's tailor shop. While he is employed in the shop, his uncle is killed by a man called el Tecolote. Francisco, having every reason to bear a grudge against his none-too-kind uncle, is accused of the crime and sent off to prison to await trial. He is sentenced to death but at the last minute wins a reprieve. At that moment, he decides to become a lawyer and devote his life to defending those who, perhaps like himself, are unjustly accused. He announces: "...Pongo a Dios y a este hombre de bien por testigos del juramento que hago de estudiar el derecho y defender gratuitamente, hasta donde alcancen mis fuerzas, a todo reo condenado a muerte, sea cual fuere la gravedad del delito de que se le acuse."³¹ After his release, he promptly sets out to fulfill his promise. He is faced with a huge undertaking but is kindly aided by Don Eusebio Mallén, an old teacher, and his daughter Teresa. Francisco and Teresa fall in love and intend to marry as soon as Francisco receives his law degree. Their plans are momentarily suspended when Francisco fails his first oral examination for the degree as a result of having been drugged. Later their hopes are permanently shattered when Teresa dies as a result of being drugged and raped. Despite the numerous setbacks, the protagonist becomes a lawyer and keeps his solemn vow to defend all those sentenced to death.

Both romantic and realistic traits are present in the stories of people Francisco defends in court. The case of Rafael Zambrano reveals a social consciousness and offers a good look at prison life (Chapters XXII-XXIII). This deaf mute, defended successfully by Francisco, represents the grotesque figure so popular in romantic literature. He becomes important to the main story when he brings help after discovering that Francisco has been tricked into becoming Velasco's prisoner. The case of Margarita Vadillo, another rather pitiful figure (Chapters XXV-XXVI), constitutes another digression. The main purpose of this incident is to present the author's views against capital punishment for women. Carlos Bonilla commented on this point by writing: "Aunque Milla militó en las filas del partido conservador de Guatemala, era en el fondo de ideas avanzadas, contrario a la pena capital..."³²

The most interesting minor plot, and one which gives the most realistic detail to the novel, is actually a quadro-like costumbrista study. The scenes are light in tone, rather trivial, showing Milla as the witty and comic writer of the quadros. They center around the widow Doña Lupercia Costales, her family and her tertulia of friends. The episodes involve people whose actions do not advance the main narrative thread, and are only weakly linked to it. Francisco Roxel, Vargas and Velasco sometimes attend the tertulia, but that is about the extent of the connection. Lupercia's family includes five unmarried daughters,³³ and their spinster aunt, Doña Modesta, who is sometimes called Doña Molesta. Those attending the tertulia include the cross-eyed, ex-artillery captain Don Alfonso Ballina, sometimes called Gallina, whose only subject of conversation is

his victory over the English in the battle of Omoa; the sabio Dr. Morales who is a constant annoyance to the captain; and the not very gifted violinist Don Florencio. They all meet in Lupercia's house to converse, to play tresillo and to listen to Florencio's violin. Many amusing incidents take place both there and in the country, where the group picnics. On one of the outings, Don Alfonso and Dr. Morales, both vying for Doña Modesta's hand, fight it out in a duel. The scene becomes ridiculous when the cross-eyed Ballina accidentally shoots at Don Florencio, breaking his violin. The captain finally marries Doña Modesta, but the humorous and nonsensical situations do not cease. Three years drag on before Modesta finally decides that she is not really pregnant.

In spite of the increased realism in this novel, the romantic and melodramatic elements are still quite apparent. As in Milla's other novels, much of the plot of Memorias de un abogado is based on the struggle between good and evil. The two are represented in their most complete forms by the unbelievably good Francisco Roxel and the exceedingly vile Doctor Antonio Velasco. The love affair of Francisco and Teresa is thwarted by the intrigue and treachery of Doctor Velasco, who had been Francisco's fellow student. Although he has posed as his friend, he is jealous and secretly plots against him. He drugs him during the examination period and is responsible for Teresa's dishonor and death. When Velasco stands trial, not for this crime but for killing the mysterious stranger Don Alvaro de Lanuza, Francisco makes a sincere defense of his case before the court. Velasco's life is spared but he is sent off to prison.

The main narration includes numerous romantic incidents and techniques. A key, an embozado, a secret missive and a lugubrious scene involving grave-digging all play a part in the story. Velasco makes use of a key in order to enter Teresa's chamber and drug her. He unsuccessfully attempts to kill Francisco but in an earlier scene, appeared as an embozado wrapped in a cape supervising the digging of a grave for his intended victim.

There are a number of minor plots interwoven with the main one which contain further romantic ingredients. Doña Ana, the daughter of the Oldor Doctor Marcos Dávalos, suffers from a mysterious madness and holds spiritualistic sessions in her home. In a "salón enlutado," under the most spine-tingling circumstances, she is brought back from among the dead. When Francisco is invited to attend one of these sessions, he is notified that he ought to come "vestido de luto riguroso."³⁴ Dr. Velasco is called upon to cure the Oldor's daughter and holds a séance. Numerous scenes of mystery take place in the house, including one in which the doctor moves about as an "hombre exbozado hasta los ojos."³⁵ Doña Ana's madness was caused by an unfortunate love affair. Earlier, when her father was Oldor in Santiago de Chile, the girl fell in love with Don Alvaro, son of Juan de Lanuza. The very night before the marriage, Don Alvaro was discovered to be conspiring against the government. He was sentenced to prison in Spain and after being shipwrecked, was given up for dead. Doña Ana's madness was based on her insistence that Alvaro was still alive. Doctor Velasco cures her temporarily by projecting a fantastic scene with a "linterna mágica"³⁶ which proves that Alvaro is really dead. Later, this minor plot,

developed by a flashback technique, dovetails into the other plots when the mysterious person who arrives in Guatemala bearing the name of Don Juan de Altamirano turns out to be Don Alvaro de Lanuza. He is later found dead and it is for this crime that Velasco is tried.

Although a number of people die in Memorias de un abogado, there are, as in Milla's three earlier novels, a number of close calls with death which might be considered to be of a miraculous nature. The hero is saved a couple of times. When he was on the gallows for the supposed murder of his uncle, he receives a last minute pardon because of el Tecolote's confession. He is saved a second time when Velasco tries to kill him. Once again, rescuers arrive at the last second to snatch him away from death. Francisco has very little reason to protect his would-be-assassin, but when his friend Vargas is about to kill Velasco, he intervenes to save the villain's life.

Milla prefers to attribute some religious significance to these melodramatic incidents. When Francisco narrowly misses death the first time, he wishes to ascribe it to chance. However, his friend Dr. Eusebio Mallén explains that it was an act of Providence: "No fué la casualidad...sino la Providencia la que acudió en tu auxilio."³⁷ Later the hero himself reports that: "Los designios de la Providencia, ...gobiernan las cosas de este mundo bajo un plan que los hombres no podemos juzgar..."³⁸

In accordance with Milla's concept of morality, the villain never goes unpunished. After Velasco has escaped from prison, he is tracked down and in a scene full of horror, is finally killed by Vargas, an officer and former friend of his who happens to be stationed at the prison fortress of San Felipe.

Memorias de un abogado, although containing numerous romantic touches, has enough realistic elements to indicate that Milla was evolving a new concept of the novel. However, the novel that followed some six years later represents a reversion in part to Milla's earlier technique.

Historia de un pepe was Milla's last historical novel and also his last work to appear in a newspaper. It was published in 1882, the year the author died, in Diario de Centro América in twenty-three installments from April 12 to June 23. Although Milla intended to write a realistic novel, stating in the prologue that "Esta historia pertenece al género literario que llaman realista,"³⁹ the main plot represents a return to his romantic formula. As Ramón A. Salazar explains in the prologue to the 1893 edition: "Pretendió el autor hacer de la Historia de un pepe una novela realista y por más que esa escuela estuviera ya en boga, cuando escribió su obra, sus inclinaciones, su factura, le llevaron sin quererlo al estilo y modo a que estaba acostumbrado."⁴⁰

The realism consists of a picture of late colonial life, customs and traditions more than anything. After the author explains the important difference in social status between two of the characters, he adds: "Hemos debido insistir en estos detalles. Pintamos costumbres harto diversas de las de hoy y no podríamos dejar de señalar la profunda diferencia que reinaba entre las clases sociales en la época en que tuvieron lugar los sucesos que vamos refiriendo."⁴¹

As in El Visitador and Memorias de un abogado, there are some costumbrista elements reminiscent of the cuadros. They usually surround the picturesque, but minor figure, Feliciano Matamoros de Peñapalada. This

maestro de armas, also called Capitán Rompe y Raja, constantly uses the colorful phrase "sable y lanza" and, like Don Alfonso Ballina in Memorias de un abogado, can talk only about his combat experiences against the English. But the costumbrista setting is significantly less important than in Memorias de un abogado. There is also a presentation of the paseo and sarao during the Fiesta de Santa Cecilia as it supposedly took place on the 22nd of November, 1810 with all its pageantry and color. It immediately reminds the reader of the scene Milla had used in his first novel to paint Alvarado's return to Guatemala. To further the feeling of veracity, Milla uses proverbs and tries to reproduce the language of the period. He also includes a part of Guatemalan tradition in his portrayal of the famous bandit Pie de Lango. To increase further the traditional flavor of the colonial period, Milla includes the figure of Manuelita Tatua-na, the granddaughter of the famous witch of Guatemalan folklore who plays an important role in his narrative poem Don Donifacio.

However, despite some realistic features, Historia de un pepe is predominantly romantic. This characteristic is indicated right at the beginning of the novel. The first chapter is entitled "Una desconocida a quien sigue un desconocido" and sets the stage for the mystery and suspense which characterize the rest of the novel. The action opens in a macabre setting of a cemetery on a dark and cold night the 28th of December, día de los inocentes. An unidentified woman is being followed by a mysterious man. She leaves a child on the doorstep of Fernando Fernández de Córdoba's house. The reader is not immediately told who the child is and throughout most of the story there is an air of mystery surrounding

his origins. Naturally he turns out to be the hero of the novel, but for the moment the mystery is maintained because the few people who could clear it up keep their secret. Fernando Fernández and his wife María Josefa de Alvarado y Guzmán adopt the child, name him José Gabriel, and pass him off as their own son.

The mystery and suspense are enhanced by the fact that throughout the narrative, José Gabriel has an unlimited and unknown source of income, which is administered by the firm of Andrés de Urdanache and Francisco de Agüero. He lives in the house that contains the cuarto del ahorcado and there is a rumor about a woman's being locked up in the adjacent house. The protagonist suspects that his every move is being watched by someone, someone who is constantly peering at him through a hole in the eye of a portrait which is hanging on the wall of his room. After Gabriel becomes a military cadet, with the aid of the vast sum of money placed at his disposal, he is sent on a mission to protect a valuable shipment destined for the royal treasury. He is accompanied by his friend, Luis de Hervias, and some soldiers. When they are attacked by Pie de Lana and his band, Gabriel is shot and immediately a trumpet is sounded to call an end to the encounter. The bandits mysteriously withdraw and a short time later a stranger treats Gabriel's wound. It seems that this can be none other than Pie de Lana. It also becomes apparent that there exists some bond between the bandit and Gabriel, and naturally the logical assumption is that the bandit is the youth's father.

The love motif is important to the plot of Historia de un pepe, as it is in all of Milla's novels. It accounts for much of the action and

propels much of the intrigue. Gabriel who has been in love with Rosalía, daughter of Feliciano de Matamoros, shifts his attention to Matilde Espinosa de los Monteros, a lady of a higher social class, who has employed Rosalía as a dressmaker. Unaware of being a nepe,⁴² and thinking that he belongs to the upper class, Francisco feels that a girl of a noble family would be a more advantageous match for him. Hervias, Gabriel's friend is also in love with Matilde but suffers in silence and with dignity. In contrast, the vile Diego de Arochena, who is also in love with her, does everything in his power to hurt Gabriel's chances. He tries to make use of the rejected seamstress to promote his treachery. But Rosalía, a totally good person, despite her bitterness at being abandoned, is incapable of scheming against Gabriel. As would be expected in a Milla historical novel, the villain is not as handsome as the hero. Don Diego is described as small, red-headed, and cross-eyed. Gabriel presents a gallant figure but curiously enough is not one hundred percent good; in fact, he is the most unsympathetic romantic hero of any of the novels. Although he is not malicious, he is rather proud, vain, shallow and frivolous throughout most of the novel. He moves from one love affair to the other with carefree abandon and little concern for the person he hurts. He turns his eyes away from Rosalía and towards Matilde after he has been injured in his fight against Pie de Lana's band. The author offers in the way of explanation only this bit of information:

Esto chocará sin duda a aquellos de nuestros lectores, y principalmente de nuestras lectoras que consideren el amor como un sentimiento puramente platónico, libre de la influencia de la acción de los sentidos. Pero hemos tenido que confesar desde

el principio que el afecto que experimentaba nuestro héroe no era por desgracia de esa naturaleza. Si consideramos, además, que la vanidad del joven oficial debió de haber subido de punto con el buen éxito de su primer hecho de armas, y no olvidamos, por otra parte, que las ideas aristocráticas en que fué educado se habían hecho oír en lo más recóndito de su alma, nos sentiremos inclinados, ya que no a disculpar, al menos a no extrañar mucho que el amor del teniente Fernández hacia la desdichada hija del maestro de armas comenzara a decrecer, entrando en lo que podríamos llamar el período álgido, tomando esta voz a la Patología.⁴³

Gabriel is later inveigled into a passionate love affair by Manuelita la Tatuana from whom he is lucky to escape alive. She stabs him when she thinks he is going to leave her. Still thinking of Gabriel's abandonment of sweet Rosalía, Milla speaks directly to the reader: "Es preciso confesar que somos algunas veces muy canallas."⁴⁴

As further proof of the romantic nature of Historia de un pene, the concepts of love, honor, monarchy, and religion persist as well as the typical devices: the lugubrious night (Chapter XIX is called "Una noche en compañía de un cadáver"), chance, destiny and/or Providence, rain, thunder and lightning, the embozado, the barking of dogs, llavos falsas, the anonymous message, the secret document, and secret doors. There are also the romantic figures of el rae, el verluco, and el bandido. However, Milla does not make full use of Pie de Lana as a romantic bandit. He is more important for his concealed identity.

Finding out the answers to the numerous mysteries becomes the sole objective of the villainous lawyer, Don Diego de Arochena. His attempts to discover the truth account for much of the intrigue in the novel. Three successive chapters (XIV, XV, XVI) point out the treacherous nature and are appropriately called: "Una intriga de don Diego," "Otra intriga

de don Diego," and "Triple traición." The lawyer is motivated in his attempts to track down the identity of the various people by his vanity, jealousy and hatred. He is successful in discovering that the woman who lives a prisoner in the adjacent house is Gabriel's mother. She is also the desconocida who left him on the doorsteps of the Fernández house.

Pie de Lana is naturally the youth's father, the person who is supplying him with the great amounts of money, and the person who keeps a watchful eye over his son through the hole in the portrait. At times, Pie de Lana appears disguised as the rich and respected Juan Montejo. Arochena scarcely has the opportunity to reap the benefits of his treachery for he is killed by Pie de Lana, who is later hanged for his crimes. Gabriel is forced to renounce his claim to a respected name, and adopting that of his father, simply becomes Gabriel Bermúdez, taking Pie de Lana's real surname. Now that Matilde Espinosa de los Monteros no longer cares to associate with him, he settles down to live in poverty and almost obscurity with his mother.

Historia de un pepe has more sentimentality than the other novels. The recognition scene between father, mother, and son is most sentimental. Pie de Lana, who has lived an immoral life, repents before his death in another tender scene. Under stress, Gabriel undergoes a transformation and becomes a responsible, thoughtful person. He is rewarded by once again meeting Rosalía and this time, he decides that the humble daughter of the maestro de armas is worthy of becoming his wife. They have three children and then, after Gabriel has been killed in the line of duty, fighting for Filisola, and dying in the General's arms, the novel ends

with a particularly sentimental scene. When Rosalía goes out to the cemetery many years later to pay homage to her husband's memory, she encounters Matilde there for the same purpose. The two, after reaching an understanding, stroll off to live together. In spite of these sentimental interludes, and although the author expresses sweet thoughts of love when talking about Gabriel and Rosalía, mentioning Bernardin de Saint Pierre and Chateaubriand⁴⁵ in the same breath, the work is still a far cry from the sentimental novel.

The latter part of Historia de un pepe is particularly weak, not just because of some inane sentimentality, but because it drags on endlessly. Identification of the mysterious personalities for both the reader and the actual characters of the story occurs several chapters before the end of the book. And although the reader could most probably figure out the various mysteries for himself, they are all explained in Chapters XXIII, XXIV, and part of XXV which are called "Revelaciones," first and second parts, and "Explicaciones." The final scenes, which occur in rapid succession, are very poorly conceived. Chapter XXXVIII, which is called "Desenlace," comes as quite an anticlimax after the main mysteries have been solved. In this final chapter, in just a few pages, the fate of the remaining figures is revealed. The action covers almost thirty years and tells of how Hervias and Gabriel were killed in battles in 1822 and 1823 and how in 1840 two ladies chance to meet and reminisce over the grave of the hero.

Many of the blemishes found in Historia de un pepe, Milla's last novel, also in places mar his others. In general, in the novels the surprise

endings and mysterious characters are revealed too early by a series of thinly veiled insinuations. In Chapter II of La hija del Adelantado, Milla gives a clue to what is going to happen when he allows Doña Beatriz to say "Si yo gobernara..."⁴⁶ In Memorias de un abogado a great deal of suspense is lost because the reader finds out very early that Velasco is the villain; but here the hints are not even subtle. Although the reader could sense the truth by reading between the lines, the author plainly confirms the suspicion in Chapter XI, one chapter after Velasco is introduced, by calling him "hipócrita y perverso."⁴⁷ Then throughout the rest of the tale, Francisco Roxel, who is the narrator, constantly refers to him as "mi falso amigo."

The fact that the novels were written for the newspapers determined many of their characteristics and, unfortunately, their weaknesses. An author who is interested in selling copy, as Milla was, and has attracted an audience, sacrifices aesthetic considerations in order to prolong the narrative. Milla does this by introducing non-essentials such as numerous sub-plots, extra adventures, and unnecessary minor characters. Starting out with only a general plan in mind, possibly not even having the ending firmly established, he often produced a rather loose, wandering narrative. It appears that while well into the plots of the various novels, he made changes whenever necessary and on the spur of the moment, shifted the direction of a story, invented new people or made very minor people of earlier moments gain importance in later action to fit new needs. In his attempts to keep the suspense of a novel, alternating between the main

plot and various sub-plots, he often lost sight of the main objective. This practice was particularly injurious because it added to the already diffuse pattern of a novel that would be read over a period of months.

For the sake of late or irregular readers, Milla was also forced to make periodic summaries of the novel's previous action. As a newspaper man, always conscious of his reader, he also constantly pauses to talk to him in a direct and friendly manner. This naturally makes for repetition in the novels, slowing down the narration. It also explains the length of some of the works. The device, which may have been desirable as an aid in installment writing, is disturbing in the complete novel. It slows down the story and, among other things, results in forced transition which, repeated, becomes rather trite. A typical chat with a newspaper subscriber sounded like this: "Permitanos ahora el lector que lo conduzcamos al gabinete del Veedor Ronquillo, donde se tenia una conversacion que conviene escuchar, para haber de seguir el hilo de esta historia."⁴⁸

Because of Milla's work in the field of the historical novel, he has been called again and again the Central American Walter Scott.⁴⁹ Surely there are many similarities between the two, but that does not mean that Milla consciously wished to imitate the famous Englishman. He never makes note of any such intention as did Manuel Montúfar in the prologue to his historical novel, El Alférez Real (1858). Actually within his writings, Milla mentions Scott only a few times.⁵⁰ No one can doubt the influence of Scott in the popularization of the genre, nor that there are elements of his novels in most posterior historical novels, and that

Milla's works contain some of these same elements, but they could just as well be traced to Dumas, Manzoni or perhaps almost any other historical novelist. Are not some of these inherent in the genre itself? Anyone trying to link Milla's name to Sir Walter Scott might stop to consider for a moment that much of what is in the Waverly Novels is itself of Spanish inspiration. Scott incorporated into his work elements undeniably taken from Spanish sources. He used the device of the embozado, making him seem quite Spanish, and even inserted Spanish words now and then to give an authentic flavor. The concept of honor also holds an especially Spanish meaning for him. In Kenilworth, he describes the following scene in which all are obvious:

"Voto a Dios!" exclaimed Lambourne, his patience appearing to fail him, as he snatched his broad slouched hat from the table and placed it on his head, so that the shadow gave the sinister expression of a Spanish bravo, to eyes and features which naturally boded nothing pleasant. "Harkee, my masters--all is fair among friends, and under the rose; and I have already permitted my worthy uncle here, and all of you, to use your pleasure with the frolics of my nonage. But I carry a sword and dagger, my good friends, and can use them lightly too upon occasion--I have learned to be dangerous upon points of honour ever since I served the Spaniard, and I would not have you provoke me to the degree of falling foul.⁵¹

Ramón A. Salazar finds something in Historia de un pepe to suggest Dumas;⁵²

Juan Fermín Aycinena considers some of the people in El Visitador similar to those of Manzoni's I Promessi Sposi.⁵³ Speaking of Manzoni, it should be stated that although the Italian novelist is mentioned only once in all Milla's works, he comes in for high praise. In Viaje al otro mundo, Milla mentions that he visited the house in Milan where Manzoni died one month earlier, which prompted him to comment on I Promessi Sposi. He wrote:

...esa obra que la admiración entusiasta de muchos críticos ha declarado la novela que se acerca más a la perfección, y superior a cuantas se han escrito en italiano, en inglés, en francés y en español. Sin adoptar un juicio tan absoluto, debe convenirse en que la sencillez del argumento; su interés siempre vivo; que se sostiene sin golpes teatrales ni peripecias inverosímiles; lo bien trazado de los caracteres de los personajes, la viva pintura de algunos acontecimientos históricos, como la peste de Milán, y sobre todo, el pensamiento moral que preside a la obra, hacen de ella, si no la mejor, una de las más bellas creaciones de imaginación del presente siglo.⁵⁴

However, this is not sufficient proof that Milla wished to emulate the popular Italian either. Actually in Milla's novels, characteristics can be found which share points with many historical novels. The scenes of horror in the various novels, for instance, strongly suggest the English Gothic novels of Horace Walpole, Matthew "Monk" Lewis, Ann Radcliffe or Charles Maturin.

In spite of some apparent similarities to numerous foreign works, Milla's historical novels are essentially within the Spanish tradition. Rubén Darío was convinced that Milla's works carried the genuine stamp of Spain and called their author "fruto legítimo de España..."⁵⁵ Some traits which play a prominent role in Milla's novels such as: chance, destiny, horror, the lugubrious scene, lightning flashes and thunder seem to belong more to the Romantic period in general, but others: the concepts and importance of God, honor, love and the just king specifically suggest Spanish dramas of both the Golden Age and the Romantic period. Numerous conventional devices used by Milla are also similar to those found in the Spanish theatre. The political conspiracy, the love affairs where A loves B, B loves C, etc., espionage, servants as

confidants, disguises, darkness of night, secret doors, and mysterious objects of significance are all very characteristic of the Spanish Romantic theatre and the capa y espada plays. The words of Luz Valle indicate this idea in more artistic terms, recreating the Spanish feeling and tenor of the novels:

La vida que Milla nos presenta...es un remedo de la existencia en la corte de España: hombres de espada y capa, enmascarados, damas de refinados gustos, consagradas a cuidar su belleza; época de romanticismo, las anchas rejas supieron del beso prolongado en la noche, la escala, el billete furtivo, llevado entre las manos sedosas de los pajes; y las sombrías encrucijadas vieron el desafío audaz; la noche cómplice de peligrosas aventuras cobijo con su manto de estrellas la agonía de aquellos que sabían morir por su rey y por su dama.⁵⁶

Milla seems to have had something of this specifically in mind because in Los Nazarenos, he has César de Carranza say to García de Altamirano: "¿No te parece que lo que me pasa es una cosa como para una novela de Cervantes o para una comedia de Lope? Si tú, en lugar de estar siempre escribiendo canciones imitando a Petrarca, tu poeta favorito, te dedicaras a componer una comedia de capa y espada, qué excelente argumento, qué intriga tan ingeniosa pudiera suministrarte mi historia!"⁵⁷

Milla taught Spanish literature (at both the Colegio de Abogados and in private classes at home) and was well acquainted with the Spanish theatre. It is not at all surprising that he should look towards Spain for inspiration. The aristocratic, orthodox class to which he belonged felt a real closeness to Spanish society. This was, after all, their glorious heritage. The thirty years of Conservative rule was nothing more than an attempt to revert to the Guatemalan colonial period and for many Conservatives, Milla's novels helped relive the grandeur of the

Spanish colonial system. Moreover, the political and social climate in Guatemala about the time Milla began to write historical novels in particular lent itself to a pro-Spanish vision. The Guatemalan government had been on good terms with Spain through most of its history--ties with the mother country had been severed without bloodshed--and never was the friendship greater than in the 1860's. The Liberal Lorenzo Montúfar was convinced that the friendliness between the governments of the two countries was so great at that time that he feared Guatemala would once again become part of the Spanish empire. As a prelude to the harmonious decade, Milla himself, in 1859, wrote a number of articles for La Gaceta in favor of a proposed treaty with Spain. A pact between the two nations was signed in 1863, and it is not so strange that Milla began to write his historical novels shortly after that date.

Milla's historical novels, although of inferior calibre to those of Scott, Dumas and Manzoni, left a significant mark on subsequent historical novelists in his own country. Agustín Mencos Franco, the author of Don Juan Núñez García (1898), freely admitted in his prologue that he owed much to his compatriot. He declared: "Es, pues, mi obra una novela histórica, género literario que introdujo y popularizó entre nosotros con tanto brillo para su nombre como gloria para la patria, el inolvidable escritor don José Milla, de quien me confieso discípulo y cuyas huellas he procurado seguir en este ensayo."⁵⁸ Milla's influence has also continued well into the twentieth century. Máximo Soto Hall and J. Fernando Juárez Muñoz wrote Milla-like novels as late as the 1930's. Soto

Hall, who began his literary career at the turn of the century, wrote two historical novels in his later years, Don Diego Portales and Sor Juana de Maldonado, which are similar to Milla's. The latter, because it takes place in colonial Antigua, is particularly reminiscent of Milla's works. The titles alone of Fernando Juárez Muñoz's novels are sufficient to establish a link with Milla: El secreto de una celda, El grito de la sangre and El hijo del bucanero.

Despite their shortcomings, Milla's novels all enjoyed a good measure of success when they first appeared. Coming out in newspapers, they carried at least the momentary surprise and suspense to make them exceedingly popular with the installment-type reader and each installment was anticipated with great enthusiasm. The author's interpretation of Guatemala's glorious past further captivated the imagination of his reading public. The novels treated periods that were remote enough for the nineteenth-century reader to find them exciting and exotic.

Even today the novels make good reading. Milla was a master story teller who was endowed with a gift which permitted him to capture and maintain the interest of his reader. Although obviously contrived and lost too soon in some instances, the suspense is, in general, maintained throughout the novels. The plots are imaginative and the characters act in a fairly consistent pattern. In the novels, as in all his works, Milla writes interestingly. His prose is simple, clear and fluid. He keeps his sentences uncomplicated and makes his images concrete. While he demonstrates a keen interest in etymology, he does not indulge in stylistic experimentation.

In the past two decades, although political conditions have caused Guatemalans to pay more attention to current events, Milla's novels have still attracted a good number of readers. Luis Cardoza y Aragón, one of the leading intellectuals of the revolutionary movement of 1944-54, condemned Milla's novels by present-day standards, stating that:

En los últimos años, la popularidad de su novela histórica ha disminuido, y me lo explico porque es una novela esencialmente sin problemas. No muestra, ni interpreta la vida con vidas, sino con simples caracteres. La idealización de lo feudal, verdadera literatura de casta, nos interesa menos cada día... Además, hoy nos parece elemental y manida su estructura; se ven demasiado los hilos en la trama, marionetas sentimentales encaminadas sobre rieles, planas como calcomanías. Es el recuerdo que me queda de ellas. No sabía decir otra cosa porque ya no soporto leerlas.⁵⁹

Nonetheless, even he is willing to credit Milla with being "Un autor popular como pocos."⁵⁹ Proof of Milla's popularity as a historical novelist is the fact that all the novels of the entire Juan Chapín edition of 1935-37 are completely out-of-print and even the 1952 and 1956 editions of La hija del Adelantado and Memorias de un abogado are no longer available. As recently as 1957, R. Almícar Echeverría B. included parts of La hija del Adelantado and Los Nazarenos in his Antología de prosistas guatemaltecos. In 1958, the historian Adrián Recinos said that La hija del Adelantado is "una de las novelas más leídas en Guatemala...en realidad una joya literaria."⁶⁰

José Milla, who was undoubtedly Guatemala's most outstanding literary figure of the nineteenth century, derived much of his fame from his historical novels. He popularized the genre in Guatemala and influenced future generations of novelists. His novels were not only the first of their kind in Guatemala but have been among the best.

CHAPTER IV

JOSE MILLA, HISTORIAN

In the year 1876, the government of Justo Rufino Barrios called on José Milla to write a history of Central America. The liberal newspaper El Guatemalteco dated November 17th of the same year carried the news of the author's commissioning. The announcement included the customary minutiae: the terms of the agreement and the procedure the historian would be expected to follow. It contained nothing particularly noteworthy except for perhaps one detail which at first glance might seem almost insulting. As a stipulation, point number two called for the National Library and other public institutions to place books at Milla's disposal and to keep a record of the same so that they would be returned in due time. This reminder seems hardly necessary for a man of Milla's integrity,¹ but if we are to give credence to the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1876 on the "Collections of historical documents in Guatemala" and C. H. Berendt's concern for the depletion of the stores of these documents,² the direction seems a cautious formality rather than a bit of gratuitous malice. Furthermore, Milla himself had mentioned in newspaper articles some ten years earlier the lamentable condition of historical resources.³ In any case, Milla, amenable to an arrangement which called for one-fourth of the copies reserved for him and a monthly stipend of one hundred and fifty pesos starting the twentieth of September, promptly settled down with five trunks of books and manuscripts at the hacienda Quezada in Jutiapa⁴ where he worked for three years before completing the first volume of his history.

Such official encouragement of historical studies and remuneration for the labor of the researcher were not without precedent. Memorias para la historia del antiguo reino de Guatemala, which probably had been begun in 1833 under the administration of Mariano Gálvez, was completed during the first years of the Conservative rule of General Rafael Carrera (1841). This three-volume history by Francisco de Paula García Peláez embraced roughly the same period (Pre-Conquest to 1821) and was described in Milla's work. However, because of its errors and incompleteness, it was not entirely satisfactory and did in no way obviate the need for Milla's work.⁵ Some works treating other periods of history were also sponsored by the government and in 1837, again under the Gálvez administration, Alejandro Murure produced the first tome of the Bosquejo histórico de las revoluciones de Centro América, the second edition being published in 1877 under the Barrios government. In the following year, while Milla was working on his history, Lorenzo Montufar produced the first volume of Reseña histórica de Centro América with the blessings of the same Liberal government.

The choice of Milla to write a history of Central America was a good one. The author's fiber, combining a scholarly temperament with a curiosity for historical matters, was ideally suited to the task and, needless to say, he was hardly a neophyte in historical research. He had already manifested a marked interest in the history of the Isthmian region and as early as 1865, numerous historical articles from his pen appeared sporadically in the newspaper La Semana.⁶ The most significant proof of the author's competence as a historian was his use of Guatemalan history as a

background for his three popular historical novels of the period (1866-1869).⁷ There Milla had clearly exhibited his skill in handling historical materials accurately. However, as a novelist he naturally permitted himself the liberties of a creative writer who, able to blend fact and fantasy, wisely did not hesitate to reject fact whenever and wherever it snarled the narrative thread of the novels. As a pure historian, he would be obliged to remain faithful to historical events as he found them.

In writing his history, Milla could rely on his extensive knowledge of earlier histories. However, he was soon to become aware not only of the ephemeral character of his memory but also of the limitations of his previous historical studies. He had felt no reluctance in accepting the commission to write a history of Central America but humbled himself before the magnitude of such an undertaking. The prologue to the first volume of the history dated September 15, 1879, reflects a kind of solemn and patient humility which ends on this modest note: "Si el presente ensayo es de alguna utilidad y puede servir de base a otros ulteriores menos defectuosos, consideraré haber satisfecho, en cuanto me ha sido posible, la confianza del gobierno de mi patria, a quien corresponde, en todo caso, el honor de haber dispuesto que se escriba esta obra."⁸

Although Milla states in the prologue that his work will not constitute a definitive study, he confidently cites the pitfalls into which other historians have fallen, their inadequacies, and how he hopes to improve upon them. The author holds that early historians and chroniclers were handicapped by a biased viewpoint when relating history. He does not wish to be guilty of this same kind of interpretation although he realizes how

easy it is to be carried away, even centuries later, by the prejudices of impassioned political views. As a bulwark to his high purpose of objectivity he says: "He buscado la verdad sinceramente y la he expuesto con franqueza, deber imprescindible del que escriba una historia digna de este nombre."⁹

Milla first examined all the historical texts and manuscripts relevant to the period he was to study. For Volume One, covering the years from 1502 to 1542, he tells us that he had to study and compare the general histories of the Indies of Antonio de Herrera, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, and Juan de Torquemada; the history of Bernal Díaz del Castillo;¹⁰ and the other histories of the conquest pertinent to Central America. He also lists titles of other important sources:

...el "Proceso" instruido en México, en 1529, a Pedro de Alvarado; las cartas de éste, insertas en la colección de Barcia; las de Hernán Cortés, coleccionadas y completadas por Gayangos; las "Actas del antiguo Ayuntamiento de Guatemala," paleografiadas por Arévalo; las obras del célebre obispo de Chiapa, fray Bartolomé de las Casas y las "Reflexiones" imparciales de su impugnador el abate Nuix; el Informe dirigido al rey de España en 1576 por el oidor García del Palacio; el tomo 1^o y único de la "Historia del Nuevo Mundo," de don Juan B. Muñoz; los "Varones ilustres" de Pizarro y Orellana; el "Teatro eclesiástico de las Indias occidentales" de Gil González Dávila; la "Historia de la conquista del Itzá y el Lacandón" de Villagutierre; la "Política Indiana" de Solórzano; la extensa "Colección de viajes" de Navarrete; la no menos voluminosa de "Documentos inéditos del archivo de Indias" de Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres de Mendoza; la "Vida y viajes de Colón" por Washington Irving; las noticias relativas al antiguo reino de Guatemala que se encuentran esparcidas en el "Diccionario geográfico" de Alcedo, en el "Memorial de Indias" de Díaz de la Calle, en la obra titulada "Facti novi orbis," de Morell, y otros muchos escritos que sería largo referir...¹¹

But Milla was most interested in those well-known chronicles and histories that dealt specifically with the Isthmus: La Isaroge histórico-apologética, the works of Antonio Remesal, Francisco Vázquez, Francisco

Kiménez, Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, Domingo Juarros and the already mentioned García Peláez. José Batres Montúfar had enjoyed essentially the same histories and the seventh octave of his famous poem "El Reloj" reads:

A las crónicas soy aficionado,
a las de Guatemala sobre todo,
y he grande copia de ellas registrado
del frontispicio al último recodo.
Ni sólo el Juarros leo con agrado,
que también me deleitan a su modo
Kiménez, Vázquez, Remesal, Castillo,
Fuentes y algunos más cuando los pillo.

Although Milla also found these works entertaining, he looked at them more from the historian's point of view. They supplied him with the most information but at the same time most aroused his criticism. The Dominican Remesal and the Franciscan Vázquez suffer less from his critical analysis¹² than do some of the other historians, but still their accounts are mentioned along with the Isagoge histórico-anológica and Kiménez's work as being written in a diffuse and tiresome style.¹³ Fuentes y Guzmán and Juarros receive the harshest treatment. Milla considered the Recordación florida of Fuentes y Guzmán to be inexact, of little veracity and totally erroneous in chronology.¹⁴ He found the Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala (1809) of Domingo Juarros for the most part to be a copy of the work of Fuentes y Guzmán, although the Englishman John Baily had considered it authoritative and original enough to merit translation in 1823. A note at the beginning of this translation indicates that the information contained in the history had come "from original records in the archives; actual observation; and other authentic sources."¹⁵ But

Milla repeatedly and quite profusely cites instances where Juarros is in error,¹⁶ at about the same time when Hubert Howe Bancroft, the famous American Far West historian, was praising him.¹⁷ However, in spite of his sharp criticism of Captain Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, and especially of his imitator Juarros, Milla considers both to have made contributions to the realm of history and to have produced works which warrant consideration.

Milla is most complimentary to the historian-philologist Francisco Ximénez, criticizing him on only a few occasions.¹⁸ He finds this Dominican Friar to be meticulous in most details and fortunately in disagreement with Fuentes y Guzmán on many points. While he also shows some respect for the historian García Peláez, calling him "el laborioso y concienzudo compilador de noticias,"¹⁹ he modifies this in the same volume saying that the Memorias para la historia del antiguo reino de Guatemala was a confused accumulation of news without chronological order. As if to give further weight to this original judgment, he indicates in Volume II several places where the author has erred.²⁰ Milla appraised the works of all these writers by accepting or rejecting their judgment and veracity on specific historical points. He cites exactly where he agrees or disagrees with his predecessors.

Of course, in criticizing earlier historians, especially the chroniclers, Milla held a strong position. To begin with, he had certain practical advantages. He was subsidized by the government so that it was possible for him to devote full time to his research and writing. Also, living in semi-retirement, his atmosphere was conducive to study and writing

and, too, his being away from the capital helped protect his objectivity. The fact that he was also writing in a period of peace allowed for more dispassionate, impartial reporting. Still another advantage for Milla was that all the earlier historical works were made available to him. At that time historical information could be found in five places: 1. National Archives 2. Archives of the Audiencia 3. Archives of the Municipality 4. Library of the University 5. Library of the Sociedad Económica.

Earlier historians did not enjoy these advantages. Juarros had never known Ximénez's Historia de la provincia de San Vicente de Chiapas.²¹ The Mexican Ignacio L. Rayón discovered the Proceso de residencia contra Pedro de Alvarado in 1847, so that no historian from Bernal Díaz to García Paldés had knowledge of this document.²² The actual letters of Alvarado to Cortés, although published in the Colección de Andrés González de Barcia, under the title of Historiadores primitivos de las Indias Occidentales, Mexico, 1749, were not known in Guatemala until Milla's time.²³ The letters of Hernán Cortés to Emperor Charles V were made public for the first time in Paris in 1866 in the edition of Pascual de Gayangos. The Colección de documentos antiguos del archivo del ayuntamiento de la ciudad de Guatemala was prepared for publication by Rafael Arévalo in Guatemala in 1857, and the Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de Indias was published under the direction of Joaquín Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas and Luis Torres de Mendoza in Madrid, 1864. Even in 1876, some of the chronicles had not yet been published. Ximénez's history, which was written in 1721, was not published until 1929. The history of Fuentes y Guzmán, written about 1690, was not published until 1882, the year of Milla's death, and the Isagoge

histórico-apologética was left unpublished until 1892. But as Milla tells us in the prologue to Volume I, he was able to consult unpublished texts while writing his Historia de la América Central. He also states that he had access to the Cartas de Indias, published in Madrid in 1877, and that no other historian or chronicler preceding him had knowledge of these letters.²⁴

Another great advantage for Milla was the fact that his century had produced further historical, linguistic, archeological, ethnographical and bibliographical studies which made, both quantitatively and qualitatively, more information available for the writing of a history of the Isthmian region. Some bibliographical works which had just come out that helped Milla were: "Catálogo razonado de los objetos con que se inauguró el Departamento Etnográfico del Museo Nacional" (1866), "Colección de los documentos históricos reunidos en la parte etnográfica del Museo Nacional" (1872-73) and "Catálogo de las obras impresas y manuscritos de que actualmente se compone la biblioteca de la sección etnográfica del Museo Nacional" (1875) by Juan Gavarrete.²⁵ In Indian studies alone, considerable progress had been made. Francisco Ximénez had found the original manuscript of the Popol Vuh or Manuscrito de Chichicastenango in the beginning of the eighteenth century and this constituted chapters II to XXI of his Historia de la provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala. The first Spanish translation was published in 1857 in Vienna through the efforts of Karl Scherzer. The French version of the text, called Popol Vuh, le livre sacré et les mythes de l'antiquité américaine, was produced by Milla's friend Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg in 1861. The same

Abbé also published a French version of the Anales de los Xahil or Memorial de Tecnán Atitlán (Sololá) in the following year. This Cakchiquel document, written by Arana Xahilá and Xebutá Quej, had not been known until 1844, when it was discovered by the paleographer Justo Gavarrete. Both the Quiché and Cakchiquel manuscripts as well as the erudite works of Brasseur de Bourbourg are credited by Milla for supplying information on the Indian civilizations of Central America.²⁶ Other texts that Milla acknowledged in the same breath are all nineteenth century contributions: "Voyage, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique, por H. Ternaux-Compans, Paris, 1840; Incidents of travel in Central-America, Chiapas and Yucatan, por John L. Stephens, New York, 1842; Nicaragua, its people, scenery, monuments, por E. G. Squier, New York, 1852, Collection of rare and original documents and relations concerning the discovery and conquest of America, por el mismo autor, New York, 1860; Le Mithe de Votan, por H. de Charencey, Alençon, 1871."²⁷ In the year 1876, the year Milla began to work on his history, Leon de Rosny published his Essai sur le déchiffrement de l'écriture hiéroglyphique de l'Amérique Centrale. in Paris.

The striking feature about the scholarship in Guatemalan history and especially in archeology, ethnology and linguistics is the fact that it was being carried on almost exclusively by foreigners: Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, and Americans. Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century, following their independence, native Central Americans also began to show some interest in their own heritage. Guatemala was certainly not the only Central American country to experience an awakening of national pride and

by the 1880's, the air was alive with academic activity in all of the sister republics. Generally, the native works lacked some of the profundity and originality of the studies of the foreign scholars, but they made up for it in enthusiasm. In 1882 and 1883, Antonio R. Vallejo, under the government of Milla's ex-student Marco A. Soto, was responsible for a two-volume work called Compendio de la historia social y política de Honduras. Rafael Reyes wrote Nociones de historia del Salvador, which was published in San Salvador in 1885. In Nicaragua, from 1882 to 1887, during Joaquín Zavala's presidency, Tomás Ayón wrote a history of that country from the earliest times to 1852, which was published in Granada. And in Managua, another history of Nicaragua was published in 1889 under the authorship of José Dolores Gámez. In the same year, the Historia de Costa Rica (1502-1821) by León Fernández appeared. The same author was responsible for the ten-volume Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica (1881-1907). Also in San José, Joaquín Bernardo Galvo published a work called República de Costa Rica, apuntes geográficos, estadísticos e históricos (1887) which was translated into English in 1890. Manuel María de Feralta was the author of two larger histories, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, y Panamá en el Siglo XVI (1883) and Costa Rica y Colombia de 1573 a 1881 (1886), both published in Madrid. There is, however, one significant difference between all these histories and Milla's. The Guatemalan, employed by President Justo Rufino Barrios who was striving to reunite the Central American States, treated the entire Isthmian region. The histories of the individual countries, on the other hand, clearly reflect the resistance of those countries to Barrios' plan of union.

Making good use of all the materials at his disposal and the numerous advantages he enjoyed, Milla produced one of the outstanding histories of

Central America. Beginning in 1502, Milla chronologically traced early explorations in the New World, the conquest and colonization of all parts of Central America from Guatemala to Panama. He paid particular attention to adventures and heroic deeds, battles and uprisings and colonial life and customs. As prefatory material, he supplied a picture of the pre-Columbian era in Central America and a brief sketch of fifteenth century Spanish institutions and history at the time of the discovery.

Perhaps the most salient characteristic of Milla's work is his objective and impartial treatment of controversial subjects. Whereas the early chroniclers were hindered by their proximity to the events, Milla, further removed in time from the historical scene, was able to view it in clearer perspective. The question of impartiality was omnipresent with Milla. Agustín Mencos Franco, Adrián Recinos, Salvador Falla, and David Vela have all noted his impartiality and objectivity.²⁸ Not only does he himself make mention of this important purpose, but he also makes the reader conscious of his efforts to accomplish it. At different times, he cites the greed, cruelty and abuses of the Spaniards, at others, when he can, in order to be fair, he commends the same conquerors on grounds of valor, astuteness and even moderation in their abuses. He considered the Spaniards to be no more cruel or barbaric than the Indians, and while he labels the Spanish Inquisition the "odiosa institución,"²⁹ he also calls the ritual of human sacrifice of the Indians "la odiosa ceremonia."³⁰ This type of objectivity was impossible for the early chroniclers whose works, as Milla tells us, were either written under a commission from the Spanish government or subject to its examination and approval.³¹

What accounted for some of the partiality in early histories was that many were written by representatives of the various religious orders. Milla in Volume II of his history, which treats the colonial period (1542-1686), clearly mentions the animosity which existed between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and takes great pains to include conflicting accounts of the same episodes. The antagonism between the religious orders readily explains why the chronicles should differ in so many respects and why the chroniclers should be so hostile and so critical of one another. The Franciscan Vázquez censured the Dominican Remesal unmercifully and Ximénez, another Dominican, had very little respect for Vázquez.³²

In the question of rivalries among the religious orders, Milla does not take sides. He considers the role of all the friars in the conquest and colonial period to be a civilizing and humanitarian one. Although he agrees with the historian Antonio de Herrera of Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y tierra firme de mar, that the Dominicans were the leaders in the defense of the Indian population, he regrets that the most famous defender of them all, the Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas, was impetuous, radical and guilty of hyperbolic falsification of history.³³ He instead prefers the temperate views of Bishop Francisco Marroquín. Also in his fixing the blame for the delay in the establishment of a university in Guatemala, he finds the Dominicans to be just as guilty as the Jesuits.³⁴

Although Milla's nineteenth-century orientation prompted him to make certain moral judgments on sixteenth and seventeenth-century events, he recognized that it would be most unfair to detach these events from the

intellectual and political climate of their time.³⁵ This concept was not original with him or with other nineteenth-century historians. Montesquieu, in the preceding century, had employed a principle of relativity which demanded this kind of objective and judicious consideration of the historical moment under study. History could no longer be explained solely in terms of kings or battles, nor simply as acts of Providence. History was a product of human thought and conduct and had to be interpreted as such. The Age of Enlightenment demanded a rationalistic interpretation. Montesquieu thought that the course of history and the actions of man were conditioned by multiple factors, such as climate, religion, laws, government, past history, les mœurs, and les manières.

Milla best achieves such an encompassing vision in the two sections which precede the Historia de la América Central. In the four-chapter introduction which treats the Pre-conquest Indian, the author presents, as he says: "un cuadro reducido...de las inmigraciones, religión, leyes, usos y costumbres, agricultura, industria, comercio, etc., de los antiguos habitantes del país."³⁶ In the other introductory chapter, "Breve Noticia," in which he includes a consideration of the situation in Spain at the time of the discovery of America and for whose information he mainly credits William Prescott's Fernando e Isabel and Modesto La Fuente's Historia general de España, he also achieves a broad historical perspective in the manner of Montesquieu. He states in summary that: "Ver lo que era la España del Siglo XV, es indispensable para saber lo que pudo traer y lo que trajo a América. Su religión, sus leyes, su idioma, sus costumbres, sus preocupaciones, sus virtudes y sus defectos,

todo vino a implantarse acá y a modificarse, más o menos profundamente, bajo la influencia de las condiciones climatológicas y del contacto o amalgama con razas que por sus caracteres fisiológicos, y por su peculiar civilización, diferían esencialmente de las europeas."³⁷ Milla's reason for including discussions of both the Spanish and Indian civilizations, which he did not originally plan to include in his history, was his belief that no one could adequately understand the conquest and colonial period of Central America without knowledge of these antecedents.

Unfortunately, in the body of the work, Milla's concern for ideas and institutions is somewhat less pronounced. Even more unfortunate is the fact that neither those antecedents which the historian considered to be so important, nor the study of colonial ideas, customs and government are critically related to the events of history he later described. The application of all the information which Milla supplies and the conclusions arrived at depend on the reader's intelligence and not the author's stated judgment. However, in all fairness to him, it must be noted that the Guatemalan critic Antonio Machado y Palomo explains in the introduction to the second volume, that had another volume of the history appeared, it would have contained a critical judgment, for that was the intention of the author.³⁸ Still, it is quite doubtful that he would have penetrated deeply into any philosophical interpretation of history.³⁹

Milla had one particularly good opportunity to expound a philosophical theory of history when he considered the earthquake and flood responsible for the destruction of the old Guatemala City in 1541. In

fact, he not only treated these events in the Historia de la América Central (Volume I, Chapter XVII), but also in an historical article of 1865 called "La destrucción de la primitiva ciudad de Guatemala" and again in La hija del Adelantado. However, Milla, unlike Voltaire in his treatment of the Lisbon disaster, refrained from any philosophical discussion of the cataclysm, and limited his interest to the purely historical and anecdotal significance of the calamity.

Although Milla recognized that history should be studied from the rationalistic point of view, he was largely concerned with recounting history and molding it into an interesting story. It is true that he was an historian, but he was primarily a story teller.⁴⁰ He could not refrain from embellishing his history with a plethora of anecdotes, a practice he used from the earliest moments of his historical writing. He had already made use of the anecdote in an article of 1865 "Cosas de otro tiempo," composed of three parts: "Mayén de Rueda," "El cordonazo de San Francisco" and "La Iglesia del Cerro del Carmen," and in a short informal introduction says: "Yo he creído que una colección de anécdotas extractadas de las antiguas Crónicas de Guatemala, no carecería de interés, y he emprendido la tarea de formarla, escogiendo aquellas que me parecen más curiosas."⁴¹ He continued this practice of inserting anecdotes in the Historia de la América Central and among these are certain interesting ones which explain place names like Gracias a Dios and Puerto Caballos. He also includes the very famous anecdote concerning Pedro de Alvarado's prodigious jump on that noche triste which is said to have produced the curious name of Puente de Alvarado Street in Mexico City.

In dealing with the Conquest, Milla is enthralled by the grandeur of the adventures, the prowess and noble deeds of great men. In spite of his familiarity with Montesquieu's writings,⁴² he gravitated perceptibly towards a heroic and almost epic manner of viewing history and like William Prescott, whom he greatly admired, he wrote of the conquest in grand terms. However, whereas Prescott chose only one hero for each of his works, Cortés and Pizarro, Milla adopted various heroes from time to time: Los Alvarados, Cristóbal de Olid, Gil González Dávila, and Francisco de Córdoba. The two famous names of Prescott's histories, Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro, are included in Milla's history but are relegated to minor roles.

Unlike the early histories of men like Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés and Bernardino de Sahagún, Milla's study concerned itself little with the flora and fauna of the Isthmian region. Fuentes y Guzmán's Recordación Florida contained many sketches and drawings by the author. In the year 1722, Fray Francisco Ximénez wrote the Historia natural de la provincia de Chiapa y Guatemala, which treated "de los animales, de las culebras, de las aves, de las abejas, de las hormigas, de los montes y volcanes, de las aguas, de los peces, de las sabandijas, de los árboles, de las flores, de las piedras y de los minerales."⁴³ However, the exclusion of this type of study from Milla's work is easily understandable. By his day, those plants and animals that had seemed strange, fierce, or wonderful to the early explorer or chronicler were commonplace. Milla, as he had already demonstrated in his historical novels, was not very much interested in nature. He makes only fleeting references to botanical and zoological life and writes quite briefly of the native plants

and animals such as the quequexque and tepescuttle. Those few items that he does include are taken from Antonio de Alcedo's Diccionario histórico-geográfico (1786-89).

Because of the broad scope of his study and his adherence to the chronological method, Milla was forced to jump around in his narration. He was obliged to go from one geographical area to another, at times even within the same chapter, in order to present various simultaneous and interdependent events. As he relates the Conquest of Central America, he follows the adventures of Gil González Dávila in Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and then picks up Cristóbal de Olid in Honduras. Although Pedro de Alvarado was moving into Guatemala at the same time, he defers narration of this campaign and returns to Dávila who was by that time in Honduras. Finally, he relates the Conquest of Guatemala with a wealth of episodes and interweaves it with narratives about Gil González Dávila, Francisco de las Casas and Cortés. In recounting the adventures of Alvarado, he follows the conqueror to Mexico, Spain, and even to Perú, presenting significant details he felt the chroniclers had neglected. Milla's transitions, without being subtle, usually are effective. Just as in his historical novels, when he rechannels the narrative, he does it in an informal and personal way. He might say: "Tiempo es ya de que digamos," "Como dejamos dicho," or "Ahora debemos decir," so that the reader feels as if he is being considered, even taken along when the author shifts scenes. This intimate atmosphere permeates both volumes of Milla's history in spite of the copious foot-noting.

Much of Milla's commentary and critical analysis, i.e., his citing sources of information and discrepancies in various texts, is carried on in what he calls "notas marginales." All these notes give a modern veneer of careful scholarship to the work, but Milla very rarely mentions a page number. Some of these notes are most interesting because here Milla supplies the titles of the works he consulted. What is particularly interesting is the fact that the chronicles, which had all been referred to as just "Crónicas de Guatemala" in Milla's historical articles of 1865 without indicating the precise titles, have now been individualized. The confusion may still persist, however, in the case of the works of Antonio de Remesal and Francisco Ximénez which have such painfully similar titles as Historia de la santa provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala and Historia de la provincia de San Vicente de Chiapas y Guatemala.

Milla, from the time of his early writings, made some revisions in his historical facts and included them in his Historia de la América Central. As he confessed in his prologue to the ambitious work, by 1879 he had learned a great deal more about Isthmian history. A mistake which he made quite early in his writings is found in his commentaries on José Batres' poems (1845). Prefacing the poem "Al Volcán de Agua," he explains the origin of the name of that volcano and claims that the rupture of the cone had caused the destruction of the city of Antigua.⁴⁴ It is common knowledge that the city destroyed in 1541 was Almolonga, and that the catastrophe was due to inundation, possibly a type of flash-flooding. In Milla's history, both errors are corrected. In a footnote, he states that the story of the break in the volcano was probably only a

legend, but he makes no note of his previous error.⁴⁵ One rather minor change which he made in the Historia de la América Central concerning the narrative of the flood was deciding that the disaster occurred the tenth of September rather than the eleventh⁴⁶ as he had reported in the historical article "La destrucción de la primitiva ciudad de Guatemala." Again he fails to mention that he was correcting himself.

Delving further into history, Milla also changed his mind about some historians. In Los Nazarenos, he called Thomas Gage "el buen religioso,"⁴⁷ but in the second volume of his history, in talking about Gage's The English-American or a New Survey of the West Indies, he says: "Diversos pasajes no parecen tener otro objeto que el de excitar a las naciones extranjeras a venir a apoderarse de este país."⁴⁸ Juarros, whom he attacks so vigorously in his history, had been referred to as "diligente y entendido" in the article "La conjuración de los Contreras," written in 1865. In all cases, it appears as though Milla, consulting and comparing so many works in order to make textual evaluations as well as to ferret out historical truth, ignored his own earlier historical writings.

In spite of the intensity and thoroughness of the historical investigations leading up to the writing of Historia de la América Central, this work is not without error either. Agustín Mencos Franco points out that Milla was mistaken in giving 1663 as the date for the introduction of printing into Guatemala rather than 1659 or 1660.⁴⁹ Antonio Batres Jáuregui, in his article "Don Pedro de Alvarado," indicates two other mistakes. In one instance, he says: "No es sostenible la opinión de

Ximénez y de Milla que aseguran haber fallecido don Pedro de Alvarado el 29 de junio de 1541. Aun vivía el 4 de julio, en Guadalajara, en casa de Juan del Camino, cuando a la sazón otorgó su testamento aquel memorable adalid,"⁵⁰ and in the other:

No se concibe como el Señor Milla, (tomo I, p. 60, Historia de la América Central) presume que el retrato (de Pedro de Alvarado) que se conserva en el Salón de la Municipalidad, sea obra de pura fantasía, cuando el mismo dice que en el acta del cabildo, de 4 de noviembre de 1808, aparece que el síndico don Juan Miguel Rubio, manifestó, "que había hecho las más vivas diligencias, entre las antigüedades, para encontrar el retrato de don Pedro de Alvarado, y que habiéndolo hallado, lo hizo copiar de cuerpo entero, para donarlo al Ayuntamiento." Es evidente entonces, que como antes insinuamos, la pintura que está en la Municipalidad fué copia del retrato que halló el síndico don Juan Miguel Rubio.⁵¹

But, in general, Milla's historical work has been esteemed for the accurate factual information it contains. In 1880, the first volume of the history was reviewed by Salvador Falla for La Sociedad Económica de Guatemala and was considered to be "un libro importante."⁵²

Volume II was not published until two years later and in the interim, other short historical articles of Milla appeared in print. The Diario de Centro América in 1880 carried two articles, "Lacandonia—Expedición al Lacandón y al Itzá," and "Estudio interesante—La población de Guatemala desde 1604 hasta nuestros días." The following year the same periodical carried "Minas—Noticias históricas y anecdóticas sobre su explotación en el país."

The second volume of the Historia de la América Central made an appearance in 1882, but only after the death of its author. Antonio Machado explains that the historian "unas pocas horas antes de su muerte

y ya doliente y achacoso, se ocupaba de corregir las pruebas de las ultimas páginas de este volumen."⁵³ Milla might well have wished to offer up a prayer as had Francisco Antonio Fuentes y Guzmán when he finished part II of his historical work: "Suspendemos la pluma para dar Principio con el favor de Dios, a la Tercera Parte desta Historia, alabando a su Magestad Santissima por auernos concedido con su misericordia el tiempo para finalizar esta segunda Parte...,"⁵⁴ however, continuance of the multiple-volume history of Central America was reserved for another. Milla's cherished friend Agustín Gómez Carrillo continued the historical narration. Although he published three more volumes, he still fell somewhat short of 1821, which was the original goal of the study. Volume III, published in 1895, covers the years 1686 to 1748 while Volume IV of 1897 treats the years 1748 to 1768, and the final volume published in 1905 includes the events that took place between 1768 and 1785.

Milla's history, although limited to only two volumes, nevertheless did realize the prediction of Salvador Falla. Other Central American historians of the same period cited and praised his work. Joaquín Bernardo Calvo, in his history of Costa Rica, notes that he consulted Milla's works, as does José Dolores Gámez in his history of Nicaragua.⁵⁵ Tomás Ayón, another Nicaraguan historian, himself praised by Rubén Darío, lauded Milla's historical contributions.⁵⁶

But not only did contemporary historians praise him, even in the twentieth century the name of Milla commands great respect as a historian. Víctor Miguel Díaz in Historia de la imprenta en Guatemala said of Milla:

"Es, indudablemente, uno de nuestros mejores historiadores."⁵⁷ Others have called him a Guatemalan Tacitus⁵⁸ for his historical writing. J. Daniel Contreras considers him, along with Alejandro Marure, to be the most notable Guatemalan historian of the nineteenth century.⁵⁹ As recently as 1953, Adrián Recinos said: "El ilustre escritor don José Milla...fué a la vez el mejor historiador de Guatemala..."⁶⁰ Manuel Serrano y Sanz in Relaciones históricas y geográficas de la América Central includes his name in a list of nineteenth century historians "dignos de mencionarse"⁶¹ and several Hispanic American bibliographical studies include an entry for his history.⁶² Moreover, all the general studies about Guatemala and Central America make mention of the Historia de la América Central.⁶³ Even more specific studies such as Adrián Recinos' Pedro de Alvarado and Doña Leonor de Alvarado and Dorothy Popenoe's Santiago de los Caballeros credit the work for information.⁶⁴ In short, no historical consideration of the Isthmian region would be complete without a study of Milla's work. Today his history is considered a standard text for consultation and although incomplete, holds an important place in the bibliography of all serious historical studies that treat Central America.

CHAPTER V

UN VIAJE AL OTRO MUNDO

In the year 1874, Milla returned to Guatemala after three and a half years of voluntary exile. Un viaje al otro mundo, pasando por otras partes, 1871 a 1874, published the following year,¹ is the record of those years spent visiting the United States, England, France, Belgium and Italy. It is a large three-volume study which is mainly autobiographical but which at the same time has fictional adventures woven into it.

The basic plan of the Viaje follows the chronological sequence of events: the departure from his homeland, the sea voyage to San Francisco, the subsequent trek across the United States, the protracted sojourn in New York, his long stay in Europe and the return voyage from Europe to Guatemala. Milla assigns the number of pages on the basis of how much time was spent in a particular place. For instance, he emphasizes his long stay in France by writing abundantly about it. And Paris, where he resided long enough to hold a position on a newspaper, naturally receives much attention in the narrative. In contrast, London, where he spent relatively little time, is less important in his accounts. Even in dealing with individual episodes, Milla clearly shows a concern for chronological order, saying in Rome: "Creo conducente al orden cronológico que me propongo observar en la enumeración de las maravillas de la Ciudad Eterna..."² Because Milla spent most of his exile in Europe, the great bulk of the narration and description concerns itself with that continent. The title itself, Un viaje al otro mundo, technically refers only to

Europe. However, Milla was not able to visit Spain. In his narration, he often alludes to that country, but he never places any of the story there. He came close to the Spanish border while on trips to the Pyrenees, but the Carlist Wars deterred him from crossing the border. On the other hand, Milla got to visit some places more than once, which no doubt helped better fix his impressions of them.³ In Italy, although he visited cities like Pisa, Naples, Milan and Venice only once, he was able to observe Turin, Bologna, Florence and Rome a second time. He visited London twice, and similarly made two trips to the Pyrenees. In all these cases, he strayed from strict adherence to real-life chronology by refraining for the sake of a smoother narration from writing about a place twice.

Most of Un viaje al otro mundo was ready for publication upon Milla's return to Guatemala because he had actually composed a great deal of it while still on the trip. Nonetheless, this does not mean that the travel book was achieved by keeping a diary. Rather, Milla used a system of good notes which were later arranged and amplified in order to produce a literary creation as well as an interesting and informative account. One of Milla's purposes in writing his travel book was to acquaint Central Americans with the things he had seen. The following quote explains both his purpose and the procedure he followed: "...me puse a revisar y ordenar mis notas, compuestas de descripciones, datos estadísticos, observaciones serias, en fin, lo que naturalmente debía escribir una persona entrada ya en edad y que se proponía hacer conocer un poco los países extranjeros a los centroamericanos que no han tenido la oportunidad de visitarlos."⁴ The almost scholarly approach is somewhat similar to the

one he later followed in writing his Historia de la América Central and the reader is at once struck by the great amounts of information contained in Un viaje al otro mundo. Besides being highly informative, Milla's accounts also have a great entertainment value. Salvador Falla, in his study of the travel book, expressed the opinion that: "Ningún guatemalteco antes que él habrá comunicado a sus compatriotas, para su enseñanza y entretenimiento, los minuciosos apuntes de las relaciones de un viaje."⁵

It is obvious that right from the beginning of his trip, Milla expected to publish his travel experiences. Considering the copious and careful details present in all parts of the work, it is evident that throughout his travels, he gathered data more judiciously and guarded them more tenaciously than any ordinary tourist might be inclined to do. Milla might well have had his plan in mind, or at least the inspiration for it, even before the trip began. As early as 1862, in one of his quadros called "El chapín," the protagonist visited London, relating his experiences in a letter sent to Salomé Jil. Of course, the story is completely imaginary because at that time, Milla had not as yet visited England. Nonetheless, Milla had a similar focus and made use of many of the same devices that he was to employ in Un viaje al otro mundo.

Even in imaginary voyages, Milla was concerned with the question of accuracy. A number of times in his Viaje, he makes reference to an imaginary trip which Dickens made to Guatemala in the "Nave Fantasma" (an article in the newspaper Household Words). He recognizes that Dickens, never having been to Guatemala, would necessarily have to depend for his information on what he had read in books. He complains, however, that

his experience indicates that in general the "Viajes a Centro América [que] he leído yo...me han obligado a decir al cerrar el libro que debe haber otra ciudad que se llama Guatemala y que no conozco."⁵ This complaint was also registered somewhat earlier in another quadro of 1862 called "Las semejanzas." He considered the German traveller Lichtingsterpstrobachumberlich "de esos pocos que discernen en los países que visitan, lo bueno de lo malo: que viajan con verdadero deseo de aprender, sabiendo que en todas partes hay defectos, y que de consiguiente, no vienen por acá con el parti pris de verlo todo detestable."⁷

Milla, like his fictitious German, hoped to record information faithfully and at the same time capture the essentials of what he was describing. The United States was the first foreign land Milla visited and although a rapid transcontinental trip allowed only brief mention of Sacramento, Salt Lake City, Chicago, Pittsburg and Philadelphia, when he reached New York City, he spent considerable time there and was able to acquire and furnish great amounts of information. His accounts of this city treat almost everything. He describes the political situation, the penal system, municipal government, theatres, churches, libraries, museums, the insurance business, banks, fires, hospitals, boarding houses, Central Park, the zoo and department stores. He supplies news events of the day, mentions newspaper and shoeshine boys, pickpockets and streetwalkers and explains the term "breach of promise." In short, Milla supplies the reader with a very detailed report on the social, political, economic and cultural life of the city of New York in 1871. The amount of factual information is truly amazing.

Milla continued the same procedure in dealing with his European adventures. In fact, here the detailed descriptive information and enumerative reports increase and he has in some places carried his practice to extremes. There are instances in which whole chapters contain only information, for instance: Vol. I, Chap. XX; Vol. II, Chaps. I, IV, VII, XXVI, XXVII; Vol. III, Chaps. V, XXII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXIII, and in moments like these, it is easy for the reader to lose sight of Milla's total objective. Considered individually, these particular chapters could just as well be highly specialized descriptions taken from a guide book.

Sometimes the information sections are inserted into the narration, but their excessive details harm the continuity of the story. Whenever Salomé Jil, who represents the author, visits a famous spot, a complete description of it, right down to the very last minute detail, follows. He reports the size of a building, its construction, the material used, the size of the rooms and their contents and any history or anecdote that might be relevant. As he and his companion Juan Chapín descend into the vaults of the Bank of Paris he mentions that there are forty-three steps; to go to the temple in the Basilica of Sant'Agnese, it is necessary to descend forty-five steps. In Chapter XXVIII of Volume I, after the Chapín is involved in a fight and has been put in jail, Salomé Jil visits him and asks permission to see other prisons. He then proceeds to describe the penal system. In this instance, the device seems too neatly contrived.

The information is usually introduced most effectively by dialogue, a sort of question and answer session between the two travel companions. Because Juan Chapín supposedly does not know certain facts, he has to ask information of his well-informed companion. Salomé Jil is somehow always able to supply all sorts of statistical information. On their trip to the Paris Morgue, he is able to report that in the year 1872 three hundred and twelve persons died in the Seine River. When Juan Chapín wonders as to how many were run over and killed by coaches in the same year, he nonchalantly answers with the precise figure of fourteen men and one woman.

Although, at times, Salomé Jil's volunteering of precise information seems absurd, much of the information is quite valid, being based on actual statistical reports. Milla notes that he had access to the census of Italy of 1871, that of France of 1872, and the most recent ones of New York (1869), Brussels (1870), and Paris (1872). Milla is fond of comparing the large cities in a precise manner. He reports that while London with three million people had 20,000 inebriates arrested annually, New York with only one million had 50,000; Paris with about two million had 36,000. London had 1500 fires in one year and New York, 1100. Paris had 550,000 gaslights whereas New York had 44,000 public gaslamps and 2,800,000 private ones.

The census reports were but one source of information for Milla. As he was closing out his sojourn in New York, he indicated in vague terms some others: "Antes de que termine esta ligera noticia de lo que hay más notable en Nueva York, en la cual me he guiado por mi observación,

personal, por algunos documentos oficiales y por las apreciaciones de escritores americanos y europeos..."⁸ Continuing on to European places of interest, where the amount of data increased, he fortunately indicates more specifically what his sources are. He supplies the names of guide, history and art books as well as literary works. He reports that the work, Paris, ses organes, ses fonctions, et sa vie dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, Paris, 1873-75, by Maxime du Camp, "uno de los escritores que han estudiado mejor el Paris moderno,"⁹ supplied him with information about that city and that Itinéraire descriptif, historique de l'Italie et la Sicile, Paris, 1859, by A. Joseph Du Pays gave the most information on Italy. The other texts that he mentions are: Louis Viardot, Les musées d'Italie, Paris, 1859; Giovanni Battista de Rossi, La Roma sotterranea cristiana, Rome, 1864-77; Ercole G. Massi, Description of the Vatican Museum (n.d.); Jean Jacques Antoine Ampère, L'histoire romaine à Rome, Paris, 1862-1864, and the works of Eugene Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) and Athansius Kircher (1602-1680).

As in the quadros, Milla includes a wealth of references to creative authors and their works. Traveling in several European countries, the names of many famous authors were readily suggested to him: Dickens, Shakespeare, Manzoni, Tasso, Dante, V. Hugo, and P. Mérimée to cite just a few. Although he never entered Spain, Milla alludes quite often to Spanish writers, especially to Cervantes. The direct influence of this famous writer was great, and throughout the work numerous references are made to Don Quijote and Sancho Panza. Another strong Spanish influence on Milla's work came from Modesto La Fuente. Although more famous for

his multi-volume history of Spain, the latter also wrote two travel works entitled Viajes de Fr. Gerundio por Francia, Bélgica, Holanda y orillas del Rhin (1842) and Viaje aerostático de Fray Gerundio y Tirabeque (1847). Since Milla often mentions Fray Gerundio (who is not to be mistaken for the famous figure created by Padre Isla) in Un viaje al otro mundo, and marked resemblances exist between their works, there is little doubt that he was influenced by La Fuente.¹⁰

The influence of the works of Cervantes and La Fuente, however, manifests itself more in the fictional portions of Milla's travel book, which consist of individual episodes and dialogues. Salomé Jil, speaking for the author, only jokingly purports to give a completely true account of his travel experiences: "No sería el primero ni el último de los viajeros que haya llenado y tenga que llenar algunas páginas con acontecimientos imaginarios; pero como me precio de verídico y no soy más que un narrador fiel de los percances que en esta dilatada peregrinación a mi compañero y a mí nos han acontecido..."¹¹

Again, as in the cuadros, Milla is present in the guise of Salomé Jil, but here he is accompanied by what appears to be a completely imaginary person, the ingenuous Juan Chapín. He explains that the idea of a traveling companion was not original. He cites many examples that may have influenced him in this respect: Don Quijote and Sancho Panza, Mr. Pickwick and Samuel Weller (whom he considers to be a nineteenth-century English Sancho), Fray Gerundio and Tirabeque of La Fuente's Viaje aerostático, and Professor Aronnax and the servant Conseil of Jules Verne's Vingt Mille Lieues sous les Mers, 1870.¹²

In the aforementioned cases, the companion has become as famous as the hero himself; and the same may be said of Juan Chapín. In fact, in Milla's work, the servant actually overshadows the master and is unquestionably the more important and more interesting of the two. His presence permits Milla to use dialogue form which enlivens the whole work. Although Salomé Jil affirms his companion's importance with tongue-in-cheek, there is great truth in the following statement: "El inocente no sabía que me era necesario. ¿Qué habría sido, sin él, la relación de mi viaje?"¹³

The Chapín was first introduced as the Guatemalan prototype in a cuadro in 1862 and on being re-introduced in the travel work, Milla states that "Casi no tengo que decirte que el personaje que diz que me ha acompañado en mi excursión, representa al vulgo de mi país, con su agudeza natural y sus preocupaciones..."¹⁴ In the cuadro, he was presented as a simple and naive comic type who possessed an abundance of charm. Unpolished and unlettered, he was nevertheless fundamentally intelligent. For his reappearance in the Viaje, some changes in his character have taken place and it quickly becomes evident that he has evolved as a more complex figure. Whereas in the cuadro his superstitious and unimaginative nature was indicated only slightly, it is clearly exposed in this longer work. In the Viaje Salomé Jil often has to point out to Juan Chapín that he should not restrict himself to the purely literal sense of a word nor be afraid of the unfamiliar. Many of the latter's basic characteristics have become more pronounced. He is certainly much less sophisticated than the Chapín of the cuadro and too often comes embarrassingly close

to being a guanaco. Salomé Jil calls him "ignorante simplón," and "espíritu prosaico, insensible a las bellezas de natura."¹⁵ Moreover, he is consistently guilty of "ensartando" either "impertinencias" or "disparates."¹⁶ According to Salomé Jil, the Chapín can be saved only by "deschapinizándolo."

The development of the Chapín is emphasized even more because of his contrast with Salomé Jil. The sober, proper and worldly master points up the faults of the Chapín in Un viaje al otro mundo in a most glaring fashion. Whereas Juan Chapín is constantly amazed at what he finds on the travels they share, Salomé Jil regards everything with an aloofness approaching cold detachment. At every turn, Juan Chapín is obliged to ask for information and Salomé Jil, the know-it-all, staggers the reader with his knowledge. Only a few times does Juan Chapín reveal a surprising memory, and then for facts only. For instance, later in the adventures, he remembers the exact number of gaslights in New York, and the number of fires in that city in a given year.¹⁷ Whereas new experiences and sights evoke no astonishment or surprise in Salomé Jil, Juan Chapín is confused, duped, and made ridiculous at every turn. By this means, Milla, who is masquerading as Salomé Jil, is spared the embarrassment of direct identification or even association with the happenings. He purposely retains his sophistication and forces a supposedly fictitious person to play the role of the fool. Yet one cannot help but think that the author himself uncomfortably lived some of these experiences. It then becomes plain that this is another reason for the existence of Juan Chapín: he represents in part Milla himself.

In utilizing the chapin type in the Viaje, it is obvious that Milla was thinking of Sancho Panza. Salomé Jil actually refers to his companion as "mi Sancho Panza."¹⁸ In Chapter XXV of the first tome of the Viaje, a portion of which is called "Don Quijote y Sancho Panza," Milla allows a secondary character by the name of Pelayo Alonso de la Quijada to even recognize in the Chapin a "parecimiento exterior con Sancho Panza." Milla's interesting description of the Chapin clarifies his intent: "Un mozo como de treinta y dos años, carirredondo, barbilampino, patiestevado, de mediana estatura, pelo negro que busca siempre la perpendicular, por más que peine procure inclinarlo hacia la horizontal, labios un tanto abultados, que dejan ver, al abrirse, dos hileras de blancos, fuertes y parejos dientes; sonrisa entre triste y burlona; ojos negros, en los cuales hay un si es no es de malicioso y escéptico que contrasta con el tono general de su fisonomía, tranquila y bonachona."¹⁹

The similarities do not end with the physical description, for the Chapin also shows some of Sancho's mental characteristics. Like Sancho, he is practical. When he and Salomé Jil visit the educational facilities of New York City and find that women are attending school, he comments: "¿No le parece que era mejor que no aprendieran astrología y que les enseñaran a guisar, lavar y remendar la ropa?"²⁰ Also, like Sancho, he has a rather earthy, homespun philosophy and is wont to use proverbs, although not quite as often as his Spanish counterpart.

Milla also places Juan Chapin in "Sanchoesque" situations and there are at least two occasions which strongly suggest Sancho's dreams of a kingdom to govern. In Italy, he gazes at a palace and wonders what it

would be like to be its owner. In an ecstatic moment, he asserts that: "Cambiaría mi nombre, me llamaría el Príncipe Chapín y me daría un tono, que para hablarme había de ser por escrito y en papel sellado. Comería solo arroz revuelto con perlas y lenguas de pericos..."²¹ In another place, he reaffirms similar hopes for a kingdom when he states: "Ya verá usted como si a mí me toca un día de tantos encontrarme un pedazo de tierra que no sea de nadie, lo ocupo desde un luego y le pongo Chapín; y después que venga otro y me lo quite, a ver si puede."²²

The preceding quotation is important because it not only reflects an aspiration which is reminiscent of Sancho, but it also proves that the two figures are dissimilar. The words "y después que venga otro y me lo quite, a ver si puede" clearly indicate that the Chapín is much more a fighter than Sancho ever wished to be.²³ Much like Don Quijote, the Chapín will actually fight for an ideal, against overwhelming odds, and at the slightest provocation. His quixotic characteristics come to the fore after he falls in love with the Condesa de Parabobas, who is referred to as "su Dulcinea."²⁴ Upon discovering her at the Folies-Bergère in the company of two Americans, Mr. Aquiles W. Bully and Mr. Hercules O. P. Bigbody, the Chapín is terribly vexed at first but manages to control himself until he notices that one "yankee se tomaba con la dama ciertas pequeñas libertades que...no se habría permitido ni aún en privado, y mucho menos delante de mil espectadores."²⁵ Completely incensed, he charges the theatre box belonging to his enemy and a humorous bout takes place. He has little chance against the superior forces but receives help in the struggle from Pelayo Alonso de la Quijada, "quien viendo a

su amigo en batalla con dos descomunales gigantes, acudió en auxilio del menesteroso."²⁶ But, even Quijada, a "tataranieto" of Don Quijote, is much less like his famous predecessor than is Juan Chapín. Somewhat earlier in the narrative of the Viaje, Juan Chapín engaged in a duel with this same descendant of Don Quijote, along with eight of his countrymen who were perpetually involved in discussions about the political situation in Spain. The Chapín, who is challenged by the entire group and has the choice of fighting any one of the nine, fearlessly chooses to engage all of them. However, when he appears in the Bois de Boulogne at the appointed hour, the scene quickly degenerates into farce. Given the choice of weapons, he selects stones.²⁷ His first opponent, assuring him that such a weapon is degrading to the gentlemanly art, persuades him to abandon the use of such a primitive weapon. He next chooses "un enorme cuchillo salvadoreño"²⁸ and the duel commences. The Chapín's strange movements so befuddle his adversary, who has been schooled in more orthodox manoeuvres, that the Guatemalan succeeds in disarming him. Confidently he shouts, "Venga otro, si quiere."²⁹ The others, more amused than fearful and not being malicious people, pursue the matter no further.

The hilarious duel scene is only one of many instances in which the Chapín appears ridiculous, without realizing it. José Rodríguez Cerna rightly felt that the Chapín "Es el hombre que va dispuesto a que no le tomen el pelo."³⁰ In London, when Juan Chapín observed "el hombre anuncio" who carried announcements on boards which were fastened to both his

front and back, he made it perfectly clear that "Mejor pedía limosna que ponerme en ridículo, encerrándome entre dos tablas, cubierto de letrotas de imprenta. Figúrese usted, patrón, lo que dirían de mí mis paisanos si me vieran en semejante facha,"³¹

Because Juan Chapín did not wish to appear ridiculous, Salomé Jil found it exceedingly difficult to force him into his Sancho role and when the two prepare to take a trip into a mountainous region of France, he reports: "Hice los mayores esfuerzos para convencer a Chapín de que debía montar el asno; pero me contestó que prefería subir a pie y cargado con la silla, si era necesario. Que él no era ningún Sancho Panza para caminar en burro, y que si sabían en la parroquia que había montado en semejante animal, para qué quería más?"³² However, at the end of the long trip, Juan Chapín, wishing to avoid the prolongation of his agony in a stagecoach ride across Guatemala, asks permission to ride horseback. Ironically, he has selected a steed during the night which by the light of day turns out to be a "mula" which is both "coja y tuerta" and as Milla says: "...como la moza asturiana que servía en la venta donde paró don Quijote, del un ojo tuerta y del otro no muy sana; y cuando la sacaron del establo para enjaezarla, se advirtió que el movimiento que hacía al andar, no era muy acompasado, lo que se debía a un antiguo Hormiguillo, de que jamás habían logrado curarla."³³

It would also be difficult for the reader to make Juan Chapín play the part of Sancho Panza, or even attempt to classify him strictly as such. Allusions to Sancho are numerous and obvious, but then there are those made to Don Quijote as well, some of which have been pointed out.

Like the hero of Daudet's famous Tartarin de Tarascon, Juan Chapín seems to be a combination of both Sancho Panza and Don Quijote. Although Salomé Jil stands in contrast to Juan Chapín in many ways, he does not represent the opposite pole and the real antithesis exists solely in the one person. The complexity of a seemingly ingenuous Juan Chapín becomes apparent only when one recognizes this duality.

Recognition of the two sides of the Chapín's personality, however, is facilitated by the fact that his behavior fluctuates quickly and dramatically between the two extremes. He can be the practical person one minute and the idealist the next and even in similar situations, does not respond consistently. In New York, when he was challenged to a duel by Mr. Bully and Mr. Bigbody, he had the good sense to refuse. Although Salomé Jil assured him that "...en eso de los desaffos, la dificultad estaba en el primero; y que si se batía una vez, ya vería como lo hacía después por cualquier bagatela, como quien se toma un vaso de agua," Juan Chapín adopted a very practical view and insisted that "...se batiría la segunda, tercera o cuarta vez siempre que fuese necesario; pero que por nada de este mundo lo haría por primera vez; y que viera yo como componía aquello, que no aceptaba el desaffo, así lo mataran."³⁴ But yet we remember that, faced with a similar situation in the theatre scene, through respect and love for the Condesa de Parabobos, he blindly and foolishly attacks the two Americans. Also we remember that in France, against insurmountable odds, he heroically but dangerously offers to engage all of Quijada's company in battle. Because of the Chapín's complexity, he is a far more interesting character than Salomé Jil.

The two Americans who cause the Chapin infinite troubles, Mr. Bigbody and Mr. Bully, share much of the narrative tale with the two main characters. In the United States and also across Europe, they appear at odd moments, often to the amazement and chagrin of the Chapin. The fact that these menacing figures were quite in the habit of getting the better of the Chapin never seemed to daunt him however. In New York, while riding on a bus, the innocent Chapin has his watch stolen by Mr. Bully in disguise. Afterwards he buys it back from the same gentleman without recognizing him in his new disguise as an Italian. In a spiritualist session, he again fails to recognize Mr. Bully and loses money to the famous Dr. Sanford. At the racetrack in France, both Mr. Bigbody and Mr. Bully convince him to bet against his own horse by carrying a side wager of more consequence with them. When his horse wins the race, he is obliged to pay the earnings to the clever, unprincipled pair. This sort of thing happens repeatedly, but the Chapin, further reflecting quixotic characteristics, continues unabashed. Since Juan Chapin is portrayed as the typical Guatemalan, it may be assumed that Mr. Bigbody and Mr. Bully represent Milla's concept of the typical American or of the American government in its dealings with its southern neighbors.

Not only the two Americans, but just about everyone seems to possess the knack of making the Chapin appear ridiculous. He sells his hat to a xopavejero for a franc and a half and then buys it back for a new one at a price of ten francs after it has merely been blocked.³⁵ After he has bought a suit from a store which advertises that goods not fully meeting with the customer's approval may be returned, he finds much to his dismay

that the clerk in the shop will not give him back his money. He finally has to sell the ill-fitting and by then disintegrating garment to a ropa-vejero at a huge loss.

All the more important characters in Un viaje al otro mundo--and actually they are very few considering the size of the travel work--have specific and purposeful names. Some are blessed with even more than one humorous name. Juan Chapín calls Mr. Bigbody, "don Tragaldabas"; Pelayo Alonso de la Quijada refers to the Chapín as "Juan Pantuflas" and at the carnival the disguised Condesa de Parabobos goes by the name of "Princesa Malatesta." Besides these names, there are some glowing epithets which the picturesque characters hurl back and forth at one another. The only really minor person with a concocted name, the insurance man A.J.P. Life-preserver, is introduced early in the narrative before the important re-appearing characters assume their roles (Vol. I, Chap. VII). Once Milla introduces Mr. Bigbody, Mr. Bully, the Condesa de Parabobos and Pelayo Alonso de la Quijada, he uses them over and over again throughout most of the book. It is not until towards the end of the European adventures in Chapter XIV of tome three, part of which is entitled "Fin de tres personajes que figuran en esta verídica historia," that the first three are rudely dismissed from the story. The fourth just seems to disappear late in the narrative without fanfare. Minor characters like the ropa-vejero and clerk, as well as the callejeras, rateros, prenderos and "landladies," have not been given specific names, and are known only by their professions. A few, as in the cuadros, are simply called Fulano, Mengano, Zutano or Perencejo.

Not only does Milla give humorous names to his creations, but humor in general is important throughout the entire work. The title itself heralds the author's wit. When the literal minded Chapín hears that he is to accompany Salomé Jil on "un viaje al otro mundo," he becomes frightened, saying: "—Al otro mundo no. Bien sé que allá hemos de ir todos más tarde o más temprano; pero yo estoy empezando a vivir, digamos, y además no vine preparado para tan semejante viaje. Mejor es dejar que la muerte venga cuando Dios quiera, y no ir a buscarla antes de tiempo."³⁶ Salomé Jil promptly assures him however that "the other world" is Europe. When Milla explains the title to "A la Que o Al Que Leyere" Un viaje al otro mundo, he laughingly says: "...título que espero no te asustará (perdóname el tuteo) ni hará dejes a un lado este librito, diciendo que no te sientes con ganas de ir a esas remotidades de donde nadie vuelve."³⁷

Generally, humor is accomplished in much the same way as in the guedes. In addition to the humorous characters, names and episodes already discussed, a contrast of incongruous elements also accounts for a good bit of the humor present in the Viaje. The contrast often takes the form of excessive scholarship. In describing the visit to Pompeii, Milla devotes a number of pages to the reading of inscriptions. This erudition is made palatable by many frivolous adventures.

The prime example of this mélange of contrasting elements, however, is to be found in Chapter XXIX of Volume I. Here Salomé Jil scolds his travel companion for his fits of temper which provoked the embarrassing fight with Mr. Bigbody and Mr. Bully in the Folies-Bergère. He first delivers a highly technical speech on la cólera, a passion he describes

as "...hervor impetuoso de la sangre, suscitado por el odio, la injuria o el desprecio. Esta voz se deriva del griego chole, bilis, porque su exaltación remueve este humor y se observa que los animales más biliosos son también los más irascibles. La cólera es una de las pasiones más terribles; enciende las querellas, origina guerras, causa desastres incalculables y suscita síntomas espantosos en la economía del cuerpo humano."³⁸ The almost scientific considerations given to this passion contrast sharply with the prosaic, farcical scene in which it is displayed.

Very often, Milla depends on exaggeration for producing humor. Continuing with his consideration of cólera and the Chapin's vexed state, Milla undoubtedly exaggerates in his description of Juan Chapin's supreme moment of rage, when he writes: "Yo te ví anoche con el rostro encendido; los ojos chispeantes; la boca cubierta de espuma; las glándulas salivales secas por el espasmo nervioso; rígido todo el aparato muscular, estimulado por el acceso continuo de una sangre ardiente; erizados los pelos del cuero cabelludo; la lengua balbuciente; rechinando los dientes, las facciones descompuestas; los labios entreabiertos y jadeantes; los miembros todos temblorosos y próximos a entrar en convulsión; el tinte lívido; la economía animal toda, en fin, alterada, y tú convertido en un ser enteramente nuevo para mí."³⁹ He carries his exaggerations still further, by asking a question, which ends in a series of adjectives stressed on the antepenultimate syllable: "¿Y por quién tanto furor por una belleza problemática, apócrifa, cosmética, paradógica, pérfida, cómica y satánica?"³⁹ The exaggeration becomes even more ridiculous when Salomé Jil abandons prose and composes a sonnet in imitation of Argensola. His

reason for using poetry is simply to impress the Chapín. He comments on the Latin quote, Iram qui vincit, hostem superat maximum with "...no quise acompañar la traducción castellana, para que hiciera más efecto en el ánimo de mi auditorio."⁴⁰ With his chastisement of the Chapín, Salomé Jil was capable of bringing tears to his friend's eyes, but laughter to his reader. Milla recognized that he was exaggerating and as in the case of his cuadros ("mis bocetos no son retratos, sino caricaturas"), he states in the introduction to the Viaje: "No olvides tampoco, lectora amabilísima, o carísimo lector, que éstos son cuadros de brocha gorda, y sírvate esa reflexión para no hacerme cargo por algunas exageraciones que tu buen juicio sabrá reducir a los justos límites."⁴¹

Milla's clever handling of language in the Viaje also produces much humor. He relies on numerous quotes in foreign languages, definitions and even technical linguistic considerations, but at the same time, contrasts his display of erudition with slang and incorrect language. The Chapín's ordinary speech in particular, even discounting his frequent errors, is picturesque and amusing. It is flavored with the interesting expressions of an average Guatemalan of that day, expressions which might be called "chapinismos." His vocabulary includes words like "aínda mas," "míca," "otomías," "patójo,"⁴² and some favorites which were identified in the chapter on the cuadros: "bolos," "pisto," and "chucho." Although Spanish is his native tongue, Juan Chapín commits many humorous mistakes. He confuses the "Campos Eliseos" with "Campos Ilícitos" and "Campos Cilicios"; "filantropía" and "misanthropía"; "bulevares" and "olivares o bolivares"; "subsídío" and "suicídío"; "incineración" and "enserrenación";

"obeliscos" and "oliscos"; "istmo" and "abismo."⁴³ He distorts "larangitis crónica" into "naranjitis crónica," "jardines zoológicos" into "jardines ológicos" and "cataclismo" into "tataclismo."⁴⁴

Whereas Juan Chapín inadvertently transforms words, Salomé Jil indulges in the same sport fully aware of what he is doing. When Juan Chapín has his fortune told in New York and the fortune teller refers to his homeland as "Gatamala," Salomé Jil, who is afraid that his superstitious friend is once again being hoodwinked, says: "...creo que ella es la mala gata y tú el ratón que vino a caer entre sus uñas."⁴⁵

Nor is the play on words altogether limited to Spanish. Milla is fond of a sort of bilingual punning which also appears quite often in the cuadros. Many puns depend on a knowledge of two languages, and once again the Chapín's innocence is exploited. He thinks "scherzo" is "esquerzo"; "nous verrons" is "nubarrón"; and does not realize that what sounds like "burro" in English is actually "mantequilla."⁴⁶ Early in the trip, he cannot understand why in the United States, in order to call for service, one should call out "boy" and not "ven." In Italy, he puns moderately with the words "Siquis" and "Noquis"; in France with the words Picaro and Picardía, but then later in the journey puns in an exaggerated manner when he says: "Yo propongo...aprovechar el rato que estamos en Barbadas para desbarbarme."⁴⁷ Then to make it worse a "bárbaro barbero"⁴⁸ performs that service.

Milla's linguistic humor sometimes depends on a knowledge of philology. When Juan Chapín converts the Roman catacombs into "catatumbas,"

Salomé Jil explains that the word is composed of two parts, both from Greek, kata, meaning near, and tumbos, tomb and that therefore, at least this one time, his friend has not committed a "disparate."

The Viaje, which takes place almost exclusively in foreign lands, is rich in foreign words and expressions. Most often Milla uses random insertions of "palabras sueltas"; less frequently he uses full lines of quote. Again, as in the cuadros, if the expressions are not readily understandable, he gives a translation. When he has Salomé Jil say "Good night; beware of pickpockets," he then supplies "Buenas noches; cuidado con los ladrones." However, in using a word like "speech," which he assumes everyone knows, he does not translate it.

Since the Chapin has trouble with his own language, it is no wonder that he experiences difficulty in learning a foreign tongue. Salomé Jil in one place frankly calls him "ignorantisimo de los idiomas."⁴⁹ His lack of linguistic talent places him at a tremendous disadvantage in his travels and many ridiculous situations occur as a result of it. Despite his long stay in Europe, he never learns any foreign tongue, but this does not prevent him from arriving home in Guatemala affecting a kind of French which Salomé Jil calls "jerigonza medio francesa." Shortly after his return, upon encountering a fat Salvadoran woman who has fallen on top of a little canary, he exclaims: "Ella ha ecrasado un piseau." She indignantly calls him "el indio inglesado, chucán."⁵⁰

Besides the already mentioned similarities between the Viaje and the cuadros, some of the native types appear in both works: the cucuxque, zajorín, lana and guanaco. Actually some of the episodes could

even be taken out of the travel work to form cuadros. The travel book is constructed in much the same way as the short costumbrista novel "El esclavo de don Dinero" and the related cuadros about Tío Climas. It has the same simple, linear construction with its story always moving forward. Like "El esclavo de don Dinero," the Viaje ends where it began.

But despite the fact that the story in the Viaje moves relentlessly forward, Milla at times interrupts the main thread of the story to present interesting little tales. The inspiration for them is usually prompted by something that Salomé Jil and his companion observe on their journey: a building, a statue or a painting. In the National Museum in Naples, the mere sight of the statue of Psyche prompts the telling of the corresponding myth. A second story concerning Hermes and Afrodite quickly follows it. In Rome, the Chapín wants to know what person is represented by a statue in a particular fountain and Salomé Jil answers: "Es Moisés... y esa estatua tiene su historia."⁵¹ He then proceeds to tell the story. When they observe the statue of Pompey, Juan Chapín again gives Salomé Jil the chance to build a story around both the statue and Julius Caesar.

Unlike Milla's other works, the Viaje reveals a considerable interest in nature and the outdoors in general. Much of this stems from the fact that during his travels, he was quite naturally experiencing a certain amount of nostalgia, which undoubtedly moved him to remember, admire and paint what he had taken for granted for such a long time. As Milla travels across the United States, many things remind him of his native Guatemala. When Salomé Jil observes the enormous peak of Grey Mountain in

the western part of the United States, he is reminded of the Volcán de Agua, and at the same time of a stanza of a poem by the Guatemalan José María Urioste. In Europe the mountains again suggest those of Guatemala: "Tenía delante de mí esas masas enormes de granito, de esquitas, de calcáreas, etc. que se elevan hasta más de 14 mil pies sobre el nivel del mar; siendo más altas, de consiguiente que los más elevados de los picos volcánicos de Guatemala."⁵² The Volcán de Agua is again recalled when Milla contemplates Mt. Vesuvius.⁵³ Even aboard the transcontinental train, when Juan Chapin is forced to sleep next to the rumbling hulk who is later identified as Mr. Bigbody, he is reminded of the volcano Izalco in El Salvador.⁵⁴ The Italian sun evokes further remembrances of home: "El sol de Italia, que me recordó el de nuestra América, ilumina, desde un cielo azul y despejado, aquel espléndido cuadro."⁵⁵

Even in the earliest portions of the narrative, the ones dealing with his departure from Guatemala, he shows a more pronounced interest in nature.

Yo iba admirando la lujosa vegetación de la costa. Aquellos árboles corpulentos, cuyas ramas entrelazadas forman un intrincado laberinto, a uno y otro lado del camino; y aquellas plantas parásitas que los revisten de flores las más vistosas y variadas y aquel canto de los alegres moradores de las selvas vírgenes, que despedían al sol, próximo a ocultarse en las plateadas aguas del Pacífico; y aquella brisa de la tarde que con su suave ambiente mitiga el calor canicular, y equal...y aquella... en fin, todo lo que puede admirar cualquiera que, montado en una mula que no sea de trote, viaje por cualquier punto de nuestras costas, durante el corto crepúsculo que une el día a la noche en las regiones intertropicales.⁵⁶

Of course, it must be remembered that the first adventures of the Viaje were not written until later, as the footnote on page nine of Volume I

reminds the reader: "Debe tenerse presente que toda esta parte del Viaje ha sido escrita en Europa." This is important because it means that Milla had time to reflect and become nostalgic about Guatemala before writing down his impressions of that part of the trip.

Although some interest is shown in nature descriptions throughout the entire three volumes, there is less towards the end of the work. Probably the reason for this is that the last parts of the travel book were not written until Milla had returned to Guatemala, where he no longer had cause for nostalgia. Although Milla pays more attention to nature in Viaje than in his other works, it still does not play a dominant role.

Throughout the Viaje, Milla shows himself to be a person who loves his homeland. He created Juan Chapín to represent the Guatemalan people and although he quite often makes him appear ridiculous, he does look upon him with sympathy and affection, endowing him with many commendable characteristics. Salomé Jil, who often has to console the Chapín, is aided by the fact that "...muy guatemalteco en esto, como en otras muchas peculiaridades de su carácter, no conservaba por mucho tiempo una idea desagradable."⁵⁷ Upon returning to Guatemala, Milla reflects on the favorable conditions of his country: "...el carácter dócil, bueno, hospitalario de los habitantes, la inteligencia despejada de éstos, que los hace fácilmente susceptibles de cultura, y otras favorables condiciones, son otras tantas ventajas del país donde nos ha tocado nacer..."⁵⁸ There is only one other place where Milla characterizes a whole national group. He credits the English with sobriety, but in his opinion: "carecen de entusiasmo: son fríos, exactos y calculadores."⁵⁹

Surprisingly, Milla's love for Guatemala and its people was one reason why Enrique Gómez Carrillo could never appreciate him. To the cosmopolitan Gómez Carrillo, Milla was nothing more than an unsophisticated provincial who limited himself too much to Guatemala and therefore could never understand or feel at home in Europe. However, Milla was not as provincial or limited as Enrique Gómez Carrillo thought. He was not so absorbed by his love for Guatemala that he could not appreciate other lands. While visiting many countries, and while finding much to criticize and laugh about, he nevertheless had a great deal of good to say about them. Salomé Jil plainly says to his companion: "He ahí, amigo Chapín...una de las ventajas de salir uno de su país y recorrer las tierras extranjeras. Por tus propios ojos comienzas ahora a ver todo lo que hay de grande y de admirable en estas naciones, que con más elementos que nosotros, han podido realizar maravillas que te habrían parecido fabulosas, si te las hubieran referido."⁶⁰

With this same focus, Milla considers each country individually. In talking about the United States, he says "la más poderosa, la más próspera y la más afortunada de las naciones de nuestro continente."⁶¹ Of England he opines, "es una gran nación, la primera en ciertos aspectos."⁶² He identifies France as "un país de tanta vitalidad,"⁶³ and feels that Italy "puede considerarse como la cuna de la civilización moderna."⁶⁴ About the latter he elaborates further, saying: "La Italia es uno de los países de Europa que tiene mejores condiciones naturales para ser próspero y grande. La fertilidad prodigiosa de su suelo, su

posición geográfica y el genio vivo y al mismo tiempo prudente de sus habitantes, son condiciones favorables para obtener un alto grado de desarrollo."⁶⁵

At the same time, Milla felt a particular fondness for his own native land, and while away, showed himself to be genuinely interested in Guatemala's future progress. Salvador Falla stresses this point when he attributes to Milla "...el amor al progreso y el deseo de ver a su patria engrandecida."⁶⁵ He continues by saying: "¡Cuántas mejoras que sugiere Salomé Jil no han sido introducidas en Guatemala, después de la publicación del Viaje al otro mundo!"⁶⁶

In more recent years, Milla's love for his homeland has prompted Luis Alberto Sánchez to declare: "Yo no conozco sino un gran sedentario en la literatura guatemalteca: José Milla."⁶⁷ It may be true that Milla preferred Guatemala to other places, but the fact remains that he did travel in the United States (in fact, two separate times) and Europe, and did spend three and a half years away from his native land. Un viaje al otro mundo is concrete proof that Milla traveled extensively and appreciated what he saw.

Milla's book is an interesting and significant contribution to travel literature. It pleasantly combines both autobiographical and fictional material. The great amounts of factual information which are concentrated in certain areas make the reading ponderous, but this effect is counteracted by the crisp humor, sparkling wit and an abundance of exaggerated adventures which predominate throughout the greater part of the book.

In his Viaje, Milla made an important contribution to Guatemalan letters. His literary creation, Juan Chapín, gave lasting form to the Guatemalan prototype. Ramón A. Salazar, in fact, considers the Chapín one of the greatest creations of Guatemalan literature. Talking about the Chapín's creator he said: "El, que hubiese sido incapaz de crear tipos como le Tartuffe, Les Femmes savantes o Le Medecin malgré lui, tuvo talento y chispa para crear una figura de cuerpo entero, quizá la más acabada y viva de nuestra literatura, como es Juan Chapín."⁶⁸ Rafael Arévalo Martínez, author of the famous El hombre que parecía un caballo, gave the name Juan Chapín to a literary magazine which he founded in 1913. In it, he reproduced portions of Un viaje al otro mundo and the seventh issue (Año I, 15 de abril) carried a special article written by him called "Un recuerdo al creador de Juan Chapín." As proof of what the Chapín has really meant to Milla, one need only remember that the author's complete works, published in twelve volumes under the government of President Jorge Ubico, was called the Colección "Juan Chapín."

The Viaje itself has also come in for considerable praise since its publication in 1875. Ramón Uriarte, writing a little after that date said that it was "...considerado por muchos como la obra más notable de su fecundo ingenio."⁶⁹ In 1937, when Rafael Arévalo Martínez, then the Director of the Biblioteca Nacional, included Milla's name in a list of Guatemala's top ten writers, he said: "Puede ponerse en manos de estudiantes toda su obra y en particular Un viaje al otro mundo..."⁷⁰ José de Onís, in his The United States as seen by Spanish American Writers

(1776-1890), is of the opinion that "In Central America the best travel memoir, having the United States for its subject, was written by José Milla."⁷¹ Un viaje al otro mundo is both informative and entertaining. Although the statistical reports are of purely historical interest today, the humor is timeless. This book has withstood the test of time and today is less dated than most of Milla's more famous works.

CHAPTER VI

MILLA'S POETRY

Although Milla's poetic production is slight in comparison to his work in prose, it is nevertheless interesting and important for a complete picture of his position in Guatemalan literature. He wrote one long narrative poem, some poesías jocosas, romances, an important triptych, and a few shorter poems.

Unfortunately, only a few of Milla's poems have been collected, and many are lost. Some poems may be found in anthologies, notably Ramón Uriarte's Galería poética centro americana (1888), Antonio Batres Jáuregui's Literatura americana (1879), and the Antología americana (1897).¹ Lorenzo Montúfar includes one complete poem in Reseña histórica de Centro América as does Salvador Falla in Poesías de Juan Diéguez Olaverri; David Vela, in his Literatura guatemalteca, gives fragments of a few poems.² Others remain in the newspapers in which they first appeared.³ Milla's earliest poems, however, seem to be hopelessly lost. The only poetry in Milla's collected works is the narrative poem Don Bonifacio which shares Volume IX of the Colección "Juan Chapín" with Historia de un pepe.

Milla's first attempts in verse were very much in accord with the poetry then in vogue. As F. Hernández de León says: "Las primicias de la obra de don José Milla están señaladas por la producción immoderada de versos metidos dentro de las influencias románticas de Chénier y Hugo, más tarde con el decisivo influjo de Zorrilla."⁴ In those early days,

Milla, surrounded and probably inspired by a circle of friends who later became famous poets: José Batres Montúfar, Juan Diéguez Olaverri and María Josefa García Granados, seriously tried his hand at poetry but met with little success. In the opinion of Luis Alberto Sánchez, "Los primeros tanteos de Milla fueron, naturalmente en verso. No tuvo fortuna. Le faltaban sentido de la armonía, imaginación y quizás capacidad de abreviar."⁵

In later years, Milla was to make light of his poetic endeavors, especially in the cuadros, where he liked to laugh at himself and his many professions. When Salomé Jil first introduces himself in "Las presentaciones," he explains that "Por poeta me da muy poco el naípe; pues aunque no soy tan tonto que no haya hecho alguna vez una copla, tampoco soy tan majadero como para ponerme a hacer dos..."⁶ He reaffirms his statement in a cuadro of 1865 by confessing that "de poeta no tengo más que el haber escrito, por mis pecados, unos cuantos versos."⁷ Don Perfecto Cumplido in "Un hombre feliz" calls Salomé Jil only a "medio poeta."⁸

Nonetheless, in his youth, Milla composed with all seriousness and fervor. When in 1844, his dear friend José Batres Montúfar died, he was moved to write the laudatory poem "Soldado, artista, poeta," which, although containing a long poetic introduction to its three parts, is still considered a triptych. The poem, dated the tenth of August, just one month after Batres' death, is one of Milla's first and shows his great respect for his friend, who was to exercise an influence on him for years to come. The preface, dedicated to Batres' sister, Doña Encarnación Batres de Palomo, begins:

Ya pasó...! La barquilla del poeta
 Un viento repentino arrebató
 Y entre las olas de la mar inquieta
 Para siempre la hundió.

Oigo el último acento de su lira,
 Eco de su ferviente inspiración
 Mas de la tumba es una voz que gira
 En torno al panteón.

Although the circumstances of this poem are similar to those of José Zorrilla's eulogy of Larra, Milla's poem is different from the one composed by the Spanish author. Filling sixteen unnumbered pages in the first edition, it is a much longer poem. Though no less eulogistic, it is probably less poetic. It was not so dramatically delivered and did not bring recognition to its author the way Zorrilla's poem did. Like Zorrilla, Milla was just as conservative in his thinking and as romantic in his early poetry, but he was hardly the poet Zorrilla was.

In the same year, Milla also wrote the equally serious poem "Himno patriótico en loor del exmo. teniente general, R. Carrera, jefe del ejército, etc. con motivo de la expedición salvadoreña," but it differed greatly in content and tone from the one dedicated to Batres. It was a fierce indictment of President Carrera and his Conservative government and gives the reader a rare glimpse at an impassioned Milla. He calls Carrera: "Hijo de la miseria y de la nada / Tiranuelo opresor de un Pueblo inerme / Zorra cobarde que acomete osada / A un gallinero que tranquilo duerme." The poem contains fifteen four-line stanzas of hendecasyllabic verse with consonant rhyme. F. Hernández de León has felt that the poem reflects "versos de los veintidós años defectuosos en la forma,

ripiosos y mal adjetivados; pero en los que trasciende un fervor político que habría de ser, en breve tiempo sustituido por un culto a lo que en aquellos años de juventud, anatematizaba y escarnecía."⁹

The poem is also one of the few instances in which Milla mixed politics and literature. Except for the routine work he did for Conservative publications, his writings do not contain any treatment of political matters. Poetry at that moment lent itself to the impetuosity of a youthful and liberal Milla. Once he changed his stand, he became more sedate. Some twenty years later, upon the President's death (1865), the poem which he dedicated "Al General Carrera" was to reflect his more characteristic moderation as well as the contrary political point of view. It was shorter than the poem of 1844 and had just six stanzas of quatrains. But it too was written in hendecasyllabic verses of consonant rhyme. The poem ends with:

Adiós! descanse en paz noble guerrero;
 Tu nombre ilustre guardará la historia
 Y en sus fastos será imperecedero
 Cual lo es en nuestros pechos tu memoria.

Another of Milla's earlier poems, although not published until 1862 in La Hoja de Avisos,¹⁰ is "Un recuerdo," a poem which until now has not been mentioned by any of the critics. Originally dated March 1849, Quezaltenango, and signed with the initials J.M., the same ones used by him in signing the poem "Al General Carrera," it contains six stanzas of octavas italianas, and shows some youthful and rather romantic sentiments. Its last eight lines read:

Es un yermo vacío este mundo,
 que sin tí yo habitar ya no debo,
 que ni mundo a llamarle me atrevo,
 cuando cerca de mí no estás ya.
 Quiera un día el destino apiadado
 permitirme mirarte, querida:
 al sepulcro abandono la vida...
 ¡oh cuán dulce sin tí me será!

This is one of the few examples of lyric poetry to be found in Milla's extant poems.

Undoubtedly Milla's most serious attempt at true lyricism came in a poem made up of twenty-four quatrains, with verses of fourteen syllables and consonant rhyme, dated February 2, 1854. In a sense, it is a poetic letter since it is addressed "A mi amigo el Señor Licenciado Don J. D." The initials J. D. represent Juan Diéguez, his companion of many years who had been forced to flee Guatemala and take refuge in Mexico.

In the poem, Milla looks back longingly on years gone by, reminiscing about "aquella edad dichosa," while at the same time noting his present disillusionment:

¿Ignorarás, acaso, que en mi laúd ya rota
 una tras otra cuerda dejó el dolor cruel;
 que el corazón cansado destila gota a gota
 por cada abierta herida empozoñada hiel?

He explains that he had at one time composed inspired poetry but now:

Orilla de los lagos yo paso indiferente;
 sin entusiasmo fijo la vista en el volcán;
 las flores de los prados huella con pie indolente;
 del ave el raudo vuelo no sigo con afán.

He furthers the picture of despair by beginning the next four stanzas

(9, 10, 11, 12) with "En vano" and climaxes his desperate mood by lamenting:

¡Ay! y cuan bellos eran mis sueños de poeta:
 aquellos sueños de oro que nunca volverán!
 rebullía en mi mente la inspiración inquieta;
 el arpa era mi gloria, cantar era mi afán!

But in the poem, despite his own distress, he encourages Juan Diéguez to continue writing "American" poetry:

Tú, que otra vez pintaste el plácido verano
 con colores divinos y mágico pincel,
 pinta hoy las galas todas del cielo americano
 y preste a tu paleta sus bellas tintas él.

Y canta en fluidos versos el trasparente lago
 a quién los altos mangles amiga sombra dan,
 y con voz pavorosa canta el horrible estrago
 que causa por dó quiera la erupción del volcán.

A curious feature of the poem is that Milla attempts to display a talent which he now claims to lack. Thus, he is exceedingly humble while lauding Diéguez, but he nevertheless does try to imitate him. Interestingly, his poem is prefaced by José Zorrilla's verses in identical meter from "Serenata Oriental," which seems to indicate that he was making a conscious attempt at imitation:

Mil veces he leído los versos que me envías,
 mil veces te he querido con otros contestar;
 mas siempre con despecho rompí las trovas mías
 que no podrían viendo las tuyas igualar.

Milla felt with some regret that somehow he and his friend had parted ways--that he had abandoned lyric poetry:

Cumpla, pues, en buenhora cada cual su destino:
 a tí cítara de oro, pluma acerada a mí;
 a mí los vendavales y el raudo torbellino;
 las brisas perfumadas y el aura blanda a tí.

In the poem, he explains that his decision to abandon this mode of expression was not precipitated wholly by disillusionment or recognition of his own shortcomings, for he also advances patriotic reasons:

Mas del destino ciego obedeci al imperio,
y mi laud querido abandoné por él;
así su lira de oro, durante el cautiverio,
suspendió bajo el sauce el hijo de Israel.

De la patria en el ara, si bien poco valiosa,
de mi estéril ingenio la ofrenda puse yo:
vióla humilde y sencilla la venerada diosa;
y sencilla y humilde, como era, la aceptó.

Y desde aquel instante a la mortal pelea
por defender su nombre resuelto me lancé;
verla feliz y grande mi corazón desea,
y espera en sus destinos mi solitaria fe.

Nevertheless, this lyric poem was not to be Milla's last.

For the occasion of his son José Mariano's first birthday in October of 1861, Milla wrote his warmest and most tender bit of poetry. In a letter to Luis Molina, dated October 21 of the same year, he counsels him to save his verses "como una prueba de que ciertas malas mañas tarde o nunca se olvidan." The poem is called "A mi hijo en su primer cumpleaños" and consists of twenty stanzas. It begins with five quatrains of hendecasyllabic assonant rhyme, followed by nine stanzas of octava rima, and ends with six quatrains of alejandrinos (fourteen syllables of consonant rhyme).

The sweet evocation of infancy and paternal pride contained in the poem are reminiscent of Victor Hugo and significantly the two lines that precede the work are from a Hugo ode (No. 22): "Poète, j'y crois voir

un ange; / Père, j'y trouve mon enfant." In his treatment of infancy and parenthood with all their pleasures and sorrows, Milla becomes spiritual.

Misteriosos arcanos de otra vida
no alcanza nuestra vil naturaleza,
tan sólo a la inocencia y la pureza
revela sus secretos el Criador.
Hermanos de los ángeles, los niños
aliviados del fardo del pecado,
pueden ya remontar su vuelo osado
hasta el excelso trono del Señor.

Los celestes espíritus dichosos
sobre sus blancas alas los elevan,
y en espirales rápidas los llevan
del sol eterno de justicia en pos.
Y cuando vemos despuntar el alba
la purísima luz de la mañana,
¿quién sabe si en las nubes de oro y grana
sus almas van felices hacia Dios?

Within the poem, he states that he had earlier ceased to write lyric poetry, explaining in this instance that:

Sólo por tí de mi callada lira
las cuerdas pulso, y las que di al olvido
encantadas visiones del poeta,
vuelvo a evocar con entusiasmo altivo

Towards the end of the poem, he philosophizes briefly and then as a final note, offers a prayer for the young infant:

Defiéndale ¡oh Dios mío! tu protectora égida;
su lóbrego camino aclárele tu luz;
y al fin de su jornada en esta triste vida,
duerma bajo la sombra del árbol de la cruz!

The religious note becomes even more dominant in the sonnet called "A María."

Iris de paz, estrella del oriente
 que anunciaste la aurora suspirada,
 emperatriz de soles coronada
 que huellas la cerviz de la serpiente.

La Iglesia ya con voto reverente
 va a proclamarte ¡oh reina! inmaculada
 y a par con el Mesías exceptuada
 de la culpa de Adán, tú solamente.

El universo ¡celestial María!
 por quien tú velas con amor materno,
 tu triunfo canta ya con alegría,

y eleva su loor hasta el Eterno;
 huye desesperada la herejía
 y un grito de furor lanza el infierno.

There is no date available for the sonnet and, in general, an air of mystery surrounds it. "A María" appears in Ramón Uriarte's Galería Poética centro americana¹¹ but otherwise seems to have been overlooked; no one else credits it to Milla. Apparently it is not the poem called "María" which Juan Diéguez mistakenly credited to Milla in his poem "A Don José Milla" (1854). In it Diéguez said:

Sí, sí: yo te conozco, por más que no te vea
 Y entre flores te escondes, dulcísimo cantor:
 Si María no es tuya, no hay otro de quien sea,
 Sino es que pertenezca al mismísimo Amor.

Milla, answering him in a poem dated February 2 of the same year, plainly denies being its author, stating that:

¡Oh no! no soy yo el bardo de esa inmortal María
 que tan sentido canto supo inspirarte a tí;
 ni llamo a las serranas la pobre lira mía,
 bajo los cenadores de rosa y alelí.

The question of authorship and date of "A María" is still somewhat in doubt.

However, there are two romances, written in 1865, which definitely do belong to Milla. At the beginning of the year, he published in La Semana "El año viejo y el año nuevo," and at the end of the year, "Proceso del año 1865." Whereas the first romance was concerned with the state of things as 1864 ended, plus predictions for the coming year, the second summarized the events of 1865. "El año viejo y el año nuevo" talks about the following world problems and happenings: in Europe, the Scandinavian Union and Panslavism, the Suez Canal and the German question (Que alemanes y daneses / Se compusieron golitos / Mientras rusos y polacos / Se confian a carinos); in the United States, which Milla calls "Los Estados des Unidos," the Civil War and Lincoln's reelection; in Central America, "Que...sola / Ha estado en paz." In the second romance, Milla concerns himself with the same kinds of things: "...la cuestión italiana / ...la cuestión de Suez / y la cuestión de Alemania..." and the United States which:

Unidos por bien y a palos
 Hoy, para servir a Usted,
 Se encuentran ya los Estados
 Que antes en guerra cruel
 Amenazaban rabiosos
 No dejar titere en pie.

The two poems are companion pieces, sharing many elements and ending in much the same way. "El año viejo y el año nuevo" concludes with "¡Ha muerto SESENTA Y CUATRO! / ¡qué viva SESENTA Y CINCO!" and "Proceso del año 1865" ends with:

Arroja a SESENTA Y CINCO,
 Que rueda como en tonel;
 Y de otra airosa patada
 "Par derrière," (pase en francés)
 Hace saltar sobre el mundo
 Al año SESENTA Y SEIS.

Although the two poems are relatively long (the earlier one running to thirty-eight quatrains followed by four stanzas of six, eight, eight and six verses respectively, and the other to two hundred eighty-two total verses), they are important only in that they show Milla's attempt to extend the influence of his own artículos to poetry. We have already seen how he novelized the artículos. He even attempted to reconcile both his artículos and novels with his poetry.

Milla's major poetic work is a narrative poem called Don Bonifacio. Unlike most of his production, prose or poetic, it was published outright in book form.¹² Don Bonifacio (1862) was Milla's first significant work and contained many of the elements that were later to be exploited more successfully in his novels and artículos. In comparing Don Bonifacio to the historical novels, one immediately recognizes the following similarities: analysis of colonial customs, moral considerations, interest in superstition and the supernatural and use of dark and sinister motifs. The main inspiration for this poem came from the Tradiciones de Guatemala of Milla's friend José Batres Montúfar. Don Bonifacio, like Batres' poems, also poked fun at Guatemalan colonial society. Besides Batres, other more famous poets who influenced Milla were Lord Byron and José de Espronceda, both of whom are mentioned in the digressive passages of the poem. Milla recognizes their merit and quotes from

their works.¹³ However, as was pointed out in the chapter on the cuadros, Milla's humor was not of the biting and ironic variety of the romantics. Probably his most bitter lines: "¡Oh hipócrita amistad! falsa y mentida simpatía..."¹⁴ are somewhat reminiscent of these writers, but they are definitely not characteristic of the poem in general. Milla was really quite different from these writers in temperament and mood. Ramón A. Salazar's words seem appropriate in establishing the contrast:

...le faltaba al señor Milla la vis cómica en que rebasaba el autor de las Falsas apariencias, por lo que en este género encontramos muy inferior al señor Milla comparado con nuestro gran poeta nacional. Y es que, para lanzarse al campo a donde se atrevió Baires Montúfar y del cual salió victorioso, no se necesita únicamente de talento ni facilidad de versificación, como poseía el señor Milla. Se necesita, ¡ay! llevar el alma lacerada, haber sufrido y llorado mucho, haber pasado por los tormentos del dolor y de la desesperación, en cuya ruda y larga lucha el alma pierde sus alas para lanzarse hacia lo alto en donde se ve la luz, y se queda rastreando por los fangales del desencanto y la desilusión, prestando al cuerpo a quien anima muecas espaluznantes para reírse de todo y de todos, con risas que hacen estremecer los nervios de los que los oyen o los contemplan.¹⁵

Milla in this one work tried to imitate his models, but the good-natured costumbrista and historical novelist prevails.

Don Bonifacio is a burlesque treatment of an incident which Milla pretends happened in the year 1731. The poem begins:

Ciento treinta años hace que vivía
 En la antigua ciudad de Goathemala
 Un abogado, cuya biografía
 La más rara novela no la iguala.
 Trasegando una vieja librería,
 En una oscura y empolvada sala.
 Un anticuario la encontró. Se ignora
 Por qué habrá estado inédita hasta ahora.

However, in the same letter of February 18, 1862, to Juan Diéguez, Milla explains that the idea came to him from an article which appeared in the Revue des Deux Mondes (1861) called "Les hallucinations du professeur Floréal."¹⁶ The article to which Milla refers was written in prose by Maxime du Camp and was thirty-six pages in length. The story Milla makes of it is simple and uncomplicated.

Don Bonifacio Manso y Bobadilla, the poem's protagonist, is a forty-five year old lawyer, who, like Don Quixote, spends so much time reading philosophy books that his harmless pastime soon becomes a serious monomania. As a result of his readings, he now believes that the souls of the dead can inhabit the bodies of the living. After killing the vengeful Juan Arana, whom he had earlier sent to prison, he is convinced that the soul of his victim dwells within his own body. This fixation becomes intensified after his wife Dolores (Lola) experiences a terrible nightmare which she will not describe for him. When she later dies from a strange and unexplained melancholia, Don Bonifacio shouts "Vive, sí, vive en mí la que adoro."¹⁷ Nevertheless, the lawyer soon remarries. His second wife is Cecilia Lara, of whom Lola was always greatly jealous. One day, when Don Bonifacio discovers Cecilia trying on his first wife's necklace, he strangles her, motivated by Lola's infuriated soul within him. Sentenced to jail, he escapes in a most implausible fashion with the help of the witch Tatuana,¹⁸ only to commit suicide shortly afterwards.

Actually, for its meager plot, the narrative poem is quite long. Its 352 stanzas are almost equally divided into eight parts.¹⁹ What

accounts for much of the great length of the poem is the inclusion of numerous digressions.²⁰ Milla was fully aware that these digressions slowed down his story,²¹ but they helped him achieve one of his stated purposes for Don Bonifacio, that is, to present "...unos cuantos pensamientos con pretensiones de morales y de filosóficos."²² However, although claiming to conclude, "conforme a lo ofrecido, mi historia con ribetes de consejo,"²³ he somehow forgets to do so. Still, throughout the poem, in the repeated pauses, he does hit on brief discussions of truth, wisdom, death, love, jealousy, pain, sorrow, poetry, sanity, scholarship and philosophy. These casual discussions can take place anywhere in the poem but are most heavily concentrated at the beginning of each part and parts II, IV, and VII actually start off with them. In part IV, the first eight stanzas go by before Milla returns to his narrative.

Throughout Don Bonifacio, Milla shows much interest in poetry, quoting from time to time poets like Horace, Ovid, Dante, Herrera, Rioja, Garcilaso, Quintana and Zorrilla. In the following lines, he extolls the virtues of this wonderful genre:

¡Qué cómodo, qué fácil y qué bueno
Es el darse hoy en día uno a poeta;
Ya en el estilo pastoril y ameno.
Ya embocando la épica trompeta!
Hay quién remeda el rebramar del trueno,
Quién las lamentaciones del Profeta,
Y quién, en trovos dulces y sencillas,
Canta como las tiernas avecillas.

Cualquiera de esos géneros, derecho
A la gloria conduce. Por mi parte,
Yo todos los adopto y aprovecho.
(Ved la elasticidad cuánta es del arte)

Lo que más me conviene. No desecho
 Ni aun lo trivial y bajo. Se comparte
 Entre la entonación sonora y brava
 Y el canto llano, mi real octava.

Although Milla's poem is in the romantic-narrative tradition of Zorrilla and the Duque de Rivas, Don Bonifacio is less historical and legendary than the Romances históricos or the Levendas.

Besides the moral and philosophical speculations, Milla's other stated purposes are "...dibujar algunos caracteres de los que vemos quizá todos los días, trazar pequeños bosquejos de costumbres del país y poner en verso, o en prosa rimada, algunas de las voces provinciales y locuciones familiares de Guatemala..."²⁴

As the quote readily suggests, there are many points of contact between Don Bonifacio and Milla's cuadros. In fact, it should be stated again, as it was for the historical novels, that much of what Milla later used was previewed in this poem. First of all, the curious protagonist, Don Bonifacio Manso y Bobadilla, with his humorous name and monomania, would have made an excellent subject for a cuadro. Even the other picturesque types such as Juan Arana, la Tatuana, Niña Serapia, Ño Candelario, el tuerto Sebastián Ibáñez Barberena, and Bonifacio's two wives would form a perfectly compatible group in a costumbrista study.

In this early work, Milla revealed his great interest in language. The entire poem is flavored with Guatemalan localisms: chucho, holo, pistillo, chucán, guncaluda, guanaco, cholla,²⁵ many of which are the same as those noted in the chapters on the cuadros and the Viaje, and in the "notas" at the end of the poem²⁶ some of these words are explained.

He also includes the random insertion of foreign words of all kinds: speech, sans facon, glacé, casus belli, Oi pleiones kakoi. These expressions are usually kept short, the longer ones being limited to Latin. In order to poke fun at the colonial period, there is a conscious attempt to imitate archaic forms of speech with inverted word order and archaic-sounding words. As in his later works, Milla plays with words. Two examples are the consequences of the similarity of the words "lucho" and "ducho," and the presentation of a scene in which Don Bonifacio speaks to Juan Arana about the law and the Séptima partida. Arana asks: "¿Qué sé yo de partidas ni de enteras?"²⁷

The poem is written in octavas reales with the conventional rhyme pattern of a, b, a, b, a, b, c, c. In a few places, Milla applies his flair for linguistic humor to the rhymes. For example, there is the stanza:

Mas, ¿qué sé yo de estado patológico
De anestesis, ni sueño cataléptico?
Ni sé lo que es el hombre fisiológico
Ni he examinado nunca a un epiléptico
En ese laberinto paradógico
De opiniones contrarias, como escéptico
Me mantendré, con vuestro beneplácito
Caros lectores, pues lo tengo tácito.

The use of the esdrújula at the end of every verse²⁸ produces a strange visual and tonal effect. Moreover, it adds a further light touch to the poem, if one thinks that Milla, by his technique, meant to ridicule the romantic writers who delighted in the excessive use of these words. As indicated in the previous chapter, Milla later ridiculed this same practice in Un viaje al otro mundo in his description of Juan Chapín's "colera."

Although Milla's good-natured humor is one of Don Bonifacio's pleasant features, the poem is predominantly satirical and owing to a series of coincidences, fraught with irony. Milla makes a mockery of customs, institutions and conventional behavior in general. As a subordinate plot, which also helps prolong the poem,²⁹ Milla ridicules the attempts of Don Bonifacio's mother-in-law (Doña Serapia) to get a husband for her daughter Lola. While Lola was still alive, her string of pearls had broken and had been restrung by the jeweler No Candelario who, pleased with his own craftsmanship and the strength of the violin string which he had employed for added security, boasted to Don Bonifacio that "...ahorcar podría a su mujer y no se rompería."³⁰ Ironically, the harmless joke is eventually converted into reality, but what is even more ironic is that the wife who falls victim to the strange trick of fate turns out to be the more virtuous Cecilia, not the vain Lola. This unfortunate incident is caused by Don Bonifacio's promise to Lola that he would seal the necklace in the casket with her. Having forgotten to do so, he is led by his guilt feelings to strangle Cecilia when he finds her with the necklace. The ironic twists continue even further. After Don Bonifacio is arrested for his crime, it is the same No Candelario who employs the services of the witch Tatuana in order to help him escape from the prison. And to further the ironic touch, it is at the jeweler's ranch that Don Bonifacio hangs himself, leaving behind only the piece of paper which says: "BOBACILLA ACABA AQUI SU VIDA BORRASCOSA, DEL MISMO MAL DE QUE MURIO SU ESPOSA."³¹ The continued use of irony of fate in this poem reminds the reader of Ramón de Campoamor's poetry.

Despite the numerous similarities between Don Bonifacio and the cuadros, Milla's poesías jocosas are even more like his sketches. The titles of the three most famous, all of which first appeared in the newspaper La Semana towards the end of 1866, are "Risa y lágrimas," "La conciencia" and "Deseos cumplidos." Like reduced cuadros, the poems treat contemporary Guatemalan events and have a somewhat similar purpose. Milla again moralizes as he benignly analyzes human weaknesses. In "Deseos cumplidos," each stanza contains a different protagonist so that the poem might actually be considered a series of short sketches to prove a moral lesson. Milla shows the unwholesome effect of "Los deseos cumplidos" by citing in separate stanzas the cases of Adam, Jupiter, David and Roderick the Goth. However, he interrupts himself half-way through the narrative:

Pero, ¿por qué en las historias
de las remotas edades
hemos de buscar verdades
trasegando vejestorias?
Si tales anomalías
ocurren todos los días,
pienso, lectores queridos
que veamos en lo presente
el mal, de bulto, patente,
de los deseos cumplidos.

Following this remark, he gives a separate little picture of a type from Guatemalan life in each of the remaining stanzas, showing what happened to Andrés, Amira, Pablo, Diego, Juan and Cosme. He summarizes the entire poem in the final ten verses by saying:

Si le anima la esperanza,
 el hombre goza y delira;
 mas ve que todo es mentira
 cuando lo que anhela alcanza.
 Vivamos en ese sueño,
 teniendo por sólo empeño
 no espeakarnos, y advertidos
 que nuestros deseos sean,
 que nunca jamás se vean
 nuestros deseos cumplidos.

Milla also resorts to the same practice of going from the general to the specific in the other two poems. The following stanzas from "La conciencia" point out the similarity of construction with the quadros.

Es menester confesar
 que es la conciencia una cosa
 utilísima y preciosa
 si se sabe aprovechar.
 Es ajustada o es ancha
 cierra la boca o la ensancha;
 y vista esa conveniencia
 ¿quién afirmar dudaría
 que es un don de gran valía
 una elástica conciencia?

No conozco hombre mejor
 que el honrado don Domingo;
 con mi amistad lo distingo
 y le hago siempre favor.
 Pero es tan recto y severo,
 que refiere al mundo entero
 mis defectos (en mi ausencia)
 poniéndome como un trapo.
 ¡Oh! es un sujeto muy guapo
 don Domingo, y ¡qué conciencia!

Si hay un ser bueno y perfecto
 ése es sin duda Crisanto;
 vaya un hombre, si es un santo;
 no se le encuentra defecto.
 Vestido y sustento diario
 le da un rédito usurario
 que percibe sin auencia
 de su guía espiritual,
 y piensa que no hace mal.
 ¡Misterios de la conciencia!

Dicen, y dicen muy bien,
 que es don Tadeo un letrado
 como hay pocos, consumado,
 de la justicia sostén.
 Si a uno dirige con arte,
 también presta a la otra parte
 los recursos de su ciencia,
 quedando con estos modos
 en buena amistad con todos,
 ¡Oh incomprensible conciencia!

The individual sketches might be considered to be independent vignettes except for the fact that they are held together by a central theme which is indicated by the title of the poem.

Also as in the cuadros, humor is the dominant characteristic of the poesías jocosas. One scene from "Risa y lágrimas" in particular points up Milla's merriment and comic view of life:

Embaucó doña Isabel
 a un amante y otro amante;
 mas se descubrió el pastel,
 y tomaron el portante.
 Quedó sin plato y sin cena;
 sea muy enhorabuena;
 hoy es su oficio indagar
 donde hay santos que vestir;
 esta es cosa de reír
 no es cosa para llorar.

The picturesque and humorous types with their characteristically funny names are present in all three of these poems. In "La conciencia," there are besides those already mentioned, the prolific Juan Baltasar, the rich Don Juan de la Mentirola (buen hombre a carta cabal), and doña Martina (señora fea y anciana). Milla's characteristic language of the cuadros, colorful and often humorous, is also displayed. A couple of times, the

author flavors the narratives with Guatemalan expressions such as pisto, guaca and de cola, and once inserts a foreign expression: sans facon, although the practice is not very widespread.

Satire and irony are present in the poems and again both are of a subdued kind. Milla mildly satirizes human nature, presenting an amusing tranche de vie in "Risa y lágrimas" when he writes:

Gran joroba y un pie cojo
tiene la infeliz Elvira:
al norte ve con un ojo
y al sur con el otro mira.
A pesar de tales prendas,
como heredó cuatro haciendas,
de novios cuenta un millar
donde poder elegir;
esta es cosa de reír,
no es cosa para llorar.

But this same "Risa y lágrimas" ends on a strong note of irony when Milla declares:

¡Risa y lágrimas! he aquí
la triste herencia fatal
que a este mundo baladí
transmitió el primer mortal.
Siendo la vida entremés
donde todo anda al revés,
pienso que acerté a probar
esta parte al escribir
que hay llantos que hacen reír
y risas que hacen llorar.

The three poems present the constant repetition of the same words at the end of each stanza. These words are either identical or intimately connected to the title. In "La conciencia" the last word of every stanza is "conciencia"; in "Deseos cumplidos," either "deseo cumplido"

or "deseos cumplidos"; while "Risa y lágrimas" always ends with the last two verses of each stanza alternating in the rhyme between "reír" and "llorar."

The use of an estribillo, plus the fact that the poems are of a satirical nature, indicate that the poems can also be classified as letrillas, although they are more usually classified in the broader category of poesías jocosas. Both "Deseos cumplidos" and "La conciencia" consist of fifteen stanzas of ten eight-syllable verses as does "Risa y lágrimas," in each of its two parts. The rhyming pattern in the first two poems is a, b, b, a, c, c, d, e, e, d, and in the two-part "Risa y lágrimas," a, b, a, b, c, c, d, e, e, d. In the last stanza of part I of "Risa y lágrimas," Milla actually refers to his poem as a letrilla, saying: "Escribo yo esta letrilla / sea mala o sea buena." Although the author himself had some doubt as to the merits of the poem, Ramón Uriarte, comparing Milla's poems to others of the same type, expressed the opinion that "Las (poesías) jocosas especialmente bien pueden comparear al lado de las preciosas letrillas de Bretón de los Herreros."³² On the other hand, and with justification, the Salvadoran Enrique Martí felt that "...estamos...lejos de compararle con Bretón de los Herreros, como lo ha hecho el distinguido escritor guatemalteco Señor Uriarte."³³ The realism and humor of the poems plus their brevity, especially when considering each stanza as a unit, suggest Campoamor's poetic works, but Milla's are not of the same high quality as this Spanish author's poetry either; they do not have their impact.

Despite perhaps suffering in comparison with those written by others, the poesías locoserias are to an extent the best of Milla's poetry. They are most characteristic of his total literary production, and come closest to the cuadros, which as previously indicated, are considered his best and most typical prose work.

However, not even Milla himself was pleased with these efforts, for they seem to have been his last in verse. All of his known works after 1866 are in prose. Milla seems to have been unable to synthesize adequately his expression to fit consistently the restrictions of an abbreviated poetic form. Even the nineteenth-century Guatemalans who selected a few of his poems for their anthologies were quick to note Milla's great superiority as a prose artist. Ramón Uriarte said: "No es un poeta de primer orden, pero en cambio es un prosista que...escribe siempre con maestría"³⁴ and Antonio Batres Jáurequi similarly remarked "Nos parece mejor Milla como prosista que como poeta..."³⁵ The famous Spanish critic Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, when mentioning Milla in the Antología de poetas hispano-americanos (although not including selections of his work), was of the opinion that the Guatemalan "...tiene y merece más estimación como historiador, novelista y autor de cuadros de costumbres que como poeta."³⁶ In fact, in more recent years the tendency has been to completely exclude his poetry from anthologies. Humberto Porta Mencos' Parnaso guatemalteco (1928) neglects to mention his work at all.

Most critics would say that Milla did well to abandon poetry. In 1882, Enrique Martí, although generally praising his work, felt obliged

to state that "Como poeta no creemos que haya sido muy feliz."³⁷ Although the statement is essentially true, it might be modified if Milla's total poetic production could be collected and properly studied.

From this study of Milla's poetry, which does not pretend to be exhaustive due to the impossibility of locating all of his poems, it may be said that his verse production is somewhat richer and more diversified than has been commonly supposed. The fact that many of Milla's early poems contain the same elements that were to earn acclaim for him in later works give them importance in the appraisal of Milla's total literary production.

CONCLUSIONS

José Milla was Guatemala's outstanding literary figure of the nineteenth century. His life coincided with the sixty years immediately following Independence, years which were mainly dominated by Rafael Carrera and the Conservatives.

Milla was a writer, journalist, teacher and public servant who acquitted himself well in all fields. Starting out as a Liberal in his political thinking, after 1846 he adhered tenaciously to the Conservative cause. He performed a number of duties for his party, holding political office at various times and editing some of the government publications such as the Gaceta and La Revista.

Although the Conservatives were in power for most of his adult life, the Liberals twice took control of the government. On both those occasions, 1848 and 1871, Milla remained loyal to his party. Despite being severely and even viciously criticized by some Liberals, Milla's own works were amazingly free from any sort of petty bickering, disillusionment or bitterness. Whereas he wrote on political matters in the government publications, slanting his writings in favor of the Conservatives, his strictly literary works contain no direct political allusions, except for a few short poems. Even those Liberals who have found fault with Milla's political views have not been stinting in their praise of his literary works.

Milla cultivated most of the literary genres of his day. He wrote costumbrista sketches, historical novels, a history of Central America, a number of historical articles, a travel book and several different kinds of poetry. Only the theatre did Milla neglect, but that genre was non-existent in nineteenth-century Guatemala.

Whereas Milla's poetry suffers in comparison with his prose, it nevertheless is more extensive and much richer than commonly supposed. Milla produced one large narrative poem, Don Bonifacio, some poesias jocoserias, a significant triptych and a few smaller poems. Some of his poems can be found in nineteenth-century anthologies, although the tendency today is to omit them. Others can be encountered in more general works and some only in the newspapers in which they originally appeared. Almost all the poems of his youth, most probably of a romantic nature, are apparently lost.

Meeting with little success as a poet, Milla decided to concentrate on prose writing. When, in 1861, at the age of thirty-nine, he started producing his first regular prose articles for La Hoja de Avisos, he had none of the fame and prestige that Sir Walter Scott had enjoyed as a poet when, at about the same age, the renowned English writer decided to shift to prose. However, Milla produced for the short-lived Hoja some nineteen cuadros, which gave a good indication of his talent which was to remain with him until his death. In 1882, he was still producing interesting and original cuadros for the newspaper El Diario de Centro América.

Covering a greater span of time than any of his other writings, Milla's costumbrista sketches constitute his favorite artistic expression. They are, indeed, representative of his prose art, and many of their characteristics are also found in his other literary works. A definition of a cuadro can be compounded from a study of Milla's sketches, but it only serves to point out that the author held no precise view of this

literary form. Although an outline can be traced which indicates a typical pattern of presentation for the individual cuadro, Milla presents enough variations from the standard procedure and enough different techniques and devices so as to make the reader question what sort of limiting qualities he had in mind for his cuadro. For these reasons, it seems very strange that he did not include in the same category those articles published in the period of 1870-1871, under the title Libro sin nombre, and other similar ones appearing during the years 1881-1882 in El canasto del sastre.

Within the various sketches, Milla discusses many typical aspects of Guatemalan life, as well as certain well-defined Guatemalan types. Although many of his caricatures are more universal in nature, even they are usually cast in a peculiarly Guatemalan mold. Almost all of the characters, and there are many of them, have been given significantly humorous names.

Writing in the second half of the nineteenth century, Milla was part of a large group of Latin American writers who exploited this genre. His principal inspiration seems to stem from both Larra and Mesonero Romanos, but he is always original.

Although the cuadro was conceived as an individual unit, many of them are interdependent. Milla quite consciously relates and repeats themes, types, and names. The result of his technique is that the articles become intimately joined together. The ultimate expression of this union is found in the five cuadros of 1880 and 1881 built around the central figure of Tío Climas and "El esclavo de don Dinero" of 1881. The

latter possesses a defined narrative thread and a clear-cut protagonist. As elementary as they may be, these works have importance in Milla's art because they represent an attempt to bridge the gap between his costumbrista sketches and his novels.

Milla wrote five historical novels over a period of almost twenty years. Their main plots are all concerned with some phase of Guatemalan history. Three of them, La hija del Adelantado, Los Nazarenos, and El Visitador, were written in the 1860's within a brief three-year span. These works, in particular, are very similar. Their historical background invariably involves a conspiracy against the government while the fictional elements depend on many complicated love affairs.

The novels, written during the belated Romantic Period in Latin America, present many romantic and melodramatic features, which were undoubtedly influenced by both Spanish Romantic and Golden Age literature. The numerous love affairs in the novels are always made impossible. Suspense and mystery are supplied in good measure. A number of servants as confidants form a network of espionage. Hiding places, disguises, anonymous people, mistaken identity, the illegitimate child and his mysterious origins, secret objects, and "el plazo fijo," are only some of the melodramatic devices that Milla employs. In order to add to the mysterious and suspenseful atmosphere, much of the action takes place at night or in dark places, often amid lugubrious settings full of rain, thunder and lightning and the barking of dogs.

Milla's characters are never very well developed. Only in a few instances do they show any shadings in personality. Usually the people

are totally good or totally bad, representing significant correlation between physical beauty and virtue, ugliness and vice. While Milla sometimes expresses a certain amount of sympathy for members of other races --more for the Indian than for the Negro--he hardly dignifies either one in a romantic fashion. Despite the romanticism of these novels, nature receives very little attention.

The three novels are predominantly romantic, but they do contain some realistic elements. However, these are limited to costumbrista details which lend authenticity to the stories. It is no accident that El Visitador, the third and best of the group, bears the strongest resemblance to Milla's cuadros and the strongest imprint of Cervantes' influence. El Visitador shows that Milla perhaps was shifting towards a more realistic type of novel. This became even more obvious in his fourth novel written in 1876.

Memorias de un abogado was a conscious attempt to give a more realistic interpretation to colonial life. Dealing with a later period than in the first three novels, Milla's approach is definitely more realistic even though some of the incidents and devices are highly romantic.

The romantic elements are even more glaring in his last novel of 1882. Although Milla also intended Historia de un papa to be realistic, essentially it represents a return to the romantic concept of the historical novel. The novel contains all of the romantic-melodramatic devices exhibited in his first three novels with some of them receiving even increased emphasis.

Because Milla's novels, except for Memorias de un abogado, were written to appear in newspaper installments, many of their characteristics, including their weaknesses, were determined by that medium. The construction depended on it, and the moments of surprise and suspense had to be geared to the installment rather than to the complete novel. Milla probably started with only a general plan and hoped to keep his reader subscribing to the newspaper for as long as possible, often perpetuating his stories long beyond their natural conclusions. The result is a rather loose, wandering narration which lacks complete unity. Moreover, because he was constantly concerned for his reader who may have subscribed late or missed some installments, he had to make periodic summaries, which tend to clarify the status of the several interwoven plots. Speaking directly to his newspaper reader, Milla uses many stereotyped phrases.

Despite numerous weaknesses, most of which are inherent in the genre of that period and the medium of publication, Milla's novels are interesting and dramatic. Suspense and mystery always hold the reader's interest. The plots are imaginative and the characters act in a fairly consistent manner. Milla's style is intimate, clear and fluid. His sentences are usually direct and uncomplicated. He enjoys playing with words, but he does not experiment stylistically. The novels, through a presentation of colonial life and customs, also have an interest and value as social documents. Since their initial appearances in Guatemala, they have enjoyed great popularity and even today are still being reproduced in new editions, which are rapidly going out of print.

Milla was again to use the historical events of his first three novels in his history of Central America. He found most of his material in works dealing more specifically with Guatemala but criticized them most severely for their inadequacies. Milla enjoyed certain advantages which earlier historians did not have. He had a subsidy, books and facilities placed at his disposal, a better perspective, and a particularly good objective position from which to make value judgments, living as he did in semi-retirement. He also had the tremendous advantage of being able to use studies which other historians had never known, either rediscovered works or recently published ones. Milla's century produced many historical, linguistic, archeological, ethnographical, and bibliographical studies which he could consult.

Milla made good use of the numerous advantages he held, producing an interesting, authoritative, and relatively impartial treatment of Central American history. However, one advantage which he did not exploit was that of using a modern approach to history. Although hinting in his introductory chapters that he was going to make use of such a focus, and despite his familiarity with Montesquieu's writing, he never did. Nor did he give a philosophical interpretation to history, although having splendid opportunities to do so; instead, he viewed happenings in heroic, almost epic terms. He was greatly interested in the story value of an event, inserting fascinating anecdotes whenever possible and painting the adventurous deeds of important figures with large dazzling strokes.

Much of Milla's critical analysis is carried on in "notas marginales" which, although representing nothing more than a veneer of modern scholar-

ship, are, nevertheless, interesting. Here Milla identifies by name some of the works to which he had referred earlier in his historical studies as just "Crónicas de Guatemala."

Milla's history, which in general has good information, is however not without errors, some of these having been identified by various critics and historians. Still, despite the mistakes, his work has received much praise by other historians, both of his day and of the present period. Although he only had time to finish two volumes before he died, his contribution to Central American historiography is significant and cannot be overlooked in any serious consideration of the history of the Isthmian region.

One year before Milla began to work on his history of Central America, he published Un viaje al otro mundo, a record of his three and a half years spent traveling in the United States, England, France, Belgium and Italy. It is both autobiographical and fictional, and its purpose is to instruct and to entertain. Milla overindulged in supplying minutiae because probably he was trying to give precise reports to the Guatemalans of his day who were wholly unfamiliar with the places he visited. Also, he possibly thought that the information would contrast with the purely imaginative portions of the book and result in an enhancement of its artistic value. Much of the information is valid, being gained by personal observations--sometimes based on two visits to a place--statistical sources, such as census reports and other official records, guide, history, and art books, as well as literary works. While Milla never visited Spain and does not directly write about it, much of his inspiration seems

to have come from Spanish sources, Miguel Cervantes and Modesto La Fuente figuring most prominently as models. Also, although there are many other uses of the hero and hero-companion in literature, some of which Milla clearly mentions, the two immediate counterparts for Salomé Jil and Juan Chapín are Don Quijote and Sancho Panza. However, the curious feature is that these two characters, often reflecting antithetical attributes, are best represented in the one person of the Chapín. With Juan Chapín, a figure who symbolizes the soul of the Guatemalan people, Milla made a lasting contribution to Guatemalan literature. The travel work is intimately tied to the cuadros by Milla's good-natured humor, which is dependent upon the use of names, types, situations, and language as well as contrast and exaggeration.

Despite the fact that Milla's writings may be neatly divided according to their genre, they have much in common: benign humor, exaggerated situations and types, moral purpose, reverence for the past, interesting narration, clever handling of language and clear, straightforward and rhythmic prose. Milla's life and works are inseparably blended and the type of person he was in real life, kind, noble, honest and intelligent, is constantly reflected in his works. While he viewed life with an earnestness and a purpose, he saw a comic side to it also. He was exceedingly quick to recognize humor in all sorts of situations, and in all its forms. And although much maligned and suffering some adversities during his lifetime, his writings never show anything but a man who was well-satisfied with his existence and his own optimistic interpretation of life.

By his works, Milla wished to share with others, some of the joys of living. While his cuadros and novels are particularly meritorious, all his works, in general, constitute the foundation of Guatemala's national literature.

NOTES

Notice: All page numbers relevant to Milla's works refer to the Colección "Juan Chapín," published 1935-1937, unless otherwise indicated. When Milla's works are cited a second time, his name is not given and an abbreviated title is used. To conserve space, sometimes a note number refers to two or more quotes. These, however, always run consecutively. To conserve further space, two footnotes are placed on one line whenever possible.

Introduction

1. Luis Alberto Sánchez, La tierra del quetzal (Santiago de Chile, 1950), p. 142; Idem, "Enrique Gómez Carrillo y el modernismo," Rev. Ind., XXXVI, 112 (Jan.-March 1950), 15.
2. Rubén Darío, España contemporánea, Obras Completas, XIX (Madrid, [1919]), 291-292.
3. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Antología de poetas hispano-americanos (Madrid, 1927), I, 205.
4. Enrique Martínez Sobral, La Revista de la Universidad [de Guatemala], I, 7-8 (July-Aug. 1922), 223--hereafter cited as Rev. Univ. (1922).
5. Ibid., p. 224.
6. Flavio Guillén, Rev. Univ. (1922), p. 222.
7. A. Fabián Pérez, Corona fúnebre dedicada a la grata memoria del insigne literato guatemalteco don José Milla (Salomé Jil), (Guatemala, 1885), p. 121--hereafter cited as García Salas et al., Cor. fún.
8. Ramón Rosa, Rev. Univ. (1922), p. 230; Rómulo E. Durón, José Justo Milla. Estudio biográfico (Tegucigalpa, 1940), p. 89.
9. Rosa, Rev. Univ. (1922), p. 230.
10. Ibid., p. 231.
11. Many of Milla's works are missing in the Obras Completas (1935-1937). Of all the poems discussed in Chapter VI, only Don Bonifacio is included in the complete works. Chapter II, note 2 and Chapter V, notes 1 and 3, indicate other works which are not included. Moreover, there are probably further works of Milla, either unsigned or under another pseudonym, which might be collected.
12. See the unpubl. diss. (Florida, 1955) by Walter Arville Payne, "José Milla y Vidaurre, Historian of Central America (1822-1882)." The

study has since been published in a reduced form. See Walter A. Payne, A Central American Historian, José Milla (1822-1882), Latin American Monographs, No. 2 (Gainesville, 1957).

Chapter I

1. Unfortunately there is no single complete biography on Milla. Ramón Rosa promised one and in 1888 was actually authorized by the Academia Guatemalteca to do a biographical and critical study of Milla. But he later explained that he was unable to carry out the proposal at that time because of illness in the family. See Agustín Gómez Carrillo et al., Biografías de literatos nacionales (Guatemala, 1889), I, iii, ix, xi; Ramón Rosa, "Don José Milla y Vidaurre," Revista de la Universidad [de Honduras], XL (March 1921), 188—hereafter cited as Rev. Univ. (1921). For the most complete biographical information to date, see the unpublished dissertation by Walter A. Payne.
2. This refers to the Colegio de Santo Tomás de Aquino which was inaugurated on Sept. 7, 1620 and depended on an endowment established by Bishop Francisco Marroquín in 1562. See J. Joaquín Pardo, Efe- mérides de la antigua Guatemala (Guatemala, 1944), pp. 16-17, 45; John Tate Lanning, The University in the Kingdom of Guatemala (Ithaca, 1955), p. 13. A later date of 1676 might be given if we wish to consider the year the University of San Carlos began its legal operation. See Lanning, The University, p. 62.
3. There is some question as to whether the date is 1659 or 1660. Victor Miguel Díaz, Historia de la imprenta en Guatemala (Guatemala, 1930), p. 1, gives the latter date.
4. In a letter dated May 7, 1937, Rafael Arévalo Martínez, then the Director of the National Library, when asked to name the top ten writers of Guatemala, listed these four from the colonial period. See Bol. Bibl. Nac., VI, 2 (July 1937), 74.
5. The year was 1822, a fact which today is common knowledge. However, the Library of Congress has recorded Milla's year of birth as 1827 (see Library of Congress Catalog of Printed Cards, 1944, No. 100, p. 277). On December 20, 1957, I brought the matter to the attention of Francisco Aguilera, Editor in Chief of the Handbook of Latin American Studies, who is located in the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. He was pleased to receive the correction and immediately sent notice to the proper authority. A possible explanation for the error in the Library of Congress cards is that all the volumes of Milla's work in the important Gilberto Valenzuela Collection, which can be found in the National Library in Guatemala, also have the year as 1827. Another mistake is contained in Ramón Uriarte, Galería poética centro-americana. Colección de poesías de

Los mejores poetas de la América Central, 2nd ed. (Guatemala, 1888), II, 3, when the author gives Milla's date of birth as March 19. In Milla's article "El 4 de agosto," found in Libro sin nombre, 4th ed., Colección "Juan Chapín," III (Guatemala, 1935), 77, he himself says "Yo soy aun el que vino al mundo en un día 4 de agosto." Humorously he adds "el año poco importa." But it was 1822 nevertheless. See "Biografías sintéticas de guatemaltecos distinguidos," El Imparcial, XVI, 5485 (Nov. 27, 1937), 3, for a reproduction of baptismal record.

6. As early as November and December of 1811, when José Bustamante y Guerra was Captain General of Guatemala, there were premature attempts at independence in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Two years later, again in Nicaragua, there was an abortive attempt at revolution. In the same year the Convent of Belén in the capital city of Guatemala was being used as a meeting place for revolutionaries and in December their rebellious plot was discovered and many conspirators were made prisoners. But further encouraged by insurrections in other parts of the Americas, the Guatemalan colonists continued in vigorous protest against the injustices and abuses of the colonial system. In 1820, Atanasio Tzul and Lucas Aguilar led an Indian uprising in Totonicapán. Although the revolt was initially provoked by the refusal of the Indians to pay the Reales Tributos, it later took on the aspects of a movement for independence.
7. Alejandro Marure, Efemérides de los hechos notables acaecidos en la República de Centro-América, desde el año de 1821 hasta el de 1842, 2nd ed. (Guatemala, 1895), p. 154, states that between 1822 and 1842 one hundred and forty-three battles were fought.
8. Only twelve days after Guatemalan independence was declared, General Agustín de Iturbide triumphantly entered Mexico City and on May 19th of the following year he had himself declared Emperor of Mexico. Not content with ruling only Mexico, the ambitious General wished to extend his jurisdiction as far south as the Isthmus of Panama. Fortunately for Iturbide, many of the Central American regions approved of his conservative view of independence and eagerly joined Mexico. Chiapas, Nicaragua, Honduras and Quezaltenango adopted the plan early; Guatemala accepted it on January 5, 1822. Iturbide then named Vicente Filisola to command an expeditionary army, the "ejército de protección" in order to complete the union of all Central American territory by peaceful means or, if need be, by force. Eventually all the provinces except El Salvador were subjected to Mexican rule. General Filisola entered Guatemala City on June 12, 1822.
9. José Milla's great-grandparents were Juan Manuel Milla and María Josefa Villa, residents of Gracias a Dios in Honduras. Their son, José Antonio Milla, a Sargento Mayor and later a Colonel in the Spanish Colonial Army, fought against the English at San Fernando de Omoa (1779) and Roatan (1782). He later became Gobernador-Intendente of Comayagua and Sub-Delegado del Partido in Gracias. His

- marriage to Feliciana Arriaga produced José Justo Milla, José Milla's father, born in 1794. José Justo Milla became a Sargento Mayor and later a Colonel in President Arce's federal forces. From 1824 to 1826, he served as Vice Jefe de Estado in Honduras under Dionisio de Herrera. See Durón, José Justo Milla, p. 29ff.
10. Miguel García Granados, Memorias del General Miguel García Granados, 2nd ed. (Guatemala, 1952), II, 241.
 11. Antonio Batres Jáuregui, José Batres Montúfar, su tiempo y sus obras (Guatemala, 1910), p. 20.
 12. Durón, José Justo Milla, p. 88.
 13. The civil marriage law which the clergy violently opposed was called "la ley del perro." In Guatemala it existed during the time of Mariano Gálvez, but was outlawed under the Conservative Carrera.
 14. F. Hernández de León, "Apunte sobre esta edición," El Visitador, 4th ed., Colección "Juan Chapín," I (Guatemala, 1935), v-vi.
 15. *Ibid.*, iv.
 16. Lorenzo Montúfar, Memorias autobiográficas (Guatemala, 1898), p. 33.
 17. Díaz, Hist. imp., p. 44, mistakenly identified Lorenzo Montúfar as Manuel Montúfar, who was Lorenzo's uncle.
 18. Montúfar, Mem. auto., p. 33.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 34, says that Milla "En los momentos en que debía leer a Cabalarío, discutía con sus amigos los versos de Zorrilla, los artículos de Larra, las poesías de Lamartine y las obras de Victor Hugo." The anticlerical Lorenzo Montúfar uses the term "Cabalarío" to refer to books on Canon Law. He takes it from the word "cabbalah" which in Hebrew means tradition, but which has since taken on the idea of mystery, intrigue and the occult. Montúfar has carried his disrespect further by personalizing the concept. Díaz, Hist. imp., p. 79, adds other names to the list of authors, stating that Milla read "desde el celebrado autor del Poema del Cid, hasta Quintana y Moratín; leyendo con delicia a Horacio y a Lamartine, rindiendo culto y admiración a Shakespeare, inclinándose ante Schiller, el genio levantado."
 20. Montúfar, Mem. auto., pp. 35-36.
 21. Carrera's troops entered Guatemala City carrying an animal horn, called a cacho, instead of a bugle or a trumpet, hence the name cachurecos. Morazán's followers were called Coquimbos, the name being derived from the fact that after their leader's death, they left from Puntarenas, Costa Rica on the Schooner "Coquimbo."

22. Hernández de León, "Apunte," El Visitador, 111; cf. Díaz, Hist. imp., p. 44.
23. Montúfar, Mem. auto., p. 410.
24. All the names mentioned in Milla's poem, Carrera, Paiz, Aycinena, and Pavón, played a part in this phase of Central American history. The ruling triumvirate was Rafael Carrera, his brother Sotero with the portfolio of the treasury and Gerónimo Paiz with the portfolio of war. The other two names, Manuel Francisco Pavón and Juan José de Aycinena, belonged to other leading aristocrats who were probably even more intimately connected with the Salvadoran incident since they were responsible for sending Manuel José Arce to El Salvador to replace the President of that country, an act which in effect had provoked the invasion of Guatemala.
25. Adrián Recinos graciously lent me his personal copy of this edition.
26. Batres Jáuregui, José Batres Montúfar, p. 82.
27. The edition of 1952 by the Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública was the thirteenth.
28. César Brañas, Tras las huellas de Juan Diéguez (Guatemala, n.d.), p. 25; David Vela, Literatura guatemalteca (Guatemala, 1943-44), II, 191-192.
29. Montúfar, Mem. auto., p. 72. 30. Ibid., p. 71.
31. Ramón A. Salazar, Prólogo, Historia de un nene, 4th ed., Colección "Juan Chapín," IX (Guatemala, 1937), 8.
32. Rosa, Rev. Univ. (1921), p. 188.
33. Montúfar, Mem. auto., p. 88; Idem, Reseña histórica de Centro-América (Guatemala, 1878-87), VI, 14.
34. Salazar, Pról., Hist. nene, p. 8.
35. This separatist movement was not new because ten years earlier the departments of Quetzaltenango, Totonicapán and Sololá had united as the State of Los Altos. However, whereas then, autonomous rule lasted for only two years, the conditions in 1848 favored independence for the new state.
36. Montúfar, Res. hist., V, 106; Idem, Mem. auto., pp. 86-89.
37. Montúfar, Res. hist., V, 448-450.

38. Ibid., V, 462; also see Ibid., II, 252, which explains that "...Carrera dió un decreto convocando a elecciones de diputados a una asamblea constituyente. En la mayoría de los departamentos, perdió el gobierno las elecciones... Don Luis Batres aconsejó a Carrera que renunciara la presidencia y saliera del país, asegurándole que pronto el partido liberal se suicidaría, como se ha suicidado siempre y Carrera volviera en triunfo. Carrera aceptó el consejo y presentó su renuncia a la asamblea."
39. Ibid., V, 768.
40. Ibid., V, 694.
41. Acta constitutiva de la República de Guatemala, decretada por la asamblea constituyente el 19 de octubre de 1851 (Guatemala, [1851]), [8] pp. The work that preceded the constitution was the Proyecto de constitución para la República de Guatemala, presentado al supremo gobierno en julio de 1847. (Guatemala, 1848), 57 pp.
42. Mary P. Holleran, Church and State in Guatemala (New York, 1949), p. 140; John Lloyd Mechem, Church and State in Latin America (Chapel Hill, 1934), p. 374.
43. Gaceta de Guatemala, Oct. 27, 1854, p. 2.
44. Montúfar, Res. hist., VI, 244; Ramón A. Salazar, El tiempo viejo, recuerdos de mi juventud (Guatemala, 1896), p. 50, talking about the same Gaceta, said: "...cada semana nos suministraba muy interesantes noticias sobre la salud de Su Santidad Pío XIX o los gestos y dichos de Su Majestad Napoleón III y las cóleras y tiranías del Czar de todas las Rusias," and added that "La Semana tenía aires de doncella anémica."
45. The names of Cass and Irisarri became famous together for their part in the Cass-Irisarri Treaty (proposed 1857) which provided neutral transit of the Nicaraguan Isthmus.
46. Milla's letter to Luis Molina, "A bordo del Columbus," March 26, 1859. This is one of fifty-three unpublished letters exchanged by José Milla and Luis Molina during the years 1859 to 1863. Walter A. Payne kindly allowed me to see his typewritten copies of the originals, copies which he made up from transcriptions placed at his disposal by J. Daniel Contreras.
47. Milla's letter to Luis Molina, Guatemala, Sept. 21, 1860.
48. Miguel Antonio Caro, Obras Completas de Miguel Antonio Caro, III (Bogotá, 1921), 310.
49. García Salas et al., Cor. fún., p. 19.
50. Salazar, Fról., Hist. pepe, p. 8.

51. Ibid., p. 9.
52. Milla's letter to Luis Molina, Guatemala, Nov. 6, 1862.
53. Salomé Jil (José Milla) Un viaje al otro mundo, pasando por otras partes, 1871 a 1874, 3rd ed., Colección "Juan Chapín" (Guatemala, 1936), III, 425-426, jokes about the use of an anagram. Juan Chapín supposedly intends to publish his own account of their travels under what he mistakenly calls "un telegrama." After Salomé Jil makes fun of the mistake and says "Muy corta debe ser la obra...si ha de salir en forma de telegrama," the Chapín explains that he will rearrange the letters of his name and make "Pincha." When Salomé Jil explains that this is called an "anagrama," he answers: "Ana o tela, poco importa...la grama es aquí lo que hace al caso." But when one considers the pseudonyms—George Elliot, Curer and Ellis Bell (Charlotte and Emily Brontë), Fernán Caballero—which women had to adopt in order to become "men" of letters, it seems most peculiar that José Milla should have assumed a feminine nom de plume. What is even more curious is that he does not seem to find it necessary to maintain the pose within his writings. See chapter on the cuadros, p. 17.
54. Salazar, Pról., Hist. pepe, p. 9.
55. Gaceta de Guatemala, July 23, 1868, pp. 1-2.
56. Ramón Rosa, Oro de Honduras. Antología (Tegucigalpa, 1948-1954), I, 102; Idem, Rev. Univ. (1922), p. 228.
57. Rosa, Oro, I, 102; Idem, Rev. Univ. (1922), pp. 227-228; García Salas et al., Cor. fún., p. 75.
58. Jesús E. Carranza, El General Justo Rufino Barrios, 3rd ed. (Guatemala, 1956), pp. 87-89.
59. Carlos Samayoa Chinchilla, El quetzal no es rojo (Guatemala, 1956), p. 64.
60. Constitución de la República de Guatemala decretada por la asamblea nacional constituyente en 11 de diciembre de 1879 y reformada por el mismo alto cuerpo en 5 de noviembre de 1887, 30 de agosto de 1897 y 20 de diciembre de 1927 (Guatemala, 1928), 104 pp.
61. Paul Burgess, Justo Rufino Barrios, 2nd ed. (Quezaltenango, 1946), p. 70.
62. Lily Aguirre, El país de la eterna primavera (Guatemala, 1950), p. 235.

63. The letter, written in August of 1863, was kept because of the impossibility of publication at that time. Although signed merely with the name "Un Guatemalteco," it can be identified through subsequent open letters. A letter directed "A los perturbadores del orden y la libertad," dated July 6 and signed by such Liberals as Agustín D. Durán, Manuel Lemus, Leonardo Orellana, Mariano Monzón and Cayetano Mejía, criticized the author of the original letter for his unkind words. The response and personal defense came five days later in a third letter entitled "Al público," this time bearing the author's real name, José Mariano Micheo. All these letters are in Hojas Sueltas de Periódicos, No. 6, 1871-1873 (pages unnumbered) which can be found in the National Library in Guatemala City. The first and no doubt most interesting letter, called "Don José Milla, Gran notabilidad de Campanario," contains the following poem: "La Victoria de Oajaca / Cuenta que Maximiliano / Usurpador! buen cristiano! / Con Ezequiel come en vaca / Fortuna instable! bellaca / Que abates al gran señor, / Prodigando tu favor. / A la liberal gavilla! / ¿No querrá hoy don Pepe Milla / Comer con su emperador?" (The Victoria of Oajaca was a newspaper which could not circulate freely in Guatemala during the Conservative rule. Reference to Ezequiel alludes to an episode in the book of the Bible of the same name, Ch. IV:12-15.) Also of interest is Micheo's attack on Milla for the speech he gave to inaugurate his classes at the Colegio de Abogados on July 9, 1868, the reproduction of which can be found in the Gaceta Oficial, July 23, 1868, XV, No. 82, 1-2. Micheo refers to it as the "disparatada alocución que pronunció al inaugurarse la referida clase." Micheo particularly objected to Milla's lines "creo innecesario indicar la necesidad de emprender esos estudios con buen ánimo, sin que nos desaliente lo arduo de la empresa....," which he considered to be banal.
64. Uriarte, Gal. noét., II, 4-5.
65. Hernández de León, "Apunte," El Visitador, xiii; Walter A. Payne, A Central American Historian, p. 47, reports that Milla worked as subordinate editor of the Spanish edition of the newspaper, meaning by this that he did not write in French. Payne further states that he looked for Milla's articles in Paris, but could find none. See Ibid., p. 70, p 129.
66. Montúfar, Mem. auto., p. 410. 67. Rosa, Rev. Univ. (1922), p. 230.
68. El Guatemalteco, Dec. 4, 1874, p. 2, lists Milla on the steamship "Ancón," arriving in San José from Panama at four in the morning of November 29, 1874.
69. La Sociedad Económica de Guatemala, Sept. 30, 1875, pp. 1-2.
70. Díaz, Hist. imp., p. 48. 71. Ibid., p. 46.

72. Antonio Batres Jáuregui, La América Central ante la historia (Guatemala, 1949), III, 503-504, throws some interesting light on Barrios' ambitions, and ascribes a very noble reason: "No fué el móvil del general Barrios...incrementar su poder, ni menos el espíritu de extenderlo. Fué, en verdad, el propósito de salvar el territorio de Centro América del imperialismo, que ansiaba la construcción, por Nicaragua, del canal interoceánico; fué el de neutralizar la alianza ofensiva y defensiva, que los Estados Unidos tenían estipulada con el Gobierno de don Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, que hubiera perjudicado a Guatemala. El general J. Rufino Barrios perdió la vida en pos de una idea patriótica, elevada y generosa!"
73. El Porvenir, "Alcance" to No. 63 (Jan. 5, 1880), p. 1. For the "Dictamen del Jurado," see El Porvenir, III, 65 (Feb. 6, 1880), 260-263.
74. Díaz, Hist. imp., pp. 46-47. 75. Ibid., p. 48.
76. The notice in the Diario de Centro América, Oct. 2, 1882, gives the date as October 1 since Milla's death took place just after midnight. Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, p. 5, also supplies the same date. García Salas et al., Cor. fun., p. 24, says the time was twelve fifteen. Ramón Rosa, "El 30 de Septiembre de 1882," La Revista (Sept. 30, 1889), pp. 66-68, used the date which has traditionally been respected as the one on which Milla died.
77. Díaz, Hist. imp., p. 48.
78. El Porvenir, III, 141 (Oct. 15, 1881), 1; Ibid., IV, 177 (July 2, 1882), 2, (see letter signed "Varios Fieles"); Ibid., IV, 178 (July 9, 1882), 2, (see letter signed "Unos Jiles," a defense); Ibid., IV, 182 (Aug. 6, 1882), 1; Ibid., IV, 187 (Sept. 9, 1882), 2; Ibid., IV, 188 (Sept. 15, 1882), 1; (a "contra protesta" in answer to article in Diario de Centro América, No. 622, Sept. 11, 1882); Ibid., IV, 191 (Oct. 8, 1882), 1; Ibid., IV, 193 (Oct. 22, 1882), 1; Ibid., IV, 195 (Nov. 9, 1882), 1.
79. Caro, Obras, III, 310. 80. Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, 4.
81. El Horizonte, Oct. 8, 1882, p. 1.
82. In 1885 the Guatemalan government agreed to publish the Corona fúnebre at a cost of three hundred dollars. The money to be collected from the sale of the publication was destined for a monument to be placed in the Cementerio Nuevo. Rev. Univ. (1922), pp. 195-240, tells of the other monuments erected in Milla's honor. It explains that at the ceremony at the University, the law students "descubrieron en una de las arcadas del edificio de la Universidad, el nombre de José Milla en letras de bronce!" See Ibid., p. 196. It

further adds that Colonel Pedro Milla, the author's son, "descubría la lápida de mármol con que la Universidad garantiza del olvido el nombre del gran escritor." The plaque in the law school, which is located on Ninth Avenue almost at the corner of Tenth Street, reads: "El Consejo Superior de la Universidad acuerda: poner en el salón de honor de la Universidad Nacional de Guatemala, una lápida que conmemore el centenario del nacimiento del Ilustre escritor José Milla, glorioso prestigio de las letras patrias." It is signed by Pastor Guerrero, the Rector, and Rafael Valle, the Secretary, and bears the dates August 4, 1822 and August 4, 1922. Víctor Miguel Díaz, Las bellas artes en Guatemala (Guatemala, 1934), p. 410, locates and describes the statue in the park erected in Milla's honor. He reports: "En el ángulo S.E. del jardín 'La Concordia' se halla el busto del autor de 'Los Nazarenos.' En el pedestal de granito, esta grabada esta sencilla leyenda 'Guatemala a José Milla'." The bust is now located in the southwest corner of the park, with the one of Enrique Gómez Carrillo occupying the southeast corner. Unfortunately the legend on the stone pedestal is missing. For more information on the honors accorded Milla, see my article "Monumentos conmemorativos," El Imparcial, Aug. 5, 1958, p. 3.

83. Guatemala filatélica, XIII (Aug.-Oct. 1945), 4-5; Ibid., XIV (Nov. 1945-Jan. 1946), 2; Albert F. Kunze, Who's Who on the Postage Stamps of Guatemala (Washington, 1955), pp. 13-14.
84. Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, 6.

Chapter II

1. Perhaps the first example of this type of writing in Guatemala was an "Artículo de Costumbres" called "Las Encomiendas" Dated Sept. 18, 1840 and signed "Diavolino," it appeared in the Gaceta Oficial, No. 155, April 26, 1844, p. 634. The identity of "Diavolino" is unknown.
2. These dates refer to the articles published under the name of Quadros de costumbres guatemaltecas. The articles in Libro sin nombre appeared in La Semana (1870-71) and the ones in El canasto del sastre in Diario de Centro América (1881-82). Two articles, "El fraque" and "Año viejo y año nuevo," published in La Semana, No. 80, January 6, 1871 and No. 83, January 29, 1871, were not included in the various editions of Libro sin nombre. They have been reproduced in El Imparcial, the first appearing Sept. 10, 1958, pp. 9, 11 and the other, Oct. 1, 1958, p. 3. See my article "Artículos de don José Milla no incluidos en sus obras," El Imparcial, Aug. 4, 1958, p. 3. One cuadro appearing in La Hoja de Avisos, No. 4, Dec. 31, 1861, and called "Contestación de Salomé Jil a una carta de un amigo de Sonsonate," is missing from all the editions of Quadros de costumbres.

3. Salomé Jil (José Milla), El canasto del sastre, Cuadros de costumbres guatemaltecas, 2nd ed., Colección "Juan Chapín," IV (Guatemala, 1935), 10--hereafter cited as El canasto.
4. Salomé Jil (José Milla), Cuadros de costumbres guatemaltecas, 4th ed., Colección "Juan Chapín," X (Guatemala, 1937), 151.
5. F. Courtney Tarr, "Romanticism in Spain and Spanish Romanticism: A Critical Survey," BSS, XVI, 61 (Jan. 1939), 27.
6. Frank M. Duffey, The Early Cuadro de Costumbres in Colombia, University of North Carolina Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures, No. 26 (Chapel Hill, 1956), xi, says: "Neither Spanish nor Colombian writers recognized the distinction between cuadro and artículo ... (The same might be said of Milla) and continues by saying: "...but it is of great value in recognizing and classifying a body of material which is likely to be confusing in its volume and variety." The problem is, of course, that it is extremely difficult to apply criteria to an author's work when the author himself was unaware of any such criteria.
7. Cuadros, p. 79.
8. Ibid., pp. 128-129.
9. Ibid., p. 70.
10. Milla's article was printed in the Diario de Centro América, Dec. 7, 1880. Larra called his first article in El Pobrecito Hablador (Aug. 1832) "¿Quién es público y dónde se le encuentra?" and subtitled it "Artículo robado." The words were not original with him. Joseph Etienne Jouy, L'hermite de la Chaussée d'Antin, ou Observation sur les mœurs et usages français au commencement du XIX siècle, 6th ed. (Paris, 1815), II, 171, asks the question "Qu'est-ce que le public? et où le trouve-t-on?" Ibid., I, 120, also says "J'espère, M. l'Hermitte, que vous voudrez bien éclaircir mes doutes; j'espère que vous voudrez bien me dire ce que c'est que le public, où est le public..." The two quotes are from "Le Public," written May 2, 1812 and "Correspondence," written Oct. 24, 1811. W. S. Hendrix, "Notes on Jouy's Influence on Larra," RR, XI (1920), 38, mentions the two articles.
11. Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, 4; García Salas et al., Cor. fún., p. 8; Caro, Obras, III, 310; Javier Valenzuela, hijo, Don José Milla como escritor de costumbres (Estudio crítico) (Guatemala, 1890), p. 22; Lázaro Lamadrid, "A Survey of the Historiography of Guatemala since 1821," The Americas, VIII, 2 (Oct. 1951), 198.
12. Luis Cardoza y Aragón, Guatemala: Las líneas de su mano (Mexico, 1955), p. 168, says: "...nada tiene que ver José Milla con Mariano José de Larra, genio potente de piedad y desesperación..."

13. Salazar, Pról., Hist. pens., p. 19.
14. José Rodríguez Cerna, Interiores (Semblanzas y paisajes) (Guatemala, 1942), p. 40.
15. César Branas, Cuadros de costumbres, 5th ed. (Guatemala, 1952), I, ix, says "La influencia predominante y más constante en Milla costumbrista fué la de don Ramón de Mesonero Romanos..." Ibid., xiv, suggests that Milla's Hoja de Avisos was perhaps a conscious attempt to imitate in title and scope Mesonero's own Diario de Avisos.
16. Cuadros, p. 115. 17. Ibid., p. 68.
18. Ibid., p. 69. 19. El canasto, p. 68.
20. Ibid., p. 431. 21. Cuadros, p. 205.
22. In the article "Los sorios," Milla says that he was in Amatitlán.
23. Cuadros, p. 422. 24. Ibid., p. 427.
25. Similarly, the fantastic element is present in the article "Puros y cigarros" when both of these objects speak. In "La Feria de Jocotenango" Salomé Jil engages in a conversation with a tree. In the article "Los perezosos" even intangibles like el Deber, la Pereza and la Mentira become allegorical figures with the power of rational speech.
26. In some other cases similar to "La capa," much of an article concerns itself with an earlier period. In both "Un litigante" and "Padre mercader, hijo caballero y nieto pordiosero," the action begins in the year 1780 and much of it takes place in the past.
27. La Hoja de Avisos, Dec. 13, 1861, p. 2.
28. Cuadros, p. 6. 29. Ibid., p. 9.
30. Ibid., p. 70. 31. El canasto, p. 9.
32. Cuadros, pp. 357-358. 33. Ibid., p. 447.
34. Díaz, Hist. imp., p. 48; Idem, Apuntes y reseñas (Guatemala, 1924), p. 62.
35. Cuadros, p. 74. 36. Ibid., pp. 203-204.
37. Ibid., p. 204. 38. El canasto, p. 11; Cuadros, p. 289.
39. Cuadros, p. 79. 40. Ibid., p. 413.

41. Milla says: "En cuanto al origen del nombre lana, en la acepción en que aquí se toma y en la cual lo empleo en este artículo supongo será el cobertor de lana ordinaria llamado entre nosotros chamarra, con que se abrigan los hombres del pueblo, y que así suele servir de capa por el día, como colcha por la noche. Es ciertamente un raro capricho el haber aplicado a una clase de la sociedad la palabra que denota una material textil..." See Cuadros, p. 364. Later in his writings, talking about the famous bandit Pie de Lana, he said: "Dio origen a ese extraño apodo la circunstancia de que hubo en otro tiempo en la Antigua un jefe de malhechores que acostumbra envolverse los pies en tiras de orillo, lo que amortiguaba completamente el ruido de sus pasos... El nombre de Pie de lana se hizo extensivo, como sucede regularmente, a todos los de la gavilla, y por abreviar les llamaban sencillamente los lanas, dando así origen, a lo que sospechamos a ese famoso dictado que designaba hasta hace muy poco tiempo a la clase menos respetable del vecindario." See Hist. pare, p. 106.
42. Cuadros, p. 345.
43. Ibid., p. 98. Even today Guatemalans are called "Chapines" by other Central Americans. Juan Chapín is equivalent to John Doe in the United States.
44. Ibid., pp. 98-99.
45. Today guanaco is a name Guatemalans give to Salvadorans. Lorenzo Montúfar, Reg. hist., I, 158, in referring to a happening as early as 1829, said: "...les decían guanacos, denominación con que se distingue en Guatemala a los hijos de los otros Estados de Centro-América, y con la cual se pretende muchas veces ofender a todos los que han nacido fuera de las garitas de la capital."
46. Cuadros, p. 280.
47. Ibid., p. 319.
48. He limited his political views to the Conservative publications, La Revista and La Gaceta.
49. J. M. Vela Irisarri, "Mi humilde opinión sobre 'los cuadros'," Cuadros, p. 53.
50. Rodríguez Cerna, Interiores, p. 41.
51. El canasto, p. 145.
52. Cuadros, p. 493.
53. Ibid., p. 404.
54. Ibid., p. 405.
55. El canasto, p. 9.
56. Cuadros, p. 284.
57. Ibid., p. 292.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 298. The patriotic hymn to Carrera (1844) also begins "Quia pulvis es et pulverem revertis." In the poem, however, the expression is used in all seriousness.
59. Cuadros, p. 412. 60. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 344.
62. Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, 5; García Salas et al., Cor. fún., p. 20.
63. Cuadros, p. 363. 64. *Ibid.*, p. 292.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104. 66. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 253. 68. *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 312, 373.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 273.
70. Pisto = money, entelerido = thin, bolo = drunk, chucho = cheap skate, suyaçal = a rain cover of palme.
71. Cuadros, p. 409. 72. El canasto, p. 135.
73. Cuadros, p. 291. 74. El canasto, p. 347.
75. Thomas Ballantine Irving made a mistake when he gave Dos Novelas Humorísticas del Canasto del Sastre as the sub-title for his Aventuras en Centro América (1951). The five sketches about Tío Climas which he included as one of the "novelas" were published as cuadros in the Diario de Centro América from No. 106, Sept. 9, 1880 to No. 131, Jan. 3, 1881. Brañas, Cuadros de costumbres, I, xviii n, falls into the same error. Thomas Ballantine Irving and Robert Kirsner, Paisajes del Sur (New York, 1954), p. 104, make the same kind of mistake again. The article by Milla which they include also appeared as a cuadro in the Diario de Centro América, No. 154, Jan. 7, 1881. Moreover, Milla called it "Los hombres graves en el baile" and not "Los Hombres Serios en un Baile."
76. Libro sin nombre, p. 153. 77. El canasto, p. 159.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 5. 79. *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.
80. Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, 5-6, considered both the Libro sin nombre and El canasto del sastre to be continuations of the cuadros. The same author, along with F. González Campo stated that the two "son obras que sin ser precisamente del género de los Cuadros participan mucho de él, razón por la cual los colocamos en seguida." See García Salas et al., Cor. fún., p. 8. Antonio Batres Jáuregui,

Literatos guatemaltecos, Lanívar & Irisarri (Guatemala, 1896), pp. 36-37, claimed that "El canasto del sastre, El libro sin nombre y mucho de lo último que escribió Salomé Jil (and this would include Milla's cuadros of 1880-1881), ya no presenta la brillantéz y tersura de aquellas soberbias acuarelas que engalaban 'La Semana'." The reason he gives takes on a kind of poetic analogy: "Cuando el ave canta libre en el ramaje, produce seductores trinos; cuando el genio no sufre las ironías de la suerte, abre sus alas por las regiones etéreas; pero cuando hay sufrimiento y desencanto, sólo brotan suspiros y lágrimas." However, both the statement and poetic explanation are incorrect. For one thing, the articles in Libro sin nombre were composed in 1870 and 1871 before Milla's political sponsors were ousted from power, before he felt he had to leave his beloved country, before he had any reason to be disillusioned, sad or bitter. Furthermore, even as late as 1880, although he was being attacked in rival newspapers, there was no indication that his sense of humor was dulled. His was still the broad, robust, good-natured humor of earlier years. Valenzuela, Don José Milla, p. 27, said of Milla: "...fué siempre bondadoso, afable, jovial." Valenzuela was Milla's student at La Enseñanza about 1880.

81. Díaz, Hist. Imp., p. 45.
82. This edition, published by the Guatemalan Ministry of Education in the Biblioteca de Cultura Popular, is now almost completely out-of-print. It was considered worthy and representative enough of national letters to be given good circulation abroad. Copies of it can be found in many far-off places; for instance, there is one in the Ibero-Amerikanska Biblioteket in Stockholm, Sweden. See Sveriges Offentliga Bibliotek Accessions-Katalog, 67-68 (1952-1953), Redigerad av Bibliografiska Institutet vid Kungl Biblioteket i Stockholm (Stockholm, 1955), p. 427.
83. See La Semana, Sept. 6, 1868, p. 2; Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, 4; Antonio Batres Jáuregui, Literatura americana (Guatemala, 1879), p. 294.
84. See Doris King Arjona [and] Jaime Homero Arjona, Bibliography of Textbooks of Spanish published in the United States (1795-1939) (Ann Arbor, 1939), p. 129.
85. Juan Fermín Aycinena, Pról., El Visitador, p. 3.
86. Díaz, Hist. Imp., p. 45.
87. Jorge del Valle Matheu, Sociología guatemalteca (Guatemala, 1950), pp. 142-143.
88. Valenzuela, Don José Milla, p. 6.

89. García Salas et al., Cor. fún., p. 8.
90. Cardoza y Aragón, Guatemala, p. 164.

Chapter III

1. Sánchez, La tierra del quetzal, p. 120; Idem, "José Milla y Vidaurre, el sosegado," Rev. Ind., XXXVI (July-Aug. 1950), 350; Idem, Atenea, XXIX, T. CVI, 323 (May 1952), 260.
2. Antonio Rey Soto, Estampas guatemaltecas (Guatemala, 1929), p. 67.
3. Enrique Martínez Sobral, Rev. Univ. (1922), p. 222. Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, 4, expressed the idea that "Cualquiera que sea el juicio que los contemporáneos formen acerca de estas obras, nadie podrá disputar a Milla de haber sido el primero que consagrara a ese género difícil de la literatura." But Manuel Montúfar Alfaro wrote the historical novel El Alférez Real, the prologue of which appeared in El Museo Guatemalteco, II, 10 (Sept. 4, 1858). The first entrega came out Sept. 24 of the same year. Still the original work, published in the Imprenta de Luna, is apparently only fragmentary. It was being published at a time when Milla was filling a government position in the United States and it is difficult to say if it produced any effect on him; he never mentions it. El Alférez Real should not be confused with the more famous one by the Colombian Eustaquio Palacios.
4. Vela, Lit. guat., II, 377.
5. The 4th ed. of the novel, appearing in Vol. I of the Colección "Juan Chapín," 1935, contains 636 pp.
6. Memorias de un abogado was first published by la Imprenta de Taracena e Hijos, Calle del Carmen, Guatemala, 1876. In later editions it has been included with La hija del Adelantado to form one volume.
7. Salomé Jil (José Milla), "Advertencia," La hija del Adelantado (Guatemala, 1866), p. [1].
8. The article appeared in La Semana, May 14, 1865. In the Colección "Juan Chapín," it is included in Vol. III in the section called "Artículos varios."
9. Salomé Jil (José Milla), Los Nazarenos, 4th ed., Colección "Juan Chapín," II (Guatemala, 1935), 102-103.
10. El Visitador, p. 97.
11. Ibid., p. 99.
12. Walter Scott, Ivanhoe, The Works of Sir Walter Scott, XV (New York, 1913), I, xdi.

13. El Visitador, p. 155.
14. Salomé Jil (José Milla), La hija del Adelantado, 4th ed., Colección "Juan Chapín," V (Guatemala, 1936), 226.
15. Los Nazarenos, p. 63.
16. La hija, p. 63.
17. Ibid., p. 92.
18. Los Nazarenos, p. 446.
19. El Visitador, p. 138.
20. Los Nazarenos, p. 72.
21. El Visitador, p. 498.
22. Carlos Bonilla, Pról., La hija, p. 8.
23. La hija, pp. 39-40.
24. El Visitador, p. 229.
25. Los Nazarenos, p. 48.
26. Milla's letter to Luis Molina, Guatemala, September 21, 1862.
27. El Visitador, p. 575.
28. Actually the first historical novel in Latin America was called Jicoténcal, so that a romantic precedent had already been established. See Jicoténcal, Anon., ed. William Stavelly (Philadelphia, 1826). Also see Enrique Anderson Imbert, "Notas sobre la novela histórica en el siglo XIX," La Novela Iberoamericana (Albuquerque, 1951), pp. 4, 22 p 1.
29. Ramón A. Salazar, Historia del desenvolvimiento intelectual de Guatemala (Guatemala, 1897), I, 276.
30. Vela, Lit. guat., II, 409.
31. Salomé Jil (José Milla), Memorias de un abogado, 4th ed., Colección "Juan Chapín," V (Guatemala, 1936), 318.
32. Bonilla, Pról., La hija, p. 19.
33. In his cuadros Milla used a similar situation which involved a widow and three daughters or three nieces at least four times: "Amores crónicos," "Las medias naranjas," "Un hombre de desempeño" and "Don Anselmito Vidriera."
34. Mem. abogado, p. 356.
35. Ibid., p. 363.
36. Ibid., p. 377.
37. Ibid., p. 315.
38. Ibid., p. 509.

39. Salomé Jil (José Milla), Historia de un pepe, 3rd ed. (Guatemala, 1898), Pról.
40. Salazar, Pról., Hist. pepe, p. 13.
41. Hist. pepe, p. 85. 42. Ibid., p. 34.
43. Ibid., p. 153. 44. Ibid., p. 171.
45. Ibid., p. 81. 46. La hija, p. 42.
47. Mem. abogado, p. 332. 48. La hija, p. 48.
49. Bonilla, Pról., La hija, p. 6. Hernández de León, "Apunte, El Visitador, p. xii, says that Milla "...lanzó el primer ensayo de novela de costumbres en La hija del Adelantado sobre los moldes determinados por el escocés Walter Scott." Fio M. Riépele, "El mundo literario americano," Guat. Lit., I, 9 (Sept. 1903), 414, calls Milla "émulo de Mesonero Romanos y de Walter Scott." B. Almícar Echeverría R., Antología de prosistas guatemaltecos, leyenda, tradición y novela (Guatemala, 1957), p. 138, writes that "En Milla es donde más claros están los elementos ingleses y españoles." He does not explain what he means by those elements, but he may have been associating Milla's novels with those of Scott. Rodríguez Cerna, Interiores, p. 40, opines that "Si linda con Walter Scott y la escuela creada por el gran escocés, tiene su propio aspecto de admirable costumbrista," which is probably a better evaluation.
50. Un viaje, I, 31, 200; El canasto, p. 378.
51. Walter Scott, Kenilworth, Scott's Works, XXII (Edinburgh, 1866), I, 28. P. H. Churchman and E. A. Peers, "A Survey of the Influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain," RHI, LV (1922), 227-310; E. A. Peers, "Studies in the Influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain," RHI, LXVIII (1926), 1-160; Guillermo G. Zellers, "Influencia de Walter Scott en España," RFE, XVIII, 2 (April-June 1931), 149-162; M. Núñez de Arenas, "Simples notas acerca de Walter Scott en España," RHI, LXV (1925), 153-159, all attest to Scott's influence in Spain. Clara S. Wolfe, "Evidences of Scott's indebtedness to Spanish Literature," RR, XXIII, 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1932), 301-311, studying the opposite side of the question, worked on Scott's indebtedness to Spanish literature.
52. Salazar, Pról., Hist. pepe, p. 16.
53. Aycinena, Pról., El Visitador, p. 19.
54. Un viaje, III, 70. 55. Darío, España contemp., p. 292.

56. Luz Valle, "La mujer en las novelas de Pepe Milla," Bol. Bibl. Nac., I, 7 (Oct. 1933), 213.
57. Los Nazarenos, p. 336.
58. Agustín Mencos Francos, Don Juan Núñez García, 2nd ed. [sic] (Guatemala, 1956), p. 5; Idem, Bol. Bibl. Nac., VIII, 4 (Jan. 1940), 141.
59. Cardoza y Aragón, Guatemala, p. 166.
60. Adrián Recinos, Doña Leonor de Alvarado y otros estudios (Guatemala, 1958), p. 9. Frederick Starr, Central America (New York, 1930), pp. 212-223, includes the entire Chapter XIII of La hija del Adelantado.

Chapter IV

1. A. Batres Jáuregui, Guat. Lit., I, 5 (May 1903), 194, reports that "...no todos los documentos de la Sociedad Económica figuran hoy en la Biblioteca Nacional..." Of course, Milla died while the documents were still in his possession, and if the documents were not returned, it was certainly not his fault.
2. G. H. Berendt, "Collections of historical documents in Guatemala," Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1876 (Washington, 1877), p. 422, reports that: "...more than 1200 documents in all ...have been given away, and are now rotting in their boxes at Managua, where the dampness and the destructive insects which are about at that place must soon destroy them."
3. La Semana, May 16, 1868, p. 1; Ibid., July 4, 1868, p. 1.
4. A. Batres Jáuregui, Guat. Lit., I, 5 (May 1903), 194, says: "En cinco baúles llevó nuestro literato la sección completa del Museo Nacional. Eran más de ciento cincuenta libros, fuera de cartas y otros papeles, que caminaron a la hacienda de Quezada."
5. Milla recognized a need for a history of Guatemala and in a book store in the Barbados on the return trip from Europe (Fall 1874), Salomé Jil says: "Me ocurrió preguntar si tenían alguna guía de Forasteros de Barbadas que diera noticias de la colonia y me contestó el librero que lo único que había era la Historia de Barbadas." --"¿Historia de Barbadas? pensé yo; supongo que constará de quince o veinte páginas. Díjele que me la mostrara, y me presentó un grande y grueso volumen, de cerca de 800 páginas, en letra de la que los impresores llaman mostacilla." --"Experimenté cierta tristeza al ver aquel librote; considerando que había faltado quien escribiera, quien imprimiera y que tampoco faltaría probablemente quien

comprara aquel volumen de 800 páginas de historia de un miserable islote, mientras que mi país no tiene aun a derechas ni a torcidas, una historia, que creo presentaría más interés que la de Barbadas." See Un viaje, III, 442-443.

6. La Semana contained: "La Conjuración de los Contreras. Episodio de la historia del antiguo reino de Guatemala en el siglo XVI." Part I, April 9, 1865; Ibid., Part II, April 16, 1865; "La destrucción de la primitiva ciudad de Guatemala. Episodio histórico del siglo XVI," May 14, 1865; "Rebelión de Cristóbal de Olid. Episodio histórico del reino de Guatemala en el siglo XVI," July 16, 1865; "Cosas de otro tiempo. Anécdotas extractadas de las crónicas y documentos antiguos de Guatemala. 1ª Mallén de Rueda. 2ª El Cordónazo de San Francisco," July 30, 1865; "El Puente de los esclavos," August 27, 1865; "Cosas de otro tiempo. Anécdotas extractadas de las crónicas y documentos antiguos de Guatemala. 3ª La Iglesia del cerro del Carmen," Sept. 10, 1865; all of these articles are included in Vol. III of the Colección "Juan Chapín" (1935) in "Artículos Varios" which follows Libro sin nombre. The article "Puente de los esclavos" is also reproduced in Colección de artículos y composiciones de autores centro-americanos (Oakland, Cal., 1895), pp. 98-102. A section of La Semana called "Documentos Históricos" carried both edited and unedited materials which were mostly of the colonial period. A number of historical documents were printed in 1868 under the aegis of José Milla; the Memorias of García Paléaz and the first volume of the Recordación Florida of Fuentes y Guzmán appeared in it. The newspaper also carried on a six-year campaign for the utilization of historical materials of Guatemala.
7. This refers to La hija del Adelantado (1866), Los Nazarenos (1867) and El Visitador (1869). Many portions of Volume I of Historia de la América Central deal with the exploits of Pedro de Alvarado and other historical events found in La hija del Adelantado. Chapters XIII and XVII of Vol. II include a discussion of the events treated in Los Nazarenos and El Visitador. Milla wrote five historical novels in all, but Memorias de un abogado and Historia de un pepe were not written until 1876 and 1882 and refer to more contemporary Guatemalan history. Carlos Salazar, Bol. Bibl. Nac., IV, 13 (April 1935), 550, said: "Pero, sin duda alguna, la obra histórica de mayor mérito, por las cualidades del autor, habría sido la de don José Milla y Vidaurre, el genial novelista, que ha dado a conocer la vida colonial de Guatemala a través de sus novelas históricas."
8. Salomé Jil (José Milla), Historia de la América Central, 2nd ed., Colección "Juan Chapín" (Guatemala, 1937), I, Pról., 12.
9. Ibid., I, Pról., 12.

10. Milla manifested great interest in Bernal Díaz del Castillo, a distant relative of Fuentes y Guzmán, and felt that his history was a most curious and interesting work, but one which had not received the recognition it deserved. See "Rebelión de Cristóbal de Olid," "Artículos Varios," Libro sin nombre, p. 258; "La destrucción de la primitiva ciudad de Guatemala," Libro sin nombre, p. 247. Milla further lauded Bernal Díaz by calling him "nuestro veraz y elegante cronista." See "Rebelión de Cristóbal de Olid," "Artículos Varios," Libro sin nombre, p. 257; also see Hist. Am. Cent., I, 219-220, 282, 312. Milla even considered a letter dated Feb. 22, 1552 from this chronicler to Carlos V significant enough to relish taking credit for its discovery when he made use of the letter in the historical article "La población de Guatemala desde 1604 hasta nuestros días," in "Artículos Varios," Libro sin nombre, p. 212.
11. Hist. Am. Cent., I, Pról., 7.
12. Ibid., II, 45, 55-56, 82, present Remesal's errors; Ibid., II, 55, 483, present Vázquez's errors.
13. Ibid., I, Pról., 6.
14. Ibid., I, Pról., 6; Ibid., I, 419, II, 222, 233, 261, 318, present Fuentes y Guzmán's errors. Agustín Mencos Franco, Literatura guatemalteca en el período de la colonia (Guatemala, 1937), p. 17, concurred in this critical judgment when he said: "Necesarios fueron el estudio y la laborosidad de Milla para señalar todas las fábulas e inexactitudes de la Recordación."
15. Domingo Juarros, A Statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala, trans. by J. Baily (London, 1823).
16. Hist. Am. Cent., I, 21, 43, 169, 221, 256, 337, 347, 362, 364, 366-367, 397, 410-411, 418-419, 474, 512, 514, 549-550; Ibid., II, 222, 250, 260, 265, 318, 341, 418, 429, 432.
17. Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Central America. Works, VII (San Francisco, 1882-1887), 142.
18. Hist. Am. Cent., I, 240, 336, 362, 520, present compliments; Ibid., II, 55, 404, present criticisms.
19. Ibid., II, 275.
20. Ibid., II, 227, 231, 233, 274, 349, 432, 443.
21. Even Hubert Howe Bancroft, Milla's contemporary, does not mention this work by the priest of Santo Tomás Chichicastenango. The work that he does list in his bibliography is: Jiménez (Francisco),

Las Historias del Origen de los Indios de esta Provincia de Guatemala (Vienna, 1857). See Bancroft, Works, VI, xlvi. This work of Kiménez's is, of course, Karl Scherzer's edition. Bancroft does not list Milla's Historia de la América Central either, despite the fact that Vol. I had already been published. Bancroft does mention Milla a number of times but usually in reference to his biography of the Guatemalan Conservative M. F. Pavón. See Ibid., VIII, 99, 125, 192, 273. Milla also ignored Bancroft's History of Central America. A. Batres Jáuregui, "Literatura histórica," Guat. Lit., I, 8 (Aug. 1903), 356, said: "No pudo tener a la vista don José Milla las importantísimas obras de Bancroft."

22. Hist. Am. Cent., I, 401; See Proceso de Pedro de Alvarado y Nuño de Guzmán, ed. Lic. Ignacio L. Rayón, notes by Lic. J. Fernando Ramírez (Mexico, 1847).
23. Hist. Am. Cent., I, 224, says: "...ni Remesal, ni Fuentes, ni Ximénez, ni Vázquez, ni Juarros tuvieron noticia de aquellos interesantes documentos, y que el Señor García Peláez se lamenta de su supuesta falta." The letters were published in the Boletín de la Sociedad Económica, III, 43-46. Salazar, Hist. del des., I, 22, says: "Estas cartas de Pedro de Alvarado son bastante raras, hasta el grado de no haberlas conocido ninguno de nuestros historiadores, excepto el laborioso y erudito señor Milla, por quien sé que los originales se encuentran en la Biblioteca de Viena. La Nacional, que está a mi cargo, no carece de ellos, pues en el primer tomo de la obra de González Barcia se encuentran esos documentos, de gran importancia para la historia patria, que no han sido bastante explotados en los muchos y curiosos datos que encierran."
24. Hist. Am. Cent., II, 56, 63-64, 130.
25. Juan Gavarrete, "Catálogo razonado de los objetos con que se inauguró el Departamento Etnográfico del Museo Nacional," La Sociedad Económica, I (May 1866), 61-74; "Colección de los documentos históricos reunidos en la parte etnográfica del Museo Nacional," La Sociedad Económica, III, 1-27 (July 1872-Aug. 1873), 3-4, 7-8. "Catálogo de las obras impresas y manuscritos de que actualmente se compone la Biblioteca de la Sección Etnográfica del Museo Nacional," La Sociedad Económica, III, 55-56 (Feb.-March 1875), 3-5, 5-7. (A reprint of this "Catálogo" is found in the Bol. Bibl. Mac., IX, 2 (July 1940), 47-52). Batres Jáuregui, "Lit. hist.," Guat. Lit., I, 8 (Aug. 1903), 356, writes, after a significant listing of texts: "Todas estas obras, y algunas más que figuraban en el catálogo de la Sección Etnográfica del Museo Nacional, las entregó por inventario el que escribe estas líneas escribe a don José Milla y Vidaurre, para que redactara la historia de la América Central, por comisión del presidente de la república don J. Rufino Barrios así como los manuscritos y crónicas que se han citado anteriormente. Habría

sido justo que, en el prólogo de su historia hubiera dicho el señor Milla de donde había obtenido ya coleccionado, el material que le sirvió para su histórica labor. Un recuerdo en esa obra, a la memoria de D. Juan Gavarrete, habría sido tributo siquiera tardío a sus merecimientos. La Colección de los Documentos Históricos, fué fruto de muchos años de patriótica labor de un estudio concienzudo, acompañado del trabajo de obtener antigüedades raras, como las que contenía el espléndido archivo de Fayés, con todos los tomos de la Gaceta de Guatemala, desde los tiempos coloniales hasta 1854, y las colecciones treinta y un periódicos de Centro-América. Algo de eso queda en la Biblioteca Nacional." This oversight on Milla's part was very annoying to Batres Jáuregui, and he makes note of it again by saying: "El señor Milla escribió los dos tomos de su historia; pero no todos los documentos de la Sociedad Económica figuran hoy en la Biblioteca Nacional, sin que ese distinguido escritor hiciera mención, por lo menos en el prólogo, de valioso arsenal que se le suministró. De don Juan Gavarrete nada dijo tampoco cuando habiase debido a la ciencia acuciosidad y laborioso trabajo de este paciente historiógrafo, el reunir los preciosos materiales que formaron, durante largos años, la Sección Etnográfica del Museo Nacional." See *Ibid.*, I, 5 (May 1903), 194-195. Milla, however, was not as pleased with the "Catálogo" as Batres felt he should be and in recounting a visit to the bookstore Maisonneuve, Quai Voltaire No. 15, in Paris, he says: "En aquella librería están de venta las obras del abate Brasseur de Bourbourg... Viendo el 'Catálogo de las obras impresas y manuscritos en la sección etnográfica del Museo Nacional' de Guatemala, publicado este año 1875, por la Sociedad Económica, advierto que falta en esa colección una u otra obra interesante de las que se hallan en la librería de Maisonneuve y que sería muy fácil adquirir. Por ejemplo: la carta a M. Leon de Rosny, sobre el descubrimiento de documentos relativos a la alta antigüedad americana, y sobre la explicación e interpretación de la escritura fonética y figurativa de la lengua Maya; un tomo en 80, impreso en Paris en 1869, con dos láminas, por el abate Brasseur de Bourbourg... Si existen fuentes de la historia primitiva de México en los monumentos egipcios, y de la historia primitiva del antiguo mundo en los monumentos americanos, Paris 1864." Also missing in Milla's opinion were three works of M. de Charencey: "Ensayo de explicación de un fragmento de inscripción palencana, Paris, 1870, Investigaciones sobre las leyes fonéticas en los idiomas de la familia Mame-Huasteca, Paris, 1872, El pronombre personal en los idiomas de familia Tapochulana-Huasteca, Caén, 1868." Milla adds: "Convendría también, a mi juicio, averiguar si se ha terminado la impresión que estaba haciéndose cuando yo visité la librería Maisonneuve, del "Codex Chimalpopoca" manuscrito en lengua nahuatl de la antigua colección de Boturini, con el título de "Historia de los Reyes de Colhuacán y México" traducido por M. Brasseur." He concludes, "La librería de Maisonneuve posee libros curiosísimos en todos los idiomas y dialectos conocidos, siendo una de las más ricas que pueden encontrarse en Europa en obras de Historia, Etnografía, libros políglotos, la lingüística, Gramática y Mitología comparada, etc." See Un viaje, II, 48-49.

26. In 1855, Milla became familiar with Brasseur de Bourbourg (1814-1874). The Gaceta de Guatemala, Feb. 4, 1855, p. 7, made mention of Brasseur de Bourbourg's presence in Guatemala and his departure for Rabinal to do more Indian studies. The same newspaper, May 18, 1855, p. 4, reproduced a letter of his, written May 14, 1855, which thanked the citizenry for its help and hospitality during his sojourn. Already in July of 1855 Milla printed in the Gaceta a letter from the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg which contained information about the latter's travels into Verapaz and descriptions of the remains of Cakyuand Tzak Pokoma. See Ibid., July 20, 1855, p. 5. Three of his letters written to the Gaceta were reproduced in the Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia, XX (1945), 7, 113, 232, 296; Ibid., XXI (1946), 67, 157. Milla in Un viaje, III, 146-147, mentions that he met with Brasseur de Bourbourg again in Marseille during the winter of 1873-1874 and that the famous ethnologist died a short time afterwards in the "Hotel de Extranjeros" in Nice.
27. Hist. Am. Cent., I, Pról., 10.
28. Mencos Franco, Pról., Libro sin nombre, p. 5; Adrián Recinos, Pedro de Alvarado (Mexico, 1952), p. 210; Salvador Falla, Guat. Lit., I, 7 (July 1903), 313; Vela, Lit. guat., II, 87.
29. Hist. Am. Cent., I, 130.
30. Ibid., I, 75; also see Ibid., I, 186. Milla's treatment of the Indian in Hist. Am. Cent. is much more objective and also much more sympathetic than it had been in his earlier writings. In an article of 1847, he spoke of Indian civilization as characterized by drunkenness and animal excesses. See La Revista, March 26, 1847, p. 66. In Hist. Am. Cent., II, 429-430, he feels that the Indian has a right to retain his culture, legends, ceremonies and dances. He criticizes the Spaniards for restricting these practices, saying that they did not understand them. Ibid., I, 474, 507-508, 514, are other places where Milla sees merit in the Indian or his culture.
31. Ibid., I, 550.
32. Salazar, Hist. del des., I, 159.
33. Hist. Am. Cent., I, 265, 357, 405; II, 23-24, 47.
34. Ibid., II, 458; also see Ibid., II, 232; Lanning, The University, pp. 15-31, 86-97, discusses this same point.
35. Hist. Am. Cent., II, 139, 257, 276-277; also see "Prólogo para la primera edición de las poesías de don José Batres," Libro sin nombre, p. 295.
36. Hist. Am. Cent., I, Pról., 8; also see Ibid., I, 125.
37. Ibid., I, 125.

38. Vela, Lit. guat., II, 87, amplifies this intention by saying that the historian proposed "una estimación crítico-filosófica." Milla's dear friend Marco Aurelio Soto thought that a study of the colonial period would in part explain "ante la Filosofía de la Historia, los sucesos de nuestra moderna edad republicana." Marco Aurelio Soto, Desembarcó Cristóbal Colón en tierra firme del continente americano? ed. Ramón Rosa (Tegucigalpa, 1882), p. 34; also see Antonio Machado, Intro., Hist. Am. Cent., II, 7.
39. Batres Jáuregui, "Lit. hist.," Guat. Lit., I, 3 (Aug. 1903), 360, opines: "Acaso si Milla hubiera conocido los rumbos modernos de la historia filosófica, seguida por Chavero en Méjico, Suárez en el Ecuador, Errázuriz y Amanátegui en Chile, habría resultado la obra guatemalteca más amena y trascendental."
40. Ibid., p. 359, says: "Los dos tomos de la Historia de la América Central, que escribió don José Milla y Vidaurre, son, como fruto de la correcta pluma de aquel notable escritor, dignos del mayor elogio, por la relación de los hechos y por lo atildado y sencillo del lenguaje, aunque a la verdad siguió nuestro literato el sistema viejo narrativo, economizando apreciaciones y descendiendo a detalles más curiosos que instructivos."
41. "Artículos Varios," Libro sin nombre, pp. 265-266.
42. Rosa, Oro, I, 230-231, explains that "Milla era algo entendido en Ciencias Políticas... estudiaba más que las producciones de Montesquieu, de Tocqueville, de Becarria." Milla himself must have felt comfortable enough with Montesquieu to be able to joke about his work. In a cuadro of 1862, he said: "Si yo fuera un Montesquieu, escribiría sobre la grandeza y decadencia de los paraguas." See Cuadros, p. 178. And again three years later in another cuadro, he spoke of "la historia de la grandeza y decadencia de los lenas de Guatemala." See Cuadros, p. 365.
43. Luis Antonio Díaz Vasconcelos, Apuntes para la historia de la literatura guatemalteca, épocas indígena y colonial (Guatemala, 1942), p. 163.
44. Adrián Recinos, Poesías de José Batres Montúfar, 10th ed. (Madrid, 1924), p. 14 n, points out this error. "En la primera edición se lee esta nota: Llamado así vulgarmente a causa de las aguas que recogidas en su cráter, rompieron causando la inundación de la primitiva ciudad de Guatemala en 1542. Las ediciones posteriores reprodujeron la nota con todos los errores que contiene. La primitiva ciudad de Guatemala, fundada en el valle de Almolonga el 22 de noviembre de 1527 por Jorge de Alvarado, fué destruída el 10 de septiembre de 1541 por grandes avenidas que bajaron del volcán, después de varios días de copiosas e incesantes lluvias. Se dijo después que

Las aguas estaban encerradas en el cráter y rompiendo sus paredes se habían precipitado sobre el valle. Destruyen esta leyenda 1? La imposibilidad física de que el cráter, que se halla a cerca de 4,000 metros sobre el nivel del mar, pudiera llenarse de agua de lluvia, 2? La ruptura de una de las paredes del cráter ya existía el año 1541 y es contemporánea de la erupción del volcán, que data de tiempos prehistóricos, 3? La abertura está orientada hacia el N E, y la primera ciudad de Guatemala, hoy Ciudad Vieja, se hallaba en la falda N O." Also see Recinos, Doña Leonor, p. 102. The question of the different sites of the capital city of Guatemala has been a problem for the historian and literary man alike. For instance, Rafael Landívar thought Almolonga was the first capital. He got this misinformation from Remesal and Vázquez. See J. Antonio Villacorta C., Estudios bio-bibliográficos sobre Rafael Landívar (Guatemala, 1931), p. 67. There have been four capitals of Guatemala: (1) Iximché, the ancient capital of the Cakchiqueles, established by Pedro de Alvarado, 1524; (2) Almolonga, in the valley of the same name, founded by Jorge de Alvarado in 1527 while his brother was in Spain. This city was the one destroyed in 1541 and not (3) Antigua, resting in the valley of Panchoy, also called Santiago de los Caballeros, established 1543; (4) Guatemala City, the present capital, located in the valley of La Ermita, was founded in 1776 after Antigua was destroyed in 1773. This site was selected and the city moved only following bitter polemics between the terroristas and the traslacionistas.

45. Hist. Am. Cent., I, 564; also see Ibid., I, 569 n.
46. However, many present-day historians prefer the eleventh. See J. Daniel Contreras R., Breve historia de Guatemala (Guatemala, 1951), p. 43; J. Antonio Villacorta C., Historia de la Capitanía General de Guatemala (Guatemala, 1942), Pról., p. 14; Pardo, Efemérides, p. 5; cf. Recinos, Doña Leonor, pp. 101, 145, who prefers the tenth.
47. Los Nazarenos, p. 25. 48. Hist. Am. Cent., II, 374, n2.
49. Mencos Franco, Lit. guat. col., pp. 87-88, 153; also see Hist. Am. Cent., II, 413.
50. A. Batres Jáuregui, "Don Pedro el Conquistador," Guat. Lit., I, 10 (Oct. 1903), 444.
51. Ibid., p. 446.
52. Salvador Falla, "Un Libro Importante," La Sociedad Económica, Feb. 15, 1880, p. 3; also see "Bibliografía," (signed XXX), El Porvenir, III, 65 (Feb. 6, 1880), 257-259, which also makes great predictions.
53. Machado, Intro., Hist. Am. Cent., II, 6. At the time of his death, Milla was corresponding with Marco Aurelio Soto. In a letter of

August 1, 1882 from Guatemala, he writes: "Pronto espero tener el gusto de remitir a U. el 2º tomo de la Historia, cuyo primer volumen ha juzgado U. con tanta indulgencia. En el 2º no habrá ya aquellos brillantes episodios de la conquista, que dan cierto carácter épico a la narración de algunos sucesos de aquella época. Es la exposición sencilla del trabajo de la colonización durante el primer siglo de la dominación española; estudio que no carece de interés, pues hace ver bajo que condiciones y con cuantas vicisitudes fué formándose y desarrollándose en sus principios esta sociedad." See Soto, Desembarcó Cristóbal Colón...? p. 15. The correspondence between the two, of course, dealt mainly with the question, "¿Desembarcó Cristóbal Colón en tierra firme del continente americano?" In Marco Aurelio Soto's letter dated Oct. 1, 1882, Tegucigalpa, he still maintained "A pesar de la respetabilísima opinión de U. todavía insisto en creer que el almirante jamás desembarcó, nunca puso sus pies en la tierra firme del continente americano." See *Ibid.*, p. 18. Ramón Rosa, who edited the letters, wrote Oct. 8, 1882: "La anhelada respuesta del Señor Milla no podía venir. El telégrafo nos ha comunicado que José Milla ha muerto." See *Ibid.*, p. 9.

54. Francisco de Fuentes y Guzmán, Recordación florida, 3rd ed. (Guatemala, 1951), p. xii.
55. Joaquín Bernardo Calvo, República de Costa Rica. Apuntamientos geográficos, estadísticos e históricos (San José, 1887), p. 10; José Dolores Gámez, Historia de Nicaragua (Managua, 1889), p. 784.
56. Tomás Ayón, Historia de Nicaragua (Granada, 1882), I, Pról. [2]
57. Díaz, Hist. imp., p. 410.
58. Uriarte, Gal. post., II, 6, says: "Cuando Milla escribe la historia, parece que habla Tácito." Salazar, Pról., Hist. nepa, p. 12, calls Milla a "Tácito guatemalteco." Vela, Lit. guat., II, 414; Lamadrid, "A Survey," The Americas, VIII, 2 (Oct. 1951), 198, also make mention of this epithet.
59. Contreras, Breve historia, p. 127.
60. Recinos, Doña Leonor, p. 11.
61. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, Relaciones históricas y geográficas de la América Central, VIII (Madrid, 1908), xi.
62. A. Curtis Wilgus, The Histories of Hispanic America, A Bibliographical Essay (Washington, 1932), p. 64; *Idem*, Histories and Historians of Hispanic America, Bibliographical Essay (Washington, 1936), p. 57; Hayward Keniston, List of Works for the Study of Hispanic American History (New York, 1920), p. 349.

63. Dana G. Munro, The Five Republics of Central America (New York, 1918), p. 332; Chester Lloyd Jones, Guatemala, Past and Present (Minneapolis, 1940), p. 407; Erna Ferguson, Guatemala (New York, 1946), p. 100; Vera Kelsey and Lilly de Jongh Osborne, Four Keys to Guatemala (New York, 1943), p. 320; Aguirre, El país de la eterna primavera, p. 240.
64. Recinos, Pedro de Alvarado, p. 244; Idem, Doña Leonor, p. 9; Dorothy H. Popenoe, Santiago de los Caballeros (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), p. xiii.

Chapter V

1. It is generally accepted that Un viaje al otro mundo appeared for the first time in book form, being published in two editions of 1875. However, there is still the possibility that the work appeared in a newspaper first, possibly in folletin form. Milla was obviously writing with the idea of forming a book, i.e., so many pages to a volume, saying as he is about to end Volume I: "...pienso que ya es tiempo de cerrar el primer tomo." But then he adds "...antes de entrar en el segundo, daré a mi amable lectora y a mi ilustrado lector, por vía de prima, un descanso de ocho días." See Un viaje, I, 510. When he ends Volume III, pretending that there were two manuscripts written, one by him and one by the Chapín, he explains: "El mozo era poco práctico; y sin saber como, teniendo a la vista ambos manuscritos los confundió, intercalando en mi obra la de Juan Chapín, con lo que formó el extraño guirigay que, en entregas semanales, están recibiendo los suscriptores desde febrero del año próximo pasado." See Ibid., III, 513. Although there is obvious humor attached to Salomé Jil's words, it might well be that the work was published in installments. However, a thorough search of the holdings of the National Library in Guatemala, which includes all the important Guatemalan newspapers around the 1874-1875 period, has not revealed anything to suggest this. Still, the work might have appeared in a newspaper outside Guatemala. The newspaper might well have been the Latin American edition of the Courrier d'outre mer.
2. Un viaje, II, 319.
3. Milla had once before been to New York when he was a representative to the United States in 1858-1859, so that this second visit also reinforced his earlier notions about that city.
4. Un viaje, III, 513.
5. Salvador Falla, "Viaje al otro mundo," Guat. Lit., I, 1 (Jan. 1903), 39; Ibid., I, 2 (Feb. 1903), 37, also says: "Pero viaje no es tan sólo una obra de entretenimiento, lo es también de instrucción y de estudio."

6. Un viaje, III, 224. 7. Cuadros, p. 125.
8. Un viaje, I, 272. 9. Ibid., II, 129.
10. Modesto La Fuente y Zamalloa (1806-1866) wrote some articles under the penname of Fray Gerundio (1837-1842). Also using the same name he wrote: Viajes de Fr. Gerundio por Francia, Bélgica, Holanda y orillas del Rhin (Madrid, 1842) and Viaje aerostático de Fr. Gerundio y Tirabeque: Capricho gerundiano en que se da cuenta de la expedición aérea que verificaron Fr. Gerundio y su lego en el globo de Mr. Arban y su compañía, la tarde de noviembre de 1847 (Madrid, 1847). Two critics make note of La Fuente's influence on Milla. Batres Montufar, Lit. amer., p. 294, says: "Como Fray Gerundio o sea 'La Fuente' finge al escritor guatemalteco que iba acompañado de un criado llamado JUAN CHAPIN, que hace las veces de Tirabeque que tanto interés inspira a las narraciones del crítico español." Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, 5, says of Milla's work: "...imitación brillante de los Viajes de Fray Gerundio, rivaliza en graciosos chistes e instructivas anécdotas con la celebrada producción de La Fuente." Rodríguez Cerna, Interiores, p. 42; Idem, "Don José Milla, novelista genial," Eol. Bibl. Mag., I, 9 (May 1934), 335, mistakenly identifies Tirabeque as the creation of Padre Isla. The mistake can be explained by the fact that P. Isla wrote the more famous story about Fray Gerundio. But Milla was obviously also familiar with P. Isla's work. Salomé Jil says in a cuadro: "Dejé los estudios y me metí no a predicador como fray Gerundio, sino a nopalero, como tantos otros que nada tienen de frailes, aunque sí pueden tener mucho de Gerundios." See Cuadros, pp. 68-69. In the Viaje he says that Juan Chapin "Dejó los estudios y se metió no a predicador sino a maestro, regentando la escuela de primeras letras de Chinautla, que dejó a los tres meses, después de haber enseñado a los muchachos todo lo que sabía y algo más." See Un viaje, I, 13.
11. Un viaje, III, 477.
12. Ibid., I, 12. Jules Verne's Le Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours, containing the famous pair, Phileas Fogg and Passepartout, was published in 1873. This probably indicates that this portion of Un viaje was written before 1873.
13. Ibid., II, 23. 14. Ibid., I, 2.
15. Ibid., I, 337; I, 17; Ibid., III, 8, again mentions "aquel espíritu prosaico."
16. Ibid., II, 430; I, 337. 17. Ibid., I, 330; III, 334.
18. Ibid., I, 199. 19. Ibid., I, 12.

20. *Ibid.*, I, 267.
21. *Ibid.*, II, 496.
22. *Ibid.*, III, 78.
23. Rey Soto, Estampas guatemaltecas, p. 30, said: "Juan Chapín es, en esta literatura, guardadas las distancias, naturalmente, algo así como un don Quijote guatemalteco. Don José Milla, el gran novelista de quien hay tanto que decir y ponderar, hizo de él un tipo nacional."
24. Un viaje, I, 415.
25. *Ibid.*, I, 416.
26. *Ibid.*, I, 417.
27. This is reminiscent of some other even more ridiculous duels which Milla wrote about. In the cuadro "Los temperamentos," Angel Bonazo selects water as a weapon in his duel with Simón Torbellino. In Memorias de un abogado Don Alfonso and Dr. Morales have a ridiculous duel over Doña Modesta's hand. See Chap. III of the present study, p. 102.
28. Un viaje, I, 352.
29. *Ibid.*, I, 353.
30. Rodríguez Cerna, Interiores, p. 42.
31. Un viaje, III, 309.
32. *Ibid.*, III, 110.
33. *Ibid.*, III, 494-495.
34. *Ibid.*, I, 218.
35. This is similar to the experience that befalls Tío Climas in "El chaquetón verde."
36. Un viaje, I, 14.
37. *Ibid.*, I, 1.
38. *Ibid.*, I, 425.
39. *Ibid.*, I, 426.
40. *Ibid.*, I, 425.
41. *Ibid.*, I, 2.
42. *Ainda más* = (además) moreover; *mica* = drunken stupor; *otomías* = crudities; *patojo* = child, "kid."
43. Un viaje, I, 324, 327; I, 325; I, 329; I, 398; I, 498; II, 275; III, 460.
44. *Ibid.*, III, 102-103; III, 257; III, 453.
45. *Ibid.*, I, 188.
46. *Ibid.*, II, 363; II, 365.
47. *Ibid.*, III, 440.
48. *Ibid.*, III, 446.
49. *Ibid.*, II, 168.
50. *Ibid.*, III, 487.

51. *Ibid.*, II, 420.
52. *Ibid.*, II, 165.
53. *Ibid.*, III, 13, 18.
54. *Ibid.*, I, 42.
55. *Ibid.*, II, 165.
56. *Ibid.*, I, 16-17.
57. *Ibid.*, I, 221.
58. *Ibid.*, III, 509.
59. *Ibid.*, I, 239.
60. *Ibid.*, I, 250.
61. *Ibid.*, I, 57.
62. *Ibid.*, III, 204.
63. *Ibid.*, I, 290; II, 47, gives a similar example for Paris.
64. *Ibid.*, II, 161.
65. *Ibid.*, III, 85.
66. Salvador Falla, "Viaje al otro mundo," Guat. Lit., I, 7 (July 1903), 312-313.
67. Sánchez, La tierra del quetzal, p. 160; Idem, "Enrique Gómez Carrillo," Rev. Ind., XXXVI, 112 (Jan.-March 1950), 24.
68. Salazar, Pról., Hist. nape, p. 11; also see Rey Soto, Estampas guatemaltecas, p. 30.
69. Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, 5.
70. Rafael Arévalo Martínez, Bol. Bibl. Nac., VI, 2 (July 1937), 75.
71. José de Onís, The United States as seen by Spanish American Writers (1776-1890) (New York, 1952), p. 122.

Chapter VI

1. Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, 3-40, includes seven poems; Batres Jáuregui, Lit. amer., pp. 295-299, includes one; Antología americana, colección de composiciones de los más renombrados poetas americanos, Anon. (Barcelona, 1897), pp. 259-260, also contains one poem.
2. Montúfar, Reseña hist., IV, 484-486, includes one complete poem; Juan Diéguez Olaverri, Poesías de Juan Diéguez Olaverri, ed. Salvador Falla, 2nd ed. (Guatemala, 1957), pp. 38-40, contains one; Vala, Lit. guat., II, 81, 83, 163, 174-175, 186-187, gives fragments of some poems.
3. The romance "El año viejo y el año nuevo" appears in La Semana, No. 1, Jan. 1, 1865, pp. 3-4; the other romance, "Proceso del año 1865," can be found in the same newspaper, No. 52, Dec. 31, 1865, p. 4.

"Al General Carrera" is also in La Semana, No. 17, April 23, 1865; "Un recuerdo," although dated March 1849, appeared in La Hoja de Avisos, No. 25, May 9, 1862, p. 5. Milla's extemporaneous speech, delivered the fifteenth of September, 1850, was printed in the Gaceta de Guatemala, V, 3 (Sept. 19, 1850). Nevertheless, there are some poems which can not be located. Garcia Salas et al., Cor. fún., p. 17, mentions the jocosserious "Las canas" as does Vela, Lit. guat., II, 83. Julio I. Robles, "José Milla y Vidaurre," Guatemala, breve panorama de su cultura (Guatemala, 1944), p. 172, mentions another of the same type of poetry, "Dos caras." Both of the aforementioned poems probably existed and probably appeared in La Semana, but the copies of that newspaper in the National Library in Guatemala are incomplete or mutilated, in many instances especially the literary pages. Salvador Falla, Intro., "Biografía," Poesías de Juan Diéguez Olaverri, p. 15, mentions one of Milla's early poems as he talks about Juan Diéguez: "Su reputación literaria se formaba en ese período de su vida (la caída de Gálvez). Milla, a la sazón muy joven, le había consultado su primer poema La bruja y el fraile, cuya dicción poética dejaba que desear para dar principio a la gloria literaria del que más tarde habría de ser nuestro chispeante novelista y el ameno pintor de las costumbres nacionales: la composición no se publicó." Vela, Lit. guat., II, 186, mentions the same poem.

4. Hernández de León, "Apunte," El Visitador, p. xii.
5. Sánchez, La tierra del quetzal, p. 114; Idem, "José Milla y Vidaurre, el sosegado," Rev. Ind., XXXVI, 114 (July-Aug. 1950), 347; Idem, Atenea, XXIX, T. CVI, 323 (May 1952), 256.
6. Cuadros, pp. 69-70. 7. Ibid., p. 329.
8. Ibid., p. 217; also see El canasto, p. 109.
9. Hernández de León, "Apunte," El Visitador, p. viii n.
10. La Hoja de Avisos, March 8, 1862, p. 6.
11. Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, 40.
12. In March 1862, Don Bonifacio could be purchased at four reales for a paper-back copy and ten for a fine linen bound volume.
13. Salomé Jil (José Milla), Don Bonifacio, leyenda antigua, 4th ed., Colección "Juan Chapín," IX (Guatemala, 1937), 419, says: "It is pleasant, sure, to see one's name in print / A book's a book, although there's nothing in 't..." Milla quotes these lines from Byron and was aware of his debt to the Englishman, because not only does he mention him within the poem, he also quotes him in a letter written to Juan Diéguez, Feb. 18, 1862.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 457, part III, st. 17.
15. Salazar, Pról., Hist. nepes, p. 18
16. Maxime du Camp, "Les hallucinations du professeur Floréal," Revue des Deux Mondes, XXXI^e Année- Seconde Période, T. 34 (1^{er} Aout 1861), 555-591.
17. Don Bonifacio, p. 485, part V, st. 16.
18. La Tatuana is a favorite figure in Guatemalan folklore. Her granddaughter Manuelita takes a role in the novel Historia de un nepes as one of the girls who love Gabriel Fernández Bermúdez.
19. Part I has 43 octaves; part II, 42; part III, 44; part IV, 45; part V, 41; part VI, 44; part VII, 46; part VIII, 47.
20. The following are stanzas which do not advance the story: I, 9-10, 14; II, 1-2-3-4; III, 3-4, 13, 17, 43; IV, 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8, 22, 24-25, 44; V, 2-3, 22, 24-25; VI, 21; VII, 1-2-3-4-5, 11-12, 17-18, 21; VIII, 4-5-6-7-8-9-10.
21. Don Bonifacio, p. 524, part VIII, st. 10, says: "Yo, lectores, os pido perdones por estas repetidas digresiones." *Ibid.*, p. 482, part V, st. 4, reads: "Vuelvo a mi narración, que harto despacio hacia su desenlace se encamina." Also see *Ibid.*, p. 468, part IV, st. 4.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 494, part VI, st. 6.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
25. Chucho = stingy, bolo = drunk, pistillo = money (dim.), chucán = rascal, guacaluda = sword, guanaco = rustic, cholla = laziness.
26. Don Bonifacio, pp. 533-538.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 436, part I, st. 40.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 454, part III, st. 4; for other examples see *Ibid.*, p. 450, part II, st. 40; p. 494, part VI, st. 5; p. 508, part VII, st. 6.
29. The only other minor plot that prolongs the tale is Milla's concern for Cecilia's father, Diego Lara. See *Ibid.*, p. 496, part VI, sts. 11-13.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 479, part IV, st. 42.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 530, part VIII, st. 43.

32. Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, 4.
33. García Salas et al., Cor. fún., p. 70.
34. Uriarte, Gal. poét., II, 4.
35. Batres Jáuregui, Lit. amer., p. 294.
36. Menéndez y Pelayo, Antología, pp. clxxx-clxxxi.
37. García Salas et al., Cor. fún., p. 70.

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