

José María Samper's *Costumbrista* Play,
Un alcalde a la antigua

HAROLD E. HINDS, JR. and CHARLES TATUM

In 1966, Frank Dauster, in his review of scholarly research in Latin American theatre, painted a most depressing picture.¹ As his thorough investigation reflects, one of the periods that had suffered most neglect was the nineteenth century. Significantly, Colombian theatre during this period was not mentioned once. In large measure, we find that almost a decade later this state of neglect still exists, for when Héctor H. Orjuela's excellent bibliography of Colombian theatre appeared in 1974, there was little to include other than the standard national histories and lists of works by nineteenth-century Colombian dramatists. Orjuela hoped that his work would provide the first step toward a thorough and scholarly study of Colombian theatre in general and of specific figures who have made many valuable contributions to that theatre.² It is our hope that we can stimulate interest and research in Colombian theatre with this study of José María Samper's play *Un alcalde a la antigua y dos primos a la moderna* (1856).

In part, the lack of scholarly studies reflects the fact that poetry and the novel have traditionally been more popular in Colombia, as elsewhere in Latin America. As late as 1831, what little theatre activity there was still bore signs of the influence of French tastes evident in the many pseudoclassical tragedies performed since the beginning of the century.³ Occasional traveling groups did stop in Bogotá, but mainly amateur actors performed plays by popular Spanish and other European dramatists in the capital's Ramírez Coliseum. Very little home-grown talent is worthy of mention up to the mid-nineteenth century, except for Luis Vargas de Tejada and José Fernández Madrid.⁴

The depressing state of Colombian theatre began to change somewhat in the 1840's with the arrival of groups of touring Spanish actors, who were by this time performing Romantic works by Larra and García Gutiérrez. Several years of frantic activity followed during which Colombian playwrights imitated Spanish tragedies. However, all the melodramatic plays performed during this period

failed to create an enthusiastic theatre-going public which could provide financial and moral support for struggling theatre groups. This was not to come until the *costumbrista* movement brought national themes to the Colombian stage. Produced plays had short runs and often plays were not staged at all due to the lack of adequate facilities.⁵

For a brief period, a national, *costumbrista* theatre was relatively successful. The chronicler of Bogotá's theatre, José Vicente Ortega Ricaurte, has labeled the 1855-1857 period Colombia's "edad de oro." While Ortega Ricaurte's characterization remains unexamined, it does appear that the obscure national drama company and theatre workshop—under the direction of Lorenzo María Lleras and José María Samper, respectively—and the facilities of the Lleras theatre briefly provided the necessary means for theatre productions. This base tempted such talented polygraphs as José Caicedo Rojas, Felipe and Santiago Pérez, Leopoldo Arias Vargas, and José María Samper to try their hand at drama.⁶

In Spain, *costumbrismo* constituted a refuge for many playwrights from the excesses of Romantic exaggeration, melodrama, and contrived plots.⁷ Dramatists such as Mesonero Romanos, Estébañez Calderón, López de Ayala, and Bretón de los Herreros turned away from the pie-in-the-sky idealism of their contemporaries to reintroduce realism, a traditionally Spanish literary tendency, into their works through descriptions of national and regional customs, traditions, values, types, and language. Valbuena Prat notes that the world created by Bretón de los Herreros in his plays is closely related to the prose *artículos* of Larra, the master *costumbrista* whose keen sense of satire and perception laid bare many Spanish foibles and weaknesses in the national character.⁸ Bretón de los Herreros' plays are filled with social satire, color, caricature, and psychological insight which make him the outstanding *costumbrista* dramatist of his day. Satire is particularly evident in plays such as *Muérete y verás* in which he allows us to see the deceit and lack of forthrightness among friends and lovers. *A Madrid me vuelvo* and *La redacción de un periódico* serve as valuable social documents which accurately reflect the dominant attitudes of Spain's capital in the early nineteenth century. In Latin America, Bretón de los Herreros (along with López de Ayala) leaves his mark on playwrights in Mexico, Peru, Colombia, and other centers of literary activity.⁹ Samper himself acknowledged his debt to Bretón de los Herreros (and to other Spanish *costumbrista* playwrights) in a talk before the Colombian Academy in 1886.¹⁰

José María Samper (1828-1888) led an unusually productive life, being one of Colombia's most prolific men of letters.¹¹ Samper himself asserted, "He podido producir hasta los cincuenta y tres años, lo que muchos hombres laboriosos no alcanzarían a producir (uno solo, se entiende) en un siglo."¹² He edited Bogotá's leading liberal newspapers in the 1850's, and wrote for papers in Santiago, Lima, Madrid, Brussels, Paris, and London. In addition to his plays, he wrote numerous political pamphlets, various sociological and philosophical works, three volumes of Romantic poetry, and nine *costumbrista* novels.¹³ Among his many book-length works, several have become Colombian classics and have been reprinted in this century: his autobiography, *Historia de un alma*; his sociological study of post-independence Latin American society;¹⁴ his critical study of Colombian constitutions;¹⁵ and his play, *Un alcalde a la antigua*.¹⁶

Many of Samper's Romantic dramas fail to equal his plays written in a *costumbrista* vein. Such plays as *Conspiración de setiembre*, *El hijo del pueblo*, *Dios corrige, no mata*, and *Amor y abnegación*, for example, are contrived and artificial. Samper sacrifices esthetic effect for a more colorful style, and verisimilitude for clumsily constructed melodramatic and emotional plots. Incidents as well as characters are unbelievable, his dramatic effects are forced and poorly integrated, and his declamatory bombastic soliloquies fail to convince the reader.¹⁷ But these poor imitations of Spanish models were only part of his output. Samper achieved a high level of artistry with his *costumbrista* drama, of which *Los aguinaldos*, *Percances de un empleo*, *Un día de pagos*, and *Un alcalde a la antigua* are examples. Emilio Carilla singles out Samper, along with the Mexican Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza and the Peruvians Felipe Pardo de Aliaga and Manuel Ascencio Segura, as representing the best of Latin American *costumbrista* dramatists.¹⁸

In his one-act play *Los aguinaldos* (1857), Samper ridiculed the custom popular among Bogota's young upper class males of wagering bets in order to obtain gifts for their favorite girl friends. His youthful protagonists are depicted as frivolous in their betrayal of one another's trust and friendship. The four-act *Percances de un empleo* (1857) also is critical of urban practices, particularly the abuse of government power by officials who hold positions of influence. Facundo, a young stylish (but penniless) *cachaco*, is given a lucrative government position upon request; however, he soon realizes that it carries with it obligations to his donor and other drawbacks (*percances*). He abandons a comfortable but corrupt life in the capital for the country where, Samper implies, true values and a pure existence are to be found. Of particular interest in this play is the playwright's adept reproduction of *llanero* speech. In the one-act piece *Un día de pagos* (1857), Samper once again takes aim at the use of official power for personal ends. He is also critical of the lack of sound government fiscal policy which guarantees the smooth functioning of day-to-day operations.

Given the lack of contemporary literary criticism beyond brief summaries of a play's plot, and the intensely partisan and political nature of the press, Samper's plays were duly noted but not meaningfully reviewed. Although evidently most did applaud Samper's dramas, a few prudish conservatives criticized them, e.g. *Los aguinaldos*, suggesting that they were not fit for women and children. Indeed, some fathers left the theatre early with their daughters; and some matrons retired before the play's conclusion. When the curtain fell, some chose to withhold applause and even whistled to show their displeasure.¹⁹

One of the most popular productions during the 1855-1857 period was this last play, *Un alcalde a la antigua*. The two-act work was performed several times during 1856 and 1857, both in the capital and in the provincial town of Honda. In the late 1850's it was even briefly considered for production in Madrid. At a later date the Colombian composer José María Ponce de León made the play into a *zarzuela* which was performed in 1865-1866 and 1874 in Bogotá. As reported in Bogotá's press the play was well received. Audiences approvingly rocked with laughter. At least one commenator even believed that Bretón de los Herreros would have been pleased. Of several plays Samper wrote for Lleras' theatre, the author regarded this one as his best. Later critics have generally

agreed, and it comprises one of eleven volumes devoted to theatre in the collection of Colombian literature edited by Daniel Samper Ortega.²⁰ In large part the play's reception rested on Samper's skill as a *costumbrista*. Frank Duffey, in his critical study of nineteenth-century Colombian *costumbrista* writers, has written that "Samper is a minor *costumbrista* only for his limited production."²¹ While Duffey was specifically referring to Samper's *cuadros de costumbres*, the comment is equally true of all of Samper's *costumbrista* pieces, including *Un alcalde a la antigua*.

The predominant *costumbrista* theme in *Un alcalde a la antigua* is that suggested by its title, the conflict between traditional and modern values. Colombia at mid-century was changing rapidly, and to many Colombians the changes seemed to be for the worse. The fall of the July Monarchy in France seemed to herald in Colombia a new era of democratic, even Jacobin, reform. Sweeping anticlerical, republican, and laissez-faire laws appeared imminent. The introduction of reliable steamboat transportation on the country's main river provided a more efficient means to introduce an ever-increasing volume of foreign—especially French—goods, customs, and ideas to the inland population centers. And the first major export boom (tobacco) provided the necessary capital for the purchase of foreign products. Most *costumbrista* writers reacted to these trends by creating nostalgic pieces, which at least implicitly glorified tradition and often explicitly denigrated the vogue for everything foreign or modern. For example, in Juan de Dios Restrepo's *Vanidad i desengaño*, a young lady was corrupted by reading French novels, and in José María Vergara y Vergara's *Las tres tazas*, those fashionable alien beverages, coffee and tea, could not compare with the traditional national drink, chocolate. Of the *costumbrista* writers examined by Duffey, only Samper was free from a longing for old ways and viewed change as progressive and hopeful.²²

Un alcalde a la antigua is set in a village in Colombia in the 1840's. Don Pascasio, the village *alcalde*, and his wife doña Petrona, lead a sedentary and leisurely existence, but recently their teen-age daughter Mariquita has caused them anguish. Rebelling against the traditional values and ways of rural Colombian life, she is more inclined toward the exciting and fashionable lure of the capital. Her cousin Paulino, whose arrival in the village throws the family into a turmoil, represents the best qualities of urban education and progress. Paulino's entrance into Mariquita's life is opportune, for her parents have promised her in marriage to the local lawyer don Pedrito, whose pseudo-sophistication and slow-wittedness she detests. Upset by Paulino and Mariquita's instant romance—they are caught embracing shortly after having met—don Pascasio and his wife banish their nephew from the family home, bringing the first act to a close.

The second act revolves around the traditional Christmas masquerade party given by the *alcalde* and his family for the local elite. Despite his uncle's firm admonition that he must never return to the village, Paulino employs the services of the sacristan, who helps him sneak into the *alcalde's* home during the fiesta. The farcical dimension of the play peaks when Paulino (who has intentionally worn the same costume as don Pedrito) and Mariquita flee the party, presumably to elope. The lawyer is blamed for the seduction. Paulino and Mariquita return home; with the aid of the sacristan they convince the *alcalde* and his wife of the

validity and moral correctness of their love and the play ends joyfully with don Pascasio and doña Petrona approving their marriage.

In addition to the principal *costumbrista* themes which will be discussed below, an interesting feature of *Un alcalde a la antigua* is Samper's development of the character of don Pascasio. While it is clear that the playwright intended that he (along with doña Petrona) represent traditional values, we are struck by the character's awareness that his life as a rural official lacks the glamor and excitement which he imagines he would find in the capital. On several occasions don Pascasio expresses dissatisfaction with his official duties and longs for a less painful position in the very center of nineteenth-century political and cultural life: Bogotá. "¡Esto es vivir noche y día / en un potro, en un infierno!" (p. 26); "¡Ay, Petrona! Quién pudiera . . . / con prosapia y con caudal, / vivir en la capital, que alcalde entonces no fuera." (p. 30); "¡Qué vida tan aperreada / de enredos y papeleos / ¡Me da por hacerme tajos!" (p. 32). Petrona, don Pascasio's stabilizing force, soon guides her husband back on his traditional course, yet the reader is made aware that he is something more than a Simon-pure "alcalde a la antigua." This portrayal of the main character should not be viewed as inconsistent with his later behavior, but rather an indication of Samper's sensitive creation of a multi-dimensional and therefore credible protagonist. In our opinion, this gives further credit to the artistic ability of Samper as a versatile intellectual.

In *Un alcalde a la antigua* the conflict between modernity and tradition is realistically represented by the two cousins, Paulino and Mariquita, on the one side, and by the *alcalde* and his wife, on the other. Mariquita dresses in the latest fashions and avidly reads French novels. Her knowledge of modern customs allows her to see that the suitor chosen by her parents, don Pedrito, cuts a ridiculous figure with his exaggerated and affected city manners. Paulino, on the other hand, is the typical *cachaco*: steeped in the latest foreign ideas and fashions, educated in the capital, elegant in speech and dress, a man of letters, a rakish rascal who loves witticisms but who also is a patriot and an honorable gentleman. Mariquita's parents present a sharp contrast. They dress in home-made garments and modestly furnish their home. Local roots matter. Being somebody in their rustic parish, holding honorific office, and marrying into the local elite constitute respect and honor. Traditional authority has to be obeyed whether it is political or parental. The challenges represented by the Liberals' emphasis on democracy, and by foreign customs which stress a more open, equalitarian form of courtship are viewed as threats. It seems obvious to don Pascasio and doña Petrona that parents should choose a suitor from among the local elite, orchestrate the courtship, and arrange the marriage. Their daughter's attraction to flowery, poetic language, secret courtship, and fashionable *cachacos* shocks them. Indeed, Paulino's embrace of his cousin and his flattery make him an undesirable suitor. When doña Petrona believes her daughter to have been seduced by their own choice for a suitor, she states that in her courting days a woman never would have acted in such a manner. Clearly doña Petrona feels that virtue was more widespread in the "good old days." Samper's commitment to modernity is symbolized in the play's conclusion, where the conflict between progressive youth and authoritarian tradition is resolved with Paulino's winning of Mariquita's

hand. Other *costumbristas* would probably have replaced Paulino's success with the triumph of a traditional suitor more attractive to Mariquita's parents.

Samper's contrast between change and tradition, sharply drawn in the major characters, also appears in several minor characters, but as conflicting strains within one personage.²³ The local *tinterillo* (shyster lawyer) advises the *alcalde* to employ traditional corrupt practices to ensure an adequate income, but also counsels him to allow the cousins to marry, since the couple clearly is in love and times have changed. The sacristan caters to the traditional elite and is especially devoted to Mariquita's parents. During the first act he is shown to be very solicitous of doña Petrona's favor and willingly shares the local gossip with her. Yet for a price—he is bribed by Paulino to help the couple advance their marriage plans—he counsels the parents to allow the marriage. When don Pascasio and doña Petrona accept his advice, he further ensures a favorable outcome for the couple by downplaying the traditional Church ban on marriages between cousins.

The second major *costumbrista* theme in the play deals with government in a rural parish. Unlike the theme of change, local government was not a frequent topic of Colombian *costumbrista* writers, but it was a primary concern of politicians. Liberals such as Samper were especially concerned, for federalism and grass-roots democracy could not succeed unless parish-level government was viable. And the portrait drawn by observers—including Samper, who had served as mayor of a small town—left considerable doubt as to whether grass-roots democracy would succeed. Local government was controlled by the triumvirate of the *gamonal* (local political boss), parish priest, and *tinterillo*. Together they made local self-government a travesty, since elected officials, e.g., the *alcalde*, more often than not became mere instruments of their corrupt will. The *gamonal*, generally the wealthiest man in the district, regarded it as his personal satrapy, but imposed his feudal control through others, most notably the *tinterillo*. A lawyer who counseled elected officials, the *tinterillo* was often related to the *gamonal* and owed his appointment to the boss's power to control appointments and rig elections. He repaid the boss by handling petty cases in an unethical manner to the advantage of the *gamonal*. The parish priest, also often related to the local elite, was usually the only hope of stemming corrupt government. When he cooperated with the *gamonal*, the boss's will remained unchallenged; but in those cases where the priest was ethical, the injustices of the *gamonal* and *tinterillo* were lessened, at least for a limited time. Officials elected to local government governed at the triumvirate's mercy. Fraudulently elected at the wish of the *gamonal*, their decisions were guided by the *tinterillo's* legal advice and legitimized by the parish priest's sanction of the status quo. And since public officials were not salaried, they were dependent on the triumvirate's good will to earn generally illegal fees.²⁴

It is this cancerous local government which Samper accurately describes and ridicules in *Un alcalde a la antigua*. While the playwright does not prescribe remedies, the comedy is clearly intended to point out the need for reform. The parish priest is only vaguely referred to in the play. The local *gamonal*, Crispín Hijuelos, does not appear either, but his presence is keenly felt by the *alcalde*. For example, when the mayor receives a federal summons against the *gamonal*, he quickly buries it in his files. Don Pascasio demurs that he only enforces the

laws against the lower class; and that it is the *gamonal* who really governs, while the *alcalde* is only the *gamonal's* hound dog. Despite this, the relationship between the *gamonal* and the *alcalde* is ambivalent. While the *gamonal* uses don Pascasio, doña Petrona correctly notes that their family gains respect from her husband's honorific post.

The play's *tinterillo*, Ciprián, is despicable. He uses the *alcalde*, who is dependent on him for legal advice. He views the common people as rabble and defines the *alcalde's* job as the maintenance of the lower class in its present condition. He advises don Pascasio that laws are meant only to serve those who rule, and that he should bend laws and act illegally to make his post profitable.

As is already obvious, the *alcalde's* job is not an enviable one. Reflecting on his situation, don Pascasio constantly complains that federal and state officials make many demands on him which, if carried out, would alienate those to whom he owes his position. For example, the provincial government demands the collection of taxes which will fall on the wealthy, and orders an investigation of fraudulent local elections. Don Pascasio wisely does neither. He is expected to promulgate and enforce a constant stream of new laws, but is unable to do so (even for those the elite would allow), since he has no staff and is not paid a salary. He repeatedly complains about not being a salaried official. His job entails heavy expenses, such as the annual masked ball he and his wife hold during the Christmas holidays. Yet the general lack of respect shown for his authority, which stems from his lack of real power, makes it difficult to employ the fraud, bribes, and skimming counseled by the *tinterillo* for financial gain. The local constable fails to comply with don Pascasio's orders, and local citizens refuse to grant demanded gifts or services. Had the *gamonal* made requests or the *alcalde* been able to make them in the local boss's name, no one would have refused. Don Pascasio becomes so frustrated that he orders those in non-compliance to be jailed, and in one case shot. However, the distinct impression is given that the constable does not carry out either order.

Don Pascasio's frustration is based in part upon the narrow conception that those having real power hold of his office. Don Pascasio would like his job to embrace roads, jails, schools, and taxes; but the *tinterillo* bluntly reminds him that it includes only ceremonial functions, protection of the Catholic Church, maintenance of order, and the prevention of vagrancy. Furthermore, don Pascasio believes that only the rich should benefit from the laws and any philanthropy. Thus, with considerable justification, the *alcalde* complains of being constantly on the rack. His grievances are offset only by the perception that the office also bestows honor. This notion is humorously underscored by don Pascasio's action in ostentatiously grasping the symbol of his office, his *bastón de alcalde*, as he dashes off to investigate a fire.

Aside from the play's major *costumbrista* themes, Samper employs several other elements of this popular literary form. Traditional fiestas especially attracted Colombian *costumbristas*.²⁵ Perhaps it is no accident that Samper sets the second act at Christmas time, which allows him to mention briefly traditional popular diversions as well as to employ the season's fiestas and traditional Christmas ball as a means to reunite the two cousins. Women were rarely treated realistically by *costumbristas*,²⁶ and Samper is no exception. Thus despite the

play's major theme of the changing attitude toward courtship and marriage, the severe limitation of options open to single women is not even mentioned. In contrast, the battle of the sexes provides comedy. For doña Petrona, men cannot be trusted. They entice women with illusions, only to abandon them. Don Pascasio believes women are mysterious, frivolous, and extravagant, yet they command respect because of their mothering role. He concludes that men cannot live with them or without them.

The language of *Un alcalde a la antigua* is rich in rural Colombian regionalisms, a feature which reflects Samper's keen power of observation and his ability to integrate skillfully authentic popular speech and other local *costumbrista* color with social satire. Thus, the play provides an accurate picture of dress, fiestas, speech, local types and relationships typical of rural village life in mid-nineteenth-century Colombia.

It is not only for those aspects of Colombian *costumbrismo* discussed above that Samper stands out, but also for his use of the comedy of manners to express his hopeful view of change and progress. While other *costumbristas* of his day were producing nostalgic, sentimental pieces which glorified traditional values and practices, Samper was bringing his progressive political philosophy to Bogotá's theatre-going public.

University of Minnesota, Morris and New Mexico State University

Notes

1. "Recent Research in Spanish American Theater," *Latin American Research Review*, I (Spring 1966), 65-76.

2. *Bibliografía del teatro colombiano*, Serie Bibliográfica, núm. 10 (Bogotá: Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1974), pp. ix-x.

3. Willis Knapp Jones, *Behind Spanish American Footlights* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), p. 321; Orjuela, pp. ix-x.

4. Jones, pp. 321-322.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 325; José Caicedo Rojas, *Recuerdos y apuntamientos*, Biblioteca popular de cultura colombiana (Bogotá: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación de Colombia, Editorial Iqueima, 1950), pp. 207-208; José María Samper, *Historia de un alma, 1834 a 1881*, Biblioteca popular de cultura colombiana, núms. 108, 109, Historia, núms. 5, 6 (2nd ed.), 2 vols. (Bogotá: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación de Colombia, vol. 1, Editorial Kelly, 1946; vol. 2, Prensas del Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1948), vol. 2, pp. 121-122.

6. José Vicente Ortega Ricaurte, *Historia crítica del teatro en Bogotá* (Bogotá: Talleres de Ediciones Colombia, 1927), pp. 98-102, 272; Caicedo Rojas, pp. 167, 207-208.

7. E. Allison Peers, *Historia del movimiento romántico español*, trans. by José M. Gimeno, 2 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1954), vol. 2, p. 111.

8. Angel Valbuena Prat, *Historia de la literatura española*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, S.A., 1963), vol. 3, pp. 231-235.

9. Emilio Carilla, *El romanticismo en la América Hispánica*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1967), vol. 2, p. 53.

10. "Discurso de recepción en la Academia Colombiana," *Repertorio Colombiano*, XII (1886), 59.

11. Despite Samper's significant production and the reissuing of some of his works, neither his life nor his writings have yet received the attention they deserve. William Rex Crawford, in his *A Century of Latin American Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944), p. 299, explicitly notes the need for studies on Samper. During the period in which his most popular play was written and first produced, he was a quintessential nineteenth-century liberal. Progress, economic development, and escape from the country's colonial past, Samper believed, would be achieved by minimal federal government, grass-roots democracy, and laissez-faire capitalism. These goals were also dependent on a church restricted to purely religious system based on liberty, equality, fraternity, and individual sovereignty. While his creative literature often reflected these political themes, it also was nourished by Romanticism, with its

emphasis on nature, emotion, rural life, and individual expression. And in the fashion of *costumbrista* writing, his themes often centered on a contemporary fashion, institution, character-type, or incident.

12. Samper, *Historia de un alma*, vol. 1, p. 210.
13. Harold E. Hinds, Jr., "José María Samper: An Introduction to His Character and Aspects of His Writing During the Period 1828-1865" (M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1967), pp. 1-58; Camacho Roldán et al., *José María Samper: Recuerdos y homenajes a su memoria, 1888* (Bogotá: Imp. de M[edardo] Ricas y Cia., 1889); Fernando de la Vega, *Entre dos siglos* (Manizales: Casa Editorial y Talleres Gráficos, 1935), pp. 25-72.
14. José M[aría] Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas y la condición de las repúblicas colombianas (hispano-americanas): Con un apéndice sobre la orografía y la población de la Confederación Granadina*, Biblioteca popular de cultura colombiana, [núm. 52], Ensayos, núm. 5, [2nd ed.] (Bogotá: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación de Colombia, n.d.).
15. José María Samper, *Derecho público interno de Colombia*, Biblioteca popular de cultura colombiana, núms. 135, 136 [2nd ed.], 2 vols. (Bogotá: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Revista "Bolívar," 1951).
16. José María Samper, *Un alcalde a la antigua [y dos primos a la moderna]*, Selección Samper Ortega de literatura colombiana, Teatro, núm. 9, 3rd ed. (Bogotá: Editorial Minerva, n.d.).
17. Gustavo Otero Muñoz, *Historia de la literatura colombiana* (Bogotá: Editorial Librería Voluntad, S. A., 1943), p. 223.
18. *El romanticismo en la América Latina*, vol. 2, pp. 53-56.
19. José M[aría] Samper, *Chismografía* ([Bogotá]: Imprenta de "El Neo-Granadino," 1857); "Crónica," *El Tiempo*, año 2, trim. 4, núm. 99 (martes 18 de noviembre de 1856), [2]; "Teatro," *El Catolicismo*, año 4, 2a época, sec. 1, núm. 255 (martes 3 de marzo de 1857), 73; "Teatro," *El Porvenir*, sem. 3, núm. 77 (3 de marzo de 1857), [3]; "Crónica," *El Vapor* (Honda), año 1, sem. 1, núm. 11 (noviembre 18 de 1857), [3]; "El hijo de pueblo," *La Tribuna*, trim. 1, núm. 3 (15 de agosto de 1856), [4]; Ruflo González, "Carta de desafío a Frai Casildo de Semper, autor de la inmortal petipieza *Los aguinaldos*," *El Loco*, trim. 3, núm. 28 (10 de marzo de 1857), [4]; "Teatro," *El Loco*, trim. 2, núm. 14 (2 de diciembre de 1856), [4].
20. Isidoro Laverde Amaya, *Apuntes sobre bibliografía colombiana con muestras escogidas en prosa y en verso* (Bogotá: Librerías Soldevilla y Curriols, Rafael Chávez, Imprenta de Vapor de Zalamea Hermanos, 1882), pp. 221-222; Ortega Ricaurte, *Historia crítica del teatro en Bogotá*, p. 193; Samper, *Historia de un alma*, vol. 2, pp. 118-120, 235-237; *Indices*, Selección Samper Ortega de literatura colombiana (Bogotá: Editorial Minerva, 1937); Isidoro Laverde Amaya, "Ojeada histórico-crítica sobre los orígenes de la literatura colombiana," *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico* (Bogotá), Separata núm. 2 (1963), pp. 167-168; "Crónica," *El Tiempo* (Bogotá), año 2, núm. 99 (18 de noviembre de 1856), [2]; "Crónica," *El Vapor. Organó de comunicación del alto i bajo Magdalena* (Hondo), año 1, núm. 11 (noviembre 18 de 1857), [3]; Salvador Camacho Roldán et al., *José María Samper*, p. 20.
21. Frank M. Duffey, *The Early "Cuadro de Costumbres" in Colombia*, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literature, no. 26 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 106.
22. Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, "Tres etapas de la historia intelectual de Colombia," *UN: Revista de la Dirección de Divulgación Cultural*, núm. 1 (octubre-diciembre 1968), 18-25; Duffey, *The Early "Cuadro de Costumbres" in Colombia*, pp. 3, 26, 28-29, 55, 60, 85, 91, 99, 106.
23. As discussed earlier, this conflict is also reflected vividly in the character of don Pascasio.
24. Manuel Ancízar, *Peregrinación de Alpha por las provincias del norte de la Nueva Granada* (Bogotá: Imprenta de Echeverría Hermanos, 1853), pp. 46, 62, 77-78, 101-102, 106-107, 114, 118, 123-124, 155-159, 210-212, 214, 221, 305-306, 393-394, 406, 474; Enrique Cortés, "Pasiones de aldea," *Escritos varios*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprenta Suramericana, 1896), vol. 1, pp. 163-165; J. León Helguera, "The First Mosquera Administration in New Granada, 1845-1849" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1958), pp. 104-120; Duffey, *The Early "Cuadro de Costumbres" in Colombia*, pp. 105-106.
25. See Duffey, pp. 7, 15, 26.
26. Duffey, pp. 26-30, 36.