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The Myth of Don Quixote:
Galdós' Depiction of the Isabelleine Era, 1833-1868

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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Abstract

This thesis represents a study of Benito Pérez Galdós' vision of Isabelline Spain from 1833 to 1868 through a critical analysis of the twenty novels that constitute the third and fourth series of the Episodios nacionales. By tracing Galdós' particular use of the myth of Don Quixote in these twenty episodios, one gains a greater understanding of the socio-political vision that the preeminent Spanish writer of the nineteenth century shared vis-à-vis his own country, a vision that increasingly occupied his mind and soul.

The thesis is divided into five chapters. The first two are exclusively historical in nature, as they deal with the rise and decline of liberalism, respectively. The objective of these two chapters is to put into context the historical, political, and social background that formed the setting of the Episodios nacionales.

The third chapter deals with Galdós' political ideology, primarily through a study of his newspaper articles. His political stance as an ardent liberal is an essential aspect, since this ideology lies at the very heart of the perspective from which the episodios were written. Thus this chapter serves as a link between the first two and the last two.

The last two chapters essentially treat Galdós' special use of the myth of Don Quixote in each of the twenty episodios. This great myth, in fact, took on a negative connotation in Galdós' view. The quixotic characters are portrayed as retrogressive and anachronistic fools. By contrast, those characters who are depicted as anti-quixotic, liberal, and progressive function as exemplary models for Galdós' readers to emulate. Thus Galdós endowed these episodios with a national regenerationist spirit in his attempt to provide a remedy for a country that was in the midst of a profound national crisis.
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Introduction

Benito Pérez Galdós (1843-1920) was the preeminent writer of nineteenth-century Spain and one of the most prolific writers of Europe. Besides writing an innumerable amount of newspaper articles and short stories, Galdós also wrote thirty-one novels, forty-six historical novels, and more than twenty plays. He was, without a doubt, the most popular playwright of his time.

The focus of this doctoral thesis is the *Episodios nacionales*, historical novels that were divided into five series. Each series contains ten episodes, with the exception of the fifth, which was limited to only six because of Galdós' deteriorating health. The *episodios* were published in two distinct chronological phases: the first two series were written between 1873 and 1879, while the last three series were written between 1898 and 1912. They essentially cover three quarters of the nineteenth century: from the tragic battle of Trafalgar in 1805 to the Bourbon Restoration of late 1874.

Traditionally, the *episodios* have been one of the least studied aspects of Galdós' literary corpus. Yet it is ironic that this has been the prevalent situation because in Galdós' time his great literary fame was directly attributable to his *Episodios nacionales*, especially the *episodios* of the first series, which consistently were best-sellers in Spain and Latin America. Perhaps one of the reasons for this critical neglect stems from the fact that indubitably the *Episodios nacionales* are daunting because of the sheer size of this body of work. Furthermore, in order to understand the *episodios* one requires a certain knowledge of nineteenth-century Spanish history because the historical element is one of the main pillars of the *Episodios nacionales*. Without a good understanding of the historical personalities and events, the *episodios* are, for the most part, difficult to grasp. Another possible reason is that there has been a common misperception of the *Episodios nacionales* as
being of an inferior quality compared to the rest of his novels that deal with contemporary Spain.

However, it was quite evident at the Sixth International Congress of Galdosian Studies held in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria in June 1997 that there has been a sharp increase in the interest in studying the Episodios nacionales, a fact which is backed by the recent increase in monographic studies dedicated to the Episodios nacionales. At this Galdosian conference there were more papers given on the Episodios nacionales than at any of the previous Galdosian congresses. This new awareness of the historic and literary value of this until recently neglected aspect of Galdós' œuvre is due to two principal reasons: firstly, there has been a significant reappraisal of the literary value of the Episodios nacionales; as mentioned, it was traditionally believed that this part of the Galdosian literary corpus was of an inferior quality, a judgment that has been debunked thanks to the work of such scholars as Brian J. Dendle, Hans Hinterhäuser, José F. Montesinos, Geoffrey Ribbans, and Diane Faye Urey. These and other specialists in the field of Galdosian studies have proven that the Episodios nacionales stand on their own feet, and merit serious study and discussion. Secondly, with the advent of the centenary of the Disaster of 1898, an almost apocalyptic year in Spain's history, there has been an attempt to analyze Galdós' works within the context of nineteenth-century Spain. It is in this spirit that I have undertaken this ambitious project, which hopes to contribute to a greater understanding of Galdós' vision of Spain. The expectation of this thesis is that by studying the episodios of the third and fourth series one will gain a better perspective of how Spanish society functioned in the nineteenth century on a cultural, social, and political level.

The title of this doctoral thesis is The Myth of Don Quixote: Galdós' Depiction of the Isabelleine Era, 1833-1868. It is composed of two equal parts: the first stresses the importance of Galdós' use of the myth of Don Quixote,
while the second part, that is, the subtitle, focuses on Galdós' analysis of the thirty-five years of the Isabeline period, which correspond to the third and fourth series of the *Episodios nacionales*. Both parts of the title are interrelated; Galdós' exploitation of the myth of Don Quixote was the pivotal element in his study of the Isabeline era, which was the chief objective of these two series of the *Episodios nacionales*. Keeping in mind that the aim of these historical novels was to analyze nineteenth-century Spanish society, the myth of Don Quixote, as we shall see, was the key mechanism that Galdós used to describe to his readers the defects of the national character.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The first two are exclusively historical in nature. The first deals with the rise of Spanish liberalism from 1833 to the Glorious Revolution of 1868, while the second chapter undertakes a study of the decline of liberalism from 1868 to 1912. The major focus of these chapters is liberalism for the simple reason that this political ideology dominated the national scene in the nineteenth century. Thus it is inevitable that a study of nineteenth-century Spain should stress the importance that liberalism had in moulding Spanish society.²

It may seem strange that a thesis in the field of literature should deal with the historical rise and decline of Spanish liberalism. But especially with respect to the *Episodios nacionales* it is essential to understand the historical context in which Galdós wrote the *episodios* of the third and fourth series. Without a good understanding of the evolution of Spanish liberalism in the nineteenth century, any attempt to comprehend Galdós' analysis of Spanish society would be futile. It is unfortunate that, in general, literary scholars pay so little attention to the historical context in which a literary text has been written. It is a crucial aspect of any text because no writer can create a text in a social vacuum. The writer is not detached from society. He or she is a social being who is influenced by and contributes to, society. In *Sor Juana de la Cruz*,

[See page 3]
o las trampas de la fe, the Mexican poet, Octavio Paz, offers a profound study of the societies of Spain and New Spain in the sixteenth century before embarking on an analysis of Sor Juana's poetry because Paz understood that an interpretation of this great poet's works without contextualizing them would result in a significant loss of meaning. In order to comprehend Sor Juana's body of work, one must understand the colonial society in which she lived and struggled to write. Similarly, in the case of the Episodios nacionales, an omission of the social context in which Galdós worked and lived would result in misreadings and complete misinterpretations. Accordingly the intention of these two chapters is to provide the reader with an overview of nineteenth-century Spanish society. It is hoped that consequently these two chapters will provide a better understanding of Galdós' political ideology, which he was to advance and promote throughout the Episodios nacionales.

From the macro-perspective of Spanish society provided in the first two chapters, the third chapter proceeds to offer a micro-perspective of Galdós' own political views. Mainly through an analysis of Galdós' journalistic articles, this chapter attempts to establish an understanding of his socio-political beliefs. In this chapter one gains a greater sense of Galdós' opinions vis-à-vis such institutions as the Church, the Monarchy, and the Army. Further, there is an attempt to trace Galdós' political evolution from his first days in Madrid to the time of his affiliation with the Republicans in the 1900s. It must not be forgotten that Galdós was an active participant on the national political scene. He was a member of the Sagasta government in the mid-1880s and an elected member of the Conjunciòn republicano-socialista twenty years later. It is clear that Galdós was a writer who was deeply involved in the political evolution of his country. This third chapter thus constitutes a sort of bridge between the first two chapters and the last two chapters, which study the twenty episodios of the third and fourth series. The link between the third chapter and the last
two chapters lies, as we shall see, in showing how Galdós' socio-political beliefs were to manifest themselves in his depiction of the Isabeline era from 1833 to 1868.

The fourth and fifth chapters specifically delve into Galdós' use of the myth of Don Quixote in each of the episodios of the third and fourth series. Throughout these two chapters special emphasis is also placed on highlighting how the Cervantine legacy displays itself in every episode. Being an impassioned reader of Cervantes' works, especially his masterpiece, *Don Quixote*, Galdós constantly paid tribute to his literary idol by creating quixotic and "sanchopanzesque" characters, and recreating motifs and themes from the great Spanish novel. Though many scholars have pointed to both the influence of Cervantes on Galdós and the quixotic characters in Galdós' novels, no one has specifically underlined the existence of these characters in each individual episode. Furthermore, no one has attempted to answer the question why Galdós considered that the myth of Don Quixote was so essential to his analysis of nineteenth-century Spain. Therefore, the principal objective of these two chapters is to show how Galdós used the myth of Don Quixote to express his views on nineteenth-century Spain in general, but specifically with regards to the reign of Isabel II.

Besides the theme of the myth of Don Quixote, these two chapters also deal with Galdós' aims in writing the episodios. As we shall see, the episodios are characterized by a strong metanarrative undercurrent, in which Galdós discussed with his readers his goal of writing a total history, that is, one that would encompass every social class and not discriminate against the middle and lower classes by ignoring them in the way that traditional historiography had done. As we will see, the Episodios nacionales constituted a truly revolutionary form of writing history; Galdós allowed the have-nots and disenfranchised members of society to express their views. The great
achievement of the *Episodios nacionales* is to have broken the monopoly that the elites in society had in controlling the history of the nation. Galdós did not allow his *Episodios nacionales* to be simply another platform for Spain's powerful institutions to propagandize their version of Spain's history in the nineteenth century.

Finally, in this thesis there will be an attempt to trace Galdós' proposals for a better Spain. The theme of national regeneration is one that imposes itself throughout the *episodios* of the third and fourth series. Galdós was seriously preoccupied with the notion of the need for national rebirth at a time of extreme crisis. It is as a result of his wish to provide his country with a remedy to cure its ills that Galdós created a series of exemplary characters who are anti-quixotic. Through their actions Galdós hoped to teach his readers that Spain's regeneration lay in a significant reform of the national character, that is, a character that would finally eliminate all vestiges of quixotism. Thus the myth of Don Quixote was also used by Galdós as a mechanism to advance his plan for national regeneration.
Notes for the Introduction

1 There is no doubt that the concept of myth is a difficult and problematic one. Much has been written on this concept from almost every imaginable perspective. It is not my intention to study in any great depth this concept for this would warrant a thesis of its own. However, it is important to explain what has been my working definition of the concept of myth.

In *Myths of Modern Individualism*, the late British scholar, Ian Watt, noted that the word "myth" did not appear in English until 1830 (228). The *Oxford English Dictionary* defined myth at that time as "a purely fictitious narrative usually involving supernatural persons, actions, or events, and embodying some popular idea concerning natural or historical phenomena" (*Myths of Modern Individualism* 228). Though Watt proceeded to summarize the seven main types of myth interpretation that were studied by Percy S. Cohen in his 1969 Malinowski Memorial Lecture, "Theories of Myth", I have used Watt's own concept of myth, which he defined as "a traditional story that is exceptionally widely known throughout the culture, that is credited with a historical or quasi-historical belief, and that embodies or symbolizes some of the most basic values of a society" (*Myths of Modern Individualism* xvi).

2 When I refer to Spanish liberalism in this thesis I am referring to the ideological framework established by the fathers of the Constitution of 1812, a constitution which, according to Raymond Carr, "defined Spanish liberalism as a political creed" (Spain 1808-1875, 94). Through the Constitution of 1812 the liberal Cortes of Cadiz attempted to construct a new society that would no longer be dominated by the *Ancien Régime*. Thus Spanish liberalism grew out of a desire to put an end to the absolute monarchy of the Bourbons. The major articles of this constitution clearly show the liberal background of this parliament that was held on the Island of León. Among the many articles of the Constitution of 1812 the most important was the declaration that
sovereignty resided in the nation and not in the monarchy, which consequently put an end to the absolute monarchy. Under this new constitution Spain would become a constitutional monarchy with a well established parliamentary system of government. Furthermore, the Liberals of Cadiz provided for the development of an electoral process that would include a greater percentage of Spaniards in the political process of the nation. Another important aspect of the Spanish liberal ideology was the abolition of seigneurial jurisdictions (*señoríos*), which was actually passed on July 1, 1811. A third fundamental element of the Constitution of 1812 was the right of private property, that is, the right of the individual to dispose of his own property as he saw fit. And finally the Liberals of Cadiz also passed legislation which allowed for freedom of the press. It is therefore clear that the fathers of Spanish liberalism were trying to create a more open society where there would be equality before the law and greater individual rights for every citizen. These are the fundamental precepts of Spanish liberalism as established by the Constitution of 1812.
1. A Study of Spanish Liberalism from 1808 to 1868

The third and fourth series of the *Episodios nacionales*, which were written between April 1898 and May 1907, deal with the period of the regency of María Cristina (1833-1840) and the reign of Isabel II (1843-1868), that is, from 1834 to 1868. This period witnessed the rise and consolidation of liberalism in Spain. However, as we shall see, one cannot speak of liberalism in Spain as a monolithic force in Spanish politics. In fact, the failure of liberalism during the reign of Isabel II can be directly attributed to the complete lack of cohesion within liberal circles. Galdós was well aware of this disunity amongst Spanish liberals, and as such he was able to capture these internal divisions in his *Episodios nacionales*.

This chapter will trace the development of liberalism in Spain from 1808 to 1868 in order to understand what were the many reasons for its rise and subsequent failure. As we shall see in the following chapters on Galdós's historical and political ideology, Don Benito firmly believed that the reign of Isabel II had resulted in a missed opportunity for the social development of Spain. Liberalism was unable to overcome what would be called the "obstáculos tradicionales", that is, the traditional obstacles which were the monarchy and the *moderados* (moderate Liberals).

But before dealing with the beginnings of the rise of liberalism in 1834 when the queen regent, María Cristina, called on a liberal, Francisco Martínez de la Rosa (1787-1862),¹ to form a government for the first time in the history of Spain, let us try to explain, in brief, how liberalism had arrived at this point in its development.

In the eighth *episodio* of the first series simply entitled *Cádiz*, Galdós, through his alter ego Gabriel Araceli,² locates the beginning of liberalism at the opening session of the *Cortes de Cádiz* on September 24, 1810, when Don Diego Muñoz Torrero, "un clérigo sencillo y apacible, de ánimo sereno, talento claro,
continente, humilde y simpático" (I: 869) gave the first speech in which he described the new ideas that would lead Spain into the nineteenth century:

En un cuarto de hora, Muñoz Torrero había lanzado a la faz de la nación el programa del nuevo Gobierno y la esencia de las nuevas ideas. Cuando la última palabra expiró en sus labios y se sentó, recibiendo las felicitaciones y los aplausos de las tribunas, el siglo décimocuarto había concluido. El reloj de la Historia señaló con campanada, no por todos oída, su última hora, y realizóse en España uno de los principales dobleces del tiempo. (I: 869)

The term "liberal" was thus born in Cádiz, which had become the last bastion against the invading French forces of Napoleon de Bonaparte, who put his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain, and essentially secuestered in Bayonne the legitimate monarch, Ferdinand VII. Due to its unique geographical location, political and religious leaders from all over Spain were able to find refuge in this Southwestern Andalusian city. In Cádiz they established a government of opposition to and protest against the illegitimate reign of Joseph I in Madrid.

As Juan Marichal has shown, the generation of Cádiz had its roots in the Spanish Enlightenment.3 Influenced by the ilustrados of the University of Salamanca, the Sociedades de Amigos del País, and inspired by men of the stature of Jovellanos and Campomanes, these enlightened thinkers of Cádiz attempted to effect a monumental change in the way Spanish society functioned by producing the first written constitution by a nation that was fighting against the French invaders (Herr 73). Perhaps the greatest difference between the ilustrados of the eighteenth century and their successors at the turn of the new century is, as Gonzalo Anes has observed, that the latter believed that there was an urgent need to change the underlying structure of Spanish political and economic institutions before any true reform could be achieved (214).
The Constitution of 1812, which was proclaimed on March 19, would be the basis for all future constitutions in the nineteenth century. It was in many ways a revolutionary document, yet, at the same time, it did maintain many traditions. On the issue of sovereignty, the Cortes of Cádiz proclaimed that sovereignty resided in the nation and not in the Crown. This was indubitably a revolutionary declaration on the part of the liberals of Cádiz because, as a result, the monarchy was no longer absolute. Ferdinand VII would, however, hold executive powers and enjoy a veto over all legislation. Furthermore, the constitution declared all men of free birth in Spain and in Spanish America to be Spanish citizens. The Cortes would form the legislative body and it would be voted on every two years by universal male suffrage with an indirect system of elections.

In essence, the Cortes of Cádiz, through the Constitution of 1812, attempted to put an end to the Ancien Regime by abolishing the señoríos (entailed lands) and feudal jurisdiction held by the nobility, mainly by the Grandes de España (Grandees of Spain). Furthermore, municipal governments were to be freely elected instead of controlled by noble oligarchies. This was to be a central issue in all future constitutions during the nineteenth century. Conservative forces resented having to relinquish power to local authorities, preferring instead to retain central authority over the entire nation. Moreover, local privileges were to be replaced by a new centralized system of administration, taxation, and representation.

As for ecclesiastical issues, the Cortes of Cádiz declared Catholicism to be the sole religion of Spain, but by January 5, 1813 the liberal parliament abolished the Inquisition, the symbol par excellence of the Ancien Regime. This measure obviously alienated the Church. The conservative clergy refused to recognize this "unholy" decree, and, in fact, they did not read it in their churches as the Cortes had required them to do. In many ways one can argue
that this was the measure that most split the Cortes of Cádiz and consolidated the alliance forged between the grandes terratenientes (large landowning class) and the clergy. Naturally the aristocratic landowners had reasons that were not entirely altruistic. After all, the Constitution of 1812 had abolished their seigneurial rights and threatened their hegemony over local government. Another measure that antagonized the Church was the proposal to transfer monastic lands to the war veterans (Herr 73). The Church began an anti-liberal campaign in which it accused the liberals of being unduly influenced by French ideas. They accused them of being afrancesados. This process of desamortización would form the core of future liberal programmes in the 1830's and 1860's.

However, all of these revolutionary measures came to naught with the advent of the first absolutist restoration. When Ferdinand VII el desead returned to Spain, he immediately decreed null and void the Constitution of Cádiz on May 4, 1814. As a result, the king had restored Spain to the status quo ante bellum. Liberals were persecuted, jailed, and exiled. Most went to England or France, though some did go to the United States and Spanish America. These liberals would be forced to conspire from abroad.

The period between 1814 and 1820, which is known as the sexenio absolutista, was a period of darkness and oppression. This is symbolically noted in Ferdinand VII's change in nickname. Formerly called by his subjects as el desead, he quickly became known as el desead aborrecido. The king restored the absolutist power of the Crown and the Church. In effect, as William Callahan notes, Ferdinand VII was able to establish a royal dictatorship (Callahan, Church, Politics and Society 205), which was utterly vindictive: "Ferdinand's campaign against liberalism and the Church's determination to destroy libertinism provided the common ground for the new alliance between Throne and Altar" (Callahan, Church, Politics and Society 206).
However, under mounting pressure from army officers who opposed the restoration, Ferdinand was forced to recognize the Constitution of 1812 after Major Rafael Riego had led a military coup at Cabezas de San Juan (Seville) on January 1, 1820, a *pronunciamiento*, which caught fire all over Spain. The motto of the restoration of the constitution quickly became: "Constitución, Religión, Rey y Patria" (Revuelta González 122). The name Riego would become synonymous with the Constitution of 1812 and with liberalism in general. Yet at the same time, as Alberto Gil Novales has indicated, almost immediately after the king accepted the constitution, there were two counter-revolutions: the monarchical-ecclesiastical-absolutist option that sought to reestablish the Ancien Régime and the more modern option, which championed an aristocratic senate that would negate the popular will (13).

The period between 1820 and 1823 became known as the *trienio liberal*. It has traditionally been argued that the liberal triennium was vindictive towards the leaders of the *sexenio absolutista*. It is in this vein that Manuel Revuelta González has asserted that during the *trienio*: "Se intentará borrar con violencia los obstáculos que el absolutismo había acumulado durante seis años en los que se habían desfigurado la estructura del Antiguo Régimen" (1). Gil Novales, on the other hand, has suggested that the *trienio* was not as revolutionary as it seems. In fact, he shows that the four liberal governments of this period, that were dominated by the *moderados* (moderate Liberals), were decidedly conservative in nature.

Two major groups arose with diverse visions of the future path of the revolution: the *moderados* and the *exaltados*. Gil Novales has summarized their differences in the following way:

Para los moderados la Revolución ya está hecha puesto que hay Constitución, leyes, y autoridades. Al pueblo le toca obedecer, y periódicamente delegar su supuesta soberanía mediante el voto.
Los exaltados piensan que la Constitución hay que desarrollarla, llevarla a la realidad, y para ello buscan el apoyo popular. (21)

In essence, the *moderados* feared any sign of popular revolution, a fear which harkened back to the 1766 revolt and the French Revolution (Gil Novales 64). As a result, the *moderados* formed an alliance with the landowning class. With this in mind, it is ironic that the *moderados* felt obliged, due to fiscal pressures, to enact the disentailment of Church lands, a decision which weakened one of the pillars of the Ancien Regime, the Roman Catholic Church (Gil Novales 16).

A look at some of the measures enacted by these four *moderado* governments indicates how repressive the triennium became. For example, the *sociedades patrióticas*, which had been created to spread the ideas of liberalism and the Constitution of 1812 to the middle and lower classes, were prohibited and freedom of the press was severely restricted. Another important indicator of the conservative nature of the government was the dismissal of Riego on September 4, 1821: "Los liberales acogieron la nueva destitución de Riego con rabia y estupor. La separación entre el liberalismo popular y el gobierno llega ahora a su máximo" (Gil Novales 43).

Actions such as these provoked popular protests which culminated in Madrid on September 18, 1821 with the *batalla de las Platerías*. In Gil Novales' opinion, these public manifestations "[M]arcan la irrupción en la política, en sentido liberal, del pueblo urbano" (43). By the end of 1821, Cádiz and Seville were refusing to obey the central government or any civil or military authorities. The government's sole response was to increase the level of repression. After losing the memorable battle of July 7, 1822, the Absolutists realized that victory could only be attained via a foreign invasion.

When violence started to heat up between the National Militia and the Church, that is, priests and monks, Ferdinand VII appealed to his French counterpart, Louis XVIII, to intervene and restore Spain to the absolutist
monarchy. In reality, the decision had already been made at the Congress of Vienna in October 1822 to send French troops to Spain. Naturally, the monarchies of France, Austria, and Prussia had a deep interest in assuring that absolutism be maintained in Spain. Los Cien Mil Hijos de San Luis, (which is the title of the sixth episodio of the second series of Episodios nacionales), as Louis XVIII's forces were called, crossed the Pyrenees and forced the liberals to flee from Spain and free Ferdinand VII, who had been taken to Cádiz on September 30, 1823.

This second restoration of the monarchy of Ferdinand VII was to prove even more vindictive than the first: "si alguna diferencia existe entre la restauración de 1814 y la de 1823 es que en la última se procedió con un espíritu de venganza todavía más enconado" (Revuelta González 367). A sign of the vindictiveness of this restoration was the public hanging of Riego on November 7, 1823 at the Plaza de la Cebada. As Miguel Artola argues, by completing this second royal coup d'état, Ferdinand had returned Spain to 1808:

La vuelta de los absolutistas al poder fue seguida de medidas de represión, aún más sistemáticas de las que se aplicaron en la anterior restauración, al mismo tiempo que se decretaba nuevamente el retorno a la situación existente en marzo de 1820, que era tanto como volver a marzo de 1808. (50)

One of the most significant measures enacted by Ferdinand was to strengthen the voluntarios realistas (the Royalist Volunteers), who had been created to counterbalance the pro-liberal National Militia (Artola 50-51). The Church, according to Revuelta González, became one of the chief benefactors of this restoration:

La restauración afectó también a la Iglesia. Se la vestía con todo el ropaje del antiguo régimen, con medidas retroactivas que daban
ocasión a alabanzas por la piedad del nuevo gobierno y a
invectivas contra la irreligiosidad de los novadores. Se restauraba
el diezmo entero, se declaraban nulos todos los actos y decretos
del gobierno liberal sobre los regulares, se restablecía el antiguo
régimen de dirigir las preces a Roma, se devolvían por el Crédito
Público los bienes de las capellanías vacantes, ermitas y
cofradías. (371)

However, Callahan notes that by 1823 the Church had been already weakened in terms of its power and finances (Church, Politics and Society 219). Therefore, one must be careful in asserting that the Church had regained its position of preeminence. There is no doubt, however, that the ten-year period from 1823 to 1833, signified a sort of last hurrah for the Church as the supreme moral authority in Spain: "Between 1823 and 1833 the Spanish Church enjoyed for the last time the privileges and power accumulated over the centuries, however compromised these had become since 1810" (Callahan, Church, Politics and Society 219). After 1833, liberalism would wield the power that the Church once enjoyed. The Church would have to wait nearly a hundred years, with the rise of two generals, Miguel Primo de Rivera and Francisco Franco y Bahamonde, to be able to hold a position of preeminence in Spain.

Yet, some historians have questioned to what extent the decade between 1823 and 1833, known as the década ominosa ("the ominous decade") was reactionary. Nelson Durán de la Rúa, for example, states that it was not as reactionary as is generally believed. In fact, he characterizes this period as having been quite moderate by arguing that there was a gradual opening up towards a quasi-liberal stance in foreign policy and financial issues (24). In many ways he is correct in the sense that the wheels were set in motion for greater economic freedom with the enactment of the Código de Comercio that allowed the creation of limited companies (sociedades anónimas) and the decree
of September 1831 which established the first stock exchange (Bolsa de comercio) in Madrid. As Raymond Carr suggests, Ferdinand was limited in practising pure royalism by the fiscal realities of the country: "There was therefore constant financial pressure on Ferdinand to change to a more liberal system and by a generous amnesty to recall the exiles who were poisoning the springs of credit" (Carr, Spain 148). Spain had an enormous debt, and this forced him to pay attention to men such as the Galician landowner, Luis López Ballesteros, who in Carr's words was "a treasury technician, an enthusiast for the industrial revival of Catalonia and double-entry book-keeping" (148). López Ballesteros played a prominent role as Finance minister between 1823 and 1832 in the financial and administrative elite centered in Madrid.

In many ways it was Ferdinand's worsening health that forced him to undermine his own wish to restore the Ancien Regime, which had become weak by 1830. The problem of the Spanish succession became almost a modern-day soap opera with many twists and turns. In 1829 Ferdinand married his fourth wife, María Cristina, a Neapolitan princess. They soon had two daughters: Isabel, born in 1830 and María Luisa, born in 1832. In order to secure the throne for his eldest daughter, Ferdinand issued the Pragmatic Sanction in 1830, which thereby annulled Philip V's Salic Law. However, in September 1832 at La Granja de San Ildefonso, under an attack of gout which left him near death, Ferdinand revoked the Pragmatic Sanction under pressure from his brother Don Carlos, Calomarde (the minister of Justice), and the Bishop of León, Don Joaquín Abarca. When María Cristina's sister, Luisa Carlota, arrived the next day, she denounced Calomarde, slapped him in the face and tore up the document. It became known as the slap heard around the world. Calomarde's reaction was to escape to France (C. Marichal 52).

As his health improved Ferdinand realized that he would have to weaken such institutions as the Royalist Volunteers, who had grown to the incredible
number of 120,000, which was double that of the Army (Artola 52). Created by him to restore the Ancien Regime, the Royalist Volunteerers had fallen under the influence of the Carlists, who as their name indicates, supported the rights of Don Carlos María Isidro to succeed his brother Ferdinand.

The almost farcical events of La Granja forced the liberal elements in Spain to create a party that would support the Infanta's cause. The isabelinos or cristinos (named after María Cristina) looked to the liberals for support. Thus an alliance was forged between the monarchy and the liberals. Durán de la Rúa sees this moment as marking the point at which the liberals consolidated power: "Desde este momento, los liberales se arrellanaron en el poder y los carlistas, de hecho proscritos, comenzaron a prepararse para tomarlo por asalto" (26). It is perhaps premature to say that the events of La Granja marked the moment in which the liberals were able to settle comfortably in power. This can only be asserted when one looks at these moments retrospectively. The fact is that during the first years of the Carlist War (1833-1839) the Carlists looked as if they might be able to defeat the cristinos. Did the Carlists not almost enter Madrid? Had it not been for the ineptness of Don Carlos they probably would have taken Madrid when the liberal government was still disorganized and in disarray. In my opinion, the sad events at La Granja represent a sort of declaration of war; for the last ten years liberal and conservative forces had tacitly agreed to a detente, but emotions, jealousies, and rancour continued to boil during this period. By attempting to get Ferdinand to annul the Pragmatic Sanction, Don Carlos, the clergy, and the nobility were trying to secure power. The failure of this mission inevitably resulted in a formal declaration of war once Ferdinand VII died on September 29, 1833.

The First Carlist War was to be the main arena in the battle between absolutism and liberalism. To the winner the spoils of war, that is, power; to
the loser the final nail in the coffin. On October 1, 1833 at Abrantes, Portugal, Don Carlos María declared war. He framed his declaration in terms of dynastic legitimacy and the preservation of the Crown as supreme sovereign:

La religión, la observancia y cumplimiento de la ley fundamental de sucesión y la singular obligación de defender los derechos de mis hijos y de todos mis amados sanguíneos me esfuerza a sostener y defender la corona de España del violento despojo que de ella me ha causado una sanción tan ilegal como destructora de la ley que legítimamente y sin alteración debe ser perpetua. (Martí 223)

Don Carlos was supported principally by the Church, who had seen how previous liberal governments were all too willing and ready to sell off their lands and diminish their temporal powers. In Carlos V, as Don Carlos became known, the ecclesiastical authorities saw a defender of the faith. The Carlists also received support from a sector of the aristocracy that was disgruntled with the liberals for their attempt to usurp their feudal privileges and authority. However, as Carlos Marichal keenly observes, the majority of the landed oligarchy did not become Carlists because they wanted economic and political stability, not civil war (15).

The geographical area of support for Carlism came from the North, mainly from Navarre and the Basque Provinces, two traditional and deeply Catholic regions of Spain. The peasantry in these regions accepted Don Carlos because he represented a return to absolute monarchy and Catholic theocracy (C. Marichal 114). Moreover, under the liberal plan to centralize the entire nation, the Basques feared they would lose their beloved fueros (local charters), which Don Carlos promised to retain.

Militarily, as has been noted, the Royalist Volunteers formed the core of the Carlist's fighting units. They were also able to recruit former officers of Ferdinand VII's army who had been replaced by moderate liberal officers. One
of these officers that defected was General Tomás Zumalacárregui, who became the future military heart of the Carlist movement, and to whom Galdós dedicated the first episode of the third series. Don Carlos also received much needed financial support from foreign aristocracies (C. Marichal 115). Naturally, they also saw Carlism as a defender of European absolutism.

While the Carlists seemed to be united around their leader Don Carlos, the liberals were battling amongst themselves. Had the liberals been able to unite sooner there is no doubt that the war would not have lasted so long. But once again, factionalism within liberal circles was the Achilles' heel of Spanish liberalism.

Upon the death of Ferdinand, María Cristina became the queen regent on October 6. The prime minister at the time of the king's death was Francisco Cea Bermúdez, who had occupied the position since October 1, 1832. Cea Bermúdez, however, was yesterday's man. He continued to believe in the sort of "enlightened despotism" that had characterized Ferdinand's last years from 1830 to 1833. This became very clear in the manifesto he delivered in October shortly after María Cristina had become queen regent. In it Cea Bermúdez expressed his wish to defend neither the Carlists nor the liberals, but rather to maintain the status quo (C. Marichal 225). But the status quo could no longer exist by late 1833 in a society that was demanding greater opportunity, freedom, and rights.

Cea Bermúdez did not stay very long. On January 15, 1834 María Cristina named Francisco Martínez de la Rosa president of the Council of Ministers. The naming of Martínez de la Rosa was a major event, which definitively put Spain on the path towards liberalism. I must agree with Carlos Marichal in acknowledging this momentous occasion as putting an end to the last remnants of the absolutist regime of Ferdinand and of the Bourbons in general (225). Under Martínez de la Rosa and especially his immediate
successors, the Count of Toreno, Mendizábal, and Istúriz, the liberals would enact a wide range of measures that would terminate the Ancien Regime if not in practice at least in theory, though this of course is a matter for debate.

Martínez de la Rosa was prime minister from January 1834 to June 1835. His ministry was plagued almost from the onset by a growing opposition from the liberales exaltados who considered Martínez de la Rosa to be too conservative. Martínez de la Rosa followed a policy of el justo medio in which he attempted to reconcile all liberals, but, in the end, neither side was content.

Essentially, the split within the liberals consisted of a division between the moderados (Moderates) and the progresistas (Progressives). The former favoured a strong central government that would maintain law and order. Though they agreed that the political process should be opened up, they felt that the enlightened upper class should hold the reigns of power. Hence it was the party of the industrial bourgeoisie. They also believed that a reconciliation should be achieved with the Church without denying a change in the influence and the role that the Church should play in the future (Martí 179).

The Progressives, on the other hand, were much more radical. They favoured a strengthening of local powers for municipalities and provinces. The National Militia was to be the body that secured the local power base. The Progressives' support came from the middle classes, that is, merchants, artisans, lower army officers, public servants, and the peasantry.

This split manifested itself early enough with the declaration of the Estatuto Real of 1834. Promulgated on April 10, 1834 by the queen regent, the Royal Statute recognized the Crown's power to confer to the nobility and the bourgeoisie the right to participate in government. But it excluded the middle classes with strict electoral requirements. In fact, according to Casimiro Martí, the electorate consisted of a mere 16,026 voters which was only 0.15% of the population (211). The electorate was so low because electoral requirements
allowed only professionals, nobles, landowners, and industrialists with an annual income of 6,000 ducados to vote (Martí 211). This obviously alienated the *progresistas*, who were consequently excluded from the political process.

Some of the other important measures of Martínez de la Rosa's ministry was the granting of freedom of expression by royal decree on January 4, 1834. However, there remained a royal censure on religious, historical, and political materials (Martí 211). The press remained restricted; the editor of a newspaper, for example, had to meet the requirements of suffrage and had to leave a 30,000 reales deposit if he was located in Madrid or 10,000 if he was publishing in the provinces (Martí 211).

As for Martínez de la Rosa's policy with respect to the Church, one can see the beginnings of an intent to curb the influence of the Church in society. Though once again, the romantic playwright would be accused of not doing enough. In order to reform the clergy, Martínez de la Rosa created the *Junta Eclesiástica* on April 22, 1834. For both José Manuel Cuenca Toribio and Vicente Cárcel Ortí this was a measure of regalism (Cuenca Toribio, *Iglesia española* 25 and Cárcel Ortí 241). Almost all the bishops named to this *Junta* were considered personae non gratae or under suspicion by the Vatican (Cárcel Ortí 244-245). But, as Cárcel Ortí notes, the *Junta* was ineffective because hardly any of its members attended the meetings (252). Other "anti-Church" measures were the prohibition of ecclesiastical prebends on May 9, 1834 (Cuenca Toribio, *Iglesia española* 24-25). Furthermore, Martínez de la Rosa ordered prelates not to get involved in issues that were not religious in nature (Cuenca Toribio, *Iglesia española* 25). Another measure that attacked the Church was the definitive abolition of the Inquisition (Cárcel Ortí 257). This was a symbolic act, because, by this time, the Inquisition had become hugely ineffective and practically inexistent. Finally, Martínez de la Rosa approved a total amnesty for those who had been members of secret societies such as the
freemasons (Cárcel Ortí 254). Once again this was a clear signal to the Church that things were changing and were going to change even more.

But as we have already noted, the more radical elements of the liberals were not satisfied with the ministry of Martínez de la Rosa. The exaltados demanded a greater reform of society, especially of the Church. It is my opinion that Martínez de la Rosa was somewhat handcuffed in what he could do with the Church because to effect a large reform would have meant its complete alienation and it would subsequently lend all its support to the Carlists. However, William Callahan believes that Martínez de la Rosa "overestimated the extent to which the Church could contribute to a Carlist victory, and it underestimated the strength of a new generation of liberal exaltados" (Church, Politics and Society 152).

Martínez de la Rosa was succeeded by the Count of Toreno, José María Queipo de Llano y Ruiz de Sardo in June 1835. His ministry was to last only four months, until September 1835. Essentially, the Count of Toreno continued his predecessor's policy of attempting to negotiate an alliance between the Crown and the moderados, while at the same time attempting to be more of a reformer than Martínez de la Rosa. Reform of the Church had become an easier task for the Count of Toreno because there was a growing sentiment against the clergy, who were being accused of helping the Carlists. It is true, for example, that many friars and monks fought on the Carlist side. This anger came to a head on the infamous night of July 17, 1834, with the so-called Matanza de los frailes ("the killing of the friars") in Madrid. Monks and friars, especially Jesuits, were accused of plotting with the Carlists and poisoning Madrid's water, which resulted in the spread of cholera over the entire city. This was a sad day and low point in Spanish history, which resulted in the sacking and destroying of many religious residences and the killing of seventy-eight Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Mercedarians.
Reform of the Church was the cornerstone of the ministry of the Count of Toreno. In fact, Cuenca Toribio suggests that it was Toreno who crystallized the issue of anticlericalism: "Los decretos del equipo ministerial del conde de Toreno abrirán un ciclo de persecución contra los miembros del estamento eclesiástico sin paralelo hasta entonces en la historia española" (Iglesia española 28-29). On July 4, 1835 the Order of the Jesuits was suppressed. Their property was to be sold with the proceeds going to pay off the growing national debt. Three weeks later, reform was even more extended as male monasteries and friaries containing fewer than twelve religious were suppressed. Once again the proceeds would go to the nation's treasury to pay off the increasing debt. By the same royal decree of the Junta Eclesiástica, missionary colleges for the Asiatic provinces were also suppressed (Cuenca Toribio 29).

But these reforms were just the beginning of greater reforms to come under Juan Alvarez de Mendizábal (1790-1853), who succeeded the Count of Toreno. As Carlos Seco Serrano said: "Toreno se esforzó en podar el árbol de la Iglesia, Mendizábal le arrancará todos los frutos" (quoted by Cárcel Ortí 289). Mendizábal, to whom Galdós dedicated an episode of the third series, was the great hope of the exaltados. He had been an exile in London where he was able to establish many contacts with English liberals and capitalists. He had also worked to promote and finance liberalism in Portugal. On September 14, 1835 Mendizábal formed a new government which he filled with radicals (C. Marichal 69).

Mendizábal's ministry was characterized, above all, by one major policy: *la desamortización*, that is, the sale of Church property. The objective of this plan was three-fold: 1. to use the proceeds to pay off the burgeoning debt, 2. to limit the economic strength of the clergy, and 3. to create a new class of landowners who would be loyal to the radical liberals. Cuenca Toribio has
called this plan an "ofensiva anticlerical" (Iglesia española 36). On February 19, 1836 Mendizábal decreed the sale at public auction of the property of the suppressed religious communities. Callahan points out that by the beginning of 1839 more than 15,000 separate parcels had been sold at auction for 782,459,300 reales (quoted from Francisco Simón Segura 160).

This disentailment of Church property, however, was only a partial success if one analyzes whether the objectives of the plan were met. It did limit the feudal power of the Church; as Callahan points out, the desamortización allowed the liberals to extend their authority over two areas traditionally held by the Church, that is, charity and secondary education (Church, Politics and Society 161). But it did not create a new class of landowners, nor did it resolve Spain's fiscal problems. In reality, what it did was to strengthen the landed aristocracy by allowing it to increase its already large holdings:

The Desamortización did not lead to the creation of a new independent peasantry because the only individuals with the capital to buy up the nationalised lands were the wealthy classes. This tendency, however, was not yet altogether evident in 1836; it would become increasingly apparent in coming years. (C. Marichal 69)

For his part, Jordi Nadal has convincingly argued that the desamortización retarded the development of industry because the rich bought cheap land instead of investing in industry, which involved more risk, time, and money (83).

Besides the policy of desamortización, Mendizábal was able to pass such measures as the suppression of all male religious communities, except for three seminaries in Valladolid, Ocaña, and Monteagudo that were responsible for training missionaries (Callahan, Church, Politics and Society 159). As a result of all these measures, but especially due to the sale of Church lands,
Pope Gregory XVI broke off diplomatic relations with Madrid on February 1, 1836. This is a significant act because it showed how much the attitude of the liberals in power had changed since Martínez de la Rosa's period in government.

Yet there was a growing concern with the radical nature of Mendizábal's ministry. María Cristina, in particular, and also the traditional upper class yearned for a return to a moderate liberal government, and to that effect, she called on Francisco Javier Istúriz to form a new government in May 1836. As Raymond Carr has pointed out, this was the first time the monarch had intervened within a constitutional system (Carr, Spain 177). Istúriz favoured a return to authoritarian rule with a limited franchise and the continuation of the Estatuto Real.

Istúriz's government barely lasted four months, as a revolution led by the Progressives with the aid of the National Militia overthrew the moderate regime in August 1836. At La Granja, the queen regent was forced to accept the Constitution of 1812, the National Militia, and a radical ministry (Carr 178). The roots of this revolution are to be found in the urban population, which desired a greater role in society. As well, merchants, mainly from Southern and Eastern Spain wanted a real Constitution, not the Royal Statute, a wider franchise, and more thorough economic reforms (C. Marichal 75).

José María Calatrava formed the new government on August 14, 1836. A clear sign of the radical character of this new ministry can be perceived in the appointment of Mendizábal as his Finance minister. Calatrava restored many liberties, such as freedom of the press and of expression. The new cabinet also declared the rights of individuals, institutionalized the parliamentary system, abolished the diezmo (tithe), legalized the desamortización and eliminated the feudal practice of the mayorazgo (entailed estate). The great piece of legislation of this ministry was the Constitution of 1837, which attempted to reconcile all liberals, but perhaps this was its chief
defect. It wished to be too much to too many. For example, legislative power was divided into two chambers and the Crown was given an absolute veto and the right of dissolution just as the moderados wished. This compromise was rejected by the exaltados. But at the same time, the moderados rejected the Constitution on the grounds that the Progressives had gained power in an illegal manner. As Carr so shrewdly observes, the moderados "became the beneficiaries of the alarm of the conservative classes" (179). The officer corps turned against the radical government, and led the moderados to an election victory in the first Cortes elected under the new constitution (Carr 179).

The Constitution of 1837 is also significant for having been the first constitutional precept to formally establish the State's obligation to financially maintain the Catholic Church and its clergy, or what is popularly known as the budget of the culto y clero (the cult and the clergy). This is important because it proves that the Progressives were neither anti-clerical nor complete revolutionaries. They recognized that the Church still had an important role to fulfill in society, but not to the extent that it had exercised during the Ancien Regime. There never was an organized persecution by the liberals against the Church. We must agree with Cárcel Ortí when he states that anti-ecclesiastical legislation was motivated by "un interés marcadamente pragmático y oportunista - en cuya base latía un gravísimo problema económico - , y en definitiva político y no antirreligioso" (512).

In the elections of October 1837 the moderados triumphed over the progresistas. Carlos Marichal gives two very good reasons for this victory: 1. a widespread belief that the war could not be won without French aid, and it was the moderados who had the good relationship with France, and 2. the fear of the upper classes (clergy, landowners, rich merchants, industrialists, etc.) that the urban masses were becoming too radical (129).
The *moderados* attempted to centralize the nation in order to create stability and order. To that end, they wished to repeal the municipal laws that had granted local governments too much power in their view. The *moderados*, however, would pay dearly for trying to return to the past. On July 14, 1840 the new Municipal Law was passed by the *moderado* majority in the Cortes. It placed stricter requirements in order to get elected to a municipal post than to become a member of the national Cortes. Furthermore, it granted the government the right to appoint the mayor from amongst those elected.

This new law sparked protest throughout Spain, especially from the Progressives. After all, they were supported by large towns where the mayors elected in 1837 were Progressives themselves. The entire issue pivoted on the reaction of Spain's newest hero, General Baldomero Espartero, who recently had defeated the Carlists. Maria Cristina realized this as well, which explains why she went to Lérida in Catalonia to meet with Espartero and attempt to convince him to accept the new *moderado* law. The queen regent received hundreds of petitions from town councillors from all over Spain urging her not to sign the bill. But, as Carlos Marichal suggests, María Cristina signed it out of spite on July 14, 1840 after seeing how Espartero had been received so warmly by the citizens of Barcelona the previous day. When María Cristina did not give in to Espartero's demand for the resignation of the cabinet and the annulment of the Municipal law, she resigned the regency on October 12, 1840 and left from El Grao in Valencia for Marseille five days later. Isabel and María Luisa stayed in Spain. The Neapolitan princess left Spain as perhaps the wealthiest woman in all of Europe, according to Carlos Marichal (150). Espartero installed himself as regent of Spain. He was supported by radical politicians, the Army and the urban masses, but this was not a stable alliance (Callahan, *Church, Politics and Society* 167).
The three-year regency of Espartero, the Duke of Victoria, was to be the last period before 1868 when truly broad sectors of the population were able to participate actively and legally in local and national politics. The Progressives would interrupt the *moderado* domination only through revolution in 1854, and it lasted for only two years. The question remains: why did Espartero fail? Once one takes into consideration who supported Espartero and what he attempted to do, the question really becomes: how was it that Espartero's regime did not fall much earlier?

The Duke of Victoria was basically a bourgeois populist, who received support from the middle classes in urban centres. This logically posed a threat to the propertied classes who increasingly lent their support to the *moderados*. Espartero wished to continue the reforms of past liberal governments: increase the sale of Church lands, end the last remaining feudal dues and practices, and distribute land to the soldiers who had fought against the Carlists (C. Marichal 153-154).

The Espartero regime also witnessed the growing conservatism of the Army, which reflected, in general, the increasingly conservative sentiment of the bourgeoisie. For all the reforms that the Progressives attempted to effect, the fact is that power still resided in the upper classes. Callahan makes this point when he states:

> The liberal revolution of 1834-1843 was primarily political in character. Although the old society of orders, hierarchical and seigneurial, was effectively dismantled, the social base of liberal Spain rested on a landowning oligarchy of aristocrats and a conservative urban bourgeoisie eager to lay its hands on the spoils of Church property. (*Church, Politics and Society* 183)

Thus it was by no surprise that the more conservative liberals pacted with the Church in order to achieve a more stable atmosphere in the country. The
upper classes were fed up with progressive experiments, such as popular municipal elections.

Espartero closed the Cortes in January 1843, and called for elections to be held two months later in March. This was a serious mistake because it gave many progresistas and moderados two months to join forces in attempting to overthrow the government. By July 1843 Espartero fell and fled to England via Cádiz after the forces of General Ramón María Narváez defeated the troops of Generals Zurbano and Seoane, who were loyal to Espartero.

The espadón de Loja, as Narváez was known, was determined to destroy the political and military mechanisms and the institutions of the Progressives. For one thing, he disarmed the National Militia, long a symbol of the urban middle classes. In the best tradition of Spanish patronage, Narváez did not hesitate to fill key military positions with his friends and loyal followers. Furthermore, provincial governments were replaced, as were many municipal governments, and the Senate was dismantled in its entirety because of the large number of pro-Espartero members that still belonged to it. By the royal decree of December 30, 1843, Narváez brought back into effect the controversial Ley de Ayuntamientos (Municipal Law) that had ironically ushered Espartero into power three years earlier. He also ordered the closing down of Progressive newspapers and clubs.

Perhaps the most significant event in the accession to power of Narváez was the manner in which he crushed the insurrection in Barcelona. This was the last major popular resistance against the rising tide of reaction and repression embodied by the Narváez moderados. There is no doubt that from that moment on, Spain knew who wielded power. It was General Narváez and he wielded it with an iron fist.

If there is one word to describe the década moderada, the "Moderate Decade" of 1844 to 1854 as it is known, that word would be order. Nelson
Durán de la Rúa leaves no doubt about what Narváez and the *moderados* represented when he states: "los moderados no vacilaron en sacrificar la libertad en aras del orden" (32). In reality, the Narváez regime was a dictatorship. As with all right-wing dictatorships this one was no different in that it was the vehicle for the upper classes. It is clear that Narváez could not have risen to power and maintained it had he not received support from the vast majority of the Spanish bourgeoisie. The Catalan industrialists, the Madrid bankers and financiers, the Andalusian and Castilian landowning classes, and the rich merchants of cities such as Barcelona, Bilbao, Cádiz, Madrid, Seville, and Valencia all threw in their lot with Narváez.

Narváez’s regime existed on a programme of repression that aimed to strengthen his own position. With Prime Minister Luis González Bravo, whom Carlos Marichal describes as a cynical, selfish, and inmoral politician (201), as his squire, Narváez, now Army chief proceeded to persecute and arrest politicians. There was no hesitancy to arrest even relatively conservative Progressive leaders, such as Manuel Cortina and Pascual Madoz. Hundreds of *progresistas* were forced into exile. It is estimated that in the first year alone of the *moderado* regime, that is, from December 1843 to December 1844, 214 political assassinations took place (Rosenblatt, "Church and State" 599).

Narváez doubled the size of the Army from 50,000 to 100,000 men. It was also in this early period of his reign of terror that the *Guardia Civil* (the Civil Guard) was established, as a response to the now dismantled National Militia. Thus by April 1844 the foundations of the Progressive regime of 1840 to 1843 had been completely annihilated. In its place, Narváez had instituted an aristocratic court, increased the size of the Army substantially, created the Civil Guard, and centralized the Ministry of the Interior, which controlled all politics at the provincial and municipal levels.
To describe Narváez and the moderados of this decade as having been liberals is, in my view, a disservice to the original Liberals, that is, men such as Martínez de la Rosa and the Count of Toreno. Narváez did not know what the words libertad and igualdad meant. It is for this reason that we cannot concur with the views expressed by Durán de la Rúa, who has described the década moderada in a positive light:

La «gran época moderada» que se extiende entre la caída de Espartero y la Vicalvarada dio a la burguesía el respiro que precisaba para hacer cristalizar el régimen liberal e iniciar, sobre bases sólidas, la modernización que las tres décadas de agonía del antiguo régimen habían aplazado.

La década moderada aparece como oasis de paz en la tumultuosa historia del liberalismo español, comparable únicamente con el quinquenio de O'Donnell o con la restauración de Cánovas, regímenes ambos de esencia moderada. (32)

Yes it is true that Narváez gave Spain a certain amount of peace. But so did Franco in our time. Was that sufficient? The price for that artificial peace was very high for it excluded everybody - except for the bourgeoisie - from the right to participate in the forging of a nation. It stifled all forms of opposition. Peace was achieved at the expense of many people's lives. In no way can that peace validate Narváez's regime.

The Constitution of 1845 is truly representative of Narváez's regime. Promulgated on May 23, 1845, this constitution embodies the ideology of the moderados during the década moderada. The constitution rejected the notion of national sovereignty and the constituent power of the people. Furthermore, it affirmed the constitutional power of the Crown, which was now completely sovereign. It thus had the right to name an unlimited number of senators. Consequently, the Senate became a closed preserve for generals, archbishops
and bishops, the richer Grandees, members of the Royal family and a number of elder *moderado* statesmen (C. Marichal 225). This right was not to be abolished until 1864.

Under the new constitution, electoral requirements were made much more restrictive. Moreover, elections were to be carried out by district, instead of by province. This obviously favoured the *moderados*, since the Progressives' support lay in urban centres where the middle classes lived. As a result, the number of legal voters was greatly reduced: in 1837 there were over 250,000 voters and in 1843 that number more than doubled to 600,000, but in 1846 with the new constitution in effect, the electorate dramatically decreased to only 97,000 (C. Marichal 225-226).

As already mentioned, the *Ley de Ayuntamientos* stipulated that the Crown would have the right to appoint all the mayors and deputy mayors in every town over 2,000 inhabitants. The civil governor would name the rest of the mayors and deputy mayors.

A significant aspect of this "dictatorship" was its attempt to improve relations with the Church. Under Espartero, relations had become strained to the point that Rome had suspended diplomatic ties with Madrid. Narváez, being an extreme right-wing politician, attempted to mend that rupture by suspending the sale of the secular clergy's property in the summer of 1844 (Callahan, *Church, Politics and Society* 189). In April 1845 the Narváez government ordered the restitution of all property as yet unsold (Callahan, *Church, Politics and Society* 189). It is true though, as Nancy A. Rosenblatt points out, that this did not cost the government much because "[M]ost productive church land had been sold between 1842 and 1844" ("Church and State" 592), but it remains a truly symbolic measure which leaves no doubt as to the ideology of these new *moderados*. 
The Constitution, as well, consolidated the Church's return to prominence by affirming that Catholicism was the sole religion of Spain. Rosenblatt has compared the constitutions of 1837 and 1845 on this point in particular. She astutely observes that, under the *moderado* constitution, the statement of Spanish Catholicism was much more explicit than in 1837. The text of the constitution of '37 stated: "The nation is obliged to maintain the cult and the ministers of the Catholic religion which Spaniards profess." While the Constitution of '45 stipulated that: "the religion of the Spanish nation is the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion. The State binds itself to maintain the cult and its ministers" (Rosenblatt, "Church and State" 591). Furthermore, the State promised to pay the *culto y clero*, which, more often than not, was not being maintained, principally due to budget constraints. In return, the Crown received from the Church in 1848 what it had desired for so long: formal and official recognition of Isabel II as the queen of Spain by the new pope, Pius IX, who had just been elected in 1846.

The cornerstone of the religious policy of the *moderados* in the *década moderada* was the Concordat of 1851, which was signed under the ministry of Juan Bravo Murillo on March 16, 1851. This was truly a document that favoured the Church. The political context of the times helps to explain why it was so. Throughout Europe, 1848 was a year of revolutions. Even in Spain there were many uprisings which had to be put down. The rise of radical movements had the effect of consolidating the reactionary pillars of Spanish society. Naturally, the strengthening of the Church was viewed as a necessity for maintaining order in the nation. This was the objective of the new agreement between Madrid and the Vatican.

The declaration of the confessional nature of the Spanish state was even more explicit than that of the Constitution of 1845. Article one stipulated: "La Religión Católica, Apostólica, Romana, que con exclusión de cualquier otro
culto continúa siendo la única de la nación española, se conservará siempre en los dominios de S.M. Católica con todos los derechos y prerogativas de que debe gozar según la ley de Dios y lo dispuesto por los sagrados Cánones" (Pérez Alhama 413). This language assured the Church a preeminence that it had not enjoyed in a very long time. As Callahan states, "The Concordat of 1851 accelerated the institutional recuperation that had begun in 1844" (Church, Politics and Society 193).

Furthermore, the State agreed to maintain the budget of the culto y clero, recognize the right of the bishops to exercise their pastoral functions independently, support the seminaries, authorize the Church to acquire and hold property and consent to a limited reestablishment of male religious orders (Callahan, Church, Politics and Society 191). It should be noted that the budget for the culto y clero was set at approximately 153,000,000 reales, which fell very short of the 265,000,000 reales that the clerics thought necessary to meet all the expenses of the Church (Callahan, Church, Politics and Society 191). One of the more important articles of the concordat was the agreement to make instruction in both public and private schools conform with Catholic doctrine. Also local prelates would superintend all schools in questions of faith and morals.

For its part, the Church promised to confirm the traditional rights of the Crown to make episcopal appointments, endorse the principle of parish reorganization, and authorize a modest revision of diocesan boundaries. But more importantly, Pius IX accepted the sale of already sold Church property. Though this government was pro-Church, it realized that it could not afford to give back monies that it so desperately needed to pay off the enormous debt. But there is no doubt that, even with its severe financial restraints, the moderado government attempted to restore the Church to a prominent position in Spanish society.
But the situation that the Concordat established did not endure for very long. General Espartero returned to power through the revolution of 1854. Once again the Progressives had been forced to employ non-parliamentary tactics to gain power. The *moderado* dictatorship had forced the hand of the Progressives. There were many reasons for this coup d'etat. One of them was economic in nature: Narváez and his cronies had promoted the upper classes and there was a subsequent rapid accumulation of capital. For example, the *Banco de Barcelona* was founded with a capital of 20,000,000 reales and the *Banco de Isabel II* was established with 100,000,000 reales (Artola 81). But they did practically nothing for the have-nots or middle and lower classes of Spanish society. The economy was in a deep recession, and this served as a catalyst for the revolution:

La situación era a todas luces insostenible, y en ambos casos estalló del mismo modo: circunstancias económicas difíciles en 1854- difíciles al menos para las clases más humildes- sirvieron de catalizador a estas fuerzas y les permitieron dar al traste con el régimen. (Durán de la Rúa 52)

But perhaps more important than the economic reason was the political division within the *moderado* party. The conservative elements had completely alienated the more moderate wing of this political grouping. Narváez had betrayed the principles of liberalism by creating an oppressive oligarchy. General Leopoldo O'Donnell, of Irish descent, rose from the crowd to oppose the *moderados*. O'Donnell had realized that there was a need in Spain for a third political party that would be able to create a political balance in the nation between the ultra-Conservatives in power since 1844 and the radical urban middle classes. O'Donnell was able to form an alliance between the discontented *moderados*, generals, and Progressives with the aim of overthrowing what had become a royal dictatorship. By the summer of 1854
repression, tyranny, and corruption had become unbearable under the ministry of Luis Sartorius, the Count of San Luis, who became known as *el polaco* because of his ethnic origin. Consequently, the term *polaquismo* became a synonym of all government corruption under Sartorius. In June 1854, O'Donnell attempted to overthrow the government at Vicálvaro, just outside of Madrid. The failure of the *Vicalvarada*, as this attempt became known, was due to a lack of support from the *progresistas*. In order to rally liberals to his cause, O'Donnell issued the *Alocución de Aranjuez* (the Aranjuez Address) on July 4, which essentially was a call to all liberals to unite against the tyranny of Sartorius and Narváez, and to bring back an atmosphere of liberty and openness.

However, the revolutionary movement quickly became too radical for O'Donnell. By July 17 the ministry of Sartorius was toppled. The revolution ushered in the *bienio progresista* (Progressive Biennium) of 1854 to 1856 with Espartero as head of the government. O'Donnell was given the important post of minister of War in the Duke of Victoria's ministry. This Progressive regime lasted only two years mainly because its foundations were not solid. The *bienio* operated on rather loose ground. The coalition was unstable; for the radical left-wing of the Progressives the new regime was not revolutionary enough, yet for the more moderates, namely the *vicalvaristas* headed by O'Donnell, Espartero's ministry was too radical. Moreover, the *bienio progresista* never gained the support of the Crown.

If the Constitution of 1845 was the constitution of the *moderados par excellence*, then one can say that the Constitution of 1856 was the Progressives' reply to the Constitution of '45. However it was never actually passed. The Constituent Cortes produced a document which was a true reflection of the Progressives' ideology. The new constitution declared that sovereignty resided in the nation and not in the monarchy. There would be
greater freedom for the press, though there would be a committee of judges. The Cortes would enjoy greater autonomy, and the Crown would have no role in the legislative process. It would have also loosened the requirements needed to vote, thereby increasing the electorate substantially. And it would have brought back the *Ley de Ayuntamientos,* which therefore would have given power back to local authorities. In general, the Constitution of '56 would have undone the work of the *década moderada.*

The *esparterista* ministry quickly antagonized the Church by resuming on May 1, 1855 the sale of the secular clergy's property. This included their educational and charitable institutions as well as municipal common lands (Callahan, *Church, Politics and Society* 200). As Cuenca Toribio suggests, from the Church's perspective, the return of *desamortización* became a *de facto* pronouncement of war on the Church (*Iglesia y burguesía* 143).

Espartero's government also altered the way the State viewed the role of Catholicism in Spain. The Constitution of '45 reaffirmed that Spain was a Catholic nation, which excluded all other religions. However, under the *progresistas,* the State declared it would not persecute Spaniards nor any foreigner because of their religious beliefs, so long as they did not practise their faith in public. This was the strongest statement of religious tolerance, up to this point, in the evolution of liberalism in Spain. Pope Pius IX protested these "anti-Church" measures by stating that they clearly violated the Concordat of 1851.

Besides angering the Church, Isabel II was not happy at all with the radical nature of the Progressives. Nor was O'Donnell, a man of law and order, supportive of these new laws. This was a serious error because, as Carr underlines, by July 1856 "O'Donnell and the conservative wing of the coalition had gained exclusive power as guardians of social order" (*Modern Spain* 250). When Espartero failed to put down the riots that had broken out that summer
in Valladolid, O'Donnell used the opportunity to lead a coup d'état on July 14, 1856.

O'Donnell, however, did not stay in power for very long. He became another victim of Isabel's capricious nature, when she called on Narváez to form a new government on October 10, 1856. The decision was based on the fact that O'Donnell had not yet quelled all the disturbances that had broken out in various provinces of Spain. The change of government actually seemed to come from the pages of a soap opera script. At a party given by the queen she asked Narváez to dance with her instead of asking O'Donnell.\textsuperscript{24} From that night on, O'Donnell would work to return to the seat of power. With this action, Isabel showed that she was her father's daughter, even though she never knew him (she was only three years old when Ferdinand died). Just as Ferdinand had tried to forget the \textit{trienio liberal} had existed by restoring absolutism, Isabel thought that she could just make the \textit{bienio progresista} a bad and distant memory with one stroke or one dance. In both cases those regal actions were to prove flawed and ineffective. By then it was an impossibility to dictate from above in the fashion that she had been accustomed to. The oligarchy of the bourgeoisie was now coming under more and more attacks.

The \textit{bienio moderado}, under the control of Narváez, succeeded the \textit{bienio progresista}. In evaluating the work of the Progressives between 1854 and 1856, Carr looks at it in a very positive light. This two-year period truly attempted to foment and develop Spain's economy. It tried to launch the country into the industrial era by promoting industry, roads, and communication. However, in my view this great project did not really occur until 1858 when O'Donnell returned to power with the \textit{Unión Liberal} (Liberal Union), Spain's third political party.

The Moderate biennium of 1856 and 1858 was, in effect, the last gasp for those \textit{moderados} who still believed in authoritarian rule and limiting power
to the elite. This was a truly unstable period in Spanish politics: from October 1856 to June 1858 there were three ministries: Narváez, Francisco Armero, and Istúriz. By 1856 Narváez was a thoroughly antiquated figure in this political scene. Along with the ultra-Conservative Cándido Nocedal, they passed a very strict press law, which made it an offence to criticize the government in any way. The bienio moderado failed because it represented only the crème de la crème. In 1844 that worked, but in 1858 it could no longer work. This left Spain in a political vacuum: neither the progresistas nor the moderados had been able to govern with any success. This allowed the Liberal Union to rise to power in the summer of 1858.

The Liberal Union of 1858 was not the same Liberal Union of 1854. Mainly the creation of O'Donnell, this party was in the beginning a temporary political union. It attempted to form a party of the centre that would attract the right of centre and central Progressives and the left of centre and central moderados. The creation was officially announced on September 17, 1854, but, as Galdós captured so brilliantly in the fourth episode of the fourth series, *La revolución de julio*, the union crystallized when O'Donnell and Espartero embraced each other on a balcony at the Puerta del Sol. The major flaw of the newly founded Liberal Union had been its inability to incorporate the middle classes in its programmes. This is a lesson that O'Donnell would learn in the reincarnation of the Unión Liberal.

From 1856 to 1858 O'Donnell patiently waited to return to power. He realized that the Narváez and Nocedal moderados could not last too long because their politics did not respond to the needs of the nation. In that interim O'Donnell developed what would be the political programme of the Liberal Union. Basically, he proposed to occupy the middle ground in the political spectrum. Moderation, tolerance, and modern industrial economic development were to be the foundations of his regime. On May 18, 1857, at the palace of
Doña María de Aragón, O'Donnell outlined his objectives and plans for the future of Spain. He favoured a civil and an ecclesiastical disentailment that would receive papal approval. Once again we witness the desire of the liberals not to break with the Church, but rather to reach a workable constructive peace that would be mutually beneficial. O'Donnell indicated that he was against the decentralization measures incorporated during the period of the buenio progresista yet, at the same time, he expressed his dislike of the asfixiating centralization dictated by Narváez. In general, O'Donnell advocated taking the middle ground that would protect and foment the interests of the provinces and the municipalities. The sentiment that one can perceive in this speech was one of harmony. O'Donnell wished to create a harmonious and lasting peace, a peace that would not be artificial as that which had been achieved during the moderado decade of 1844 to 1854. A peace that would permit the nation to flourish economically. As Durán de la Rúa astutely observes, the new Liberal Union's distinctive attribute was its spirit of compromise (89).

Finally, in June 1858, O'Donnell returned to power. This government was to be the longest and most stable regime during the reign of Isabel II. It lasted almost five years until March 1863, a truly remarkable feat in a period in which Spain seemed more like modern-day Italy with its constant shuffling of cabinets and governments. The longevity of O'Donnell and the Liberal Union earned him and his ministry the name of el gobierno largo (the long government). In fact, Galdós used this nickname many times to describe O'Donnell and his government. This time around O'Donnell was determined not to make the same mistake. With that in mind, he attempted to integrate the middle classes that had been clamouring for so long to have a real voice in government. But the price for such an admirable goal was instability within the government. By attempting to pact with so many different interests, the
Liberal Union became more and more restricted in what policies it could embark on without stepping on someone else's toes. In a sense, it boxed itself into a corner.

Alcalá Galiano once compared the *parlamento largo* to the happy family of a circus. In the same cage lived the cat with the mouse, the wolf with the lamb and other mutually hostile animals. They lived peacefully because of the whip, rewards, and the prestige of the lion tamer (Durán de la Rúa 103). In this case, that lion tamer was O'Donnell. Thus, in many ways, one can argue that to speak of the Liberal Union is to really speak of O'Donnell, Duke of Tetuán and Count of Lucena.

As a result of this difficult balancing act, the Liberal Union was unable to deliver on many promises, such as decentralization and the elimination of corruption. Eventually, this inability was the cause that brought O'Donnell down in 1863. In order to distract the nation from its severe internal problems and galvanize support for the government, the Count of Lucena launched Spain into a series of imperialist forays in North Africa, Indochina, Mexico, Italy, and the Dominican Republic. Except perhaps for the campaign in North Africa, all the other expeditions were total failures. Galdós mocked them in the *episodios* of the fourth series, viewing them as quixotic attempts at recapturing the past glory of Spain. The pyrrhic victory in North Africa, however, became a double-edged sword. Initially, it bestowed on O'Donnell, who led the campaign in person, an aura of invincibility. But that same invincibility distorted his view of reality and made him less tolerant in the Cortes. Thus, after 1862, tolerance became a thing of the past. He became a virtual dictator, seeing enemies everywhere.

Symbolically, the hardest blow to O'Donnell and his government was the departure of his "favourite", Manuel Alonso Martínez (1827-1891). For both O'Donnell and his wife, Martínez was a son. But he announced in 1861 that his
conscience could no longer allow him to be a part of the government as a result of its refusal to pass his proposal to allow all municipalities to elect their mayors. Posada Herrera, minister of the Interior, argued against this measure that would have favoured the middle classes, because this would have eliminated the work of their allies, the caciques, local non-elected regional bosses. Such a law would have taken away from the government the right to appoint 9,000 mayors and some 30,000 deputy mayors (Durán de la Rúa 119). This issue shows how the Liberal Union had to juggle so many divergent interests.

O'Donnell's government fell on February 27, 1863. In analyzing the performance of the gobierno largo one must emphasize the difficult balancing act that it had to perform because it was a party of compromise. Thus it was severely limited as to what policies it could initiate. In Durán de la Rúa's opinion, however, the Liberal Union should have been firmer:

El fracaso del Gabinete Largo obedeció a la imposibilidad de pagar sus grandes deudas políticas. Una actitud más firme y determinada, tanto en las Cortes como en palacio, pudo haber servido de aglutinante a la Unión Liberal y, a la larga, hecho posible su cristalización como el partido de las clases altas y medias, que alternase genuinamente en el poder con un partido popular responsable y reconciliado con el orden constitucional existente. (130)

Nevertheless, I believe this is a case of it being easier to say than to do. The Liberal Union was founded on the principles of compromise, tolerance, and conciliation. Even though in the latter period of the gobierno largo, O'Donnell became more intolerant, essentially the Liberal Union was faithful to its principles during the O'Donnell quinquennium. To be firmer would have meant a return to the década moderada and the bienio moderado. O'Donnell was not
willing to become another Narváez. The reality of the situation was that if the government was to maintain peace and order, O'Donnell had to negotiate many compromises with the diverse spectrum of interests, beliefs, and ideologies. Therefore it could not afford to alienate any group in particular.

An important point that Durán de la Rúa makes with respect to the Spain of 1854 to 1868 is the fact that Spain's key political flaw continued to be the inexistence of a mechanism that would permit the legal and peaceful exchange of power between moderados, Progressives, or Liberal Unionists. There is no doubt that this is unquestionably the chief defect of the entire reign of Isabel II. Callahan makes a similar point in his analysis of the last years of Isabel II's reign:

The ministerial shifts of the mid-1860's arose from the glaring weaknesses of moderado politics: a queen who increasingly showed that she was her father's daughter in the desire for personal power; the lack of an effective party system, which created an opposition hostile to the monarch and the political order; and the continuing importance of praetorian politicians such as O'Donnell and Narváez. In the end all led to the breakdown of the moderado State. (Church, Politics and Society 204)

The political system in Spain was dogged by its incapacity to form a loyal opposition. This mechanism was not to be created until the restoration of Alfonso XII with the alternation of power between Antonio Cánovas del Castillo and Práxedes Sagasta. Without the legal possibility of attaining power, the Progressives and soon the Democrats, who had split from the left wing of the Progressives, became increasingly frustrated. Frustration inevitably led to conspiracies to overthrow the government. In this type of political climate peace and stability became impossibilities. Thus, in the case of the gobierno
largo, O'Donnell had to deal with a growing opposition that was getting very restless. This restlessness would finally boil over in 1868 with the September Revolution, more popularly known as la Gloriosa or la Setembrina.

For all the mistakes made by the Liberal Union, one cannot forget that this government presided over an economic boom for which it richly deserved credit. The budget of 1859 was perhaps the most memorable budget of nineteenth-century Spain because it attempted to develop the nation's infrastructure. According to Durán de la Rúa, the conscious attempt to modernize the nation represents the most earnest effort of any liberal regime to situate Spain in the industrial era and bring it to the level of the great nations of Western Europe, namely Great Britain and France (197).

In many ways this attempt to elevate Spain to the level of England or France is reminiscent of a similar policy of development adopted during the enlightened reign of Charles III (1759-1788). The 1859 budget has the stamp of such ilustrados as Jovellanos, Campomanes, and Olavide. Over 2 billion reales were budgeted to improve roads, communication, industry, agriculture, military forts, and naval ports. Much criticism has been made of the exorbitant cost of such programmes, especially the building of the railways which, in reality, helped develop the steel industries of France and Belgium rather than Spain's national steel industry, but had the Liberal Union not embarked on such a policy, then the question remains when would Spain have done the job that was needed to be done. The gabinete largo created an atmosphere for internal economic development. If one looks at an important economic indicator such as the value of imports and exports, then one will see how they increased dramatically during the O'Donnell quinquennium. Between 1850 and 1854, imports averaged 732 million reales annually; this was to increase sharply to 1.812 billion reales between 1860 and 1864 (Sánchez-Albornoz 53).
Exports during the same period increased from an average 686 million to 1.812 billion reales (Sánchez-Albornoz 53).

However, O'Donnell's cabinet made a terrible mistake in not providing for the repayment of the national debt. In fact, they made the incredible blunder of suspending payment of the debt after 1858. This had the effect of cutting off credit for the State. The Bourse de Paris, firstly, and then the Stock Exchanges of London, Frankfurt, Amsterdam, and Antwerp refused to deal with the Spanish government (Durán de la Rúa 140). Thus credit could only be obtained at almost astronomical rates through private financiers, who, for the most part, were French. The national debt rose at an astronomical rate: from 13.778 billion reales in 1859 to 15.828 billion in the budgetary year of 1863-64 (Sánchez-Albornoz 55).

For all its good works, the Liberal Union was unable to improve the lot of the lower classes or cuarto estado, as Galdós called it. They continued to live in the most abject poverty. More and more revolts sprang up in the provinces, especially in the areas of the latifundios of Andalusia, where peasants protested against the privilege that the great terratenientes continued to enjoy at their expense. Galdós covered two of the most notable popular uprisings at Arahal and Loja in two episodios of the fourth series, O'Donnell and La vuelta al mundo en la «Numancia», respectively. The latter revolt was quite significant because Loja was the home town of the iron-fisted General Narváez.

Another indication of the misery to which the lower classes were subjected is the very poor literacy rate. According to Miguel Artola, the rate of illiteracy was around 80% in 1860 (80); Durán de la Rúa calculated the rate at a slightly better 70% (221). In either case the rate was terrible, and proves that the cuarto estado was completely exploited.
Class unrest also arose in Barcelona, the centre of the powerful textile industry in Catalonia. Carr states that "the conditions of the Catalan workers in the mid-century were those of the English cotton operatives of the 1820's: a thirteen-hour day for a subsistence wage, the threat of unemployment through the laying-off of hands in slumps or the adoption of machinery" (Spain 288). The Catalan proletariat became more and more radical, as prohibitions were slapped on their attempt to unionize. Socialism was increasingly attracting this alienated class, and eventually they started to employ terrorist tactics in order to obtain their goals. As with the Progressives who had to resort again and again to non-parliamentary tactics to gain power, the lower classes, as well, would see in force the only viable mode of operation because the political system excluded them entirely from any true and meaningful participation.

When O'Donnell fell in the first months of 1863, Spain was left in a political void. The moderados, the progresistas, and now the unionistas liberales had failed. The question now was: what was left? The answer was to come five years later. In the interim, Spain was saddled with a host of regimes that desperately attempted to maintain the status quo or even return to the past of the década moderada. But, as Miguel Martínez Cuadrado has indicated, 1863 constituted the watershed year of the twenty-five year reign of Isabel II:

La acción de los grupos excluidos, así como de los que reclaman aspiraciones más radicales y democráticas, se orienta desde 1863 a la eliminación de los «obstáculos tradicionales» y al retorno a la representación efectiva y el directo protagonismo político. ("El horizonte político" 24)

This five-year period was, according to Durán de la Rúa, the low point of Isabel's reign: "Si los Cinco Años de O'Donnell habían sido el cenit del reinado de Isabel II, los cinco años siguientes marcarían su ocaso. La Unión Liberal y la moderación habían regido aquéllos; la reacción y la revolución serían los signos
de éstos" (278). These five years would undoubtedly mark the end of moderantismo.

The five-year period from 1863 to 1868 can be simply characterized as having been chaotic. Narváez succeeded O'Donnell from 1864 to 1865, only to be replaced once again by the Duke of Tetuán, who, in turn, was replaced again by Narváez in 1866. The espadón de Loja presided over another dictatorial regime from 1866 to 1868 until his death in the spring of 1868. Consequently, by 1868 Isabel lost her two most loyal supporters: Narváez and O'Donnell, who had already died of typhoid the previous year. Without this support from the two strong men of Spanish politics, the queen was left totally isolated and her political future was effectively terminated.

In nineteenth-century Spain the development of liberalism has three key dates: 1808, 1833, and 1868. The first essentially marked the birth of liberalism; the second represented the beginning of liberalism in power; and the third marked the apex of liberal thought in Spain. 1868 is perhaps the most significant year because it was in this year that the principles of liberalism finally would be consecrated in the constitution of the nation.

1868 cannot be understood without comprehending the events that led to this remarkable year. In my view, there are two major causes that led to the Revolución Gloriosa: the severe economic crisis and the political alienation of the opposition, that is, the Progressives and the Democrats. Though some historians have given more weight to one cause over the other29, it seems to me that the two problems equally led to the temporary death of the Bourbon monarchy in 1868.

The first signs of the economic downturn came with the poor wheat harvests of 1866. Despite this fact, the government, now accustomed to serving the European market, continued to export wheat. This consequently resulted in an increase in prices and a shortage of basic food staples within
Spain. The government of Narváez undoubtedly hoped that harvests of 1867 would be much better. Unfortunately, the downward trend continued in both 1867 and 1868. By the winter of 1868, Spain, which was still a predominantly rural nation, was suffering a cruel and avoidable hunger. The interior of Spain was the region most affected, since the coastal areas always had the advantage of being open to foreign markets. A key indicator of the crisis is the birth rate at this time. By 1868 the birth rate declined an incredible 6.7% with respect to the previous year, and the death rate increased an astronomical 12.2% in the same period (Sánchez-Alborno 45). Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz has estimated that, between 1868 and 1870, 100,000 less children were born (46). If more Spaniards were dying and less were being born, this obviously must mean that the country was suffering a terrible shock to its system.

The crisis became official as early as May 1866 with the crash of the financial system. Some have attributed this phenomenon to the general world crisis that began in London with the fall of the financial house of Overend, Gurney and Company. But it seems that, in fact, the crisis in Spain was produced internally. We have already seen how the Narváez government continued to export, even though people were dying of hunger. This same government intensified the problem by increasing taxes and spending on the armed forces, thereby taking much needed money out of circulation. As a result of the crash, five of the ten credit establishments in Madrid and fourteen of the twenty-eight in the provinces collapsed (Sánchez-Alborno 57). Moreover, of the twenty-one banks, six were forced to dissolve (Sánchez-Albornoz 57). The tax increase had the effect of alienating the only sector of society that had still continued to support the government, that is, the bourgeoisie, which saw how its financial resources were being drained by taxes, inflation, currency devaluation, and higher interest rates. Thus, the last government, before the revolution, succeeded in alienating every sector of
society. As Durán de la Rúa has stated, the last Narváez regime created a depression that polarized everyone against the government and the monarchy.30 Sánchez-Albornoz makes the interesting suggestion that the economic crisis could help explain why the generals of the Liberal Union, who for so long defended the monarchy, were no longer able to support the monarchy because it would have meant personal bankruptcy (60-61).

Perhaps the best description of the penury in which Spain lived is in a letter that the former minister of Finance during the bienio progresista of 1854 to 1856, Pascual Madoz, wrote to General Juan Prim y Prats, the very embodiment of the Progressive ideal, on January 12, 1867:

La situación del país, mala, malísima. El crédito, a tierra. La riqueza rústica y urbana, menguando prodigiosamente. Los negocios perdidos, y no sé quién se salvará de este conflicto. Yo hago prodigios para salvar la 'Peninsular'; pero te aseguro, querido Juan, que ni como ni duermo. Bien puedo decir que paso los peores días de mi vida. Nadie paga, porque nadie puede pagar, porque nadie tiene para pagar. Si vendes, nadie compra, ni aun cuando des la cosa por el cincuenta por ciento de su coste. La España ha llegado a una decadencia grande, y yo, como buen español, desearía que hubiera medios hábiles de levantar el prestigio y dignidad de este pueblo, que merece mejor suerte. (Sánchez-Albornoz 59; quoted from Villamil y R. Llopis, Cartas de conspiradores, 274-275)

This letter clearly shows that Spain was in the midst of a deep and serious economic depression.

Besides the economic reason, the revolution became inevitable because the system had been politically exhausted. By 1868 the Cortes was producing nothing of any consequence. The desperate return to absolutism, embodied in
the Narvéz and González Bravo regimes, led to the complete disaffection of the Progressives. Tired of waiting patiently, the progresistas adopted a policy of retraimiento, that is, political withdrawal. It is highly ironic that once the Progressives excluded themselves from the political system that had intentionally excluded them since the 1830's, the moderados were not able to continue holding power. By working from outside the system to topple the monarchy and the moderados, the Progressives were finally able to gain power and legislate a whole series of reforms that were faithful to the liberal ideology.

The revolutionary process began, for all intents and purposes, on August 16, 1866 with the signing in Belgium of the Ostend Pact. After having failed in three attempts to overthrow the government (Valencia, Pamplona, and Villarejo), General Prim realized that the Progressives needed the military support of the Democrats. The Ostend Pact was the result of this alliance. This agreement basically outlined the programme of this new political union by establishing the three major liberal objectives of the revolution: 1. the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy, 2. the creation of a Constituent Cortes, and 3. the incorporation of universal direct franchise. The Ostend Pact also agreed to form a revolutionary junta with General Prim as its leader. This pact thus symbolically declared that effective reform of Spain would be impossible without destroying the Bourbon monarchy and the Moderate regime, the obstáculos tradicionales.

However, the Ostend Pact proved to be insufficient after Prim failed in another attempt on August 12, 1867. It was at this point in August 1867 that Prim wrote an impassioned letter to the Spanish nation in which he justified the urgent need for a revolution, in order to create a democratic, free, and just nation:

La revolucion es el único remedio á todos nuestros males. Ella convocará Córtes Constituyentes por medio del sufragio
universal. La libertad, hija del derecho, el derecho, encarnación de la justicia, la justicia, consecuencia de la ley rectamente aplicada; hé aquí el principio en que se ha de fundar el nuevo órden de cosas después de destruido lo existente. (Giménez y Guited, 188-189)

General Francisco Serrano's proclamation at Seville on September 19, 1868 is a mirror image of Prim's letter written a year earlier in Belgium. As was the case with Prim, Serrano denounced the corruption of the old Spain and trumpeted the liberal revolutionary ideals of freedom, tolerance, and a virtuous government.31

This alliance needed to incorporate one more piece in order to be successful, namely the Liberal Union of General O'Donnell, who still held much military power. O'Donnell was sympathetic to the social objectives of the Progressives, but he could not morally support the destruction of the Bourbon monarchy. Furthermore, on a personal level, O'Donnell still resented Prim's lack of support and cooperation when the Progressive leader was sent to Mexico as a political and military envoy of the gobierno largo. The fact remains that, without the Liberal Union, the revolution would remain a pipedream.

This support finally materialized with the death of O'Donnell on November 5, 1867. As Durán de la Rúa has remarked, his death signalled the death of the monarchy of Isabel II as it removed the last obstacle between the Liberal Union and the Progressives, "la condición sine qua non para el triunfo de la revolución" (336).

The Revolution became a reality on September 28, 1868 with the victory of the liberal forces under the command of Serrano, Duke of La Torre, at Alcolea (near Córdoba) over the loyal government troops. This forced Isabel II to abandon the throne and flee to France. As a result of this "glorious" triumph, revolutionary juntas sprang up throughout the provinces. The revolutionary junta of Madrid, which was popularly elected on September 30,
assumed the role of central government until it was dissolved and replaced by a provisional government that was finally formed on October 8, 1868. It effectively governed the nation until February 11, 1869 when the Constituent Cortes were established. The work of the Gobiemio provisional was to form the core of the landmark Constitution of 1869.

The provisional government was headed by the Liberal Union leader, General Serrano and the Progressive chief, General Prim. The fact that these two men guided the fate of the country proves that this new government was not a radical regime. They defended a bourgeois-liberal revolution, even though it was supported by the urban and lower classes. The provisional government was formed by a group of men who attempted to put into effect the principles of liberalism with the Constitution of 1869. With this new constitution, liberalism finally came full circle; the Cortes of Cadiz set the ball rolling in 1812 with the first liberal constitution and the men of 1868 completed the liberal movement. As Alejandro Nieto has stated: "la Revolución de 1868 es la revoluci6n liberal por antonomasia" (65). It is the liberal revolution par excellence because it destroyed the last vestiges of monarchical absolutism and moderado dictatorship, and made freedom and democracy the pillars of Spanish society. The provisional government was truly faithful to the principles of liberalism:

el Gobierno provisional fue, valga la frase, un modelo hecho realidad, una ideología encarnada en el Poder. Hoy produce verdadero asombro comprobar la fidelidad y entusiasmo con que los hombres de este Gobierno aplicaron unos principios dogmáticamente aprendidos. Su rigor ideológico ha convertido unos meses de la Historia española en un islote liberal químicamente puro dentro del océano del siglo XIX, casi todo él, de sabor marcadamente liberal. (Nieto 65-66)
The provisional government's decrees established a new state in which liberty was to be the guiding principle in all matters, from social and political issues to economic policies.

Some historians have made the point that, in reality, it was the efforts of the local revolutionary juntas that forced the provisional government to broaden its political programme to include universal suffrage and freedom of the press and association. However, as Prim's letter to the Spanish people written in August 1867 and Serrano's proclamation just days before the battle at Alcolea show, both these men had the intention of introducing broad and sweeping changes to the political spectrum of the nation. In both documents, Prim and Serrano showed themselves to be defenders of democratic liberal ideals.

Socially, the provisional government decreed that all citizens possessed individual rights. A whole array of liberties were granted. In fact, as Ruiz Zorrilla stated: "La Revolución ha demostrado que la libertad no es una concesión del poder, sino un derecho del pueblo" (Nieto 73). As a result, freedom of association, meeting, education, and press were resoundingly approved. The provisional government also recognized and declared itself to be the supreme defender of private property.

Politically, the concept of liberty led to the policy of decentralization. The provisional government argued that centralism had been a tool of oppression used by the monarchy and the moderados. Consequently, local governments would enjoy more freedom and power. Práxedes Sagasta, minister of the Interior, decreed on November 3, 1868 that centralization was incompatible with the principles of liberalism:

El espíritu estrecho, suspicaz y exageradamente centralizador . . . es incompatible con el principio descentralizador, expansivo y ampliamente liberal que en este [sic] como en los demás ramos de
la Administración ha proclamado la revolución salvadora, iniciada en las aguas de Cádiz. (Nieto 68)

This was seconded by Manuel Ruiz Zorrilla (1833-1895), minister of Development (Fomento), who reaffirmed the provisional government’s desire to strengthen the local governments:

Estimular la iniciativa de las Corporaciones populares, enervada por los hábitos del servilismo que ha engendrado un largo periodo de centralización omnímoda y opresora, elevar la consideración de los representantes de la localidad y del distrito, para que estos cargos vengan a constituir la verdadera escala de la carrera política y garantizar la moralidad en la administración de los intereses procomunales, éstos [sic] son los propósitos que en primer término han guiado al Gobierno provisional . . . (Nieto 69)

Economically, the provisional government was to be guided by the liberal economic principle of *laissez-faire*. They believed that the State should not intervene in the economy. The individual should be the key element in the economic progress of the nation, according to the minister of Finance, Laureano Figuerola:

Si guardan perfecta armonía, como la guardan indudablemente las leyes económicas que rigen las sociedades humanas, en ellas y sólo en ellas, dejándolas obrar libremente y sin arbitrarios entorpecimientos, es donde deben buscar su apoyo cuantos pretenden aplicar su actividad a la producción de la riqueza, objeto primero de todo el trabajo material y de casi todo el trabajo intelectual del hombre. (Nieto 83)

The provisional government also promised to be financially responsible with the public coffers, and in the spirit of opening up the economy, they lifted many tariffs.
With all these reforms, many have accused the leaders of 1868 of having been somewhat impractical or overly idealistic. But, as Nieto has shown, this is a fallacy (93). Speaking for the government, Ruiz Zorrilla affirmed that there would be a need for a transition period because one could not change Spain overnight: "Y entre aquel momento de monopolio administrativo y éste [sic] de libertad, se extiende más o menos rápido un periodo de transición, periodo necesario, fatal, inevitable" (Nieto 91). Thus they recognized that there would be a need for a certain period of time to permit the country to adopt this new liberal spirit.

The Gloriosa spawned a whole generation of Spaniards known as the Generation of 68. The men of this generation were to be found throughout every sector of society: political, economic, social, and literary circles. As we will see in subsequent chapters, Galdós was, without a doubt, one of those Spaniards who was committed to the ideals of the Setembrina. This generation had very high hopes for Spain's future, and they believed that the principles of liberalism could create a prosperous and just society in Spain, and thus elevate the quality of life of the average Spaniard to the levels that the British had already been enjoying for quite some time.

The work of the provisional government was consecrated by the Constitution of 1869. The democratically elected Constituent Cortes, that began on February 11, 1869 and concluded on June 5, 1869, approved universal suffrage for all males over the age of twenty-five. As a result, the electorate was expanded to almost 25% of the population (Martí 217). Furthermore, they declared that sovereignty resided in the nation and that the monarchy was simply a form of government that could only be established by the constitution. All the freedoms that were granted by the provisional government were also included in the constitution. Local governments were strengthened by the ley de ayuntamientos of August 20, 1879. Henceforth,
councillors (*concejales*) would be elected and they, in turn, would appoint the mayor.

One of the most controversial issues with which the Constituent Cortes had to grapple was the thorny issue of the status of Catholicism in Spanish society. The Republicans, led by Francisco Pi y Margall, Emilio Castelar, and Estanislao Figueras, passionately argued for the separation of Church and State and the legal establishment of religious tolerance. Pi, in fact, declared in the Cortes that: "el catolicismo ha muerto en la conciencia de la Humanidad, en la conciencia del pueblo español, y tengo necesidad de demostrarlo" (Petschen 170). However, the Republicans only held 73 of the 326 seats in the Cortes. They were opposed by the *coalición monárquico-democrática* of Progressives (126 seats), Liberal Unionists (83 seats), and Democrats (21 seats) who, proving once again that they were not so radical, took the traditional middle ground of past liberal regimes by defending the traditional role of the Church, although the Progressives and Democrats tended, in general, to accept religious freedom (Petschen 198). On May 5, 1869 the Cortes, after a long and heated debate on the issue, passed article 21 of the Constitution, whereby Spain declared religious tolerance, but, at the same time, it promised to maintain the budget of the *culto y clero*. More importantly, there was no declaration of separation between Church and State. This was another sign that the fathers of the *Gloriosa* were not radical revolutionaries, but rather conservative revolutionaries. However, for the ecclesiastical authorities, these measures were considered to be too radical and antagonistic toward the Church. Hence, relations between the Church and the State deteriorated to the point of hostility.

Perhaps the most important consequence of the Revolution of 1868 was to open up the Spanish political system to new parties and ideologies, especially to the working classes. As a result of universal male suffrage, the
Constituent Cortes provided the entire nation with a forum for Spaniards of different beliefs and ideologies to express themselves without the threat of governmental retribution. There was now a greater representation of the lower and urban classes than ever before.

However one question remains: was the Revolution of 1868 a true revolution? Manuel Tuñón de Lara has noted that a revolution only becomes a revolution when power is successfully consolidated ("El problema del poder en el sexenio" 139). This is the issue of the next chapter that begins with the *sexenio* of 1868 to 1874 and concludes in 1912, the year of Galdós' last episodio.
Notes for Chapter 1

1 Besides being president of the government from January 1834 to June 1835, Martínez de la Rosa was a celebrated playwright who wrote the first Romantic play in Spain, *La conjuración de Venecia*.

2 Gabriel Araceli is the protagonist of the first series of the *Episodios nacionales*. As an eighty-year old, Araceli looks back at his adventurous life beginning with the ill-fated battle of Trafalgar in 1805.

3 See Juan Marichal's excellent article on the ideological roots of the Generation of 1812, "From Pistoia to Cádiz: A Generation's Itinerary 1786-1812". Also see Manuel Moreno Alonso's *La generación española de 1808*.

4 Article 3 of the Constitution of 1812 states: "La soberanía reside esencialmente en la Nación, y, por lo mismo pertenece a ésta exclusivamente el derecho de establecer sus leyes fundamentales" (González Muñiz 21).

5 Article 15 affirms that: "La potestad de hacer las leyes reside en las Cortes con el Rey." This is followed by article 16 that affirms: "La potestad de hacer ejecutar las leyes reside en el Rey" (González Muñiz 22-23).

6 Article 5 stipulates: "Son españoles - Primero: Todos los hombres libres nacidos y vecinados en los dominios de las Españas, y los hijos de éstos" (González Muñiz 21).

7 Article 31 establishes that for every 70,000 inhabitants there would be one parliamentary representative. Furthermore, article 75 states: "Para ser elector de partido se requiere ser ciudadano que se halle en el ejercicio de sus derechos, mayor de veinticinco años, y vecino y residente en el partido, ya sea del estado seglar o del eclesiástico secular, pudiendo recaer la elección en los ciudadanos que componen la junta o en los de fuera de ella" (González Muñiz 27).

8 According to José Ramón González Armendia, the Cortes of Cádiz decreed on September 13, 1813 the transfer of the following Church properties: "las
temporalidades de los jesuitas, los bienes pertenecientes a conventos abandonados, los de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén, los predios rústicos y urbanos de las cuatro órdenes militares" (23).

9 Ironically, had Joseph I continued to rule, he would have put an end to the Ancien Regime, as Miguel Artola has astutely indicated: "Los famosos decretos de diciembre de 1808, de aplicarse, hubiesen puesto fin al régimen señorial, suprimido la Inquisición, reducido el número de conventos y trasladado las aduanas a la frontera nacional" (20).

10 The afrancesados were those Spaniards who had served and complied with the regime of Joseph I.

11 According to Jordi Nadal's figures, the two most intensive stages of the disentailment plan were from 1836-1849 and 1859-1867 (56).

12 Ferdinand VII recognized the constitution on March 7, 1820 and swore an oath to it in the Cortes on July 9,1820. It was popularly said that he had swallowed it ("la tragó"). There was, in fact, a popular song entitled "Trágala", which was heard at many popular protests against the king.

13 Alberto Gil Novales notes that "el grito de Las Cabezas" was also pronounced in La Coruña, Oviedo, Murcia, Zaragoza, and Barcelona (5), which proves that the popularity of liberalism had spread all over the country.

14 In fact, there were 132,000 soldiers (Artola 49).

15 Cea's surname is also occasionally spelled Zea.

16 This was the third and most important stage (1836-1849) of the desamortización. The total value of sales was 4,455,420 reales de vellón (Nadal 56).

17 Yet Nadal states that the debt actually increased during the first thirty years of the desamortización: "De hecho, en el curso de los treinta primeros años de desamortización, el montante de la deuda parece no haber disminuido, sino aumentado en una tercera parte" (62).
Nadal suggests that there were only two reasons: 1. to get the Public Treasury in shape and 2. to consolidate power for the liberals and confirm Isabel II on the throne (60).

Nadal affirms likewise that: "La transferencia de propiedades ni bastó para sanear las finanzas públicas, ni contribuyó demasiado a clarificar el intrincado panorama político" (61).

The Convenio de Vergara officially ended the First Carlist War in September 1839. However, the Tiger of the Maestrazgo, General Ramón Cabrera, continued to fight in Catalonia and in the Levant region until May 30, 1840 when the cristinos finally took Morella.

Galdós showed in the second episode of the fourth series, Narváez, that Narváez did not understand liberalism. See chapter five, section two of this thesis.

Galdós dealt with this tumultuous period in the first episode of the fourth series, Las tormentas del 48.

I use the term "party" with great reservation. In reality, the concept of party was a foreign concept for Spaniards. Perhaps the best term would be "tendency", because as with the progresistas, the moderados did not form one cohesive political group with one leader at its helm. The moderados shared some beliefs with the progresistas, but there was a great deal of divergence.

This ridiculous episode was covered by Galdós in O'Donnell.

Cándido Nocedal later became an eloquent defender of Carlism.

Alonso Martínez is more famously known for being the chief architect of Spain's civil code.

Nadal quotes R.E. Cameron's France and the Economic Development of Europe to illustrate the extent of French dominance over the Spaniard railroad system. When war broke out in Europe in 1914, French-controlled companies
possessed 9,772 of the 11,378 kilometres of normal width gauge, that is, 85% (162).

28 Nadal correctly argues that: "Desde el origen, el grueso del tendido ferroviario estuvo pensado como instrumento de colonización y de explotación, mucho más que como instrumento de auténtico desarrollo" (50).

29 Jaime Vincens Vives and Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz pinpointed the economic crisis of 1866 to 1868 as the catalyst that lit the flame of the revolution; however, Miguel Artola rejected the position of these two eminent historians by arguing that there really was no such crisis:

En un país cuyo desarrollo industrial era tan incipiente como el descrito en un capítulo anterior, cuyos precios agrícolas parece ser conocieron una etapa de alza a partir del 65, lo que significa prosperidad, cuando menos para los terratenientes, y cuya balanza comercial y nivel de ingresos presupuestarios no reflejan oscilaciones significativas, no parece pueda atribuirse a la crisis del 66 la importancia que se le otorga y mucho menos ver en ella la causa de la revolución de setiembre. (365-366)

30 Durán de la Rúa paints a very dark picture of Narváez's last days in power:

Los terratenientes trinaban contra los elevados impuestos que habían establecido el último gobierno de Narváez; inversores y financieras veían cómo el país - y con él sus empresas - se acercaba inexorablemente a la bancarrota; los agricultores y corredores de cereales se veían obligados a vender sus cosechas a los bajos precios de emergencia fijados por el gobierno; los contratistas eran cancelados, en tanto que se les pagaba con valores del estado que apenas constituían una fracción de su valor facial; todos los propietarios, en fin, se sentían directamente afectados por la devaluación de sus inmuebles. (316)

31 Serrano's letter, in which he passionately argued in favour of the Revolution, is reproduced below:

Si hiciéramos un examen prolijo de nuestros agravios, más difícil sería justificar a los ojos del mundo y de la historia la mansedumbre con que los hemos sufrido, que la extrema resolución con que procuramos evitarlos.
Que cada uno repase su memoria, y todos acudiréis á las armas:
Hollada la ley fundamental; convertida siempre antes en celada
que en defensa del ciudadano; corrompido por la amenaza y el
soborno; dependiente la seguridad individual no del derecho propio,
sino de la irresponsable voluntad de cualquiera de las autoridades;
muerto el municipio; pasto la Administración y la Hacienda de la
inmoralidad del agrio; tiranizada la enseñanza; muda la prensa
solo interrumpido el universal silencio por las frecuentes noticias
de las nuevas fortunas improvisadas; del nuevo negocio; de la
nueva real órden encaminada á defraudar el tesoro público; de
títulos de Castilla vilmente prodigados; el alto precio, en fin, á que
logran su venta la deshonra y el vicio. Tal es la España de hoy:
Españoles, ¿quién la aborrece tanto, que se atreve á excluir;
«así ha de ser siempre?» No; no será. Ya basta de escándalos.
(Giménez y Guited 270)

It should be noted that this letter is quoted from Galdós' personal copy of
Giménez y Guited's three-volume study, which he underlined extensively,
including this letter written by Serrano.
2. The Failure of the Revolution of 1868

Even before the opening legislative session of the *Cortes Constituyentes* of 1871 had begun, internal divisions had already arisen and the principles of the Revolution had become seriously compromised. The six-year period or *sexenio* (1868-1874) between the Revolution and the Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy under Isabel II's son, Alfonso XII, are six of the most turbulent years in the history of nineteenth-century Spain. In the period before the resounding election victory of the Democratic-Monarchical coalition in March 1871, problems soon arose in attempting to find a monarch that would be acceptable to all of the major parties. The fact that the coalition succeeded in instituting a monarchical form of government, with article 33 of the constitution, proves, once again, that Prim and company were not the radical revolutionaries that many have tried to depict them as being. Each party had attempted to promote its own pretender for the throne. The Progressives and the Democrats backed Ferdinand of Cobourg, the former king of Portugal, who sympathized with the ideals of liberal democracy; but he soon withdrew his candidacy. On the other hand, the Liberal Unionists wanted a more traditional monarch who would defend the Catholic faith and their conservative constituency. However, their candidate, the Duke of Montpensier, ended his own aspirations when he killed Isabel II's cousin and brother-in-law, Don Enrique on March 12, 1870 in a duel. Prim became more and more desperate to find a suitable monarch as time passed by and the country remained without a head of State. Faced with growing opposition from the Republicans, Prim believed that Spain needed a king in order to establish a more tranquil atmosphere. The monarchy would thus be a stabilizing force in society. Under such enormous pressure, Prim suggested a son of the Catholic branch of the Hohenzollern family, which logically antagonized the French and led in part to the Franco-Prussian war of 1871. After expanding his search, Prim finally
found someone who was at least acceptable to the Unionists. That person was the Duke of Aosta, Amadeo of Savoy (1845-1890), son of King Vittorio Emmanuele II of Italy. But right from the start, Amadeo I was confronted by hostile opposition from the Republicans, the Carlists, and the supporters of the emerging Alfonsist party who mainly came from the aristocracy of Madrid. Incredibly, these disparate forces united to combat the new dynasty. Amadeo became known as "el rey de los 191", that is, the king who received only 191 of the 317 eligible votes (Diego García 2380). Unfortunately, Amadeo’s destiny was sealed with the assassination of Prim on December 30, 1870, just days before the Italian prince was to arrive in Spain to take the throne. With the death of his sole supporter, Amadeo now found himself totally isolated in what for him was a foreign country. There is no doubt that Prim’s murder marks a before and after in the destiny of the Revolution. Thus politically, the Revolution was seriously compromised and, perhaps, destined to fail.

Economically, the Revolution began with great aspirations of changing the antiquated and tightly controlled economy of Spain but, once again, with the death of Prim all those grand projects became frustrated by reactionary forces who were standing in the wings ready to reassert their power and influence over Spain. In October 1868 Prim made a bold decision by appointing Laureano Figuerola as the minister of Finance. Along with Manuel Ruiz Zorrilla and José Echegaray, Figuerola was one of the leaders of the "escuela economista", an economic school that promoted the liberalization of the Spanish economy. According to Antón Costas Comesaña, Prim chose Figuerola precisely because he represented the only true alternative to the traditional system of a tightly controlled economy that had been in effect under the previous regimes (37). Another reason that may help explain why Figuerola was selected is the fact that he shared with Prim the belief that an abrupt revolution was not a good thing. Figuerola advocated a gradual change
in the economic system of Spain: "los librecambistas defendieron siempre la transición, el gradualismo como procedimiento para el cambio desde el viejo sistema prohibicionista al nuevo sistema de libertad" (Costas Comesaña 86).

If one analyzes Figuerola's economic policies, it can be argued that he followed in the long line of liberal economic policymakers that began with the Sociedades de Amigos del País. There is no doubt that Figuerola intended to develop Spain's infrastructure as, for example, the Liberal Unionists had attempted to do ten years earlier. As had been the case with their predecessors, the Progressives were also confronted with the same problems, that is, a growing and seemingly uncontrollable deficit and foreign debt. As the deficit continued to augment, opposition to Figuerola increased at an almost exponential rate. Consequently, it came as no surprise when Figuerola resigned as minister of Finance in December 1870 after twenty-six months in office. Figuerola's downfall constituted a victory for the more conservative forces. As Costas Comesaña argues, there was basically a return to the status quo:

Sin estabilidad política y regularidad administrativa, sin fuerza, el poder político para exigir el pago de los tributos, aumentando el contrabando y el fraude fiscal como consecuencia de la guerra carlista y la insurrección cantonalista, y, no autorizando las Cortes la creación de nuevos impuestos, era lógico que los gobiernos viesen de nuevo en las restricciones a la libertad de comercio un medio de atender a las necesidades perentorias del Tesoro. (105)

It is not surprising by any means that failure was the end result of Figuerola's ambitious venture in the midst of so much political instability, especially after the assassination of Prim.⁸

This is a point that must be emphasized. The sexennial, that began with the revolutionary declaration on November 9, 1868 of universal suffrage which
promised Spaniards a level of political participation that until then they had thought was inconceivable, became a period of immense political chaos. Between January 1869 and May 1873, there were five general elections. In 1872 there were two elections in the space of five months, April 3 to 6 and August 24 to 27. This ridiculous situation resulted in voter exhaustion and even indifference, as can be appreciated by the fact that there was a 60% abstention rate in the election of May 10 to 13, 1873 (Martínez Cuadrado, *Elecciones y partidos políticos* 202). That figure was in reality only slightly higher than in the election of August 1872, when the abstention rate had reached a marginally lower 54% (Martínez Cuadrado, *Elecciones y partidos políticos* 172).

Miguel Martínez Cuadrado is of the opinion that this electoral exhaustion led to the further fragmentation of Spanish society:

> El proceso que polarizará a la sociedad civil española hacia extremos radicales: carlismo, cantonalismo, parece casi consecuencia lógica del agotamiento a que había llegado el cuerpo electoral en 1873. (*Elecciones y partidos políticos* 53)

I can only partly agree with Martínez Cuadrado's statement. It seems to me correct to assert that voter apathy and disenchantment contributed to the Cantonalist movement, which will be dealt with briefly, but to state that the resurgence of the Carlists was caused by this same political phenomenon seems to be stretching the argument too much. In reality, the old flame of Carlism was sparked by the victory of the *Gloriosa* itself. Faced with the threat of the creation of a new, modern, and secular Spain, the old Catholic conservative elements rose up once again to defend Catholic unity and values. Cristóbal Robles Muñoz argues that it was the anti-Church policy of the Revolution that led to the rebirth of Carlism:
Los excesos de la Revolución contra la Iglesia favorecieron la adhesión de los católicos al carlismo y la huida de las personas de bien hacia las provincias del Norte, porque creían que era el triunfo de Don Carlos el único medio de restablecer «la religión y el orden de España». (120)

What were those so-called excesses? From the Church's point of view, the Revolution itself was an excess for it had terminated the monarchy of a Roman Catholic queen, and had replaced it with a secular regime. Any change in the status quo was considered by the Church as a major threat to its power and influence. Almost immediately, the Vatican broke off relations with Madrid. The Constitution of 1869 was considered, in fact, to be an atheist document because it recognized the freedom of religious belief (Robles Muñoz 37). However, it must be said that the Constitution did not recognize the separation of Church and State, an explicit statement which the Republican leaders such as Castelar and Pi had pressed for so adamantly in the Constituent Cortes of February of 1869. Moreover, the State committed itself to maintain the budget of the culto y clero. Yet this was not enough for the ecclesiastical authorities of Spain and Rome. Any recognition of foreign religions was tantamount to heresy, and, at the same time, an implicit attack against the Church's spiritual and temporal authority.

Thus it really came as no surprise when on April 21, 1872 there was a Carlist uprising in Valencia which was put down on May 4, 1872 at the battle of Oroquieta. General Serrano forced the Carlists to sign the Convenio de Amorebieta on May 24, 1872. But this peace was nothing more than a sham for the Carlists would soon return to the battlefields of Northeastern and Eastern Spain, led this time by their new king, Carlos VII.

Returning to the question of the numerous number of national elections one must ask why this was the case. The most logical answer is that there was
a lack of compromise amongst the different political parties, especially within the various coalition governments, controlled principally by the Progressives and the Republicans. As the threat grew from the Republicans and the Carlists, as well, the government found itself in a need to fix elections in order to protect the monarchy of Amadeo I. It was felt that, otherwise, the new monarchy would not survive. However, even with all this political machination, the three major parties of the revolutionary coalition, that is, the progresistas, the moderados, and the unionistas were unable to sustain power because their leaders, men such as, Sagasta and Ruiz Zorrilla, realized that they did not have the confidence of the people, especially in the urban centres. For example, in the election of April 1872 the government received only 14% of the vote in Spain's capitals, but in the provinces it garnered 86%, while the Republicans obtained 42% in the major cities (Martínez Cuadrado, Elecciones y partidos políticos 153). It was not surprising that by the end of 1872, Amadeo I had had enough of all this confusion; he abdicated on February 11, 1873 and returned to Italy with his wife, Doña María Victoria de Pozzo.9

Amadeo's decision to step down from the throne gave the Republicans their grand opportunity. It seems that Amadeo's abdication caught many off guard, according to the prominent Catalan Republican Pi y Margall, who made the following observation on the advent of the Republic:

La República vino por donde ménos esperábamos. De la noche á la mañana Amadeo de Saboya, que en dos años de mando no había logrado hacerse simpático al país ni dominar el creciente oleaje de los partidos, resuelve abdicar por sí y por sus hijos la corona de España. (12)

This allowed Pi to propose in the Cortes that a vote be immediately taken on the new form of government. The result was an overwhelming triumph for the República by 258 votes to 32 (Martínez Cuadrado, Elecciones y partidos
But it is safe to say that this was the first and last victory for the institution of the republic in 1873. Spain was not to return to the republican system until 1931, that is, 58 years later.

A question that remains is: why did the members of the Cortes vote in favour of the Republic? For Tuñón de Lara, the Republic was adopted because Spain had exhausted all other avenues: "En la noche del 10 al 11 de febrero de 1873, era la República o el vacío" ("El problema del Sexenio" 172). I believe Tuñón de Lara hit the nail on the head on this point. As has been noted, voters had become exhausted to the point of apathy; elections were being rigged, and the government leaders realized that they were failing. Amadeo's sudden decision to abdicate simply forced the issue toward the forefront. Consequently those 258 parliamentarians who chose republicanism, were saying, in essence, that everything else had failed, so why not try something new and different. Hence the republic was the only option.10

The year 1873 that began with this shocking turn of events was to become perhaps the most tumultuous year of the entire century, if that could be possible.11 There is a further and greater significance to this most remarkable year. The fact that the Republic was accepted meant not only the temporary death of the monarchy, but more importantly the rise of a large and disaffected part of society, namely the proletariat. It is interesting to note that the unexpected by-product of the Gloriosa, as Carlos Seco Serrano has indicated, was the beginning of the proletariat movement:

cabe afirmar, en cambio, que el proceso político iniciado a partir de la batalla de Alcolea, aunque no representase de hecho otra cosa que la culminación del ciclo revolucionario liberal-burgués, iba a abrir - involuntariamente, sin duda -, partiendo del sufragio universal y de la libertad de asociación, un ciclo nuevo - el del "proletariado militante" - en cuanto las masas obreras que habían
dado fuerza y empuje excepcionales al pronunciamiento se fuesen desplazando hacia un frente propio, decepcionados por el reajuste que los caudillos de aquél se apresuraron a imprimirle apenas conseguido el triunfo (Seco Serrano, "La toma de conciencia" 40). Seen in this light, it seems clear that the surprise triumph in the Cortes of the republican system was a rejection of the liberal bourgeoisie that had promised many great changes under the flag of the Glorious Revolution, but in reality had not produced much of any true significance for the general population. One must not forget that the Setembrina had a distinct bourgeois character to it. Politically, power had remained in the hands of the progresistas, moderados, unionistas and their breakaway groups such as the sagastinos, named for Sagasta, and the radicales of Ruiz Zorrilla. These parties consisted of men who, for the most part, came from well-to-do families; the majority of them were professionals, industrialists, lawyers, military men, engineers, entrepreneurs, doctors, writers, economists, intellectuals, etc. The objective of the Revolution of 1868 for men such as Prim, Serrano, Topete, Figuerola, Sagasta, and Ruiz Zorrilla was to modernize the country along liberal economic principles. It was not in the least revolutionary; this had been a bourgeois controlled revolution that wished to maintain the monarchical system, which it did in spite of all the difficulty that Prim encountered in finding a king that could be acceptable to the majority. The truth is that the revolution never really extended itself to the lower classes. The governments of the sexenio did not fulfill any of the promises on such issues as the quintas (the draft)\(^2\) and the impuesto de consumos. Yes it is true that suffrage had been extended to adult males over twenty-five years of age, but it is also true that electoral tampering continued to flourish during the elections held after 1869. In many ways one can say that 1873 witnessed the rise of the worker in Spain. The fourth estate, with which Galdós increasingly identified himself, finally emerged as a powerful force with which to
contend. The events of February 1873 were, for all intents and purposes, those of a revolution. And that is precisely how Pi viewed them in his account of those events:

Es verdad que la República no había nacido de combates ni de tumultos; pero no lo es menos, que tampoco debía a la ley su origen. Los pueblos, á falta de la inteligencia de que están dotados los individuos, tienen un instinto que rara vez los engaña. Vieron en la proclamación de la República un acto revolucionario. Comprendieron que ni era constitucional la fusión de las dos Cámaras, ni podían estas sin violar las leyes fundamentales del Estado alterar la forma de gobierno. (15, emphasis is mine)

It is this change of political structure (from constitutional monarchy to republicanism), as Pi stressed in his memoirs, that made the events of 1873 revolutionary. And what is more important is the fact that everyone realized that a revolution had just occurred. Spanish society was evolving rapidly - too rapidly for many, especially for the upper classes. Thus the political field was set for a tremendous battle between the republican supporters and the traditional forces, that is, the liberals, the monarchists, the Carlists and the Cantonalists. With so many enemies fighting against it, did the First Republic ever stand a fighting chance?

The Primera República was faced with many problems right from the start; four of the most pressing problems were the following: 1. the Cuban insurrection, 2. the Carlist insurrection, 3. the Cantonalist revolts, and 4. internal divisions.

The Cuban problem had begun, in reality, back in 1868, barely a few weeks after the battle of Alcolea. On October 10, 1868, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, leader of the Cuban uprising, issued the so-called "grito de Yara" (the proclamation of Yara), a proclamation that moved Cuban nationalists to open
insurrection against the authority of Spain on the Caribbean island. This was the first war of independence for Cuba, which quickly became a thorn in the side of the provisional government in 1869, and remained a grave problem for the four governments of the First Republic. The Cuban issue was, in fact, to be present for thirty years, until 1898 when Spain finally lost the island to the United States through the Treaty of Paris. To say that the initial uprising drained state coffers is an understatement. The truth is that it forced Spain to send thousands of soldiers, which made the Cuban uprising a burning issue for those families personally affected by it. As Raymond Carr has suggested, the Cuban problem can best be described as a growing cancer that undermined Spain's vitality (quoted by Tuñón de Lara in "El problema del Sexenio" 166).

The Carlists also reemerged as another problem for the government of the First Republic. Under Carlos VII (1848-1909), Carlism reappeared as a major threat, which had evolved into a much more sophisticated ideology than in the 1830s when Carlos V and General Cabrera, the Tiger of the Maestrazgo, were its chief leaders. This time the principal leaders realized that the Carlist movement had to become more political, that is, that it had to organize itself and gain a political form and conscience. The religious argument was not sufficient to inspire Spanish Catholics. In other words, it had to appeal to a broader sector of society. To reach this goal, Carlism's leading members actively recruited intellectuals and prominent politicians of the day. One such politician was the Galician Cándido Nocedal, a prominent member of the conservative wing of the moderados during the monarchy of Isabel II. The Carlists also recruited important journalists such as Francisco Navarro Villoslada and Gabino Tejado, who founded El Pensamiento Español, the most influential Catholic newspaper of the time. Consequently, Carlism succeeded in establishing a medium through which to propagandize its ideals. These efforts legitimized Carlism in a manner that it did not previously enjoy, and thus made
it more attractive for those moderados who were disillusioned by the Bourbon monarchy and the Revolution.

Carlism also became a legitimate force because it actively participated in the political arena of the Cortes and in general elections from 1868 to 1872. The Carlist members of parliament passionately argued in favour of the confessional nature of the Spanish nation. For them, Spain was, above all, a Roman Catholic nation. However, Carlos VII decided after the elections of April 1872 to abandon the political process mainly because Sagasta had fixed the elections in order to gain a majority that would protect the monarchy of Amadeo I. The Sagasta scandal, as it became known, consisted of a transfer of around two million reales from the treasury of the Foreign Ministry (Ultramar) to the Ministry of the Interior (Gobernación) in order to cover his electoral expenses.

As a result of this decision, Carlos VII officially declared war on April 21, 1872. This third Carlist War (la Guerra de los Cuatro Años) lasted until February 28, 1876, when Carlos VII pronounced at Arnegui in Navarre that now famous single word, "volveré", that is, that he would return (Wilhelmsen 438). But he never did return to lead another fight.

For the young Republic, the Carlist War was, to say the least, a major problem. Already saddled with the Cuban uprising, the four Republican governments of 1873 saw how the country was disintegrating before their eyes. Carlos VII had established a central government in opposition, in his stronghold of Northern Spain, which undermined the legitimacy of the First Republic. Furthermore, the war was costing the Republic millions of reales that it did not have. But if the Carlist War was a serious headache for the Republic, than the Cantonalist riots were a brain tumour because in 1873 these riots represented an even greater threat to the stability of the central government and of Spain in general.15
The first question that arises when speaking of this group is who were the cantonalistas? In short, they were extremists within the Republican ranks. Also known as intransigentes, that is, those who would not compromise their principles, the Cantonalists wished to create independent city-states. And, in fact, as Galdós indicates in the episodio entitled, De Cartago a Sagunto, some of these city-state republics issued their own currency. They did not support Pi's proposal for a federation under the new Constitution. However, according to Richard Herr, they would have accepted a confederate system (108). The insurrection of the cantons erupted in July 1873: Cartagena, Alcoy, Valencia, Seville, Cádiz, Granada, Castellón, and Málaga, among others, all rose up against the Republic. As Herr so accurately observes, the Cantonalists found their strength in the urban lower-middle class (108). These cities had openly defied the Republic by refusing to collect taxes and abolishing military conscription. Having no other recourse, Pi resigned in July.

The situation with the Cantonalists had deteriorated seriously by the end of the summer of 1873. It was at this point that the Republic took a decision that was to affect its immediate future, and, at the same time, change the nature of the Republic. Emilio Castelar (1832-1899), who had been elected as the fourth and last president of the First Republic, ushered in what some have called the república unitaria by putting the unity of the Spanish state ahead of the federalist principle that had been advocated by the first two presidents, Estanislao Figueras y Moragas (1819-1882) and Pi. Castelar considered that the only effective way to deal with the Cantonalist uprisings was militarily. Castelar and his immediate predecessor, Nicolás Salmerón y Alonso (1837-1908), sincerely feared that these uprisings would result in the total disintegration of Spain. This was a major change in the nature of the Republic because when it had acceded to power it had done so without the aid of the military, which had been left behind by the Republic. But in a time of
deep distress, the Republic felt it had no other recourse but to seek the Army's help. Generals Pavía and Martínez Campos successfully crushed the Cantonalist movement, with the stubborn city of Cartagena holding out until January 14, 1874. According to Herr, the Republicans, for the most part, did not support Castelar's decision because they saw the Cantonalists as being their "wayward brothers" (110). More significant, in my opinion, was the fact that Castelar allowed the generals to return to the political scene, a move that would have serious repercussions for the Republic and Spain.

As we have just seen with the issue of the Cantonalist uprisings, one of the major problems that undermined the First Republic was the deep and profound internal divisions within the Republican party. Referring to the events of Barcelona in particular (Barcelona had been on the verge of declaring its independence in March and April 1873), Pi commented in his memoirs that his ideal of republican federalism met its greatest opposition from within his own party: "Después del 23 de Abril comprendí que los más graves obstáculos los había de suscitar mi propio partido" (32). Essentially, the division amongst the Republicans ran along the issue of whether the Republic should be federalist or unitary. Moreover, as Martínez Cuadrado has noted, after the landslide election victory of May 1873 in which it received 343 of the 391 seats, Federal Republicanism further divided itself into benevolentes and intransigentes (Elecciones y partidos políticos 193). A large portion of the intransigentes left the party and joined the uprisings of the Cantonalists in the south and east of the country. If one adds to this internal fragmentation the fact that the Republic was isolated internationally, with Switzerland being the only country that officially recognized its legitimacy (Jover Zamora, Imagen de la primera República 23), one quickly comes to the conclusion that everything was going against its possible success.
On January 3, 1874 Castelar lost a motion of non-confidence by 120 to 100 votes, which forced him to resign. His resignation created another void in Spanish politics that was quickly filled the next morning by the Captain General of New Castile, Manuel Pavía y Rodríguez de Alburquerque (1827-1905), who led a non-violent military coup. This action terminated the eleven-month tumultuous adventure of the First Republic. The Army had intervened once again to restore things to its original state. According to Martínez Cuadrado, Pavía's coup d'état was supported not surprisingly by Generals Serrano and Concha, and by such political leaders as Sagasta, Martos, Rivero, Cánovas and Elduayen (Restauración 11). And, in fact, Serrano, always the opportunist, took charge of the presidency. The caretaker government over which he presided was, in reality, a type of dictatorship that lasted a little less than a year. Serrano's immediate goals were to restore order by terminating the Cantonalist and Carlist wars. The first was achieved almost immediately; on January 12, 1874 General López Domínguez put down the revolt of Cartagena, which had become the symbol of the cantonalista movement. And Serrano turned the tide of the conflict with the Carlists in favour of the central government.

In the meantime, support for the Bourbon restoration was growing. The foundation had been laid in 1870 for such a return with Isabel II's renunciation of her dynastic rights in favour of her son, the future Alfonso XII. The chief promoter of the restoration was Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (1828-1897), a liberal-conservative lawyer from Málaga who was to become the most important Spanish politician of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Cánovas' objectives were basically two-fold: to restore stability and order to Spain. Only through stability and order could Spain achieve economic and social progress. Cánovas believed that the first step to achieving these goals was the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. This would give the nation a
legitimacy that it had been lacking since the advent of the Glorious Revolution. To this end, Cánovas was able to guide the young Alfonso, who in 1874 was only sixteen years old. He sent Alfonso to the Royal Academy at Sandhurst where he received military training. This was to become especially important during the Third Carlist War, when the young king actually confronted his second-cousin, Carlos VII, on the northern battlefields at Lácar (Navarre) in February 1875. Alfonso's military prowess gave him a special aura of being a warrior-king who was willing to fight for his people. And while at Sandhurst, Cánovas was able to send the young prince letters of encouragement and political training. Alfonso's famous letter to the Spanish people, which was written on December 1, 1874, was heavily influenced by Cánovas' teachings.16

In Alfonso's letter-manifesto one can easily perceive Cánovas' influence. The manifesto proposes that the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy is the answer for all of Spain's present political problems. Alfonso argues that only with a constitutional monarchy will corruption and oppression cease to exist because he is a living symbol of peace and unity. The leitmotiv of the manifesto is one of peace, order, and political liberty under a restored Bourbon monarchy. Furthermore, Alfonso presents himself as the king of all the nation, from the working classes to the aristocracy. And finally at the end of the manifesto, Alfonso asserts that he is both a good Catholic and a liberal in spirit.

As one analyzes Cánovas' proposals for Spain, one realizes that he wanted to devise a system that took the middle ground between the liberalism of the pre-1868 period and the values of the Revolution of 1868. As Gerald Brenan has noted, the Restoration was Cánovas' response to the failure of the Revolution (1). Cánovas wanted a more flexible moderado system without reaching the extremes of the Revolution. He realized that a broader base of support was needed to maintain the monarchy; Isabel II had fallen because her support came from only one party that had become totally exhausted and
discredited. The type of support that Cánovas sought could only be achieved through a more credible parliamentary system in which there would be an exchange of power.\textsuperscript{17} This had always been the Achilles' heel of the moderado regimes which had never allowed the opposition (the Progressives) a chance to hold power.

As 1874 continued under the totalitarian regime of General Serrano, the Alfonsine party was gaining in popularity. Cánovas, however, was not in any hurry to accede to power for he realized that the return of the Bourbon monarchy was inevitable.\textsuperscript{18} However, the rush was on from the military standpoint. Many generals were secretly competing to see who would be the one who would usher Alfonso back to Spain. That glory went to General Arsenio Martínez Campos, who at the historical town of Sagunto, near Valencia, pronounced the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy on December 29, 1874, that is four weeks after Alfonso's letter to the Spanish nation. Subsequently, on the evening of December 30, Cánovas formed a regency-government in Alfonso XII's absence, and thus officially began the Bourbon Restoration, which was to last forty-nine years until September 13, 1923 with the advent of the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1870-1930).

In many ways it can be argued that 1874 signified a return to 1868. Josep Fontana, in fact, suggested that Martínez Campos' coup d'état was a correction of the political path taken after the Revolution of 1868:

Más que una auténtica restauración, que hubiera significado una vuelta a la etapa anterior a la revolución, el golpe de Estado de 1874 fue una corrección de trayectoria seguida después de 1868. Cánovas completaba y perfeccionaba la obra iniciada por los Prim, Sagasta y compañía. Y el propio Sagasta le ayudaría decisivamente en esta tarea. Al fin y al cabo, revolucionarios de 1868 y restauradores de 1874 (ni muy revolucionarios, los unos,
ni muy restauradores, los otros) se sentaban juntos en los consejos de administración de las mismas compañías y tenían unos intereses comunes. (Quoted by Casimiro Martí 255)

I would not go so far as Fontana did in his affirmation that 1874 was a return to 1868 because such a statement seems to dismiss all the good work that had been done or attempted at least during the initial period of the sexenio. It seems that Fontana's position is imbued with a strong measure of cynicism towards the men of the Revolution and the Restoration. Furthermore, I don't believe that one can compare Prim with Cánovas. Though one may doubt the former's initial intentions, the fact remains that the provisional government that he headed with Serrano introduced many significant changes to the political and social nature of Spain. Such measures as universal suffrage, freedom of the press, association and religion, and the liberalization of economic restrictions prove that Prim did truly wish to change the country. That these things were not achieved is another issue. But the fact remains that while Prim lived, the Revolution sought to transform the nation. It was only after his death that things reverted to the status quo, with the exception of the First Republic.

Cánovas, on the other hand, never had any intention of permitting universal suffrage because he was wary of the Spanish people's ability to reason. Perhaps he was right, since after all Spain's rate of illiteracy in 1877 was still an astronomical 72% (Diego García 2443). Moreover, Cánovas instituted laws that severely restricted freedom of the press. In no way was he a member of that idealistic Generation of 68, of which Galdós was a key participant; that Generation, and especially Galdós, as we shall see in the following chapters, were very disillusioned by the path that was taken after Prim's death.

Cánovas was, above all, a pragmatic technocrat who tried to create a workable political system that was not restricted by a certain political ideology.
Quite appropriately Cánovas adopted the term liberal-conservador to describe, what had been until then, the Alfonsine party. The Liberal-Conservative party was essentially made up of members who had belonged to the various Conservative parties before and after 1868. Cánovas rejected the extremist moderado from his party, which proves that he was constantly seeking the middle ground.

Cánovas succeeded where others had failed because he was able to mastermind a political system in which power was exchanged successfully and non-violently. Basically, it consisted of a two-party system: the Liberal-Conservative and the Constitutional Party, headed by Práxedes Mateo Sagasta (1825-1903), which in 1876 adopted the name Liberal. According to Sagasta, the Liberal Party promoted order because liberty without order was an impossibility:

si ayer ante la anarquía apareciamos conservadores, hoy, sin habernos movido de nuestro puesto, aparecemos liberales ante la reacción, siendo ayer como ahora y como siempre, amantes sinceros del orden; que no hay libertad sin orden, ni orden sin libertad… (Martínez Cuadrado, Elecciones y partidos políticos 219)

This emphasis on order mirrored Cánovas' political beliefs. As a result, Cánovas was able to forge a sort of alliance with Sagasta. Under this new political framework, Sagasta's party would serve as the loyal opposition. Being a student of the British parliamentary system, Cánovas realized that a loyal opposition was the necessary mechanism for avoiding the sort of violent uprisings that had traditionally plagued Spain.

The key to this two-party system was the turno pacífico (the tranquil exchange) of power that did not become officially consolidated until November 23-24, 1885 with the Pacto del Pardo, (the royal palace where the young
Alfonso died of tuberculosis on November 25), by which Cánovas and Sagasta formally agreed to alternate political power. Unofficially, however, this system had been in effect when Cánovas resigned after almost seven years in power and gave Sagasta the opportunity to form a new government on February 10, 1881.19

Though the turno pacífico was the key to Cánovas' success it was, at the same time, a major defect of his system because it was based on the ability of Cánovas' Conservatives and Sagasta's Liberals to fix the elections in order to retain power. The turno worked in the following way: when Cánovas or Sagasta believed that his time in power had concluded, he would resign and the king would call a general election. The minister of the Interior (Gobernación), perhaps the most famous being Francisco Romero Robledo (1838-1906), Cánovas' right hand, determined the election results with the aid of the caciques, large landowners who controlled the rural areas. In Brenan's words, "If a Conservative government was conducting the election, a fair number of Liberals and sometimes even an inoffensive Republican or two would be let in" (5). The appearance of a full-fledged parliamentary democracy was essential to Cánovas' system. A look at the election results of 1879 illustrate show what Brenan described was the exact truth: Cánovas' Liberal-Conservatives obtained 293 seats, Sagasta's Constitutionalists received 56, the Independents 15, moderados and Ultramontanes 11, Possibilist Democrats 7, and the Progressive Democrats 7. Two years later when Cánovas resigned, Sagasta's Liberal-Fusionists obtained 297 seats, that is, 241 more seats than in 1879. Meanwhile, Cánovas' Liberal-Conservatives only obtained 39, 254 less than in the previous election (Martínez Cuadrado, Elecciones y partidos políticos 245 and 271). Once it was decided, there never was any doubt as to who would win, or as Martínez Cuadrado put it "la alternancia no se produjo nunca como resultado final de la voluntad popular expresada en una consulta electoral"
(Restauración 109). Cánovas could not allow elections to be free and open because universal suffrage would inevitably lead to social anarchy:

La ley de la mayoría, instrumentada por el sufragio universal, no era otra cosa, para el Cánovas pensante y actuante en el periodo crítico de 1866 a 1876, que un peligro de incalculables consecuencias para la supervivencia del sistema social y de la nación como entidad histórica. (Martínez Cuadrado, Restauración 103)

Besides the fact that the ministry of the Interior and the caciques managed the elections, the latter in return for some unwritten benefits no doubt, Cánovas was able to create election results because one of the first things that he did when he gained power was to severely restrict the right of franchise. Under the Constitution of 1869 all males over 25 years of age had the right to vote. Cánovas, however, considered that universal male suffrage was a major threat to the young and fragile monarchy of Alfonso XII. He consequently imposed fiscal restrictions on the right to vote, which favoured large landowners and, in general, all of the propertied classes. This measure dramatically lowered the number of eligible voters from over four and a half million during the sexenio to approximately 850,000 or 5% of the population for the elections of 1879 and 1881 (Martínez Cuadrado, Elecciones y partidos políticos 242). Cánovas catered to the members of the upper classes by appointing them to the Senate. According to Martínez Cuadrado, this guaranteed power for the Cánovas regime (Restauración 99). This obviously had the effect of alienating the working classes who were excluded from actively participating in the Restoration. The consequences of this political isolation were to be paid by later Liberal governments of the last years of the nineteenth century. Thus for all its success, Cánovas' turno pacífico was a sham and, as we shall see in the next chapter on Galdós' political writings,
Galdós considered Cánovas to be the architect of a totally corrupt and dishonest system. For Galdós, Cánovas had made a complete mockery of the parliamentary system.21

Though he eventually consolidated the monarchy of Alfonso XII, Cánovas initially faced many problems in the form of opposition from not only the Carlists but from the Historics as well. The Historics were basically the former moderados of the Isabelleine monarchy who wished to return to the old moderado system of government. Closely tied to the Church, the Historics wished to reinstate the Concordat of 1851. Making the situation even more difficult for Cánovas was the need for papal recognition of Alfonso XII's reign in order to strengthen and consolidate its legal standing. Yet Cánovas realized that you could not return to the days of yesteryear. He, therefore, sought, as always, to take the middle ground. In his attempt to appease the Church and the Historics, Cánovas enacted such measures as restoring the budget of the culto y clero and severely limiting academic freedom, a measure which was met with much opposition and anger from non-confessional Liberals (Martínez Cuadrado, Restauración 27).

The true indicator of his religious policy can be seen in article 11 of the Constitution of 1876 which was passed, not surprisingly, by an overwhelming majority. This piece of legislation illustrates how Cánovas found the middle ground by not catering to either side exclusively:

La Religión Católica, Apostólica, Romana es la del Estado. La Nación se obliga a mantener el culto y sus ministros. Nadie será molestado en el territorio español por sus opiniones religiosas ni por el ejercicio de su respectivo culto, salvo el respeto debido a la moral cristiana.
No se permitirán, sin embargo, otras ceremonias ni manifestaciones públicas que las de la religión del Estado.

(González Muñiz 190)

Naturally, the Church was not completely satisfied by article 11 because this piece of legislation tolerated the existence of other religions on Spanish soil, even though Cánovas had included a clause that prohibited any public display of any religion that was not the State's, that is, the Catholic religion. Moreover, the Church was not pleased by the secularization of education, which no longer had to conform to Catholic doctrine (Robles Muñoz 111).

In the same year that this law was passed, Cánovas authorized the liberal *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, which had been founded by Francisco Giner de los Ríos. Galdós was to be heavily influenced by Giner de los Ríos and the Institute, which was a forum and oasis for liberal thinking. Such an authorization angered the Church once again (Callahan, "Spanish Church and The Restoration State" 329). It becomes clear that Cánovas constantly found himself in the midst of a balancing act.

In general, Cánovas' religious policy was successful, even though the Church was not totally content with it. But perhaps the most important action that Cánovas took in the beginning of his regime was to isolate the military from civil matters. For Martínez Cuadrado, the demilitarization of the political system was the greatest achievement of the Restoration which: "[s]e logró mediante la vinculación de las personalidades militares a las funciones castrenses y encauzando su actividad política dentro de la disciplina de los partidos políticos y las libertades ciudadanas" (*Restauración* 25). Being a historian of Spain, Cánovas came to realize that the Army had played too great a role in the affairs and the decision-making of the State. That participation had been negative and even negligent for the most part. To effect the demilitarization of the executive branch, Cánovas ruled with an iron fist.
On February 4, 1875 he was able to pass a royal order by which the Army's sole and exclusive mission was to defend the nation and the constitution. Furthermore, Army officials and soldiers were prohibited from intervening in party politics (Diego García 2424). A concrete example of Cánovas' authority is evident in his appointment of Jovellar, instead of Balsameda, who had been recommended by General Martínez Campos for the post of minister of War (Diego García 2423). It is true, however, that some military men did actively participate in government. For example, General Martínez Campos actually succeeded Cánovas for a short while when he resigned for the first time to allow Sagasta to accede to power. This, however, was an exceptional situation because Martínez Campos had just returned from Cuba where he was able to achieve peace with the signing of the Paz de Zanjón on February 12, 1878. Thus Martínez Campos was considered at the time a national hero because he had been able to terminate the ten-year war with the Cubans. But the difference, on this occasion with respect to military participation in politics, was that military officers such as Martínez Campos adhered to the party line. They accepted party discipline in a way that they never had before.

It is important to note that Sagasta's rise to power happened because Cánovas felt it was necessary for the well-being of the dynastic system. Though Sagasta was an accomplice to this system, without Cánovas' close scrutiny of its functioning, the entire political system would probably have crumbled. He was, without a doubt, the mastermind and the cement that glued everything together, and this was to become all too evident as the years passed and governing became more difficult.

Sagasta, who was known in political circles as the "viejo pastor", (probably because of his longevity at the height of power), was decidedly more liberal than Cánovas. In fact, according to Robles Muñoz, Sagasta was the head of the masonic movement in Spain (270). By 1881, he already had a long
tradition of supporting liberal causes and positions. His political background as an active participant in the Glorious Revolution is a clear indicator of his true political sentiments and tendencies. Sagasta attempted, in spite of working within the flawed turno, to open up the political system. Sagasta had always attempted to modernize Spain; in his first years in power he continued that policy. And in many ways he did succeed.

During his first period as prime minister from February 1881 to October 1883, Sagasta enacted several measures with the sole intention of lifting restrictions that Cánovas had imposed in order to maintain a strict control on the country. Some of these measures were the restoration of freedom of the press and association. Furthermore, Sagasta reinstated academic freedom for university professors and, at the same time, reinstalled to their chairs those professors who had been dismissed in 1875 by Cánovas. However, Sagasta did not touch the troublesome issue of universal male franchise. Fiscal restrictions were retained on the right to vote. It is more than likely that Cánovas still considered that such a freedom remained too much of a threat for the immature dynastic system.

Sagasta's initial two and a half years in power were terminated by Cánovas after the latter witnessed how internal divisions were besetting Sagasta's Liberal party. The more leftist elements of the Liberal party were demanding greater social reforms, but Sagasta could not comply with such demands. When the Partido Izquierda Dinástica became a reality, Cánovas stepped in to put an end to the confusion that existed within Sagasta's government.

The viejo pastor returned to power on November 25, 1885 when Cánovas resigned after the premature death of Alfonso XII. This time, however, Sagasta was to rule for five years without any interruption. In general, this period is remarkable for its lack of major crises. It is for this
reason that this period of political stability has sometimes been called Sagasta's Golden Age. It seems that the country was ready for a more open, tolerant, and honest government. The great achievement and symbol of this Golden Age was the reestablishment of universal suffrage for all males over 25 years of age on June 26, 1890. As a result the electoral census jumped sharply from around 800,000 voters to slightly more than 4,800,000, or approximately 27% of the population (Martínez Cuadrado, Elecciones y partidos políticos 529). The key, however, to gauging the success of this new electoral freedom must be measured by Cánovas' reaction to it.

By 1891 Cánovas was 63 years old. Age was thus beginning to be a factor for the Conservative party. Political renewal was imminent and inevitable. The figure that sprang up from within Cánovas' party was Francisco Silvela (1845-1905), who was much more liberal than his elder. He was viewed by his colleagues as the obvious successor to Cánovas. The major difference between the two was that Cánovas had always ruled with an iron fist, while Silvela wished to govern with a velvet glove. In the elections of 1891, Silvela acted as minister of the Interior, a post that traditionally controlled all elections. But Silvela was no Romero Robledo; unlike the latter, he wished to respect the will of the people. However, Cánovas insisted that a Conservative majority must be secured in the 1891 elections. Despite this pressure from the head of his party, Silvela respected the results for the most part. In Martínez Cuadrado's opinion, it was under Silvela that the Spanish electorate was able to participate in a legitimate election for the first time, even though it was not yet completely pure:

Silvela deja en libertad a la mayoría de las circunscripciones y distritos de fuerte población urbana, abriendo así una puerta importante al principio de la autenticidad representativa, que se
muestra por vez primera en la historia electoral de la
Restauración. (Elecciones y partidos políticos 542)

Though Cánovas' Conservatives won the elections with a total of 253 of
the 399 available seats (a far smaller majority than had been traditionally
obtained), division was brewing amongst the Conservatives. Basically, the
division ran along generational lines with the younger Conservatives
supporting Silvela's more open style. Silvela felt that the Canovite system
needed to be cleansed because it had become too corrupt. Gerald Brenan notes,
for example, that fiscal fraud in property taxes reached the amazing figure of
50 to 80% of the total amount due (9).

When Romero Robledo returned to the fold of the Conservatives, Silvela
resigned from the government on October 22, 1891 out of opposition to Romero
Robledo. This provoked a major political crisis for Cánovas, who saw how his
support fell within the Conservative party. Eventually, Cánovas resigned after
losing a vote of non-confidence. Sagasta was then called on to form a new
Liberal government which he did on December 11, 1892.

In the subsequent elections of March 1893, Sagasta's Liberals won with
a majority of 281 seats. But the most significant development of this
monumental election was the fact that, for the first time, since the beginning of
the Restoration, the Republicans had gained more seats (47) than Cánovas' 
party (44), which now was known as the Partido Canovista.22 By analyzing
these election results, one comes to understand why Cánovas feared universal
suffrage. But it must also be added that perhaps the Republicans were able to
reemerge precisely because they had been excluded from government for
almost twenty years. This allowed them to reorganize themselves. As a result,
they became stronger and more unified. For the first time Federalists,
Progressives, and Possibilists presented a united front in a general election.
The three factions had united under the banner of the Unión Republicana.
The Sagasta government of the early 90s did not enjoy the same peace and success that it had had ten years earlier. In this last decade of the century, Spain suffered many problems; two of the more acute were the rise of regionalism, especially the Catalan version, and foreign wars. In many ways the Cantonalist uprisings were a manifestation of the growing problem of regionalism. Barcelona and Catalonia in general had threatened to separate from Spain. The founding of the newspaper, Diari Català, in 1879 by Valenti Almirall provided Catalans with a medium through which to express themselves in their own language. This sense of nationhood crystallized with the creation of two politically important Catalan institutions: the Lliga de Catalunya, founded by Enric Prat de la Riba in 1887 and the Unió Catalanista four years later in 1891. The Lliga and the Unió heavily promoted and defended the Catalan perspective in Catalonia and in Madrid. The Unió's major political achievement was the Bases de Manresa, which was passed on March 29, 1892. In this promulgation, the catalanistas set out what would be the foundations for an independent Catalonia. With Luis Doménech y Montaner as its president and Prat de la Riba as its secretary, the assembly at Manresa claimed the need for a constitution, a judicial system, and a parliament for Catalonia. Furthermore, it was established that Catalan would be the sole language of this new country. The work of these political bodies was complemented by the cultural phenomenon of the Renaixença, a Catalanian renaissance which manifested itself in such events as the Jocs Florals (Floral Games), poetic competitions held throughout Catalonia. The Renaixença produced many great poets, playwrights, and novelists such as Jacint Verdaguer (L'Atlàntida and Canigó), Angel Guimerá (Terra baixa) and Narcís Oller (La papallona and Febre d'or).

At around the same time that the Catalanian struggle for autonomy was emerging, the Basque movement began to be stirred by Sabino Arana who
founded in 1895 Bizkai-Buru-Batzar, which was to later become the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV). Success came quickly for Arana when in the provincial elections of 1898 he won a seat for the first time in the Basque deputación provincial. Even in the Northwestern region of Galicia, Galicians had organized the Unión Galaico-Portuguesa in defense of Galician autonomy. As one can appreciate from the greater consciousness of these regions who began to organize themselves in an efficient manner, maintaining control over Catalonia and the Basque provinces became a more and more difficult task for the Liberal government of Sagasta.

Compounding this problem was the issue of Spain's remaining foreign possessions, which no longer provided any profit, but rather gave Sagasta and company many headaches. A sector of society argued quite convincingly that the best thing that could be done was to grant the remaining colonies, Puerto Rico and Cuba, the autonomy they sought since they were more expensive to Spain than what they were offering to the madre patria. The opposing nationalist-inspired argument was that Spain must maintain her traditional possessions, even if she had already lost almost all of them. As Martínez Cuadrado has suggested, the issue of Spain's colonies became her Achilles' heel and provoked the eventual fall of the regime (Restauración 7). Sagasta's government became heavily saddled with the rising costs needed to fight in Northern Morocco, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. This subsequently provoked serious dissension and division within his own party. Sagasta finally resigned in March 1895.24 Cánovas quickly formed a new government, and a year later he won the elections of 1896. These were to be the last elections for the lawyer from Málaga.

Added to the regionalist movement and the foreign problems was the rise of the proletariat, especially in the agricultural Southern Spanish region of Jerez de la Frontera and in the industrial centres of Catalonia. In the early
1890s the sherry-producing city of Jerez became a focal point for violent proletarian uprisings. The reason for these riots was that the workers were gaining a greater class-consciousness of their underprivileged position. A quarter of a century under the Canovite system had brought them nothing. They remained as poor as always. In Andalusia and Catalonia especially, but as well throughout all of Spain, the ranks of the local Socialist party were augmenting considerably. An excellent indication of the rise of socialism in Spain was to occur in the general elections of 1898 when the founder of the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), Pablo Iglesias (1850-1925), actually won a riding in Bilbao, even if the Liberal government did not recognize the victory (Martínez Cuadrado, Elecciones y partidos políticos 606). The disenfranchisement completely isolated and antagonized the lower classes. Gerald Brenan argues that social tensions became more acute precisely because the proletariat was no longer willing to wait for results -- the Canovite system was thus destined to expire (14).²⁵

If all these problems (regionalism, foreign wars, deep social tension) were not enough for Cánovas, he was personally coming under a lot of pressure from within his own Liberal-Conservative party. His chief rival, Silvela, was quickly gaining support from the younger members who demanded a less corrupt political system.

But Cánovas' political career did not end through elections, but rather by the hand of an Italian anarchist, Angiolillo,²⁶ who assassinated the prime architect of the dynastic system at Santa Águeda, Guipúzcoa in early 1897. Cánovas' sudden disappearance from the political scene, initiated a series of crises that eventually lead to what has been simply termed as el Desastre, the Disaster of 1898.

The immediate consequence of the murder of Cánovas was the return of Sagasta as head of the executive body. This was confirmed by the results of
the election of 1898, which was to be the last overwhelming Liberal majority. For his part, Silvela, along with Martínez Campos and Villaverde, founded the Unión Conservadora (the Conservative Union).

Without Cánovas, the system was unable to sustain itself. It had become totally antiquated. Canovismo had inevitably come to its end. Thus when war was suspiciously sparked with the United States in 1898, Spain showed herself to be totally unprepared to deal with a major international crisis. The American rout exposed all of Spain's inadequacies, abilities, and weaknesses. The loss of her last colonies, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam as stipulated by the Treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898, completely humiliated this once powerful nation. As a result, the politics of Cánovas and Sagasta were discredited by the disastrous results of this demoralizing war. As Brenan asserted, this marked Spain's lowest moment (18).

The defeat to the rising power that was the United States made Spaniards ask themselves and each other why this had happened. In fact, analysis of Spain's problems became almost an industry in itself. Besides the famous Generation of 98, a whole series of writers attempted to explain Spain's problems and at the same time provide answers for the future. Amongst the most prominent works were Angel Ganivet's Idearium español, Joaquín Costa's Oligarquía y caciquismo and Lucas Mallada's Los males de la patria. And I would also include Galdós in this list, especially with his Episodios nacionales of the last three series, as one of the major writers who attempted to analyze where Spain had come from, where it was, and what should be the best path for her to take in the future. This will be the theme of the chapters in this thesis dedicated to his political writings and the third and fourth series of the episodios.
Sagasta and his Liberal party had become totally exhausted by 1898. An air of lethargy characterized the leaders of the Liberals; Sagasta was, by then, already seventy-one years old, and he had been at the top of the political game for thirty years. By 1898 it was too late to teach an old dog new tricks. The Liberals were in a desperate need for renovation, even if Sagasta refused to admit it.

Internal division was another problem that afflicted the Liberal party. Each of the more prominent members enjoyed immense influence in their home regions. Sagasta was very powerful in his native La Rioja, José Canalejas in the Levant Region, Eugenio Montero Ríos in Galicia, Antonio Maura in the Balearic Islands, and Segismundo Moret in Aragon (Martínez Cuadrado, *Elecciones y partidos políticos* 626). It became apparent that there was a lack of unity amongst these "caciques".

The call for renewal from within the Liberal party finally became so insistent that Sagasta resigned in the spring of 1899. Silvela was called on by the queen regent to form a new government on March 4, 1899. In the general elections of April 1899, Silvela's Conservative Union won with a majority of only twenty seats (Martínez Cuadrado, *Elecciones y partidos políticos* 637). It was the smallest majority ever enjoyed by any government since the beginning of the turno pacífico. In his first turn in office, Silvela lasted only nineteen months until December 1900. As mentioned, Silvela stood for honesty and a more efficient government. He wished to control spending, promote economic development, and control corruption. He also envisioned a system with limited decentralization. But it is important to note that he was not a revolutionary. Silvela had no intention of terminating the turno pacífico; he simply wished to improve the political machinery so as to make it more responsible and rejuvenate it. However, his plan for national regeneration failed under the weight of internal dissension, which was not surprising given the fact that the
Unión conservadora encompassed a wide range of conservative groups. Silvela finally resigned on October 21, 1900 after two of his most influential ministers, José Gasset and Eduardo Dato, had resigned because Generals Linares and Weyler were making a mockery of the attempted reforms.

At this point, General Azcárraga formed a caretaker government that failed miserably. It was quickly succeeded by Sagasta, who was asked to form a new government by the queen regent, María Cristina, on March 6, 1901. In the elections of May 19, 1901 Sagasta gained a majority with 233 seats. But the rate of voter abstention rose to an astronomical 70% (Martínez Cuadrado, Elecciones y partidos políticos 673), which proves, once again, how tired and disaffected the Spanish nation had become. This was definitely the last kick at the can for the "Old Shepherd", who finally realized that his best days had passed by. Sagasta subsequently attempted to inject new blood in the Liberal party. One of these young men who would play an influential role in future Spanish politics was the Count of Romanones, Alvaro de Figueroa y Torres. The rise of socialism and regionalism continued to dog Sagasta's ministry. The PSOE and the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), the workers' union, were increasing their membership rolls dramatically. And in Catalonia, the nationalist movement under the auspices of the Lliga Regionalista had, for all intents and purposes, excluded the Liberal and Conservative Union parties from exerting any influence in Barcelona.

Unexpectedly, Sagasta died on January 5, 1903. This death had the positive effect of provoking renewal of both the Liberal and the Conservative parties. Sagasta's death marked the end of the original major players of the Canovite system, since by 1903, Cánovas, Castelar, and Pi had all passed away. Martínez Cuadrado makes an insightful remark when he states that the old heads had erred in not stepping down earlier and allowing young blood to rejuvenate the system: "Los Silvela, Montero Ríos, Moret, Maura y el propio
Canalejas, entre los Partidos de turno, llegaron por lo menos con uno o dos lustros de retraso a la Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros" (Elecciones y partidos políticos 685).

Renewal or regeneración became the magic word of the beginning of this century for Spain. The Disaster had unwittingly sparked this campaign to renew, modernize, and rejuvenate the entire country. Even the monarchy had become renewed when on May 17, 1902 at the tender age of sixteen, Alfonso XIII became the king of Spain. Thus it seemed natural for Spain, and especially for the two parties of the turno to effect a significant change. The Republicans, who had been politically alienated since 1873, realized that regeneration was necessary, and reemerged in a more united fashion under the banner of the Unión Nacional Republicana with the former Republican president, Nicolás Salmerón, as its leader. There was a definite spirit of regeneration at this time, but unfortunately true reform was to remain a chimera.

One of the reasons why true reform did not occur was the king himself. Alfonso XIII has generally been depicted as a frivolous, unreliable, and meddling monarch. Brenan quotes from the Count of Romanones' memoirs when he states that Alfonso enjoyed involving himself in party intrigue (23). The key to the proper functioning of the turno pacífico was that the monarch had, at least, to give the impression of being non-partisan. That Alfonso steadily meddled in the affairs of the various governments proves that he did not understand how the system worked; it is clear that he wished to enjoy a greater role in the affairs of the nation. The end result was instability; in less than three years, from December 1902 to July 1905, there were five prime ministers and sixty-six new ministers (Brenan 23); and between 1905 and 1907, there were six different governments (Martínez Cuadrado, Elecciones y partidos políticos 727). For all the turno's faults and excesses, one of them had
never been instability under Cánovas and Sagasta. Both Alfonso XII and his mother, María Cristina, had acted in a non-partisan manner, which allowed the system to be more autonomous and automatic.

The two turnante parties also suffered a great deal in their attempt to reform. The Liberal party, for example, plagued with internal dissension, became fragmented when José Canalejas, who was unsatisfied with the pace of reform, founded the Partido Demócrata, with Eugenio Montero Ríos as its leader. As for the Conservative party, Silvela was displaced by Antonio Maura, who communicated a sense of political aggressiveness and reform that had been missing for a long time within Conservative ranks. The 1903 general elections returned a majority victory of 230 seats for Maura’s Conservatives.

One of the surprising outcomes of this election was, however, the positive results obtained by the Republicans in many capital cities, where the working classes lived. This was yet another indication of the rise of the worker, a phenomenon that threatened the existence of the dynastic system. But Maura’s time in office was to be short-lived because of his frustration with Alfonso XIII’s persistent meddling in governmental affairs. Alfonso turned to Montero Ríos’ Liberals to form a new government, which the latter did on June 23, 1905. A national election was held in September and not surprisingly, it confirmed Montero Ríos with 229 seats. But inner fighting and bickering continued to plague the Liberals. None of the four Liberal prime ministers that governed during the following nineteen months (Montero Ríos twice, Moret twice, López Domínguez and the Marquis of Vega Armijo, once each) was capable of controlling the party. As a result, Alfonso reluctantly asked Maura to form a government because the Conservative party was much more stable at this time.

For all his enthusiasm for reform, Maura made a significant decision when he appointed Juan de la Cierva y Peñafiel (1864-1938) as his right-
hand man and minister of the Interior for the April 1907 general elections. According to Brenan, La Cierva was "the most notorious of the all the politicians of the period and a master in the arts of electoral falsification" (32). Maura had taken a page from Cánovas' book in governing by choosing a Romero Robledo type who could guarantee a sizeable parliamentary majority. And that is just what La Cierva did; Maura's Conservatives gained 252 of the 404 available seats (Martínez Cuadrado, Elecciones y partidos políticos 738). Cánovas' legacy and presence was thus still quite apparent.

Maura's three years in power (1907-1909) were three of the most violent years. The centre of all this violence was Barcelona, where nationalists were becoming too much of a threat to the State. Bombings of Lliga-owned property became commonplace in the Catalanian capital. Furthermore, La Cierva suspended constitutional guarantees and implemented military law in Barcelona (Brenan 33). In July 1909, the government, which was fighting a war in North Africa, needed more troops. It thus decided to call up reserves from Catalonia, a decision which Catalans passionately opposed because they had no desire to die on the battlefields of Morocco. Given the fact that Catalonia was a powder keg ready to explode at any moment, the decision to call up Catalan reserves seems to have been a provocation on the part of Maura and La Cierva. The Catalan reply was a general strike, which found sympathy amongst the working classes, anarchists, and radicals. Riots broke out throughout the ciudad condal, and the government sent police and troops to put down the riots. All this violence culminated with the catastrophic events of July 26 to August 1, the Semana Trágica (Tragic Week), as it became known. The government's repression resulted in the deaths of 175 workers. The events of the Tragic Week garnered for Maura's regime official denunciations from foreign governments, and resulted in the fall of his government. Spain now desperately needed peace and order. That peace and order, relative as it may
have been, was to come with the Liberal government of Canalejas that
triunphed in the general elections of May 1910 with a small majority of 219
seats. Canalejas stayed in power for three years as well, until November 12,
1912 when the anarchist Manuel Pardinas assassinated him at the Puerta del
Sol. Consequently, rivalries and turmoil returned to both the Liberal and the
Conservative parties.

This chapter began with the exciting events of the Revolution of 1868. A
revolution that proposed and promised many monumental changes that would
have improved the standard of life for all Spaniards. By the end of 1912, the
last year that Galdós wrote an episodio, all those hopes and expectations had
disappeared. There is a definite sense that something had gone terribly wrong.
This sentiment was expressed by those disillusioned members of the
Generation of 68 (Galdós included) and the Generation of 98, who felt that the
honourable principles of the Gloriosa had been betrayed and corrupted by the
Canovite system.

The promise of opening up the political spectrum to the masses had
been broken. It is true that Sagasta was able to pass the Ley de Asociaciones
in 1887, which in theory gave workers the freedom to form unions and
associations, but, in practice, elections continued to be rigged.31 Moreover,
Socialist and Republican victories were not recognized on more than one
occasion. It is also true that Sagasta passed the law of universal male
suffrage, but the reality was that the upper classes continued to dominate and
control Spain's destiny. Once Cánovas and Sagasta disappeared from the
scene, the two dominant parties of the turno pacífico, the Liberals and the
Conservatives, suffered immensely in trying to maintain their hegemony.
Internal party divisions seemed to take over the programmes of these two
parties, rather than trying to achieve serious reforms. By 1912, repression had
become the only means of controlling the increasing opposition of the
proletariat. The masses were breaking down the barriers placed by the Restoration. The lower classes were no longer willing to wait patiently and silently for promises to be fulfilled. There was a feeling that the twentieth century was going to be their century.

With the premature death of Canalejas, and Maura being discredited because of his repressive tactics, the possibility that the turno could continue to function in a manner similar to when Cánovas and Sagasta shared power for twenty years became an improbability. The Liberals and the Conservatives found themselves almost at the point of exhaustion; in less than a decade, Miguel Primo de Rivera would put an end to the system that Cánovas had developed. An attempt had been made by the new guard to effect certain reforms within the respective parties, but, in the end, old methods always seemed to win out. As Martínez Cuadrado notes, by this time there were clear signs that the political parties were exhausted: "En torno a 1913 los signos de agotamiento eran evidentes, sobre todo por la incapacidad de renovación de sus cuadros dirigentes políticos y sociales" (Restauración 6). The idealism of liberalism, which had always characterized this political ideology from the beginning, had ceased to exist by the first decade of this century. The leaders of the two major parties were no longer expressing the will to transform Spain; their sole objective had become to maintain political hegemony. It seems evident that Spain's leaders had missed a great opportunity to launch Spain into the modern world by betraying the values expressed by the fathers of the Glorious Revolution and the Generation of 1868. As we shall see in the next chapter, by 1912 Galdós was asking, through his political writings, novels, and episodios, what had happened to the liberal ideals of the Revolution of 1868.
Notes for Chapter 2

1 Article 33 of the Constitution of 1869 stipulates: "La forma de gobierno de la Nación española es la Monarquía" (González Muñiz 144).

2 The Duke of Montpensier's candidacy was naturally opposed by Napoleon III because of the rivalry between the two French dynasties.

3 Galdós brilliantly captured this ridiculous duel in the third episodio of the fifth series, Amadeo I.

4 Bahamonde notes that the Church's opposition to Amadeo stemmed from his father's confrontation with Pope Pius IX (76).

5 In Amadeo I Galdós was able to capture the opposition and antagonism that the house of Savoy met from the upper society of Madrid.

6 It should be noted that by contrast 60 members voted in favour of the Federal Republic, 27 voted for the candidacy of the disgraced Duke of Montpensier, 8 for retired General Espartero, 2 for Alfonso of Bourbon and 19 votes were spoiled (Martínez Cuadrado, Elecciones y partidos políticos 93).

7 The prime suspect has always been José Paul y Angulo, a hard-nosed republican and editor of El Combate, whom Galdós briefly showed participating in the Revolution in La de los tristes destinos, the last episode of the fourth series.

8 Costas Comesaña convincingly argues that failure was the logical outcome given the hostile and turbulent atmosphere with which reformers had to contend:

   Pero es difícil que, cualquiera que fuese la bondad técnica de la reforma, pudiera haber soportado la inestabilidad política y el desorden administrativo que presenta el hecho de que desde el asesinato del general Prim hasta el pronunciamiento de Pavía se sucedieran 12 gobiernos, con una media de tres meses en el poder; permanencia que aún se redujo para los ministros de Hacienda en la medida en que en algún gobierno hubo más de un ministro del ramo. (75)
9 Bahamonde makes an excellent observation when he points out that the failure of the reign of Amadeo I "representa también el fracaso de un sector de la elite ejemplificado en los enfrentamientos entre Sagasta, Ruiz Zorrilla o Serrano" (130).

10 Bahamonde also sees the First Republic as being the only option left at that point for the Democratic Sexennial:

   Fue la salida lógica de un proceso democrático de frágiles bases de sustentación, que se encontraba en un callejón sin salida. Había más de continuismo que de ruptura, más de reformismo que de radicalización revolucionaria, más de solución de urgencia, por exclusión de otras, que de proyecto alternativo global. (89)

11 It is important to realize that the First Republic was not a monolithic political system. In fact, there were several different concepts of republicanism in 1873: unitarian, federal, and conservative.

12 Naturally, the promise could not have been kept because of the Cuban and Carlist wars.

13 According to Bahamonde, by the time of the signing of the Peace of Zanjón in 1878, Spain had lost 130,000 men (30).

14 See Alexandra Wilhelmsen's recent *La formación del pensamiento político del carlismo (1810-1875)* for a detailed account of the political and social importance of Carlism in nineteenth-century Spain.

15 Galdós must have also considered these insurrections to have been of great importance because he dedicated an entire episodio to the events of the uprising of the Cantonalists in the historic Southeastern port city of Cartagena.

16 The entire text of Alfonso's letter to the nation appears below. It is interesting to note that Galdós underlined many passages of this letter in his copy of Modesto Lafuente's *Historia general de España*, published in 1890:

   Cuantos me han escrito me muestran igual convicción de que sólo el restablecimiento de la monarquía constitucional
puede ponértérmino á la opresión, á la incertidumbre y á las crueles perturbaciones que experimenta España. Dícenme que así lo reconoce ya la mayoría de nuestros compatriotas, y que antes de mucho estarán conmigo todos los de buena fe, sean cuales fueran sus antecedentes políticos; comprendiendo que no pueden temer exclusiones ni de un monarca nuevo y desapasionado, ni de un régimen que precisamente hoy se impone, porque representa la unión y la paz.

No sé yo cuándo ó cómo, ni siquiera si se ha de realizar esa esperanza. Sólo puedo decir que nada omitiré para hacerme digno del difícil encargo de restablecer en nuestra noble nación, al mismo tiempo que la concordia, el orden legal y la libertad política, si Dios en sus altos designios me lo confía.

Por virtud de la espontánea y solemne abdicación de mi augusta madre, tan generosa como infortunada, soy único representante yo del derecho monárquico en España. Arranca éste de una legislación secular, confirmada por todos los precedentes históricos, y está indisolublemente unido á las instituciones representativas, que nunca dejaron de funcionar legalmente los treinta y cinco años transcurridos desde que comenzó el reinado de mi madre, hasta que, niño aún, pisé yo con todos los míos el suelo extranjero.

Huérfana la nación ahora de todo derecho público, é indefinidamente privada de sus libertades, natural es que vuelva los ojos á su acostumbrado derecho constitucional y aquellas libres instituciones que ni en 1812 la impidieron defender su independencia, ni acabar en 1840 otra guerra civil. Debióles, además, muchos años de progreso constante, de prosperidad, de crédito y aun de alguna gloria, años que no es fácil borrar del recuerdo, cuando tantos son todavía lo que los han conocido. Por todo esto, sin duda, lo único que inspira ya confianza á España, es la monarquía hereditaria y representativa, mirándola como irreemplazable garantía de sus derechos é intereses, desde las clases obreras hasta las más elevadas.

En el entretanto, no sólo está hoy por tierra todo lo que en 1868 existía, sino cuanto se ha pretendido desde entonces crear. Si de hecho se halla abolida la Constitución de 1845, hállase también de hecho abolida la que en 1869 se formó sobre la base, inexistente
ya, de la monarquía. Si una Cámara de senadores y diputados, sin ninguna forma legal constituida, decretó la república, bien pronto fueron disueltas las únicas Cortes convocadas con el deliberado intento de plantear aquel régimen por las bayonetas de la guarnición de Madrid.
Todas las cuestiones políticas están así pendientes, y aun reservadas por parte de los actuales gobernantes, á la libre decisión del porvenir. Afortunadamente la monarquía hereditaria y constitucional posee en sus principios la necesaria flexibilidad, y cuantas condiciones de acierto hacen falta, para que todos los problemas que traiga consigo su restablecimiento, sean resueltos de conformidad con los votos y la conveniencia de la nación. No hay que esperar que decida yo nada de plano y arbitrariamente. Sin Cortes no resolvían los negocios arduos los príncipes españoles allá en los antiguos tiempos de la monarquía; y esta justísima regla de conducta no he de olvidarla yo en mi condición presente, y cuando todos los españoles están ya habituados á los procedimientos parlamentarios. Llegado el caso, fácil será que se entiendan y concierten sobre todas las cuestiones por resolver, un príncipe leal y un pueblo libre.
Nada deseo tanto como que nuestra patria lo sea de verdad. A ello ha de contribuir poderosamente la dura lección de estos tiempos que, si para nadie puede ser perdida, todavía menos podía serlo para las honradas y laboriosas clases populares, víctimas de sofismas pérfidos ó de absurdas ilusiones. Cuanto se está viendo enseña que las naciones más grandes y prósperas, donde el orden, la libertad y la justicia se adunan mejor, son aquellas que respetan más su propia historia. No impide esto, en verdad, que atentamente observen, y sigan con seguros pasos, la marcha progresiva de la civilización. ¡Quiera, pues, la Providencia Divina que algún día se inspire el pueblo español en tales ejemplos!
Por mi parte, debo al infortunio el estar en contacto con los hombres y las cosas de la Europa moderna; y si en ella no alcanza España una posición digna de su historia y de consumo independiente y simpática, culpa mía no será, ni ahora ni nunca. Sea lo que quiera mi suerte, no dejaré de ser buen español, ni como todos mis antepasados buen católico, ni como hombre del siglo verdaderamente liberal.
Es su afectísimo, ALFONSO DE BORBON
York Town (Sandhurst) 1º de diciembre de 1874. (Lafuente 344-346)

17 Carlos Dardé suggests that Cánovas' ideology had its roots in European conservatism, which was "favorable a la continuidad histórica, los términos medios y las soluciones de compromiso - lo que hoy llamaríamos una posición de centro - y propugnaba el acuerdo y la alternancia en el poder los partidos liberales" (6).

18 Bahamonde also affirms that the Bourbon Restoration had become Spain's sole option by the end of 1874:

En síntesis, en el último trimestre del año resultaba evidente el agotamiento de cualquier opción política que no fuera la Restauración borbónica en la persona del príncipe Alfonso. Independientemente de la hábil estrategia canovista sustentada en una política y militar estaba colaborando de forma autónoma a la consecución de su proyecto. Serrano no había conseguido aglutinar unas sólidas clientelas políticas en torno a su persona. (123-124)

19 Dardé makes the same point when he states: "El turno de los partidos, como ya hemos visto, se había iniciado cuatro años antes, y el acuerdo de 1885 no entrañaba nada contrario a la pureza del régimen parlamentario" (76).

20 On May 23, 1880 Sagasta formed the Liberal-Fusionist Party, which resulted from a fusión between the Constitutionalists and other Liberal Centralists.

21 There has been a recent movement to revindicate Cánovas' role as a progressive visionary. The present minister of Culture and Education, Esperanza Aguirre, has called for a reevaluation of Cánovas' achievements, which she considers to have been undervalued by historians. It is in this context that Miguel García-Posada's statements in El País clearly serve to reaffirm the position that the Restoration was a pathetic farce, a position which reflects that of this thesis:
Ganivet es hoy, más que nada, una referencia de un momento triste y problemático de España, en el que algunos españoles - y él entre ellos - se dieron al oficio difícil y sospechoso de pensar en medio de aquel panorama de fantasmas que, según Ortega, fue la Restauración; esa misma que algunos se empeñan todavía en defender, cuando fue uno de los fraudes históricos más gigantescos de que ha sido víctima el pueblo español. La Restauración no ofreció casi nada, salvo caciquismo, elecciones falseadas y práctica de la tortura, llegado el caso, como la de Montjuïc. Sí estableció una cierta paz civil, sí introdujo cierto liberalismo, pero el coste - eliminación de las representaciones políticas del proletariado, política a favor de los intereses de las oligarquías financieras - fue demasiado alto. Sólo sirvió, en definitiva, para congelar o aplazar los problemas de España. (8)

22 At the same time, Silvela had formed his own group, known as the silvelistas, who managed to gain a mere 17 seats in the elections of 1893.

23 In fact, the Unió Catalanista was the result of the amalgamation of the Lliga with the Centre Escolar Catalanista.

24 The reason behind the resignation is actually quite complicated. Young army officers attacked the offices of two newspapers, El Resumen and El Globo, after being offended by these papers. The military establishment did not punish the young officers. Sagasta, however, sided with both papers, thus showing his support for the principle of freedom of expression. He consequently resigned.

25 Brenan posited that the disenfranchisement of the masses created a large abyss between the haves and the have-nots of Spanish society:

By refusing to allow it to be exercised [the vote], not only did the politicians lose all influence, but the upper classes became detached from the lower layers to which they were in any case too weakly anchored. Already by 1900 they appear in the eyes of a great many Spaniards as a class of parasites, getting everything, giving nothing and revolving, under a thin coating of foreign varnish, among the stale feelings and aspirations of the seventeenth century. (14)
26 Angiolillo murdered Cánovas to exact revenge for the torturing of his colleagues in Montjuich, who had been implicated in the massacre on Canvis Nous Street in Barcelona during the religious procession of Corpus in June 1896.

27 The mysterious explosion of the USS Maine at the port of Havana in February 1898 marked the unofficial start of the Spanish-American War. Though officially recorded as an accident, the conspiracy theory suggests that the Americans intentionally destroyed their own ship in order to justify war with Spain and control Cuba. For an excellent study on the Spanish-American conflict, see John L. Offner's *The Diplomacy of the United States and Spain Over Cuba, 1895-1898*, in which he argues that neither side wanted war, yet both realized that it was inevitable.

28 Silvela's programme of austerity met with a great deal of opposition, especially from the Catalan nationalists. In fact, General Camilo Polavieja and the minister of Justice, Manuel Durán y Bas, both from Catalonia, resigned because of fiscal restraints.

29 Juan de la Cierva was the father of the inventor of the same name who became famous throughout the world for his autogiro.

30 A good indicator of this phenomenon was the fact that *Solidaridad Catalana* had won 41 seats in the elections of April 1907.

31 As Dardé succinctly expresses it, Sagasta's party recuperated much of the content of the legislation of the Revolution, but not the spirit of the Revolution (68).
3. Galdós and Spanish Politics

This chapter traces the political evolution that Galdós underwent from his first days in Madrid at the age of nineteen in 1862 until 1912 mainly through his many newspaper articles. The word "evolution" is the key word to be stressed because, unlike many scholars who have stated that there was a complete transformation in Galdós' political beliefs as he became older, it is my contention that Galdós evolved politically towards republicanism, which was a logical conclusion within the framework of his socio-political beliefs. I suggest that there was not a break with his initial position as a liberal bourgeois, but rather a frustration with the broken promises of the Spanish liberal establishment. His affiliation with the republicans became his sole option for fulfilling the promises made by the fathers of the "Gloriosa".

Galdós arrived at Madrid for the first time in September 1862 after an exhausting trip from his native Las Palmas; his mother, Doña María de los Dolores Galdós, had sent him to the capital in order to study law at the university. But much to his mother's dismay, Don Benito was interested in other things. The big city had much more to offer him than a sleepy provincial capital like Las Palmas; Madrid was the centre of the country where everything happened politically and socially. At this time Madrid was just beginning to grow and become a major European city; the streets were full of life and all sorts of interesting characters. The café life attracted most madrileños including Galdós. It was at cafés like the Universal initially that Galdós partially gained his political training. In such cafés - *La Fontana de Oro* being probably the most famous - political and non-political figures met to have *tertulias* in which almost everything was discussed: from current political events to bullfighting, from literature to international news. Though Galdós had already written for *El Contemporáneo* in his hometown since 1860, his passion for journalism was set aflame in those spirited *tertulias* held in the cafés of
Madrid, where he was able to meet many prominent individuals such as José Luis Albareda, editor of the influential El Debate, for which he would write.

In the 1860s Galdós collaborated on six different papers: El Contemporáneo (1860-1865), La Nación (1864-1868), La Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa (1865-1867), Las Novedades (1850-1872), Las Cortes (1869-1870), and La Revista de España (1868-1895). This long list is perhaps misleading because, as Leo Hoar Jr. noted, the articles that appeared in La Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa (RMIE) had precedents in La Nación; in fact, some were almost identical (Hoar, 47). Perhaps the paper that most influenced Galdós' political formation was Las Cortes, for which he worked as a parliamentary reporter. In the interview that Galdós granted to Luis Antón del Olmet and Arturo García Carraffa in February 1912, Galdós made special mention of that formative two-year period during which he wrote for Las Cortes (36). This invaluable experience allowed him to gain a first-hand knowledge of the inner workings of government, as Utt has remarked:

> It is clear that a very important part of Galdós' political education took place in the press box and the corridors of the Cortes, which the author revisited in the last series of his Episodios Nacionales, first as a backdrop for España sin rey (1907-1908) and then through the eyes of his narrator, Vicente Halconero, the "agitador realista" of España trágica. (107)

What becomes quite apparent, even from his early journalistic contributions, is his support of liberalism. From the very beginning it is evident that Galdós was politically a liberal, who already possessed a strong political conscience, in spite of his young age. The article he wrote on March 19, 1865 for La Nación on the occasion of the fifty-third anniversary of the Constitution of Cádiz illustrates his great admiration for the fathers of this constitution:
Hace hoy cincuenta y tres años que, al fragor de una guerra de
titanes, al estampido de los cañones de un ejército invasor y
dentro de los muros de una ciudad sitiada, último y heróico
baluarte de la independencia nacional, se proclamó el código mas
tenderable y mas sabio que ha producido la gran revolución
moderna: la Constitución de 1812. (La Nación 42, emphasis is
mine)

After praising the Constitution of 1812 as the most venerable and wisest
document ever produced by the great modern revolution, the young Galdós
lamented the state of present-day Spanish politics which had entirely betrayed
the principles of liberalism established by the fathers of Cádiz, such as
Argüelles, Muñoz Torrero, Calatrava and Quintana:

La libertad que asentaron sobre tan robustos cimientos la verían
vilipendiada: el sistema constitucional objeto de un afán más
solicitó, manchado de impureza; la administración tan
sabientemente organizada, devorada por el desconcierto y la
anarquía; ( . . . )

¡Triste, muy doloroso sería el espectáculo para aquellos egregios
varones, para aquellos mártires de la libertad, de la consecuencia
y del amor á la patria! (La Nación 44)

The present situation created by the government in Madrid was, to say the
least, chaotic, as he described in the following passage taken from an article he
wrote in La Nación on November 5, 1865:

Hoy la política se encuentra en ese período de acelerado bullicio
que nos conduce en espantoso crescendo á la algarabía de la gran
temporada de invierno; á esa gran temporada en que la enorme
familia presupuestivora devora con más fruición lo que la patria,
siempre pródiga, acumula en las re(s)posterías oficiales. (*La Nación* 196)

As one can observe, Galdós, even in his youth, was not shy to point out that government corruption was rampant in the mid-1860s; throughout his writings, whether they were journalistic in nature or literary, Galdós denounced the tyranny and corruption of government.

Another theme that rings familiar in Galdós' early political writings is his criticism of Spain's backwardness vis-à-vis the rest of Europe, as is evident in the following excerpt of an article written for *RMIE* on December 24, 1865:

> Inútil es decir que el movimiento intelectual de nuestra patria ha sido más lento que el de las demás naciones europeas; tal vez la susceptibilidad española no lo crea así, pero esta es la verdad, por más que nos ofenda el publicarla, y por más que queramos disimular los efectos de esta amarguísima verdad con los esfuerzos que hacemos para desmentirla honrosamente. (*RMIE* 106)

This criticism of Spain's backwardness was also a common theme for the Generation of 1868, who insistently advocated the Europeanization of Spain. It was argued that Spain needed to raise its standards to the level of the leading nations of Europe in every sector, from politics to the economy, from science to literature and philosophy. Spain needed to integrate itself into Europe because her future depended on the ability to immerse herself in the European context.

The third leitmotiv of Galdós' political writings in the 1860s is his criticism of the historical memory of the Spanish people in general. Galdós was greatly disturbed by the fact that Spaniards did not know their own history. He felt that this was a grave fault because, by not knowing where they had come from, they would never know where they were going to. In the columns of *RMIE*...
Galdós was to make this point on several occasions, such as in the following paragraph taken from an article written on December 3, 1867:

Esta política batalladora, incesante, nos tiene trastornado el seso, y fuera de juicio la memoria: no nos acordamos de nuestros grandes hombres: pensamos en los de hoy y les tributamos culto; los de ayer no van a levantarse de sus tumbas para darnos las gracias, y ¡es tan insustancial esto de rendir culto sin el premio de una sonrisa ó una cortesía! (RMIE 87)

A few months later on May 28, 1866, Galdós returned to this topic as he criticized the lack of good historical studies on Spain: "¿Qué de puntos hay por dilucidar en nuestra historia! Pero nadie se cuida de los estudios históricos. Los españoles ignoran más que ninguna otra historia, la de su país" (RMIE 215, emphasis is mine). Galdós felt that he personally had to attempt to remedy this ignorance, and to that end he dedicated his entire professional life through his novels, plays, and especially through the Episodios nacionales.

As we have just briefly seen, the young Galdós of the early to mid-1860s was already an entrenched liberal, who used his pen to spread his liberal views and at the same time to denounce the rampant corruption and flaws that existed in Spain. Though Galdós did not attend in any consistent or serious manner his law classes for which he had been sent to the mainland, Galdós did attend classes in some of his other courses, especially Fernando de Castro's history courses which were to leave an indelible impression on Don Benito.² In fact, in an article that he wrote for RMIE on January 8, 1866, Galdós praised Castro as one of the best professors at the University of Madrid:

Encierra profundas y originales ideas, espresadas en un estilo elegante y correcto. Inútil es que encarezcamos la importancia y los méritos del Sr. Castro, porque todo el mundo conoce lo que vale
este ilustre presbítero, que ha hecho tantos servicios á la ciencia histórica en nuestro país. (RMIE 122)

Writing for La Nación the next month, on February 16, 1868, Galdós lavished even more praise on Castro by asserting that he was a preeminent scholar who had been able to impart to Spain's youth a harmonic and rational method for the studying of history:

D. Fernando Castro tiende en su bellísimo libro [Compendio de historia] á infundir en las inteligencias poco robustecidas aun por la edad y la experiencia, los hábitos de la crítica y de la observacion, ofreciéndoles un procedimiento filosófico que, no por ser claro y de fácil aplicación, deja de ser muy razonado y exacto en estremo. (La Nación 427)

As is evident in this passage, the Central University of Madrid played a major role in shaping his educational and political formation. At the time that Galdós became a student at this institution, the Central University of Madrid and, in general, the entire national academic system was itself undergoing a sort of revolution with the implementation of the Moyano Law in 1857.3 The more revolutionary event, however, happened at the inaugural session of the Central University for the academic year of 1857-1858 when Julián Sanz del Río (1814-1869), a professor of History of Philosophy, delivered a speech on October 1, 1857 that was to resonate throughout Spain. As Antonio Jiménez García has noted, this speech is of prime importance because it was on this occasion that the doctrine of Krausism became public for the very first time (9). Until then, Krausism, which was to become the most influential doctrine of the second half of nineteenth-century Spain, had only been exposed to the academic population. As we shall see, Krausism was to have a lasting effect on Galdós' entire life; it definitely marked his literature and his politics.
Sanz del Río’s speech on that first day of October basically put forth the beliefs and values of this new doctrine that he had brought to Spain from Germany where he had studied philosophy. The doctrine had been developed on the idealistic concepts of an almost unknown German philosopher named Christian Friedrich Krause (1781-1832). More than a doctrine or a philosophy, Krausism was an approach to life, or as Juan López-Morillas has stated, it was a way of life (*un estilo de vida*): "una cierta manera de preocuparse por la vida y de ocuparse en ella, de pensarla y de vivirla, sirviéndose de la razón como de brújula para explorar segura y sistemáticamente el ámbito entero de lo creado" (*Krausismo español* 208). In quoting Krause, Sanz del Río emphasized the importance of doing good deeds for the sake of doing good deeds -- "la ley del bien por el bien como precepto de Dios" (25). According to López-Morillas, Krausists were convinced that one should conduct oneself as if humanity’s salvation depended on it (*Krausismo español* 81). Thus Krausism was an all-encompassing spiritual and secular vision of how to live life to the full in order to improve the quality of life of each individual. With Sanz del Río as its prime missionary and Francisco Giner de los Ríos as his main successor, Krausism attempted to effect a fundamental and revolutionary change in the nature of Spain.

In Sanz del Río’s now famous speech he stated that Krausism had two major objectives: the search for truth and a harmonious life (*vida armónica*), which was synonymous with the concept of progress:

> Para este fin [the goal of a harmonious life] cultiváis el espíritu, conquistáis con el genio y el arte los reinos de la naturaleza; para esto levantáis Estados, proyectáis constituciones, planes de conducta, sistemas de ideas; para esto educáis a vuestros hijos y los encomendáis a nuestro amor y enseñanza; para que la Historia, hoy militante, cortada a cada paso por oposiciones y
limitaciones, torcida y viciada por desamor y egoísmo, sea algún día Historia y vida armónica, verdadera madre y maestra de sus hijos, como el padre de los suyos, como Dios de la Humanidad. (20)

Thus the individual should strive to improve oneself in order to create a harmonious society. Fundamental to this quest were the ideals of reason and liberty, the latter of which was felt to be inherent in every individual (Sanz del Río 32). When reason and liberty functioned together, the result, according to Sanz del Río, was true justice: "Este poder regulador de las pasiones es la razón, que, aplicada a la libertad, se llama la conciencia del deber, la justicia" (35). It is by no surprise then that Galdós cherished and embraced these two values so ardently throughout his writings.

Furthermore, Sanz del Río argued that education was the only way by which truth and progress could be achieved. Education, according to Sanz's successor, Giner de los Ríos, was the sole way of saving society because what Spain needed was to "hacer hombres", literally "make men", that is, train the youth of Spain (López-Morillas, Racionalismo pragmático 29). The studying of a nation's history was considered essential in searching for the truth:

Luchando siempre y educándose con su propia historia, vence al cabo, salvando la dignidad y la libertad humana; el error se aleja cada vez más, y los pueblos heredan la verdad en principios y máximas prácticas, con que proveen a la necesidad moral del día, sin pensar a veces en quien les ha preparado el fruto de que se alimentan. (López-Morillas, Racionalismo pragmático 26)

Ignorance was considered to be the greatest impediment towards self-fulfillment. Through education society would be able to make wiser choices for a better future. Sanz del Río and other Krausists concluded that the poor state of present-day Spain was precisely the result of a lack of education. Spain for them, as López-Morillas has observed, was a completely antiquated nation
that had not yet entered into the nineteenth century. In other words, Spain was still dominated by the values of the sixteenth-century:

Pero la contemplación de la España contemporánea, ignorante y gárrula, menesterosa y sangrante, les hacía sentir también la necesidad de romper con la España pretérita, con la que surge de la Contrarreforma y arma el brazo del imperialismo católico, la España a la vez castrense y frailuna a la que, justa o injustamente, hacía responsable de las desdichas del momento.

(Krausismo español 27)

To solve this problem of Spain's backwardness, Krausism advanced two solutions: Europeanization and the studying and teaching of Spain's history. The argument to make Spain more European was not new. In fact, it was very popular at the time, especially in Madrid, which was just starting to expand and gain greater importance in the European context. But as López-Morillas has indicated, this attempt to become more European essentially limited itself to material things, that is, improving the infrastructure and economic level of the country. This type of Europeanization was typical of the growing Spanish bourgeoisie, which felt inferior to its wealthier and more modern French and British counterparts. Thus it was argued by the Krausists that their motivation for Europeanization was simply to improve their personal lot in life:

Creía a pies juntillas en su anacronismo, y esta creencia le lanzaba con vehemente rebolte psicológico a la idolatría de lo nuevo. Lo importante era estar a la última moda, recortar las ideas según el patrón más reciente. Una hipótesis científica, una doctrina filosófica, una modalidad de arte abrazada con ciego entusiasmo eran desechadas en cuanto se sospechaba que habían sido suplantadas por otras en el interés de la Europa erudita. (López-Morillas, Krausismo español 10-11)
But Krausism was to go much further in its quest for the Europeanization of Spain. What was really wanted was a rational assimilation of foreign systems, values, and beliefs such as liberal democracy:

Si se acepta la tesis de la europeización de España se habrá de concluir que los krausistas enfocaron la cuestión de manera más lógica que sus predecesores. No eran las formas aisladas de la cultura europea lo que ellos aspiraban a trasladar aquende los Pirineos. Era la interpretación racional del mundo de la que se alimentaban aquellas formas. (López-Morillas, *Krausismo español* 29-30)

As we have already seen in a passage from one of Galdós' early political articles, Galdós had accepted this concept and as a Krausist sympathizer who had access to the press, he tried to divulge this belief to the Spanish reading public. It is important to note that this quest for Europeanization became a burning issue for the Generation of 98 and for such Regenerationists as Joaquín Costa and Angel Ganivet. Some three decades earlier, Krausists were already advocating such a policy. In this light, Alfonso Armas Ayala has recently affirmed in his biography, *Galdós: lectura de una vida* that Galdós was, without a doubt, a precursor of the Generation of 98:

Galdós, adelantándose a las ideas del 98, insiste una y otra vez en la necesidad de buscar en el extranjero, los medios para mejorar a España, para dotarla de estructura nueva, para conseguir una industria acorde con el resto de la industria europea; para fabricar barcos que pudiesen competir con los ingleses o con los franceses, y sobre todo, para dar a la nación esa apertura tan necesaria que se necesitaba en aquellos momentos. (Vol. 1, 163)

The issue of whether Galdós was a precursor of the Generation of 98 continues to be a hotly debated one. Though many members of the Generation of 98,
especially Pío Baroja and Miguel de Unamuno, rejected Galdós' *Episodios nacionales*, it is apparent that they shared a preoccupation for Spain's future. This is what truly matters for it shows that these writers were socially conscious individuals who were trying to find answers to solve Spain's ills. Whether Galdós was or was not the first to say it is quite irrelevant; the fact is that Galdós and the Generation of 98 expressed similar worries about the nation's state of affairs.

The second solution that was proposed by the Krausists was the studying and teaching of Spain's past and present history. Of all the many famous Krausists, it was Francisco Giner de los Ríos (1839-1915) who most championed the belief that Spaniards needed to know and understand the evolution of their own history. A teacher and a reformer who founded the Krausist and liberal inspired *Institución de Libre Enseñanza* in 1876, Giner de los Ríos was a steadfast proponent of the need to write Spain's complete history. Perhaps it is by no coincidence, then, that it was he more than any other Krausist, including Sanz del Río himself, who left the greatest impression on Galdós by inspiring him to write the *Episodios nacionales*.

As Giner analyzed the state of historical research on Spain's past, he quickly concluded that, as with everything else in Spain, Spanish history texts were retrogressive (López-Morillas, *Racionalismo pragmático* 34). As we have already seen, this feeling was echoed by Galdós in the article written in *RMIE*. Thus once again, one notes another parallel between Galdós and Krausism. Giner argued, furthermore, that Spain's history was really a sort of *terra incognita*, and that more than history what had actually been written until then was the legend of Spain (López-Morillas, *Racionalismo pragmático* 37-39). As a result, Giner urged Spanish historians to investigate and write a history that would delve into the many layered facets of Spain's past (López-Morillas, *Krausismo español* 114). As López-Morillas has asserted, Giner seemed to be
urging historians to develop what Unamuno would later call "intrahistoria" or what Galdós termed "historia chica":

Hay que seguir haciendo, sin duda, historia política, diplomática, militar, institucional, esto es, historia externa; pero hay que hacer también historia interna, o sea, hay que poner al descubierto las cambiantes estructuras de la vida humana, empezando con el análisis preciso de cuanto contribuye a formar el carácter de un pueblo; y tal análisis exige que el investigador ahonde en estratos de vivencia frecuentemente desdénados por la historiografía tradicional. (*Racionalismo pragmático* 42)

Though López-Morillas only mentions Unamuno as being a practitioner of the concept of intrahistory (*intrahistoria*), it is evident that Galdós was also an advocate of this type of history. He may have called it *historia chica*, but essentially it meant the same thing, and through his novels, and especially the *Episodios nacionales*, Don Benito sought to get under the skin of the lower classes of society, which had traditionally been condemned to oblivion by historians. In the prologue to the illustrated edition of the *Episodios nacionales* published in 1885, Galdós underlined what he viewed as the difference between the traditional way of writing history and the manner that he had adopted in these historic novels:

Lo que comúnmente se llama *Historia*, es decir, los abultados libros en que sólo se trata de casamientos de Reyes y Príncipes, de tratados y alianzas, de las campañas de mar y tierra, dejando en olvido todo lo demás que constituye la existencia de los pueblos, no bastaba para fundamento de estas relaciones, que é no son nada, é son el vivir, el sentir y hasta el respirar de la gente.

(*Prólogos de Galdós* 57, emphasis is mine)
That Galdós made history more accessible and meaningful for Spaniards, as Giner would have wished, becomes very apparent in the following passages taken from Gregorio Marañón's article on Galdós, "Un profeta de España":

El poeta nos refiere la Historia sin la muerta objetividad del historiador. El milagro de su visión, de su poesía, no estriba, como suele creerse, en deformar la verdad ni en crear ficciones con materiales de la verdad genuina, sino, por milagro de la imaginación, en dar carácter de vivencia actual a lo ya fucido. Y, por lo tanto, en dar categoría de lección inmediata, para hoy, a la lección, un tanto fría y académica, de las cosas que fueron. Allí están recogidas, con sencillez que acrecienta su ejemplaridad, las inquietudes de una época, lejana medio siglo de la nuestra, con los mismos problemas de la actual: el campo turbulento, las aspiraciones obreras, las pugnas militares y civiles, la derecha y la izquierda, el personalismo que todo lo frustra, el pavor ante el porvenir. (118-119)

The 1988 Cervantes prize-recipient María Zambrano in her passionate essay on Galdós' prose, La España de Galdós (1959), similarly acknowledged the vitality and purity that the Episodios exuded:

En los "Episodios" aparece a lo menos, en los momentos decisivos, un vivir la historia en serio, sin cordura y sin novelería. Una realidad histórica, realidad a fuerza de inocencia. Una pureza más allá de la historia que la engendra en momentos que se alzan sobre el tiempo. Una absoluta, ciega entrega, que ni siquiera va acompañada de la más mínima conciencia de serlo, una "naturalidad" en la que se vierte en la historia y la lleva más allá de todo juicio en su horror y en su grandeza. (29-30)
And finally, Max Aub perhaps said it best when he simply stated that: "Galdós ha hecho más por el conocimiento de España por los españoles - por el pueblo español - que todos los historiadores juntos" (24).

By writing the *episodios*. Galdós was able to fulfill the Krausist belief that Sanz del Río first pronounced in 1857, which was that truth must be spread to the public:

> Elevados a este sacerdocio intelectual, según vuestros méritos públicamente probados y con estricta justicia estimados y correspondidos, será vuestro primer deber enseñar la verdad, propagarla y vivir enteramente para ella. (52-53, emphasis is mine)

In the interview that Galdós gave in February 1912, Antón del Olmet asked him if he believed in the concept of art for art's sake. Galdós replied, in no uncertain terms, that he did not share such a belief. His answer, in fact, seemed to be a copy of Sanz's speech at the University of Madrid:

> Creo que la literatura debe ser enseñanza, ejemplo. Yo escribí siempre, excepto en algunos momentos de lirismo, con el propósito de marcar huella. *Doña Perfecta, Electra, La loca de la casa*, son buena prueba de ello. Mis *Episodios Nacionales* indican un prurito histórico de enseñanza. (93)

Galdós believed that literature had a didactic function to fulfill for the benefit of the whole of society. As Galdós argued with respect to what he called the novel of sentiment and action, any type of literature (even bad literature) could leave its mark on the reader:

> El género literario en que se ocupan con algún resultado nuestros desdichados literatos, y el que sostiene algunas pequeñas industrias editoriales, es el de la novela de impresiones y movimiento, cuya lectura ejerce una influencia tan marcada en la
juventud del día, reflejándose en nuestra educación y dejando en nosotros una huella que tal vez dura toda la vida. (Ensayos de crítica literaria 108)

Krausism asserted that life was art, and consequently in every life there was a novel ready to be written. This obviously found a springboard in Galdós, who as early as 1867 wrote an article on November 11 for RMIE in which he extolled the principle that in each person there was a universe of marvels to write about:

Y si pudiérais con ayuda de otro microscopio, examinar su interior, su fisonomía moral, su carácter, ¡cuántas cosas extraordinarias se presentarian á vuestros ojos! Y si de algún modo os fuera fácil enteraos del pasado, de la historia, de los innumerables detalles monográficos de cada uno; ¡qué de maravillas se presentarian á vuestra observacion! (RMIE 233)

This Krausist-inspired belief would persist thirty years later when in 1897 upon being accepted into the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language, he gave a speech entitled "La sociedad presente como materia novelable", proving once again that there was a close connection between Galdós and Krausism. It is interesting to note that Stephen Gilman in his masterful study, Galdós and The Art of the European Novel, 1867-1887, remarked that Galdós was not a Krausist, even though he did recognize that the Krausist principle of art as pedagogy was apparent in Galdós' first novels: "The characteristic "krausista" justification of literature as a means of education, reform, and regeneration is clearly applicable to the early novels of Galdós" (76). Gilman could have also included the Episodios nacionales in that statement because it is very apparent that the Episodios have a didactic function from the first episode, Trafalgar (1873), to the last one, Cánovas (1912). In them Galdós was attempting to explain to his countrymen where Spain had been and where it
was going to. In other words, Galdós was trying to create a historical conscience that would help Spaniards to better understand their country and each other, with the eventual goal that this would lead to a better life for all of Spain in the future. It must be reaffirmed that this was definitely a Krausist-inspired principle. Galdós felt that he had found truth and it was therefore his duty and responsibility to spread it to his compatriots for without truth Spaniards would continue to be oppressed by those who would rob them of their liberty and reason. Without liberty and reason, justice would continue to elude Spaniards just as it always had.

The supreme importance that Galdós and Krausism attributed to freedom obviously establishes a close bond between Krausism and liberalism because both postulate that without the ability to freely exercise one's reason what is then created is a totalitarian regime. Liberalism logically became a political offshoot for all Krausists. It is very apparent that Galdós was thus both Krausist and liberal for in his newspaper articles and novels, he always underlined the visceral need for freedom. Even though in his last years he officially joined the ranks of the republicans, Galdós remained a liberal. It is clear that Galdós did not believe that republicanism and liberalism were incompatible; the former was simply a form of government, while the latter was an ideology that transcended party politics. Thus one could also be a monarchist and a liberal at the same time because to be a monarchist was simply to state that one believed that the monarchy was the best form of government at a particular time in the development of a nation. It is on this point that many scholars have erred in this contentious issue by stating that Galdós irrevocably broke with everything he had ever believed in by jumping ship to the republican side. If Galdós became associated with the republicans it was out of sheer frustration with the Canovite system, which had betrayed all the principles of liberalism. As we shall see in some of his articles, Galdós felt
that under the *turno pacífico*, both the Liberals of Sagasta and the Liberal-Conservatives of Cánovas had created a system of oppression, which prevented Spaniards from being able to use their natural freedom and reason. Right to the end, as Hans Hinterhäuser has indicated, Galdós was firmly convinced that liberalism remained the key to Spain's future:

> Para él, la única solución del dilema español se hallaba en el campo liberal, de forma que éste, tras un proceso de autodepuración y, de otro lado, por medio de una paciente educación, fuera absorbido y asimilado al otro sector del país. Pero a este feliz resultado sólo se podía llegar, según Galdós, con la tolerancia, la generosidad, la superación de la discordia política en las relaciones personales. (184)

It is logical, therefore, that Galdós fully supported the ideals of the Glorious Revolution. As a young twenty-five year old, Galdós was able to witness General Prim's historic and triumphant entrance into Madrid, an event that he remembered vividly in his interview with Antón del Olmet and García Carraffa:

> Vine a Madrid y tuve ocasión de presenciar las entradas de Prim y de Serrano. La de Prim, especialmente no se borrará nunca de mi memoria. Fue uno de los espectáculos más grandiosos que he contemplado en mi vida. Repito que nunca podré olvidar aquel extraordinario suceso. (33)

It was at this time that Galdós began to write for *Las Cortes*, which had been founded by Aníbal Alvarez Osorio. Galdós' task was to report on the deliberations of the Constituent Cortes. According to Armas Ayala, Galdós never flinched in his political ideology in the years in which he wrote for this important paper:

> En estos años de colaboración en *Las Cortes*, Galdós demuestra una vez más que su ideología política era firme y continuada. No
se dejaba engañar ni seducir por cantos de sirena. Seguía defendiendo la idea primera de la Revolución del 68 como una Revolución para todos, no para unas minorías más poderosas o para una aristocracia selecta. Galdós quería, buscaba que la Revolución ampliase sus miras, que no quedase frenada por ideas pactadas o por temores absurdos. Pero también exigía que la Revolución, encauzada dentro de un Gobierno, se atuviese a lo que el espíritu de la Constitución mandaba. A lo que las leyes ordenaban. No a lo que la voluntad personal del Gobierno o de su presidente dispusiese. Luchar contra el mandato personal, no admitir personalismo alguno, defender a capa y espada la igualdad de todos los hombres ante la ley, es la honda preocupación que manifiesta Galdós en todas las páginas de sus colaboraciones.

(Vol. 1, 112)

However, as the sexenio did not accomplish the original goals of the Revolution, one senses a growing pessimism in Galdós' political articles. Writing for La Ilustración de Madrid on March 30, 1872, Galdós adopted a very sarcastic tone in which he asserted that Madrid could never host a universal exposition because the capital did not meet the necessary requirements of order, progress, and general well-being to host such a monumental event (Crónica de la quincena 106-107).

The fourteen political articles that Galdós contributed to La Revista de España further underline that growing disillusionment with the inability of the Revolution of 1868 to materialize as promised. The fact that Galdós wrote and served as editor for this newspaper from February 1872 to November 1873 was no mere coincidence. The founder, José Luis Albareda was a good friend of Galdós, who, in fact, suggested to Galdós the title of "episodios nacionales" ("Memorias de un desmemoriado" 202). Galdós shared with Albareda the belief
in the importance of freedom and order; moreover the Revista's motto was "la marcha progresiva de la humanidad" (Dendle, *Artículos políticos* v), which echoed Galdós' Krausist beliefs. Albareda's daily allowed Galdós to express his views on the development or under-development of the September Revolution. Faithful to the Krausist belief in the didactic function of the writer, Galdós asserted in the *Revista* the intent to be objective in his articles so that his contributions as a whole could be considered as a modern history that would be instructive:

Con respecto á la reseña de los sucesos políticos, estos trabajos han de ser crónicas imparciales, escritas con tal rectitud y reposo, conforme se desarrolla la serie de los acontecimientos, que, compilados en otra edad, pueda con ellas hacerse fácilmente la historia. (*Artículos políticos* June 28, 1872, 136)

What becomes evident in these political articles is that while becoming increasingly disillusioned by the betrayal of the Revolution, Galdós remained faithful to his Krausist principles and even tried to keep hope despite the fact that everything was turning out wrong. This inner dichotomy between hope and despair became more and more apparent with the successive publications of articles and novels. But, as we shall see, Galdós always tried to see a ray of light at the end of the tunnel. His optimism was undoubtedly linked to his Krausist background. Sanz del Río had highlighted in his speech at the University of Madrid the belief that there was always hope because throughout the history of mankind, nature, in the end, had always saved humanity: "la naturaleza superior ha triunfado siempre, salvando la libertad y el progreso ordenado de la vida" (23). Even Gilman recognized that Galdós' eternal optimism had been inherited from his connection to the Krausists:

As we remember from his remarks in the Prologue to *La Regenta*, Galdós was never able fully to believe in the absolute inevitability
of the national perdition that on so many occasions he had accurately prophesied. To that extent he seems to have been influenced by his "krausista" friends. (151)

This inner dichotomy is very apparent in his third article for the Revista de España. Written on January 13, 1872, in it Galdós provided an analysis of Amadeo's first year as king of Spain, which had been an especially sad one because of the assassination of General Prim:

Todo fué triste en aquellos momentos: la tragedia del general Prim había conmovido tan profundamente los ánimos, que no hubo en España persona alguna agena al general sentimiento; ni era posible eximirse de aquella congojosa pesadumbre que oprimia las almas, como si todos nos halláramos bajo la influencia del pesimismo antiguo. (Artículos políticos 22)

In this description of Prim's murder, it seems that Spaniards were affected by it in the same way that Americans were affected by the assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy in 1963. Just as Kennedy's death marked a before and after in the United States, Prim's death marked a before and after in the path taken by the Revolution. Without its true leader, the Revolution was condemned to fail, as was argued in the previous chapter. And perhaps realizing that this would be the case, Galdós became quite pessimistic about the Revolution's future. In the rest of the article Galdós condemned the major political parties, which had allowed emotion to overrule reason:

Cuando los hombres se agrupan por resentimientos; cuando antiguos rencores, ó la fuerza de palabras consagradas, les sirve de enlace, las colectividades, más propiamente llamadas entonces bandos que partidos, son un remedo de la fuerza material, ciega y bruta, con la diferencia de que esta puede ser eficáz algunas veces cortando el nudo de complicadísimas y peligrosas cuestiones,
mientras aquellas sólo sirven para despertar en los hombres innobles ambiciones, para avivar la repugnante envidia, para producir inmorales elevaciones y desastrosas caídas, para someter lo más caro y lo más sagrado que hay en el mundo, que es la suerte de la nación, á la tremenda prueba de una constante y abominable intriga, único ejercicio de los espíritus turbados y cegados por la pasión. (Artículos políticos 26)

Galdós went on to state that at this rate Spain's present and future were and would remain very gloomy because the country lacked any semblance of freedom, reason, and order, the principles of Krausism:

Oscuro está el presente y oscuro el porvenir. Si la inteligencia no recobra su imperio, si un repentino y vigoroso renacimiento de las ideas no sofoca la ambición desenfrenada, la vulgaridad engreída, y el compadrazgo, incorregible, si la chismografía de café y la atmósfera moral de determinados círculos, reuniones ó pandillas no dejan de ser alma de la políticas, ésta caminará por senderos cada vez más tortuosos y oscuros para llevarnos á un extremo de desastres, antes con bastante prevision evitados. (Artículos políticos 28)

Yet in spite of the sombre tone of this entire article, Galdós, true to his Krausist principles, concluded on a note of hope. He observed that the vices that were laying waste to Spain could not endure, and that morality, truth, and reason would return triumphantly, and consequently restore Spain to the original path of the revolution:

No creemos probable una catástrofe que ponga fin á este desorden moral, y por el contrario esperamos con confianza en que los hombres cederán á la fuerza incontrastable de la lógica y dejarán de ofrecer espectáculos que abochornan. La claridad no
puede tardar, á nuestro juicio, porque si tardara sería preciso entregarse en brazos del escepticismo y callar con resignación que degeneraría al fin en indiferencia, quitando al alma el consuelo de creer en la Providencia, y entrísteciéndola para siempre con la idea de un tremendo fatalismo. (*Artículos políticos 29*)

Hope did spring eternal in Galdós’ writings for the *Revista de España*. As in the previous article, his article of March 13, 1872 was characterized by a tone of despair and disillusion; but in the end he reiterated that this was a temporary period of adjustment, a rational eclipse, as he stated, which could not persist because good would inevitably win out in the end:

> Es preciso creer que hay obcecaciones horrorosas, errores pasajeros, tremendos eclipses de la razón y del buen sentido, porque si así no fuera, adquiriríamos idea muy triste de nuestros partidos políticos y de nuestros hombres. Volverán al buen camino, reconocerán su error, se apartarán con espanto de esos aliados de hoy, verdaderos soldados de la anarquía, *para contribuir á la consolidación de todas, absolutamente todas las conquistas de la revolución*, estableciendo un antagonismo lógico y fecundo, en vez de esta guerra torpe y salvaje. (61, emphasis is mine).

The portion that is italicized underlines the fact that Galdós felt that the ideals of the Revolution had been betrayed; it was now time to go back to those ideals because they would lead Spain towards a prosperous future.

As he had observed in the 1860s, Galdós reaffirmed that Spain was a medieval nation. On this occasion it was the religious Carlist war that sparked his ire; Galdós observed that religious wars had been typical of Spain in the 1600s, but that it should persist into the nineteenth century was humiliating for a country that aspired to be a modern nation:
Los clérigos que se ponen al frente de cuadrillas de gente armada, las hordas mercenarias que recuerdan las luchas de la Edad Media, los improvisados caudillos, el mismo carácter del personaje en cuyo nombre se hacen estas intentonas, todo hace creer á nuestros contemporáneos que España está aún en pleno período de leyenda, y que las rarezas y anomalías de esta tierra romántica harán que sea hoy como antes un país lleno de enigmas, en cuya frontera se detiene receloso y meditabundo el viajero, no atreviéndose á traspasarla. (Artículos políticos 92-93)

By using the term "romantic" to describe Spain, Galdós was using a term that the Krausists had already used. As López-Morillas has indicated, for Krausists such as Giner de los Ríos, romanticism was synonymous with falsehood because it evoked a type of lost paradise in the Middle Ages, and as such it was a perversion of historical reality (Krausismo español 119). Thus to describe Spain as romantic was to affirm that Spain was stuck in a false past. The only solution that Galdós saw for Spain to become a modern nation was to allow man's natural freedom to prosper, which would logically lead to peace and order:

Precisamente el objeto del gabinete actual es destruir la prevención que contra los derechos individuales existe en una parte, no despreciable por cierto, de la nación, y demostrar que su aplicación equitativa es la mejor garantía de prosperidad que puede darse á esta sociedad llena de alarmas, porque la libertad juiciosamente practicada y previo el imperio absoluto de la ley, es lo único que puede producir el verdadero y fecundo orden. (Artículos políticos 100)
It becomes evident once again that Galdós was deeply influenced by his contacts with Krausist thinkers such as Giner de los Ríos and Fernando de Castro.

The 1880s did not witness any significant change in Galdós' liberal convictions. In fact, Francisco Ayala argues that by becoming a parliamentarian in 1886 for Sagasta's Liberal party, Galdós was showing his optimism vis-à-vis Spain's future, despite the Bourbon Restoration: "es prueba cierta y concluyente de que para esas fechas no se había quebrantado todavía la fe de Galdós en las perspectivas del régimen" (18).

Galdós' election as deputy for the Puerto Rican riding of Guayama was, to say the least, quite surprising, even to Galdós himself because he did not initiate this interesting career move. The person who promoted his candidacy was José Ferreras, an admirer of Galdós and, at the same time, a close friend of Sagasta, to whom he suggested that Galdós would be a prestigious addition for the Liberals. In his interview with Antón del Olmet and García Carraffa, Galdós remembered that had it not been for Ferreras, he would have remained a private citizen at that point in his life:

¡Yo nunca había sentido gran vocación por la política, pero sin esperararlo, y por obra y gracia de Ferreras, me encontré de pronto con la investidura de representante de la nación. Ferreras habló a Sagasta de mí para que me eligieran diputado; Sagasta hizo suyos los deseos del célebre periodista y, con tan eficaz ayuda, fui elegido diputado a Cortes. (48)

Though Pedro Ortiz-Armengol states that he could not find any election results: "La elección no fue fácil, aunque no se nos dice el cómputo de votos obtenido por cada candidato" (407), Antón del Olmet and García Carraffa affirmed that Galdós had been able to win with only seventeen votes (49).
If, as Galdós said, he had no true vocation, then why did he agree to accept such a responsibility? It seems clear that, though he had no true vocation, Galdós was a liberal through and through, and given the fact that Sagasta was in the midst of his political Golden Age, there was perhaps no better moment for a liberal to become a part of the government. As Ortiz-Armengol has asserted, "El momento era liberal" (404), that is, Spain under Sagasta was more liberal than it had previously been under the regime of Cánovas. Moreover, Galdós probably saw this as an excellent opportunity to witness the unfolding of Spanish history first-hand.8 In an article written on December 3, 1885, one detects a certain air of hope on Galdós' part that if Sagasta's newly formed Liberal government could get its act together the conditions were ideal for the creation of a long-lasting Liberal government that could provide many of the answers that Spaniards were looking for:

Este Gobierno tan bien escogido, y en el cual se representaba lo más notable del partido liberal, tropezará, sin duda, con grandes dificultades; pero no es imposible que las venza, si hay en todos un poco de patriotismo. Esto es lo difícil. Hombres eminentes no nos faltan hoy, como no nos han faltado nunca. Lo difícil aquí es crear grandes conjuntos. (Obras inéditas III, 100)

Despite the fact that the decade of the 80s was probably his most successful period novelistically, Galdós continued to write for many different papers in Madrid and in Buenos Aires. The Argentinian writer, Alberto Ghiraldo, a long-time admirer of Galdós, gathered and published, after the latter's death, thirteen volumes of Galdós' articles under the general title of Obras inéditas. Two of the most interesting volumes in this series are the third and fourth, entitled "Política española", which date from 1883 to 1890. In them Galdós tackled various aspects of modern-day Spanish politics, from foreign to agricultural policy, from the dynastic issue to the economy. As such, these
articles offer the reader an insight into Galdós' views on Spain in the 80s. It becomes quite apparent that Galdós continued to hold the same beliefs he had since his early days in Madrid. After twenty years, Galdós remained a firm believer in liberalism.

Though he hardly ever spoke about economic matters, Galdós felt the urge to speak out about the agricultural crisis that Spain was facing in the late 1880s. In an article written on October 28, 1887, Galdós attacked the high fiscal rates to which Spain's farmers were subjected. In his opinion, exorbitant taxes were oppressing the majority of the country (it must not be forgotten that Spain was still a predominantly rural nation at this time):

La agricultura en España sufre los efectos de la crisis universal y además los de la crisis puramente española, es decir, de un estado de cosas creado por nuestra rutina administrativa. No se necesita hablar mucho ni apurar los recursos oratorios para conocer que la contribución territorial es excesiva, que viene siéndolo hace muchos años y que las rebajas que ahora se hicieran habrían de ser grandes y sostenidas durante mucho tiempo para que la propiedad pudiera sostenerse con desahogo. El tipo contributivo es tan alto, que no hay propiedad que lo resista, y su misma elevación indica que es burlado sistemáticamente y que gran parte de las tierras o pagan menos del cupo o no pagan nada. De aquí una desigualdad que es origen de grandes disturbios en los pueblos y que fomenta el caciquismo y las malas pasiones. (Obras inéditas, IV: 46)

Galdós put forward a series of measures to solve this pressing problem, which can simply be described as classical liberal economic measures, that is, a drastic reduction in tariffs and taxes and the development of the nation's infrastructure:
Es preciso que a la vez y mancomunadamente se reduzcan las cargas públicas, se fomente el crédito agrícola, se faciliten las comunicaciones, se suavicen las tarifas de ferrocarriles, se difunda la enseñanza agrícola y se emprenden obras destinadas a combatir la sequía de nuestro campo. (Obras inéditas, IV: 48-49)

As a strong believer in liberal policies, Galdós was convinced that the economy had to be opened in a manner similar to what Laureano Figuerola had attempted in the early days of the provisional revolutionary government. It is apparent that Galdós' proposals echoed the economic policies of the escuela economista.

Another quality apparent in these articles is Galdós' astute eye for political analysis. In an article originally published on December 20, 1883, Galdós argued that the liberals' worst enemy had historically been the liberals themselves:

El fenómeno es tan viejo y se ha repetido tanto, que al leer la historia parecen ver lo que ahora pasa, y lo que hoy ocurre parece lección aprendida en los libros para recitarla de memoria sin provecho de la inteligencia. (Obras inéditas, III: 7-8)

By 1890, after sixteen years of witnessing how the turno pacífico had not effectively changed anything, Galdós denounced the fact that internal divisions were the liberals' major defect:

Se pierden bajo un cielo sereno y sin nubes, devorándose en mitad de un camino llano y sin obstáculos. Siempre ha pasado lo mismo. Es axiomático que si los conservadores caen siempre por abuso del Poder, los liberales perecen por sus divisiones y discordias intestinas. Es un partido éste que está casi siempre en guerra civil, y lo peor es que la experiencia no le aprovecha. La infancia es en él perpetua. (Obras inéditas, IV: 210; January 16, 1890)
That pessimism vis-à-vis the liberals stands out in an article written on May 22, 1884, in which he denounced the manipulation of supposedly democratic elections by the ministry of the Interior:

Resultado de este fraude político es que las elecciones las hace el ministro de la Gobernación, y de aquella fábrica de votos salen también las minorías. No pudiendo marchar bien el sistema sin oposición, el Gobierno la fábrica con el mismo celo que pone en la construcción de la mayoría. (Obras inéditas, III: 21)

Galdós insisted that the present system was fraught with deceit, and it would thus be better to simply appoint all the members because, at least, in that way honesty would be restored to the electoral system:

Un periódico inglés, ocupándose poco ha de nuestro singular método electoral, decía que valiera más nombrar de real orden los diputados, mayoría y minoría, y el resultado sería el mismo sin perturbaciones ni escándalos. Triste observación es ésta; y más triste aún si se considera que encierra una gran verdad. (Obras inéditas, III: 22).

However, Galdós softened his position on this issue just a few months later when he wrote that some manipulation of the system was a necessary evil for a country such as Spain which was accustomed to political trickery, and as a result had not perfected its electoral system along the lines of more modern nations such as Great Britain and France:

Lo más a que se puede aspirar por hoy es a que las elecciones se hagan con una sinceridad relativa. El Gobierno, o sea el partido imperante, no puede menos de ejercer cierta influencia sobre los comicios. Cual es el grado en que esta influencia se ha de ejercer, es lo que determina la mayor o menor pureza de las elecciones. (Obras inéditas, III: 124)
Was this Galdós the politician writing who might have felt the need to justify his recent electoral triumph? After all his own victory in that same year was the result of political manipulation. Or perhaps this was the case of a person who had rethought his previous position. In the paragraph just quoted, Galdós did not condone the manipulation of elections, but rather asserted that the political reality was that such fixing did exist. Within the reality of such a situation, Galdós argued that election results were relatively pure if the amount of vote rigging was not excessive.

Basically, the 1880s constitute a continuation of Galdós' liberal beliefs. There does not seem to be an indication of any greater pessimism than what had already been observed in the 1870s. However by the 1890s and early 1900s one does observe a profound change in his writings. If one compares two of his most famous essays on Spanish society: "Observaciones sobre la novela contemporánea en España" (1870) and "La sociedad presente como materia novelable" (1897), one detects a significant change. The Galdós of 1870 was a young man full of hope and optimism for Spain's future; in this article one perceives that he had pinned all his hopes on the rising middle class, which had attained its lofty position by leading the Revolution of 1868. He viewed the middle class as the medium through which Spain would be able to modernize. In other words, it was to be the fountain from which would spring Spain's rejuvenation. The middle class had become the centre of society, and hence it was to be the model for the rest of Spanish society:

Pero la clase media, la más olvidada por nuestros novelistas, es el gran modelo, la fuente inagotable. Ella es la base del orden social: ella asume por su iniciativa y por su inteligencia la soberanía de las naciones, y en ella está el hombre del siglo XIX con sus virtudes y sus vicios, su noble e insaciable aspiración, su afán de
Almost thirty years later, the Galdós of 1897 had, however, become very disillusioned with the middle class, which had not lived up to all the great expectations that he had placed on it. Hinterhäuser echoed this point when he wrote: "Conforme va aumentando, al paso del tiempo, el desprecio de Galdós por la burguesía de la Restauración, su visión del pueblo como clase dirigente del mañana se hace cada vez más exclusiva y resuelta" (196). This sentiment is evident in the speech given upon entry into the Royal Academy, in which he underlined the social confusion that was reigning in Spain; no longer were the classes well defined. On this occasion, Galdós did not single out nor lavish any praise on the middle class, which, he pointed out, had been unable to form a unified social cohesion. He felt society was undergoing a significant change to its basic structure; there was an underlying feeling in his words that the lower classes were in the process of overtaking the middle and upper classes. In 1870 Galdós seemed sure that the answer for Spain was the middle class, but by 1897 he did not really know what was the correct road for Spain to take in order to become modern:

La falta de unidades es tal, que hasta en la vida política, constituida por naturaleza en agrupaciones disciplinadas, se determina claramente la disolución de aquellas grandes familias formadas por el entusiasmo de la acción constituyente, por afinidades tradicionales, por principios más o menos deslumbradores... Podría decirse que la sociedad llega a un punto de su camino en que se ve rodeada de ingentes rocas que le cierran el paso. Diversas grietas se abren en la dura y pavorosa peña, indicándonos senderos o salidas que tal vez nos conduzcan a regiones despejadas. Contábamos, sin duda, los incansables
viajeros con que una voz sobrenatural nos dijera desde lo alto: por aquí se va, y nada más que por aquí. Pero la voz sobrenatural no hiere aún nuestros oídos, y los más sabios de entre nosotros se enredan en interminables controversias sobre cuál pueda o deba ser la hendidura o pasadizo por el cual podremos salir de este hoyo pantanoso en que nos revolvemos y asfixiamos. (Ensayos de crítica literaria 160-161)

This sense of Spain sinking reappeared in "La España de hoy", an article written four years later for La Publicidad of Barcelona on April 11, 1901. What one notices in it is how Galdós' frustration leaps off the text as he lashed out against all those groups who were at fault for Spain's decay. "La España de hoy" must be seen within the socio-historical context of the period: Spain had just lost its last colonies to the new world power, the United States. This defeat provoked Spaniards to ask themselves why Spain had declined. Galdós included himself in this debate, and consequently this article has a definite ring of regeneracionismo to it. The article also has the distinct impression of being written by one of the members of the Generaton of 98. Just like the members of that generation, Galdós attempted to analyze the reasons for Spain's demise. Using typical regeneracionista jargon, Spain is described as "el pobre cuerpo convaleciente" (Ensayos de crítica literaria 225), that is, a sick person who is convalescing. In the first paragraph Galdós asserted that the present situation was very critical and asked whether the best thing would be to amputate the weakest parts of the Spanish body:

Bien puedo asegurar que la situación presente, de las más críticas en la trágica historia de mi país, ofrece un nudo muy difícil de desatar. Los que no dudan que será forzoso cortarlo, discurren sobre si ello debe hacerse violentamente, con cuchillo, o cuidadosa y suavemente, con tijeras. Esto sería lo mejor; pero nadie puede
And despite the grave situation in which the nation found itself, Galdós still maintained that Spain could renew itself; in fact, he saw Spain as having returned to its infancy after having failed miserably. As a result, Spain now had the opportunity to grow and prosper:

Este pueblo tan viejo, tan viejo, que nos representamos su imagen como la del Tiempo mismo, se nos vuelve ahora niño, y en él observamos inquietudes y alborozos infantiles; le vemos expirante en una vida, naciente en otra, dándose por fracasado en todos los intentos del siglo anterior, preparándose a mayores empresas y aprendiéndose de nuevo las lecciones que había olvidado. (Ensayos de crítica literaria 225-226)

In this article, Galdós accused the liberal establishment and the Roman Catholic Church of being the architects of Spain's demise. The liberals were the first to be blamed for completely failing to fulfill the promise of the revolutions of 1812 and 1868: "Al propio tiempo, nuestro enfermo reconoce con tristeza la esterilidad de sus esfuerzos, durante todo el pasado siglo, por darse un régimen político liberal a la europea" (Ensayos de crítica literaria 226). Galdós stated, in no uncertain terms, that the so-called liberals had simply perpetuated the old feudal system by reinforcing the oppressive institution of caciquismo:

Pero ninguno se decide a romperla con arte, destruyendo siquiera alguna malla por donde sacar un dedo, después una mano, y llegar por sucesivas rupturas de hilos a la libertad de esta desgraciada nación, esclava de lo que aquí llamamos caciquismo, tristísima repetición de los tiempos feudales y de las demasías de unos cuantos señores, árbitros de los derechos y de los intereses de los ciudadanos. (Ensayos de crítica literaria 227)
Describing the nation as a human body under attack by a special virus, Galdós asserted that that virus was *caciquismo*, which had weakened the nation's internal system:

Lo grave de esta dolencia social es que ha cogido el cuerpo político debilitado por el caciquismo. España carece hoy casi por completo de fuerza fisiológica que la preserve contra las invasiones que atacan su epidermis, y luego su tejido, sus entrañas, su organismo todo; la nación ha desmayado en el uso de sus facultades directivas, abdicándolas en unos cuantos caballeros cuyo interés político constituye una oligarquía que finge el movimiento vital.

(Ensayos de crítica literaria 235)

Furthermore, Galdós posited that the leaders of Spain, disguised as liberals, had lied to their constituency by corrupting the law of universal male suffrage. For Galdós, who at this point had become very frustrated with national politics, there had not been a legitimate election because the level of election fixing had been excessive; the electorate was exhausted and frustrated by the meaningless nature of the repetitive number of general elections:

Ya nadie ve una base fundamental de la vida política en el principio de la representación del pueblo, porque el sufragio es un donoso engaño al alcance de los observadores menos perspicaces. Las elecciones se hacen sin interés, con escasa y fría lucha; la emisión del voto no apasiona ni enorgullece a los ciudadanos.

(Ensayos de crítica literaria 225-226)

After attacking the liberals, Galdós directed his venom against the Roman Catholic Church, which, according to him, had been able to extend its sphere of power and influence over Spanish society thanks to the Restoration. Galdós continued to use the metaphor of Spain as an ill body to describe how the Church, acting as a virus, had entered into the bowels of Spain and infected
the entire nation: "desde los tiempos primeros de la Regencia comenzó a extenderse, y ya se corre formidable de la epidermis a las entrañas de la nación" (Ensayos de crítica literaria 227).

Who was to blame for the Church's latest resurgence? Galdós pointed his finger at the liberals because they had failed to eradicate Carlism. The liberals had been guilty of being too soft with these "religious fanatics". Instead of extinguishing the fire, they had simply allowed it to smoulder. As a result Carlism had been allowed to survive, thrive, and threaten the stability of the nation:

el carlismo no ha sido nunca destruido de un modo eficaz y éste es el error del país liberal en todo el siglo precedente, pues siempre puso fin a las campañas facciosas por medio de esfuerzos parciales y por convenios, arreglos y componendas. (Ensayos de crítica literaria 229)

The issue of the Church or "monstruo" (229), as Galdós called it, grew in importance. This article is dominated by the question of the Church's growing power base. Galdós repeatedly stated in it that the liberals feared the Church too much, and this fear had permitted the Church to dominate Spain with an iron fist:

Las debilidades del liberalismo, motivadas en un excesivo temor a la autoridad romana, las estamos pagando ahora, y hermos en pleno siglo XX con el mal en aterrador aumento, la muchedumbre eclesiástica cada día más dominadora y absorbente, el carlismo amenazando con nuevas tentativas. (Ensayos de crítica literaria 229)

Furthermore, Galdós postulated that the Church was spreading a spirit of fanaticism, a concoction of its own creation that he compared to the one created by Don Quixote. For any Krausist liberal, such as Galdós, who believed
so firmly in the preeminence of reason, fanaticism was a crime against humanity:

Lleva siempre la causa carlista tras sí a un poderoso encantador, el fanatismo eclesiástico, el cual no le abandona en sus caídas ni en sus más desastrosos vencimientos; va de continuo en pos de él, y si le encuentra roto en dos pedazos, le recoge cuidadosamente, uniendo las partes separadas; le da a beber el Bálsamo de Fierabás, y ya está el hombre resucitado y dispuesto a batallar de nuevo. (Ensayos de crítica literaria 229)

Galdós was especially angry with the Jesuits, through whose work the Church had been able to extend its influence over education: "Al propio tiempo, la enseñanza secundaria y superior está en manos religiosas" (229).

However, it must be stated that Galdós made a special effort to distinguish his dislike for the organized Church with his respect for religion. Galdós did not criticize the spiritual side of religion, but he did consider that the hierarchy of the Church had overstepped its bounds of authority by meddling in temporal affairs. He felt that if the Church were to return to its function of serving the spiritual needs of its flock, Spain could live in peace and harmony:

Desembarazada España de la turba-multa de frailes y jesuitas, quedaría bajo su tradicional constitución religiosa, gobernada espiritualmente por sus obispos y su clero secular, que, actuando solo y libre, sin la diabólica inspiración del jesuitismo, reinaría pacíficamente, respetuoso y respetado. (Ensayos de crítica literaria 236)

It is important to note that despite the explicit nature of the attacks launched by Galdós in this article of 1901, Galdós still held out hope for Spain; the Krausist optimism had still survived within him, in spite of his disillusionment with nineteenth-century Spanish liberalism:
Pero como no hay cosa mala ni buena que cien años dure, y las organizaciones contrarias al orden natural rara vez prevalezcan, el mejor día vendrá la repentina emancipación de toda la graciosa cohorte infantil, y la patria recobrará esas preciosas inteligencias secuestradas. Ellos serán librepensadores, quizá volterianos, que hartos estamos de ver la evolución de corderos a lobos en la psicología religiosa. (*Ensayos de crítica literaria* 231)

After analyzing these last two articles, it seems apparent that Galdós had suffered a radical change in his politics -- or had he really? According to José Luis Mora García, it is obvious that Galdós' politics had changed dramatically:

Hacia 1901, como indicaba, ya se han producido modificaciones importantes en la opinión que Benito Pérez Galdós tenía sobre buena parte de estas cuestiones pero, principalmente, sus juicios sobre el estado de la Nación son cada vez más radicales. Sus ácidas críticas se dirigen contra la propia forma de hacer política con la artificial rotación de los partidos; contra el caciquismo y la corrupción así como contra el clericalismo, el dogmatismo y ultramontanismo que entran, de nuevo, en escena de manera virulenta. Modifica, por otra parte, su posición en cuestiones sociales que le llevarán a ingresar en la coalición republicano-socialista, como antes dijimos. Pierde fe en la monarquía, adopta la República de la manera ya señalada con anterioridad, y creo que llega a admitir el federalismo de una manera teórica aunque se muestre escéptico respecto de su viabilidad. (249)

For his part, Francisco Ayala feels that Galdós' much-talked about disillusionment did not materialize until as late as 1910, the year in which he was elected as a member of the *conjunción republicano-socialista* (18).
Moreover, if one heeds Galdós' own words in the interview with Antón del Olmet and García Carraffa, one becomes even more confused about the issue of Galdós' political radicalization because in that interview Galdós justified his "conversion" to republicanism in the following manner:

-La Prensa - nos manifestó D. Benito - recibió con benevolencia mis declaraciones. Sin embargo, á muchos sorprendió mi decisión, sin duda porque no conocían mis ideas que siempre fueron democráticas y porque no se pararon á pensar que, aun cuando retraído y concretado á mi labor literaria, venía siendo casi republicano desde 1880. (101)

Yet the fact is that in 1886 he became a member of the Sagasta government, which consequently places in doubt Galdós' statement in 1912. So where does this leave one? I believe that we must go back to the question of whether Galdós had really changed as much as some scholars have felt. It is my contention that he did not; however, what did change was his readiness to involve himself in politics and to denounce the Canovite system. It is only in this sense that one can talk about Galdós' radicalization, that is, his greater political participation within the republican establishment.12 This shift towards republicanism was not solely by choice, but rather it was forced on him by the failure of liberalism, as he had stated in "La España de hoy". It seems clear that had liberalism accomplished what it had set out to do, then Galdós would not have felt the need to affiliate himself with the republicans.13 For Galdós, the so-called liberals were not liberals; they were not the standard-bearers of liberal principles, but rather perpetuators of the old Spain. Therefore, Galdós must have felt that the only real hope left was to be found amongst the republicans. During his remaining years within the republican ranks, Galdós continued to fight for the same principles that the Revolution had championed. His articles and speeches for the republicans promoted the
same ideals that he had always believed in: peace and order, freedom of speech and association, a true universal suffrage, and an end to caciquismo and to oppression from the Church. This is simply conjecture, but it is plausible that as Galdós approached his sixties he was now very confident in his abilities to aid the republican cause, after all he enjoyed a high profile in Madrid society and he was the most popular writer in all of Spain. By the early 1900s Galdós had achieved an incredible amount of success with his novels, and he continued to garner praise even from such prominent Conservatives as Antonio Maura, who especially lauded Galdós' objectivity in the third series of his Episodios nacionales. Furthermore, he probably felt that it was his duty to aid Spain in its direst moment after the Disaster. Seen in this light, it seems probable that Galdós' decision to join the republicans was an act of patriotism.

Especially after 1907, Galdós actively participated in national politics on the republican side. He travelled throughout Spain and read speeches in republican meetings, which were to leave their mark on those who attended, such as a very young Federico García Lorca, who was able to see Galdós at a republican meeting in Granada. In his later years the tragic Andalusian poet commented that Galdós "tenía la voz más verdadera y profunda de España" (Víctor Fuentes 19).

Galdós' affiliation with the republicans became official with a letter he wrote to Alfredo Vicenti, editor of the republican newspaper, El Liberal. In this letter published on April 6, 1907, Galdós stated that his prime motivation for this change in political adherence was patriotic: "Abandono los caminos llanos y me lanzo a la cuesta penosa, movido de un sentimiento que en nuestra edad miserable y femenil es considerado como ridícula antigüalla: el patriotismo" (Fuentes 51). Galdós then elaborated that he had lost all hope in liberalism's ability and desire to transform Spain into a modern nation that embodied the principles he had always cherished:
A los que me preguntan la razón de haberme acogido al ideal republicano, les doy esta sincera contestación: tiempo hacía que mis sentimientos monárquicos estaban amortiguados, se extinguieron absolutamente cuando la ley de Asociaciones planteó en pobres términos el capital problema español; cuando vimos claramente que el régimen se obstinaba en fundamentar su existencia en la petrificación teocrática. Después de esto, que implicaba la cesión parcial de la soberanía, no quedaba ya ninguna esperanza. ¡Adiós ensueños de regeneración, adiós anhelos de laicismo y cultura! (Fuentes 52)

In this letter, one observes a fiery Galdós who had declared a personal war on the Church's hegemony over society. Yet his principles had remained the same as they had always been. The difference was that he was now vigorously challenging the status quo in order to effect the regeneration of Spain. Galdós manifested his wish to establish reason and truth over demagoguery, be it ecclesiastical or political in nature in this letter's conclusion:

Identificado con mis dignísimos compañeros de candidatura, iré con ellos y con toda la inteligente y entusiasta masa del partido, a las batallas que hemos de sostener para levantar a esta nación sin ventura de la postración en que ha caído. Sin tregua combatiremos la barbarie clerical hasta desarmarlo de sus viejas argucias, no descansaremos hasta desbravar y allanar el terreno en que debe cimentarse la enseñanza luminosa, con base científica, indispensable para la crianza de generaciones fecundas; haremos frente a los desafueros del ya desvergonzado caciquismo, a los desmanes de la arbitrariedad enmascarada de justicia, a las burlas que diariamente se hacen a nuestros derechos y
franquicias a costa de tanta sangre arrebatadas al absolutismo.
(Fuentes 53)

In May 1907, at the age of 64, Galdós won a seat to represent Madrid in the Cortes by receiving 16,790 votes (Ortiz-Armengol 651). Galdós was now denouncing the oppressive political system at every opportunity. Even in a prologue to Cristóbal de Castro's Los señores diputados, Galdós accused the present political system of being a satire and a sad comedy of itself: "la vida política, digamos la vida oficial, ha venido á ser la sátira misma. Debemos confesar que nuestra vida oficial, . . . ha sido y sigue siendo esencialmente cómica" (Prólogos de Galdós 75).18 There is no doubt that Galdós felt that the conditions were ripe in 1907 for a fundamental change in which the lower classes could rise to put an end to oppression.19 At a Republican meeting in Madrid, held a few weeks before the general election, Galdós invoked the names of Viriat and General Prim in order, no doubt, to reaffirm the honourable goals and intentions of republicanism, and to establish a link between republicanism and the liberal ideals of the Revolution of 1868:20

El pueblo español vive, o despierta, o resucita; el pueblo español se nos presenta de nuevo en pie, con la noble arrogancia cívica, con todo el espíritu de libertad y reivindicación que palpita en nuestra historia desde Viriato hasta Prim. (Fuentes 53)

In this same speech Galdós described two Spains: the liberal, patriotic, and open one that he envisioned, and the antiquated, pessimistic, and closed Spain of the elite:

Allí tan sólo crecen exuberantes el pesimismo agorero, las burlas escépticas de todo ideal grande y humano, el desdén de las glorias patrias, la negación desnuda y fría de que podamos llegar a un estado mejor. Allí todo es ruina y marasmo: allí la familia española, encerrada en corto espacio mental, como el rebaño
dentro de las teleras, no puede dar un paso, los magnates y privates, satisfechos con el bienestar heredado o con el adquirido en lo que bien podremos llamar "industria política", prohíben hasta el intento de renovación. (Fuentes 54)

Galdós proclaimed, in no uncertain terms, that the goal of every republican should be the death of the Canovite system: "Se acabó el engaño, se acabó el Carnaval político y religioso en que hemos corrido y bromeado vestiditos de abates honestos o de palaciegos rutilantes y entramos en la vida común de la verdad" (Fuentes 54). As always, the Krausist belief in the preeminence of truth was underlined by Galdós, who stated that "La verdad se impone" (Fuentes 54). Truth was attainable for all Spaniards. Galdós felt he possessed it, as he stated in a republican meeting in Madrid on July 1, 1909:

Porque no lo dudéis; el poder material es de ellos; pero la razón es nuestra, nuestra la verdad. Verdad y razón nos pertenecen. Estas armas divinas, maravillosas, las hemos recibido de manos de nuestra madre España, harta de sufrimientos, ávida de cultura y justicia. (Fuentes 78)

Throughout 1908 Galdós continued to attend and give speeches at republican meetings all over the country. Two of the more frequent themes in these speeches were the importance of work and the belief that regeneration was possible.21 Galdós stated in Barcelona that through work Spain would be liberated: "el trabajo es el primer auxiliar de la inteligencia y el estímulo de toda energía. De los holgazanes y distraídos no ha obtenido jamás la Humanidad beneficio alguno" (Fuentes 65). He definitely felt that Spaniards were crying out for the regeneration of the patria: "Vuestro programa sencillísimo es la voz clamante del alma nacional que os dice: «No quiero morir. Renovad mi vida con generaciones robustas, ricas de sangre, de pensamiento y voluntad.»" (Fuentes 65).
Unable to attend a meeting held in Santander on September 27, Galdós wrote a letter commemorating the Revolution of 1868, in which he invoked Spaniards to go beyond the aspirations of the Glorious Revolution:

Recordad a los valientes del 68, no con la idea sólo de imitarles, sino con el propósito de superarles en ardimiento y en la intención, para que vuestro esfuerzo no se quiebre a medio camino y llegue a rematar y consolidar la conquista del derecho. (Fuentes 70)

The spirit of the new revolution had to be more intense than it had been forty years earlier, because otherwise the fires that were burning within the republican soul would burn out just as they had for the liberals.

On November 30, 1908 Galdós, once again, through José Estrañi who read his speech in Santander (Galdós' home-away-from home), pleaded with liberals and republicans to fight against the despotism that had reigned in Spain for such a long time:

El presagio de un grave peligro y el sentimiento de nuestro deber nos han movido a procurar esta patriótica inteligencia, hoy de todo punto indispensable, porque no se trata ya tan sólo de defender los principios democráticos, base de las sociedades modernas, sino de salvarlos del horroroso diluvio reaccionario y clerical que arrecia furiosamente cada día y acabará por ahogarnos a todos y arrasar derechos, hogares y personas. (Fuentes 71)

As one can observe, there is nothing radical in Galdós' position. As always, Galdós was defending the democratic principles that he had always believed in. He feared the Church was the major institution that obstructed the freedoms he valued from being enjoyed by all Spaniards: "No desmayaremos mientras no sea extirpado el miedo religioso, funestísima plaga creada y difundida por la teocracia como instrumento de dominación" (Fuentes 71).
As Maura’s Conservative government grew more oppressive with the bloody events of Barcelona and Morocco, Galdós became more insistent on wishing to oust Maura, with whom he had shared a limited correspondence. With this in mind Galdós wrote a personal letter addressed to the Spanish nation, which was simply entitled "Al pueblo español". Originally published by El País and España Nueva on October 6, 1909, Galdós characterized the present moment as "los más azarosos que he visto en cuarenta años" (Pérez Galdós, Galdós, periodista 139). This is significant because it shows the degree of disgust that Galdós felt for the government of Maura. Such was his disgust that he called on Spaniards to rectify the situations in North Africa and Barcelona: "[L]a desaforada aventura de la guerra del Rif y las enormidades de Barcelona, reclaman enmienda urgente" (Pérez Galdós, Galdós, periodista 139). Galdós addressed his compatriots with the intention of setting a fire in their souls so that they would wake up from the collective stupor in which they found themselves. He felt that it was only this condition of lethargy that could explain why governments such as Maura’s had been able to exist uninterrupted:

El que esto escribe, teniéndose por el más mudo de los hombres, se atreve á sacar del pecho una voz, y arrojarla, como piedra en el charco, en la dormida superficie de la nación española, para que ésta rompa el estupor medroso con que contempla los desatinos de política y guerra que la llevan á insondables precipicios.

(Pérez Galdós, Galdós, periodista 139)

Almost to the point of obsession, Galdós accused the Church, especially the Jesuit Order, of causing Spain’s decline. He complained about "la pasividad en que vivimos", which "nos ha traído la acción jesuítica, que de algunos años acá viene depositando sobre el alma española el plomo de la indiferencia, de la inhibición y del egoísmo" (Pérez Galdós, Galdós, periodista 139).
The effects of this letter were felt all over Spain. One of the more noteworthy reactions to it is to be found in a letter dated October 20, 1909 that the controversial Catalan Republican leader, Alejandro Lerroux, sent to Galdós from Paris. In it Lerroux praised Galdós' sense of patriotism and justice:

Ilustre y querido amigo:
El manifiesto que ha dirigido V. al pueblo, es una magnífica explosión de su patriotismo y de su amor á la libertad.
Con él y con su actitud revuelta y valerosa frente á poderes patricidas y libertícidas que deshonran á España y afrentan á la Humanidad, ha prestado V. un gran servicio á la causa que nos es común. (Casa-Museo de Pérez Galdós, Las Palmas de G.C.: Caja Nº 8, Carpeta Nº 29, Legajo Nº 25)

A month after publishing his personal manifesto, Galdós made news again when he joined the Conjunción republicano-socialista on November 7. As Dendle notes, he, in fact, chaired the meeting held in Madrid to seal the alliance between republicans and socialists ("Interview with Galdós" 147). A few weeks earlier, he had participated along with the Socialist leader Pablo Iglesias in a protest-rally against Maura. Galdós was to play a key role in this political group by acting as the head of the Republican minority in the Cortes (Dendle, "Republican Years" 37). The Conjunción's raison d'être had been to cause Maura's downfall, which was actually achieved in late October. Maura was succeeded by Segismundo Moret. However, by February 1910, Alfonso XIII appointed José Canalejas to succeed Moret. The Conjunción was naturally angered by the king's autocratic decision to effect a change of government. They were further embittered by the fact that Canalejas, though a liberal, acted in a manner similar to Maura. In fact, Canalejas was perceived as another Maura-like politician. With this in mind, on October 24 the executive committee of the Conjunción published in El Liberal a manifesto in which it set
out its goals. With respect to Galdós, it is an important document because he headed the list of those who signed it:

Somos una conjunción patriótica de todas las fuerzas democráticas del país y coincidimos en el ardiente anhelo de apartar para siempre de la dirección del Estado a los que amargaron nuestra existencia en largos días de turbación angustiosa. Que aquellos días no vuelvan, que aquellos hombres descansen bajo la pesadumbre de sus errores, y entiéndase con ellos la Historia, que no olvida ni perdona. (Fuentes 117)

The manifesto added that as a new political group, they were seeking to save Spaniards from the injustice and corruption to which they had been condemned:

Todos los que aman la Libertad, la luz, el fruto libre de las inteligencias, la cultura, el bienestar social, la alegría sana de la vida, vengan hoy a estas filas, que simbolizan un resuelto avance hacia el esplendor, la arbitrariedad, la injusticia, la rutina tenebrosa, la inercia mental, las deformaciones de la superstición y la ignorancia. (Fuentes 117-118)

These are definitely not radical thoughts that Galdós was associating his name with. They were the same values and ideals that he had always championed in his articles and novels. The only obvious difference was that now he was being more boisterous about his political position.

The Conjunción, however, was soon beset by internal divisions. Galdós endeavoured to create unity and cohesion through his speeches and articles, as, for example, at the meeting held in Madrid on April 30, 1910. In this speech, which was actually read by his personal secretary, Pablo Nougués, Galdós called on all republicans and socialists to unite because only with a unified front could the forces of old Spain be defeated: "Unidos, somos invencibles, y a la
unión nos incita el carácter de la lucha en las próximas Cortes, lucha de vida o muerte para España, duelo implacable con el régimen vigente. O él o nosotros" (Fuentes 88). From his sombre tone one perceives Galdós' anxiousness to get the job done; in his eyes, the permanence of the Canovite system had become, nothing more and nothing less, than a question of life or death. Galdós added that Spain had been living under the constant shadow of the oligarchy, which was a fatal tree:

Aborrecemos, como lo aborrece todo el pueblo español, el nefando impuesto de Consumo, y queremos desarraigar de una vez para siempre, ese árbol funesto, a cuya sombra vive la inmensa plaga de bigardos y holgazanes. (Fuentes 89)

Throughout 1911 the Conjunción continued to protest Canalejas' treatment of striking workers in Catalonia and the situation in Morocco. Galdós participated, despite his poor health (his eyesight was deteriorating very rapidly), in most of the Conjunción's activities. He insisted on signing his name to such documents as the manifesto published in El País on April 24, in which the republican minority stated its wish to achieve peace in Spain and North Africa. The document is also important because it lists Spain's ills and most pressing problems as being education, poverty, high taxes, agriculture, industry, emigration, political corruption, and unemployment. This obviously gave the manifesto an air of regeneracionismo that was still very prevalent in Spain a decade after the disaster.

Under the constant threat of disbandment of the Conjunción, Galdós felt the need in May 1912 to plead with republicans and socialists to maintain a unified front:

Republicanos de la derecha y de la izquierda, que así habré de llamaros por no emplear otros apelativos; trabajadores de todas las industrias: tomad ejemplo de las resonantes victorias
alcanzadas en Inglaterra y Alemania por vuestros similares. Pero

Y yet despite his efforts to unite the different factions of the Conjunción, it became bitterly divided for a whole host of reasons. With the death of Dr. Esquerdo, the head of the progresistas, Melquíades Alvarez, was able to form on April 7, 1912 the partido reformista, which was, according to Brian Dendle, "a non-revolutionary grouping of right-wing Republicans offering political realism and social progress" ("The Republican Years" 39). The reformistas were basically intellectuals, who included such eminent thinkers as Gumersindo de Azcárate, José de Zulueta, Ortega y Gasset, and Pérez de Ayala. It was not surprising that with such a political platform Galdós enthusiastically associated himself with this new political group. Galdós and the reformistas were a perfect match because it gave Galdós a forum to express his views and at the same time, as Dendle has noted, Galdós' inclusion gave the reformistas instant prestige:

As a reformista, Galdós lent his prestige to a party that embodied the principles which he had long defended - the partido reformista was Angliophile, socially progressive, willing to take power by constitutional means, and shared with the socialists a reputation for incorruptibility - and which seemingly offered in late 1913, a responsible alternative to the heavily fragmented Liberal and Conservative parties. ("The Republican Years" 41)

It is important to note, as well, that Alvarez's reformistas fully accepted the monarchy with the condition, of course, that the government liberalize the country, promote the modernization of Spain, and allow Spaniards to enjoy all
the freedoms. The fact that Galdós joined the reformistas proves, if there was any doubt, that he was not anti-monarchical.

Yet the attempt to determine Galdós' ideological stance becomes an even more difficult task when one takes into account the statement that he made in February 1912 regarding Spain's future: "¡El socialismo! Por ahí es por donde llega la aurora!" (111). Such a statement is controversial and problematic because it was made just two months before he joined the reformistas. The question thus becomes: what was Galdós' political ideology at this time? Was he a socialist? In Hinterhäuser's opinion, Galdós remained a bourgeois liberal until his death:

For the most part, I do agree with Hinterhäuser's statement, though I would not describe him as a sentimental socialist. It is improbable that Galdós possessed a formal position on the ideology of socialism; there is no indication, for example, that Galdós had read The Communist Manifesto or that he had
seriously studied any of Karl Marx's writings. One cannot discard the bond between Galdós and Iglesias, but it seems that the sympathy was more personal than political. Therefore it is very doubtful that Galdós meant socialism in such a formal sense. He had been writing for many years about the decline of the liberal bourgeoisie and about the imminent rise of the lower classes, as we have seen in this chapter. But starting from his early novels such as *Marianela* (1878), for example, Galdós' concern for the alienated individuals of society made itself present. His concern is evident in the article that he wrote about Fernando de Castro in 1868, in which he underlined the need to be the keeper of the downtrodden:

No basta estudiar y orar, perfeccionarse intelectual y espiritualmente: es preciso mirar un poco hacia el pobre prójimo que vejeta á un lado ignorante y pecador: es preciso practicar la mas noble mision del apóstol y del sábio; es preciso descender del razonamiento y de la contemplacion para ocuparse en la enseñanza. (*La Nación* 428)

This did not make Galdós a sentimental socialist. Galdós held a deep concern for the well-being of all Spaniards, but especially for the poor. The principles he defended, supported, and promoted in his writings and in the *Conjunción*'s meetings prove that Galdós was faithful to the ideals and values that he had expressed as a youngster in Madrid. They were the same beliefs of traditional liberalism, that is, freedom and democracy for every Spanish citizen. Galdós' preoccupation with the nation's welfare was a constant theme in his life, from beginning to end. And the *Episodios nacionales*, especially after the second series, provided Galdós with the proper forum through which to express his liberal perspective of nineteenth-century Spain. As we shall see in the following chapters, Galdós used the myth of Don Quixote throughout the third and fourth
series of the *Episodios* as the key mechanism to explain to Spaniards the essence of the national character.
Notes for Chapter 3

1 According to Roger Lockwood Utt, Walter Pattison is the only scholar to have affirmed that Galdós wrote for *El Contemporáneo*, although he did not provide any evidence (82).

2 In Pedro Ortiz-Armengol's recent biography of Galdós, *Vida de Galdós* (1995), he asserts that Galdós dedicated an entire year to attending all of Castro's lectures (15).

3 Claudio Moyano (1809-1890) was the minister of Development (Fomento) in the cabinet of Narváez. He was the author of the Public Education Law of 1857, known more popularly as the *Ley Moyano*. Though this law contained many flaws, Germán Rueda notes that it did last for more than a century. The major achievements of this law were: 1. the centralization of the school system, 2. the consecration of three levels of education, 3. the regulation of instructors and 4. the existence of a public and private system of education (Rueda 48).

4 With respect to Galdós relationship with Costa, G.J.G. Cheyne reproduced two letters written by Galdós to Costa in 1901 in his article, "From Galdós to Costa in 1901". Cheyne concluded that Galdós and Costa "knew each other fairly well and met (as can be seen from their letters), occasionally. Apart from intriguing differences in temperament, they shared at least one ambition: to create a new, tolerant, intelligent and well-governed Spain" (97). It is clear that the issue of Spain's well-being linked these two prominent Spaniards.

5 In his article, "¿Galdós precursor del noventa y ocho?", José Angeles rejects the notion of Galdós as forerunner of the Generation of 98: "Se trata, pues, de uno de tantos lugares comunes de la crítica literaria que tienen su razón de ser en la inercia de los juicios general y cómodamente aceptados" (265). I agree with Diane Faye Urey, who argues that it is almost impossible to come to a conclusion on the issue of who influenced whom: "In rereading Galdós, one finds
continual experimentation with narrative technique, constant self-referentiality and a counterrealism that, coupled with a pervasive intrahistorial perspective, makes the effort to distinguish sharply between Galdós and the Generation of 1898 untenable. The attempts to delimit literary movements, to define where one begins and where one leaves off, is an endless pursuit" (*Novel Histories of Galdós* 232).

6 In *Investigaciones históricas y literarias*, Baroja compared his historic novels to Galdós' *Episodios nacionales*. He felt that his were superior because they were more historically faithful:

> Como investigador, Galdós ha hecho poco o nada; ha tomado la Historia hecha en los libros; en este sentido, yo he trabajado algo más: he buscado en los archivos y he recorrido los lugares de acción de mis novelas, intentando reconstruir el pasado. Artísticamente, la obra de Galdós parece una colección de cuadros de caballete de toques hábiles y de colores brillantes; la mía podría recordar grabados en madera hechos con más paciencia y más tosquedad. (*Obras completas* VII: 1074)

Nor was Unamuno very enthused by Galdós' *episodios*: "La lectura de las obras de Galdós es monótona, como el espectáculo de un río tranquilo, que sólo refleja en su corriente la silueta de los árboles de la orilla. No encierra nada; no se reveló nunca. (Quoted by Rodríguez Batllori, 63)

7 Many of the protagonists of the *episodios*, such as José Fago and Teresa Villaescusa, struggle to gain their freedom.

8 Ortiz-Armengol quotes a letter from Galdós to his Catalan colleague, Narcís Oller, in which he enthusiastically explained that the political experience that he had been able to gain in the Cortes was invaluable: "¡Lo que allí se aprende! ¡Lo que allí se ve! ¡Qué escuela!" (408).

9 The agrarian issue is especially highlighted in *Las tormentas del 48*.

10 For a more detailed account of how Galdós' election was achieved, see Ortiz-Armengol's *Vida de Galdós*, 404-408.
A similar point concerning the corruption of the Canovite system was made in the second chapter of this study.

Dendle makes an excellent point when he argues that "[M]ost Spanish Republican parties were as much part of Spain's liberal tradition as the Conservative and Liberal monarchist parties that alternated in power" ("Republican Year" 33).

Dendle offers a similar opinion: "Galdós's disappointment at the inability of the Liberal government to pass anticlerical legislation, rather than his innocence in the face of Republican flattery was, I believe, the key factor in his conversion to Republicanism" ("Republican Years" 35).

According to Jean-François Botrel, Galdós sold approximately 1.7 million copies of his novels between 1870 and 1920 (Caudet, Mundo novelístico 44).

Maura wrote a letter to Galdós on June 8, 1898: "Aténgome al oficio de fiel amigo de la persona del autor y singularmente le doy el parabién por haber regresado el anchuroso y saludable campo de los Episodios, y por la neutralidad desinteresada con que anda V. entre ambos bandos, que es calidad excelsa del ánimo cuando no dimana de un equilibrado menosprecio y un escéptico infecundo; es decir, cuando es buena cepa, como se ve en V." (Guimera Peraza 66).

See Dendle's excellent articles on Galdós' prominent role in Republican politics: "Galdós in Context: The Republican Years, 1907-1914" and "An Interview with Galdós, 1909". In the former, Dendle states that Galdós actively campaigned on the republican side: "Far from being a pawn of others, Galdós played a prominent and independent role in Republican leadership, energetically campaigning against the ley del terrorismo in 1908 and heading the Executive Committee of the Conjunción republicano-socialista (1909-1913)" ("Republican Years" 32).
Dendle observes that between 1907 and 1909 Galdós participated with the anticlerical politicians Rodrigo Soriano and Juan Sol y Ortega ("Republican Years" 41).

In an interview published by El Liberal of Murcia on December 27, 1909, Galdós stated: "Los republicanos estamos obligados a abandonar las intrigas y chismorreos, dedicándonos a cumplir el programa como si estuviese instaurada la República" (Dendle, "Interview with Galdós" 148-149).

Galdós' confidence in the people manifested itself on many occasions such as in the interview of December 1909, in which he affirmed, "Tengo fe en el pueblo" (Dendle, "Interview with Galdós" 148).

Dendle makes the excellent point that by lending his prestige to the Republicans, Galdós was able to establish an ideological link between the liberal Generation of 1868 and the young thinkers of the twentieth century such as José Ortega y Gasset and Ramón Pérez de Ayala ("Republican Years" 33).

The theme of work as a national remedy is a popular one in both the third and fourth series of the Episodios nacionales.

The tragic events of Barcelona and Morocco are covered in the second chapter of this study.

In fact, on October 24, 1909 Galdós participated along with Sol y Ortega and Iglesias in a demonstration to celebrate the fall of Maura (Dendle, "Interview with Galdós" 147).

See Marcos Guimerá Peraza's Maura y Galdós for a detailed account of the correspondence between these two men.

El Liberal published the article the next day, October 7, 1909.

Galdós wrote: "Queremos que una paz segura y constante sea sedación de tantos dolores y amarguras" and "Somos resueltamente contrarios a la intervención militar en Marruecos, y al asegurarlo así nos consideramos
órgano, no sólo de los partidos republicano y socialista, sino de la inmensa mayoría de la sociedad española" (Fuentes 126).

27 The text of Galdós' letter is reproduced here:

La enseñanza, sin medios para el desarrollo que exige la ciencia moderna, se encuentra en vergonzoso abandono. La riqueza, congestionada en ciertos núcleos de plutócratas, en el Fiasco insaciable y en las Congregaciones religiosas, deja en estado anémico los cuatro quintos del Censo de nuestra población. La agricultura está en los huesos; el comercio languidece, los capitales españoles se esconden perezosos; la gran industria se defiende a duras penas con el capital extranjero, y la pequeña se arrastra moribunda, luchando vanamente con los talleres de monjas y frailes, más cuidadosos de la vida terrenal que da la eterna. La emigración cierra miles de hogares y despuebla comarcas que fueron laboriosas. España se muere por falta de actividad, por falta de ideales internos, por falta de justicia, pues todos los organismos de ésta no son hoy más que prolongaciones del poder ejecutivo, que emplea cuantos resortes tiene a su alcance para molestar y vejhar caciquilmente, haciendo imposible la existencia del ciudadano. (Fuentes 127)

28 England was always held up by Galdós as the supreme model for a modern Spain to emulate. In La de los tristes destinos, the last episode of the fourth series, Great Britain's order, sense of justice, and progressive spirit are praised.

29 See Dendle's "Galdós in Context: The Republican Years, 1907-1914" for a detailed account of the inner fighting that raged amongst the republicans and the socialists.

30 It is interesting to note that Ramón Pérez de Ayala was to become one of Galdós' best friends in his last years. Pérez de Ayala's admiration for Galdós is obvious in the following observation, in which the younger writer described Galdós as "el más robusto y hermoso conato, además titánico, hacia la tolerancia, en la España del siglo XIX, como Cervantes lo fue en el siglo XVII" (Percival 27; quoted from "Galdós y la tolerancia").
In this same interview, Galdós condemned the political situation in 1912, which he felt was void of ideas: "Nuestros partidos políticos no tienen ideal. Se va á ellos buscando medros personales. Romanticismo, amor al país . . . Esos son conceptos arcaicos en los que nuestra política no cree . . . desgraciadamente" (109).

Sebastián de la Nuez's catalogue of Galdós' personal library, which is presently found in the Casa-Museo Pérez Galdós in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, shows that Galdós did not own any copy of Marx's works.
4. The Third Series of the *Episodios nacionales*

4.0 **Introduction: Galdós and the Myth of Don Quixote**

Though it has become a commonplace to say that Galdós was a Cervantine writer, few scholars have actually taken up the challenge of studying the influence of Cervantes on Galdós. Perhaps the most famous work on this topic, *Don Quixote and the Novels of Pérez Galdós*, was written by Herman J. Chalmers in 1955. This was a short study of only sixty-six pages which, as the title indicates, looked at the influence of *Don Quixote* in Galdós' *novelas de la primera época* and *novelas españolas contemporáneas*. But Chalmers did not deal with any of the *Episodios nacionales*. Despite this oversight, Chalmers' book is invaluable as an initial study on this subject because it provides an analysis of every allusion made to either Don Quixote or his squire Sancho Panza. For example, Chalmers noted that the adjective "*quijotesco*" appeared eight times in Galdós' works: twice in *La incógnita*, twice in *Angel Guerra*, and only once in *La de Bringas, Fortunata y Jacinta, Tristana*, and *Casandra*; while the noun "*quijotismo*" appeared seven times: twice in *Lo prohibido*, twice in *Realidad*, and only once in *La incógnita, Torquemada en la cruz*, and *El abuelo*.

Chalmers showed that Galdós' use of adjectives such as "*quijotesco*", "*quijotil*", or "*quijotero*" conjured up the following images and ideas: 1. a defender, helper, and supporter of those in need or distress; 2. a type of justice; 3. immoderation, intemperance, a lack of equilibrium; 4. a reformer; 5. haughtiness and pride; and 6. incongruousness. Chalmers concluded quite correctly that "the influence of Don Quijote is evident not only through specific references and allusions to Cervantes' text but also in Galdós' technique and ideas" (59). As an initial study on this complex topic, Chalmers provided a good starting point; however, it is lacking in its reluctance to ask the question why
Galdós insisted on using the famous Knight Errant as a recurring theme in his novels.

More recently, Rubén Benítez has been the most industrious scholar on this topic with the publication of two excellent works: *Cervantes en Galdós* and *La literatura española en las obras de Galdós*. Though Benítez does indicate some aspects of the use of the myth of Don Quixote in the *episodios*, he does not study them in detail. He points out who were, in his opinion, the characters that Galdós described as Quixote-like, but he does not delve into the possible resonances or consequences of such a characterization, which is one of the tasks that this thesis plans to undertake. Benítez's chief contribution to this topic is his study of Galdós' thinking in relation to Cervantes' masterpiece. Benítez has convincingly shown that Galdós understood Cervantes' magnum opus as a sort of code that expressed "la contradicción fundamental del espíritu español entre el *idealismo* extremado y el *realismo* más bajo" (40). Consequently, Benítez argues that "[Las novelas de Galdós constituyen episodios de una constante meditación cervantina que implica el análisis del espíritu nacional y la imitación del Quijote como la fórmula novelística que mejor lo expresa" (*Cervantes en Galdós* 34). As we shall see, Galdós exploited the myth of Don Quixote in his historical study of nineteenth-century Spain. Not only did Galdós see in this mythical hero Spain's flaws, but he also considered Cervantes' masterpiece as the appropriate novelistic model to adopt in order to explain to his compatriots where Spain had been, where it was, and where it was headed. The myth of Don Quixote had the intrinsic power of questioning Spain's dominant historiography, which consisted of propagandizing the belief in a crusading Spain. By employing this myth within the context of nineteenth-century Spain, the myth loses all its power because it mocks the notion of an essential Spain. One cannot help but feel that Galdós was ridiculing all those characters in the *episodios* who had become fossils of
Spain's past. Thus, as we shall see later, Galdós' use of the myth of Don Quixote has the effect of subverting the deification of an empty epic past, which is cancelled out by a present void of the heroism and nobility personified by knights such as Don Quixote. But before proceeding to analyze the individual episodios, it is necessary to delve into Galdós' views on Cervantes and on Don Quixote.

In his journalistic career Galdós wrote two articles on Cervantes, which Peter B. Goldman gathered together in an article entitled, "Galdós and Cervantes: Two Articles and A Fragment". The more interesting and longer of the two articles was originally published in La Nación on April 23, 1868 to commemorate the anniversary of Cervantes' death. This article, whose title is "El aniversario de la muerte de Cervantes (1616-1868)", begins by praising Cervantes as the symbol of Spain's greatness in the second half of the sixteenth century: "Ninguno como Cervantes simboliza en una persona el apogeo de España en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, apogeo puramente militar y literario" (100). Moreover, Galdós lamented the lack of attention given by Spaniards to the anniversary of such a great national writer.

The most interesting and transcendental statement that Galdós made in this article was the assertion that Cervantes' major novel, Don Quixote, represented an analysis of sixteenth-century Spain and an expression of Spain's national character:

*Don Quijote,* queriendo arreglar todos los entuertos del mundo con su nunca vencida espada; Cervantes, muriéndose de hambre mientras atesoraba las más ricas facultades intelectuales que caben en nuestra naturaleza, nos dan la medida fiel del estado social de España de entonces, demasiado emprendedora, más por afán de gloria que por bien de propios y extraños; demasiado espiritualista, de más imaginación que cálculo; más inclinada a los
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éxtasis de la gloria que a las ocupaciones prácticas de su vida interior; sublime soñadora; más amante de ser respetada y temida fuera, que de ser rica y feliz en casa; grande por la creación y el valor; loca con esa hermosísima y disculpable denuncia de la juventud y del genio; embellecida y afeada a la par con todos los extravíos y virtudes que son atributo de los héroes y de los poetas.

(101, emphasis is mine)

It is important to note that Galdós was only twenty-five years old when he wrote this article. This fact should not go unnoticed for it indicates that by this early age he had already concluded that Cervantes' grand novel was the faithful mirror of Spanish society in the sixteenth century. It was a society that lived outside the realm of reality by being too militarily enterprising and idealistic. Likewise, Galdós saw present-day Spain as being a society of dreamers that still held medieval values. Thus in essence, Galdós was denouncing Spain's refusal to enter into the era of modernity. Time had become static or fossilized, in the sense that Spanish society was anchored to the past.

When he began writing the *Episodios* again in 1898 after an interval of almost two decades, it was this concept of Spain, in fact, which was to form the core of his vision of nineteenth-century Spain. Almost four hundred years later, Spaniards still held as their models the heroic figures of the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. By contrast, the concept of progress seemed to be either too challenging or too intangible to grasp for the average Spaniard. Hence Galdós' intention in using the myth of Don Quixote was to subvert static time by showing to his readers the absurdity of such a mythical figure in the context of turn-of-the-century Spain. The myth of Don Quixote was for Galdós a tool that facilitated his attempt to understand and explain Spain's past and present to his contemporaries, who were quite aware of what Don Quixote
symbolized, since the expression "ser un Quijote" was a common expression in the Spanish language.

That Galdós considered the Quixote as the model to be used to analyze present-day society is not surprising in the least. Influenced mainly by the German Romantics, the common method of reading Cervantes' novel in the nineteenth century was to interpret the Quixote as an embodiment of the Spanish national character. Scholars such as Anthony Close, Luiz Costa Lima, Dana Drake, and Dominick L. Finello have shown that the Germans had a strong influence on how such eminent Spaniards as Juan Valera, Manuel de la Revilla, and Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo read the Quixote in the past century. One of the leaders of the German Romantic movement, Friedrich Schlegel, stated in Vienna in 1812 that the Quixote was the embodiment of the national spirit, character, and sentiment of Spain (Costa Lima 101-103). Schlegel's lectures were subsequently translated into Spanish by 1843 and were largely circulated around the country. As Drake and Finello have suggested, Schlegel's reading of the Quixote became very popular in Spain, especially towards the end of the century when the Krausists and the Regenerationists adopted the same form of reading this novel:

The ideas of these German allegorists arrived late in Spain, but at the end of the nineteenth century, with the thrust of the krausista movement, the belief in the symbolic power of the Knight and Squire as regenerative forces in Spain grew in intensity and profoundly influenced turn-of-the-century thinkers. (40)

Benítez has also indicated the influence on Galdós of the Hegelian-inspired Krausist reading of the Quixote in terms of seeing Cervantes' work as a dialectic that exposed the contradictions of Spanish society:

El Quijote, justo con las obras de Ariosto, constituye para él la expresión de las contradicciones entre un mundo exterior ordenado
As we have suggested, the Krausists and Galdós, as a follower of Krause's doctrines, aspired to present a harmonious view of society. It was thus logical that Galdós adopted the Krausist way of reading the Quijote because this interpretation of Cervantes' novel offered a macro-view of the significance of this novel in Spanish society. Throughout the episodios, as we shall see, the characters that are described as being quixotic embody the dialectic of Spanish society; they, as Don Quixote, are living contradictions in the sense that they seem not to realize that they are living in the nineteenth century and not in the Middle Ages.

The Episodios nacionales, especially from the third series onward, are imbued with a strong feeling of regeneracionismo, a logical trait given the fact that Galdós started writing the third series in 1898, a monumental year in Spanish history. Though it is true that Galdós had a financial reason for returning to this literary genre, it is also true that as a true patriot Galdós wished to explain Spain's decline. Many of the Regenerationists also found in Don Quixote answers to their search. Rubén Benítez has shown, for example, how Lucas Mallada's Los males de la patria y la futura Revolución española considered that Spain was a country comprised of many Don Quixotes. Mallada argued that Spaniards were dreamers, who, by living outside the realm of reality, obstructed the road to progress. Mallada's views greatly coincided with what Galdós was to express in the last three series of the Episodios nacionales. By characterizing the major characters of the episodios, whether they be historical or simply fictional, as Don Quixote-like, Galdós was asserting that Spaniards were stuck in a time warp; like Don Quixote himself, Spaniards
in the nineteenth century were still living in the past, in a world of make-believe. The Spanish nation had been unable to catch up to modernity in the way that the English and the French had. Spain essentially remained a medieval nation, whose people were leading, like Don Quixote, an anachronistic existence. Though they were in the 1800s, Spaniards acted as if they were in the 1500s or 1600s. Benítez definitely hits the nail on the head by stating that Galdós viewed Spain as a nation of mad knight errants:

El lector debe aceptar una serie de supuestos referenciales cuya idea básica es que España es una patria de caballeros enloquecidos en la prosecución de ideales inalcanzables y de miserables pícaros que son su contracanto pero al mismo tiempo su complemento. (Cervantes en Galdós 140)

The Don Quixote-like characters that abound throughout the episodios are a vivid expression of the national character. They are not just mere symbols, but in the true Krausist tradition of historiography, Galdós' characters come alive as one witnesses how the national spirit thrives in each individual. Galdós' characters are not just quixotic, but rather they are Don Quixotes.

It is thus my contention that Galdós' episodios should be classified under the rubric of Regenerationist literature. Galdós utilized Cervantes' masterpiece as his model for analyzing and explaining Spain to his compatriots. There are Don Quixotes in every sector of society, as Benítez has emphatically indicated:

Hay entre ellos Quijotes de la Santidad, Quijotes políticos, Quijotes modernos, Quijotes del progreso, Quijotes de la economía y aún de la contabilidad, Quijotes de la agricultura, Quijotes de la Regeneración, Quijotes o "desfacedores de entuertos" de la antigüedad, Quijotes neoclásicos, Quijotes románticos, Quijotes guerreros, o periodistas o literatos. (Cervantes en Galdós 142)
Furthermore, it must be stated that Galdós' Quixotes are portrayed, for the most part, in a negative light. For Galdós, being a Quixote was a negative quality because Quixotes did not grasp reality; instead of living in the present and working to improve Spain's present and future condition, Quixotes were obsessed with a single idea and were oblivious to the true needs of the present. As we shall see, on many occasions Galdós juxtaposed the Quixotes with rational, practical, and productive characters in order to show his readers what Spaniards should aspire to be. Galdós exposed the ridiculous nature of these Quixotes in a modern society by presenting the reader with living examples of rational and industrious individuals.

Galdós observed that there was a national preoccupation with rising to nobility that had been promoted since the times of the Catholic Monarchs. It is clear in the episodios of the third and fourth series that this preoccupation made Spain's chances of becoming a modern nation an impossibility because it did not promote the work ethic, which Galdós considered to be the key to Spain's future success. Throughout these episodes Galdós insistently argued that Spain would only reach the level of a modern progressive society similar to England the day Spaniards began to appreciate the fruits of human labour over empty social standing. The episodios were the forum he used to express these ideas, and Don Quixote, the novel and the character were the media through which he attempted to explain his ideas not only on nineteenth-century Spain, but also on early twentieth-century Spain for it must be noted that, at many times, he was projecting past events on to present-day Spain. Thus when Galdós was writing about the First Carlist War (1833-1839), one perceives that, in many instances, he was commenting on events of more recent history. We shall now look at how Galdós used the myth of Don Quixote in the Episodios nacionales starting with the first episode of the third series, Zumalacárregui.
4.1 Zumalacárregui: A False Start to the Third Series

After an interval of nineteen years between 1879 and 1898 in which Galdós wrote some of his most memorable novels, such as La de Bringas, Fortunata y Jacinta, and Miau. Galdós returned to the Episodios nacionales. As has been suggested, there were principally two motives for the return to the genre of the historical novel: personal debt and the Krausist-Regenerationist desire to explain Spain's decline in the nineteenth century to his reading public. Galdós was very well aware of the popularity of the episodios and, in fact, in the preamble to the first episode of the third series, he cited public demand as his reason for breaking his vow not to continue the Episodios nacionales:

A los diez y nueve años, no justos, de aquel juramento, los amigos que me favorecen, público, lectores o como quiera llamárseles, me mandan quebrantar el voto, y lo quebranto; me mandan escribir la tercera serie de Episodios, y la escribo. (Obras completas II: 329)

Written in a mere two months (April to May 1898) -- a rapidity which was characteristic of Galdós -- Zumalacárregui is, as the title itself suggests, the story of the Carlist general, Don Tomás Zumalacárregui but it is, as well, the story of José Fago, a military priest on the Carlist side. As with all of the episodios, Galdós was more concerned with telling the stories of the fictional characters, rather than with those of the famous historical personalities. Galdós felt that the true history of a nation was not to be found in recounting the events of major battles or in writing biographies about monarchs and aristocrats; true history was to be found in the lives of the masses. Throughout the Episodios nacionales Galdós commented on what he was attempting to achieve by writing Spain's history in novelistic form. Galdós saw the need to write a history from the perspective of the bourgeoisie. In the second chapter of Mendizábal, which is the second episode of the third series,
the narrator, in talking about Nicomedes Iglesias, a character who has remained anonymous in the history texts, asserts that the protagonist of history books should be men like Iglesias, that is, the common man:

El huésped de la casa de Méndez no ha pasado a la Historia, aunque en verdad lo merecía por la agudeza de su entendimiento y la variedad de sus estudios. (...) Apenas ha dejado rastro de sí, como no sea el descubierto con no poca diligencia por el que esto refiere; rastro apenas visible, apenas perceptible en el campo de la historia anónima, es decir, de aquella historia que podría y debería escribirse sin personajes, sin figuras célebres, con los solos elementos del protagonista elemental, que es el macizo y santo pueblo, la raza, el Fulano colectivo. (II: 435)

For Galdós, every human being deserved to have someone write a history about him or her because, as he suggested in Las tormentas del 48, everyone creates history: "Todos los hombres hacen historia inédita; todo el que vive va creando ideales volúmenes que ni se estampan ni aun se escriben" (II: 1428). Hence, his goal, as he stated in Amadeo I, was to write a total history that would combine "historia chica", with "historia grande", which was considered to be the traditional history of kings and popes:15 "De asunto privados, confundidos con los públicos, hablaré, para que resulte la verdadera Historia, la cual nos aburrirá si a ratos no la descalzáramos del coturno para ponerle las zapatillas" (Obras completas V: 247).

In Zumalacárregui José Fago is the indisputable protagonist of the episode. Fago is a tormented soul, who became a priest after having seduced and run away with Saloma Ulibarri, daughter of the mayor of Miranda de Arga, Don Adrián Ulibarri. After starting the episode with a triumphant Zumalacárregui entering la Ribera de Navarra, the reader is quickly taken to a scene of "la pequeña historia", that history which never makes the pages of the
history texts. In this scene, the reader observes the last moments of Don Adrián, who has been condemned to death by the Carlists for allegedly having aided the Cristinos, that is, the defenders of the queen regent, María Cristina and her daughter, the future queen of Spain, Isabel II. In a strange twist of fate, Fago must administer Ulibarri's last rites; but quickly there is a reversal of roles, as Ulibarri becomes Fago's confessor. Fago asks for his forgiveness for having corrupted his daughter, who has never returned home to Miranda de Arga.

Inspired by the heroic victories and demeanour of Zumalacárregui, Fago aspires to become a military leader. However, his conscience gets the better of him, as Saloma continuously reappears in his dreams and in his imagination to torment him. He soon renounces war, seeing it as unjustifiable even if the cause may be divinely inspired. Eventually Fago dies of remorse on the same day that Zumalacárregui passes away because of a poorly healed bullet wound to his right leg when the Carlists foolishly attempted to take Bilbao away from the Cristinos at the beginning of 1835. This technique of having someone's birth, death, or other important moment coincide with an important date in Spanish history was a very popular technique that Galdós used consistently throughout his entire works to underline his concept of history: that the small and big events of history should share the same page. 16

That, in brief, is the plot of this first episode, which, in my estimation, acts as a false start to the third series. If one takes, for example, the first series, which is still probably the most read and most loved of the five, Gabriel Araceli is the character that unites and creates a cohesion to the entire series because his presence is felt in each episode. It can be said that the first series is the saga of Gabriel Araceli, from the young Lazarillo-like kid of the poor neighbourhoods of Cádiz to the respected bourgeois citizen, who recounts his life in his last days. The entire first series is the autobiography of Araceli.
However, the third series does not share the same unity.\textsuperscript{17} The first episode is set apart from the rest of the episodes by the fact that José Fago dies at the end of Zumalacárregui, and thus his story ends abruptly, unlike the case of Araceli, who at the age of eighty narrates the episodes of the first series. As a result, the third series really starts with the second episode when the young romantic Fernando Calpena, a native of Zaragoza, arrives in Madrid and becomes the protagonist of the next three episodes: Mendizábal, De Oñate a La Granja, and Luchana. Calpena's presence is felt in every other episode with the exception of the fifth, La campa\~{n}a del Maestrazgo. Consequently, the third series begins in earnest with Fernando Calpena's arrival in the Spanish capital. Seen in this light, the case can be made quite convincingly that the first episode acts as a type of false start.

Yet in spite of acting as a false start, Zumalacárregui is very important within the third series because it functions as the frame for the third series. As we shall discuss in greater detail, the first episode establishes the milieu of Romanticism that characterizes the entire series.\textsuperscript{18}

It is important to note that Galdós' opinion of the romantic genre was rooted in the Krausist repudiation of Romanticism on the basis of it being viewed as a retrograde movement. As López-Morillas has indicated, the Krausist leader Francisco Giner de los Ríos, who would have a lasting influence on Galdós, saw Romanticism as a perversion of reality:

\begin{quote}
En conclusión, el romanticismo es, según Giner, un movimiento reaccionario. Al evocar nostálgicamente la Edad Media, en la que pretende ver una especie de Paraíso Perdido, incurre en una perversión análoga a la de su adversario, el clasicismo, empeñado, a su vez, en añorar la antigüedad greco-latina como encarnación de la Edad de Oro. Ambas son versiones falsas - esto es, \textit{perversiones} - de la realidad histórica. (\textit{El Krausismo español} 119)
\end{quote}
This frame of Romanticism that the first episode establishes, however, is actually a parody of Romanticism. Just as Cervantes had created a parody of chivalric novels in Don Quixote, Galdós adopted the same model of anachronism in the third series of the Episodios nacionales. If Cervantes mocked Don Quixote’s desire to return to the age of knights, Galdós similarly mocked those Spaniards who were entrenched in the spirit of the Middle Ages, despite the fact that Spain was in the nineteenth century. As one reads Zumalacárregui, one has the eerie feeling of having been transported back in time to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, in which Spain was dominated by warrior saints and monarchs. By setting the episode in Carlist-controlled Northeastern Spain, Galdós established a medieval environment because he felt that Carlism was a medieval ideology that attempted to take Spain back to the times when the absolutist king, God’s direct representative on Earth, ruled over the nation. Thus Cervantes’ masterpiece provided Galdós with the novelistic paradigm that would best allow him to explain to his compatriots the antiquated Spain of the 1830s, which was in the midst of a medieval war.

There is no doubt that the entire third series is characterized by a parodic nature, which was intended by Galdós to act as a criticism of Spain’s inability to move towards modernity.

It seems clear that Galdós believed that nineteenth-century Spain was toiling in the midst of a major crisis with regards to her future; instead of opting for modern parliamentarianism, Spain consistently found herself resorting to the past. The past was something that Spaniards knew; the future was uncertain. Even apparently modern-thinking Spaniards reverted to the past in times of crisis to resolve their problems. Thus it was logical for Galdós to parody Romanticism and its love of the past in the third series.

Being a Romantic episode, Zumalacárregui is entrenched in an atmosphere of medievalism. Galdós exposed the reader to a variety of
characters whose beliefs hark back to a theocratic-dominated Spain. There is an ultra-Catholic environment in which priests, nuns, and Carlists rule the region of Northeastern Spain. From the beginning of Zumalacárregui Galdós insisted on emphasizing the medieval nature of the Carlist movement by introducing José Fago, who as a military priest desires to fight in battles against the loyal troops of the central government. This has the immediate effect of conjuring up memories of the Reconquest and the Crusades, and such warrior saints as St Ferdinand of Córdoba and the patron saint of Spain himself, St James the Apostle, who is still commonly known today as the slayer of Moors (el matamoros). In a soliloquy in which he asks himself if it is possible to reconcile war with the mission of the holy cloth, Fago comes to the conclusion that it is just because Spanish history is full of warrior saints and divinely inspired victories such as the Reconquest and the famous battle of Lepanto. As a result, St Ferdinand of Córdoba becomes Fago's model. This attitude tells us much about the dominant historiography of the times that was imparted to Spaniards because it indicates that the State continued teaching and exploiting the myths of Spain's glorious epic past to its citizens. Hence it is logical that Fago attempted to imitate a model that was inculcated in him since his youth. But instead of buttressing that epic past, the myth of Don Quixote demolishes the edifice created by the State, as Fago, who tries to imitate the exploits of the great knights and warrior saints, utterly fails. There is a constant juxtaposition occurring in this novel between Spain's epic past and Spain's present.

Galdós insisted on showing the extent to which religious fanaticism had extended itself over Spain. The God-fearing people of this part of Spain that fervently supported the aspirations of Carlos V, such as the old lady whom Fago meets in this episode, swear to having seen the patron saint appear and talk to them, and assure them that God's cause would be triumphant. This
belief in the divine right of the Carlist cause is first made explicit by Fago's colleague, Ceferino Ibarburu, the military priest of the 7th regiment: "La Causa conquista poco a poco el suelo y los corazones; vamos al triunfo de Dios y del Rey; pero pronto, prontito . . . La fruta está madura" (II: 336). There is no doubt that the Carlist cause is dominated by a wave of religious fanaticism. At the first battle that is described, the Carlists defeat the Cristinos, who flee to the local church of Villafranca, which is then burnt down. The males are subsequently condemned to death. This provokes one of the priests to state that if it had been up to him he would have hanged them in the church:

Yo que usted, mi General, yo Fabricio Gallipienzo, en vez de colgar esa carne podrida afuera, la habría colgado dentro de la santísima iglesia, cuando ardían los santísimos altares, para que se les ahumaran bien los tocinos. (II:340)

The Carlists are so convinced in the divine nature of their cause that Fago in describing Zumalacárregui as "el caudillo de los soldados de la fe, el Macabeo redivivo" (II: 340), evokes the Jewish warrior Maccabean, by which he was implying that the Carlist general was the military saviour and defender of an oppressed people.

Right from the first paragraph Galdós leaves no doubt as to the fanatical religious spirit that had taken over these God-fearing people by showing us how Zumalacárregui carried the cross so that the crowds would kiss it. Similarly, Carlos V is also considered by the mainly rural Basque population to be their spiritual saviour. Galdós manages to capture the fanatical devotion that was felt for Ferdinand VII's brother, who presented himself as the defender of the faith and direct link to God. The people of Caparroso, for example, are seen kissing the monarch's hand. Moreover, in typical Galdosian humour, Galdós lets us witness a scene in which one of Carlos' courtiers tells Fago that quite possibly the Carlist king was going to make the Virgin the
"generalísima de sus ejércitos" (II: 39), and, as a result, victory would be secured because the Carlists would be fighting under the aegis of the Virgin "para que dé la victoria a las armas que se esgrimen en defensa de la fe de nuestros padres" (II: 392). Though this scene is humorous, there is also much truth in it about the way the Carlists were convinced that their cause was a holy and just one. In depicting the religious fanaticism of the Carlists, Galdós was implying that this war had become a holy war which was very distant from the modern secular concept of war.

Galdós further insisted on this theme of the medieval nature of the setting by having a hermit and several nuns appear in this episode, both of which hark back to the Middle Ages. When Fago is given the order to collect the equivalent of 23,000 kilos (500 quintales) of metal in eight days in order to smelt cannons, he comes across a wandering hermit, Simeón Borras, who takes the reader back to the Middle Ages. By the mid-1830s it was unlikely that one would find a hermit in the mountains of Northern Spain, yet Galdós included one in this episode to emphasize the antiquated nature of the country at this time.

Within the framework of this parody of Romanticism, Galdós employed the myth of Don Quixote by presenting the reader with two Don Quixote-like characters in this anachronistic setting: Fago and Zumalacárregui. It is not a mere coincidence that both men are characterized as Quixotes, but rather it was a conscientious effort on Galdós' part to show how ridiculous it was that Spaniards were still stuck in a time warp.

Let us first look at how Galdós described Zumalacárregui in terms of being a Quixote. The first explicit allusion to Zumalacárregui's resemblance to Don Quixote is in a description of the general's emotional makeup, which conjures up the image of the Knight of the Sad Figure by noting that Zumalacárregui "era un tipo melancólico, adusto, cara de sufrimiento y
meditación" (II: 341). Added to this description is Zumalacárregui's single-mindedness, that is, the conviction of his mission to serve his lord, Carlos V. Zumalacárregui acts as Carlos' knight who executes his lord's orders; this explains why he did not publicly oppose the plan to conquer Bilbao, which was an impossibility by all rational accounts. As the loyal servant, Zumalacárregui was obstinate in typical quixotic fashion and thus accepted this impossible mission. Not to have done so would have signified a rupture of his symbolic contract with his lord. Thus Zumalacárregui's chivalrous traits blinded his better judgment; passion for the Carlist cause had overtaken rational thinking. His all-consuming obsession led him to complete poverty, in the same way that Don Quixote had died: "Caudillo de un poderoso ejército, apóstol de una Causa formidable, moría en absoluta pobreza" (II:428). One cannot help but believe that by characterizing him in this way as a Quixote, Galdós was criticizing Zumalacárregui's irrational devotion to a single cause.

Fago is the other Don Quixote. In the same way that Don Quixote became a knight after reading so many chivalrous romances, Fago becomes a warrior because of the belligerent environment that surrounds him. He explains to Ibarburu that he is inspired to wage war after having seen Zumalacárregui in action: "Ha de saber usted que desde que ando entre soldados, mejor dicho, desde que vi al general Zumalacárregui, se me ha metido en el alma un ardentísimo deseo de tomar las armas" (II:349). Like Don Quixote, Fago manifests that his prime motive is to gain everlasting glory: "Aún espero realizar una acción grande y bella" (II:397). Furthermore, like Don Quixote, it can be said that Fago's Dulcinea is Saloma Ulibarri, who constantly occupies his thoughts and to whom he promises his eternal love. And finally, one must note the hermit Borrás' assertion that all Aragonese, and Fago is one, are Quixotes:
-Eres tú aragonés - le dijo el venerable -. Por el acento te conocí. Vi y traté a muchos aragoneses en mis tiempos de pecador, y todos guapos chicos, pero muy quijotes . . ., camorritas, bebedores, cantadores y enamorados. (II:363, emphasis is mine)

The word "quijotes" has been italicized because it is the first explicit mention in the third series of the quixotic nature of any of the characters. From the context, it is clear that Borrás meant that the Aragonese were crazy and daring. This type of explicit affirmation becomes more common in the following episodes as Galdós developed this idea that Spaniards were essentially quixotic souls.

Galdós offered as an antidote to this quixotic spirit the ideology of pacifism, which became the true theme of Zumalacárregui. In the midst of this fraternal war, symbolized by the division between Tomás Zumalacárregui and his brother, Miguel, who had sided with the Cristinos, Fago questions the legitimacy of war. After witnessing so much pain and blood, Fago is forced to ask himself if any war, even if it is divinely inspired, can be justified. By the end of the episode, Fago is disillusioned with the Carlist cause and concludes that war is an indefensible proposition, because it is a total exploitation of the people for the benefit of the elite:

La guerra, digo yo, deben hacerla en primera línea aquellos a quienes directamente interesa . . . Verdad que si tuvieran que hacerla ellos, quizás no habría guerras, y los pueblos no se enterarían de que existen estas o las otras causas por las cuales es preciso morir. (II: 426)

Fago explains to Zumalacárregui that there are many causes, but no one should lose his or her liberty for them:

Pienso yo, mi General, que nos afanamos más de la cuenta por las que llaman causas, y que entre éstas, aun las que parecen más
In the end, this first episode becomes a defense of pacifism. After having witnessed how three civil wars had drained Spain throughout the nineteenth century, Galdós wanted to convince Spaniards of the turn-of-the century that wars had not settled anything, but rather had caused the deaths of thousands of Spaniards. Peace, not war, was the answer to Spain's problems. Spaniards had to launch themselves into the twentieth century and leave the past behind because the fates of Don Quixotes, like Fago and Zumalacárregui, were doomed. Yet as always, Galdós held hope for Spain's future; early in the novel, the narrator comments that despite all of the wars, Spain will always manage to survive:

¡Es verdadero milagro que después de tan imprudente despilfarro del caudal por uno y otro bando, todavía quedara mucho, y quedará siempre, y quede todavía! (II: 344)

4.2 Mendizábal: The Beginning of the Saga of Fernando Calpena

Written only a few months after Zumalacárregui, between August and September 1898 at Galdós' summer home in Santander, Mendizábal introduces to the reader the protagonist of the third series, Fernando Calpena. This episode is set in September 1835 during the initial stages of the ministry of Juan Alvarez Mendizábal, whose policy of disentailment of Church lands in 1836 was to have a lasting effect on the socio-economic development of Spain. Calpena arrives in Madrid at the same time that Mendizábal has returned from London, where he had been living in exile, to form a new liberal government. Thus once again, Galdós arranges for "la historia chica" to coexist with "la historia grande".
The young Calpena, a native of Zaragoza, is sent by his uncle to Madrid to forge his future. After having read the previous episode, the fact that he is Aragonese should not be discarded, because one must remember that the hermit Borrás had stated that all Aragonese were Quixotes. From the moment he takes his first step in Madrid, Calpena has the good fortune of receiving the help of an anonymous woman who provides him with money, lodging, tailored clothing, and employment as one of Mendizábal's secretaries. However, upon meeting the beautiful Aura Negretti, Calpena, who was a model of order and classicism, falls madly in love at first sight, and abandons everything for her.23 When he is ordered to be transferred to Cádiz, Calpena refuses, and attempts to run away with Aura. The episode subsequently ends when this anonymous hand, la Incógnita, as Calpena calls her, arranges for his incarceration. Thus an enormous amount of suspense is created, and the reader becomes anxious to discover what will happen to Calpena and Aura in the next episode.

In Mendizábal the reader is taken from the Carlist camp to Madrid, home of the central government, which offers a different perspective on the war. Yet despite this changing point of view, the Romantic atmosphere and the myth of Don Quixote dominate this episode to an even greater degree than in the last episode. For Galdós, Spaniards of every political strife were void of logic and rational thinking. In fact, Calpena embodies both the Romantic spirit and the quixotic nature of the times. It seems clear that Calpena is the symbol of the irrational and romantic Spain of the 1830s, and of what Spain should eventually become, as will be seen in the following episodes.

Throughout this second episode, Galdós insisted on showing that the Madrid of the 1830s was a society dominated by Romanticism. Calpena constantly points out that in Madrid, Romanticism is threatening to destroy his classical spirit and formation: "Se empeña uno en ser clásico, y he aquí que el romanticismo le persigue, le acosa" (II: 434). He feels that his values are
under siege by "el acaso" (chance), a mysterious force of Romanticism: "Lo desconocido me rige, la imprevision me guía... Estoy amenazado del descrédito de toda la doctrina que aprendí, y no veo manera de aplicar ninguna regla, porque todas están por el suelo, pisoteadas por el acaso, a quien pertenezco sin poder evitarlo" (II: 459). Throughout the episode there are many allusions to Romantic writers, characters, and themes. For example, the German-Spanish playwright of Los amantes de Teruel, Eugenio Hartzenbusch, appears in this episode; Calpena is compared to Alexandre Dumas' Romantic character, Antony; and the theme of the force of destiny, which is the theme of the romantic play, Don Alvaro o la fuerza del destino, is alluded to in explaining the love that unites Calpena and Aura:

Dios les había criado destinándoles el uno al otro, y no estaba en el orden del Universo que hubiesen precedido al feliz hallazgo otros encuentros, ni aun siquiera fortuitos y sin importancia. Tal era su ardor ciego y entusiasta, tal su fe en aquella felicísima obra de integración, dispuesta por el destino de ambos. (II: 506, the emphasis is mine)

Mysterious characters abound in this episode such as the spy Eugenio Aviraneta, Ildefonso Negretti, and Lopresti, the Maltese servant of Jacoba Zahón, who herself has led a Romantic lifestyle. Zahón tells Calpena that she has lived all over the world: London, Mallorca, La Valetta, and Cádiz. And even Mendizábal, who presumably is the embodiment of Classicism because he is an "hacendista" (II: 443), is accused of suffering a "patriotismo romántico" (II: 443).

One perceives, however, that this is not a romantic novel, but rather a parody of Romanticism. In her discussion of the nature of parody in The Reframing of Realist Novel, Hazel Gold concisely posits that, "by creating a text that repeats or closely imitates another with the aim of burlesquing it, the
meaning of the first is detoured" (77). It is very evident that this is the case in *Mendizábal*. There is no doubt that Galdós was mocking Romanticism as an irrational movement. There is a mood of poking fun at the "flechazo" that suddenly transforms a rational man such as Calpena into a love-struck one-dimensional being whose only thought is Aura, and vice-versa. Aura, as her symbolic name suggests, is a light that "Entró como fantasma, trayendo consigo una luz ideal" (II: 494); yet her surname suggests that there is a dark side to this young woman. Calpena immediately resolves to kill himself if Aura does not love him: "¡Qué rayo de Dios! . . . Tempestad, locura . . . Si esta mujer no me quiere, me mato . . . Vaya si me mato . . . No puedo vivir" (II: 495). There is a farcical note to Calpena's exaggerated feeling that Aura is his everything: "Aura sola es toda la vida; Aura, toda la ley; Aura, el Universo físico y moral; Aura, cuanto existe de Dios abajo" (II: 503). Aura becomes perfection itself: "Por perfecta la tenía desde la punta del pie a la última mata del cabello; perfecta era también en su inteligencia, que exhalaba rayos" (II: 524). Like the young lovers Calixto and Melibea in Fernando de Rojas' *La Celestina*, Fernando and Aura spend the entire night talking until dawn; and as Aura explains to Lopresti, she and Calpena have decided, like Romeo and Juliet, to commit suicide should they be separated.

Linked to the irrational nature of Romanticism is the irrational figure of Don Quixote, who is embodied in both Calpena and Mendizábal. The analogy to Don Quixote is strengthened in *Mendizábal* by the fact that Calpena is accompanied by his own squire, the priest Pedro Hillo, who seems to be the voice of reason, just as Sancho Panza attempted to restrain Don Quixote from undertaking crazy exploits. It is not a mere coincidence that Hillo is a native of Toro in La Mancha, who wishes to gain an "insula" of his own, namely a post at the university. Like his famous counterpart, Hillo is a skeptic with his feet firmly planted on the ground, who also has a penchant for refrains and popular
expressions. Unlike the general public who has placed all its hopes in Mendizábal's abilities to improve life, Hillo is the only person who questions Mendizábal. It is Hillo who most insists on asserting that Spain is a nation that has become plagued by chaos: "Ya no pasan las cosas como antes, con aquella pausa y regularidad de otros tiempos; todo está trastornado; reina la sorpresa, mangonea el acaso y los acontecimientos se suceden sin ninguna lógica" (II: 454).

Hillo is given the mission by la Incógnita of trying, just as Sancho Panza would have, to restore sanity to Calpena when he becomes engrossed with Aura, and decides to abandon his career for her sake. It is at this critical point in the novel that the owner of the inn where Calpena has been staying, Méndez, accuses Calpena of acting in a quixotic fashion, that is, devoid of all rational thinking:

Tanto Méndez como su hija y esposa, con lágrimas en los ojos viéronle salir y le abrumaron con amabilidades quejumbrosas,
mostrando lástima de su partida, por un punto de quijotismo,
como decía el patrón. (II: 526)

Not only Calpena, but also Mendizábal can be considered in many ways to be a Don Quixote-like figure. Mendizábal is seen as Spain's saviour. Calpena, for example, tells Hillo how the Spaniards who were living in France considered Mendizábal to be the right man to save Spain: "ven en él a un hombre extraordinario, providencial, que ha de regenerar la España" (II: 437). Galdós was making a very important point with this type of characterization. If we remember the previous episode, the Carlists had placed all of their hopes in General Zumalacárregui; they also considered him to be their saviour. Now in this second episode, Galdós offered the reader an insight into the Cristinos, and what the reader is able to see is much the same. The faces had changed, but the hopes were the same. There existed a need to find a providential figure
who would be able to restore peace, order, and prosperity. The Carlists had Zumalacárregui, the Cristinos had Mendizábal. Both sides, though so different in their politics, shared a common need in this period of crisis.

In the same way that Zumalacárregui's quixotic trait was evident in his single-mindedness to the cause, Mendizábal was quixotic in a similar manner. Ironically, it is Calpena who states that "las empresas políticas le seducen, le enloquecen; pone en ellas toda su alma y una actividad febril . . ." (II: 442). Mendizábal is described as acting like a knight errant, who had been transported in time to the nineteenth century: he had previously come to the aid of the cause of the liberal Portuguese monarchy, and now his next mission was to save liberal Spain. In typical quixotic style, Mendizábal remained very confident of his mission, despite losing the support of his liberal colleagues:

No se abatía con los reveses el animoso espíritu de don Juan Alvarex, ni por un tropiezo parlamentario, o por la defeción de media docena de amigos a quienes tuvo por incondicionales, dejaba de creer que su buena estrella triunfaría de todo, llevándole al cumplimiento de las promesas hechas a la nación. La confianza en sí mismo no le abandonaba nunca. (II: 534)

Though Mendizábal has a quixotic side to him, he also had a more modern side to his character. In Mendizábal we see a model of an industrious citizen, who attempts to effect a reform of the national aversion to work. In the midst of all the chaos of the bureaucracy, Mendizábal is in charge of many ministries including: the Presidency, the Navy, the State, and National Revenue.

Through Calpena's first-day experiences in public administration, the first impression one has of the Spanish bureaucracy is that of an old boy's club: "Cada cual salía y entraba en aquella bendita oficina a la hora que mejor le cuadraba" (II: 463). The symbol of this idle burearacy is Eduardo Oliván e
Iznardi, who instantly reminds one of the infamous Manuel Pez of *La de Bringas* and *La desheredada*. Oliván is a pathetic character who, as head of Calpena's section, argues that Spain needs to modernize itself and learn the virtue of work:

Yo soy partidario de que se corten abusos. Los que han viajado por el extranjero nos dicen que estamos en el siglo XV, y, francamente, yo quiero pertenecer a mi siglo... Seamos todos de nuestro siglo, entrando por el arco de las grandes reformas... Otra de las buenas noticias es que se suprimen las pruebas de nobleza para ingresar en los establecimientos científicos, ora civiles, ora militares... (II: 464)

Yet, when Mendizábal shakes up the office and demands greater output, Oliván complains that Mendizábal is abusing and exploiting him:

Pero este buen señor nos trata como si fuéramos dependientes de comercio. La dignidad del funcionario público no consiente estos excesos de trabajo, pues ni tiempo le dejan a uno para almorzar, ni para dar un *mero* paseo, ni para encender un *mero* cigarrillo...

(II: 468)

Oliván is an example of those people, criticized by Galdós in his newspaper articles, who had not truly assimilated the ideals of Europeanization and progress. They were only able to adopt the exterior forms, but not the essence of true reform. Thus by juxtaposing Mendizábal with Oliván, Galdós was able to show the ridiculous nature of people such as Oliván, who was representative of the majority.

One of the most important observations that Galdós offered in this episode is that Spain continued to be dominated by the military:

Pero aunque poco ducho aún en artes de gobierno, don Juan de Dios [Mendizábal] conocía la Historia, más por lo que había visto
que por lo que había leído, y no ignoraba que, en nuestra tierra de
garbanzos y pronunciamientos, el guerrero victorioso es el único
salvador posible en todos los órdenes. (II: 472)

One cannot help but ask oneself whether Galdós was not also referring to all of
nineteenth-century Spain. After all Spain reverted to the military after the
republican experiment in 1873, and in 1898 at the time he was writing this
episode, the military had regained a prominent role in society. Even if he was
not making such a political statement, Galdós was definitely reaffirming the
medieval character of the nation in its obsession with military leaders.

Towards the end of the episode, Galdós affirmed that Spanish politics in
the 1830s and sixty years later in the 1890s had not changed in any
substantial way. In fact, the narrator asserts: "Verdad que la política de
entonces, como la de ahora, no es terreno propio para lucir las supremas dotes
de la inteligencia: era un arte de triquiñuelas y de marrullerías" (II:535,
emphasis is mine). There is a sense of frustration in Galdós' voice when he
added "como la de ahora". Frustration because sixty years had passed without
substantial change.

This frustration manifests itself again at the end of the episode when the
narrator, in trying to describe Calpena's state of mind after his conversion to
romanticism, states unequivocally that: "Las disensiones entre los hijos de
Carlos IV habían convertido a España en una inmensa jaula de locos furiosos"
(II: 546). Obviously referring to Ferdinand VII and his younger brother Carlos
V, Galdós blamed these two siblings for opening Pandora's box and causing so
many troubles for Spain, which had, in effect, become a nation of crazy people.
In each episode Galdós reiterated his contention that the nation's mental state
was unstable. In the following episode, De Oñate a La Granja, dementia plays a
prominent role in the development of the plot.
4.3 *De Oñate a la Granja*:25 In Praise of Work

The third episode, which was written from October to November 1898 towards the end of the Spanish-American war, is really the continuation of *Mendizábal*. In fact, it can be said that *Mendizábal* and *De Oñate a la Granja* together form one entire novel, with the latter providing the immediate denouement to Calpena's situation in prison and Mendizábal's political crisis.

In this episode, Galdós, as the title indicates, took the reader to both of the military camps of the participants in the Carlist War: Oñate, home of Carlos V's court, and La Granja de San Ildefonso, the queen regent's summer palace. In attempting to maintain objectivity and to offer the reader an all-encompassing view of the war, Galdós continuously transported the reader back and forth from the Carlist to the Cristino side.

In *De Oñate a la Granja* the myth of Don Quixote plays a greater role than in any of the other prior episodes, which, as has already been observed, are quite marked by this myth. The novel is replete with allusions to Don Quixote; the narrator and many characters explicitly accuse others of acting like Don Quixote, and even one character, Pedro Hillo, accuses himself of having become a Don Quixote.

From the beginning of this episode there is an unequivocal allusion to Don Quixote when we find out that it was *la Incógnita* who had ordered Calpena and his squire Hillo to be incarcerated; one cannot help but remember how Don Quixote was placed in a lion's cage and taken back home to recuperate and recover his sanity. In this more modern case, Calpena's secret supporter explains in her letter to Hillo that "Ahora no conviene que el prisionero esté libre hasta que le pase la calentura" (II: 556). She later writes a letter to Calpena in which she explains that her intention is to teach him a sense of moderation:
De este modo, te voy infiltrando las ideas sanas, te adormezco en el justo medio, calmo tus locas ansiedades, te reconcilio con el mundo en que estás destinado a vivir, y voy poquito a poco restableciendo en ti el equilibrio de humores, y templando, hasta ponerlas en el son debido, las harto tirantes o harto flojas cuerdas de tus nervios. (II: 561)

The concept of el justo medio becomes a sort of leitmotiv. As we shall see, el justo medio gains greater relevance at the end of the novel when Calpena is taken to La Guardia, home of Demetria de Castro-Amézaga.

In la Incógnita's first letter she also comments to Hillo how Mendizábal has himself become quixotic by underlining the single-mindedness of this liberal politician, who seems not to pay attention to the reality of the political situation, which is that he is no longer wanted in Spain: "Está el buen señor tan ciego, tan penetrado del carácter providencial de su papel político, que no hace caso de las advertencias de los amigos más leales" (II: 559). This sense of being oblivious to reality is later emphasized when we see how Mendizábal challenges his immediate rival, Javier Istúriz, to a duel as if, all of a sudden, he had been transported back in time to the Middle Ages. Hence, Mendizábal, the paragon of Spanish modernity resorts to a mechanism of the past in order to resolve his political problems. The omniscient narrator leaves no doubt as to the dementia and anachronism of this period by stating that the Romantic spirit of the times, which had ignited the war, was now propagating itself to the politicians themselves who were acting like knights errant:

Para que el romanticismo, ya bien manifiesto en la guerra civil, se extendiese a todos los órdenes, como un contagio epidémico, hasta los ministros presidentes iban al terreno, pistola en mano, con ánimo caballeresco, para castigar los desmanes de la oposición.

En los campos del Norte, la cuestión dinástica se sometía al juicio
de Dios. Los políticos, ciegos, medio locos ya, no pudiendo
entenderse con las palabras que de todas las bocas afluían sin
tasa, apelaban a la pólvora. (II: 580)

Mendizábal's quixotic transformation is stressed by José del Milagro who
suggests that Mendizábal considers the queen regent to be his Dulcinea: "Yo, Juan Alvarez y Méndez, caballero que tiene la verdad por Dulcinea, yo, yo, . . ., yo lo demostraré" (II: 595). Thus, this one-time rational politician had become another victim of the romantic and medieval spirit of the times.

Don Quixote-like characters abound in this novel; besides Mendizábal there are five others: Pedro Hillo, Nicomedes Iglesias, Aníbal Rapella, Don Alonso Castro-Amézaga, and Fernando Calpena. The case of Pedro Hillo is actually similar to that of Mendizábal's. As has been noted, Hillo is the voice of reason who is commissioned by la Incógnita to restore order to Calpena's life; but, in this episode, Hillo also becomes a quixotic figure, as he himself realizes. Just as Mendizábal challenged Istúriz to a duel, Hillo becomes overtaken by the Romantic medieval spirit and challenges the overbearing priest, Víctor Ibráim, to a duel when the latter insults Calpena's mother, whom he believes is la Incógnita. Hillo says that he is no longer a priest, but rather a knight who must defend the honour of a woman: "No habla el sacerdote, no habla el amigo; habla el caballero, y sostiene que no debe consentir el ultraje que un deslenguado infiere a la madre de Calpena, a la señora entre todas las señoras, a la dama nobilísima . . . " (II: 584). It is clear that la Incógnita has become Hillo's Dulcinea. Fortunately, Ibráim runs away and avoids any fighting. However, when Hillo calms down, he realizes that he had erred by becoming so furious; he actually admits to himself that he has become crazy and possessed by the spirit of Don Quixote: "-Sí, lo digo a boca llena: estoy más perdido que Don Quijote y que cuantos locos hicieron disparates y simplezas en el mundo"
(II: 587); like Don Quixote, Hillo sees himself as a "caballero, desfacedor de
agravios, como quien dice" (II: 587).

The third Don Quixote of this novel is Nicomedes Iglesias, Calpena's
neighbour in the Méndez lodging house. Iglesias is a native of Don Quixote's
homeland, La Mancha, who, like his more famous compatriot, left this barren
region to find adventure and success in Madrid. However, in the nineteenth
century the giant windmills that confronted him were the political machinery of
Madrid, which impedes Iglesias from attaining the success he so desires. Hillo
accuses his countryman (Hillo is also from La Mancha) of having blindly acted
like Don Quixote:

Por lanzarse a este vértigo de la política, donde esperaba
satisfacer legítimas ambiciones, abandonó usted el bienestar y la
paz rústica de su casa manchega; dió usted de lado a sus padres y
hermanos, y trocó la tranquilidad obscura y modesta por los
afanes ruidosos. Reconozco que sus aspiraciones eran rectas y
nobles; servir al país, ilustrarle. (II: 588)

Hillo subsequently accuses Iglesias of having wished, like Sancho Panza, for an
island that no politician would ever grant him:

De éstos esperaba usted la Ínsula que ambicionó su compatriota
Sancho Panza, y la Ínsula no parece, y don Martín, don Juan de
Dios, don Salustiano, don Javier, don Francisco y don Fermín no
hacen más que marearle y traerle de Herodes a Pilatos con una
soga al pescuezo. (II: 589)

The fourth Quixote is Aníbal Rapella, a mysterious character whom
Calpena meets during his trek northwards to find Aura. Rapella, as the
narrator tells us, is physically, if not psychologically, a younger and stronger
reincarnation of Don Quixote:
De tres personas no más constaba la caravana que hemos venido persiguiendo, y era jefe o capitán de ella un sujeto espigado y enjuto, en quien podría verse la reproducción exacta de Don Quijote, quitándole diez años, dándole un poco más de carnes, y una ligera mano de belleza y frescura en el rostro. (II: 600)

Like Don Quixote, Rapella is accompanied by a squire whose name is Ezequiel Sancho. The reader quickly perceives that this Sancho has many things in common with his famous namesake, such as talking too much. In fact, Rapella censures his escudero for not getting to the point quickly when he exclaims: "¡Acaba de una vez, condenado! -- exclamó Rapella dando una patada--. Aburres al Verbo Divino con tus historias" (II: 601). Ezequiel Sancho is also preoccupied with food, much in the same way that Sancho Panza was always thinking of nourishment: "A la caída de la tarde, merendaron de los abastecimientos que el precavido Sancho había cuidado de recoger en el parador" (II: 604). A third common trait that these two Sanchos share is their penchant for interrupting stories that are being told; in Cervantes' work, there are a number of times during the telling of the intercalated stories when Sancho Panza interrupts these stories. In Galdós' novel this phenomenon reoccurs when Demetria is telling the story of her family's vicissitudes in the Carlist region and Ezequiel interrupts her to bring some supplies. Ezequiel's interruptions also provide comic relief in the same fashion that Sancho Panza was able to do.

But if there is one definite Don Quixote in this novel, then that character is Don Alonso Castro-Amézaga, a rich noble who owns a large estate in La Guardia. The first thing one should note is that both men share the same first name: Don Quixote's Christian name was Alonso. As his eldest daughter, Demetria explains to Calpena, when he comes to the aid and defense of the Castro-Amézaga family, that Don Alonso became crazy when the civil war
broke out. He became an ardent defender of the young princess, Isabel, and subsequently began to read all sorts of political propaganda. As a result of reading night and day, Don Alonso lost his grasp on reality. In the same way that Don Quixote became mad from reading so many chivalrous romances, Don Alonso, from reading so much Cristino and liberal literature, "se fué poniendo como Don Quijote con los libros de caballería, enteramente perdido de la cabeza sin hablar de cosa alguna que no fuera aquel cansado tema" (II: 634).

According to Demetria, her father's Dulcinea was liberty:

> Advierta usted que la Dulcinea de mi buen padre era la Libertad, esa señora hermosísima, según dicen, pero que a mí me parece tan imaginario como la del Toboso; vamos, que no existe más que en la voluntad de los caballeros que la han tomado por divisa y bandera de sus aventuras. (II: 634)

The fact that Demetria chooses the word "caballeros" to describe the men who have gone to war is very important because it implies that Spain had become a nation full of knights who had gone to war in search of adventures.

Don Alonso became so engaged in the liberal cause that he abandoned his family and his estate, and organized a group to go to battle in order to defend Isabel and "comerse crudos a todos los malandrines del otro bando" (II: 635), imitating in this way Don Quixote's sallies. His daughters, who were worried about his health, went out to find him and bring him back. Don Alonso, however, was wounded by the Carlists and taken to the royal court at Oñate, where he challenged Carlos V to "el singular combate en que había de decidirse la suerte de España" (II: 637).

By the time he is released, Don Alonso has grown dramatically older; in fact, when his daughters see him he was only "una sombra de nuestro padre" (II: 643). He is a defeated man whose only desire is to return "¡A casa!" (II: 642), a wish that he repeats three times. The harsh reality of war has the
effect of restoring Don Alonso to some measure of sanity, much in the same way that Don Quixote returned at the end of the second part to die at home. However, Don Alonso passes away during the trip back home.

The final Don Quixote of this episode is Fernando Calpena. The narrator establishes a direct link between Calpena and the knight errant when he states: "¡Bonita empresa, singular aventura se preparaba, digna de los Amadises y Esplandianes, por donde había de resultar que las hermosuras morales de la edad de la caballería, en la nuestra, prosaica y materialista, gallardamente se renovaban!" (II: 570). Obviously referring to his obsession with pursuing Aura, who had been taken to the Basque country, Calpena has been transformed by the Romantic spirit of the times into an anachronistic character.

_Le Incógnita_, who later reveals to Hillo that she is Calpena's mother, attributes her son's madness to the Romantic literature that abounds all over Spain:

> Me consta de un modo indudable que Espronceda le ha incitado a correr tras de la chica de Negretti, calentándole los cascos con la poética al uso, que es en aquellas cabezas destornilladas lo que los libros de caballerías en la del pobre Don Quijote. (II: 598, emphasis is mine)

With these words, Galdós left no doubt as to the notion that Romanticism was for Calpena what the chivalrous romances had been for Don Quixote. Thus, it is clear that Galdós was employing the Cervantine model itself.26

There is an insistence on describing Calpena as a "caballero"; even Demetria calls him her "caballero libertador" (II: 649) when he comes to her and her sister's aid by killing a Carlist bandit. After being wounded by a bullet in the leg, Demetria insists on taking Calpena to their home in La Guardia. It is by no coincidence that she says that they will take him with them in the same
way that Don Quixote was taken back to his home: "Nos le llevamos encantado - dijo Demetria, que en aquel punto recibió la noticia de tener dispuesta una hermosa galera -: encantadito en una jaula, como llevaron a Don Quijote a su pueblo" (II: 653).

Restricted to his bed by the injury he sustained in defending the Castro-Amézagas, it is during this period of convalescence at La Guardia that Calpena is exposed to a model of order, responsibility, and industriousness.27 That model is Demetria, a young twenty-two year old woman who almost single-handedly manages the large estate inherited from her father.28 Feeling ashamed and inadequate at seeing how Demetria is such an active and responsible citizen, Calpena comes to realize that he has been acting in a crazy and selfish manner:

¡Espantosa desigualdad! - se dijo -. Veo a esta mujer tan útil, tan activa, repartiendo alegrías en torno suyo y aumentando el bienestar humano. Luego miro para dentro de mí y observo mi inutilidad, mi insuficiencia. . . . He aquí un hombre sin carrera, sin profesión, que no sabe cómo vive hoy ni cómo vivirá mañana . . . , un hombre que todo lo espera del acaso, que apoya sus cálculos en lo desconocido, un hombre que desconoce el trabajo, y que no da señales de vida en la sociedad más que para perturbar. (II: 661)

Demetria's personality and actions are actually the second blow to Calpena's romantic way of life. Aura's uncle, Ildefonso Negretti, was actually the first. He seems to be the personification of harmony, reason, and logic, as the narrator assures the reader:

Como chorro de agua fría derramado en un brasero fué la presencia y dichos de Negretti en el espíritu de Calpena, que vió de súbito convertido en cenizas mojadas todo aquel fuego que encendía su voluntad; y el drama romántico que el niño se traía,
Negretti did not reject Calpena, but he did demand from him a change in attitude and behaviour in order to prove that he could be a rational and hard-working person. In the face of logic, Calpena has no recourse but to accept "los procedimientos pacíficos que proponía, los cuales significaban decencia, lógica y facilidad" (II: 626).

The creation of characters such as Demetria and Negretti provided Galdós' readers with models of behaviour. Both of these characters are examples of diligence, hard work, and responsibility who are not caught up in the Romantic war. Demetria, as Voltaire would have said, cultivates her own garden. In this way Galdós was actually celebrating the quotidian while, at the same time, mocking the idea of epic acts. Thus by offering the reader these characters, Galdós was showing his compatriots that hard, diligent work was the answer to Spain's problems. If instead of preoccupying themselves with nonsensical notions of legitimate monarchical rights, honour, and religion, Spaniards were to begin to look at themselves and worry about their own problems, then war would never return to afflict the nation. As the oxherd Gaínza states, the Spanish people were tired of war and wanted peace: "Lo que el país ansiaba era: o que don Carlos se sentase en el trono de todo reino, o que se entendiese con su cuñada para reinar los dos apareados" (II: 638).

As *De Oñate a la Granja* concludes under the cloud of a revolt at La Granja against the queen regent, which Calpena dismisses as a normal occurrence in the context of Spanish history because, "no traería el tal suceso revolucionario más catástrofe que las usuales y corrientes: el cambio de empleados, el desconcierto de todo, la continuación de la guerra" (II: 666), there is some doubt as to whether Calpena will continue to be a knight errant in
search of his Dulcinea, Aura, or whether inspired by Demetria, he will settle down and lead a productive life. Yet the fact remains that the door is now open for a significant change to occur in Calpena's lifestyle. In the next episode, \textit{Luchana}, the situation will become a little clearer to the reader, but the saga of Calpena will not yet end.

4.4 \textit{Luchana: In Praise of Family Life}

Written between January and February 1899, that is, just one month after the third episode, \textit{Luchana} possesses much of the same feuilletonistic nature of the previous episodes by the mere fact that this episode continues the romantic story of Fernando Calpena's search for Aura Negretti.

Calpena finally leaves La Guardia to search for Aura, who has been taken to Bilbao where the Arratias, the family of Aura's mother, reside. As a result, the focus of attention becomes the Arratias and the conflict in the Carlist region. Despite Prudencia Arratia's wish that Aura marry her more cultured cousin, Martín, Aura weds Zoilo, who conquers her. Calpena is finally able to enter Bilbao after General Espartero's forces successfully defeat the Carlists at the battle of Luchana, but the reader does not know whether Calpena will find Aura because he gets caught up in the crowd that celebrates the liberation of Bilbao.

The episode begins with \textit{la Incógnita}'s letter to Calpena in which she explains to him how the revolt of La Granja ended with the regent's forced acceptance of the Constitution of 1812. In this manner \textit{Luchana} is very conscious of its narrative nature. In fact, the narration of the revolt is framed in a theatrical context; \textit{la Incógnita} describes the revolt as a "comedia" (II: 669). Moreover, this revolt, which she characterizes as "drama callejero" (II: 669), is simply a type of theatre or, as she states, "género histórico". As she
continues to describe the revolt in her letter, *la Incógnita* stresses its theatrical nature by positing that it was basically a comical opera:

> Pues aquí, donde parece que se desenlaza el drama, todo queda reducido a una revolución *di camera*, ni más ni menos. Con una escenita de ópera cómica hemos transformado la política, nos hemos divertido un poco con las gansadas del soldado intruso y hemos visto que la Monarquía no ha perdido el respeto del Ejército. (II: 679)

Calpena also points out to his friends in *La Guardia* the metanarrative nature of her patron's letter: "Conforme leía, Calpena daba cuenta a los visitantes de la casa de Castro de la substancial de estas cartas, o sea de aquella parte que era o había de ser histórica" (II: 681). Calpena's squire, Pedro Hillo, also writes letters to him in which he recounts how the revolt of *La Granja* ended. Hillo's letter contains a series of personal observations on the state of affairs in Spain. One such observation is that the nation is in the midst of a social revolution:

> Ello es que vivimos en plena revolución. En proceso revolucionario está la sociedad, y lo mismo puede decirse de las familias y de las personas. El pueblo va ganando la partida; hoy avanza un paso, mañana otro, y los viejos alcázares se desploman. (II: 687)

Hillo goes on to state that Spain has become crazy: "España está loca. Su manía consiste en hacer verosímil lo absurdo" (II: 690). The effect created by such a metanarrative text is one of subverting traditional history. No longer is the historical text the domain of an official state recorder; now history has been overtaken by the masses. As a result, there is a demythification of the historical role of the elite, who are characterized as mere participants in a farce. Acting as historians, *la Incógnita* and Hillo make statements that were previously unimaginable in the grand histories fabricated by the elite.
As with the previous episodes, Luchana is also characterized by a Romantic spirit. The anachronistic element of the society in which this novel is set is constantly underlined. One of the most insistent examples is in comparing the plight of the citizens of Bilbao with that of the numantinos, who were laid to siege by the Romans. Bilbao and Numancia become synonymous because the bilbainos decide they would rather die than surrender to the Carlists, just as the men and women of Numancia had preferred suicide in the face of the Roman threat. A Numantine death is seen as a glorious one: "Como en la mente y en la voluntad de todos la rendición era el mayor absurdo, no les quedaba más remedio que un morir glorioso, numantino" (II: 772).

Galdós further insisted on highlighting the medieval mentality of this society by introducing two new characters whose names instantly recall the Middle Ages and the Reconquest: Don Rodrigo de Urdaneta and his mother Doña Juana Teresa de Idiáquez. Among his many titles, Don Rodrigo is the count of Saviñán and of Villarroya de la Sierra.

The reader finds himself in a world of arranged marriages, as Demetria's uncle, José María Navarridas, explains to Calpena that his sister, María Tirgo, and Rodrigo's mother, are trying to marry Demetria with Rodrigo. José María wishes to see in this union the resurrection of the union of the Catholic Monarchs:

Aquí tenemos nuevo ejemplo del casorio de Isabel de Castilla con Fernando de Aragón. Veremos unidas dos casas poderosas:

Castro-Idiáquez o Idiáquez-Castro . . . Tanto monta . . . (II: 684)

By ending this statement with the famous motto of the Catholic Monarchs ("tanto monta, monta tanto, Isabel como Fernando"), it is clear that the reader has been transported in time: this is not the nineteenth-century, but rather fifteenth-century Spain. This statement also tells the reader about the nature of the historiography imparted by the State, which saw in the union of the
Catholic Monarchs a sort of utopian period for Spain. In *Narrating The Past*, David K. Herzberger has shown how Francoists idealized Isabella and Ferdinand and made them the symbol of fascist Spain, but the truth is that this myth had been fully functioning in Spain well before Franco's dictatorship. The Catholic Monarchs, as the quotation above suggests, were also the model for Spain in the nineteenth century. As a result, the values that dominate this society are medieval ones, not modern ones. It is important to note that this medievalism is not limited to the Carlist side. All of Spain is afflicted by this retrogressive spirit.

The battle that gives the title to this episode is also characterized by the narrator as a mythological and legendary struggle that occurred in an unreal atmosphere, rather than a modern strategic battle between two opposing forces:

> Pocos ejemplos de arrojo personal que al de aquella noche puedan compararse ofrecerá seguramente la historia militar del mundo; y por mucho que el narrador apure los resortes del lenguaje para describirlo, siempre ha de resultar como un combate fabuloso entre fingidos héroes de la Mitología o la Leyenda. (II: 791)

The narrator also asserts that the battle was sheer lunacy for it lacked all sense of verisimilitude. The battle of Luchana was an impossible, quixotic fight that fortunately ended with a remarkable victory for the Cristino forces led by Espartero. Even Calpena describes the battle to Espartero as a miraculous event that could hardly be believed: "Ya lo he visto, y si no lo viera, nunca lo hubiera creído. Nunca, digo yo, ha sido la verdad tan verosímil" (II: 798). Therefore, there is no doubt that a medieval atmosphere permeates this episode, which is consistent with the milieu described in the three previous episodes.
However, as was observed in the previous episode, Galdós did include models of modern behaviour, which we find within the Arratia family. Even Aura experiences a diametric transformation in her character as she learns from the examples provided by the Arratias, who unintentionally offer this young woman a model of unselfish conduct. Their industrious character wears off on Aura, as the narrator assures the reader: "Poco a poco se fue adaptando ésta al roce de ser de los Arratia, y la realidad, el roce continuo con los parientes de su tío efectuaron en ella como una segunda educación" (II: 717).

The Arratias act as a very united family in the fight against the Carlists. Even Sabino, who sympathizes with the Carlists, decides to fight on the Cristino side because the rest of the family supports the Cristinos. This inner cohesion and peaceful family life effects a complete transformation in Aura's character: "Total: que con los comistrajos, los paseos marítimos y la vida plácida entre personas que se desvivían para distraerla, se la iban amansando a la enamorada joven las penas intensísimas de su alma" (II: 721).

Aura becomes truly inspired by her cousin, Zoilo, whom she eventually marries. Zoilo is introduced to the reader as a wild yet industrious man: "y en cuanto a Zoilo, no hay quien le saque ventaja en ningún elemento, porque en tierra es una fiera para el trabajo" (II: 723). The narrator insists on showing Zoilo as a man of action, who heroically fights against the Carlists: "No había más que mirar aquellos ojos para comprender que era su alma toda acción, de las que gobiernan y no se dejan gobernar, de las que subyugan y avasallan . . ." (II: 768-769). It is this trait, which Aura most admires: "El fogoso chico era la acción misma; no imploraba los favores del Destino, sino que cogía por el pescuezo al propio Destino y lo hacía su esclavo . . ." (II: 765). And, in fact, Aura herself feels that Zoilo has dominated and subdued her in order to marry him:
Las expresiones y argumentos de Zoilo hacíanle muchísima gracia; y aquel determinar perentorio, aquella colosal aptitud para la ejecución, la subyugaban; eran como un poder milagroso, enormemente sugestivo, de irresistible influencia sobre la mujer.

... (II: 779)

Zoilo himself declares before his father Valentín that he is a "man of his deeds", that is, he allows his actions, instead of his words, to speak for themselves.

What becomes apparent with Zoilo is that in many ways he is the opposite of Aura's first love, Calpena, because he is a man who forges his own future without anyone's help. In fact, he has to battle against the wishes of his father and aunt, who prefer that Martín marry Aura. Calpena, on the other hand, seems to be the man of destiny who receives the favour of many eminent people, such as his mother (la Incógnita) and Mendizábal. There is no doubt that both men are Romantic; they both allow their passions to rule them. Zoilo, for example, declares that Aura means everything to him: "Mi valor es Aura, mi fe es Aura, dile... y creyendo en Aura y teniéndola, no hay balas que a uno le toquen" (II: 764). However, as Aura herself realizes, the difference between Zoilo and Calpena is that the former is an active romantic, not a romantic dreamer: "Y este Luchu, ¿es romántico? ... Puede que sí; pero no como Fernando, un romántico de soñación, sino de acción..." (II: 769). She then quickly rectifies this thought by affirming that Zoilo is not a Romantic, but rather a Classic man: "Pero caigo en ello. Zoilo no es romántico, sino clásico, tan clásico, que no puede serlo más..." (II: 769). Thus again the reader is faced with the dichotomy between Classical and Romantic that was first apparent in the second episode, Mendizábal, when the young, supposedly Classical Calpena had just arrived in Madrid and, in a short period of time, became inflamed with the Romantic spirit that had taken over society in the 1830s. It seems clear...
that Galdós, through the narrator, admired and favoured Zoilo precisely because he is an independent, strong-willed man, who through his deeds is able to achieve his goals. The narrator does not ridicule Zoilo in the same way that he had when he first described Calpena's sudden obsession for Aura. Zoilo is never characterized as a Don Quixote-like figure; not once is Zoilo seen as a man who has lost his mind. In fact, the only time that a link is established between Zoilo and Don Quixote is actually in a positive light when Zoilo declares that he is a self-made man, a sentiment that is also shared by Cervantes' hero. Whereas Calpena felt the need to run away in order to be able to marry Aura, Zoilo confronted his opponents head on, and in the end he triumphed. This fact endows Zoilo with a nobility and honour that Calpena does not possess. Consequently, it can be posited that Zoilo is the third character, along with Ildefonso Negretti and Demetria, who acts as a model of behaviour for the readers of the Episodios nacionales.  

One of the most interesting developments that occurs in this episode is the change in treatment that la Incógnita and Pedro Hillo bestow on Calpena. In Hillo's letter to Calpena at the beginning of the episode, his squire quotes Calpena's personal protector to assure him that he will be given total freedom to do as he wishes. This granting of freedom had its immediate effects, as the narrator notes that Calpena soon learned to love his once-hated protector:

¡Y qué instinto tan seguro el de la invisible al aplicar a su protegido el tratamiento de la libertad! Si por el sistema de la tiranía policíaca no logró hacerse querer, el nuevo régimen establecía la feliz concordia entre el pueblo y la autoridad, en cierto modo de derecho divino. Fernando la quería ya. (II: 691-692)

It is not a coincidence that this newly gained freedom parallels the nation's adoption of liberalism. As was indicated in the first chapter, liberalism consolidated its political hegemony in Spain during the First Carlist War. Just
as *la Incógnita* gives up her absolutist tactics, Spain rejected absolutism and chose the freedom and constitutional political system promised by Spanish liberalism. In Calpena's soul one is able to note a newly found optimism under this new liberal regime that *la Incógnita* was adopting.

This liberalizing policy is also applied to Aura. Her aunt, Prudencia, wishes to effect a change in her niece and marry her off to Martín, but she believes the best way to achieve this goal is not by decree nor force, but rather by reason. Thus the rise of liberalism in Spain is reflected in the tactics that are employed in treating Aura and Fernando.

The episode ends on a note of suspense, which once again, gives the episode a feuilletonesque quality. Calpena finally enters Bilbao, but the crowds, "La ola humana, que reventaba en cánticos, en vivas y clamores diversos, le arrastraba" (II: 799). Unable to find Aura, who has been emotionally conquered by Zoilo, the reader is left asking what will happen when Calpena finally finds Aura. The answer, however, does not appear in the next episode, *La campaña del Maestrazgo*, which provides a needed respite to the saga of Calpena and Aura.

4.5 *La campaña del Maestrazgo*\(^{31}\) *Chronicle of a Dying Nation*\(^{32}\)

*La campaña del Maestrazgo* is an independent and autonomous episode for it is not necessary to have read the previous three episodes. There are only two characters in this episode who have appeared in any of the previous four episodes: Saloma Ulibarri, José Fago's muse in the first episode, who briefly appeared at the very end of *Zumalacárregui*, and Don Beltrán de Urdaneta, a seventy-eight year old nobleman, who made his initial appearance in *Luchana*. In his brief appearance, Don Beltrán, grandfather of Rodrigo de Urdaneta, ironically counsels Calpena not to rush off in search of Aura because destiny has offered him Demetria. But, besides giving such sound advice, Don Beltrán's
influence in the fourth episode is actually very brief, as he leaves Calpena to visit his daughter in Cintruénigo. It is thus apparent that Galdós set *La campaña del Maestrazgo* apart from the other episodes. Yet, despite being an independent episode, the myth of Don Quixote makes itself very present. Furthermore, as we shall see, Galdós included two other important mythical characters of early modern Spain: Don Juan, and Marcela the Shepherdess, from *Don Quixote*.

The autonomy of this episode endows it with a special character that distinguishes it from all the others, with the sole exception of the first episode, which is independent as well. It is not a mere coincidence that Galdós placed this episode in the middle or centre of the series. Being the fifth episode, it is located in the heart of the entire series. This notion of being at the core of the series is further underlined and emphasized by the fact that the novel begins *in medias res*. Geographically, as well, the initial setting is the parador of Viscarrués, which is located precisely at the crossroads of the frontline of the war, as the narrator insists on telling us: "Fué causa de tan desmedida aglomeración la coincidencia de dos caravanas de pasajeros, la una que venía de Oriente, huyendo de la guerra; la otra, de Occidente, que hacia la guerra iba" (II: 802). It is my contention that *La campaña del Maestrazgo* is central to Galdós' historical-political vision of nineteenth-century Spain. This episode offers the reader a key insight into Galdós' anguish and frustration concerning Spanish politics.

In this episode Galdós magnified every bellicose event that occurred in the Northeastern region of Spain, known as the Maestrazgo, a sparse, mountainous region that was the setting for the most barbaric acts of the first Carlist War. In fact, the Maestrazgo essentially becomes the central figure in this episode, as the title itself suggests. There is more of everything in this episode: more cruelty, more blood, more deaths, more executions, more battles,
more chaos, and more examples of Romanticism. All this eventually leads to a cataclysmic ending, on a personal and national level. Galdós insisted on showing the reader proof of the fact that Spain was killing itself. Though the episode was set in 1837, one perceives that Galdós was projecting, once again, the past on to the present, as if to say, that despite the fact that Spain had already experienced a major civil conflict, which had cost the country thousands of lives, this tragedy could reoccur given the instability that characterized Spain at the beginning of the twentieth century. It can be said that this episode becomes, in many ways, prophetic for only three decades later Spain was to lose a million lives during the Spanish Civil War of 1936 to 1939.

Throughout the novel there is an insistence on showing or alluding to barbaric acts. The Carlist general, Ramón Cabrera, popularly known as the Tiger of the Maestrazgo or the Leopard, is the historical protagonist of the episode. Ferociously ruling the Maestrazgo, Cabrera becomes the epitome of this bloody war. As Baldomero Galán explains to Don Beltrán de Urdaneta, Cabrera was wreaking havoc across the Maestrazgo and spreading death all over the region: "-Señor, las hordas de Cabrera son dueñas de casi todo el país (...) y mientras no consigamos limpiar de enemigos fratricidas todo el territorio de esta Comandancia general, no le aconsejo a nadie que penetre, señor..." (II: 806). It is important to note that Galán calls Cabrera's forces "hordes", which accurately and vividly conveys the fierce and barbaric nature of Cabrera and his troops.

The narrator posits early in the novel that the war in this region became personalized after the Cristino execution of Cabrera's mother, María Griñó. That chaos and violence abound in this episode is obvious. There are countless accounts of how innocent people were executed by both sides. One of the more horrific tales is of that of the priest Lorente who, without any sign of remorse
or forgiveness, ordered the immediate executions of seventy-seven men and a ten-year old boy. But the most barbaric event took place at Burjasot where Cabrera's forces literally annihilated the town and executed the Cristino prisoners in a festive manner. The massacre of Burjasot took on a bacchanal and macabre atmosphere, as the narrator suggests when he writes: "El vino empezó a correr desde el primer momento, vaciando los pellejos en jarros, éstos en los pocos vasos que había para tantas bocas" (II: 846). The townspeople became horrified by the barbaric forces of Cabrera. The narrator makes sure that the reader is aware of the chaos that characterized this war by asserting:

Tal era la guerra del Maestrazgo, un tomar y dejar posiciones y un perseguirse y sorprenderse, sin ventaja de los liberales, que no podían abandonar largo tiempo su base de relaciones; el juego sólo aprovechaba a los carlistas, que estaban en su casa, y desalojados de la sala, se metían en la cocina; perseguidos en ésta, se escabullían por el cañón de la chimenea, y desde el tejado seguían combatiendo. (II: 863-864)

In the first third of the novel it is interesting to note that there appear three men who have been either personally affected by the war or have become disillusioned by the barbaric nature of the war. The first is Tanasio Joreas, who is popularly known as "el escarmentado", the wary one. Joreas admits to having fought on the side of the facción (the Carlists), but he has become disillusioned by the war, which has robbed him of his family and his possessions:

Pero aquí me tienen harto de desengaños con más balazos en mi cuerpo que pelos en la cabeza, muerto de hambre, con mi casa y familia perdidas, porque una de mis masadas la arrasó el liberal, otra el legítimo . . ., mis hijos muertos, todo hecho cenizas, y yo
poco menos que cadavérico. Lo que no me ha quitado el neto, me lo ha quitado la usurpadora. (II: 807)

The war has left him in such dire straits that he is headed towards Zaragoza "en busca de un pedazo de pan que yo pueda meter en la boca sin que, al mascarlo, me parezca que lo han amasado con sangre" (II: 807).

Joreas is only one of many who offers a testimonial of his personal tragedy. His story is followed by the even more tragic case of Muel who, as we are told, became crazy after seeing three of his sons executed by a firing squad at Alventosa. As a result of his insanity, Muel becomes a vagabond who "se pasa la vida predicando por estos caminos en canto llano" (II: 812). Muel's sole desire is to exact revenge on the priest Lorente who had ordered the executions.

Finally, the third person to offer his personal testimony is Lieutenant Estercuel who gave the order to execute María Gríñó. Estercuel has also become disillusioned and tired of this cruel war; he tells Don Beltrán that neither side has been fighting to defend any honourable principles. The prime reason has been personal greed, which had become the chief motivator in this war:

¿Cree usted que a Cabrera le importan algo los derechos de Su Majestad varón? ¿Y a los de acá los derechos de Su Majestad hembra? . . . Creo que se lucha por la dominación, y nada más: por el mando, por el mangoneo, por ver quién reparte el pedazo de pan, el puñado de garbanzos y el medio vaso de vino que corresponden a cada español . . . (II: 823)

Estercuel's accusation that Spain is crazy is only one of many similar affirmations that are made throughout this episode. Though Muel is one of the more pathetic cases of insanity in this episode, dementia is a major theme of this episode.
Another point that is constantly emphasized is that this was a war that created enormous family divisions. Unlike the Arratías in the previous episode, who remained united against the Carlist siege of Bilbao, in this episode families are very fragmented. One such example is that of the Sanchos. Vicente Sancho, popularly known as Sanchico, tells Don Beltrán that he is running away from his father "porque mi padre, al saber que yo me había ido a la facción, dijo que si no me mataban en la guerra, me mataría él cuando me encontrase por haberle deshonrado . . ., que a deshonra le sabe el ver a un hijo suyo debajo de la bandera de Carlos V" (II: 811). Every character in this episode is either physically or emotionally separated from his or her family. Don Beltrán, for instance, has left his family because he cannot stand them; Marcela's father and brother have been killed; Nelet has been alienated from his parents ever since he was an adolescent.

What quickly becomes apparent, thanks to the testimonials, is that the war has affected every Spaniard in some profound manner. In the previous episodes the war was present but it remained in the background; however, in La campaña del Maestrazgo the war takes centre stage. Every character is directly affected by this sadistic war. The major protagonists, Don Beltrán, Marcela, and Nelet are victims of this war. Don Beltrán becomes a prisoner of Cabrera's, Marcela loses her father and her brother, and Nelet becomes insane as a result of all the killings in which he is personally involved.

Though La campaña del Maestrazgo is an independent episode, its atmosphere is similar to that of the previous episodes in that it is steeped in a medieval milieu.34 The notion that this is medieval Spain is emphatically underlined by the characters themselves. In this novel one is confronted with numerous warrior priests such as Lorente and mosén Putxet, who justifies barbarous acts in order to defend Christian principles:
A todo se acostumbra uno - le dijo Putxet -. Mire: los primeros días no podía yo habituarme a la guerra; pero ya me voy haciendo a tales crueldades y pienso que Dios las consiente para que venga pronto el triunfo de su Religión santísima. (II: 836)

Not only are the priests warriors, but as Don Beltrán comes to realize, nature itself is also imbued with a warrior spirit: "mas conociendo ya el fragoso terreno de aquella guerra y la fiereza y dura condición de los que en él peleaban por el absolutismo, no veía cerca ni lejos el menor vislumbre de paz. La Naturaleza era allí tan guerrera como el hombre" (II: 860). Thus war is omnipresent in this episode.

Geographically, the choice of setting also corresponds to the medieval atmosphere that reigns in this episode. From the beginning there is an insistence on underlining the antiquity of a town such as "la noble Alcañiz, que desde Roma viene fatigando a la Histora, ciudad vieja, como un libro de antigüedades de Aragón y un muestrario de piedras elocuentes" (II: 819). Galdós submerged the reader in an ancient world by describing Fuentes de Ebro in the first paragraph of the novel:

En la derecha margen del Ebro, y a cinco leguas de la por tantos títulos esclarecida Zaragoza, existe la villa de Julióbriga, fundación de romanos, según dicen libros y rezan lápidas desenterradas, la cual, en tiempos remotos, mudó aquel hombre sonoro por el de Fuentes de Ebro, con que la designaron cien generaciones aragonesas. (II: 801)

Everything indicates that we are in the Middle Ages; even the architecture recalls the Gothic and Mudéjar styles that were so typical of that epoch:

A la luz crepuscular, los esquinazos góticos y mudéjares parecían bastidores de teatro, dispuestos ya, con las candilejas a media luz, para empezar el drama. (...) Las plazuelas se unían por
pasadizos, y las calles se retorcían unas sobre otras, obscuras, ondulantes. ( . . ) Triste y belicosa parecía la ciudad, como un guerreero herido que se ve forzado a combatir con la mano que le queda. (II: 819)

The Maestrazgo itself is a romantic medieval region, a fact of which the reader is constantly reminded. The Maestrazgo is a refuge for the Middle Ages; a place where it is not uncommon to find nomadic nuns, such as Marcela, witches, spirits, shepherds, gravediggers, demons and angels, castles, monasteries, miracles, strange occurrences, and all sorts of ruins.35 This is precisely what Estercuel warns Don Beltrán about:

Prepárese usted, si persiste en penetrar en el país, a ver milagros y hazañas, casos inauditos de santidad o sortilegio, brujas, duendes, apariciones; subterráneos que empiezan en un castillo y acaban en un monasterio a siete leguas de distancia; verá usted hombres feroce, hombres heroicos, mujeres endemoniadas o angelicadas; verá usted, en fin, a la hermosa y andante Marcela, con aliento guerrero y olorcillo de santidad, corriendo por montes y barrancos para tomar nota de las mil y quinientas ollas de Luco, y trasladar a lugar seguro y profundísimo las que fueron escondidas a flor de tierra en parajes muy transitados. (II: 825)

These fantastical and extraordinary happenings that Estercuel notes are characteristic elements of the Romantic genre. There is no doubt that La campaña del Maestrazgo contains an inordinate amount of strange incidents. In The Literary Dream in French Romanticism: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation, Laurence M. Porter argues that such elements are common in French Romanticism:

The secret compartments, basements, and passageways in the mansions, castles, and convents of the Gothic novel created a
topographic image of a mind much of whose essential content is concealed. All these motifs occurred in French romanticism frequently from Chateaubriand and Lamartine onward, . . . (xii)

It is apparent that Galdós imbued this episode with this romantic milieu that was typical of French Romanticism. As José F. Montesinos noted, throughout the third series one perceives a certain romantic fervour in the geographical setting of the episodes (Galdós, I: 30). Don Beltrán himself appreciates, early in his adventures in the Maestrazgo, the fantastical nature of the geography:

Observó don Beltrán, al quedarse solo reflexionando en lo que veía y oía, que desde que llegó a Fuentes de Ebro todo le anunciaba la entrada en el reino de lo excepcional y maravilloso. Nada era ya común ni vulgar. Personas y cosas traían la impresión de un mundo trágico, el cuño de una poesía ruda y libre, emancipada de toda regla. (II: 818, emphasis is mine)

Later, after having witnessed many bizarre occurrences, Don Beltrán’s thoughts on the fantastical and inhumane nature of this war are revealed through the technique of free indirect discourse:

ignorando de quién perdiera o ganara en aquellos combates, a su parecer fantásticos y aéreos, sostenidos en las alturas o en los desfiladeros por bandadas de aves más que por hombres. Eran las guerras de fábula, entre animales de pluma o pelo, veloces, y que prontamente corrían de un punto a otro, sin dejar rastro. (II: 864)

Estercuel affirms that this is medieval Spain, not nineteenth-century Spain:

Es una conseja, y a título de tal se lo cuento, advirtiéndole que esta guerra ha resucitado en el país la Edad Media, tan bien acomodada a su naturaleza bravía, a la rudeza de sus habitantes y a la muchedumbre de castillos, monasterios y santuarios que por todas partes se ven. (II: 824)
Don Beltrán eventually learns that what Estercuel told him was the sheer truth. Once again through free indirect discourse, Galdós allowed us to enter into Don Beltrán's mind as he ponders how modern Spain has vanished in the Maestrazgo:

La mezquina civilización a la moderna se desvanecía, se borraba como un afeite mal aplicado, dejando sólo las querellas feudales, el ardor místico, la superstición, las crueldades horribles y eminentes virtudes, el heroísmo, la poesía, la intervención de ángeles y demonios, que andaban sueltos y desmandados por el mundo. (II: 854)

In this passage one can appreciate how Galdós magnified the entire problem. As we have seen in many of the quotations cited, there is an accumulation of strange phenomena. This has the subsequent effect of emphasizing the belief that Spain was a nation still dominated by the values of medieval Spain. Reason and science are conspicuously absent in this environment. There is not one character in this entire episode who shows signs of being a modern liberal thinker.

The paradox of being an independent episode and yet at the same time being the most typical of the entire series is also applicable to the protagonist, Don Beltrán de Urdaneta. In La campaña del Maestrazgo, Don Beltrán appears as another Don Quixote; but, in this case there is a subversion of the myth in that Don Beltrán sets out not with any altruistic intention, but rather with the goal of recovering his personal fortune. However, as with Don Quixote, Don Beltrán does not see any possible danger in his foray into the Carlist region: "era todo intrepidez y desprecio del peligro; y en su imaginación de viejo, reverdecida en la puerilidad, no veía más que bienandanzas" (II: 819). In a scene recalling Don Quixote's conversation with the shepherds, one finds Don Beltrán in a similar situation shelling out advice and sharing his wisdom:
Replicó a esto el afable aristócrata que ante Dios, Padre común del género humano, todos los hombres eran iguales, y que pues allí les reunía el acaso, no se acordasen de vanas categorías. Si ellos eran pastores, ¿qué oficio y estado superaba en nobleza y antigüedad al de conducir rebaños? (II: 825)

However, the twist to this scene is that with typical Don Quixote-like misperception, Don Beltrán is informed that these are not shepherds, but rather gravediggers. By comparing this scene with that of Don Quixote and the shepherds, Galdós succeeded in creating humour in a novel that is in need of it because of the countless tragedies that occupy the foreground of this episode.

Another important link to the myth of Don Quixote is the fact that both these chivalrous dreamers undertake major trips. The theme of travelling is one of the more apparent in Cervantes' masterpiece; in La campaña del Maestrazgo Don Beltrán's travels take centre stage in the novel. Initially, the goal of his trip is to find his former vassal Juan Luco, from whom he hopes to receive an amount of money that would restore his honour. After being imprisoned by Cabrera's regiment, Don Beltrán's travels become a question of survival. His objective suddenly changes and becomes the same as Don Quixote's at the end of the second part, which is to return home to die peacefully as a Christian. Just as Don Quixote's travails led him back to reality, Don Beltrán also comes back to reality.

However, there is an added dimension to Don Beltrán that is not present in Don Quixote. Don Beltrán is a Don Juan.36 By utilizing the myth of Don Juan, Galdós was insisting on the irrational and medieval mentality of the Spanish nobility. Don Beltrán makes no attempt to conceal this fact, as the narrator suggests in the following passage: "y por no desmentir su índole caballeresca y hábitos de sociedad, no cesó de entretenecer a las cuatro hembras con frases galantes, de refinada gracia, sin faltar a la decencia, y a todas
festejaba por igual llamándolas hermosas" (II: 818). Towards the end of the novel as he is preparing himself to be executed, one observes a repentant Don Beltrán who admits to having sinned by being a Don Juan throughout his entire life:

Mi pecado mayor, manantial inagotable, en vida tan larga, de innumerables errores, ha sido mi locura, que así la llamo, de galantear y ser grato al bello sexo. Mi goce más vivo fue en todo tiempo el trato de damas altas, bajas o medianas, y llamo damas a cuanto se comprende dentro de la muchedumbre femenina. Mi desatino ha sido tal, que todo lo he pospuesto a la satisfacción de mis gustos. (II: 878)

As to the anachronism in which Don Beltrán lives, it must be stated that Don Beltrán's concept of honour is completely medieval for he equates wealth with honour. He feels that his poverty has taken away from his honour. And this is the *raison d'être* for his excursion to regain his lost wealth. Thus Don Beltrán's motivation is flawed from the beginning. But more importantly this demonstrates how Don Beltrán, like Don Quixote, is a character who does not live in the present. The brutal reality of war, however, forces him to come to terms with Spain's present, a reality to which he was originally oblivious. In the same way, one cannot help but intuit that Galdós, by writing this and all of the other episodes, was trying to forge a national consciousness of Spain's history in order to avoid similar tragedies in the future.37

The theme of *donjuanismo* is extended to the love-stricken Manuel Santapáu, nicknamed Nelet, who admits to Don Beltrán that he was a seductor in the style of Don Juan:38

El Demonio, que no Dios, me había dado el rostro para enamorar y las palabras dulces y mentirosas; y con tales medios, cada día era yo más terrible acosador del sexo femenino, llegando a no respetar
ya soltera ni casada, seduciendo también por depravación a las que no eran bonitas y a las religiosas, a las altas; y a las bajas, y a las medianas . . . (II: 851)

Nelet later affirms that the difference between him and Don Beltrán is one of socio-economic standing: "Pues si yo he sido un don Juanillo de pueblo bajo, sin finura, sin retóricas, basto y llanote, usted ha sido un señor don Juan cortesano" (II: 860). This generational perpetuation of the myth of Don Juan was important to Galdós in order to emphasize the link with old Spanish values and customs. There have been many Don Juans in the history of literature, but in Spain the two most important have been Tirso de Molina's and Zorrilla's Romantic version. Given that La campana del Maestrazgo is essentially a novel that parodies the Romantic genre, it is not surprising that Nelet is a Romantic Don Juan. However, it seems to me that in creating Nelet, Galdós used the Romantic character of Don Alvaro from Angel Saavedra, the Duke of Rivas' Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino (1835). Both Don Alvaro and Nelet share a common identification with the devil. Don Alvaro considered himself to be an agent of the devil:

[Todos]. - ¡Jesús!
[D. Alvaro]. - Infierno, abre tu boca y trágame. Húndase el cielo, perezca la raza humana, exterminio, destrucción . . . (Act V, Scene XII, 169-170)

Similarly, Nelet announces quite early in the novel that he has close links to the devil: "El Demonio, que no Dios, me había dado el rostro para enamorar y las palabras dulces y mentirosas" (II: 851).

The second major parallel with Don Alvaro is the theme of fatal love, an ailment that afflicts both seductors. In his first confession to Don Beltrán,
Nelet reveals that after having been rejected by Marcela, he felt the need to kill her in order to love her forever:

\[
\text{Pareciame que sacrificándola me libraba de mi suplicio, y que después podía seguir queriéndola hasta que me muríese o me matasen... Darle muerte no me parecía crueldad, sino una forma de amar, a mi manera, estilo de gran pecador y visionario de cosas grandes... (II: 853)}
\]

Don Alvaro shares the same belief in fatal love when he expresses, "Antes, antes la muerte/ que de ti separarme y que perderte" (Act I, Scene VII, 67). He later reiterates his desire to commit suicide because he cannot have the woman he loves: "¡Pérfida! ¿Te complaces/ en levantarme el trono del eterno/ para después hundirme en el infierno?/ ¿Sólo me resta ya?... " (Act I, Scene VII, 70).

A third similarity between Nelet and Don Alvaro is that the former kills Marcela's brother, Francisco Luco, and the latter also kills his lover's brother. Consequently both men wish to kill themselves because their consciences cannot support the anguish of such a terrible act. Nelet tells Don Beltrán that he came very close to committing suicide: "No es murria de diablura la que tengo, sino de conciencia, y tan grave y honda, que anoche faltó poco para que pusiera fin a mi vida" (II: 865). As we can see, there are many links to the Duke of Rivas' Romantic figure in Galdós' characterization of Nelet. This thus inevitably results in the reader's realization that this Spanish world is anchored in a remote past devoid of any reason.

The third major character that underlines the anachronism in which this novel is set is that of the nun from Sigena, Marcela Luco, a character who is a combination of the shepherdess Marcela of Don Quijote de La Mancha and the sixteenth-century mystic nun, St Teresa of Avila. As we shall see, an air of
mystery shrouds this wandering nun. Let us first look at the parallels between Marcela Luco and her namesake the shepherdess.

Firstly, both women are extremely beautiful. The narrator tells us that the shepherds have fallen passionately in love with the shepherdess:

No está muy lejos de aquí un sitio donde hay casi dos docenas de altas hayas, y no hay ninguna que en su lisa corteza no tenga grabado y escrito el nombre de Marcela, y encima de alguna, una corona grabada en el mismo árbol, como si más claramente dijera su amante que Marcela la lleva y la merece de toda la hermosura humana. Aquí sospira un pastor, allí se queja otro; acullá se oyen amorosas canciones, acá desesperadas endechas. (Avalle-Arce, ed. 164)

In La campaña del Maestrazgo Epístola praises Marcela Luco's beauty:

"- Señor - dijo el Epístola con extremos de admiración -, es mujer de tanta gallardía y belleza, que aun con aquel desavío de penitente, da quince y raya a las señoras más bien aderezadas" (II: 817). However, in both cases, the two Marcelas reject their suitors' advances.

The third similarity is that in each case a man kills himself after realizing that they will never possess the women they love. In the Quijote, a goatherd tells Don Quixote that Grisóstomo died because of a lack of love:

- Pues sabed - prosiguió el mozo - que murió esta mañana aquel famoso pastor estudiante llamado Grisóstomo, y se murmura que ha muerto de amores de aquella endiablada moza de Marcela, la hija de Guillermo, el rico, aquella que se anda en hábito de pastora por esos andurriales. (Avalle-Arce, ed. 159-160)

Similarly, in La campaña del Maestrazgo, Nelet kills himself after having murdered Marcela Luco.
Finally, the fourth parallel between the two Marcelas is that both women decide to lead a wandering life in order to be entirely free. Cervantes' Marcela became a shepherdess, while Galdós' Marcela became an errant nun, who mysteriously crossed the mountains, hills, and deserts of the Maestrazgo. The effect of creating such close parallels to the shepherdess Marcela is one of highlighting the anachronistic nature of this supposedly modern society. By creating so many medieval and retrograde characters, Galdós was stressing this notion of the backwardness of nineteenth-century Spain.

Marcela Luco, as has been noted, also reminds one of St Teresa de Jesús, who continued to be an idol and model for young Spanish women in the nineteenth century. Marcela, like St Teresa, is a very erudite nun who "pasmaba a todos con sus latines hablados por gramática, y que a verla iban el arcipreste de Mequinenza, el abad de Veruela y muchos calonges y prestes de Huesca, Tarragona y hasta de Aviñón, que es la Roma de esta parte de Francia" (II: 816).

However, one perceives in Marcela's mysticism a degenerative note for she desires too much to become a martyr: "El verdadero cristiano - dijo la beata peregrina con acento firme, sin afectación - no sólo no teme la muerte, sino que la desea" (II: 828). She does seem to take pleasure from suffering, a fact that also recalls to mind St Teresa's willingness to suffer for her faith: "Y en tanto, fortifiquemos nuestras almas con la paciencia, con el gusto de las adversidades, y celebremos las miserías y trabajos que Dios nos envía" (II: 828).

Marcela is predisposed to suffer in order to receive God's grace. It seems apparent that there is a self-consciousness in her piety that leads her to commit heroic acts, such as challenging Nelet to kill her: "¡A matar, a matar pronto! - repitió Marcela, iluminando el rostro, la boca seca -. Morir por Dios,
morir en la pureza, viendo como el alma se aparta de tanta inmundicia, es la mayor gloria" (II: 834-835).

Marcela's mysticism is a reality which is constantly indicated. One is told, for example, that she spends most of her nights praying, a fact which conforms to St Teresa's lectures, (especially with the rules instituted by St Teresa for the convent of San José) in which the positive effects of prayer were manifested.

Another indication of Marcela's adoption of the mystic way is her wish to do good deeds with her father's buried gold pots, which if found, she promises to donate to "una obra de gran piedad, como desagravio al Señor por las iniquidades que las dos catervas de combatientes cometían" (II: 831). All her thoughts and acts are conceived with the desire to unite with God, in what is known as the unitive way of mysticism, as she explains to Nelet:

Alto ahí, digo yo ahora, y a fe de Marcela sostengo que no soy divina, aunque a la divinidad aspira mi pobre humanidad baja, y la compenetración de lo humano y lo divino ha de ser por el modo que la propia divinidad señala cuando quiere hacer suyo lo humano.

(II: 870)

According to Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, "[E]n la mística es Dios el que penetra en el alma sin que ésta manifieste otra actividad que la de recibir y saborear este don de Dios" (41). This seems to be what Marcela hopes to receive, that is, a mystical union with her maker.

Despite this aura of religiousness that surrounds Marcela, one has an eerie feeling about this religiousness. One cannot help but feel what Alfred Rodríguez described as "a weird sensation of irrational rationality" due to her rigorously expressive logic (123). One has the urge to question her ardent ambition, which makes her risk her life in the midst of the most barbaric
battles. As Estercuel tells Don Beltrán, Marcela seems to be a warrior in search of gold:

verá usted, en fin, a la hermosa y andante Marcela, con aliento guerrero y olorcillo de santidad, corriendo por montes y barrancos para tomar nota de las mil y quinientas ollas de Luco, y trasladar a lugar seguro y profundísimo las que fueron escondidas a flor de tierra en parajes muy transitados. (II: 825)

Marcela's zeal is truly irrational. Consequently, one feels the need to question the true motive behind her wanderings across the Maestrazgo. Was it a question of wishing to please God? Or rather a question of false pride, which motivated her to carry out daring feats? Galdós intentionally left her motivation unclear, preferring to maintain the mysterious quality of Marcela's persona, which mirrored the mysterious atmosphere of this episode.

As we have seen with Don Beltrán, Nelet, and Marcela, in this novel Galdós was having a sort of conversation with Cervantes, the Romantics, and the Mystics. The intertextual nature of this episode jumps out from the pages of La campaña del Maestrazgo. Galdós reenacted some of the more famous scenes of the Quijote, of Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino, and of even Tirso's El burlador de Sevilla. Malaena, the old mysterious woman who also roams around the Maestrazgo and acts as Nelet's personal messenger to Marcela, acts as if she were the Comendador, Don Gonzalo de Ulloa, who warns Don Juan that the end is near for him. In his analysis of the character of the Trickster of Seville, Xavier A. Fernández states:

Don Juan, con su plétera de vida, y su impetuosidad irresistible, se resiste a aceptar que no está en su mano el determinar el tiempo y la hora de la muerte, y con sarcástica ironía, subrayada por la carcajada, expresa su convicción con la repetida frase:

«¡Qué largo me lo fíáis!» (26)
It is my contention that this is Don Beltrán's chief problem as well. Though he is seventy-eight years old, he believes in his immortality. It is Malaena who awakens in him a fear of death, and the realization of his irrational life. She warns him that his death is imminent: "Días tiene, y los dedos de una mano le sobran para contarlos" (II: 898). She accuses him of being crazy by risking his life for Juan Luco's gold: "-Ya me voy. ¿Quiere estar solito para calentarse los cascos con sus malas ideas? . . . Diviértase vosté jugando con el pecado de la codicia, y piense que le van a dar ollas de dinero" (II: 898). Malaena's accusations have the desired effect, as Galdós showed us in this passage:

Enojosas fueron para él las horas de aquel día, pues sin que se calmara el infantil terror que la seca viejecita le inspiraba, le atormentó el tumulto de su alborotada conciencia. Veía muy clara su abominación, pues cuando Dios le conservó la vida en Rossell, en vez de mostrar gratitud conservando su alma en la pureza y descargo de su arrepentimiento, lo que hizo fúe reincidir en sus antiguos vacíos. (II: 899)

It is important to note that it is at this point that Don Beltrán ceases to act as Nelet's advisor and go-between man with Marcela. He can no longer in all conscience support Nelet's plan of abducting Marcela in Don Juan-like fashion.42

By reproducing and subverting many of the most famous scenes of Spanish literature, Galdós was adding his views on such famous works as the Quijote and El burlador de Sevilla. Furthermore, by adopting the myths of Don Quixote and Don Juan, Galdós was making an important statement about the social development of Spain, that is, that Spain was simply perpetuating a race of irrational and selfish people, which was more and more ridiculous in the context of a modern liberal Europe.
In *La campaña del Maestrazgo*, Galdós, through his characters, made the most forceful and explicit statements on the problem of Spain of any episode in the entire third series, thus endowing this episode with a Regenerationist spirit. Death is a prominent theme throughout the episode, as Don Beltrán remarks while burying the victims of the hecatomb at Burjasot: "¡Pobres muchachos! ¿Por qué se les ha quitado la vida? España se desangra, España se aniquila. Asisto al suicidio de una nación" (II: 838). There is a desperate and tragic tone in Don Beltrán's voice as he witnesses how his country is annihilating itself. Galdós painted a picture of bleakness and horror in which man had lost his humanity. The impression left on the reader is the same as if he or she had viewed one of Goya's later paintings. Don Beltrán becomes ill at the sight of this gratuitous violence that was being authorized by Spain's leaders:

Retiróse, metiendo los pies en un charco de sangre . . . Vió los cuerpos desnudos retorciéndose en el suelo, y la presteza con que los remataban, como quien extermina una plaga de animales dañinos. Huyó el pobre señor horrorizado, sin saber adónde iba a parar; y más abatido por efecto del pavor que del cansancio, se dejó caer en tierra. Una nueva descarga, alaridos, vivas y mueras, y el coro de los bebedores, que era ya ronco, con voces arrastradas, grotescas, llevaron al colmo su espanto. Se tapaba los oídos; sus miradas buscaban en el movimiento de los grupos algo que indicase la terminación de la matanza; pero nada veía. El humo cubría la hecatombe. (II: 848)

By the end of the novel, after witnessing how Nelet killed Marcela and then committed suicide, Don Beltrán desperately searches within himself to comprehend such a horrific reality:

Writing in 1899 Galdós undoubtedly felt that Spain's recent history, with the Spanish-American war of the previous year and other internal conflicts, was a history of self-extirmination. It was now imperative that Spain take a different path and look to the future. That is precisely what he affirmed through Don Beltrán's soliloquy in which he offered remedies to cure Spain's ills: 43

Believing he is on death row, Don Beltrán pleads with Spaniards of all ideological stripes for the immediate stoppage of all sanguinary conflicts:

Sin vituperar esta causa ni la otra, sin enaltecer a ninguna de las dos, os digo que no derraméis más sangre de españoles. Guardad esta sangre para mejores y más altas empresas. No defendáis con tesón tan extraordinarios derechos de príncipes o princesas, pues voy entendiendo yo que tanto valen unos como otros, y que cuando la cuestión se dilucide y haya un vencedor definitivo, habréis desgarrado a vuestra patria, que es la legítima poseedora de todos los derechos. (II: 881)

The issue of who rules is not as important as how they rule; Spain's civil wars have not resulted in any true improvement in the average Spaniard's standard of life. Therefore, Galdós through Don Beltrán posited that it was ludicrous to die for an elite, which was oblivious to the suffering of the Spanish people.

Don Beltrán then proposes that what Spain needs is to become a productive nation. Once again, Galdós praised the concept of work:

Haced un país donde haya todo lo contrario de lo que unos y otros, a quienes no sé si llamar guerreros o bandidos, representáis;
haced un país donde sea verdad la justicia, donde sea efectiva la propiedad, eficaz el mérito, fecundo el trabajo, y dejaos de quitar y poner tronos . . . (II: 882)

Is this not classical liberalism that Galdós was suggesting? Where is that radical republican who supposedly had converted from liberalism? The answer is yes to the first question; and to the second the answer is that, though Galdós was to join the republican side, the fact remains that ideologically he had remained an ardent liberal, as this passage so eloquently proves.

Following key principles of traditional liberalism, Don Beltrán reiterates that the individual Spaniard must take responsibility for him or herself. One must forge one's own future through hard work and education:

Y ya no me queda que deciros sino que seáis trabajadores, que os procuréis un modo de vivir independiente del Estado ya en la labranza de tanta tierra inculta, ya en cualquiera ocupación de artes liberales, oficios o comercios, pues si así no lo hacéis y os dedicáis todos a figurar, no formaréis una nación, sino una plaga, y acabaréis por tener que devoraros los unos a los otros en guerras y revoluciones sin fin . . . Sed cultos, bien educados y emplead las buenas formas, así en el lenguaje como en las acciones, que la grosería es causante de terribles males privados y públicos. (II: 883)

Towards the end of the novel Don Beltrán echoes Voltaire's famous dictum in Candide -- "il faut cultiver notre jardin"-- when he says in a dejected mood: "Conque lo que tú dices: cada cual a su reino . . ." (II: 901). This advice suggests that Spain would be better off if individual Spaniards worried about improving their own lives and those of their children.

Finally, it should be noted that this extraordinary autonomous episode, which paradoxically is the episode that most explicitly expresses Galdós' vision
of Spain's past, present, and future, has a providential quality that perhaps Galdós envisioned for Spain's future if nothing were to substantially change. Don Beltrán affirmed in no uncertain terms that: "lo que se llama paz, no la veréis en mucho tiempo los que sois jóvenes, ni quizás los vean vuestras hijos y nietos" (II: 901). How right he was! Spain's history shows that it took almost a hundred years for Spain to finally enjoy peace.

4.6 La estafeta romántica: The Rewriting of History

Written in July and August 1899, La estafeta romántica continues where Luchana left off with the travails of Fernando Calpena. The first thing one notes is the title itself. It was one of Galdós' customary techniques to use the title as a sign or a foreshadowing device, which would set the tone for the entire novel. Some of the more famous examples of this phenomenon are Angel Guerra, La desheredada, and Nazarin. This episode can also be added to this list. La estafeta romántica is literally translated as "The Romantic Courier". These two components, that is, "romantic" and "courier" will play a pivotal role in this episode.

La estafeta romántica is the first of two successive epistolary novels (in reality, Vergara, the seventh episode, is only partially epistolary), hence the term "estafeta" in the title, which subsequently makes reference to the narrative nature of the text itself. Every character in this episode, in fact, is conscious of his or her responsibility as a chronicler of Spanish society and hence they attempt to write the history of this period, especially Don Beltrán who writes to Calpena that he will give him an account of the major war events "para que los perpetúes si quieres, dedicándote a la enseñanza de gentes y a la extirpación de la ignorancia, el más grande mal que hay sobre la tierra" (II: 986).44 Ironically, by expressing his fear that the events of the Carlist War would be forgotten by future generations, Galdós was able to assure that this
national tragedy would never be forgotten, a sentiment which he expressed through Don Beltrán in the following passage:

Compadezco al que tenga que escribir esta parte de la Historia patria. Me figuro que andando el tiempo, si nos civilizamos, nadie leerá las páginas que de esto se emborronen, o más bien determinaremos que se envuelva el aciago período en una espesa capa de silencio, y las generaciones echarán capa sobre capa, hasta erigir en honor de la guerra civil, de sucesión o como quiera llamársela, el grandioso monumento del olvido. (II: 987)

Calpena's mother, whose name we discover is Pilar de Loaysa, also tries to write history by pretending that she is Fernando's friend, Miguel de los Santos. In her letter, the former Incógnita comments on the dichotomy between history and fiction, a theme which constantly reappears throughout this episode. In this way, Galdós was commenting on the difficulty he was facing in writing these Episodios nacionales:

En verdad te digo que me tiemblan las carnes en cuanto agarro la pluma, pues nada tengo por más difícil que referir lo que hemos visto y comentarlo, o exponer opiniones substanciosas que no apesten de viejas y sobadas sobre cualquier asunto. Y añado que no es menos espinosa la descripción de lo real que la de lo fingido, pues en esto tenemos campo libre para elegir o desechar lo que nos diere la gana, mientras que en la narración real, que los sabios llamamos Historia, el respeto de la verdad nos embarga y confunde, y el miedo corta los vuelos de la fantasía. (II: 933)

It is apparent that Galdós felt an enormous responsibility towards the truth, which should not be compromised for the sake of literary imagination. There was a constant inner battle waging within Galdós to maintain a point of equilibrium between history and fiction, and yet, paradoxically, this episode is
couched in a theatrical terminology that conveys the idea that events in Spain were of a farcical nature.

From the beginning of La estafeta romántica, character after character describes the events of the day as being part of a play. In her letter to Juana Teresa, more commonly known as la Urraca, María Tirgo writes: "Pero se me ocurre que si continúa tu suegro en lo que llaman el teatro de la guerra . . . , que teatro había de ser para mayor perversión . . . , " (II: 913). As the narrator suggests in the following passage, even important historical characters, such as the indomitable General Cabrera see this Carlist war as having become a comedy of errors: "Recelaba el fiero cabecilla que la aproximación a Madrid era un movimiento político antes que militar y que corríamos a un desenlace de comedia de figurón" (II: 988).

But it is Don Beltrán who best characterizes the period as being a sad comedy. He, in fact, provides Calpena with a list of the historical protagonists of this war as if they formed part of the cast of a theatrical play:

Los personajes de mi comedia son la reina doña María Cristina, su hermano el Rey de las dos Sicilias, la infanta doña Luisa Carlota, Luis Felipe, rey de los franceses; don Carlos V, pretendiente al Trono de España; y por bajo de estas cabezas más o menos coronadas, y no muy provistas de seso, figuran embajadores y mensajeros con nombres efectivos o figurados: el príncipe de La Tour Maubourg, emisario del francés; el barón de Milanges, enviado del de Nápoles, y otros como tu amigo Rapella, de quien he sabido que anduvo en Francia ostentando un título de marqués. (II: 988)

Don Beltrán takes this idea a step further by providing Calpena with stage directions and margin notes, such as in the following example:
The immediate consequence of this type of narration is that of capturing the present moment as it is occurring. As Geoffrey Ribbans has succinctly noted, Galdós "seeks to convey an immediacy based on direct 'evidential' experience" (248). Speaking of the fourth series, in particular, Ribbans further suggests that Galdós was trying to find:

- a method of conveying a contemporary situation: a historical reconstruction of the past which occurs before our eyes,
- diachronic time yields at intervals, to synchronous time . . .
- Historical and fictional figures are in the process of playing their role in the present - their present - and are therefore subject to the pressures and uncertainties of the moment.45 (59, emphasis is mine)

This is exactly what Galdós was expressing through characters like Don Beltrán, when he utilized the genres of theatre and the epistolary novel because they provided him with the ability to allow the reader to live the present by eliminating the barrier that is created by the artifice of the narrator. Galdós was attempting to write as pure a realist novel as could possibly be written. This could only be done by eliminating the narrator whose presence interrupted the flow of the story. Thus it can be postulated that La estafeta romántica constitutes a sort of experiment on Galdós' part to answer the question of whether it is possible to create a novel that could successfully create a balance between fiction and history so that neither loses its essence.
or integrity. In the end the answer could only be provided by the reader, yet Galdós continued in this quest right up to his very last work.

The second component of the title highlights the Romantic nature of this episode. As we have already noted, the entire third series is a parody of the Romantic movement, which was especially in vogue in the Spain of the 1830s. In *La estafeta romántica* Galdós felt the need once again to mock the air of Romanticism, which had a stranglehold on the Spanish psyche during this period.

The first person to criticize the negative effects on Spain was María Tirgo, who, by no coincidence, lives in the countryside, far away from the so-called corrupting forces of the major cities. Tirgo, though not sure what Romanticism truly signifies, complains to her friend Doña Juana Teresa that it is full of "violencia, acciones arrebatadas y palabras retorcidas" (II: 909). She further states that Calpena seems to her to be the embodiment of Romanticism: "Nuestro sujeto es romántico, y sus ideas no van por lo corriente y natural, como nuestras ideas" (II: 909).

Ironically, Calpena himself also later states that Spain has been greatly influenced by Goethe's Romantic hero, the young Werther. Writing to his friend Hillo, Calpena adds that the war itself with its desire to annihilate the entire nation is proof of the influence that Romanticism has had on the Spanish psyche:

¿Y qué me dices de la facilidad con que los chicos y chicas que han sufrido algún desengaño siguen las huellas del joven *Werther*? ¿Pues y la guerra civil, esta sangría continua, esta prisa que se dan unos y otros a fusilar rehenes y prisioneros, como si cobrarán de la tierra o del negro abismo un tanto por cadáver? ¿No es esto, en la vida española, una instintiva querencia del aniquilamiento? (II: 918)
Romanticism pervades the entire episode as various characters in the novel observe. Pedro Pascual Uhagón, one of Calpena's friends, writes in his letter that the entire story with Aura and Fernando seems to have been derived from a Romantic novel. Uhagón suggests that life is more fictitious than anything that Victor Hugo could have possibly imagined.

Demetria's younger sister, Gracia, also makes reference to the Romantic character of their lives, as she explains to Calpena in her letter, that she is writing a Romantic novel, which is the love story of her sister and Fernando.

Pilar de Loaysa also admits to having become a victim of the wave of Romanticism that has ravaged the country: "El romanticismo me tiene cogida, llenando mi cabeza de ideas tétricas, de complicaciones diabólicas. Ese Dumas trae loca a la Humanidad" (II: 966). She later reiterates that Romanticism has definitely taken hold of her: "Te daré cuenta del romanticismo que se apodera de mí como una enfermedad del cuerpo y del alma, con fiebre y terrores" (II: 976). Her life, of course, seems to resemble the pages of a Romantic novel as one learns towards the end of the episode when Juana Teresa reveals that while rummaging through Don Beltrán's letters, she discovered that her half-sister Pilar was Calpena's mother and his father was a Polish prince named José Poniatowsky. Pilar's antidote to this romantic disease, as she describes it, is Thomas à Kempis' The Imitation of Christ, from which she quotes on two occasions in her letter to her friend and confidante Valvanera. Thus Pilar undergoes a spiritual awakening to overcome the exaggerated individualism that characterizes Romanticism.

It is consequently not surprising that in this episode the type of Quixote that is present is a romantic one. Tirgo, for example, writes that Calpena is a Romantic Quixote who allows his emotions to overrule his mind: "Por juicioso no le tengo, es de estos que con tanta lectura y la facilidad para discurrir, se
llenan la cabeza de viento, y piensan y obran a la romántica, según ahora se dice” (II: 908). When Valvanera later informs Pilar that Calpena has left in search of Aura, Valvanera states, in no uncertain terms, that Calpena is a knight errant by nature:

La caballería, tal como Fernando la ve, es la suprema justicia, superior a todas las justicias de nuestras leyes divinas y humanas: la idea de castigar una traición y de restablecer las cosas en el estado anterior a la intriga villana. (II: 956)

Valvanera tells Calpena that this decision was completely quixotic: "añadí que todo escándalo que por tales violencias sobreviniera, además de herirle a él y menoscabarle, a ti principalmente habría de lastimar. . . , y ante esto vi que flaqueaba su tenacidad quijotesca" (II: 957). Pedro Hillo also scolds Calpena for remaining quixotic in nature, and he strongly advises him to cease being a knight errant:

Quítate el caperuizo de espectro y vete a tu casa. ¿O es que representas el galán desesperado, melenudo y ojeroso, que cuando las cosas ya no tienen remedio, pues están echadas las bendiciones, se aparece espada en mano, queriendo atravesar a la dama infiel, al segundo galán solapado, al primer barba que es el padre; al segundo, que hace de sacerdote, y a la característica, zurcidora de aquel enredo? ¡Niño, por Dios! (II: 932-933)

Hillo urges him to put an end to his theatrical and Romantic life and return home: "Para tu tranquilidad, urge que mandes echar el telón sobre ese final tonto, y te metas en tu casa" (II: 933). Once again, this piece of advice recalls the Voltairian dictum of "il faut cultiver notre jardin" in Candide, which extolled the virtues of home life as a source of peace and prosperity for society as a whole. It seems that Galdós was offering a similar type of counsel for his compatriots.
Though this episode lacks new quixotic characters, Galdós did include a memorable episode from Cervantes’ masterpiece, which instantly recalls the scene in which the priest and the barber burned Don Quixote’s library. However, as usual, Galdós subverts this famous scene when one is told that Rodrigo did not allow his mother to burn his grandfather’s books "pues según dice, el libro que no es valioso por su contenido, lo es quizás por el lujo y la rareza de la edición" (II: 912). Thus financial considerations motivated Rodrigo’s protection of Don Beltrán’s books, which is quite comical when one compares this to the manner in which the priest had censured Don Quixote’s books. Once again the reader senses Galdós’ reverence for Cervantes through his own use of humour and parody.

As we have stated concerning some of the previous episodes, Galdós felt the need to present his readers with concrete examples of modern behaviour that would provide Spain with solutions for the future. One of those models was Demetria de Castro-Amézaga. In La estafeta romántica the model is Don Juan Antonio de Maltrana and his entire family who, by no small coincidence, live in the countryside. It seems that Juan Antonio de Maltrana is a sort of novus homo hispanus for nineteenth-century Spain, and the entire Maltrana family is a model of enlightenment.

It is in Calpena’s letter to Hillo in chapter five that the reader is first introduced to Maltrana, a nouveau riche who is described as an advocate of liberal policies. He is thus set apart from the old nobility, which is embodied by Don Beltrán. Maltrana firmly believes in the work ethic as a source of well-being for society as a whole, and, at the same time, he repudiates all despotic political systems. Juan Antonio is a rich landowner who expects to purchase some of the disentailed church lands, and he is a promoter of liberal economic policies such as the development of modern industry and agriculture through mechanization.
Another sign of his enlightened mentality is perceived in the way he has educated his children. His two daughters, Nicolasa y Pepita, have received a complete education, which includes the natural sciences, a fact that should not go unnoticed when one recalls the endless examples throughout Galdós' novels of women who receive a minimal education, which mainly emphasized housekeeping.

Maltrana is one of the first characters in all of the episodios to call for national unity, a theme which gains greater relevance in the next episode, *Vergara*. Juan Antonio argues that only peace will bring prosperity to Spain:

¡Dios nos dé a todos salud, y paz y reposo a nuestra querida patria, que vemos desangrada y empobrecida por crueles guerras interminables! (…) Unámonos los hombres de posición y de ideas juiciosas, y España se levantará del suelo ensangrentado en que yace, recobrando su dignidad y poderío. (II: 964)

It is as a result of his sojourn at the home of the Maltranas in Villarcayo that Calpena learns to appreciate the warmth of family life:

Ya sé lo que es calor de familia; en mí anidaron y criaron sentimientos dulcísimos que ya llevaré conmigo en lo que de vida me reste… me espanta la soledad en que yo quedaría si estos sentimientos me faltasen, y me compadezco de mí, acordándome del tiempo en que no los conocía. (II: 960)

Thus the Maltranas, like the Arratias, are a united family; for its members, this unity becomes a source of love and warmth, which were two qualities that had been sorely lacking in the midst of a bloody civil war.

It should also be noticed that Calpena employs the literary commonplace of the "elogio de la aldea" in order to praise the tranquillity of country life far from the corruption of the city:
-Bueno, bueno, mi querido Hill... ¿de qué estábamos hablando? ¡Ah!, ya me acuerdo: de que me gusta el sosiego campestre, esta vida de château, esta aristocracia labradora, a la extranjera, porque, pásame, el vivir un noble en sus propiedades rurales ha venido a ser rareza exótica y hurañía extravagante... (II: 917)

Hillo echoes this sentiment later on in the episode when he writes to Calpena from La Guardia: "Hijo mío, ¿qué tierra es ésta, tan fecunda en galanos amigos y en frutos regalados? Aquí quiero pasar mis días entre la sencillez amable de los hombres y las amorosas caricias de la prolífica tierra" (II: 971).

As La estafeta romántica concludes with a growing desire to see this war end, the reader is anxious to find out what will happen between Calpena and Demetria: Will they get married? Will Zoilo Arratia find Calpena? If he does, what will Zoilo do? Will Calpena attempt to find Aura again? Consequently, Galdós assured himself that readers would want to read the next episode in order to find out what would happen to Calpena. It is very clear that, on one level, the feuilleton is an essential tool in the composition of the Episodios nacionales. Coincidentally, however, this enabled Galdós to effect, on another level, a historical study of the first Carlist War. As we shall see, in Vergara the balance between fiction and history seems to sway more to the latter.

4.7 Vergara: The Cervantine Legacy Continues

The Cervantine legacy of the Episodios nacionales fully manifests itself in the eleventh chapter of Vergara when the author interrupts the "estafeta romántica" that had commenced in the previous episode to notify the reader that what he or she has been reading until now has been a compilation of letters that he had been given by some unknown source (II: 1022). The literary premise of the last episode (La estafeta romántica) and half of the present one (Vergara) is an inheritance of the tradition established by Cervantes in Don
Quixote, with the only difference being that Galdós did not provide us with a name, such as the Moor Cide Hamete. Inspired by this famous Cervantine literary device and in his intent to create the greatest degree of verisimilitude, Galdós was asserting that the narrator was not the narrator per se, but rather a mere compiler of a collection of letters who, however, had retouched them in order to endow the letters with a greater sense of reality. But by adding that they were retouched, Galdós was putting in doubt the historical value of these episodes. Thus there is a conscious awareness of the fictitious nature of the entire project, which underlines the difficulty that Galdós faced in attempting to create a genre that could entertain, inform, and teach his readers all at the same time. It should be noted that one discovers later on in this episode that one of the sources used by the narrator to compose the rest of Vergara was Fernando Calpena's own memoirs.

This type of meditation on the inherent dichotomy of the episodes resurfaces in Vergara on many occasions. One of the best examples that illustrates this dilemma occurs when Ibero's column (in which Calpena was enlisted) defeats its Carlist counterpart. At that point the narrator comments that though this was a great military feat, due to restrictions of space he cannot record it for posterity's glory because history is full of similar heroic actions and it cannot logistically include everything that happened:

Brillante fué aquella página militar, y los prodigios de valor y agilidad que la formaron apenas caben en la Historia, que por hallarse bien repleta de tales hazañas ya no tiene hueco para más. (II: 1037).

This observation gives rise to several questions: 1. What is to be omitted in history? 2. Who has the power to omit or include certain events? 3. Why is one occurrence more important than another? 4. Should history not record everything? These are only a few of the questions that Galdós raised for the
reader to ponder. The overall effect of raising such questions was to place doubt on the entire traditional process of recording history. Thus the *Episodios nacionales* constitute a type of experiment on Galdós' part to achieve the best form of recording history. It is clear that Galdós was not preoccupied with the specifics so much as with the causes and consequences of history as they affected the lives of the average Spanish citizen. There is definitely no doubt that the task of capturing the historical present was not an easy one for Galdós, as is indicated by Calpena in a letter to his mother, in which he explains to her that "con los datos que me da la señora Seda, en su rudo y deslavazado estilo, compongo yo la historia, procurando la mayor fidelidad en lo sustancial" (II: 1015). Calpena further states that it is difficult to establish a balance between history and fiction:

Madre mía, oigo a usted exclamar: "Novela, novela", y yo digo: "Historia, historia." Pulimentando la forma del texto, por el maldito vicio de corrección a que nos induce la llamada cultura, sé que echo a perder el pintoresco relato de la señora Seda. Pero ya no tiene remedio. ¿Cuándo inventarán un daguerrotipo de los sonidos que nos permita sorprender la palabra humana en toda su espontánea belleza?... (II: 1016)

One of the ways that Galdós attempted to capture the present with all its colours and sounds is through direct eyewitness testimonials given by participants in the war, such as General Juan Van-Halen's account of the bloody battle of Morella (II: 1046).

Calpena's abilities do not go unnoticed by Espartero, who ironically praises his skills as a historian/reporter precisely because he is able to capture the essence of Maroto's character in his portrayal of the Carlist general that he submits in his report to Espartero on the secret peace negotiations. It
seems that Calpena's wish of trying to create a living daguerreotype has become a reality in the eyes of Espartero:

Es usted - le dijo cariñoso - un gran conocedor del corazón humano y podía dedicarse a escribir Historia. Me trae usted un Maroto vivo con el pensamiento pintado en la cara. Es cierto, sí . . . , ése es el hombre. (II: 1089, emphasis is mine)

Calpena praises Don Beltrán's ability to capture history while in progress in his chronicles of the military events of the day. What Calpena most admires is the old Urdaneta's ability to make history exciting and dynamic in a way that official history and newspapers had been unable to achieve:

¡Cuánto más dignas de los honores de la letra de molde son esas donosas pinturas que las infinitas insulseces que fatigan las prensas uno y otro día y que sólo servían, como dice Bretón, "para envolver los dátilles y el queso"! (II: 1011)

It becomes clear that Galdós' contention was that the traditional method of writing history was bland and only useful for wrapping dates and cheese.

Galdós captured the internal division amongst the Carlists and the waning popularity of Carlos V by taking the reader directly to the scene that would illustrate the growing unpopularity of the Carlist monarch. One witnesses, for example, how the people of Elgueta do not respond to Carlos' pleas for support:

-¿Y estás dispuestos - añadió - a seguirme a todas partes, a derramar vuestra sangre en defensa de mi Causa y de la Religión? Silencio en las filas. No se oyó ni un murmullo ni un aliento. (II: 1105)

The Episodios nacionales gave Galdós a flexibility that no other genre could have offered him because traditional historiography had created a barrier between the reader and the historical subject. The consequence of such a
scene, as the one that was quoted, was to demythicize the regal aura that the king traditionally enjoyed.

Moreover, the *Episodios nacionales* attempted to endow history with movement and excitement. In order to achieve this goal, Galdós realized that he would have to somehow capture synchronic time. This helps explain why Galdós opted to use the epistolary novel and increasingly used dialogue and theatre because these novelistic innovations permitted the reader to gain a greater sense of history as it was occurring by creating a more direct link between the text and the reader. As we have seen throughout this study, Galdós enabled the reader to become a witness to history rather than a passive receptor of an official history that simply confirmed the official line of the ruling regime.

Galdós' praise of Cervantes' great hero continues in this episode. In fact, the myth of Don Quixote seems to regain an importance and a momentum that it seemed to have lost in the previous episode. In *Vergara* the reader is introduced to two new Quixotes. One of those is Colonel Santiago Ibero, an ardent liberal whose name is very symbolic and indicative of his quixotic qualities. His first name instantly recalls the patron saint of Spain, St James. The name Santiago naturally evokes Spain's medieval crusading past, an image that is later confirmed by the narrator who describes him as "creyente y buen cristiano" (II: 1035), and furthermore "la perfect imagen del Marte español" (II: 1036). Moreover, his surname is a form of Iberia, hence Santiago Ibero is the human incarnation of Spain's traditional glories and values, but with a twist in that Ibero is an uncompromising liberal supporter. Like his famous counterpart Don Quixote, Santiago throws himself into war to gain glory, defend his beliefs, and protect his Dulcinea, Princess Isabel. Ibero is portrayed as a defender of liberalism who is not willing to concede anything to the Carlists during the peace negotiations. In fact, the mere idea of
compromise with the enemy is repugnant to him, as is expressed in this masterly passage of indirect free discourse:

Tan penetrado se hallaba el valiente Ibero de estas ideas, que no vaciló en confiar a su amigo la repugnancia de que terminara la guerra por tratos y componendas con los facciosos, reconociéndoles grados e igualándolos con los que habían derramado su sangre por Isabel. Esto era inconveniente, indecoroso, inmoral. Con el absolutismo no cabían arreglos; hacer concesiones al retroceso era reconocerle como un Estado. Transigir con él era una declaración de impotencia. No, no mil veces; los soldados de la Libertad debían perecer antes que terminar la campaña por otro medio que el hierro y el fuego. (II: 1089-1090)

Ibero's presence in this episode confirms Galdós' view that Spain would always be the home of Quixotes who were obsessed with their beliefs. Ibero is a living paradox: despite being a liberal, his methods for making liberalism a reality derive from the past. This is one of the major flaws that Galdós underlined on many occasions in his articles and in his episodes. Ibero plays a minor role in this episode, but he gains greater importance in subsequent episodes, and it will be at that point that a greater focus will be given to the development of this new Quixote.

The other Quixote that had been unknown to the reader until this episode is another military man: the fiery Diego de León, who is described as a knight errant, short in military intelligence but long in military fight:

Provisto de víveres para tres días, se lanzó por aquellos campos, como andante caballero, en busca de lo que saliere, y en Obanos, Legarda y Muruzábal encontró carne enemiga en que cebar, las picas poderosas de sus terribles lanceros. (II: 1051, emphasis is mine)
The reappearance of Zoilo Arratia in the *episodios* gives way to further accusations by his own family of him being a Quixote. When Calpena and Eustaquio de la Pertusa find themselves in the home of *las nenas de Morentín* so that Calpena can see Aura, the two elderly women comment that the Arratías sorely miss Zoilo, whom they considered to have acted like Don Quixote: "la familia lloraba la ausencia del hijo, sobrino, esposo y padre, el cual era un valentón a lo Don Quijote y una cabeza desclavijada" (II: 1072). Calpena later finds Zoilo's father, Sabino, he laments not seeing his son since "se lanzó a quijotear en octubre del 37" (II: 1080). Even Sabino calls himself a Quixote: "Parezco yo también un Tío Quijote, buscando lo que no hallo, y recibiendo en todas partes sofiones y descalabraduras" (II: 1080). Thus this war had created Quxotes even when they did not necessarily want to be one, as was the case of Sabino who cherished his home life.

But perhaps the most important development in this episode with respect to the myth of Don Quixote is that Calpena's quixotism comes to an end by the novel's conclusion. It must be noted, though, that in this case the quixotic qualities of Calpena are depicted in a positive light, even by his mother Pilar de Loaysa. Faced with injustice, Calpena decides to save Zoilo and Pepe Iturbide, who have been unjustly imprisoned by the Carlists. Calpena reiterates that his undying love of justice is his prime motivation in his desire to liberate Zoilo.

Though she does not agree with this quixotic plan, Calpena's mother praises the altruism of her son's "caballerosidad". Furthermore, Pilar commends her son's noble intentions, which, in her estimation, reflect the nobility of the Spanish people:

Tu anhelo de justicia, tu sublime rasgo de caridad, salvando al enemigo injustamente condenado, te enaltece a mis ojos; me siento orgullosa de ti. Ríanse otros de la caballería, de ese ideal del
bien y la justicia, tan arraigado en almas españolas; yo no me rio,
no puedo reírme de eso. Lo llevo en la masa de la sangre. (II: 1017)

However, it is during his attempt to liberate Zoilo that Calpena comes to
the realization that being a Quixote is an unproductive and irrational mode of
existence in the nineteenth century. Early in the novel Calpena states that one
cannot but help being irrational in the midst of a war, which by nature is an
irrational human act. He consequently affirms that Spain is a nation full of
Romantic figures:

La sensatez y el razonar frío nacen de la regularidad, de la
satisfacción de los deseos . . . La intensidad dramática de un
conflicto personal, de uno de esos nudos fatales que ofrece la vida,
hacen de cualquier hombre vulgar un personaje de Víctor Hugo o
Dumas. Andan por el mundo más Hernanis y más Antonys de lo
que ordinariamente se cree . . . (II: 1012)

The key moment in this new awareness occurs when he sees that Aura has
become a mother.47 He quickly comes to the conclusion that what matters in
life is not adventure, personal glory, or defending principles as a knight errant
would do, but rather to lead a prosperous life and enjoy one's family. Calpena
thinks to himself that happiness can only be derived through the tranquility
that one's children can proffer:

Creí encontrar una enferma, y me encuentro una madre. Se ha
curado dando vida a otro ser. Este caballero de meses, este nuevo
Arratia, nos ha conquistado a todos; nos ha devuelto a todos la
vida, la calma, la salud, quitándonos de los puestos que habíamos
tomado en el terreno antiguo para ponernos en nuevo terreno. ¡Oh
vida, oh Naturaleza! . . . (II: 1071)

In Calpena's thoughts one perceives a mood of regeneration, as if to suggest
that the answer to Spain's problems is to be found in the peace that can be
enjoyed from one's own family. When he finally liberates Zoilo, Calpena advises him to return home to his wife and young child, and "Aprenderás ahora, y vivirás dentro de la razón..." (II: 1086). Thus when they finally separate, and Zoilo and Sabino head home, the narrator suggests that Calpena symbolically dies for it marks the death of this part of his life in which he had acted as a medieval knight:

Y al partir, dejándoles en disposición de hacer lo propio, sintió la tristeza que acompaña al acto de enterrar un muerto querido. Sobre una parte principalísima de su existencia ponía una losa con epitafio harto breve: 'Aquí yace...'. Las letras borrosas, ilegibles, que decían y no decían un nombre, parecían sepultar más lo sepultado, y ponerlo más hondo, y hacerlo más muerto. (II: 1088)

Coincidentally, Zoilo's quixotism also ends in this episode when Calpena tells him that he is a father. It is this fortunate development and his long incarceration that lead Zoilo to conclude that he had been mad and that it was now time to be a responsible parent and husband.

Linked to this Regenerationist wish to effect a diametric change in one's life by not allowing one's emotions to overrule reason is the leitmotiv of this episode, which is the desire to achieve peace. The title of the episode itself recalls the symbolic "abrazo de Vergara" that described the moment when the opposing generals, Espartero and Maroto, embraced each other at Vergara in August 1839 to symbolically end the first Carlist War. From the beginning of the episode there is a constant evocation of peace, by both the liberal and the Carlist sides.

Yet the novel interestingly begins with the hecatomb at Miranda, which had been ordered by Espartero. Pedro Hillo is disgusted with this ferocious war, which has made of Spain a living hell: "¡Maldita guerra, escuela de pecados,
salvoconducto de los impíos, precipicio a que ruedan las almas, simulacro del Infierno!" (II: 1003). In trying to maintain objectivity Galdós probably included this massacre to show that the Cristinos were as capable of committing barbarous acts as the Carlists. Seen from this perspective, the killings at Miranda serve to balance the depiction of the massacre at Burjasot described in *La campaña del Maestrazgo*.

One of the first characters to cry for peace is Eustaquio de la Pertusa, who was commonly known as *la Epístola* and who had already appeared, if only briefly, in *La campaña del Maestrazgo*. Pertusa, who had been a witness to the thousands of crimes that had been committed during this war, considered both sides to be "cuadrillas de locos" (II: 1013); he felt that peace was needed immediately. For this reason he had enlisted in a group known as the pacifistas, who attempted to bring peace to Spain "no con pólvera y balas, sino con perdones y abrazos" (II: 1013).

As we have already seen in *La campaña del Maestrazgo*, Don Beltrán championed the cause of peace. He reiterates this sentiment in *Vergara* in his letters to Calpena:

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en la presente guerra no hay más que un tejer y destejer continuo,
y un tomar y dejar territorios. Cruel sangría derrama la vida de la
Patria en el suelo de ésta, y si no se la cierra pronto, las venas no
contendrán más que miseria y podredumbre. (II: 1021-1022)
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This observation was right on the mark. Even towns such as Aránzazu in the Basque country had become exhausted by the events of the war, as the narrator affirms when he states: "Aun en aquellas alturas apartadas del trajín social se oía el resoplido de la profunda revolución de la Causa, signo indudable del cansancio del país y de las ganas que tenía de sacudirse tanto parásito militar, frailesco y político" (II: 1058). Later in the novel, the reader witnesses how Carlos V is no longer warmly received by his subjects:
Pero los pueblos, la verdad sea dicha, no respondieron con el calor que se esperaba a la invocación del clérigo metido a Macabeo. La fe en un Rey que no sabía gobernar ni combatir se debilitaba rápidamente. Paces querían ya, aunque no se les hablara tanto de Religión, que bien segura veían por todas partes . . . (II: 1101-1102)

Calpena echoes this overwhelming desire when he implores Maroto to accept Espartero's proposals for peace: "No hay más remedio que envainar los aceros. La paz se impone. ¿Qué quiere usted? ¿Convertir a España en el sepulcro de dos inmensos cadáveres?" (II: 1083). And in conversation with Ibero, Calpena opposes this Quixote's strict dogmatism on the grounds that compromise will save lives: "¿Era conveniente la transacción, aun siendo mala cosa? Sí, porque con ella, si España no mejoraba, al menos viviría, y los pueblos rehusan la muerte aún más que las personas" (II: 1090).

That peace was imposing itself was self-evident, and it finally became a reality on August 31, 1839 with the Convenio de Vergara. Galdós described this jubilant moment by expressing the joy, relief, and tears of the common people who had suffered much more than the elite:

En las filas, de punta a punta, resonó un alarido que parecía explosión de llanto. No eran palabras ya, sino un lamento, el ¡ay! del hijo pródigo al ser recibido en el paterno hogar, el ¡ay! de los hermanos que se encuentran y reconocen después de larga ausencia. Era un despertar a la vida, a la razón. La guerra parecía un sueño, una estúpida pesadilla. (II: 1109)

As one can appreciate in this quotation there was a sense of regeneration in the country, a phenomenon that had gained momentum in turn-of-the-century Spain when Galdós was writing this episode. One cannot help but feel that once again Galdós was projecting Spain's past on to its present, and claiming for
Spain a new start based on reason. Yet, at the same time, the reader must remember Calpena's feeling that perhaps Vergara was not so much a peace, but rather a cease-fire given Spain's tumultuous past. This theory was to be confirmed in the next episode, Montes de Oca, in which one learns that the peace treaty that had been signed in Vergara had not been accepted by all Spaniards, as if to suggest that subversion was endemic to Spain.

4.8 Montes de Oca: María Cristina as Dulcinea

What one quickly learns upon reading Montes de Oca is that the war never really ended, as Calpena had intuited in Vergara when he affirmed that Vergara was simply a cease-fire. The difference now was that the battle was being fought amongst the liberals themselves: the Moderates versus the Progressives. The former defended the rights of María Cristina, while the latter lent their support to Espartero. Galdós depicted this political rivalry in the initial costumbrita scene that takes place in the Fonda Española, in which José del Milagro, Calpena's former colleague during the Mendizábal ministry, expresses his wish for a change of government that would usher in Espartero's more open form of government. Milagro sincerely believed in the messianic abilities of Espartero to regenerate Spain, as he argues in the following passage:

¡Cuánto mejor gobernaría Espartero, hombre de buen puño! El trono de Isabel necesitaba un protector macho, y España un Regente bien bragado y de muchísimos riñones. Que viniera pronto y colocara en sus puestos a los funcionarios probos, destituídos por la infame moderación. Viniera, sí, antes hoy que mañana, a traernos la justicia, eliminando de las oficinas a los pancistas, intrigantes y gorrones, y dando la merecida redención a los pobres mártires de la política. (II: 1116)
Santiago Ibero and Modesto Gallo best illustrate the socio-political phenomenon that occurred after Vergara. During the Carlist War, both men fought on the Cristino side. However after the civil conflict, Gallo began to conspire against Espartero, an act that offended Ibero's admiration for the Count of Luchana. As Ibero tells Gallo, "Somos dos amigos... enemigos. Apenas sofocada una guerra civil, inventamos otra para nuestro uso particular" (II: 1123). War had now become a part of the Spanish culture, a sentiment that had earlier been expressed by the famous playwright, Bretón de los Herreros, when he warned that peace in Spain was ephemeral:

-No cantemos victoria tan pronto - indicó Bretón guiñando el ojo con malicia -, que en este bendito suelo el último tiro de una guerra civil es el primero de otra. Ya nos estamos preparando para un pronunciamiento; que nuestras tropas, ¡vive Dios!, no es bien que estén ociosas. (II: 1118)

Captain Jacinto Araoz, a supporter of Espartero's Progressives, echoed this warning by asserting that peace in Spain would never be more than a chimera: "A prepararse digo, que aquí la paz es imposible, y si me apuras, desastrosa, porque el español ha nacido eminentemente peleón, y cuando no sale guerra natural la inventa" (II: 1129).

It is out of this clash between the Moderates and the Progressives that another case of quixotism arises. The Andalusian Moderate Manuel Montes de Oca is a Don Quixote-like figure, a fact that is first noted by the priest Víctor Ibraim: "Todos sus actos como político y como escritor eran los de un Quijote chico que había tomado a María Cristina por Dulcinea y al moderantismo por ley de la andante caballería" (II: 1116). Montes de Oca himself does not shirk this characterization of his quest to defend the rights and prerogatives of María Cristina. In fact, when he and Gallo try to recruit Ibero to the Moderate cause, Montes de Oca proudly assumes the title of Quixote in a cavalier style:
De seguro verán en mí una actitud quijotesca, una pasión que por querer remontarse a lo heroico resulta ridícula. No me importa; está en mi naturaleza el acometer las empresas grandes que casi parecen imposibles, y no porque lo sean me acobardan a mí . . . (II: 1125)

Far from disliking Montes de Oca, Ibero admires the tenacity with which this Quixote fights for his Dulcinea:

Ello no impidió que sintiera misteriosa simpatía por el gaditano, viendo en él un desdichado caballero que se prendaba de los imposibles, y a pelear se disponía, solo y triste, por una idea rancia y sin lucimiento . . ., ideas de capa y espada, cosas de la 

edad media o de cualquier edad donde no había progreso. (II: 1125)

Montes de Oca's quest becomes a true crusade; like his famous mentor, Don Quixote, Montes de Oca does not become dejected by his setbacks. In fact, the setbacks, as the narrator observes, inspire him to continue his crusade to save and protect his lady:

Abrazado había la Causa de la señora y enarbolado su bandera con un ardor semejante al de los cruzados que iban a combatir por el sepulcro de Cristo; otros procedían por egoísmo y despecho; él, por una fe generosa y por la devoción, que otro nombre no puede dárselle, de la Reina, que era su ídolo. (II: 1185)

Much in the same way that kings went to Jerusalem to reclaim the Holy Sepulchre, Montes de Oca had the conviction and fire within because he felt that "su causa era divina" (II: 1184). The narrator leaves no doubt about the medieval nature of this quest when he states that Montes de Oca was possessed by "[d]el delirio medieval a que le llevaba su numen político" (II: 1184). But Galdós made sure to stress that Montes de Oca had a distorted
concept of María Cristina's true abilities; this nineteenth-century Quixote had created his own myth by inflating the importance of his Dulcinea:

El, no obstante, adoraba en ella, creyéndole adornada de atributos intelectuales y morales no menos efectivos que los de su seductora belleza. Valía más el Quijote que la dama, y era ella menos ideal de lo que la suponía el ofuscado caballero. Si en la imaginación de éste ahechaba perlas, a la vista de todo el mundo ahechaba trigo candeal superior la buena Aldonza Lorenzo. (II: 1185)

Right to the very end of his life, Montes de Oca's love for María Cristina never flickered; he viewed his death with a certain pride for he knew that Moderantism would now have a martyr,\(^5\) which would consequently have the effect of elevating and ennobling the cause:

Todos los males presentes y otros peores que vinieran los sufría gustoso por la Reina, por una divinidad que no habría sido bastante divina si no creara mártires, si ante su triunfal carro no cayeran aplastadas cien y cien víctimas. (II: 1189)

It seems apparent that Galdós characterized Moderantism as a medieval political ideology. This point is reiterated later when, faced with execution, Montes de Oca passionately argues that Spain's future lies in its heroic and holy past:

¿Por qué no habíamos de ser lo que fuimos, nación de santos y de héroes? ¿Por qué no habíamos de restablecer las grandezas de la sangre y de la inspiración, del militar coraje y de las virtudes sublimes? (II: 1183)

There is an underlying commentary throughout this episode that Moderantism, which was the ruling political ideology of Spain from 1844 to 1854, was actually a retrogressive political philosophy that kept Spain tied to the values
of medieval Spain. Thus Montes de Oca's quixotism offered Spain empty promises; the vision expounded by the quixotic Montes de Oca was a false one because Spain's future did not lie in attaining great military glory, but rather in promoting the development of the country's infrastructure, which ironically, José del Milagro also promoted with quixotic zeal for his home region of La Mancha:

Las extensas plantaciones de arbolado darían a la Mancha frescura y sombra, y la desecación de las lagunas de Ruidera aumentaría en muchos miles de fanegas los terrenos laborales. Con una administración proba y activa y otros cuantos toques de Gaceta, el país de Don Quijote sería un Edén, y vendrían en tropel a establecerse en él los extranjeros, cargados de capitales; y el día en que Inglaterra y Francia probaran el Valdepeñas, adiós Burdeos y toda la porquería de vinos de la Girona. (II: 1149)

One cannot help but feel that Galdós sympathized with Milagro's plan to implement programmes that were strongly reminiscent of the policies of such enlightened reformers as Jovellanos and Campomanes:

Yo emplearía las tres cuartas partes del presupuesto de Guerra en fomentar la riqueza pública, y por cada fusil que suprimiera, plantaría un árbol, y en vez de regimientospondría sociedades de Amigos del País, y los cuarteles se convertirían en universidades, y las banderas servirían para adornar las imágenes en nuestros templos... En fin, poca fuerza y mucha ilustración. (II: 1126)

As we have previously noted, Galdós' writing is characterized by an underlying humour that plays with and subverts many topos of Spanish literature and culture. In Montes de Oca Galdós played with the myth of Don Quixote when he introduced the seemingly insignificant character, Doña Leandra, wife of Bruno Carrasco. Don Bruno has brought his family to live in
Madrid, where he hopes to find a post in the vast civil service,54 the Carrascos are originally from La Mancha, Don Quixote's homeland. From the start, Galdós established a strong link between the famous knight errant and Doña Leandra in the initial description of this simple country woman:

Doña Leandra Quijada, esposa de don Bruno, era una señora flaca, más que vieja, envejecida, muy descuidada de su persona, llena de arrugas la faz, los ojos lacrimosos, áspero el cabello entrecano y partido en bandós aplastados sobre la frente y sienes.

(II: 1154)

Doña Leandra resembles Don Quixote in that they both share the same surname, and in her physical appearance, with the key word being that they were both thin. However, as he did on many occasions, Galdós then twisted the parallels that he had established. In this case, the narrator assures the reader that Doña Leandra was not an adventurous and enterprising person; she, in fact, was the total opposite of Don Quixote for she yearned to return home to live in rural La Mancha. The narrator insists on stating that she sincerely hated living in the corrupt capital and felt terribly homesick:

Prefería quedarse en casa, adormecida en triste éxtasis, indelebles memorias del abandonado terruño, o bien rezando rosarios y pidiendo a Dios que se realizaran las esperanzas que trajo a Madrid toda la familia pastoreada por Bruno. (II: 1162)

Galdós thus manipulated the myth in such a way that he inverted it, hence creating a great deal of humour.

The third significant Quixote in Montes de Oca is Santiago Ibero, who had made his first appearance in the previous episode. Ibero seems to resemble the Knight of the Sad Countenance in his characterization as a combination of a young Werther and Don Quixote who is lovesick for Gracia de Castro-Amézaga: "Como Don Quijote en sus horas de melancolía soñolienta, dejaba tomar al
caballo el paso que quisiese, y contemplaba las vagas líneas de horizontes" (II: 1127). The fact that Ibero follows the course that his horse selects is reminiscent of similar actions by such famous knights as Amadís and Don Quixote.

Ibero suffers from a romantic type of love after being separated from Gracia; like Goethe's hero, Ibero, in typical Romantic fashion, desires to die if he cannot be with his love:

   Pero, ¡ay! en cuanto le alejó de La Guardia la dura obligación militar, ya no fue vida su vida, sino un martirio continuo, pues lo mismo le atormentaban sus alegrías delirantes que sus lúgubres tristezas. (II: 1127)

Without Gracia, Ibero considers his life to have no merit or purpose; hence he believes that his only solution is to die, a sentiment which is captured in this passage of free indirect discourse:

   Si no le daban la niña de Castro, no podría vivir. La muerte sería la solución, un morir no menos glorioso que el de los campos de batalla, pues lo mismo daba caer a los pies de Cupido que a los pies de Marte, que tan dios era Juan como Pedro. (II: 1128)

Yet later on in the episode, Ibero himself admits to having become a silly Romantic.

At the same time, Ibero also recognizes that in his attempt to protect the Milagro sisters, especially Rafaela for whom he holds a special fondness, he has acted in an idiotic quixotic manner:

   Todo lo que dije de querer ser su hermano y de guiarlas y protegerlas como tal contra los infinitos riesgos de este Madrid diabólico no es más que un quijotismo que, ya lo ve usted, viene a parar en lo que para siempre el meterse a pelear con aspas de molino. Aquí me tiene usted caído y con los huesos quebrantados;
pero aprovecho la lección, vaya si la aprovecho, ¡canastos! No volveré no, a romper lanzas por el honor de nadie ni a enderezar mujeres que quieren torcerse. (II: 1165)

Though Ibero insists that he will cease being a Don Quixote in civil matters, one must ask whether in political and military matters Ibero will cease to have that crusading spirit, characteristic of the zeal of a knight.

Besides dealing with the theme of the myth of Don Quixote, in Montes de Oca Galdós continued to undertake the other important theme of the Episodios nacionales, which is the relationship between history and fiction. In attempting to convey to the reader what was said at that memorable meeting between Espartero and the queen regent, the narrator confesses his ignorance as to what was textually said. However, Galdós, at this point, assured the reader that this is the great advantage of fiction, which has the ability to fill in the lacunae of incomplete historical archives:

En ningún archivo histórico consta, ni puede constar, aquel diálogo; pero la verosimilitud y el arte hipotético pueden reconstruirlo. Lo verdaderamente indescifrable es el pensamiento de uno y otro mientras hablaban; lo que dijeron no ofrece dificultad grande al historiador. Claro como el agua se ve que el Duque agotó todo su caudal lógico para quitarle de la cabeza a la bella Cristina la ventolera de abandonar su cargo, y que la Reina se obstinó en la renuncia, como quien ha tomado un acuerdo irrevocable, con su cuenta y razón. (II: 1134)

Galdós made the point that the historian is obliged to simply report what he or she knows as an absolute fact. But the writer of fiction does not have this limitation. Fortunately, he or she can deduce what was imaginably said between both regents. If one has the opportunity to take a look at Galdós' personal library, what one will immediately notice is that he did not underline or
write in the margins the particulars of history; he preferred to note such things as popular expressions, anecdotes, nicknames, or the historian's personal views. In his readings it seems that Galdós was preoccupied by the effects of history, and this is very evident in the *Episodios nacionales* where particulars are hardly ever mentioned. In reading the *episodios* one gains an overall impression of the flow of events and ideologies, and how these affected the entire country. It is for this reason that Galdós gave voice to the average person, such as *Don Nicolás* who felt that Cristina's abdication was a form of undermining Espartero's power: "Pues la razón de todo esto - dijo - es el odio que la señora ha tomado a Espartero. Le aborrece; no puede matarle con su autoridad y le mata con su dimisión. La cosa es bien clara" (II: 1134). In none of the histories that Galdós possessed in his home library was the voice of the "people" apparent; quite to the contrary, the majority of those historians wrote from a position of authority such as General López Domínguez, Juan Valera, and Pedro Antonio de Alarcón. They excluded the popular perspective. What thus distinguishes the *Episodios nacionales* is that in them Galdós was able to convey the feeling of history, and not the wooden and sterile facts of the official history. Galdós' history is a living history that reverberates. And in many ways, it was a truer history than the official histories, which, for the most apart, were nothing more than propaganda for the nation's ruling elite. This, as the narrator posits, was the case of Manuel Cortina, who was given the task by the Progressives of falsely chronicling the events of the day in order to defend the government's policies:

Ya no tuvo más remedio don Manuel que devanarse los sesos para
*construir el castillete retórico que debía ser una página más de esa historia falsificada que elaboran diariamente los gobiernos con ideas muertas y palabrería de mazacote, historia indigesta, destinada al olvido*. Otra cosa será cuando no haya tanta
There is no doubt that Galdós' voice is contained in this observation on the nature of what he was trying to do through the medium of the _Episodios nacionales_. Galdós felt that historical texts were basically a forum to express that which monarchs and governments wished to inculcate in the public's mind. Though he realized that it was very difficult to write a completely non-partisan history, Galdós nevertheless resigned himself to making public those grains of truth that one could get a hold of. Unlike those undigestable histories that, for the most part, had long been forgotten, Galdós' intention was to write a history that could be closer to his readers in such a way that there would not be this immense barrier between the official authoritarian voice and the reader.

One way that Galdós attempted to create such a history was by including in the _episodios_ moments that would have been obviously excluded in other history texts because they would not have been considered to be important enough. An example of this phenomenon was the conscious inclusion of a conversation between Ibero and _la Milagro_ (Rafaela Milagro). Galdós justified this inclusion on the grounds that it was of historical significance because it personally affected these two people:

Dos minutos después, Ibero y Rafaela, solos en la sala, producían una escena que, sin ser histórica, merece ser puntualmente relatada. ¿Y por qué no había de ser histórica, siendo verdad? No hay acontecimiento privado en el cual no encontremos, buscándolo bien, una fibra, un cabo que tenga enlace más o menos remoto con las cosas que llamamos públicas. No hay
This issue of history and fiction was a source of constant meditation by Galdós in every episode. In the following episode, Los ayacuchos, this issue takes on an even greater role and relevance, as it seems that every character attempts to write his or her own history of contemporary Spain.

4.9 Los ayacuchos: The Rewriting of History Continues

Los ayacuchos deals with Espartero's regime between 1840 and 1843. The battle of Ayacucho in Peru had become a dark stain on Spain's recent military record, and given the fact that Espartero had participated in that humiliating defeat at the hands of the colonial forces, the term Ayacuchos was used to label Espartero and his cohorts.

The epistolary genre was adopted in this episode until chapter thirty when the collection of letters runs out. The narrator laments that he has to resort to simple narration because he firmly believes that the epistolary format was superior: "Agotado, con la carta que antecede, el precioso archivo epistolar, que a la narración con indudable ventaja sustitúa, continúa el relato de los hechos," (II: 1286, emphasis is mine). Yet he feels the necessity to assure the reader, in order to maintain a sense of verisimilitude, that what follows is based on "los informes que de palabra y en notas ha transmitido el propio don Fernando a sus amigos, admiradores y paniagudos" (II: 1286).

The episode begins in 1841 with a very interesting and original portrayal of the eleven-year old princess, Isabel, and her younger sister, Luisa Fernanda. The story reads as if it were a fairy tale in which two little orphaned girls live in a beautiful palace: "In diebus illis (octubre de 1841) había en Madrid dos niñas muy monas, tiernas, vivarachas, amables y amadas, huérfanas de padre, de madre poco menos" (II: 1201). The fact that the episode begins with Isabel as
the focus of this episode underlines the struggle that took place between Moderates and Progressives to control the future queen's upbringing. One soon learns that Isabel was the ultimate prize to be gained in the struggle between these two liberal factions.

From the outset, Isabel's education becomes an issue of supreme importance. In general, as we shall see, Galdós offered the reader a generous portrayal of the queen that does not deny the innumerable mistakes she made, but, at the same time, seems to defend her on the grounds of having received a very poor education. The general tone is decidedly apologetic. The reason for such a portrayal might well have been due to his interview with the exiled queen in 1901. Ortiz-Armengol has indicated that Galdós met with Isabel II on two occasions: in 1893 and 1901 (600). Of the first meeting Galdós apparently wrote nothing, but he did write about his impressions of the second time in his Memorias de un desmemoriado. Dated April 1904 (three years after the meeting in France), Galdós' sketch of Isabel strongly resembles his characterization of her in Los ayacuchos. In his memoirs, Galdós suggested that Isabel was not the supreme culprit of Spain's misfortunes; he attributed her faults to "la descuidada educación" and "la indisciplina", which could have been corrected (Pérez Galdós, Recuerdos y memorias 172). As Galdós later remarked, Isabel led an infantile existence, an idea which is stressed by the fairy-tale beginning of Los ayacuchos:

Doña Isabel vivió en perpetua infancia, y el mayor de sus
infortunios fue haber nacido Reina y llevar en su mano la
dirección moral de un pueblo, pesada obligación para tan tierna
mano. (Pérez Galdós, Recuerdos y memorias 176-177)

It is obvious that Galdós felt a certain sympathy for the plight of Isabel. In Los ayacuchos he insisted on showing how Isabel was manipulated by both the Moderates and the Progressives. He basically argued that nothing could be
expected from a queen who was given such a poor education. For example, the
history that was imparted to her skipped the rise of liberalism; nor was she
ever taught to understand the significance and role of the Cortes:

En la Historia de España que su maestro les iba enseñando a
sorbitos, no se decía claramente lo que las Cortes significaban: de
las antiguas se hacían mención, pero a la vista saltaba que
aquellas Cortes eran de otro costal. (II: 1202)

Yet at the same time, under the control of the Progressives, Isabel and Luisa
were taught, in the form of a fairy tale, that the Carlists were the bogeyman,
and that Espartero was a fantastical knight fighting against the enemy:

Tuvieron por coco al faccioso, uno a quien llamaban Pretendiente, y
como a libertadores paladines de cuentos de hadas, vieron a
Córdova y Espartero, a León y O'Donnell, caballeros fantásticos
que corrían por los aires montados en hipogrífos, y volvían
trayendo sartas de cabezas facciosas. (II: 1202)

The history that she did learn reinforced and exalted the myth of Spain's past
glories, which were dotted with great warrior kings, knights, and saints. It was
nothing more than a praise of Spain's medieval past:

La institución moderna que con aquel nombre designaban los
periódicos, escribiendo acerca de ello interminables parrafas,
 continuaba nebulosa para las regias alumnas, porque el librito de
Historia no decía nada de elecciones, ni de diputados que pedían la
palabra, ni de la razón y objeto de aquel diluvio de retórica; no
 traía más que hazañas de caballeros, los hechos gloriosos de los
reyes, guerras sin fin por pedazos gordos y a veces por piltrafas de
reinos, y los casamientos de estos príncipes con aquellas
princesas, de donde venían paces, cuando no guerras más
encarrizadas. (II: 1202-1203)
Galdós emphasized the poor educational background of her majesty, which emphasized knowledge of military uniforms over knowing how to read and write:

A los diferentes conocimientos de las niñas habíase anticipado con singular precocidad el de la etiqueta, y cuando no conocían la Gramática ni la Geografía, y apenas sabían leer y escribir, érales familiar la ciencia de los uniformes, y distinguían admirablemente el carácter oficial de cada sujeto por los galones del cascarón que vestía. (II: 1208)

From a young age Isabel was frustrated because she never really knew what was her function in society; Queen Isabella was the model she was supposed to imitate, but times had changed, as she herself realized:

Pero si no se le presentaban ocasiones de descubrir otras Américas y de conquistar otras Granadas, ¿qué haría? Pues dar muchas limosnas para que no hubiera pobres en el Reino . . . Dinero no había de faltarle, corazón le sobraba . . . (II: 1207)

What becomes quite obvious in Galdós' depiction of Isabel's childhood is that there was a tug-of-war between the Progressives and the Moderates to control her, and inculcate her with the values of each faction. Her director of studies, Don Manuel José Quintana, who is described as a doceañista, tried to pass on to Isabel his love of liberalism, but as the princesses' tutor Don Agustín Argüelles, another ardent follower of liberalism, complains, the palace was still full of "servidores retrógrados." This sentiment is reiterated by Manuel de Centurión in his first letter to Calpena: "¡Oh señor mío!, haga usted entender a quien corresponda que Palacio es madriguera de mucha y diversa humanidad dañada del repugnante absolutismo y del pérfido moderantismo" (II: 1213).

Centurión proceeds to express the Progressives' goal of modeling the future queen according to the beliefs and ideals of the Progressives:
Creo en conciencia, y así lo digo a mis amigos, que todos nuestros esfuerzos deben dirigirse a modelar el carácter de Isabel II de modo que tengamos en ella una Soberana ferviente devota de nuestras ideas, un jefe del Estado que pertenezca en cuerpo y alma al Progreso, y que excluya para siempre de sus consejos al infame moderantismo. (II: 1219)

On the other side, Calpéna's other informant, the ultra-conservative Serafín de Socobio argues that the Progressives were like a pestilence that had to be wiped out in order to save the princess. Socobio clearly states that the Moderates' immediate goal is to sway Isabel to their side and to destroy all vestiges of the Progressive ideology, which is a danger to the entire nation:

No hay tiempo que perder; liberemos pronto a nuestra Soberana de esa maligna influencia; y como al propio tiempo se ha de barrer el suelo de la Nación hasta que no quede ni el menor rastro del progresismo, hemos de procurar que la Reina se penetre bien de la sana doctrina moderada, para que ésta sea norma de su conducta en lo por venir, y tengamos un reinado próspero, pacífico y glorioso. (II: 1222-1223)

It is therefore no surprise that the main event of the first chapters of Los ayacuchos is the failed Moderate attempt on October 7, 1841 to overtake the Royal Palace, which is described by Doña Juana de la Vega, the governess of the two princesses, as an attempt by some "locos" who wanted to abduct them "y llevárselas con muchísimo respeto a donde pudieran proclamar caducada la Ley que felizmente nos regía, y establecer nueva Regencia. ¡Locos, locos rematados!" (II: 1207-1208).

If, at the national level, the Moderates and the Progressives were vying for supremacy by gaining control over the queen, this same struggle was being waged on a personal level with Demetria de Castro-Amézaga as the focus of
attention. Demetria had two pretenders: Rodrigo, a Moderate supporter and Calpena, a defender of the Progressives. The mothers of both these young men were plotting against the other's son in order to wed their own son with Demetria, who complains of being in the middle of a civil war: "Mi casa ha sido el campo de una terrible guerra civil, en la cual, si no de sangre, torrentes de lágrimas se han derramado" (II: 1232). Consequently, Galdós was able to show how national events translated themselves on a personal level. History was not a phenomenon that occurred in a vacuum; the movements of history personally affected people. This split between Moderates and Progressives manifested itself throughout Spanish society.

Linked to this ideological division, Galdós traced the downward spiral in the popularity of Espartero's regency. The Moderates obviously considered Espartero to be the major obstacle to their accession to power. As Serafín del Socobio suggests, Espartero had to pay for the crime of having ousted María Cristina: "El trágala que en septiembre del 40 cantó el señor Duque a la Reina madre, se lo cantarán pronto a él, con la propia música, los caídos del anterior" (II: 1225). Later one finds the ultra-conservative Cándido Nocedal and Luzuriaga discussing the imminent fall of Espartero: "El uno sosténía que no duraba dos meses la Regencia del Conde-Duque; el otro, que aún tendríamos Regencia y minoría para cinco años" (II: 1264). The true indication of Espartero's fall from grace occurred in Barcelona. A year earlier, Espartero, to María Cristina's dismay, had been received by the citizens of Barcelona with great affection after ending the First Carlist War. But when Calpena travels to the ciudad condal to find Ibero, he finds himself in the midst of a revolt against Espartero's regime, which arose out of the issue of the Catalonian cotton industry and the greater issue of free trade. Espartero supported free trade, a policy that the Catalans fiercely opposed on the grounds that cheaper cotton exports would flood the national market and ruin their cotton industry. Calpena
underlines the hate that the Catalans felt for the Duke of Vitoria: "Dicenme que los milicianos gritan contra Espartero. No quieren más Regencia, abominan del Gobierno ayacucho y retiran todo su afecto al antiguo ídolo de los libres . . ." (II: 1272). As we shall see, the pathetic ousting of Espartero is described in the following episode of the third series, *Bodas reales*. His forced departure to England from the port of Cádiz signified victory for the Moderates.

The myth of Don Quixote continues to be a prominent one in *Los ayacuchos*. In *Vergara* we noted that Calpena had made a conscious decision to cease acting like a Quixote. Yet we now learn that Calpena assumes the role once again, but the difference, on this occasion, is that his quixotism takes on a different nature because it is imposed on him by Demetria.

Though Calpena stopped considering himself a knight, others did not. For example, in Gracia’s letter to Calpena she pleaded with him to ride to Samaniego on his Rocinante, and save her and her sister, whom she describes as his Dulcinea. Demetria also kept seeing Calpena as her knight in shining armour. It is for this reason that she pleaded with him to find Ibero, so that he could be reunited with Gracia in La Guardia. Demetria described this request as being the seventh and last of the Herculean tasks that Calpena would have completed for her. In this way Calpena is viewed as being an extraordinary man; the fact that he has to perform these tasks puts him on a par with Hercules or such a famous knight as Amadis of Gaul, who had to prove his love for his damsel. Though he had become tired of playing the role of the knight errant, his infinite love for Demetria superseded his initial inhibition. This task that Calpena accepts on the condition that once he returns to La Guardia Demetria will marry him, reminds one of Don Quixote's need to prove his love for Dulcinea by imitating Beltenebros' penitence. Thus Calpena's final heroic deed functions within the greater chivalresque tradition.
However, Calpena was now very conscious of his decision; where it previously seemed to be an irrational reaction on his part, now Calpena was purposely making a decision to imitate Cervantes' famous knight:

En fin, miradme, Cielos, nuevamente lanzado a la andante caballería: miradme vestido de todas armas, pronto a combatir por altos ideales de justicia, ansioso de perseguir el mal y aniquilarlo, y de acometer toda obra de reparación en obsequio de la virtud: mirad en mí al infatigable soldado del bien . . . (II: 1252)

Calpena then adds in his letter to his mother that he has no other recourse but to "sostener la palabra y el papel, y afianzarme bien en mi pobre cabeza el yelmo de Mambrino para que no se me cayese" (II: 1254, emphasis is mine). That he is aware of transforming himself into a Quixote is underlined by the fact that he accepts, as a sort of crown, Don Quixote's helmet of Mambrino. He then wishes that he could have a fantastical horse such as the wooden Clavileño so that he could arrive in Madrid in an instant; he further refers to Demetria as his Dulcinea, and to Sabas as his squire. There is no doubt that he sees himself as having taken on the persona of Don Quixote in order to gain Demetria's hand in matrimony and save Ibero from the clutches of the Church.

The issue of the anachronism of this ridiculous task is one that Calpena realizes and attempts to answer in some rational manner. From witnessing how Espartero put down the riots in Barcelona, Calpena comes to realize that force is the only way of achieving anything in Spanish society. There is no appreciation for the law. It is from this conclusion that Calpena justifies having to use force to liberate Ibero:

No habría hecho yo lo que hice si la revolución de Barcelona no me hubiese dado ejemplos y enseñanzas de persuasión irresistible. He visto a los poderosos, que ambicionan recobrar el mando que perdieron, emplear la corrupción para ganar a los venales, y la
brutalidad para sojuzgar a los incorruptibles; he visto que la Ley
no es nada, que de ella se burlan los institutos armados como los
magnates del orden civil, y que sólo la fuerza y el compadrazgo
hacen el papel tutelar que a las leyes corresponde. (II: 1285-1286)
In this passage one perceives Galdós' frustration with a Spanish society in
which the law was irrelevant; power and money had corrupted the country's
values and mores. It is for this reason that Galdós, through Calpena, voiced the
belief that chivalry in nineteenth-century Spain had been transformed into
caciquismo:

y, naturalmente, al transplantar la caballería, le imprimimos el
caracter de la vida presente, de donde resulta que, teniendo los
modernos adalides más afinidad y parentesco con los caciques de
salvajes que con Cides y Bernardos, la orden que profesamos debe
llamarse del Caciquismo antes que de la Caballería. (II: 1286)

By using the myth of Don Quixote Galdós managed to show how Spain, besides
being stuck in a time warp, had become morally corrupt. Nineteenth-century
Spain was still guided by the same principles of the Middle Ages, a sentiment
that Calpena expressed to Ibero when he rhetorically asked, "Pero ¿tú has
creído acaso que España ha salido de la Edad Media y del feudalismo?" (II:
1294).

Besides the myth of Don Quixote, Galdós continued to deal with the
other recurrent theme of the Episodios nacionales, that is, the issue of the
relationship between history and fiction. It seems that everyone in this episode
attempts to write history. The first character to rewrite history is Agustín
Argüelles who, through the narrator, offers a summary of Spain's recent past
in what is a masterful passage of double-voiced discourse:

¡Qué vueltas daba el mundo! En pocos años celebró cuartas
nupcias el déspota; le nacían dos hijas; reñía con su hermano,
reventaba después, aligerando de su opresor peso el territorio nacional; renacían las Cortes odiadas por el Rey; surgía una espantosa guerra por los derechos de las dos ramas; vencía el fuero de las hembras; muerto el obscurantismo, lucía el iris con los claros nombres de Libertad e Isabel, y el que mejor había personificado la resistencia del pueblo a las maldades y perfidias del monstruo entraba en Palacio investido de la más alta autoridad sobre las criaturas que representaban el principio monárquico. (II: 1203)

Argüelles' history is embued with his strong liberal beliefs. It thus becomes clear that historical objectivity is an impossibility. Every history serves to promote or defend the beliefs of the writer, even if he or she is conscious of this problem. And this was one of the problems that Galdós realized that he could not overcome. All he could do was to point it out; he knew that the Episodios nacionales would always have a liberal tone to them despite his attempts to compose an objective historical study.

After the fairy-tale beginning, the reader is told that Mariano de Centurión, who is a palace sumiller, provides Calpena with his observations and impressions of the events of the day so that Calpena can one day write a history of Spain for the enlightenment of future generations, a task which Galdós was precisely attempting to do through the Episodios nacionales. Centurión's approach to writing history mirrors Galdós'; in his first letter Centurión explains to Calpena that his writing will attempt to capture the vibrancy of history. Galdós was trying to show how history was not a study of things past that was somehow disconnected from society. History was that which directly affected the citizens of any society. For this reason the Episodios nacionales were to exude a liveliness and vibrancy that was lacking in traditional historiography.
Centurión's description of the attack on the palace illustrates just how lively his writing of history would be. His description of the events is characterized by a use of popular language and the use of direct speech. It is precisely the social and cultural register of his letter that distinguishes it from a formal historical text. As he describes how the Moderates attempted to abduct Isabel, one has the impression of listening to a person on the street recounting those events:

Y mire usted si sería precavido el hombre: llevaba sobre los hombros una luenga capa para envolver y abrigar a la Reina cuando, arrebatada de su camita, pudiera llevarsela en la grupa del caballo, que debía de ser de la casta de Clavileño. ¡Si estarían locos! (II: 1212-1213)

It is interesting to note that despite believing that his personal observations do not merit being called historic, Centurión nevertheless includes them in his letters:

Y dejando este triste asunto, voy a llenar, ¡oh mi don Fernando!, lo que me queda de este pliego con noticias más gratas, que no pertenecen a la serie de los hechos llamados históricos; son menudencias de la vida y observaciones del orden privado, de las cuales podremos sacar útiles enseñanzas. (II: 1217)

The fact that these small observations are included and interspersed with major historical events is an indication of Galdós' belief in the importance of them in order for one to gain a better understanding of Spain's past.

However, Centurión's letters do receive some criticism. Calpena lets his informant know that he objects to his blatant support of the Progressives; but later Calpena rectifies and retracts this statement by suggesting that the voice and perspective of the historian should be clear:
Perdóneme el sermón amigo mío, y siga escribiéndome con libertad, juzgando cosas y personas como usted las vea. Ahora caigo en que la mejor historia debe de ser la guisada en su propio jugo, la que habla el lenguaje de su tiempo . . . No haga usted caso del sermón; no he dicho nada. (II: 1227)

Though there is no explanation for this acceptance of Centurión's anti-Moderate bias, it seems to me that what Galdós was implying by such a statement was that, faced with the difficult task of impartiality, it was perhaps better for the historian to be honest about his or her bias. That is why Calpena is eager to accept Centurión's history, which provides the reader with a colourful and entertaining version of Spain's past. It was consequently the reader's task to perceive the signs of prejudice.

This was possible for Calpena because he balanced Centurión's pro-Progressive writing with Serafín del Socobio's pro-Moderate letters. This prejudice makes itself evident from his first letter in which he attacks Espartero's regime:

Pero si contra Espartero nada digo, permitirá usted que despotrique a toda mi satisfacción contra la cuadrilla masónica que le rodea, criminal autora de estos desastres, que, son palabras de completas . . . (II: 1215)

Serafín's letter espouses the Moderate line by accusing Espartero of allowing the British to rule Spain:

¿Quién goberna en España? En apariencia, su ídolo de usted, elevado al poder supremo por las turbas indoctas; en realidad, el embajador británico, asistido de la caterva de Ayachuchos, que con nombre tan feo designamos a los que componen la camarilla del Regente. (II: 1216)
Thus in his attempt to write an all-encompassing history, Galdós made sure to include both the Progressive and Moderate perspectives through Centurión and Serafín's letters.

But the chief historian in this episode is Calpena himself, who begins this task when he writes to his mother from Madrid. It is important to note that one of his first remarks is that Spain is mad: "Yo digo: 'Pero ¿aquí están todos dementes? ¿Es esto la metrópoli de una nación, o el patio de un manicomio? . . .'" (II: 1257). This is an important affirmation because it sets the tone for what will be Calpena's historical text. At the same time, the implication is that this is the underlying belief of the Episodios nacionales. Hence the reason for Galdós' constant characterization of his historical and fictional characters as mad Don Quixotes. This belief stands at the very core of his vision of what nineteenth-century Spain constituted.

In Calpena's letters he meditates on the nature of the task ahead of him. He asks himself what his purpose is in writing a history of Spain. He concludes that the objective is to find and reveal the truth, which tends to be hidden or distorted by popular opinion, as was the case with the derisive labelling of Espartero and his colleagues as Ayacuchos by the Moderates.

Just as Centurión had made his intention known to capture history as it was happening, Calpena also expressed a similar desire when he wrote from Barcelona, which was in the midst of antigovernmental riots. Calpena went to the streets to see "los lugares trágicos, marcados aún de la pisada y de la garra de los combatientes y ver el destrozio de personas y edificios" (II: 1273). In order to better capture history as it was occurring, Calpena interviewed men and women who had witnessed the riots. For Galdós and his alter ego Calpena, this testimony was history itself (II: 1273). It seems clear that Galdós felt that the ideal history was one that could approximate itself the closest to the actual time in which the events had happened because time distorted the truth. It is
for this reason that in the episodios the reader is taken to the scene of a battle, of a parliamentary session, of a royal speech, etc.

Moreover, Calpena expresses his wish to convey the psychology of the people: "lo invisible, lo que estuvo en las conciencias, no en las manos que disparaban los fusiles ni en las bocas que apostrofaban al Ejército y al Regente" (II: 1275). This is without a doubt a Galdosian concept for when one reads any episode one realizes that this is a history that tends to lack facts and dates. What truly matters is the prevalent atmosphere in society; Galdós was attempting to capture the sentiment of the people as expressed in such places as cafés, stores, living rooms and kitchens, places where the historian was never present. By recording that which he had witnessed in these places, Galdós was making the statement that history is life, and that all people were part of history. Consequently, history is made of more things than simply that which the ruling elites wished to record for posterity.58

On the issue of objectivity, Calpena assures his mother that his account of the Barcelona riot will adhere to the strictest principles of impartiality. Indicative of this attempt to be impartial is his criticism of the Moderates and the Progressives, both of whom were to blame for the bloodshed in Barcelona:

*Sobreponiendo mi sinceridad y rectitud a todo sentimiento de compañerismo, contesto sin rebozo que si los señores de la moderación se han conducido desde que terminó la guerra como una cuadrilla de hipócritas y tunantes, los caballeros del Progreso están demostrando que son un hato de imbéciles.* (II: 1281)

The sad truth that Calpena reveals in his historical account is that Spain's citizens have been the victims of the machinations of the politicians, a view which he offers in this summary of the recent occurrences in Spain:

*Los descontentos de septiembre del 40, los vencidos de octubre del 41, la emigrada Majestad, inconsolable por su cesantía del Poder,*
son los empresarios de este Carnaval. El pueblo, crédulo y sencillo, grotescamente engalanado con trapos y caretas republicanas, baila al son que le vienen cantando moderados y carlistas. (II: 1281)

Galdós' sympathies were with the people, el pueblo, which had been deceived and manipulated by the monarchy, the politicians, the Church, and the military. It is obvious, therefore, that Los ayacuchos constitutes one of the most fiery denunciations in all the episodes of the egotism of the Spanish ruling class.

As Los ayacuchos concludes, there is a realization that one is reading another fairy tale, which cleverly frames the entire episode, given the fact that the beginning was also written as if it were a fairy tale. In this concluding fairy tale, the two couples, Calpena and Demetria, Ibero and Gracia, are finally reunited and, subsequently, get married.59 As the narrator suggests, this was the beginning of "una era matrimonial gloriosa y fecunda" (II: 1306). This is juxtaposed by the narrator's final comment that the other more famous double marriages, that is, those of the two princesses, was to prove to be "no tan venturosas" (II: 1306). Being symbols of the entire nation, the fact that Isabel's marriage was to be a failure also reflected on the nation's ominous future. Thus the last episode of the third series, Bodos reales, will delve into the events leading up to the weddings of Isabel and Luisa Fernanda, and the downfall of Espartero.

4.10 Bodas reales: The Beginning of the End for Isabel II

Throughout this chapter on the third series of the Episodios nacionales we have attempted to trace Galdós' evocation of the myth of Don Quixote, but one important element has been missing in this discussion of Cervantes' knight hero. Though there were a few allusions to Don Quixote's squire, Sancho Panza
has been left out of the equation for the most part. But one cannot truly delve into the myth of Don Quixote without looking at Sancho, who complemented his chivalrous lord. Galdós understood the personal dynamic that existed between the two characters, and the importance of Sancho in the psychological development of Don Quixote, a fact which is confirmed by the presence of the "panzesque" in Bodas reales. In the same way that Don Quixote cannot be understood without Sancho at his side, Galdós seems to suggest that Spain could not be completely understood if one were to forget or discard the fact that part of the national character was "panzesque", that is, that Spain was not comprised of solely quixotic figures who led idealistic existences. There were plenty of Spaniards who were dominated by the Sancho Panza-preoccupation with the more telluric realities of life. However, it must be noted that unlike his treatment of the myth of Don Quixote in which there is, for the most part, a negative connotation to such a characterization, it seems that Galdós did not make any judgment about the positive or negative value of being sanchopancesco. It would be the readers' task to make such a valuation. As we shall witness, at times, being like Sancho seems to be a positive value, while at other times, it seems to be a negative value, and yet at other times, it seems to be a ridiculous value.

In Bodas reales Galdós introduced a series of characters which he described as possessing Sancho Panza's main qualities. Of his many traits the most salient were: his astute sense of reality, his desire for material gain and wealth, which was highlighted by his quest for an insula, and his undying loyalty to his lord. These are the qualities that Galdós underlined in his description of the following characters: Eufrasia and Lea Carrasco, Rafaela Milagro, José del Milagro, Bruno Carrasco, and Doña Leandra.

The term sanchesco is first used to describe the Carrasco sisters' aspirations in life. The narrator assures us that they wish to lead a
comfortable life, a wish that had also motivated Sancho to accompany Don Quixote. In their desire for material wealth, the Carrasco sisters unemotionally reject any suitor who cannot offer them the possibility of climbing the social ladder of Madrid:

Pero las mancheguistas eran muy clásicas y un sí es no es positivistas por atavismo sanchesco, y en vez de embobarse con las demostraciones apasionadas de los pretendientes, las examinaban a ver si traían insula, o dígase planes de matrimonio. (II: 1309)

This short passage is enlightening not only because of Galdós’ characterization of the Carrasco sisters as being "sanchesque", but also because Galdós identified with Sancho the idea of being Classical and positivist, which was diametrically opposed to the idealistic and Romantic characterization of the Don Quixote-like characters of the Episodios nacionales. When Lea finally accepts Vicente Sancho as her fiancé, the narrator makes it clear that her decision was not an emotional one, but rather a cerebral one based on her mother's lobbying and on what Vicente, the future pharmacist, could offer her.

The Carrasco sisters' sanchesque approach to life is interestingly mirrored by the Milagro sisters, Rafaela and María Luisa, who manifest their disillusionment and disgust when their father, José del Milagro, returns home to Madrid empty-handed after the fall of Espartero. Their callous reaction recalls that of Sancho Panza's wife to his initial return home.

Unlike his daughters, whose "sanchesque" qualities are rooted in their desire for material gain, José del Milagro's sanchismo is firmly rooted in his noble loyalty to Espartero who was for Milagro his Don Quixote, as the narrator explains in the following passage:

Lecciones de consecuencia podía dar a todos el buen Milagro, que al volver de la tierna despedida del Regente, dejándole en la
lancha, era tan fanático esparterista como en los días gloriosos del 40 y del 41, y en la fidelidad de esta religión pensaba morir, legando a sus hijos, a falta de caudales que no poseía, el ejemplo de su adoración idolátrica del dogma liberal. Si en el gobierno de la ínsula que su Don Quijote le confiara había cometido mil tropelías electorales para sacar diputado a don Bruno; si fué un gobernador muy parcial y más devoto de sus amigos que del procomún, en el terreno de los intereses conservó inmaculada pureza, y su conciencia salió de allí tan limpia como sus bolsillos. (II: 1319)

Clearly, the narrator admired Milagro's nobility and incorruptibility which was one of Sancho's most admirable traits. The implication that is made is that the fact that he left his position without having dipped into the nation's coffers was an anomaly in Spanish politics. It is clear that in this case Milagro's sanchismo is to be valued as a positive trait.

Milagro's kindred spirit, Bruno Carrasco,\(^{61}\) shares Milagro's "sanchesque" loyalty for Espartero and the Progressives. Thus when the Moderate prime minister, Luis González Bravo, devilishly offers Carrasco a position in his ministry, he cannot accept it because, as he explained to his wife Doña Leandra, "yo no puedo vender mi alma, y mi alma es la Libertad" (II: 1337). His acceptance would have been a betrayal of the Progressive cause. However, faced with the realities of having to put food on the family table, Doña Leandra offers her husband an argument for accepting the job. The narrator suggests that in so doing Doña Leandra had also become a Sancho Panza-like figure:

Su señora, que debía de llevar en sus venas sangre de Sancho Panza, a juzgar por la pesadez y la socarronería de su positivismo, volvió a la carga una y otra vez, repitiendo y
ampliando sus argumentos con la insistencia del escudero famoso cuando pedía la insula. (II: 1338)

Her realistic argument convinced Carrasco that one cannot live by principles and ideals alone.

Though this episode is dominated by the figure of Sancho, there are two notable Don Quixotes in the political sphere: Joaquín María López and Francisco Javier Istúriz. The former is described as a Quixote of the Progressives, while the latter is a Quixote of the Moderates. López is seen as a sad Quixote-like figure whose life's goal to bring liberty to his homeland comes to an abrupt end with the fall of Espartero in 1843:

Vivió su alma soñadora en continuos aleteos tras un ideal a que jamás llegaba, en continuas caídas de las nubes al fango, y si su bondad y abnegación en la vida pública le granjearon amigos, sobre sus flaquezas privadas arroja su manto más tupido la indulgencia humana. (II: 1323)

The Moderate Istúriz is characterized as a another disillusioned Quixote in the Montes de Oca-vein for he too adores María Cristina as his Dulcinea. This exaggerated adoration led him to commit sheer folly for her sake:

Su adhesión idolátrica, pasional, a la reina Cristina, especie de culto caballeresco, más ardiente cuanto más platónico, le llevó a consentir y autorizar cuantas extravagancias políticas se le ocurrían a la orgullosa dama, que, habiendo vuelto de su destierro con ardor de autoridad, veíase estorbada por la energica manipulación de Narváez. (II: 1368)

That Narváez should have been the rein placed on Istúriz is ironical for the espadón de Loja is later described as a degenerate knight who: "Llevaba, como se ve, al Gobierno la mañana de la caballería morisca degenerada; era, como
muchos de sus predecesores, poeta político, un sentimental del cuño militar, como otros lo eran del retórico" (II: 1344).

If in the previous episode, *Los ayacuchos*, the major political issues were the rise of Espartero and the growing conflict between Progressives and Moderates, the major political phenomena that *Bodas reales* deals with were Espartero's downfall and the rise of the Moderate general, Ramón María de Narváez, who ushered in a period of terror. The corruption and violence that this degenerate Quixote sowed in Spain becomes the political theme of this episode.

Despite the overall negative impression that Galdós offered of Narváez and his regime, it is interesting to note that one of the first observations that he made about el baratero, as the narrator calls him, was his ability to impose order on a nation that was sorely in need of a period of repose:

> Pero esto no quita que, en ocasiones críticas del desbarajuste hispano, fuera Narváez un brazo eficaz que supo dar a la sociedad desmandada lo que necesitaba y merecía, por lo cual le corresponde un primer puesto en el panteón de ilustraciones chicas, o de eminencias enanas, como quien dice. (II: 1316)

But far from condoning violence, Galdós later noted that, as time passed by, Narváez's use of violence actually created more chaos: "a medida que disminuía en España el número de los vivos, el orden se alejaba más cubriéndose el rostro con un velo muy lúgubre" (II: 1350). Thus Galdós' preoccupation with order, which was noted in the previous chapter on his political ideology, becomes quite evident in this episode. However, he was not a supppporter of the Narváez regime. In fact, Galdós followed that compliment with a statement of his support for Espartero, when he stated that he took no joy in having to describe the events that led to the Duke of Victoria's fall from grace (II: 1316-1317).
The violent nature of the Narváez ministry is a point that is consistently underlined. The execution of Spaniards had become by the end of 1844 "tarea fácil y eficaz a que se consagró desde el primer día de mando" (II: 1343). Narváez justified this violence on the grounds of having to maintain order. Without order Spain could not grow, an argument that Galdós captured in the following passage of direct speech:

"Voy a introducir grandes mejoras en el orden administrativo, a fomentar el trabajo agrícola, industrial y científico, a dar a España una vida y un ser nuevos; mas para esto necesito que esté sosegada, pues, sin orden, ¿qué reformas, ni qué civilización, ni qué niño muerto? Lo primero es el orden, lo primero es hacer país . . ." (II: 1343)

The triumph of the Moderates is described as a return to the Middle Ages. Besides Narváez, the narrator assures us that María Cristina's cause was championed by the brothers Concha, O'Donnell, Orive, Piquero, Pezuela, and Jáuregui. These men, who possessed a crusading zeal, were like medieval knights who intended to restore the age of chivalry to Spain:

A bandadas venían del extranjero los paladines de Cristina, con ínfulas y motes de caballeros de una nueva cruzada, pues habían creado una Orden militar española que a todos les solidarizaba en su empeño de restauración. (II: 1313)62

The Moderates were like Don Quixote in that they wished to restore a supposed Golden Age in Spain. Galdós would never forgive the Narváezs, the O'Donnells, the Serranos, and the Conchas for corrupting future generations of Spaniards, a sentiment which is expressed in the following condemnation of the Moderates:

Entre todos hicieron de la vida política una ocupación profesional y socorrida, entorpeciendo y aprisionando el vivir elemental de la nación, trabajo, libertad, inteligencia, tendidas de un confín a otro
las mallas del favoritismo, para que ningún latido de actividad se
les escapase. Captaron en su tela de araña la generación propia y las venideras y corrompieron todo un reinado, desconcentrando personas y desacreditando principios; y las aguas donde todos debíamos beber las revolvieron y enturbiaron, dejándolas tan sucias que ya tienen para un rato las generaciones que se esfuerzan en aclararlas. (II: 1320)

This assessment is an example of that hindsight which Galdós, from time to time, took advantage of in order to put forth his personal view of where Spain's future had been seriously undermined.

The need to trace the corruption of the Moderates seems to represent an almost visceral one for Galdós, who did not hide his support for the esparteristas. Looking back at events that had occurred sixty years ago, Galdós affirmed that it was the narvaista regime that had devastated Spain by spreading all sorts of ills such as caciquismo and amiguismo: "los libertadores de octubre y de julio nos traían el imperio sistemático de las camarillas, del caciquismo, del pandillaje, de las asoladoras tribus de amigos, con el desprecio de toda ley y la burla del interés patrio" (II: 1320). By invoking the muse of History, Clío, Galdós asserted that the true cause of Espartero's fall was what Valle-Inclán would have called "intereses creados." Hunger for power and personal greed were the prime motivators of these degenerate Quixotes:

La única fe que se traslúcence entre tanta garrulería es la de los adelantamientos personales; el móvil supremo que late aquí y allí no es más que la necesidad de alimentarse medianamente, la persecución de un cocido y de unas sopes de ajo, ambiciones tras de las cuales despuntan otras más altas, anhelos de comodidades y distinciones honoríficas. (II: 1318)
Thus when the poet Esteban Ordóñez de Castro asserts that in Spain "hemos querido empezar el edificio por el tejado, dejando para lo último los cimientos, los modales, la buena educación" (II: 1344), there is no doubt that these are Galdós' sentiments about Spain's failure to educate its citizens.

Galdós later affirmed that it was as a result of this bad government that Spain gained such a poor image abroad and subsequently became totally isolated. This explained why culturally the rest of Europe was unaware of Spanish writers and artists. One cannot help but feel that in this statement Galdós was manifesting his own frustration with his lack of recognition outside the Hispanic world, despite the fact that his novels had been translated into many of the European languages.

Besides the narrator's attacks on the Moderates, the task of pointing out how the Moderates had corrupted society was also left to Doña Leandra Carrasco, who became insane after her daughter Eufrasia had scandalously left home with Emilio Terry. Yet Doña Leandra is still able to enjoy moments of great lucidity, which reminds one of how Don Quixote, despite being mad, was able to put forth the most ingenious arguments. It is in these sporadic moments that Doña Leandra is able to make some of the most insightful statements about the nation's state of affairs. One of the most intense moments of railing against the Spanish elite occurs as her health worsens, when she emotionally interjects that the royal weddings will not bring prosperity to Spain because the country is already rotten and consequently the stink will persist:

Os digo que huele a podrido en las Españas... Ya estoy viendo el pelo que echáis en el reinado nuevo... Cantad, gallitos míos, en el muladar, que ya me lo diréis cuando os lleguen al cuello las basuras y no podáis echar la voz; cantadme la tonadilla de libertad y moderación, y abrid luego la boca para que os echen la
miel que le echaron al asno... No es mala miel la que echarán en la boca de todo el Reino... ¡Pobre Reino! ¡Cómo le van a poner entre unos y otros, y qué lástima me da verle la cara con tanto cuajarón! (II: 1399)

One will have noticed by now that in all this criticism of the Moderates, Isabel II is absent. As was highlighted in the study of Los ayacuchos, Galdós essentially offered an apology of the queen's role in Spain's demise. This apology of the queen continued in this episode as she is defended on the grounds that she had received a poor education.

The Galdosian preoccupation with the writing of history also continues in this episode. In fact, Bodas reales begins with a statement about the eternal memory of history, a positive attribute that is unlike time, which tends to forget events and people.65 History is able to transcend time; it is timeless by the mere fact that the text will allow people and events of all types to live on forever.

Galdós manifested his intention to go beyond the simple enumeration of battles that is so prominent in history texts; he reiterated that his objective was to capture the psychology of the times that led to so many political and military battles:

Causarían risa y desdén estos anales si no se oyera en medio de sus páginas el triste gotear de sangre y lágrimas. Pero existe, además, en la historia deslavazada de nuestras discordias un interés que iguala, si no supera, al interés patético, y es el de las causas, el estudio de la psicología social que ha sido móvil determinante de la continua brega de tantas nulidades, o lo más medianías, en las justas de la política y de la guerra. (II: 1315)

Another trait of his episodes, that Galdós highlighted once again, is the belief that la historia grande is not solely composed of the grand events of
history, but also of "mil sucesos y menudencias que, tejidos con estrecha urdimbre, forman la historia del vivir colectivo en aquellos tiempos, la Historia grande, integral" (II: 1340, emphasis is mine). The word "integral" has been italicized because it is the key to Galdós' view of what he proposed to achieve in the Episodios nacionales. They were to be a comprehensive or all-embracing study of nineteenth-century Spain. It would have consequently been incomplete if quotidian life were to have been omitted. It is for this reason that everyday life is portrayed in detail. Galdós insisted on, for example, writing about Bruno Carrasco's life with the same intensity that he had written about the ministry of Luis González Bravo. Galdós reiterated his view about writing a comprehensive history when he noted that: "En una misma página de los anales de esta nación aparecen la subida de Istúriz y la terrible trapatiesta entre Lea Carrasco y Tomás O'Lean, por nada, por un sí y un no" (II: 1368).

At the same time that Galdós was offering an all-embracing history, he was also offering an opportunity for different voices, that had traditionally been stifled, to be heard. An example of this phenomenon occurs when Milagro argues that González Bravo's fall has been caused by María Cristina's personal vendetta, a version that was contrary to the cause that the official history had sighted when it attributed the fall to a disagreement between González Bravo and the ambassador in Rome.

In this episode the narrating of history is not the sole responsibility of the narrator. In Bodas reales two of the most interesting writers of history are Cristeta del Socobio and Mariano de Centurión. The latter's account of the parliamentary session in which Salustiano Olózaga was ousted by a Moderate conspiracy is one of the most lively and original descriptions ever written of a session of the Cortes. The originality lies in that the case of Olózaga is given a theatrical setting, which underlines the farcical nature of the Moderate plot against him: "La intriga era soberana, el enredo superior, el diálogo vivo, a
veces fulminante; las peripecias, variadas y sorprendentes; a cada paso surgían escenas de pasmoso efecto" (II: 1329). Moreover, the reader has the feeling that with all the minute details that he offers to his listeners Centurión is gossiping. There is undoubtedly a greater proximity between the speaker and the listener (the writer and the reader) for one is compelled to feel that this historical event does not exist on some remote plane. On the contrary, the Olózaga case becomes more relevant and closer to the reader for two reasons: first, Centurión was an eyewitness and thus his story rings true, and second, in his telling of the story Centurión did not pretend to exert any authority over the reader for the simple reason that he was not an official chronicler of the event. This lack of an official government seal of approval endows Centurión's account with a certain air of lightheartedness that demythicizes the traditional role and authority of the historian.

This reality is emphasized by Doña Cristeta del Socobio's accounts of the general inner workings of the Royal Palace. Forming part of the queen's entourage, Cristeta has access to all the plotting that occurs in the palace. In conversation with her friend Doña Leandra, Cristeta tells her of all the intrigue that was taking place in finding a suitable husband for Isabel II. What one quickly perceives is that the entire process of finding husbands for both of the princesses has become a sort of comedy of errors in which England, France, and Spain have participated. There is therefore no doubt that Spain and, consequently, this episode have been transformed into a feuilleton par excellence.

Doña Cristeta is very aware of her role and privileged position as a storyteller of Spain's recent history. As one perceives in her recounting of the royal weddings, her approach to history is one that emphasizes the facts, such as dates and times. This, however, is generally not the case with Galdós' treatment of special events; in many instances, allusions to exact times and
In the following passage, which describes the royal weddings themselves, one can appreciate how conscious Cristeta was about her ability to provide her listeners with detailed information of this momentous occasion:

En el momento de dar el señor Patriarca la bendición nupcial a Su Majestad, marcaba el reloj de Palacio las once menos veintitrés minutos, y las once menos diez y ocho minutos eran en el momento de quedar casada con Montpensier la señora Infanta. Son datos precisos, de una exactitud matemática, como deben ser en estos casos los datos históricos. Si alguno de los que han de escribir de tan gran suceso quiere esta noticia y otras, véngasela a mí, y cosas le contaré que no me agradecerá poco la posteridad.

(II: 1405)

Despite pretending to be a communicator of historical exactitude, Cristeta's version quickly becomes anecdotal and full of gossip, as one can appreciate by the way she suggests that Isabel's marriage to Don Francisco de Paula was a victory for France over the interests of England.66

As the reader approaches the end of this episode and the third series, he or she learns that Calpena, Demetria, Ibero, and Gracia have been forced to flee to France after Espartero's fall. In the neighbouring nation the two couples, who are now parents, enjoy a prosperous and free life, and "sólo deseaban que la política de nuestra tierra aprendiera y enseñara el respeto de las opiniones, para poder las dos familias volverse a las dulzuras patriarcales de La Guardia" (II: 1406). The overall impression given is that by living in France, a tolerant nation in Galdós' opinion, these two families would be able to lead prosperous lives. This optimism is juxtaposed, however, by the final scene of the episode. After the procession has taken place, Bruno Carrasco's two sons, Bruno y Mateillo, go out to see what remains of all the pomp and
circumstance of the ceremony. Through the eyes of the two boys, the narrator underlines the fact that nothing was left except dirty walls and banners:

> cuando Bruno y Mateillo salieron a la calle ya no había nada: todo estaba oscuro, solitario; sólo vieron el triste desarme de los palitroques y aparejos de madera, lienzos desgarrados y sucios por el suelo, y las paredes de todos los edificios nacionales señaladas por feísimos y repugnantes manchurrones de aceite.

Parecían manchas que no habían de quitarse nunca. (II: 1409)

The third series thus ends on a rather sour note. There definitely is a fatalistic sense to the last sentence, which suggests that Spain's future is full of doom. Of course, once again, Galdós was imposing on this time frame (1846) his feelings and beliefs at the turn of the century when Spain was in the midst of an intensive soul-searching. In the fourth series, Galdós traced the events that led to the Glorious Revolution of 1868 and the demise of the Isabeline monarchy, which he had foreshadowed in the last scene of the third series.
Notes for Chapter 4

1 Galdós' good friend, Leopoldo Alas «Clarín», had no doubt after reading Bodas reales that Galdós' style was Cervantine: "¡Don Quijote! Cada día se parece más Galdós a Cervantes, por dentro. Cervantino es el extraño sacrificio que en doña Andrea [sic; it should read Doña Leandra] supone el aconsejar a su marido que se reselle; parece que está siendo una Teresa Panza, y está siendo sublime" (Alas, Galdós, novelista 339).

2 In Galdós and His Critics, Anthony Percival acknowledges Galdós' debt to Cervantes, and underlines how such critics as Emilia Pardo Bazán and José Montesinos have commented on the close relationship between Galdós and Cervantes:

One Golden Age writer, Cervantes, stands out as a deep and enduring influence on Galdós. Galdós' devotion to the Quijote began in his youth and continued for the rest of his life; if the testimony of El Bachiller Corchuelo is to be trusted, he knew parts of the work by heart. He also wrote articles on Cervantes, and above all assimilated in the most fruitful way all manner of Cervantine ideas, materials, and techniques. This pervasive influence has been commented upon by Galdós himself, his contemporaries, and by all the major critics from Clarín to Gullón. A close friend, Emilia Pardo Bazán, roundly stated that 'toda la obra de Galdós responde a la estructura del Quijote,' and in our time Montesinos has echoed this judgment when he declared that 'Galdós se hizo en la lectura del Quijote. Es increíble lo que llegó a deber a Cervantes... diré que Cervantes le ha hecho a Galdós los ojos. (84)

3 The first of Benítez's books, Cervantes en Galdós, has been especially helpful in the preparation of this thesis.

4 Benítez has pointed to Galdós' vision of Cervantes' masterpiece in a similar manner: "Galdós entiende al Quijote no como novela de entretenimiento o de crítica satírica a las costumbres, sino como obra en clave que refleja una más profunda visión de España" (Cervantes en Galdós 40).
5 Benítez makes the excellent point that such an interpretation was typical of the Romantic period, especially during the second half of the century (Cervantes en Galdós 24).

6 Benítez suggests that those values were fixed in the seventeenth century (Cervantes en Galdós 43), but I believe that these values actually go back to the fifteenth century because, as we will see, the images of the Crusade, Reconquest, and Conquest constantly appear throughout the episodes of the third and fourth series.

7 Benítez makes the same observation in Cervantes en Galdós: "Para Galdós, como para los krausistas, la contradicción fundamental española entre el exaltado idealismo y la realidad desgradada, que ese idealismo desconoce o niega, deriva de la anacrónica persistencia de los valores fijados en el siglo XVII, propios de la vida militar y religiosa" (43).

8 The question of why Galdós restarted the Episodios nacionales has been one of the most controversial issues commented on by the critics. Peter A. Bly, for example, claims "razones esencialmente económicas" as being the chief reason for taking up the Episodios nacionales once again in 1898 ("Las idiosincrasias humanas" 95). Alfred Rodríguez, on the other hand, suggests that the Episodios nacionales allowed Galdós to be innovative and to develop new techniques and formats. Furthermore, "[T]he Third and Fourth Series, when added to those after a nineteen-year interval, become an indispensable complement to Galdós' literary expression of a historical continuum" (108). For his part, Ricardo Martínez Cañas posits a patriotic, altruistic argument, which is based on Galdós' visceral need to contribute to Spain's well-being: "Si Galdós había escrito sus dos primeras series desde el ambiente revolucionario de 1868, que trataba de regenerar a España culminando la bastardada revolución liberal, estas tres las escribe desde el ambiente regeneracionista del cambio de siglo, que trataba de completar aquello recuperando los ideales de 1868 y
superando sus logros mediante un acercamiento a la revolución social, a esa síntesis liberal-socialista que Galdós parece propugnar - como miembro de la conjunciónde republicanos y socialistas - y que Canalejas intentaba cuando fue asesinado en 1912" (90-91). Hans Hinterhäuser's argument stresses the idealism of the entire project: "¡España no ha muerto, España es inmortal! Había que comunicar esta idea confortadora al lector decepcionado por el golpe de 1898. El móvil prosaico no excluye, de ninguna manera, el idealismo en la obra posterior" (53). Brian Dendle offers an argument similar to that of Hinterhäuser's: "Assuredly, however, the sense of national crisis and impending change, as evident in the Spain of the early months of 1898 as in 1873, was reason enough for Galdós to attempt again, through the recreation of Spain's past, the analysis of Spain's ills and the suggestion of possible remedies" (Mature Thought 33). Finally, Enrique Tierno Galván advanced the interesting and thoughtful argument that those nineteen years that separate the second and third series were used by Galdós to do research for the third and subsequent series: "Las explicaciones de por qué volvió a ellos en 1898, de repente y sin preparación no concuerda con lo mucho que don Benito sabía y las muchas fuentes, principales y accesorias, que manejó. Cabe admitir que durante estos años guardase el material más curioso, se informara oralmente y se fuese preparando, por si acaso tenía que reemprender el quehacer. Yo diría que del propio archivo particular de Galdós se desprende esta idea" (115-116).

9 Benítez writes: "Para Lucas Mallada, por ejemplo, en Los males de la patria y la futura Revolución española, Madrid, 1890, en España la pasión impera sobre la razón; es un país de intensa fantasía y de esa fantasía nacional surgen errores que impiden los adelantos del progreso" (Cervantes en Galdós 32).

10 Benítez also argues that for Galdós the famous Knight Errant was "un «atavismo opresor» que ha impedido a España ser la nación más aventajada en materia de progreso" (Cervantes en Galdós 41). With regards to the issue of the
negativity of the myth of Don Quixote, Alan Smith, at the symposium to commemorate the centennial of the publication of Fortunata y Jacinta, argued that Galdós evolved in his portrayal of the Don Quixote-like characters. Citing La desheredada, for example, Smith claimed that during that period, "[G]aldós tan sólo podía ver al don Quijote negativo, al paródico, a la alegoría aprisionada en planchas de metal mohoso" (164); but fifteen years later with the publication of Misericordia, Smith claimed that, due to his new hope in socialism, there is an appreciation for the fantastical and the imagination that made the Don Quixote-like characters more positive: "Galdós llega a valorar al otro don Quijote mítico y no sólo al alegórico castigo de la parcial lección cervantina. A fin de cuentas, comprenderá que el Quijote alegórico había sido un punto de partida para lo que llegaría a ser la lección mayor cervantina de la solidaridad humana como única vía de realizar el sueño del individuo" (166).

With respect to the Episodios nacionales themselves, I side with Benítez's position, which does not seek to find a "magical" solution, as Smith attempts to do by attributing to Galdós' sympathy for socialism a change in his depiction of the quixotic characters.

11 Pedro Ortiz-Armengol states that before writing Zumalacárregui, Galdós asked his friend Vázquez de Mella to provide him with letters of introduction in order to facilitate his research throughout the Basque region in early 1898 (550). Ortiz-Armengol also notes that Galdós visited General Tomás Zumalacárregui's nephew, Father Miguel Zumalacárregui at Cegama (551), a fact which proves that Galdós did not solely rely on books to provide him with documentation for the Episodios nacionales.

12 Hinterhäuser states that Galdós' prime source for writing Zumalacárregui was J.A. Zaratiegui's Vida y hechos de Zumalacárregui (57).

13 Bly offers an interesting argument that Galdós' description of Zumalacárregui's personal tics make him the undisputed protagonist of this
episode that bears his name: "Pero, paradójicamente, es en especial a través de unos tics de comportamiento personal, unas idiosincrasias algo extravagantes, que Galdós consigue que el personaje histórico domine la novela que lleva su nombre, como ningún otro personaje histórico en los Episodios anteriores o posteriores" ("Idiosincrasias humanas" 96).

14 Commenting on El equipaje del rey José, Martínez Cañas underlines the importance that Galdós attributed to recounting the lives of the "invisible" classes in order to write a total history that would be representative of the whole of society:

Es decir, Galdós, aun [sic] aspirando a la historia total y aún tomando como pauta, según veremos, los hechos políticos, con los que viene a coincidir la historia pública, la externa, sea interior o internacional, muestra cierta preferencia - quizá compensatoria - por el vivir social, el que - aún produciéndose con frecuencia en torno a lo público - no se publica en boletines oficiales sino en rumores del vecindario; y en este vivir trata de ahondar para revivir e incorporar a la Historia integral esa historia interna, que tiende a ser profunda y se contrapone, en la totalidad histórica, a lo superficial y público, a la historia externa, de modo parecido a como en la totalidad del hombre se pueden contraponer sus actitudes a sus palabras y comportamientos. (84)

15 Martínez Cañas similarly argues: "Su Historia quiere ser integral, abarcando, por tanto, lo público y lo privado, si bien él se muestra especialmente interesado por las cosas pequeñas, por las «historias particulares», las impresiones, melancolías y dulzuras que le parecían más olvidadas u omitidas hasta entonces" (88).

16 Hinterhäuser made this same observation when he stated: "La dialéctica propiamente dicha de la «grande» y de la «pequeña» Historia comienza - primero, sólo en forma pasiva y externa - con una misteriosa «coincidencia» de ciertos sucesos de la vida privada con otros de la vida oficial" (237). As an example of this technique, Hinterhäuser noted how Leandra Carrasco's death coincided
with the explosion of firecrackers at the festivities to celebrate the royal wedding of Isabel II (238). Martínez Cañas adds that, "[L]a simultaneidad, reforzada a veces con otros recursos, es señalada como indicio, pista o refuerzo de la relación establecida entre historia y novela en los más diversos asuntos" (113).

17 In a similar light, Alfred Rodríguez has affirmed that the third series enjoys a structural flexibility that does not exist in the previous two series (109).

18 Rodríguez has signalled likewise the Romantic character of the entire third series: "Romanticism, as noted earlier, underlines the entire conception of the work, and its concrete expression in literature assimilates a great deal of the Series' novelistic content" (111).

19 Alfred Rodríguez underlines this fact in the following manner:

Galdós reproduced the basic world-view of the romantic generation in the only manner in which his own generation could understand and enjoy it: in the somewhat incredulous perspective of the parodist, whose reconstruction of Romanticism simultaneously judged and surpassed it. (131)

20 Bly points to this fact as proof of Zumalacárregui's exaggerated sense of honour and professional dedication ("Idiosincrasias humanas" 99).

21 In a similar vein, Bly posits that the theme of Zumalacárregui is "la justicia o injusticia de las guerras cristianas" ("Idiosincrasias humanas" 96).

22 Commenting on the character of Fernando Calpena, Urey states that "[H]is course in the third series will entail extensive travels back and forth through Spain and to knowledge of himself" (Novel Histories of Galdós 49).

23 Alfred Rodríguez astutely notes that Calpena's life is full of Romantic elements. His lover, Aura Negretti, "is the perfect complement: the offspring of an impetuous and tragic love-affair, an orphaned prisoner of gloomy commercialism, with uncontrollable imagination, fiery temperament, and even suicide tendencies" (112).
24 Geoffrey Ribbans argues, however, that a sympathetic portrayal of Mendizábal as a prudent but frustrated reformer is given in the episodio that bears his name (*History and Fiction* 105 n82).

25 Dendle makes a connection with Joaquín Costa's work when he suggests that *De Oñate a la Granja* "strikingly resembles the analysis and proposals of the Consulta of the Cámara Agrícola del Alto Aragón" (*Mature Thought* 48).

26 Benítez has made a similar observation about the Cervantine legacy in the use of Romanticism within the *Episodios nacionales*: "La literatura, en especial el Romanticismo, actúa además en los personajes como la novela de caballerías en el *Quijote*, creándoles una segunda naturaleza, un mundo imaginativo que supera y suplanta la realidad de sus vidas" (*Cervantes en Galdós* 106).

27 Alfred Rodríguez similarly remarks that Demetria is "conceived as an example of order, common sense, and evenness of temperament, all of which curtail self-expression" (119). For his part, Hinterhäuser sees Demetria as being the heroine of the third series: "Demetria es la heroína de la tercera serie, escrita de 1898 a 1900. Su dinamismo femenino prolonga el paradigma pedagógico que Galdós, en esta forma, había expuesto primeramente en los dramas; es una hermana menor de Isidora (más floja desde el punto de vista artístico), personaje del drama *Voluntad* (estrenado en 1895)" (321).

28 It is not a coincidence that Galdós chose the name Demetria, who, according to Greek mythology, was the goddess of agriculture and productive soil (*Zimmerman* 84). Consequently, Demetria de Castro-Amézaga also becomes a sort of goddess of productivity in this episode.

29 I am in complete agreement with Dendle's assessment of the Arratias as an exemplary model created by Galdós for his readers to emulate:

> In his portrayal of the magnificent Arratia family, Galdós indicates the path toward a brighter future for Spain. The Arratias are traders and industrialists; one family member
Ildefonso Negretti is artisan and inventor. They are creators of wealth and thus contribute to the common good. The qualities possessed by this family of entrepreneurial capitalists (an idealized vision, perhaps, of the *clases productoras* that Costa sought to organize) are model: devotion to duty, honesty, candor, spirit of solidarity with family and nation, love of hard work, infectious good humour, willingness to take risks, strength of body and mind. As individuals, their virtues differ, but each in his own way offers an example for Spain to emulate. (Mature Thought 54)

Dendle argues, in fact, that with the character of Zoilo, "Galdós optimistically represents one of the qualities that will enable Spain to recover from the Disaster of 1898: the power of the will to overcome all obstacles" (Mature Thought 55).

Of the five manuscripts of the third series (*De Oñate a la Granja, La campaña del Maestrazgo, La estafeta romántica, Vergara*, and *Montes de Oca*) that I was able to study at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, I observed that statistically *La campaña del Maestrazgo* was the most problematic for Galdós, since it is the manuscript that has the greatest amount of pages and lines crossed out.

Dendle echoes the sentiment of the subtitle of this section: "Galdós presents in *La campaña del Maestrazgo* (April-May 1899) a nightmare vision of the self-destruction of a nation" (Mature Thought 56).

Urey has also perceptively noted that, "*La campaña del Maestrazgo* displays the progressively negative tone of the series in other aspects. Cabrera's tactics are more brutal than Zumalacárregui's, the battle scenes are more vivid, and the descriptions of executions more numerous and bloody" (Novel Histories of Galdós 36).

Joaquín Casalduero made a similar point, further arguing that, "En la tercera serie (*La campaña del Maestrazgo y Los Ayacuchos*) expresa su visión de la Edad Media como época anárquica" (Vida y obra de Galdós 252).
Casalduero added that for Galdós "la falta de un Estado fuerte en su época y su consecuencia de guerrilleros, partidas y bandoleros, le parece la imagen viva de la realidad histórica del medioevo. Galdós fue al pasado para explicar el presente, pero el presente le dio una forma del pasado" (Vida y obra de Galdós 252).

35 Benítez suggests that this primitive setting recalls the famous Cave of Montesinos, which signals, once again, the connection with Don Quixote:

"En La campaña del Maestrazgo, la descripción de un mundo primitivo que las guerras reactualizan, de una Edad Media épica y mitológica, crea la atmósfera propicia para todo tipo de irrealidad. Nenet[sic] vive muchos de esos sucesos como consecuencias de un encantamiento. Después de batirse con los liberales, Nenet [sic] es cogido por media docena de espíritus, demonios a los que cree ángeles, que vestidos de bellacos y maleantes lo invitan a beber en una taberna. (Cervantes en Galdós 152)

36 See Paciencia Otañón de Lope's El donjuanismo en las novelas de Galdós y otros estudios, which, as the title indicates, studies the myth of Don Juan in Galdós' novels. However, Otañón de Lope does not deal with the Episodios nacionales.

37 Martínez Cañas offers a similar observation: "Todo indica que con su titánico esfuerzo, impropio de móviles mezquinos, deseaba mostrar las causas reales del mal que sufría su sociedad para poderlo evitar en el futuro" (132).

38 Urey also suggests that Nelet's donjuanismo is very evident: "A former libertine and sporadically repentant sinner, Nelet is visited by visions of saints and demons, subject to bouts of violence (in this, like Cabrera) and sentimentality. Thus romantic literature and specifically the Don Juan motif are codes affecting his characterization" (Novel Histories of Galdós 32).

39 Clarín was probably the first critic to suggest that there is a link with the play, Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino: "El final, terrible, trágico, digno de la ocasión, recuerda un poco el último acto de Don Alvaro y algo también del
Todos estos parecidos que señaló me parecen de propósito deliberado" (Galdós, novelistu 309). Rodríguez also makes this point when he affirms that "[N]elet's unhappy 'star', his unwitting execution of Marcela's brother, and the tragic climax recall 'Don Alvaro'" (115).

To this effect, Ureyl writes: "[F]rom the moment her name appears in the text, it is obvious that Marcela is modeled on Cervantes's creation" (Novel Histories of Galdós 33).

Benítez sees the intertextual nature of Galdós' works as being part of the Cervantine legacy that he had inherited: "Gran parte de su originalidad, como la de Cervantes, consiste en haber incluido en las propias novelas, con sentido crítico, toda la literatura nacional de su tiempo" (Cervantes en Galdós 16).

Rodríguez comments that Don Beltrán has been acting as a sort of Celestina, "a masculine re-incarnation of Rojas' character" (115). Thus the character of Don Beltrán is truly a remarkable one because he encompasses the three great Spanish myths: Don Quixote, Don Juan, and Celestina.

Benítez astutely remarks that by the end of the episodio, Don Beltrán "termina su vida como el Quijote, dando consejos a quienes rodean su lecho" (Cervantes en Galdós 76).

Ureyl comments that Don Beltrán "is an excellent stylist and storyteller" (Novel Histories of Galdós 71).

Martínez Cañas has developed the interesting concept of "en directo diferido" ("live on tape delay") to describe Galdós' intention of capturing the past in its presentness, a difficult task to be sure (121-122).

On this point I agree with Ureyl when she affirms: "Throughout Vergara and the other episodios, there is a constant and continually redefined awareness that history per se can be as fictional as fiction can be meaningful. They are both names for a reading, an interpretation, a mediation of events, that could
never be reexperienced, even if they really occurred" (Novel Histories of Galdós 56-57).

47 By the time she has given birth, Aura has experienced a dramatic change, as noted by Dendale: "The marked change in Aura Negretti, the bride of Zoilo, illustrates the optimistic future awaiting Spain if energies are turned to peace rather than to war" (Mature Thought 65). Thus Aura and Calpena become beacons of optimism for Spain's failure. Through reason, hard work, and family life, both characters learn to lead fulfilling and productive lives.

48 Peter Bush asserts that Galdós' portrayal of Montes de Oca was mainly based on two sources: Salvador Bermúdez de Castro's poem, 'Montes de Oca', and Pastor Díaz's Galería de españoles célebres contemporáneos ("Montes de Oca" 478). However, Enrique Tierno Galván showed quite convincingly that Galdós used two main sources: Ildefonso Antonio Bermejo's La estafeta de Palacio and Antono Piralal's Historia de la guerra civil y de los partidos liberal y carlista: "Sin embargo, se inclinó más por el texto de Bermejo, porque la vena didáctico moral de don Ildefonso desaguaba con frecuencia en una visión dramática de los hechos que se avenía bien con algunos momentos de los Episodios, aparte de la común tendencia al didactismo que hemos comentado con anterioridad" (43).

49 Urey similarly notes that: "Montes de Oca, for example, relates how Spaniards seek a new cause for revolution as soon as the last one is over. After the signing of the Convenio de Vergara, the new cause for contention is the disagreement among the successive regents María Cristina and Espartero" (Novel Histories of Galdós 76).

50 Tierno Galván made the poignant observation that with the character of Montes de Oca Galdós had fused the image of Christ with that of Don Quixote (51).
As Bush so eloquently states, Montes de Oca "is a salutary reminder of the dangers of mixing emotional quixotic idealism and national politics" ("Montes de Oca" 484).

I am in complete agreement with Bush's statement that Galdós was "opposed to establishing locura quijotesca as the national creed" ("Montes de Oca" 474).

Dendle astutely observes that José del Milagro is a quixotic figure who is so consumed by his plan that he is oblivious to the fact that his daughters have become prostitutes (Mature Thought 69).

Dendle suggests that Don Bruno is another quixotic character for he "sacrifices family happiness to set right the ills of Spain" (Mature Thought 69). It is true that Don Bruno resembles Nicomedes Iglesias from De Oñate a la Granja, for example, but as I argue in the section on Bodas reales, I see Don Bruno as being more of a Sancho Panza-like character because of his loyalty to Espartero.

Martínez Cañas has shown how Galdós reflected in his fictional characters the historical reality of the times. Thus, he argues, in the case of the protagonist of the second series, that Salvador Monsalud's life "no se inventa, sino que a éste le va ocurriendo lo mismo que a la Revolución. Así, cuando Montesinos señala en Monsalud la expresión del espíritu romántico, añadiríamos que, siendo esto cierto, lo es, a la vez, porque era romántica la Revolución a que, como se demuestra en nuestra citada tesis, simboliza" (110).

Dendle makes a similar affirmation: "The mind is in control; however quixotic his actions may appear, Calpena is not the slave of his emotions or of abstract systems of thoughts" (Mature Thought 74).

Urey offers a similar view in her article on Zumalacárregui: "The right or wrong of history is a matter of opinion; its truth is forever hidden. Rather, what is called History is merely the written weave - «tejido» - of assorted events,
organized according to a writer's not necessarily logical or true impressions and perspective" ("Monuments to Syllables" 108).

58 Benítez perceptively affirms that Galdós' concept of a total history is part of the Cervantine legacy that he had inherited and appropriated:

En su constante meditación sobre Cervantes y sobre el Quijote como matiz de la novela moderna, descubre Galdós, a partir de *Gloria*, la necesidad de perseguir una forma novelesca total, una construcción que integre, como ocurre con el Quijote, la representación simbólica o si se quiere alegórica del espíritu de España; la constancia de los cambios operados en ese espíritu con el devenir de la historia; la pintura de la vida social, hidalgos, nobles, campesinos, hampones; las manifestaciones de la psicología colectiva e individual, sumada una en la otra, en los estados normales o anormales; todo ello asentado en la literatura científica disponible e incorporando a una estructura formal de novela realista e idealista al mismo tiempo, seria y humorística, culta y popular, trágica y cómica. (*Cervantes en Galdós* 14-15)

59 Rodríguez observes that by the end of the third series "Calpena evolves into a mature man in control of his destiny" (112).

60 Dendle keenly observes that Rafaela's past experiences have given her the ability to understand the hypocrisy of Spanish society: "Rafaela, separated from their brutal husband, sees clearly into the hypocrisies of a society that offers her neither moral nor material support. Life has taught her to be a *materialista*; she has observed the fortunes made by war-profiteers and purchasers of clerical lands" (*Mature Thought* 70).

61 Hinterhäuser notes that Bruno Carrasco and his family become a symbol of the failure of the Spanish middle class:

La familia Carrasco - tal como viene de la Mancha a Madrid, y en sus primeros años en la Corte - representa la «clase media» excluida de los beneficios de la desamortización; modesta, honrada, laboriosa y sana en todos los sentidos. Y en la evolución del cabeza de familia, Bruno Carrasco, Galdós encarna simbólica
y plásticamente la esforzada y trágica lucha de esta clase social por alcanzar la primacía política. (192-193)

62 This observation is echoed by Benítez, who underlines Galdós' theory that the imaginative tendency of Spain's generals converted all wars in cavalier actions:

En los Episodios Nacionales, Galdós desarrolla la idea de que los guerrilleros como Juan Martín el Empecinado, los militares de escuela como Espartero, O'Donnell y Prim, a los que se les aplica de distintos modos el calificativo de quijotescos, son expresiones del mismo carácter nacional, de esa tendencia imaginativa que convierte las guerras en una «cabalgata o expedición caballerescas». (Cervantes en Galdós 107)

63 Dendle shows that in the midst of all the social decay, Doña Leandra's deterioration mirrors Spain's demise: "Out of place in the Madrid she hates, far from La Mancha, which she adores, she degenerates like a Spain diverted from healthful goals, into paralysis and madness" (Mature Thought 77).

64 This initial statement made by Doña Leandra recalls Hamlet's famous, "Something is rotten in the state of Denmark."

65 The passage that I am referring to is the following:

Si la Historia, menos desmemoriada que el Tiempo, no se cuidase de retener y fijar toda humana ocurrencia, ya sea de las públicas y resonantes, ya de las domésticas y silenciosas, hoy no sabría nadie que los Carrascos, en su tercer cambio de domicilio, fueron a parar a un holgado principal de la Cava Baja de San Francisco. (II: 1307)

66 As Urey observes, "Cristeta's true objective history of the original causes of events everywhere reveals the prejudices, idiosyncracies, and shortsightedness of its narrator. This is nowhere more evident than in her prediction of Spain's glorious future" (Novel Histories of Galdós 90).

67 Urey makes a similar observation by noting that "[L]eandra's death comes at a point of transition between series, between the regency and Isabel II's
married reign, between a moment of optimism at the royal wedding and the steady degeneration toward 1868 and beyond" (Novel Histories of Galdós 91).
5. The Fourth Series of the *Episodios nacionales*

5.1 *Las tormentas del 48:* Revolution is in the Air

The fourth series of the *Episodios nacionales* introduces a new character, José (Pepe) García Fajardo, a twenty-two year old who has just returned to Spain after studying in Rome for two years. Of all the *episodios*, *Las tormentas del 48* is the least rooted in the political events of Spain. In fact, in writing his personal memoirs, Fajardo's major preoccupations are: the election of the new pope to succeed Gregory XVI, his affair with the peasant woman Barberina, and the vicissitudes of his personal life in Spain that eventually lead to his marriage to María Ignacia Emparán y Baraona, the only daughter of Feliciano de Emparán who has profited enormously from the recent sale of Church lands. The only major political event that is highlighted is the wave of revolutions that had spread throughout Europe in 1848, especially in France, hence the title *Las tormentas del 48*. Due to Narváez's tight grip on the nation, Spain was able to avoid the revolutionary tidal wave. Yet despite the apparent lack of concern in this episodio with the specific political developments that occurred in Spain in the biennial of 1847-1848, Galdós managed to show how events in Europe affected Spain's internal affairs. Moreover, through Fajardo, who serves as the link between Spain and the rest of Europe, the reader witnesses the debate that was taking place in Spain at that time with respect to the rise of socialism in Europe, which Spain's elite considered to be an epidemic disease that threatened the nation's well-being.

Besides the lack of internal historical consideration, Galdós does not employ the myth of Don Quixote, which had been so important in the last series, as has been shown in the previous chapter. Despite this absence of quixotism, *Las tormentas del 48* does pay homage to Cervantes on many occasions. One such instance occurs at the beginning of the episode when the
reader learns that the author is merely the compiler or editor of Fajardo’s memoirs:

¿Vivirán estos apuntes más que la mano que los escribe? Por sí o por no, y contando con que ha de saltar, andando los tiempos, un erudito rebuscador o prendero de papeles inútiles que coja estos míos, les sacudo el polvo, los lea y los aderece para servírlos en el festín de la general lectura, he de poner cuidado en que no se me escape cosa de interés, en alumbrarme y guiar me con la luz de la verdad y en dar amenidad gustosa y picante a lo que refiera; que sin un buen condimento son estos manjares tan indigestos como desabridos. (II: 1413, emphasis is mine)

This is a technique that Cervantes had made popular when he revealed that the true writer of *Don Quixote* was Cide Hamete Benengeli. By adopting this technique Galdós was able to endow this episode with a greater degree of verisimilitude. Moreover, Galdós also made use of another *topos* which Cervantes tended to exploit. The italicized portion of the passage that has been quoted underlines the use of the artifice of "captatio benevolentiae", a sort of false modesty, which had the purpose of endearing the writer to the reader by purposely underestimating the value of what had been written.

One of the most obvious examples of reverence for Cervantes' masterpiece is to be found in chapter nine when Fajardo provides this chapter with a title that imitates the type of chapter titles found in *Don Quixote*: "De la singular y nunca imaginada aventura que le salió al caballero Fajardo en el baile de Villahermosa, con el inaudito encuentro de una misteriosa máscara" (II: 1439). The chapter itself has a quixotic flavour to it in that Fajardo is made fun of, much in the same way that *Don Quixote* is the brunt of so many jokes that are played on him.
The last Cervantine allusion to be highlighted is reminiscent of the second part of *Don Quixote* in which the knight's fortunes and misfortunes have already been published without him being aware. At one of Serafin del Socobio's *tertulias*, his wife Eufrasia Carrasco del Socobio tells Fajardo that his memoirs have been read by "medio Madrid, y tiene usted una celebridad reservada, que no sale en papeles públicos, mas no por eso menos extendida" (II: 1456). The explanation for this phenomenon is that initially Fajardo's sister-in-law, Sofia, had stolen his memoirs and passed them on to a nun at the famous convent of La Latina where Sor Patrocinio and Fajardo's sister, Sor Catalina de los Desposorios, resided. That nun, in turn, made his memoirs accessible to the public, and therefore politicians such as the infamous Count of San Luis, Luis Sartorius, had already read and enjoyed his *Confesiones*.

As has been shown, Galdós felt eternally indebted to Cervantes, and this sentiment manifests itself in every episode in one way or another. However, in this particular episode, Galdós did not exploit the myth of Don Quixote. Perhaps the reason was that he wished not to overexploit it so that when he would return to it, the myth would gain a greater effect and vigour. If he had continuously utilized the myth it is probable that it would have become stale due to its overexploitation.

In writing his memoirs, Fajardo's chief preoccupation seems to be the issue of what he intends to accomplish by writing his life's story, especially during the two-year period that he spent in Rome. There is a decidedly didactic purpose, which mirrors Galdós' Krausist belief in the pedagogical benefits of writing about Spain's past. Fajardo assures his future readers that he is prepared to tell the whole truth of his life "para enseñanza y escarmiento de los venideros" (II: 1415). He later reiterates, in a rather lengthy observation, that history has an inherent didactic value, and consequently his prime motivation is to enlighten future generations about Spain's past mistakes and mishaps:
Respondo que todo ejemplo de vida contiene enseñanza para los que vienen detrás, ya sea por fas, ya por nefas, y útil es toda noticia del vivir de un hombre, ya ofrezca en sus relatos la diafanidad de los hechos virtuosos, ya la negrura de los feos y abominables, porque los primeros son imagen consoladora que enseñe a los malos el rostro de la perfección para imitarlos, los otros imagen terrorífica que señale a los buenos las muecas y visajes del pecado para que huyan de parecérsele. (II: 1428-1429)

Fajardo attempts to justify the act itself of writing history and of writing his own life's history. In the first paragraph of the episode Fajardo addresses himself directly to his Spanish readers and posits that his objective is to attempt to gather together public and private events. He also states that he will try to capture the psychology of the society in which he lives:

Españoles nacidos y por nacer: sabed que de algún tiempo acá me acosa la idea de conservar empapelados, con los fáciles ingredientes de tinta y pluma, los públicos acaecimientos y los privados casos que me interesen, toda impresión de lo que veo y oigo, y hasta las propias melancolías o las fugaces dulzuras que en la soledad balancean mi alma. (II: 1413)

Furthermore, Galdós, through Fajardo, dealt once again with the issue of what he considered history should be. On this occasion, however, the emphasis is placed on making the point that every individual makes history, that is, that anyone's life merits recording for posterity's sake, "y no me digan que la huella babosa que dejo no merece ser mirada por los venideros" (II: 1428). Thus, as he suggests in the following passage, history should not be the private domain of the elite, but rather the dominion of the entire society:

Todos los hombres hacen historia inédita, todo el que vive va creando ideales volúmenes que ni se estampan ni aun se escriben.
Digno será del lauro de Clío quien deje marcado de alguna manera el rastro de su existencia al pasar por el mundo, como los caracoles, que van soltando sobre las piedras un hilo de baba, con que imprimir su lento andar. (II: 1428)

Orality and the eyewitness testimonial are the two key components in Fajardo's approach to capturing the major historical events that were occurring within Spain. Through the tertulias, Galdós was able to capture the word on the street or chismografía, that is, gossip and scandal, as when Fajardo comments that at the tertulía at his brother's house he learned that "los narvaístas andaban locos por volver al Gobierno, y que los progresistas, alentados por Bullwër [sic], embajador inglés, hacían sus pinitos por colocarse en Palacio" (II: 1430). Though he is not directly quoting, the double-voiced discourse reveals that these were the voices of the tertulianos.

The other component that has been cited, that is, the eyewitness testimonial refers to the fact that Fajardo is writing in the present. In the Galdosian concept of history, contemporaneity is considered an essential quality for the recording of history. Moreover, he notes that he enjoys a privileged position by the mere fact that he knows people from all sectors of society: "Ricos y pobres alternan conmigo, y tontos y discretos; jóvenes estudiosos, de gran porvenir, y zotes que no sirven para nada" (II: 1439). Thus he is not limited in his perspective by socio-economic levels. Consequently, he feels more capable of offering a balanced and all-encompassing view of the Spanish reality. In making this point, Galdós was admitting to the problem he encountered in attempting to convey the sense of contemporaneity from his historical vantage point of writing decades after the events had happened. It seems clear that the ideal would have been to be a witness at the moment one was recording the day's events. But that, unfortunately, was not always possible. In order to overcome that problem, Galdós had to resort to fiction,
which granted him the freedom to imagine what could have been possibly said fifty years earlier. Fiction would allow him to get closer to the actors and describe as best he could the mind-set of society during the period of time covered in the *Episodios nacionales*.

One of the leitmotivs of *Las tormentas del 48* is, as the title states, revolution, which is constantly being alluded to, whether it be in Italy, France, Hungary (the Austro-Hungarian Empire), or Spain. The theme manifests itself for the first time when Fajardo recounts his experiences in Rome. It happened that at the time of his arrival Pope Gregory XVI had just died. Fajardo quickly suggests that the issue of his successor had a more profound meaning for Italians than simply the election of the spiritual leader of the Catholic Church, which, of course, in itself was important. Fajardo debated with his two Italian friends, Della Genga and Fornasari, as to who would be the papal successor. Fajardo's candidate was Mastai Ferretti, who did eventually become Pius IX. Fajardo affirms that there were strong hopes that this pope would lead a civil restoration of the Italian peninsula, but "Pasado algún tiempo de esta patriótica efervescencia, el entusiasmo empezó a degenerar en delirio y las demostraciones en vocerío y alborotos" (II: 1423). Italians began to gather behind such revolutionary leaders as Mazzini and Garibaldi in their quest to gain greater freedom. Revolution was definitely in the air.

At the same time that these events were unravelling in Italy, revolution was breaking out in France, a development that, according to Fajardo, was viewed by the Spanish Moderates with the utmost trepidation: "La novísima República establecida en aquel país tiene a nuestros moderados con el alma en un hilo" (II: 1460). This was reminiscent of the reaction of the Spanish government at the time of the French Revolution of 1789. In both cases, officials in Madrid attempted to close the border at the Pyrenees so that revolutionary propaganda could not enter the country. Yet despite these
governmental efforts, the flames of revolution, that had been sparked in Italy and France, were starting to burn in Spain, and this is what Fajardo signals in Las tormentas del 48 when he comments that a revolution was brewing as "los progresistas exaltados y los demócratas no descansan, ávidos de ocupar las poltronas, y más que en los elementos revolucionarios de aquí confían en el apoyo que les darán los de Francia" (II: 1460).

One of the first persons to speak to Fajardo about the incendiary milieu was Nicolás Rivero, the future president of the Cortes, who insisted on telling Fajardo that "España está cataléptica y necesita de grandes sacudimientos que la despabilen . . . ¡Revolución, revolución!" (II: 1488). Fajardo's closest friend, Guillermo Aransis, added that the Progressives were plotting against the Moderates. This reality is underlined during the funeral of Antoñita la Cordonera when shots are heard in the background from a revolt against the Narváez regime. As the following passage suggests, the vox populi was that this upheaval formed part of the greater European phenomenon: "También se dijo que estas marimorenas no son de nuestra invención, y que todo viene armado de fuera, de la Europa, y de las naciones extranjeras, que están toditas revolucionadas y dadas a los demonios" (II: 1495).

Galdós realized that at the root of the rise of revolution was the battle that was being waged against socialism and all its variants, such as Utopian socialism: the followers of Fourier, Owen, and Saint-Simon. This battle is perhaps best illustrated in Fajardo's spiritual dilemma: he asserts that he is a follower of Saint-Simon, but once he marries into a rich family, the Emparanes, he admits to having become a conservative. His marriage to María Ignacia provokes a personal crisis because he feels that he has been undeservedly privileged since, up to that point, he had led a very irresponsible and meaningless life:
Volvi a preguntar qué había hecho yo para merecer participación tan lucida en aquella colosal riqueza. ¿Qué organismo social es éste, fundado en la desigualdad y en la injusticia, que cieamente reparte de tan absurdo modo los bienes de la tierra? ( . . . ) Yo, señorito holgazán, inútil para todo; yo, que no sé trabajar ni aporto la menor cantidad de bienes a la familia humana, ¿con qué derecho me apropio esa inmensa fortuna? (II: 1510)

Faced with this reality, Fajardo declares that he is a Saint-Simonian Socialist who firmly believes that "el mundo es del pueblo, de todos, y que el derecho a los goces no es exclusivo de una clase privilegiada" (II: 1510).

Nevertheless, now that Fajardo has become rich, he paradoxically manifests his fear of socialism, which will rob him of his new gained wealth: "Me pone carne de gallina la idea de que una súbita y despiadada revolución venga a despojarme de todo esto que será mío, que ya casi en principio lo es" (II: 1510). Yet then he follows this admission with his promise to remain faithful to his socialist principles: "ya me defenderé hábilmente, y en último caso, mi externa flexibilidad me permitirá compaginar las ideas con las obligaciones" (II: 1511). Fajardo also asserts, in a sort of foreshadowing of what was to come, that though this revolt failed, it was only to be the first of many storms which would result in a "furioso torbellino que arrase el vano edificio de nuestra propiedad, sin que contra él nos valgan falanges ni falansterios" (II: 1511).

Fajardo's last promise is to lead a tranquil family life in which he will educate his children to be caring of the poor:

Entretanto, debemos vivir lo mejor que podamos, y criar a los hijos, el que los tenga, en la devoción de la buena vida, y enseñarles a que no humillen al pobre y a que le den
cariñosamente las sobras de nuestras mesas, para que comiendo se curen de la manía de arrebatarnos lo que poseemos. (II: 1514)

It is interesting to see that, once again, Galdós' protagonists, such as Fernando Calpena, Santiago Ibero, and Zoilo Arratia, and now José García Fajardo, all decide to lead quiet family lives. It is in the bosom of one's family that these characters believe that they will be doing their best to improve society.

This desire to lead a strong family life is the result of personal growth after having led a privileged and irresponsible existence. Once he lands at the beach at Vinaroz in 1847, which reminds one of the return of Tirso's Don Juan from Italy, Fajardo receives everything on a golden platter. As soon as he arrives in Madrid his older brother Agustín finds him a job in the Gaceta. This privileged position is reinforced when his new editor, Faustino Cuadrado, is unjustly fired after Fajardo had complained to him about having to work so hard. There is a feeling that Cuadrado's unfortunate destiny has been sealed by the nuns of La Latina where Fajardo's sister resides. In the last chapter, the absurdity and injustice of this development is underscored when we learn from Cuadrado's wife that Faustino has been shipped off to the Philippines as if he were a criminal, while Fajardo has received the prize of marriage into one of the richest families in Madrid. This growing power of the nuns as a force for the moderados to contend with becomes, as we shall see, a major focus of the next episode which is simply entitled, Narváez.

5.2 Narváez: The Reign of Terror

Written in 1902, Narváez is the second instalment of Fajardo's memoirs, who, by marrying María Ignacia Emparán y Baraona in June 1848, received the title of Marquis of Beramendi. Written from the medieval town of Atienza where the newlyweds were spending their honeymoon, this episode deals with General Ramón María de Narváez's oppressive regime between 1848 and
1849, a period which witnessed the rise of the Church as a major political foe. The episode describes the growing dissatisfaction of the Roman Catholic Church with the Narváez-led Moderates, which resulted in the short-lived Ministerio Relámpago of General Cleonard in October 1849. Despite the failure of this ecclesiastically supported government, the Church was to continue to be a thorn in the side of the Moderates.

Unlike the first episode, which avoided, for the most part, the socio-political issues of Spain, Narváez delves into the socio-political issues that Spain was facing at the halfway point of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Galdós did not forget to endow the episode with a grain of humour. As we shall see, Galdós turned to the myth of Don Quixote once again to contribute that humour which is so desparetely needed in the midst of the pathetic picture that he painted of a Spain that was afflicted with all sorts of problems. There is no doubt that the general tone of Narváez could best be described as pessimistic. In fact, the entire episode is framed by a feeling of pessimism, which is established in the very first paragraph of the novel when Fajardo, in reiterating his wish that his memoirs serve a didactic function for future generations of Spaniards, comments that Spain's future is as dark as its past has been:

que si la Historia, mirada de hoy para lo pasado, nos presenta la continuidad monótona de los mismos crímenes y tonterías, vista de hoy para lo futuro no ha de ofrecernos mejoría visible de nuestro ser, sino tan sólo alteraciones de forma en la maldad y ridiculez de los hombres, como si éstos pusieron todo su empeño en amenizar el carnaval de la existencia con la variación y novedad pintoresca de sus disfraces morales, literarios y políticos. (II: 1517)
One of Galdós' major preoccupations in this episode is, once again, the issue of historiography. The earliest manifestation of Galdós' meditation on this subject deals precisely with the issue of subjectivity, which is brought up when Fajardo points out that, according to the Madrid daily, *El Heraldo*, Narváez was firmly in control of the nation (II: 1524). This, however, is contrasted by the reports that Fajardo's brother, Ramón, sends him from Madrid. Ramón assures him that Narváez's days are numbered: "El Rey no le quiere, la Reina Madre tampoco, y alrededor de Sus Majestades bullen enemigos encubiertos del espadón de Loja" (II: 1524). It becomes apparent that *El Heraldo* was nothing more than a propagandizing medium for the government of Narváez. This reality was supported later in the episode, by Eufrasia del Socobio who, while writing to Fajardo, denounced the Moderates' manipulation of the historical record as an utter and complete lie which covered up their corruption:

> Yo no creo en estos hombres, Pepe, ni usted tampoco. La Historia de España, mientras hubo guerra, es una Historia que pone los pelos de punta; pero la que en la paz escriben ahora estos danzantes, no se pone los pelos de ninguna manera, *porque es una historia calva, que gasta peluca*. (II: 1579, emphasis is mine)

It was against official lies such as these that Galdós was motivated to write the *Episodios nacionales*. The problem that Galdós encountered was how to rewrite Spain's past in order to capture it in a lively manner, which would be faithful to the truth so that it did not simply become another type of propaganda. Galdós insisted on writing a history that would be completely different to all those official histories. It is in this spirit that Fajardo explained to Isabel II that Spain needed a history that would deviate from the old standard of being dressed up "con un laurel en la mano y un león a los pies", which he considered to be part of that "Historia oficial, académica y mentirosa" (II: 1612). Fajardo went on to posit that what Spain needed and deserved was a
history "del ser español, la del alma española, en la cual van confundidos Pueblo y Corona, súbditos de Reyes . . ." (II: 1612). In other words, Galdós was advocating an inclusive history, rather than an exclusionary history that drove the masses to the margins and into oblivion.

The problem that remained for Galdós was how to write that inclusive history so that it would ring true. Deeply perturbed by this problem, Fajardo tells his wife that he must live history in its present moment: "Para conocer sus elementos necesito vivirla, ¿entiendes? Vivirla en el pueblo y junto al Trono mismo. ¿Y cómo he de estudiar yo la palpitación nacional en esos dos extremos que abarcan toda la vida de una raza? . . ." (II: 1628). But Galdós realized that this was almost always impossible: "¿No ves que es imposible? El ideal de esa historia me fascina, me atrae . . ., pero ¿cómo apoderarme de él?" (II: 1628).

When María Ignacia then attempts to summarize the recent events in Spain, Fajardo replies that "sólo concedes la superficial apariencia, la vestidura de las cosas" (II: 1628). In order to understand those events, Fajardo argues that one has to penetrate the psyche of the actors because, "[d]ebajo está el ser vivo, que ni tú ni yo conocemos. Es lo histórico inédito, que dejaría de serlo si yo pudiera cultivar mi arte" (II: 1628). It is this ideal of capturing what had not been published by official history that had become an almost obsession for Galdós as he proceeded with the Episodios nacionales. He wished to write what had never been expressed on paper, namely the underlying motivations, worries, anxieties, wishes, and thought processes of the nation's citizens, without limiting himself to Spain's elite.

In spite of the realization that the task was monumental and perhaps unrealistic, Galdós based his attempt of capturing the present on two components that have previously been cited: orality and testimonials. Though these elements have already been underlined, it remains invaluable to observe how Galdós repetitively dealt with the same issue in so many of his episodes. It
thus becomes very evident that this historiographic problem was, along with the myth of Don Quixote and Spain's condition, uppermost on his mind.

It is ironic that Isabel II, who had also read Fajardo's memoirs, as had apparently most of Madrid, compliments him precisely for his ability to convey a sense of immediacy "y con tanta naturalidad que parece que las estamos viendo" (II: 1605). It is ironic also that it is Isabel II who, in trying to explain to Fajardo her lack of understanding of the value of money, states "Pues te lo voy a contar; porque aunque parece cuento no lo es; es Historia . . ., sólo que estas cosas no pasan a la Historia . . ." (II: 1608). This is exactly what Galdós was attempting to do: ensure that what had traditionally been omitted by history as insignificant would no longer be omitted or forgotten. The story that the queen tells of how she, without hesitation, was willing to give a young man the 20,000 duros that he had begged for tells us, in many ways, more about Isabel II than any official history could. This story illustrates the isolation in which the young queen lived and her lack of contact with the realities of life. Consequently, one is able to better understand that she was in no position to lead her country into the twentieth century.

Another method that Galdós employed to capture that hidden or forgotten history was to transmit the popular voice through rumours, gossip, and even popular poems that were emerging in society. The reader learns of Narváez's dismissal by the queen, for example, through the testimonial of Carriquiri, a liberal politician and friend of Fajardo, whose description of Narváez's firing exudes the informality which is characteristic of everyday speech:

-Hay crisis - dijo Carriquiri entrando a media noche -; la crisis más absurda y más . . . demagógica que puede imaginarse . . . Nada: que a don Ramón, sin decirle oste ni moste, le ponen la cuenta en la mano y le señalan la puerta. (II: 1615)
Fajardo quickly reacts to this news by going to the presidencia to interview the major actors, such as, Narváez and his right-hand man Sartorius. Fajardo is thus able to record Narváez's reaction to this regal decision: "- Señorones, ya lo ven ustedes: eso no tiene nombre . . . Sí, sí; lo tiene: es una canallada . . . ¡Ni entre gitanos, señores; ni entre gitanos!" (II: 1616).

It is this same literary ability that allowed him to penetrate the walls of the room in which María Cristina scolded her daughter the queen for creating the entire mess of the Ministerio Relámpago. Fajardo, Galdós' alter-ego, subsequently imagined the scene and what was said by the queen mother in the following way: "Hija querida, se puede hacer todo . . . , todo precisamente no, pero bastante sí; se puede hacer mucho. Lo que no puede de ningún modo hacerse es lo que ha hecho" (II: 1626). It does not matter that these were not the precise words; what matters is the idea that María Cristina let her daughter know that she had committed a very imprudent act that hurt Spain. It is thanks to his novelistic imagination that Galdós was able to endow this historic novel with a sense and feeling of movement and contemporaneity that could simply not be achieved in a purely historic text. It is for this reason that such great writers as Max Aub and María Zambrano, and even historians such as Jover Zamora and Seco Serrano, have affirmed that Galdós' Episodios nacionales were full of life and emotion, and communicated Spain's past better than any historian could.

Part of Galdós' task was sociological and linguistic in nature, such as the inclusion in Narváez of popular poems that dealt with the Ministerio Relámpago. These quartets and tercets have the effect of transmitting the popular feeling of the people with regards to the principal actors of this political event. One of the quartets, for example, illustrates the resentment felt by the people towards Sor Patrocinio, who, it was felt, had duped the queen into making such a ridiculous decision:
Venero a Dios, venero al Tabernáculo,
mas no a hipócrita sor, que con emético
llagas remeda, a cuyo humor herpético
fué quizás el torpe vicio receptáculo. (II: 1623)

The frustration of the people is eloquently underlined in the last tercet, in which revolution is promised if things do not change:

Mas si la farsa demasiada cínica
se repite, caerán todas las máscaras,
y arderá España entera como un fósforo. (II: 1629)

Thus in acting as part anthropologist and part socio-linguist, Galdós retrieved popular expressions and poems from the past that now live forever. The past has thus become present -- an eternal present. This is, in my estimation, the great achievement of Galdós' meditation on the relationship between history and fiction.

The concept of medievalness returns in this episode. Galdós insisted on stating that Atienza possessed a medieval character. The local historian, Buenaventura Miedes, of whom we shall speak, assures Fajardo that the Alto Rey, a mountain in Atienza, has witnessed all of Spain's great peoples and heroes since the time of the Iberians and the Romans:

Esta angostura - nos dijo - es el pasadizo habitual de la Historia de España. Iberos y romanos, castellanos y agarenos han entrado y salido por él en sus invasiones y continuas guerras. Por allí pasó Almanzor cuando vino a encontrar la muerte en Medinaceli; por allí pasó el Cid cuando, despedido del Rey, emprendió la gloriosa campaña que nos cuenta y canta el Romancero; por allí, todos los Alfonso; por allí, en nuestro siglo, el general Hugo; por allí, el Empecinado; por allí, Cabrera ... (II: 1525)
Furthermore, the political system of Atienza harks back to feudal times with the mayor Manuel Salado, a cacique in the truest sense of the word, whom Fajardo judges to be "mejor alcalde para sí que para el pueblo que administra" (II: 1539).

This notion of anachronism, which, in this particular case, dates back to pre-medieval times, is highlighted by the introduction of a family that will grow in prominence in future episodes: the Ansúrez family, whose patriarch is Jerónimo Ansúrez, popularly known as "el celtibero". This family is, according to Miedes, the prototypical Celtiberian family because of their physical features. A widower, Jerónimo has five sons and a daughter, Lucila, who Fajardo believes to be "la mujer más hermosa que yo había visto en mi vida" (II: 1532). Miedes gives to all of Jerónimo's sons and daughter a Celtiberian name: Diego is Didaco or Yago; Gil is Egidio; Gonzalo becomes Gundisalvo; Rodrigo is Ruy; Leoncio becomes Leguntio; and Lucila has many names: Lucinda, Lucania, Lucinelda, and Illipulicia.

However, the character who best underscores this feeling of anachronism is the pedantic quasi-erudite historian of "las antigüedades atienzanas", Ventura Miedes, whose presence as a Quixote fills the episode with humour. This characterization as a Quixote gradually emerges in the treatment of the character. The first obvious parallel with Cervantes' hero is that both men shared a great passion for books. In fact, Miedes, like Don Quixote, sells one of his properties in order to buy some paper. Fajardo then reveals that Miedes, "Vivía solo con su biblioteca y una criada viejísima, a quien llamaban la Ranera" (II: 1528), which reminds one of Don Quixote's living situation. Fajardo provides a picture of Miedes' house that is reminiscent of the famous Gustav Doré engravings of Don Quixote, in which the knight errant barely had enough room for himself amongst all of his books.
Miedes' quixotic nature becomes full blown, however, after being hit in the head by large hail stones, which leave him ranting and raving against an imagined enemy who wishes to take away from him his Dulcinea, Lucila Ansúrez, whom he now has named Illipulicia:

-Tú, pastor Taracena - dijo con gran desvarío de miradas, 
trabamiento de lengua y agitación de manos -, me declaraste la guerra porque me has visto perdidamente enamorado de la hermosa Illipulicia, hija del rey Zuria o Zuri, que a mi parecer, es familia que ha venido de la Troade, vulgarmente Troya, destruida por los griegos . . . (II: 1545)

As one can appreciate, Miedes' quixotism provides this episode with a large measure of comic relief.

Later in the episode, Galdós resorted to another Cervantine trope to provide the text with a dose of humour by signalling that Fajardo's not yet published memoirs have become known in Madrid, a development which mirrors that of the second part of Don Quixote. Fajardo comments that he finds it to be amazing and inexplicable that the queen's husband, Don Francisco, has read that part of his confessions which had not been lost or stolen:

Lo extraordinario, lo que suscitó en mí tanta sorpresa como admiración, por el poder adivinatorio que en don Francisco revelaba, fue que me hablase de la continuación de mis Memorias, escrita en Madrid en febrero y marzo del año anterior, parte que no se me ha perdido y bien guardada está en mi poder, y yo bien seguro de que por nadie ha sido leída. (II: 1603)

These two examples of comic relief that were inspired by Don Quixote are, however, few and far between. The general tone of Narváez is serious; in this episode there are a series of observations on and denunciations of the socio-political and economic situation in the Spain of the mid-1800s. But
despite all these denunciations, Galdós insisted on defending Isabel II as a victim of a poor education that was based on medieval concepts of governing. During Fajardo's conversation with the queen, she explains that she is guided exclusively by divine inspiration, a concept that clearly comes from the Middle Ages:

No queda más que la inspiración, y pedir a Dios que me dirija, que me ponga las cosas bien claras, de modo que yo las pueda resolver. De Dios viene todo lo bueno... Dios, que ha permitido los sacrificios que este pueblo ha hecho por mí, me iluminará para que yo no resulte una ingrata. (II: 1611)

One of the issues that had been untouched until this episode was that of the Spanish farmer. The agrarian issue, on which the Regenerationist advocate Joaquín Costa had written in depth, is covered in Narváez thanks to Jerónimo Ansúrez, a farmer for most of his life. After being seriously affected by the hail storm, el celtibero laments the lack of support that the Spanish government provides the average farmer. In fact, Ansúrez argues that instead of helping, Madrid creates obstacles through the imposition of an endless number of taxes that are established to sustain an inordinate number of government officials who are nothing more than officially approved parasites:

Déjenme ahora maldecir y renegar del diezmo, de la primicia, del voto de Santiago, del apremio, del montonero, del embargo, de la mano muerta, de la mano viva. (..) Váyanse al demonio el alcalde, el jefe político, el regidor decano, el síndico personero, el agente de apremios, el recaudador, el fiel de fecho, el escribano, el alguacil, el del fielato, el pontonero y cuantos tienen autoridad del ministro para abajo. (II: 1541)
Ironically, Librada, Fajardo's mother, supports Jerónimo's argument when she also posits that today's farmer survives miraculously in spite of all the obstacles that are placed by the government:

Mala es hoy la condición del labrador rico, agobiado de contribuciones y gabelas, y expuesto a que se lo coman, al menor descuido, los viles usureros; pero la del labrador pobre, que apenas saca para el sostén de su familia y animales, es mucho peor, como que vive de milagro; y nada quiero deciros de los que, no poseyendo más que sus cuerpos, se atienen a un jornal, cuando lo hay, que éstos son como esclavos propiamente. (II: 1547)

It is out of this frustration with all the impositions placed on the Spanish farmer, that Jerónimo launches an impassioned plea for greater freedom. Ansúrez's defense of liberty is one of the most eloquent arguments in favour of liberalism that can be found in any of the episodios or in any other of Galdós' works:

El mundo es malo de por sí, y esta nuestra tierra de España, tan sembrada y rodeada está de males, que no puede vivir en ella quien no se deje trabas en manos y pies, dogales en el pescuezo, que al modo de cordeles son las tantísimas leyes con que nos aprieta el maldito Gobierno, y lazos los arbitrios en que nos cogen para comernos tantos sayones que llamamos jefe político, alcalde, obispo, escribano, procurador, síndico, repartidor de derramas, cura párroco, fiel de fechos, guardia civil, ejecutor y toda la taifa que mangonea por arriba y por abajo, sin que uno se pueda zafar . . . (II: 1533)

Ansúrez concludes by denouncing the entire socio-political machine, which has been incapable of granting true freedom, despite the countless number of constitutions. The Church is not spared in Jerónimo's critique of the ruling elite.
El celtibero denounces the religious hierarchy for its inability to bring to its followers the peace and freedom that it had always promised. On the contrary, Ansúrez feels that the Church castigates instead of saving its parishioners:

Somos todos indómitos y aborrecemos leyes y renegamos del arreglo que ha traído al mundo los reyes por un lado, los patriotas por otro, con malditas constituciones que de nada sirven y libertad que a nadie liberta, religión que a nadie redime, castigos que no enmiendan a nadie, civilización que no instruye y libros que no se sabe lo que son, porque éste los alaba y el otro los vitupera. (II: 1534)

Besides the agrarian issue, the phenomenon of cesantía and patronage, which was an endemic problem that afflicted the Spanish civil service, is also highlighted by Fajardo in his description of the rise of the Cleonard-Colombi regime of the Ministerio Relámpago. Fajardo describes the mood of uncertainty felt by the civil service during the transition from Narváez to Cleonard:

Desiertas, según oí, estaban las oficinas; un sentimiento de ansiosa interinidad lanzaba a los funcionarios a la calle y a todo sitio donde corrieran auténticas noticias, y aquí y allá los poseedores del presupuesto encontraban la nube de famélicos cesantes. (II: 1618)

One of the more blatant cases of patronage that is cited by Fajardo is that of Vicente Armesto, who was Cleonard's brother-in-law.

It thus seems clear to any reader of this episode that Galdós' frustration with political corruption and the lack of true liberty that had been promised with the Glorious Revolution of 1868 manifests itself in an incessant fashion. Fajardo's election victory, which was in reality an appointment, provides Galdós with the opportunity to point out the corrupt nature of the political process. As one learns, it is thanks to his father-in-law and the minister of the
Interior, Sartorius, that Fajardo, who has no political ambition, wins the right to represent Tolosa, a riding in which he has never lived or even visited. Fajardo assures his future readers that his mission is to simply do as the government wishes: "estoy obligado a votar siempre con el Gobierno, salvo en alguna cuestión vascongada que pudiera surgir, y, en caso de disidencia, votar con Sartorius, como fiel parroquiano de su iglesia" (II: 1573). Eufrasia del Socobio underlines the corrupt nature of the Cortes by assuring Fajardo that the parliament only serves as a vehicle to get rich or to defend one's wealth: "Esto es muy bueno para los que buscan el negocio; pero los que ya lo tienen hecho no vienen aquí más que a servir de comparsas . . ." (II: 1575). The Progressive, Salustiano Olózaga, echoes Eufrasia's comments when he suggests that the Cortes are a sham and a rubber-stamp for the government: "Ese cencerro convoca todo el ganado de la mayoría para que vote lo que manda el Gobierno. Vaya usted, corra y lleve preparado el "sí" o el "no", según lo que sea . . ." (II: 1576).

Galdós must have felt that the situation had become so ridiculous that the notion of Spain's history as feuilleton is expressed on more than one occasion. Ironically, the first to express this sentiment is the queen mother, who tells Fajardo that Spain's history "es y será siempre un folletín" (II: 1612) After the dismissal of Narváez, an unidentified person suggests that, "La Historia de España se nos está volviendo folletín", to which Fajardo adds "folletín tonto" (II: 1615). It is therefore quite logical that Galdós adopted the feuilleton style of writing in so many of the episodios because the feuilleton expressed the sense that Spain's politics had become a pathetic serial.

Another important issue that Galdós explored in Narváez was the growing rise of the Church's political influence vis-à-vis the Moderate government of Narváez. The Church hierarchy was dissatisfied with Narváez, who they expected would have returned the Church to its hegemonic status
before the laws of disentailment were implemented. Narváez was not willing to adopt such a policy, but he did attempt to develop closer ties with the Vatican. It was for this reason that forces had been sent to Rome to defend the pope. Yet during Fajardo's meeting with Narváez, the latter complains about the Spanish Church's criticism of his ecclesiastical policies:

¿Tienen algo que echarme en cara como jefe de un Gobierno que está obligado, como todos a mirar por los intereses eclesiásticos? Hablo de intereses, porque de fe y de principios no hay que hablar, que católicos el que más y el que menos somos todo aquí. ¿No he mandado un ejército a Italia para restaurar a Pío IX en sus Estados, que le birlaron los demagogos de Roma? (II: 1568)

That the Church was gaining power is a certainty that is confirmed by Narváez himself when he swears that he will not allow the Church to regain exclusive power:

Pues ahora los convenidos de Vergara, y los clérigos de capa corta que allí tuvieron su desengaño, quieren suplantarnos y abolir el Régimen y traernos el carlismo sin don Carlos, o el absolutismo con Isabel, y esto no hemos de tolerarlo, ¡carape! . . . (II: 1562)

The Church's rise is also confirmed by María Ignacia's confidence in the nuns' ability to find Jerónimo Ansúrez a job once he arrives in Madrid because it is her observation that presently "los San Luis y Narváez, con todo su poder de relumbón, quedan hoy muy por bajo de sor Catalina y de las otras monjas sus compañeras, las cuales, a la calladita, llevan su influjo a todos los ramos, y a la mismísima superintendencia de Palacio y Sitios Reales" (II: 1542). Furthermore, the entire affair of the Ministerio Relámpago is attributed by José Zaragoza, the political head of Madrid, to the machinations of the nuns in the Convent of Jesus, home of Sor Patrocinio. This feeling was supported by the vox populi, which had already begun calling the Lightning Ministry the
Ministerio Fulgencio-Patrocinio, the former being Don Francisco's personal adviser, and thus would have had direct access to Isabel II. Writing at a time after the premiere of Electra and the growing protest in the streets of Spain's major cities, Galdós was to continue his exploration of the secret maneuvering of priests and nuns fifty years earlier in the next episode, Los duendes de la camarilla.

Finally, with regards to the portrayal of Narváez, for whom Galdós held no sympathy, it must be said that the espadón de Loja is not depicted as a total monster, but rather as a man with many faults who pretended to impose order in a country lacking in it and to be the defender of the upper class. Galdós made it clear early in his treatment of this powerful figure that Narváez had no concept of what liberalism signified. When Fajardo asks Narváez to explain liberalism to him, Narváez replies, "Yo lo siento, pero la definición no me sale, no doy con ella" (II: 1599). Furthermore, Fajardo affirms that Narváez had no appreciation for the concept of parliament. This prompts Fajardo to interject that liberalism did not exist in Spain: "Tal como tenemos hoy el Régimen, no es otra cosa que el absolutismo adornado de guirnaldas liberales" (II: 1599). This was a belief that Galdós had also expressed many times in his articles, as we saw in the third chapter of this study. Yet though Eufrasia accuses Narváez of having wanted power simply as a method of extracting revenge on his rival Esparrtero (II: 1578-1579), this picture is offset by Fajardo's relief that Spain has a Narváez "que con el ten con ten de su fiereza y gracias andaluzas, tigre cuando se ofrece, gato zalamero si es menester, maneja, gobierna y conduce a este díscolo reino, y en él asegura el bienestar de los que lo han adquirido, o están en el trajín de su adquisición" (II: 1556).

Galdós portrayed a Narváez who was deeply frustrated by having to rule within the limits set by the queen's whims and caprices and the growing influence on her that the Church exerted. In the interview with Fajardo,
Narváez expresses what has become a commonplace in the *Episodios nacionales*, which was that Spain was completely mad, from top to bottom:

> Parece que aquí todos están locos . . ., locos los de abajo, locos los de arriba y los de más arriba . . . ( . . . ) Aquí, el Gobierno no halla día seguro; aquí es imposible acostarse sin pensar: "¿qué absurdo, qué disparate nos caerá mañana?" Y se da usted a discurrir cosas raras y nunca acierta. ( . . . ) El que inventó el llamar cosas de *España* a todos los desatinos que da de sí esta nación, ya supo lo que decía . . . (II: 1568)

Narváez's faithful assistant, Bodega, later reiterates Narváez's disillusionment when he explains to Fajardo that: "Aquí el gobernante está siempre vendido, porque cuando no hay revoluciones hay intrigas, y éstas salen de donde menos debieran salir; cuando no le atacan a uno de frente a por el costado, le minan el terreno" (II: 1598). But it is, ironically, Feliciano de Emparán who most succinctly states that the national character has been historically afflicted by a sense of exaggeration, which has manifested itself in every sphere, from religion to politics:

> -Sí, amigos míos, la exageración es lo que nos pierde a los españoles. Aquí el religioso cree que no lo es si no le damos la Inquisición, y el filósofo no ha de parar hasta la impiedad y el descreimiento; el militar quiere guerras para su medio personal, y el civil, revoluciones para desarmar al Ejército; el negociante no está contento si no alcanza ganancias locas por la usura y el monopolio; el hombre público no piensa más que en acaparar toda la influencia, dejando a los contrarios en seco. En todo la exageración, el fanatismo . . . (II: 1598)

Consequently, Emparán suggests that Spain desperately needs sensibility: "Si Dios quisiera hacer de España un gran pueblo, nos haría lo que no somos:
sensatos..." (II: 1598). One cannot help but feel certain that these were
Galdós' beliefs seeping through Emparán's words.

When Narváez returns to power, Fajardo makes it clear that the
general is ready to exact revenge on everyone, except curiously the clergy and
the nuns:

Narváez, que tan valiente parece, y realmente lo es frente a los
demagogos, progresistas, radicales y conspiradores del estado
laico, anda con pies de plomo allí donde puede tropezar con el fuero
de la Iglesia. (II: 1629)

Narváez himself admits to being reticent in having to deal with priests and
especially nuns: "Traiganme todos los ejércitos carlistas, y me batiré con ellos;
pero no me pongan frente a monjas protegidas por vicarios" (II: 1629-1630).
This observation about Narváez's reluctance to limit the Church is a true coup
de grace on Galdós' part for it shows how well he understood that the Narváez
Moderates had overestimated the true power and influence of the Church in
temporal matters. The fact that this point could be made in a novel
demonstrates Galdós' great ability to express significant historical and political
analyses.

There is no doubt that the Church was able to expand its sphere of
influence, especially in the Royal Palace. This is the subject of the next episode,
Los duendes de la camarilla. In it Galdós was to take a closer look at the role
played by the Church and especially by Sor Patrocinio in influencing and
molding the queen's policies, and how the Spanish nation in general viewed that
role.13
5.3 *Los duendes de la camarilla*: Galdós' Criticism of the Church

Written in the first months of 1903, *Los duendes de la camarilla* constitutes an attempt to depict the increasingly religious environment that dominated the reign of Isabel II. Through such characters as the protagonist Lucila Ansuérrez, the former nun Domiciana Paredes, Doña Victorina Sarmiento de Silva, and Manuel Centurión, the reader is given a privileged insight into the inner workings of the government and the Royal Palace, especially with regards to the relationship between the queen and the infamous Sor Patrocinio. It must be stated, however, that Galdós' bias towards the Church becomes evident through the negative depictions of every religious character, especially in the portrayals of the former nun Domiciana and the priest who attempted to assassinate Isabel II, Father Martín Merino. These two characters, in particular, are, as Geoffrey Ribbans has astutely remarked, "both the products of the distortion of personality from a perverse religious training" (97).

This episode deviates in its form from the previous two episodes in that Fajardo's memoirs are temporarily abandoned to give way to a narration in third person. At the same time, the reader perceives that there curiously is an absence of any meditation on the relationship between history and fiction, which had so preoccupied Fajardo's confessions. Moreover, in those first two episodes the reader was guided by Fajardo through the upper echelons of Madrid society; now in the third episode, the reader is offered a view of the Spanish lower class. From the beginning, one finds oneself following an unidentified woman walking "en una de sus más pobres y feas calles, la llamada de Rodas, que sube y baja entre Embajadores y el Rastro" (II: 1633). In this initial paragraph, Galdós stressed the poverty of this environment by his use of light. There is a notable lack of light: everything is dark, mysterious, and secretive. The identity of the young woman is kept a secret. Furthermore, she is dressed in black. One gets the impression, as she walks home, that she
somehow has the challenge of having to get through a maze of decrepit streets and homes. The building in which she lives is itself described as an "antro" (II: 1634), which conveys the idea of it being a hole in the ground or in a cave. But the journey home does not stop at the entrance to the building, from which emanates a nauseating odour. Even within the building itself there is another labyrinth that reminds one of Plácido Estupiñá's short-cut through the poultry store in order to get to his apartment in *Fortunata y Jacinta*. When she finally does arrive home "como paloma que vuelve al nido", the reader is told, in no uncertain terms, that the apartment was an "estancia mísera" (II: 1635). Underlining this poverty is the inauguration of the Teatro Real, which is attended by Isabel II and the queen mother, María Cristina. The juxtaposition of these diametrically opposed environments illustrates the injustice and deep divide that existed between these two worlds.

We learn that the young woman, who is called Cigüela, is, in fact, Lucila Ansúrez, who has rushed back home to be with her lover, Captain Bartolomé Gracían, a chronic Don Juan and injured Progressive fugitive who has been hiding from the Narváez forces for the past two years since the failed uprising of 1848.

The backdrop of *Los duendes de la camarilla* is therefore one of poverty and isolation as Lucila and Bartolomé belong to the have-nots of Madrid society. However, the focus of the episode becomes the rise of the Catholic Church, and, in particular, the growing influence exerted by Sor Patrocinio and her nuns on the monarchy. The attention that is bestowed on the nuns is foreshadowed by Gracían, who alludes to the atmosphere of fanaticism that was emerging as the military was not upholding its responsibility of checking the influence of the Church: "España vive siempre entre dos amos: el Ejército y la Clerécia, cuando el uno la deja, el otro la toma. ¿Duermen las espadas?, pues se despabila el fanatismo" (II: 1642).
Domiciana Paredes, the ex-nun, wax maker and pseudo-pharmacist, is the character that links the environment of the convent with that of the Palace. She had spent twenty years in the Convento de Jesús, the convent in which Sor Patrocinio had also resided. It was at the convent that she met Lucila, whose own stay was short-lived. Thus when Lucila is now in need of aid for her and her lover, it is Domiciana who provides them with some money and supplies. Yet one perceives something strange about this character. There is a secretive and eerie side to her personality. It is suggested, for example, that she feigned lunacy in order to get expelled from the convent. When she returned home to her father's business which is wax-making, the narrator assures us that, "No tardó en revelar su carácter mandón y autoritario" (II: 1644). In her desire for freedom and self-sufficiency she established a herbalist's; her home-made remedies quickly gained popularity in the convent and the palace. She subsequently gained access to Sor Patrocinio by consolidating her friendship with one of the queen's ladies-in-waiting, Doña Victorina Sarmiento de Silva, a close friend of Sor Patrocinio. As a result Domiciana soon became Sor Patrocinio's private messenger and informant about Palace affairs. There is one passage in particular that uses the technique of stream of consciousness to allow one to observe how Domiciana schemes and plots about national and ecclesiastical affairs (II: 1679-1680).

Moreover, by befriending Lucila it soon becomes apparent that she has an ulterior motive, which is to steal Bartolomé from her. Lucila notes, for example, a certain transformation in Domiciana's dress and speech which has become more worldly. Lucila later learns through Manuel de Centurión that Domiciana has asked the Vatican for a dispensation in order to marry. Centurión adds that she will receive the dispensation because of the influence she enjoys in the Palace and the Church:
Con influencias todo se consigue en la Curia romana, y ella cuenta con el embajador Castillo y Ayensa, con el Nuncio de acá, con las Madres, los Padres y el Rey marido. Y se saldrá con la suya, que esta gente tiene la Santísima Trinidad en el bolsillo . . . (II: 1692)

When Bartolomé mysteriously disappears, Lucila is convinced that her friend has abducted him, and thus decides to confront Domiciana. This confrontation, which extends for three chapters, constitutes the emotional apex of this episode. It is without doubt one of the most memorable and masterly scenes ever written by Galdós. There is a great psychological battle between these two women. The entire confrontation takes on the air of being a bullfight in which Domiciana, as the torera, evades Lucila's accusations by using her wit, imagination, and skill to convince Lucila, the bull, that she was not involved in Bartolomé's disappearance. Domiciana concocts a story that Gracían had been arrested by the police and taken to Santo Tomás. She assures Lucila that he was now under the control of Eufrasia del Socobio, the recently named Marchioness of Villares de Tajo. When Lucila finally leaves Domiciana's bedroom, the narrator states that Lucila left like "una pobre bestia huída" (II: 1704). Domiciana's ability to tell stories convinced Lucila. The overall impression that one gains of this ex-nun is that of an ingenious woman who has become perverse through her religious experiences in the convent. She lusts for power, and she understands that power is to be found in the convents of Spain, as she suggests to Lucila early in the episode when she advises her on how to gain a pardon for Bartolomé:

El poder de la Madre es tal que con escribir su voluntad en un papelito y mandarlo adonde quieran, hace y deshace los acontecimientos, así en lo grande como en lo chico. Y diciendo ella "esto quiero", no valen para impedirlo todos los Narváez del mundo, con sus bufidos de mal genio, ni la caterva de monigotes
viles que llaman ministros, los cuales no son más que
refrendadores de lo que manda... quien manda. (II: 1649)
The feeling that a theocracy existed in Spain is echoed by Centurión, who
expresses the popular belief that Sor Patrocinio was the de facto ruler of Spain:
A fines del año pasado, la madre Patrocinio dijo: "Quiero que sea
gentilhombre de Palacio don Angel Juan Alvarez", y al instante se
mandó extender el nombramiento. En enero, Isidorito Losa,
protegido de la misma Madre, quiso una plaza de gentilhombre con
8,000 reales. Abrió la Madre la boca y al instante se la medieron.
(II: 1666-1667)
Centurión is convinced that the new ministry of Juan Bravo Murillo, which
replaced the Narváez government, was a puppet regime installed with the sole
purpose of promoting the Church's hegemony in Spain: "Mejor que yo sabe
usted que a este Gobierno lo traen para que ponga la Religion sobre la Libertad
y el Orden sobre el Parlamentarismo" (II: 1666). In the same vein, Bartolomé
comments that the government of Bravo Murillo had been "appointed" in order
to extend the Church's hegemony:
-¿No crees tú, Lucila, que este Honrado Concejio de la Mesta, como
dicen los guasones, viene a trasquilar al militarismo para que le
crezca la lana a los cogullas? Esto es bien claro: se quiere
arrumbar a la tropa para que suba y medre el cleriguicio. (II:
1669)
Centurión later remarks that the general public understands that the Church
is the de facto head of government because an increasing number of poets have
dedicated their talent to writing poems with religious themes in order to find a
Maecenas:
No vivirían los poetas si no se arrimaran a los pesebres del
Estado, y como el Estado es hoy manos y pies invisibles del
cuerpo de la Iglesia, que tiene su visible cabeza en Roma, todos los jóvenes y viejos que andan por el mundo con una lira a cuestas, o la tocan para Dios y los Santos o no comen . . . (II: 1672)

Centurión himself, who is suffering from the chronic condition of cesantía, understands this development and hence spends all his time in the church of the convent of the Franciscan nuns.

The head of this religious rise was undoubtedly Sor Patrocinio. The portrayal that the monja de las llagas receives is that of a conniving, conspiring, and Machiavellian nun, who exercised an inordinate amount of influence on Isabel II. This famous nun's claim to having received the stigmata is undermined by Domiciana who, despite being a great admirer of this nun's skills, assures Lucila that the sores were not real because she herself used to reproduce them: "¿Cómo he de creer en las llagas, si sé cómo se hacen? Alguna vez ha recurrido a mí para que se las reprodujera cuando se le estaban cicatrizando" (II: 1651). There is an accusation that her miracles were created with the aid of a friar from Sigüenza, who disguised himself as the devil and "entraba por las habitaciones del Vicario y a los tejados se subía y a los claustros y celdas bajaba" (II: 1652). Domiciana also suggests that Sor Patrocinio is a political schemer who cosied up to the "devilish" Cristinos once the Convenio de Vergara was signed: "Patrocinio, mujer de gran pesquis, en cuanto tuvo noticia del convenio de Vergara, empezó a entenderse con los diablos cristinos y con los angélicos o isabelistas . . . " (II: 1653). Domiciana, who acted as Sor Patrocinio's private messenger, reveals that the famous nun gathered up material and information on the people and events of the Palace: "gustaba de reunir y archivar una viva documentación humana, de accidentes, menudencias o gacetillas que eran de grande auxilio para juzgar con acierto y enderezar bien las determinaciones . . ." (II: 1665). The impression that is left is of a J. Edgar Hoover or Richard Nixon who was obsessed with having all the
inside information. There is a clear suggestion by Galdós that Sor Patrocinio had perverted religion for her own means. Domiciana is hence a product of this degeneration and perversion for she models herself on Sor Patrocinio: "No hay mujer como ella. Yo la admiro, por muchas razones, por otras, la temo . . ." (II: 1651).

The other character who is an example of the perversion of religious training is Martín Merino, the priest who failed in his attempt to assassinate Isabel II on February 2, 1852. In this episode, Galdós tried to understand what had led him to commit such a horrible act. Though one learns that Merino was a cold-hearted moneylender, paradoxically, the general impression that one extracts from the portrayal of Merino is that of an idealistic and frustrated person. A frustration that derived from broken promises made by the elites of society.

The reader is allowed to see Merino's apartment, which was ironically located on the Callejón del Infierno (Hell's Alley), when Lucila speaks with him about getting a loan for her father and to find out what she could about Domiciana's whereabouts since Merino was Domiciana's confessor. Upon entering his home, Lucila quickly notes that, "Todo allí revelaba pobreza y avaricia" (II: 1709). When Lucila asks him for the loan, he initially denies having any money to lend because he has not yet been repaid by another borrower, and then he criticizes the injustices of Spanish society perpetrated by the elites:

La justicia está en manos de los fuertes, y los fuertes no la usan más que en provecho propio y en vituperio y perjuicio del humilde, del pobre, del limpio de corazón. Pero los fuertes caerán algún día . . . , vaya si caerán . . . (II: 1710)

When one adds this denunciation of the elite along with the fact that Domiciana gave him the knife that Lucila was going to use to kill her when she
confronted the ex-nun, one understands that Galdós was preparing the groundwork for the eventual assassination attempt against Queen Isabel II.

This urge to exact revenge on the queen became more apparent when Merino learned that in France Louis Napoleon had proclaimed himself Napoleon III. The common feeling in Madrid, as expressed by Centurión, was that this would propel the return of Narváez since Napoleon was a good friend of the espadón de Loja. The mere suggestion of Narváez's return propels Merino to launch another denunciation against Spain's tyrannical rulers:

Desde que tomó Narváez las riendas, España no es más que un laberinto de todos los males, y ahí tenéis al empleado que se merienda al contribuyente, al policía que nos encarcela al menos descuidado y al militar que por un triquitracue saca el chafarote y acuchilla a los ciudadanos. (II: 1731)

Thus the stage had been set for the assassination attempt itself to which the last chapter is dedicated. In typical Galdosian fashion, Lucila's marriage on February 2, 1852 coincides with the attempt on the queen's life. Merino's action is described through the voice of the masses; an unidentified man, perhaps a policeman, is the first to announce the startling news to the crowd that had gathered to view the royal procession: "-Señores, calma . . . , no ha sido nada. Matarla, no; no han matado a Su Majestad . . . Ha sido intento, como decimos, conato . . . Herida leve de Su Majestad . . . " (II: 1734). This is subsequently clarified by a voice described as the "voice of History", which refers to the voice of the people: "-Ha sido un cura, un cura . . . dije la voz de la Historia corriendo por toda la masa y encarnándose en ella-. Con un cuchillo . . . ha sido un cura, un cura . . . " (II: 1735). By stating that the weapon was a knife, Lucila instantly reacts by exclaiming, "¡Don Martín!" (II: 1735). And thus ends Los duendes de la camarilla. The subsequent proceedings against Merino
become the initial focus of the next episode, *La Revolución de julio*, at which point Fajardo's memoirs are resumed.

Galdós' prime target in this *episodio* was principally the Church, but it was not the only target. Lucila, for example, who resided for a short period in the Royal Palace, condemned the people and attitudes connected to the Palace as being complete liars: "En todo no ves más vanidad, mentira, y todo se te confunde y se te vuelve del revés; llegas a no saber si los criados parecen señorones o los señorones parecen criados" (II: 1721). And yet, as had become customary in Galdós, this criticism is deflected off Isabel II, as is suggested by Lucila's words: "Sólo una persona sería justa si la dejan, y es la Reina; pero no la dejan, la tienen metida en un fanal pintado de mentiras para que no vea la justicia ni la verdad" (II: 1721). Once again, Isabel is shown to be the victim of a gang of liars.

The strongest denunciation comes from the future father of the Revolution of 1868, the Count of Reus, General Juan Prim, who stood up in the Cortes to condemn the theocratic milieu created by the Church that harked back to the Middle Ages. In a passage of what Bakhtin would designate as double-voicing, Prim's voice is heard through Centurión's account of the General's fiery speech:

Pues, entre otras cosas, dijo el hombre que hemos vuelto a los tiempos de Carlos II, *el Embrujado*, que nos están llenando la Nación de frailes y monjas, que no hay Libertad y que este moderantismo es una farsa para que se redondeen cuatro mamalones. No lo dijo así... En fin... pidió mil gollerías y declaró que él es partidario del *naufragio universal*, de la libertad *disoluta* de la Imprenta, del *ateísmo libre* y del ciudadano libre o del respeto al individuo *suelto de derecho particular*... (II: 1717)
It becomes evident in this excerpt that the ideals of the *Setembrina* had been germinating for many years.

Jerónimo Ansúrez adds his voice to the call for revolution. After becoming another victim of the phenomenon of *cesantía*, Ansúrez recriminates the three pillars of society: the Monarchy, the Government, and the Church for having created an environment of lies and hypocrisy by promoting false hopes of liberty and democracy:

*Díganme todos si no es esto una marranada, dispensando, y si no
nos sobra razón a los españoles para tronar, como tronamos,
contra este Gobierno y el otro y todos, y contra la pastelera
alianza del Trono y el Altar, contra tanta cancamurria de
Libertad y Constitución, y contra la birria asquerosa de Moralidad
y Economía, que es pura mentira, perdonando.* (II: 1682)

While conversing with Merino, *el celtíbero* makes the astute point that the concept of work is ridiculous in a nation such as Spain where the only way of leading a comfortable life is either through illegal or questionable practices:

*Loco es en España el que fie del trabajo para vivir a gusto, que de
su sudor no ha de sacar más que afanes y ser el hazmerreír de los
que manipulan con lo trabajado. Tres oficios no más hay en
España que labren riqueza, y son éstos: bandido, usurero y
tratante en negros para las Indias.* (II: 1730)

Though Ansúrez remarks that the work ethic is not appreciated in Spain, the fact remains that his daughter Lucila marries a man who has become a rich landowner thanks precisely to his work ethic. This is the case of Vicente Halconero, an "hombre sano" who lives in a small town in the countryside, Villa del Prado. Moreover, the narrator describes him as an altruist and as an example for other Spaniards to imitate because, unlike the parasites of Madrid, Halconero's work has benefited the entire nation:
El honrado, el sencillo labrador don Vicente Halconero, que jamás hizo mal a nadie, y a muchos bien sin tasa; varón de grande utilidad en la república o, por mejor decir, en el reino, porque no devoraba porción ninguna del Tesoro nacional, sino que creaba, con su labor de la tierra, nueva riqueza cada año. No aumentaba la confusión de opiniones, sino que tendía con su patriótica fe a simplificar las ideas y a buscar la síntesis que pudiera traer a nuestro país positivas grandezas. Su trabajo agrícola era un beneficio para España, y otro su inocencia, virtud preciada contra la invasión de maliciosos. *Fecundaba la tierra, fecundaba el ambiente.* (II: 1705, emphasis is mine)

It is evident from this description of Halconero that Galdós held this type of person in high esteem. Seen from the perspective of *regeneracionismo*, Halconero is presented as another of these exemplary characters who serve as a model for future Spanish generations. With citizens of this ilk, it seems clear in Galdós' view that Spain would never have to experience such profound crises as the one it was suffering at the turn of the century. Thus Halconero can be added to that list of exemplary characters that includes Demetria de Castro-Amézaga, Ildefonso Negretti, and Juan Antonio Maltrana. Common to these four characters is their diligence, industriousness, and self-sufficiency, traits that Galdós felt were imperative for Spain's recovery and future development.

By marrying Halconero, Lucila returns to the countryside where she, as we shall see in future episodes, will lead a prosperous family life. Lucila thus becomes, like Demetria, a sort of goddess of agriculture whose happiness is rooted in her family and in the fertility of the land.
5.4 *La Revolución de julio*: O'Donnell's Quixotism

Written between September 1903 and March 1904, a surprisingly long period of time for Galdós, *La Revolución de julio*, after skipping the last episode, reverts again to Fajardo's memoirs as the prime source of the episode. Fajardo, who increasingly is referred to as the Marquis of Beramendi, explains that he was forced to abandon his confessions because of poor health. His doctors were unable to discover the cause of the illness, but his wife and mother-in-law were firmly convinced that his illness was rooted in his writings. Fajardo consequently establishes a link between himself and Don Quixote when he explains that his memoirs were burnt in the same way that Don Quixote's niece and housekeeper had planned to burn his books of chivalry:

\[
y y en lo que duró mi inquietud hubo tiempo sobrada para que María Ignacia y doña Visita, que veían en mis persistentes lecturas y en mis nocturnas encerronas para escribir la causa inmediata de mis achaques, discursieran algo semejante a lo que el ama y sobrina de Don Quijote imaginaron para cortar de raíz el morboso influjo de los libros de caballerías. (III: 13)
\]

As a result of this inquisition, Fajardo's memoirs, which covered the two-year period from 1850 to 1851, were reduced to ashes. This explains why the previous episode had to resort to an anonymous narrator. At the same time, this lengthy explanation endows the entire episode with a greater sense of verismilitude because it shows how the course of Fajardo's private life had impeded him from continuing to write his history of nineteenth-century Spain. Moreover, Fajardo makes it known that the present episode has been written under the watchful eye of María Ignacia who has "el derecho de revisión, censura y aun de enmienda si fuere menester" (III: 13). This obviously presents an interesting problem with respect to the concept of objectivity in writing history because now the reader must question if what he or she is
reading is Fajardo's version or María Ignacia's. Acting as his supervisor or editor, María Ignacia undertakes a debate with Pepe as to what should be included in the history that he is writing. Thus *La Revolución de julio* offers another serious meditation on the subject of historiography.

It is María Ignacia who strongly suggests to Beramendi that history is not solely composed of grand historical events; on the contrary, if one wishes to provide future generations with a good idea of present-day Spanish society, one should include subjects that are traditionally omitted, such as the rise of insurance firms:

> ¿quién te dice que esto no es un tema social, un tema político, el más político de cuantos pueden existir ... histórico además, por ser cosa que va de un día para otro y de un año para otro año? . . .
>
> Ciego estás si no ves lo interesante que ha de ser este capítulo de las Sociedades para los que te lean dentro de medio siglo. (III: 26)

She assures him that, "En los actos más insignificantes encontrarás el filón de pensamientos que buscas" (III: 27). It is with this in mind that Fajardo goes on to describe the Spanish bourgeois fascination with expensive French furniture:

> Compran los ricos, los que disfrutan un modesto pasar, y los empleados de 14.000 reales que dan reuniones en su casa, y se prometen mayor ostentación cuando logren el ascenso a 16.000 . . . ¡El mundo está perdido! (III: 27)

To own such furniture was a sign of one's position in society. Such a fact tells us perhaps even more about the Spanish mentality than any study that exclusively concentrates on the political events of the day. Fajardo himself becomes convinced after witnessing this phenomenon of consumerism that María Ignacia was right: "Tenías razón en decirme que estas cosas insignificantes y comunes merecen que se les indague el busilis. Escribiendo yo de ellas, escribo Historia *sans m'en douter*" (III: 27).
It is for this reason that a large part of this episodio is dedicated not to the historical events of the day, but rather to the lives of the Socobio sisters, Virginia and Valeria who got married on February 9, 1852, a week after the assassination attempt on the queen. The former married Ernesto de Rementeria, the son of a millionaire; the latter married Rogelio Navascués, the son of Colonel Felipe Navascués. Both marriages were complete failures, though for different reasons. The lives of both these sisters shed light on some of Spain's more pressing social ills, and thus served Galdós' purpose of revealing the underbelly of Spanish society.

After leaving Ernesto, Virginia becomes the symbol of the Spanish woman's desire for liberation. She runs away with Leoncio Ansúrez to live far away from the corruption of Madrid. In fact, Virginia, who becomes known as Mita, writes to Fajardo and denounces the mores of life in the capital. In particular, she criticizes the elite, which she sees as nothing more than a group of thieves and liars:

Por amistad y recomendaciones, en España se hace picadillo de las leyes. (.) Bandidos hay de la Política, que explotan al Pueblo; bandidos eclesiásticos, que echan bendiciones, y otras clases de bandolerismo ilustrado, como don Mariano, mi ex-suegro, del cual no puedo decir que santa gloria haiga, porque desgraciadamente no ha reventado todavía. (III: 61)

Faced with all this corruption, Mita prefers to live with the man she sincerely loves, Ley (Leoncio Ansúrez), in the countryside where no one takes on airs or attempts to exert power over others.

One of the more important issues that arises from Virginia's separation from Ernesto de Rementeria is that of divorce, which was strictly prohibited in Spain even until very recently. Ironically, it is Virginia's father-in-law, Mariano José de Rementería, a representative of the Spanish elite, who laments the
fact that divorce is not allowed in Spain: "Lo más lamentable es que en España no tengamos divorcio. ¡Estamos muy atrasados!" (III: 30) One cannot help but believe that from his liberal perspective, Galdós was putting forth the case for the legalization of divorce with the example of Virginia, for whom the reader feels a great deal of sympathy. As we will see, this is an issue that becomes even more important in the next episode, O'Donnell.

Valeria, on the other hand, is the antithesis of Virginia. Valeria becomes the embodiment of the female bourgeoise who dedicates all her time to acquiring luxury items: furniture, paintings, clothes, etc. María Ignacia tells Fajardo that shopping has turned into an obsession for Valeria. To which Fajardo replies: "Historia, hija. Historia de España. Sigue" (III: 39) Such a reply sheds light on the concept of history that drives Galdós' Episodios nacionales. Galdós' history values such information as Valeria's shopping traits because it offers, in this case, insight into the mentality of the upper class woman, whose sole occupation in life, if not yet a mother, was to lavishly decorate her home. The prime motivation for every action in society was to keep up appearances. A character such as Valeria allowed Galdós to point to the emptiness of the lives of women in the Spanish upper class.

In his meditation on the task at hand, Fajardo posits that his mission is to write an "Historia efectiva" which is based on the spoken word, or what Bahktin would have called "skaz":

Lo que te digo es un hecho, que arranco de las entrañas de la
Historia efectiva, muy distinta de esa otra Historia que sale al
mundo cubierta de artificios, como una vieja que se adoba el
rostro, y todo lo lleva postizo, empezando por el lenguaje. (III: 40)

In this particular episode Fajardo's attempt to write an "Historia efectiva" revolves around three major political events: the trial of Martín Merino, the uprising at Vicálvaro, and the Revolution of July. In each case,
Fajardo exploits the spoken word to achieve his goal of writing a history that rings true and reveals the thoughts, hopes, and fears of the Spanish nation as it was preparing itself to usher in a period of Progressive liberalism after a decade of oppressive Moderate liberalism.

As was mentioned in the previous episode, *Los duendes de la camarilla*, the first event that is recounted is the aftermath of Father Martín Merino's attempt on the life of Isabel II. Fajardo begins by stating that at the time of the crime, he was in the north-wing of the Palace speaking with Doña Victorina Sarmiento. As soon as he heard of what had happened, he rushed to the scene of the crime. Thus he assures the reader that his account of the events that took place after the assassination attempt is that of an eyewitness. Not only does Fajardo attempt to provide an account of those events and the reaction of the Spanish nation, but also more importantly to understand Merino's motives.

The popular reaction is offered by Fajardo's father-in-law, Feliciano de Emparán, who is the voice of the Spanish establishment. According to Emparán, Merino's insanity was directly attributable to French ideas that had corrupted Spain:

Así está España medio loca ya, y así nos llega cada día una calamidad: primero, *enciclopedistas*; luego, la gaita esa de que *la propiedad es un robo*, y, por fin, estos monstruos . . . , el Apocalipsis . . . (III: 10)

He reiterates this belief once he learns that Merino had lived in France:

¿-No lo decía yo? ¡Enciclopedia, demagogia, con su poco de *espiritu del siglo*, cosas que no existían en España cuando ésta era una nación de caballeros, que no mataban a sus reyes, sino que por ellos morían! (III: 10)
It is apparent in this quotation that Emperán was expressing the age-old belief that Spain's glory was tied to the past and that its downfall was due to foreign ideas that had crossed the Pyrenees from France.

Galdós attempted to transcend the characterization of Merino as a simple "monstruo abortado y oprobio de la Naturaleza" (III: 11) that the children were calling him, by trying to understand his past and his way of thinking. Fajardo learns through the governor, Melchor Ordóñez, that Merino made up his mind as soon as he found out that there had been a coup d'état in France. He thus wanted to avoid "la nube del despotismo que se venía encima en toda Europa" (III: 17). Fajardo also discovered that Merino had been greatly influenced by the writings of Juvenal, especially his Satire X, which would help to explain why he showed no signs of remorse during the trial that led to his eventual execution:

La voz y el ritmo del poeta latino inspiró sin duda al enemigo de nuestra Reina su ansia de morir, y de morir públicamente, entre el escarnio de la plebe y las iras de los poderosos, ostentando ante todo el Universo una gallarda postura de muerte. (III: 21)

In his treatment of the ceremony of religious disinvestiture, Fajardo affirms that the Church was a medieval institution that was clinging to the Inquisition:

Ansiaba ya dar espacio refrigerante a mi espíritu lejos de aquel ambiente inquisitorial, patibulario. Los eclesiásticos degradadores y los acólitos y alguaciles que desnudaban y trasquilaban al reo traían a mi mente imágenes, no sé si soñadas o reales, de las más siniestras figuras de la Edad Media. (III: 17)

This link to the Middle Ages is stressed by Fajardo's comment on Merino's cremation, which harks back to the cruelty of the Holy Office:
Ello ha sido un simulacro del Santo Oficio en la mitad del siglo XIX, para que puedan echar una canita al aire los muchos que aquí conservan el gusto de la quemazón de gentes y se remocen viendo arder a un muerto, ya que no pueden asar a los vivos. (III: 20)

The crowd's reaction to the cremation was, according to Fajardo, one of satisfaction that also reminded one of the Middle Ages when citizens were executed in public: "Vi la oscilación del pueblo y oí su inmenso clamor de curiosidad satisfecha, el goce del horror gustado en visión teatral y objetiva" (III: 22). Implicit in this exposition of the Church's and crowd's thirst for blood, is the critique of the Church and the nation as being stuck in the past, a critique that has been evident in many of the previous episodes. There is no doubt that, at every opportunity, Galdós felt the need to assert this point about the endemic anachronism of the Church and the Spanish people.

Finally, Galdós included, in his study of the Merino affair, the positive consequences that this assassination attempt had for Isabel II, who was showered with love by her loyal subjects. The love for the queen that had always existed was transformed into idolatry for the victim of such a treacherous act. Galdós, through Fajardo, was able to capture the voice of the crowd in order to transmit to the reader the passionate sentiment that Spaniards were feeling for Isabel II through the technique of double-voicing by which the underlying voice of the narration is not that of the narrator, but rather of a second party:

¡Querer quitarnos la mejor de las Reinas, la joya, la prenda más querida de todos! Y esto es sincero, esto sale de los corazones, y nos retrata al pueblo español como un enamorado de su Reina: Isabel es hija, hermana y madre en todos los hogares, y como a un ser querido y familiar se le rinde culto. (III: 11, emphasis is mine)
The italicized sentence represents the discourse of the crowd. It is, for all intents and purposes, the common language that Galdós captured in order to provide his readers with a sense of verisimilitude for the period that he was writing about.

The second major political event that Fajardo describes is the uprising at Vicálvaro, outside Madrid, on June 30, 1854, in which General Leopoldo O'Donnell led his troops in a failed battle against the Moderate government of Luis Sartorius. However, before delving into the military movements of this battle, Galdós prepared the groundwork by pointing to the opposition that was brewing against the corruption of the dictatorial regime of Sartorius.

That the nation was tired of this regime is stressed on more than one occasion. Fajardo notes, for example, that "desde que entró San Luis a dirigir el cotorro, en septiembre del año anterior, se ha desatado un viento de huracán que conmueve el cimiento del Poder público" (III: 28). So tired of the corruption and tyranny of this regime, the Spanish nation invented the term polaquería by which "se designa toda corruptela, los verdaderos o imaginarios chanchultos de que nos habla la vocinglera opinión" (III: 28). Fajardo comments that his liberal political friends, namely Nicolás Rivero, Angel Fernández de los Ríos, and Romero Ortiz "hablaban horrores del Gobierno, de su arrogancia frente a la opinión y de lo arisca y deslenguada que ésta se va poniendo" (III: 31). The ministers of the regime were popularly called "tahures políticos, cuadrilla de rateros, turba de lacayos y rufianes" (III: 31). This opposition to the Sartorius regime was crystallized each day in El Murciélago, a Madrid newspaper that launched "furibundas diatribas contra los polacos". Fajardo affirms that each paragraph of El Murciélago "es emponzoñada flecha, o un canto muy duro disparado contra cabezas altas y medianas" (III: 45). Madrileños had had enough of Sartorius, as Fajardo tells us what was commonly said in the local cafés: "En los cafés sigue la gente despotricando contra Sartorius, y
denominando simplemente ladrones, turba de lacayos y rufianes a los personajes más empingorotados de la situación" (III: 82). The desire for a return of the Progressives is underlined by the singing of Riego's anthem in public squares, including the Puerta del Sol, the symbolic heart of Spain because of its geographic location as kilometre zero. Everyone understood that Riego's anthem had become the obvious symbol of liberty. The focus of the nation's venom was not only placed on Sartorius, but as well against the queen mother, whose palace was popularly known as the "antro de la corrupción, el inmundo taller de los chanchullos de ferrocarriles" (III: 35).

It is clear that revolution was in the air. This feeling is voiced by Fajardo when he remarks that "A la nariz me llegan olores de revolución, sin que sepa precisar de dónde salen; pero ya puedo presumirlo, porque les acompaña tufo de cuarteles" (III: 28). Fajardo notes that a revolution was brewing in the neighbourhoods of Madrid: "Se nota en el vecindario madrileño esa especial alegría del pueblo español cuando hierve dentro de él el caldo de las conspiraciones, algo como preparativos de bodorrio plebeyo" (III: 28). This anticipation of a revolution is confirmed by the police chief, Francisco Chico, who assured Fajardo that the revolution was coming:

\[\text{Esto está perdido. Desde que cogió San Luis las riendas, se ha desatado el infierno: aquí conspiran progresistas y moderados, paisanos y militares, las señoras del gran mundo y los cesantes de todos los ramos, que se cuentan por miles; conspiran los aguadores, los serenos y hasta las amas de cría. (III: 33)}\]

Fajardo also added his name to this list of Spaniards who wanted the revolution to materialize so that Spain could surmount its backward state with respect to the rest of Europe and modernize itself:

\[-Pues sí, húndanse los Gobiernos, vengan revoluciones, para que el país se despabilé y aprenda a vivir a la moderna, y salgan\]
hombres de gran poder, y tengamos más medios de ganar la vida
y se acabe el morir lento de un pueblo. (III: 56)

Fajardo's frustration with the status quo had been growing since the second episode of this series. In this episode, he was now about to see his dream materialize, though *la Vicalvarada*, as the battle of Vicálvaro became known, resulted in an initial setback to the revolution.

Faced with all this angry opposition, the government of Sartorius reacted by using force to repress it and persecute the leaders of that opposition. One example of the government's repressive methods occurred at Zaragoza, where an uprising was put down on February 24, 1854. Fajardo noted that the regime did not celebrate its victory "con actos de clemencia, sino a la manera turca, decretando nuevas proscripciones y metiendo en las cárceles a cuantos infelices se han dejado coger" (III: 34). In typical totalitarian fashion, the government jailed some of the more prominent journalists, such as Rancés and López Roberts of *El Diario Español* and Bustamante of *Las Noticias* (III: 35).

It was as a result of this persecution of the opposition leaders that General O'Donnell had been forced to go into hiding, though his whereabouts are revealed to Fajardo by a mysterious character named Sebo, whose full name is Telesforo del Portillo.23 Sebo, a former assistant to Francisco Chico, described by Fajardo as "el susurro de la Historia" (III: 59), provides Fajardo with inside information on the Palace, the government, and the opposition. Sebo instantly becomes Fajardo's major source for the political events of the day because he is, according to Pepe, "esta página viva de la Historia nacional" (III: 50). Due to his ability to infiltrate every sector of society, Sebo becomes the voice of the people. It is thus Sebo who informs Fajardo that O'Donnell was not in Tenerife as Chico had told Fajardo, but rather in Madrid "en la Travesía de la Ballesta, número 3" (III: 58). Sebo assures Fajardo that O'Donnell was to become
Spain's next leader: "En tan vulgar mansión reside la cabeza de la España política y militar de mañana" (III: 58). Being the voice of the people, Sebo's statement takes on a greater import because the implication is that the nation as a whole had deposited their hopes in O'Donnell. This sentiment is underscored by Sebo who mentioned that the people had started calling O'Donnell "el General libertador" (III: 60).

O'Donnell's quest to topple the Moderate dictatorship, that had been in effect for a decade, began miserably on June 13, 1854. Fajardo is the first character to describe O'Donnell physically and psychologically after this initial failure when he writes:

¿Y O'Donnell? Pues mohino volvió de Canillejas a su lugar, o sea la misera casa de la Travesía. Me le figure arrastrando por el suelo su mirada, el largo cuerpo en curva, Quijote irlandés, lúgubre y desabordido, sin la cómica elegancia del manchego. (III: 59)

This description is of great interest because Galdós resurrected the myth of Don Quixote by stating that O'Donnell was an Irish Don Quixote because of his Irish heritage. By comparing him to the famous knight, Galdós was strongly suggesting that O'Donnell was on an idealistic mission to correct society's ills. There is a sense that by resurrecting the myth of Don Quixote, Galdós was alluding to the fact that O'Donnell's rise to national prominence was inaugurating a period of idealism and optimism. But paradoxically this allusion to Don Quixote, who never accomplished what he had set out to do, also suggests that O'Donnell was not to be completely successful. Moreover, by adding that O'Donnell was lugubrious, one instantly thinks of Don Quixote as the Knight of the Sad Countenance, which makes it clear that there was within O'Donnell a dichotomy between hope and despair.

This initial characterization of O'Donnell as a Don Quixote sets the tone for the rest of this episode and the next episode, which is simply intitled,
O'Donnell. The reader has been presented with a situation in which an individual, O'Donnell, a sort of chivalrous knight, has taken the torch of liberty to effect a revolution which would put an end to the tyrannical decade during which the Moderates had ruled with an iron fist. The quest began in earnest with la Vicalvarada, which is described in a vivid manner. The liveliness that characterizes the description of this military battle is achieved thanks to the fact that the reader is able to witness how diachronic time yields to synchronic time. Through Fajardo, who had originally set out to find Virginia (Mita) and Leoncio (Ley), one is able to witness this memorable battle, which, in reality, was a pathetic one because of the imbalance of fire-power between O'Donnell's cavalry and Blaser's artillery.24

Fajardo insists on underlining the contemporaneity of what he is recounting; the revolution was occurring now, not twenty or thirty years ago. He wished to convey the immediacy of this revolution by showing the vibrant nature of the events that he was describing:

Frente a mí tenía una revolución, no de éstas que se manifiestan en las declamaciones teóricas de libros y discursos, sino viva, con choque formidable de hombre y caballos, caídas de cuerpos y de ideales, alzamiento de nuevos principios. (III: 65, emphasis is mine)

Fajardo brings out that his objective, at the time of the revolution, was to collect the sounds and the smells of war, "empujones, gritos, choque de armas, sangre y todo lo demás que es del caso" (III: 65). Thus his account of la Vicalvarada would not be limited solely to tracing the strategical movements of the generals, and stating who were the victors and the losers.

That the Spanish nation wished O'Donnell every success becomes apparent when Fajardo tells us how he was received with open arms in every town he entered because they believed that "llevábamos la dimisión y caída del
Gobierno, la subida de O'Donnell, quizás la cabeza de Sartorius" (III: 67). The mayor of Torrejón de Ardoz, Simón Carriedo, assures Fajardo that Torrejón is "uno de los pueblos más liberales de España. Aquí aborrecemos la tiranía, y queremos un Gobierno que mire por la libertad y por la ilustración. ¡Viva Isabel II! ¡Mueran los polacos!" (III: 68).

Fajardo's description of the battle itself is full of emotion, which is attained by quoting the actors of the battle. For example, the reader is able to see O'Donnell in action through the eyes of his colleague, General Ros de Olano, who praises the Count of Lucena's military skill:

Con perfecta bonhomie atacó Blaser a Dulce, y éste y O'Donnell le devolvieron su cortés tiroteo. ¡Oh!, este irlandés sabe mucho, y no sólo es un buen guerrero, sino un excelente estratega del corazón humano. (III: 76)

One easily perceives the emotional nature of Ros de Olano's voice in his description of the events of the battle. And it is thanks to that emotion that the reader gains the sensation of having witnessed la Vicalvarada.

The battle at Vicálvaro was a defeat for O'Donnell. However, this setback did not dismay the Irish Quixote, who, according to Andrés Borrego, continued believing that his quest would be attained:

Viendo la acción sin ver al caudillo, yo le oía decir: «Compadre Blaser, no nos comprometamos derramando más sangre de la que manda la etiqueta. El polaquismo es cosa perdida. El reloj del Destino ha sonado mi hora, y yo y los que están conmigo hemos de coger la sartén por el mango... Amigos seremos todos, aunque ahora el buen parecer pida que nos figuremos rivales. No tardemos en abrazarnos... Nadie tema venganzas. Yo miraré por unos y otros... Somos el Ejército de un país sin fuerza de
opinión, de un país que un día nos pide orden, otro día libertad . . . ,
y lo que nos pide . . . tenemos que dárselo.» (III: 76)

Thanks to this monologue in which he imagines addressing his rival Blaser, one has an idea of what O'Donnell was thinking at this moment of personal frustration. We see a man who is patient, calm, and even paternal with respect to his troops. O'Donnell felt very sure of his destiny as the future president of the nation. We also perceive his desire to establish peace by reconciling the enmities that had arisen due to polaquismo. His last words reflect his wish to inaugurate a period of prosperity, which eventually did occur during the quinquennium of 1858 to 1863, though in the interim period of 1854 to 1858 O'Donnell was to face many obstacles, beginning with the July Revolution of 1854, which is the last major event covered in this episode.

In the days leading up to the July Revolution, Fajardo describes the backroom manoeuvering that O'Donnell and his cohorts were planning in order to effect a successful revolution. Fajardo offers a list of the principles on which O'Donnell planned to base his presidency:

Los libertadores ofrecen cosas muy buenas, de esas que forman el tejido artificioso de todo programa político y revolucionario.

Yet despite this solid programme of initiatives, O'Donnell's key advisors, Cánovas and Fernández de los Ríos, warned him that his proposals were insufficient because they did not include the promise to return the Milicia
Nacional. They argue that the return of the Milicia would be a guarantee of liberty for the Spanish people:

-Mi General, dé por abortada su revolucioncita si no cambia esas monsergas por otras, o no les añade un tópico resonante, de esos que hablan, más que al entendimiento, a la fantasía o, si se quiere, a la vanidad del pueblo español; algo que sea o que parezca ser garantía de las libertades públicas y aparato político de pura figuración externa y de ruido y colorines . . . (III: 84)

There is an insinuation in this passage that the Spanish people had not yet matured politically in the modern sense. They preferred and needed a symbol, rather than a solid programme of national improvement. This undoubtedly represents an indictment by Galdós of the character of the Spanish people who were not prepared for the serious realities and responsibilities of liberalism. Through the use of the word "fantasía" Galdós was inferring that they had not yet assimilated the principles of this political ideology. O'Donnell was, contrary to his will, forced to include in his programme a promise to reinstate the militia in order to gain the support to effect his vision of the revolution.

After the defeat at Vicálvaro, Sebo, who always has his ear to the ground, informs Fajardo that the hate for Sartorius and María Cristina had grown even more: "San Luis es el insolente capitán de esta cuadrilla de ladrones públicos. Cristina, la mujer rapaz, avarienta, insaciable, que con diestra mano escamotea los tesoros de la Nación. Así lo cree la gente" (III: 88). In this passage there is a fine example of double-voicing. Though Sebo is speaking to Fajardo, the italicized words and phrases represent the voice of the populace. These are the words that the madrileños were using to describe and insult Sartorius and María Cristina. Thus, once again, the spoken word comes alive in Galdós' text to provide the reader with a sense of the frustration that was being felt in the last days of the Moderate decade.
The July Revolution itself is described by Fajardo, who is a first-hand eyewitness to these events. This allows him to convey the immediacy of this popular revolution, a fact which is stressed by Fajardo who admired how the populace fought without reserve. In his description of this national self-sacrifice, Fajardo insinuates that the Spanish people resembled Don Quixote because of their dream to put down the giant windmills who were the Moderates. Motivated by an "ideal de pura soñación" they were striving to create a new nation:

Sentí lástima de aquella pobre gente, y también admiración muy viva, pues desde la hondura de su vida miserable se lanzaban impávidos a la conquista de una España nueva. Cuanto tenían, las vidas inclusive, lo sacrificaban por aquel ideal de pura soñación, y por un programa de gobierno que no habrían podido puntualizar, si fueran llamados a realizarlo. (III: 103)

Inspired by this popular quixotism, Fajardo's quixotic spirit is regenerated as he also throws himself into the battles that were being waged in the streets of Madrid. Like Don Quixote, Fajardo wished to aid those in need:

En lo que sí concidían mi primero y mi segundo ataque era en el olvido de mi cara familia, en el amor ardiente al pueblo y en la insana ambición de realizar yo una o más acciones heroicas, siempre dentro de lo popular; es decir, que mi quijotismo tenía el carácter de amparo de los humildes por estado y nacimiento... (III: 110)

Fajardo's quixotism manifests itself again after the Progressive victory when he kills Bartolomé Gracían, that Don Juan who was threatening to seduce Lucila Ansúrez de Halconero. This was a chivalrous act on Fajardo's part for he was protecting his one-time Dulcinea.
Yet despite the victory of the July Revolution that toppled the Moderates, Galdós ended the episode on a decidedly pessimistic note when Fajardo comments that:

Pobre y casera es esta revolución, que no mudará más que los externos chirimbolos de la existencia, y sólo pondrá la mano en el figurón nacional, en el cartón de su rostro, en sus afeites y postizos, sin atreverse a tocar ni con un dedo la figura real que el maniquí representa y suple a los ojos de la ciega muchedumbre.

(III: 115)

Looking back at the after events of the summer of 1854, Galdós was able to make such a comment for the truth was that regardless of the political change, the status quo continued with albeit some minor alterations. This comment on the socio-political structure of Spain reminds one of an earlier comment in which Fajardo posited that Spain was suffering a crisis of modernity. Stuck between the past and the future, Spain did not yet know what route to take:

España no ha encontrado el molde nuevo. Para dar con él, tiene que pasar todavía por difíciles probaturas y sufrir mil quebrantos que la harán renegar de sí misma y de los demás . . . (III: 56, emphasis is mine)

As Fajardo stated, Spain had not yet found the new framework that would make the nation a modern and liberal state. The rise of the Liberal Union attempted to provide Spain with that "molde nuevo", and that is the theme of the fifth episode, *O'Donnell*, which, as we shall see, is of an exceptional quality.
5.5 *O'Donnell: The Rise of the Liberal Union*

At the end of *La Revolución de julio* the narrator states that the mob killing of the police chief, Francisco Chico, and Espartero's triumphant return to Madrid would be discussed in the next episode, *O'Donnell*, which was written between April and May 1904. However, this episode does not begin with an account of those two historic moments, but rather with a long opening paragraph that deals with the problem of the relationship between history and fiction, which is reproduced below:

El nombre de *O'Donnell* al frente de este libro significa el coto de tiempo que corresponde a los hechos y personas aquí representados. Solemos designar las cosas históricas, o con el mote de su propia síntesis psicológica o con la divisa de su abolengo; esto es, el nombre de quien trajo el estado social y político que a tales personas y cosas dio fisonomía y color. Fue *O'Donnell* una época, como lo fueron antes y después Espartero y Prim, y como éstos, sus ideas crearon diversos hechos públicos y sus actos engendraron infinidad de manifestaciones particulares que, amasadas y conglomeradas, adquieren en la sucesión de los días carácter de unidad histórica. *O'Donnell* es uno de éstos que acotan muchedumbres, poniendo su marca de hierro a grandes manadas de hombres..., y no entendáis por esto las masas populares, que rebaños hay de gentes de levita, con fabuloso número de cabezas, obedientes al rabadán que los conduce a los prados de abundante yerba. *O'Donnell* es el rótulo de uno de los libros más extensos en que escribió sus apuntes del pasado siglo la esclarecida *jamona* Doña Clío de Apolo, señora de circunstancias que se pasa la vida escudriñando las ajenas, para sacar de entre el motón de verdades que no pueden decirse las
poquitas que resisten el aire libre, y con ellas, conjeturas razonables y mentiras de adobado rostro. Lleva Clío consigo, en un gran puchero, el colorete de la verosimilitud, y con pincel o brocha va dando sus toques allí donde son necesarios. (III: 117)

The first part of this paragraph begins by providing a justification for having dedicated this episode to General Leopoldo O'Donnell, Count of Lucena, on the grounds that he left a significant mark on Spanish society. He argues that O'Donnell set the tone for Spain during his time in power, and thus directly influenced the lives of individual Spaniards. O'Donnell became a national symbol. In effect, as we shall see, this episode offers the reader a study of how O'Donnell's policies were assimilated by the protagonist, Teresa Villaescusa.

The second part of this paragraph, however, provides an interesting twist to what had been up to then an authoritative discourse by informing the reader that the author of this episodio is Doña Clío de Apolo, the muse of History. Diane Faye Urey has observed that the fact that this episodio depends on a false author indicates that "historical events are not wholly knowable through the words of this narrative as though it were transparently representative" (125). I am in agreement with this observation; but furthermore, it seems that Galdós was suggesting that this is fiction that is endowed with "el colorete de la verosimilitud". Thus Galdós was inviting us to actively participate with the text; there must be an exchange of energy between the reader and the text in order to "sacarle el jugo". As Mario J. Valdés has underlined with respect to another of Galdós' novels, Nazarin: "The story is true because we have made it ours through reading and imagining. What we have read is fiction, but fiction is true, it is as true as our sense of the real in our own experience" (97). Thus, history is not the sole purveyor of truth; the interaction of the reader with the texts allows fiction to be a purveyor of truth.
It is important to note that Galdós subverted the passive reading of this initial paragraph. The first half of the paragraph (from "El nombre de O'Donnell" to "los conduce a los prados de abundante yerba") is characterized by a grandiloquent and authoritative tone in the narrative discourse that makes the reader's role passive. This type of discourse results in the creation of the myth of O'Donnell. But Galdós subverted this discourse by introducing us to "la esclarecida jamona Doña Clío de Apolo". This has the effect of destabilizing the first half of the paragraph. Thus, the second part questions the mythification created in the first part. What happens between the first and the second part is a shift in responsibility; in the first part, the narrator offers the reader an abundance of information, while in the the second part, it is the reader's task to make "conjeturas razonables". Truth would consequently not be perceived by a passive reader. Therefore, it seems to me that Galdós was trying to motivate the reader to explore the text.

Though O'Donnell appears prominently in three episodios, (La Revolución de julio, O'Donnell and Aita Tettauen), O'Donnell is the episode that most profoundly delves into his important role in the shaping of mid-nineteenth-century Spain. This episode encompasses the period from 1854 to 1859 in which there were three significant ministries: 1. the Bienio Progresista (1854-1856), in which Espartero was president and O'Donnell the minister of War; 2. the Bienio Moderado (1856-1858), which saw the return to power of Narváez; and 3. the triumph of O'Donnell's political creation, the Unión Liberal on June 30, 1858. This government which would become known as the gobierno largo stayed in power until January 17, 1863, which was an extraordinary feat in liberal Spain. The study of this episode will follow the chronological order of these three ministries.
I. The Progressive Biennium (1854-1856)

After his meditation on the relationship between history and fiction, Galdós began his account of Espartero's return to Madrid, which ushered in a short two-year period of Progressive liberalism, by describing how Francisco Chico was barbarously executed by a mob. The frustration of ten years of tyranny manifested itself against Chico, who was seen as one of the major symbols of that tyranny. In Los duendes de la camarilla, Jerónimo Ansúrez had complained about working for Chico because "[E]l aborrecimiento de la gente de Madrid al cazador de ladrones y perdidos recaía en los servidores, que de ello no tenían ninguna culpa;" (II: 1707). This hatred for Chico was later underlined by the narrator who stated that the police chief "llegó a ser al modo de institución, personificando los arrestos insolentes de la Seguridad Pública y el odio con que el pueblo pagaba las vejaciones justas o arbitrarias que sin cesar sufría" (II: 1729). The prostitute, Jumos, justifies this killing as the only way that the people have of exacting justice:

-Pues si el pueblo no hace la justiciada en ese capataz de los guindillas, ¿quién lo haría? . . . ¡Contra con Dios! ¿El Gobierno nuevo que venga le había de castigar? Y vostedes, los patriotas nuevos, ¿qué serían más que lamojanes del Chico? Hala con él, y reviéntole para que no haga más maldades . . . El comía con el Gobierno, comía con el ladronicio . . . (III: 120)

With the defeat of the Moderates, the populace was able to take revenge on Chico, a killing that, as the narrator suggests, the new regime gave its consent to by simply not interfering in what was a public act:

Cuando a don Mariano en la puerta despedía, vieron pasar al general San Miguel, con su séquito de militares y patriotas, a trote largo calle abajo.

-A buenas horas, mangas verdes - dijo Centurión. (III: 123)
Esparrtero's return was greeted with much joy as he passed by the Puerta de Alcalá "entre un gentío loco de entusiasmo, que le bendecía, le aclamaba y llevaba medio en vilo con coche y todo" (III: 124). Through Centurión's eyes the reader witnesses the symbolic beginning of the Progressive biennium when Esparrtero and O'Donnell embraced each other in public.

The immediate consequence of the fall of the Moderates was, as Galdós indicated, the change of the bureaucratic machine. A whole new group of Spaniards had finally gained employment, while the Moderate civil servants lost their jobs. Galdós suggested that this had a positive impact on the general economy: "El cesante soltaba sus andrajos, y mientras hacían negocio los sastres y sombrereros, acopiaban los mercaderes del Rastro género viejo en mediano uso" (III: 125). Moreover, the return of the Progressives gave rise to a period of lavishness: "Era de ver en aquella temporada el súbito nacimiento de innumerables personas a la vida elegante o del buen vestir" (III: 124). Thus began a sort of "belle époque" in which Spain had passed from an era of darkness during the Moderate decade to an era full of light and optimism:

El observador indiferente a estas mudanzas entreteníase viendo pasar regocijados seres desde la región obscura a la luminosa, entonando canciones anacreónicas o epitalámicas, y sombras que iban silenciosas desde la claridad a las tinieblas. (III: 125)

Yet Galdós was quick to make the point that these bureaucrats lived beyond their means; Spain was a society of appearances where poor civil servants tried to lead a life of wealth and abundance: "Tales desproporciones entre la pobreza y el falso brillo de una posición burocrática componían el tejido fundamental de aquella sociedad" (III: 128).

It is clear that Spain was beginning a new period in its existence, a fact that is underscored by Centurión, who sees from his balcony María Cristina's
exit from Madrid, the return of the _Milicia Nacional_, and the opening of the new Cortes. Nevertheless, Spain continued to be affected by uprisings throughout the country "provocados en unos pueblos por la inquieta Milicia, en otros por ella reprimidos" (III: 125). Centurión expresses the nation's hope that Spain will finally enjoy peace under Espartero's rule.

This was an era that was characterized by a will to open up society in order to make it a freer nation. One of the ways that Spain was to achieve this goal was through the disentailment of Church properties, which obviously became a hot issue once again. Though Espartero and O'Donnell faced opposition from the Church and the Monarchy, the two generals imposed their will in order to pass this bill, as Centurión's _tertuleanos_ explained: "El de Luchana y el de Lucena se apretaron un poco los pantalones. Y la Reina firmó, y sor Patrocinio y unos cuantos capellanes y palaciegos salieron desterrados, con viento fresco" (III: 127). The passing of the _Ley de Madoz_ severely strained relations with the Church. In fact, there was a resurgence of Carlism in Catalonia and the Maestrazgo, the nuncio left Madrid, and the Vatican broke off relations with the Espartero-O'Donnell regime.

The fictional protagonist of this _episodio_, Teresa Villaescusa, mirrors this yearning for greater freedom that was being promoted by the new regime. Initially described as an angel because of her beauty, Teresa is the daughter of Colonel Felipe Villaescusa and Manolita Pez. Always tied down by her mother, society's conventions, and men (we are told, for example, that by February 1856 she had already had twenty-six boyfriends), Teresa attempts to gain control over her own life at the same time that this new air was being breathed into Spain.\(^{28}\) Her definitive break with the strict order of society occurs after she breaks up her friendship with Valeria del Socobio Navascués, and walks through the streets of Madrid by herself. The narrator makes sure to note the importance of this rupture with society:
Fue hacia la calle de Alcalá, camino de su casa, sin duda, pues vivía en la calle de las Huertas. Era la primera vez que salía sola, contraviniendo la española costumbre que prohíbe a las solteras dejarse ver en público sin compañía de alguno de la familia o de servidores de confianza. (III: 157)

For the first time, Teresa feels completely free: "Atravesada la calle de Alcalá para embocar a la del Turco, respiró fuerte Teresita: era la sensación de libertad que entraba con ímpetu en su alma" (III: 157). Motivated by this urge for independence and freedom, she seduces Guillermo de Aransis, Marquis of Loarre, a Don Juan if ever there was one, who provides Teresa with an elegant apartment in which to live. Yet as Doña Clío suggests, Teresa had not attained true freedom for now she was simply possessed by Aransis: "Gozosa estabas Teresa, la verdad sea dicha, por verse libre, o en esclavitud que no lo parecía" (III: 159). In effect, Aransis tells her that her freedom is severely restricted because society cannot accept the notion of a young woman living with a man: "Tu libertad está limitada al interior de tu casa; fuera de ella has de andar con mucha cautela y disimulo para que de la libertad no te resulte el escándalo" (III: 160). Aransis correctly adds that in this society a woman is measured by the man whom she marries. He points to the hypocrisy of this society by noting that a married woman is allowed to enjoy greater freedom because she is considered to be acceptable:

Si hubieres entrado en esta vida con marido, o lo adquirieras después casándote con cualquier calzonazos, que te diera nombre y pabellón, ya podrías hacer tu contrabando libremente, y hasta te tratarían muchas señoras que hoy primero se cortan la cabeza que saludarte. Ya ves, chiquilla, qué diferencias tan absurdas en el proceder del mundo con las que no se ajustan a la moralidad. Eres soltera: vade retro. (III: 160)
Herein lies the rub: Teresa is attempting to liberate herself from outside the workings of society, which is an impossibility. With this character it is clear that Galdós was delving into a serious problem, which was the status of women in a society governed by a morality that was hypocritical. Throughout the episode, as we shall see, Teresa seeks true freedom; she becomes the lover of many men, such as Isaac Brizard and Facundo Risueño, and yet freedom constantly escapes her. But the reader knows that this quixotic quest is doomed to fail because even a married woman has to play the game if she wants to gain some freedom, such as is the case of Valeria del Socobio, whose marriage is a sad failure.

Getting back to the political level, far from being an idyllic alliance between these two generals, there was a definite tête-à-tête between these two leaders. Centurión, who was a passionate supporter of Espartero, accused O'Donnell of conspiring "con los eternos enemigos de la Libertad para producir alborotos y desacreditar la Revolución" (III: 129). Centurión saw O'Donnell's hand behind the satirical antigovernmental publication called El Padre Cobos, whose sole purpose was to "denigrar al vencedor de Luchana y pisotear su figura prestigiosa" (III: 131). This paper was, according to Centurión, the symbolic voice of the Progressives, an attack and "traición cobarde, indigna de los hombres del Progreso" (III: 131). Centurión summed up his feelings when he declared: "Espartero es Cristo; O'Donnell, Iscariote . . ." (III: 133). He proceeded to criticize O'Donnell's plan for the creation of a new political party that would take the best elements from the Moderates and the Progressives in order to create what eventually became known as the Unión Liberal:

¿Qué creerán que ha inventado el tío para dar al traste con el Progreso? Pues esa gaita del justo medio, y de que se vaya formando un nuevo partido con gente de la Libertad y gente de la
Interestingly, as was indicated in chapter one, one of the common criticisms that has historically been made of O'Donnell's Liberal Union was that by trying to be everything to everyone it actually became nothing to no one, that is, that in attempting to accommodate Moderates and Progressives, O'Donnell was unable to promote an original political programme.

It was apparent that Spain was not big enough for two egos such as those of Espartero and O'Donnell. This alliance could not last, and, in effect, it did not. The Militia and the Progressives were caught off guard when they saw their idol, Espartero, leave for his hometown of Logroño. O'Donnell immediately recruited General Serrano to put down the Milicia Nacional, a task which was promptly executed: "En su mano había puesto a O'Donnell las tropas que debían aniquilar a los 18.000 milicianos mal contados. ¡Santiago y a ellos!" (III: 149). By using this medieval call to attack, it is clear that Doña Clío was implying that the medieval spirit was behind O'Donnell's urge to gain total control over the country. Serrano instilled terror throughout the nation, in the Congress and in the Milicia Nacional.

There is an insightful and critical analysis of the role of Serrano, "el General bonito", in this episode. Once again, Galdós took advantage of his retrospective point of view to offer a negative portrait of Serrano. He saw Serrano as the symbolic representative of a failed generation of military leaders who did nothing for the improvement of Spain:

En él se marcaban con gran relieve los caracteres de la generación política y militar a que le tocó pertenecer. Todos en aquella especie o familia zoológica eran lo mismo: los militares, muy valientes; los paisanos, muy retóricos; aquéllos, echando el corazón por delante en los casos de guerra; estos, enjaretando
discursos con perífrasis galanas o bravatas ampulosas, y cuando era llegada la ocasión de hacer algo de provecho, todos resultaban fallidos, y procedían como mujeres más o menos públicas. (III: 149)

This last statement is especially critical for it accuses Serrano's generation of being prostitutes who sold themselves to the highest bidder, whatever their cause or political alignment.

Spain's entrepreneurs and aristocrats do not escape serious criticism either. With respect to Spanish businessmen, Galdós attacked their lack of vision; they had profited greatly from market speculation:

Han tomado el gusto a las gangas que nos ha traído la transformación social; se han acostumbrado a comprar bienes nacionales por cuatro cuartos, encontrándose en poco tiempo poseedores de campos extensos, feraces, y no se avienen a emplear el dinero en operaciones aleatorias de beneficio lento y obscuro. (III: 143)

Galdós felt that Spain's rich did not care for the well-being of the lower classes. Instead of creating employment, they were only concerned with becoming even wealthier: "Porque no lo dudes: un principio negativo les ha hecho ricos . . . Grandes casas son levantadas con material de ruinas . . . Han contratado el derribo de la España vieja. La nueva, ¿quién la construirá?" (III: 143)

Galdós' critical eye also targeted not only the rich but also the aristocracy. Aransis is the archetype of the useless Spanish aristocrat who "no vivía más que para agregar a su persona todos los ornamentos y toda la exterioridad que había de darle brillo y supremacía evidentes entre los individuos de su clase" (III: 138). His friend, Fajardo, criticizes the emptiness of his life and urges him to lead a productive life. Galdós, through Fajardo, states
that these parasites on society should be punished by law because they do not aid society:

Tú, Guillermo, eres idiota y criminal, porque gastas todo tu dinero, todo tu tiempo y toda tu salud en no hacer nada que conduzca al bien general. El que no hace nada, absolutamente nada, debe desaparecer, o merece que se le tasen los bienes que derrocha sin ventaja suya ni de los demás. (III: 140)

It is evident, therefore, that in this episode, Galdós' frustration with the elites of Spanish society manifests itself extensively. Spain's politicians, rich, and aristocracy had not effectively contributed to the nation's well-being.

O'Donnell's time in power was not to last for very long because of the queen's reticence with respect to the issue of the disentailment of Church lands. Through the technique of stream of consciousness, the reader is allowed to see O'Donnell lamenting Spain's chronic backwardness. In the following quotation, it is clear that the notion of Spain being a medieval nation is resurrected once again:

No hay manera de crear un país a la moderna sobre este cementerio de la quijotería y de la Inquisición. España dice:

"Dejadme como soy, como vengo siendo: quiero ser bárbara; quiero ser pobre; me gusta la ignorancia; me deleitan la tiña y los piojos...

O'Donnell firmly believed that the solution to Spain's ills was two-pronged: political and economic. The political answer was the creation of a new party, the Liberal Union:

Y yo digo: Modo de arreglar a esta Nación: saco del partido moderado y del progresista los hombres que en ellos hay inteligentes, limpios, bien educados; los cojo, con ellos me arreglo, dejando a los fanáticos y a los tontos, que para nada sirven...
Con esta flor de los partidos amaso mi pan nuevo . . . Unión Liberal . . . (III:163)

The economic solution was to proceed with the disentailment, which would provide the government with the necessary funds to then develop Spain's infrastructure and foment new industries and technologies such as the railway, and, at the same time, redistribute wealth so that it would not be concentrated in the hands of the upper class:

Desamorticemos . . . País nuevo . . . Salaverría, que sabe sacar estas cuentas mejor que nadie, ha calculado la Mano Muerta en 7.000.000.000. Yo digo que debe de ser más . . . ¡7.000.000.000!

Ello es nada: caminos, carreteras, ferrocarriles, puertos, faros, canales de riego y de navegación . . . Y vale más que todo el gran aumento de la propiedad rústica . . . Serán propietarios de tierra muchos que hoy no lo son ni pueden serlo . . .; aumentaría fabulosamente el número de familias acomodadas; los que hoy tienen bastante, tendrán más; los dueños de algo lo serán de mucho, y los poseedores de la nada poseerán algo. (III: 164)

In this same dream-like scene, O'Donnell is seen trying to convince the queen to no avail that his policy would benefit Spain:

¿Cuántas veces, Reina mía, he tratado de meterte en la cabeza esta idea? . . . ( . . . ) Pero entra por un oído y sale por otro . . . Sale, porque hay dentro de tu cerebro ideas viejas, heredades, petrificadas . . . (III: 164)

He urges her not to listen to her camarilla: "Abre los oídos, Reina; abre los ojos, para que oigas y veas . . . Estás a tiempo aún . . ." (III: 164).

O'Donnell's enthusiasm for the policy of desamortización is shared and adopted by Teresa Villaescusa, who becomes the human embodiment of O'Donnell's principles. In fact, she is later called by Manolo Tarfe, the numen of
the Liberal Union, that is, the spirit that executes the programme of disentailment. The narrator tells us that Teresa "quería desamortización" (III: 166), though she was not sure what this word meant or entailed. But she instinctively felt that it had to deal with eliminating the poverty that was so prevalent in Spain. She abhorred any sign of poverty. Thus, for her, the policy of disamortization signified the redistribution of wealth so that everyone would be rich:

Egoísta y al propio tiempo magnánima, no quería ser pobre ni que lo fueran los demás: su anhelo era que hubiese muchos ricos, más ricos de los que había, y mayor número de millonarios . . ., pensando, naturalmente, que de todo este bienestar algo le había de tocar a ella. (III: 166)

As we shall later see when we deal with the accession to power of O'Donnell's Liberal Union in 1858, Teresa will attempt to put into practice on a personal level the policy of disamortization, as she understood it.

Isabel II finally relented to the pressure placed on her by the Moderates and the Church by dismissing O'Donnell, and calling back Narváez to govern the nation, and thus began the Moderate biennium of 1856 to 1858. Through Doña Manuela de O'Donnell, the reader learns that the queen told O'Donnell that she could not accept the disamortization: "'Mira, O'Donnell: te dije que no me gustaba la Desamortización, y ahora digo y repito que en conciencia no puedo admitirla; que no la quiero; vamos, que no puede ser . . .'" (III: 166). Galdós later commented that by doing so, Isabel showed that she was her father's daughter by exploiting her royal prerogative to appoint her favourite, a criticism which has traditionally been made by historians with respect to the queen's inability to allow the Progressives to hold power for a significant amount of time:
Doña Isabel, imitando a su señor padre, dispuso que las cosas volvieran al estado que tenían antes de lo de Vicálvaro, declarando nulo todo lo ocurrido en los dos llamados años de dominación progresista. (III: 168)

As a result of Isabel's decision, Spain had returned to the status quo ante revolutio. Galdós strongly suggested that Narváez returned to power to wreak havoc and terror throughout Spain.

II. The Moderate Biennium (1856-1858)

Galdós began his account of Narváez's return by underlining how the Moderates dismantled the entire bureaucracy. Eating becomes the metaphor used to describe what the Moderate machine intended to do:

Todo el elemento progresista que arrimado estuvo a los pesebres desde aquella fecha de las lamentables equivocaciones fue arrojado a la calle con menosprecio, y entraron a comer los pobrecitos que no lo habían catado en todo el bienio. (III: 168)

Galdós proceeded to accuse this regime of being a dictatorship which resurrected the medieval spirit by imposing an environment of terror and strict censorship. Acting out of revenge, Narváez dismantled the major achievement of the Progressive biennium, that is, the law of disentailment:

Todo para ellos era poco: ni una plaza dejaron para los infelices del Progreso y la Unión. A los españoles que no eran borregos del odioso moderantismo les miraban como clase inferior, esclava y embruteceda. ¿Era esto gobernar un país? ¿Era esto más que una feroz política de venganza? A la ley de Desamortización dieron carpetazo, y, en cambio, sacaban nueva ley de Imprenta, que no era más que un régimen de mordaza, de Inquisición contra la grande herejía de la verdad. (III: 179)
While Narváez was oppressing the nation, Teresa was continuing to search for freedom and wealth. Shortly after Narváez's return, Teresa became the lover of Isaac Brizard, a French banker, who was symbolic of the foreign capitalists that had begun to cross the Pyrenees to "emprender en España negocios colosales, como los Caminos de Hierro del Norte, el monopolio del Gas de las principales poblaciones, la explotación de Riotinto" (III: 169). As was noted in the first chapter of this thesis, it was foreign capital that essentially financed major projects such as the railway. Brizard is depicted as a sort of archetypical Northern European who "revelaba la hibridación francogermánica o francoflamenca, un admirable tipo engendrado por trabajadores, sano, leal, ordenando hasta en los desórdenes a que le empujaba su riqueza" (III: 171). Brizard is seen as a type of capitalist missionary who has come to teach Spaniards about the functioning of a modern market economy. As Brizard himself declares, the key to Spain's future well-being could be summed up in two words: "Trabajad y comeréis" (III: 174). One of the foci of his mission to civilize becomes Teresa, whom he considers to be the embodiment of the Spanish nation. Brizard, as the narrator asserts, would try to sow "en ella ideas fecundas y fecundos capitales" (III: 174).

Essentially, this idea of creating wealth is promoted by Brizard in the famous banquet scene at the Farruggia restaurant in Madrid, where besides his lover Teresa, he had invited José de la Riva y Guisando (simply known as Riva Guisando) and Ernesto Rementería. In this dinner, food and eating become the metaphor that is used to describe the mission to produce wealth and abundance in Spain. In fact, Riva y Guisando's maternal surname alludes to this metaphor since the verb "guisar" means "to stew". Doña Apolo further states that Riva Guisando was the human incarnation of that Spanish quest for wealth and abundance: "Era don José de la Riva algo nuevo y grande en
nuestra sociedad: la esperanza del reino del bienestar y de la alegría destronando a la miseria total" (III: 179).

The conversation during the banquet is centered on the food itself. Brizard insists that the French had come to teach the Spanish how to live in a modern world. One of his tasks was, therefore, to show Spaniards how to prepare food because, as his father had told him, "uno de los mayores atrasos de este país consiste en que aquí no saben comer" (III: 172). Riva Guisando echoed this sentiment when he noted that Spain was beginning to assimilate the French ways of life in architecture, home-life, fashion, and entertainment. However, with respect to gastronomy, "estamos atrasados" (III: 173). Despite Brizard’s and Riva Guisando’s arguments in favour of fine cuisine, Teresa rebuts that this is all fine and dandy, but the fact remains that at the present time Spaniards do not have any food to eat: "El señor Guisando se trae aquí la filosofía de la buena mesa, y quiere enseñársela a un pueblo que no tiene sobre qué caerse muerto. ¿Cómo quiere usted que sepa comer el que no come?" (III: 173).31 This is a fact that is stressed a little later when Centurión affirms that the chief cause of the revolts in Arahal (near Seville) was the lack of food:


With this last statement Galdós had hit the nail on the head. The general population was hungry, and this was the reason for all the restlessness, which violently erupted in Arahal in 1857, in the first year of the Moderate biennium.
Narváez's time in power was thus going to be seriously limited. In fact, his ministry was replaced by the ministry of Armero-Mon-Bermúdez de Castro, which was in turn succeeded by the Istúriz-Sánchez Ocaña regime. The hopes of Spaniards for someone who would feed the nation were consequently being redeposited in O'Donnell, who was working in the background by recruiting prominent Moderate and Progressive politicians to join him in creating his Liberal Union.

The creation of a new liberal party, that would take the best from the Moderates and the Progressives, was a major achievement. The establishment of the Liberal Union brought with it new hope for Spain's modernization. In effect, Fajardo expresses the popular belief that O'Donnell's party would put an end to the tyranny of the Moderates. Spaniards were convinced that the Unión Liberal would be able to create prosperity through a responsible disamortization, liberate the people, establish parliamentary politics, and modernize Spain by integrating it with the rest of Europe:

¡Abajo la Mano Muerta! Desamorticemos y repartamos, no con violencia revolucionaria, sino con parsimonia y suavidad conservadoras, concordando con el Papa la forma y modo de conciliar los intereses de la Iglesia con los de la sociedad civil. Hágase política sinceramente constitucional y parlamentaria. Venga libertad y venga orden, el orden augusto que engendran las leyes bien meditadas y bien cumplidas. (...) Seamos europeos, seamos presentables, seamos limpios; seamos, en fin, tolerantes, que es como decir limpios de entendimiento, y desechemos la fiereza medieval en nuestros juicios de cosas y personas. (III: 191)

It is apparent from this quotation that the nation felt that the Liberal Union could have been the vehicle for Spain to become a modern European nation.
The Liberal Union was viewed as the medium that would put an end to Spain's continued ties to the Middle Ages by promoting democratic values based on a parliamentary system which would open up society, instead of oppressing it. Inspired by O'Donnell's attempt to reconcile liberals, Fajardo puts into practice this quest by trying to reconcile Virginia del Socobio with her parents so that eventually Virginia and Leoncio, two of society's outcasts, could be reintegrated into Spanish society. This was basically the mandate of the Liberal Union: to create a united national family that would embrace the principles of modern parliamentary politics. The objective was two-fold: liberate the oppressed classes and create prosperity. Thus the accession to power of O'Donnell's Liberal Union in 1858 logically ushered in an era of optimism in which Spaniards believed that their nation was now headed on the right track to prosperity.

III. The Liberal Union (1858-1863)

In his description of those first days of the Liberal Union's ministry, Galdós noted that there was an air of freshness and of youthfulness, as if Spain had just been reborn:

Creyérase que por la superficie social corría una ola de frescura, de juventud. La limpieza y gallardía de tantos jóvenes, o viejos rejuvenecidos, que subían a oficiar en los altares de la Patria con vestiduras nuevas, infundían confianza y evocaban imágenes de bienestar futuro. (III: 192)

It is apparent that there was a definite feeling that Spain's future now looked promising.

In the second banquet scene of this episode, given this time by the Marchioness of Villares de Tajo, she posits that the Liberal Union is synonymous with food and fecundity: "¿Qué es la Unión Liberal más que una
mixtura de sistemas gastronómicos?" (III: 211). Cándido Nocedal echoes this sentiment by declaring that the dogma of O'Donnell's party was "comer, comer, comer" (III: 211). And Manolo Tarfe, who was popularly called by his friends "O'Donnell el Chico", added that O'Donnell "[V]iene a destruir la mayor de las tiranías, que es la pobreza. Su política es la regeneración de los estómagos, de donde vendrá la regeneración de la raza" (III: 211-212). Consequently, the Liberal Union was viewed as the nation's grocer, who had come to feed the masses.

Teresa Villaescusua is one of the loyal followers of the policies of the Liberal Union; she puts into practice such principles as creating employment. By exploiting her beauty, she manages to find employment for her uncle Manuel de Centurión, Leovigildo Rodríguez, and Segundo Cuadrado.

Like O'Donnell, Teresa wishes to help society's poor. This is ironically underscored by the fact that she lives on a street called Amor de Dios, that is, "love of God". It is while visiting Leovigildo Rodríguez that she learns that in the building in which he lives there is a family that is dying of hunger. She quickly comes to the aid of Jerónima, her two girls, and Juan Santiuste by providing them with money, clothes, and food. Santiuste, who is commonly known as Tuste, is a down-on-his luck poet, a sad and pathetic figure "en quien se reunían los más tristes y desagradables aspectos de la miseria" (III: 194). He is the epitome of human misery. Yet Teresa appreciates his voice which was "de timbre sonoro, dulce, varonil" (III: 195). Tuste soon adores Teresa to whom he "mostraba un respeto que rayaba en devoción fanática" (III: 201). Strangely, this sentiment becomes reciprocal as Teresa learns to love his poetic nature and the fact that he is the first man who has not wanted to possess her or to show her off in society, as her last lover, Facundo Risueño had done. This development causes a major crisis in Teresa's life because now she must decide
between poverty and prosperity for if she stays with Tuste she realizes that her life will be materially poor.

This crisis is exacerbated after meeting Virginia, and observing the simplicity and happiness that characterized her life with Leoncio. Envious of Virginia's life, Teresa sees her new friend as "la cifra y compendio de la moralidad" (III: 209). When Serafina, a modern day Celestina, advises her to get together with the gentleman who has the tobacco monopoly in Spain, Teresa replies that all she wants is to lead an honourable life: "Ríase lo que quiera. Pues se me ha metido en la cabeza dedicarme a la honradez pobre, o a la pobreza honrada . . ." (III: 217).

This personal crisis comes to a head during her conversation with Manolo Tarfe, who had also wanted to possess her. Teresa asks Tarfe what she should do:

¿Me voy hacia arriba o me voy hacia abajo? La felicidad, ¿dónde está? ¿En la honradez pobre y sin cuidados, con sólo un hombre para toda la vida, o corriendo, arrastrada de muchos hombres, y metiendo mano a los millones de la Desamortización? (III: 218)

Tarfe tells her that she should not leave with Tuste because she is the human incarnation of the policies of the Liberal Union, "la encarnación de esas ansias de bienestar y de esos apetitos de riqueza que van a ser realizados por mi partido" (III: 222). He suggests that she is destined to lead a prosperous life because she is "la expresión humana de los tiempos . . ." (III: 224).

With this advice in hand, when she approaches the Huerta del Pastelero where Virginia, Leoncio, and Tuste were waiting for her, Teresa realizes that Tarfe was right, and immediately heads back home. But before she gets there, she finds a group of hungry children. Acting in her role as the numen of the Liberal Union, she distributes rosquillas (a type of doughnut) "graciosamente y con perfecta equidad entre aquella mísera chusma infantil" (III: 228). This is a
clear sign that she will dedicate herself, like O'Donnell, to create prosperity for Spain's masses.

Her decision to follow the cause of the Liberal Union is underlined in the last scene of the episode when, upon returning home, Teresa sees O'Donnell on the Paseo de la Castellana. She imagines him as a sort of angel "rodeado de un glorioso nimbo de oro y luz" who has come to save the country. She then mentally says to him: "Toquemos a desamortizar . . . Ya está aquí la Mano Viva" (III: 228). And thus she dedicates herself to fulfill in her own way O'Donnell's programme for the regeneration of Spain.

The question now remained whether all this promise would be fulfilled. In the next episode, Aita Tettauen, Galdós was to deal with one of the most important and disillusioning events of O'Donnell's quinquennium, the war in North Africa during the winter of 1859-60. As we shall see, Galdós' general analysis of the motives behind O'Donnell's declaration of war was decidedly negative.

5.6 Aita Tettauen: O'Donnell's Caesarian Democracy

Written between October 1904 and February 1905, Aita Tettauen deals with the Spanish military campaign in North Africa between October 1859 and February 1860. It is important to note that at the time that Galdós was writing this episode, Spain was debating its role in the Maghreb; Morocco was always a prominent issue for Spain's politicians because it offered Spain the possibility of reviving her old military and colonizing glory. Yet at the same time the Moroccan issue was to be a constant thorn in the side of the nation's leaders. However, as we shall see, Galdós felt that it was a major error to embark on this road because it was a road to the past, and not to the future. Galdós added his voice to the debate in the early 1900s by reminding Spaniards that a similar campaign in 1860 was a complete failure.
Unfortunately, as we know, Galdós' advice was not heeded. Spain was to meet disaster time and time again in dealing with Morocco: the *Semana Trágica* of 1909 was sparked by the Moroccan issue, and the battle of Annual in 1921 was the worst national disaster of the twentieth century on foreign soil as thousands of Spanish soldiers were slaughtered.

In his depiction of the mood and events of the winter of 1859-1860, Galdós resorted once again to utilizing the myth of Don Quixote to describe the anachronistic spirit that dominated Spanish society. O'Donnell acted like the famous knight by leading his citizens in a quixotic quest to conquer foreign lands, for one must remember, that besides the war in North Africa, O'Donnell also sent troops to Indochina, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic with the goal of elevating Spain's status in the greater international forum. This foreign policy reminds any student of contemporary history of Benito Mussolini's foray in Ethiopia with the goal of reviving the ancient Roman Empire. Galdós made it clear that one of O'Donnell's motives was to revive the Spanish Empire, a true quixotic desire given Spain's minor role in European politics.35

Structurally, this episode is quite interesting and original. It is divided into four parts: the first part dates from October to November 1859 and is set in Madrid at the time of the declaration of war; the second part describes the military battles, from November 1859 to January 1860; the third part constitutes the flip side of the coin as it consists of an account of the war from the Moroccan point of view, written by Gonzalo Ansúrez, a converted Muslim who had been living in Tetuan under the name of Sidi el Hach Mahommed Ben Sur El Nasiry36; and the fourth part dates from January to February 1860 and deals with the Spanish conquest of the city of Tetuan. From this organization of *Aita Tettauven*, one can perceive that the two central parts are, as Torres Nebrera has astutely posited, "las dos caras de un mismo hecho
I. Part One (Madrid, October to November 1859)

*Aita Tettauen* begins by reintroducing the character of Lucila Ansúrez, who had last been seen in the final episode of the third series, *Bodas reales*, in which she wed the rich landowner, Vicente (José) Halconero. She is now thirty years old, the mother of four children, and her beauty has begun to wither away. The eldest child, Vicente, who is seven years old, suffers from rickets, and in order to receive better medical treatment, the family moves to Madrid. Vicentito's passion is the military: "El ejército es su delirio: sueña con cazadores y se desvela pensando en los artilleros" (III: 230). It is through this child that the military theme is initially introduced. The Army becomes the major subject of conversation when Halconero informs his wife and son that there are rumours that Spain will declare war on the North Africans:

> a lo que parece, la Reina ha determinado declararle la guerra al moro, por no sé qué tropelías, y hemos de tener en la Corte, movimiento de tropas, que en Madrid pienso yo que se juntarán las de toda España para ir a esa guerra, debajo de las banderas de los católicos reyes doña Isabel y don Francisco. (III: 231)

The nation was thus preparing itself for war; in these words expressed by Halconero, one notes that wish to resurrect the glorious Spain of yesteryear. Of course, that Spain is the Spain of Isabella and Ferdinand. Now under Isabel II and the king consort, Don Francisco, Spaniards were undoubtedly hoping that they would model themselves on the first Catholic Monarchs.
When Halconero rushes home on October 22, 1859 to tell his family that O'Donnell had officially declared war, he is so excited that he stutters his way through the announcement:


Halconero's enthusiasm for the war and his confidence that Spain will easily defeat the Moroccans is representative of the opinion shared by the general population, as Juan Santiuste (Tuste) suggests when he states: "¡Qué hermoso espectáculo el de un pueblo que antes de ver realizadas las hazañas ya las da por hechas!" (III: 237).

Tuste, who becomes the protagonist of this episode, is one of those characters that is enthralled with the idea of war. His concept of war is a decidedly romanticized one, in which war is a question of defending the nation's honour:

El ideal de la Patria se sobrepone a todos los ideales cuando el honor de la Nación está en peligro. Puede la Nación vivir sin riquezas, sin paz, y aun privada de los bienes del Progreso puede vivir; pero sin honor nunca vivirá. (III: 238)

For Tuste and Spaniards in general, the war offered Spain the opportunity to resurrect the values, myths, and heroes of medieval Spain such as the Cid, Hernán Cortés, and Francisco Pizarro:

¡Qué gloria ver resucitado en nuestra época el soldado de Castilla, el castellano Cid, verle junto a nosotros, y tocar con nuestra mano la suya, y poder abrazarle y bendecirle en la realidad, no en libros y papeles! Reviven en la edad presente las pasadas. Vemos en
manos del valiente O'Donnell la cruz de Las Navas, y en las manos de los otros caudillos la espada de Cortés, el mandoble de Pizarro y el bastón glorioso del Gran Capitán. (III: 238)

It is evident that the spirit of the Reconquest had taken hold of the national psyche. In the streets Halconero's children were playing war games and imitating famous generals; the citizens of Madrid, the narrator suggests, were also playing similar games: "Entrado noviembre, todo Madrid repetía en variedad de formas el juego de guerra de los niños de Halconero" (III: 242). Tuste had become so enamoured of the idea of going to war that he was able to gain, thanks to Beramendi, a position as a war correspondent. Galdós captured the bellicose spirit that had taken over the mind-set of the nation when the narrator suggests that the country had dedicated itself to the cause with the fervour of a Holy Crusade:

Allí se vió la grande generosidad de este pueblo, que olvidaba sus miserias, resignándose a comer entusiasmo y glorias, mal aderezadas con pan seco. (. . . ) los curas tocaban el clarín y salpicaban de agua bendita los roses de los soldados, incitándoles a no volver sin dejar destruido el Islamismo, arrasadas las mezquitas y clavada la Cruz en todos los alcázares agarenos. (III: 243)

Galdós made it clear that this war in North Africa was nothing more than a resurrection of medieval Spain. There is an underlying criticism against the O'Donnell regime in this depiction of the spirit that took hold in Spain at the time of this war because, as we have seen in the previous two episodes, O'Donnell had championed the cause of modernization for Spain. However, by declaring a type of "holy war" he had betrayed those ideals that he had originally defended. In reality, with this declaration of war, O'Donnell was establishing a sort of Caesarian democracy, that is, a state that showed all the
outward signs of democracy with the reopening of the Cortes, but that basically remained a dictatorship. O'Donnell had become a demagogue, whose popularity was at an all-time high as the reader can appreciate with the scene at the Atocha train station, where O'Donnell was resoundingly praised and acclaimed by his adoring public: "Apenas se dibujó sobre las olas la figura del General, los vivas a España, a O'Donnell y al Ejército formaron un ruido de huracán. Miles de manos se agitaban por encima de las cabezas" (III: 249).

Ironically, it is Jerónimo Ansúrez, that Estupiñá-like figure, who is the sole voice of reason in this deafening crowd of madness. While Halconero was spouting off that victory was easily assured even before the first cannon ball had been fired, Jerónimo took the opposite view by contending that "esta guerra será dura, y nos ha de costar trabajo volver con provecho y gloria. No es el moro enemigo de poca cuenta, y en su tierra cada hombre vale por cuatro..." (III: 232). Moreover, Jerónimo is the sole person to point out the political motives behind O'Donnell's decision to declare war. Basically, it was a way to unite the country around this cause, and thus limit opposition to his regime. It was a politics of demagoguery and incendiary patriotism. In reality, it was, as Jerónimo argued, a mechanism of self-defense for O'Donnell and the Liberal Union:

Lo que no tiene duda es que el buen señor se acredita con esta guerra de político muy ladino, de los de vista larga, pues levantando al país para la guerra y encendiendo el patriotismo, consigue que todos los españoles, sin faltar uno, piensen una misma cosa y sientan lo mismo, como si un solo corazón existiera para tantos pechos, y con una sola idea se alumbraron todos los caletres. (III: 238)

This sentiment is echoed by the narrator, who adds that by seeking military glory O'Donnell was imitating Napoleon III in order to unite the nation behind
him and his party. He clearly posits that the war was unjustified for it was nothing more than an invention of O'Donnell's strategy to garner support for himself, and limit political opposition:

Demostró el general O'Donnell gran sagacidad política inventando aquel ingenioso saneamiento de la psicología española. Imitador de Napoleón III, buscaba en la gloria militar un medio de integración de la nacionalidad, un dogmatismo patrio que disciplinaría las almas y las hiciera más dóciles a la acción política. (III: 242-243)

Jerónimo also brings up another issue that is reminiscent of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, which is whether any war could be justifiable against North Africa because, as Jerónimo states, North Africans were related to the Spanish people:

Otra cosa les digo para que se pongan en lo cierto al entender de guerras africanas, y es que el moro y el español son más hermanos de lo que parece. Quiten un poco de religión, quiten otro poco de lengua, y el parentesco y aire de familia saltan a los ojos.

¿Qué es el moro más que un español mahometano? (III: 232)

In *Don Quixote*, Cervantes posited this same feeling by showing the exiled Morisco, Ricote, who yearned to go back home to Spain. Galdós, writing at the time of the third centenary of the publication of the first part of *Don Quixote*, also expressed the same belief while paying homage to Cervantes once again. The character of Gonzalo/El Nasiry, Jerónimo's son, best illustrates this dilemma for he has become a son of both Spain and Morocco. Vicentito underlines this dilemma when he asks his mother for whom his renegade uncle would fight. It seems evident that Galdós considered this war, or any future war against North Africa, to be an immoral civil war that would result in a large-scale fratricide. Galdós symbolically captured this anti-war stance by
juxtaposing the moment in which Halconero’s coffin is being taken up to his apartment with a military procession that is coming down the street, as if to suggest that the troops were walking to their deaths.

As the troops prepare to get on the train that will take them to Cádiz, the entire expedition is compared to Don Quixote’s sallies. In effect, the train that will take them to war is called Clavileño, an obvious reference to Don Quixote’s magical horse: "Bufaba el tren en las cortas pendientes, echando fuego por las narices . . . A lo largo de las planicies fáciles, se dormía en un ritmo ternario, imitando el trote del Clavileño" (III: 250). And thus ends the first part of Aita Tettauen with this ominous scene. Galdós had incorporated the myth of Don Quixote once again to assert that, despite all of O’Donnell’s promises to transform Spain into a modern nation, Spain continued to be psychologically entrenched in the Middle Ages. Don Quixote is the symbol of that anachronism that Galdós exploited to the full to convey the backwardness of the Spanish people.

II. Part Two (Africa, November 1859 to January 1860)

After the first part which has a prologue-like nature to it, the second part deals with the war itself. Galdós insisted on emphasizing that the Spanish soldiers embraced this war with a certain urge to kill the Moors: "Los soldados, alegres y builliciosos, deseaban que les echaran moros para dar cuenta de ellos" (III: 253). For the Spanish this was a crusade, hence the depiction of General Prim in battle, as a larger than life, resurrected St James, the slayer of Moors:

Y no era la figura del tamaño común de los hombres y de los corceles, sino veinte veces mayor: cada casco del caballo, al caer sobre los moros, aplastaba un gran número de ellos. El mismo efecto de magnitud olímpica hacía Prim entre los españoles, que, viéndose conducidos por caudillo sobrenatural, se creyeron de la
mismo talla, y de vencidos, se convirtieron al instante en vencedores... (...) y esta idea le llevó prontamente a ver claro que la aparición del apóstol Santiago en Clavijo fue un caso semejante. (III: 277)

Tuste was totally engrossed in this crusading spirit, and it manifested itself in his first accounts of the war that he sent to Beramendi and Vicentito Halconero which were full of "la ilusión de grandezas épicas" (III: 253). The narrator assures the reader that Tuste wished to "presenciar una gallarda pelea" (III: 253).

Yet this great enthusiasm for war quickly disappears after the first battle at Sierra Bullones on November 30, which resulted in many deaths despite it being a victory for the Spanish side: "No fué, ciertamente, victoria sin quebrantos, pues muertos quedaron siete oficiales y 43 soldados. Los heridos fueron 260, contándose entre ellos tres jefes y 14 oficiales" (III: 254). As he walks through the scene of the battle, Tuste feels demoralized by the sight of the dead bodies of these young Spaniards: "Pero el descorazonamiento del cronista no llegó a las frialdades más negras hasta la siguiente mañana, cuando le dió por recorrer todo el lugar de la acción del 30" (III: 255). Tuste's heart was heavy for both the Spaniards and the Moroccans: "El noble corazón del orador y poeta sintió la misma lástima ante los muertos berberiscos que ante los cristianos" (III: 255). The tragic truth of war disillusions Tuste. Through him, the reader sees the blood, pain, and death of war, which historic chronicles had never truly showed. In speaking with Alarcón for the first time, Tuste realizes that he had been deceived by these epic histories, which solely exalted the Cids and the Fernán González of the Spanish past:

¡Ay!, querido Pedro, ese mundo vivido en los libros, en páginas de verso y prosa, ¡cuán distinto es del mundo real! Es aquel un mundo que parece haber nacido en los libros mismos por virtud de
Tuste thus questions the validity of those epic chronicles, which were nothing more than lies. He reiterated this new awareness after hearing about the numerous deaths that the Spanish army had suffered in another terrible battle at the valley of Los Castillejos:

Oyendo contar el lance, Santiuste lloraba, maldecía con toda su alma las brutales guerras y las vanas historias que de ellas se escriben para inducir a los hombres a poner sus preciosas vidas en un punto caballeresco . . . (III: 271-272)

Consequently, Tuste criticizes himself for the bombastic style of his first accounts.

The great achievement of *Aita Tettauen* is that it demythicizes war in the same way that Tolstoy demythicized it in *The Sebastopol Sketches* and *War and Peace*. In its attempt to do so, there is an insistence on showing the horrid details of war, that is, blood, pain, and death, such as in this description of the aftermath of the battle of January 1, 1860:

El suelo estaba lleno de cadáveres; el aire, de un alarido, en que las dos lenguas, árabe y española, juntaban sus maldiciones y los acentos de la fiereza humana, lenguaje animal anterior al de los hombres. (III: 269)

Galdós exposed the truth of these "epic confrontations" by showing that war is not heroic, but rather a bloody and deadly struggle in which soldiers are forced to deal with hunger:

Las raciones se acortaban; pronto se acabarían en absoluto. Hombres y caballos se veían amenazados de inanición, de muerte . . . La sangre se empobrecía, la pólvora se mojaba, los corazones eran un puro estropajo, los rayos de la guerra se convertían en
We must therefore agree with Torres Nebrera when he states that *Aita Tettauen* "viene a ser el anti-Diario de un testigo de Africa, del mismo modo que su personaje central, Santiuste, se convierte en el anti-cronista que se pone de manifiesto en sus conversaciones con Alarcón" (404).41 Alarcón’s account of the war in Tetuan followed in the tradition of the epic discourse by exuberantly praising O’Donnell:

¿Estabas aquí cuando la batalla del 4 de febrero? . . . ¡Acción clásica de guerra! Yo veo en ella el triunfo de la Artillería, y la obra maestra de O’Donnell. Ensalcemos esta grande ocasión de los tiempos presentes. (III: 340)

It is quite evident that Alarcón was practising la historia grande. Seen in this light *Aita Tettauen* constitutes a criticism of Alarcón’s historiographic method. Galdós did not feel that this had been a "grande ocasión", but rather a horrible, barbaric, and sad historical event. *Aita Tettauen* represents Galdós’ rejection of those false epic histories by attempting to show the realities of war. *Aita Tettauen*, which begins as an epic account of the Spanish campaign in North Africa in the winter of 1859-1860, becomes a peace treatise.

Tuste becomes ill at the sight of all this blood and death, and wishes to leave. The narrator tells us that he becomes an ardent pacifist: "Apóstol convencido de la paz, todo lo de la guerra le tenía ya sin cuidado" (III: 274). Tuste is convinced that war is nothing more than the result of the private interests of a country’s elite: "Odio a la guerra, y admiro a los que, sin esperar ningún beneficio de ella, inocentes piezas del ajedrez militar y político, se lanzan a empeños heroicos por un fin que solo a los jugadores interesa" (III: 281). Inferred in this quotation is the belief that the elites (monarchs, ecclesiastics,
military generals) brainwash the public with the sole objective of promoting their own selfish interests. This is an acerbic criticism of the establishment on Galdós' part. Tuste further states that patriotism becomes a negative sentiment when maliciously fanned because it is a war-like sentiment that eventually results in thousands of deaths:

No sé en qué consiste que el patriotismo es casi siempre un sentimiento guerrero; no concebimos la Patria sino incrustada en la idea de conquista; no pronunciamos su nombre sin que en el airepercuta con son de trompetas y tambores. (III: 281)

Ill and confused, Tuste, by some inexplicable manner, leaves the Spanish camp and crosses over to the Muslim side. Bleeding and injured by a Moroccan women who had thrown some stones at him, Tuste finally pleads for refuge when he finds a woman who speaks to him in Sephardic Spanish. Tuste introduces himself as a man of peace, calling himself Juan el Pacificador. With Tuste's entry into the Moroccan side, the reader will now be able to understand the events of the war from the Moroccan perspective in the third part of Aita Tettauenn, which consists of Gonzalo/El Nasiry's account of this war.

III. Part Three (Tettauen, Rayab 1276)

In trying to maintain a sense of verisimilitude, Galdós began the third part by writing the Muslim month and year, which was Rayab 1276. By doing this, Galdós was insisting on making the point that this third part would be written from the Moroccan point of view.42 El Nasiry, like Tuste, is assigned by the sheriff to provide him with a report on the events of this war. El Nasiry assures his readers that his account will be truthful:

Es ésta la guerra del Español desde que apareció en el valle de Tettauenn, y se refiere con verdad y estimación natural de todos los hechos presenciados por el narrador para que los venideros
conozcan la brava defensa que de su religión venerada hacen los hijos de El Mogreb El Aská. (III: 291)

One perceives in this passage that regardless of the fact that El Nasiry promises to be faithful to the events of the war, his prime motivation is to exalt the courage of the Moroccans in their defense of Islam. It is, therefore, the equivalent of the Alarcón diary, in that both accounts aim to elevate and inflate the heroic aspect of the war. El Nasiry's first entry of the events of the war are, however, not truthful for he states that: "El número de cristianos que perecieron en aquellas refriegas no se puede calcular; los moros perdimos escaso número, y en casi todos los encuentros quedábamos vencedores" (III: 291). By making such a false statement, Galdós was suggesting that history could be full of lies. Like the Spanish chronicles that falsely exalted national heroes, the chronicles of other cultures, such as the Muslim, also served to create the myth of glorious warrior heroes. It is for this reason that the Moroccan military leader, Abu-Riala, is portrayed as a sort of Moorish St James:

Pregunté por Abu-Riala, no bien llegábamos a nuestras tiendas, y me dijeron que había consumado aquel día descomunales proezas, matando a multitud de cristianos, sin que se le tocara el más leve rasguño. (III: 293)

Similarly, Moroccan defeats become victories in the eyes of the Muslims: "Por la noche, comentando la batalla, predominaba la opinión de que había sido victoria manifiesta y no derrota, como creían los menos en número y los mal pensados y agoreros" (III: 294).

That all these manifestations are false is confirmed by El Nasiry himself in the fourth part, when he confesses to Tuste that he was forced to write his version of the events of the war so that they would be pleasing to his patron:
¿Crees tú que es historia lo que escribo para El Zebdy? No, hijo; no es nada de eso, porque he tenido que escribirlo al gusto musulmán, retorciendo los hechos para que siempre resulten favorables a los morios. (III: 339)

This is an important admission because it reveals much about the nature of history writing. Galdós was suggesting that writers of *la historia grande* were simply a medium for the elites to create their own myth. His *Episodios nacionales* would be anti-elitist, in that they would not serve to exalt the myth of society’s elites. On the contrary, the function of the *episodios* was to destroy those myths that had such a lasting grip on the national psyche. Galdós was thus definitely questioning the ability of texts to express the truth. Language, if used with a devious intent, could be harmful to society. However, if used with good intentions, Galdós felt that language could instruct in such a way that society would liberate itself from those false myths that were restraining Spain from becoming a modern nation. The myths of Don Quixote, the Cid, St James, the Catholic Monarchs, and the conquistadors were holding down the Spanish nation. The *episodios*, such as *Aita Tettauén*, constituted an attempt to show that these myths were lies, and that subsequently Spaniards should be seeking to create a modern society based on truth and tolerance.

Upon entering the city of Tetuan, which means the eyes of springs (ojos de manantiales), El Nasiry sees total chaos; the Jews of this city are preparing to leave because, as Yakub Mendes asserted, "Tan cierto era que O'Donnell entraría en Tettauén como que el Sol sale hoy, mañana y siempre" (III: 296). War, as one can understand, had wreaked havoc on this paradise. After the battle of February 5, 1860 Tetuan had all but been destroyed: "En algunos puntos de la ciudad, tumulto y hervidero de riñas; en otros, soledad de cementerio, en todos, escombros, restos de pillaje, sangre, lodo y basura" (III: 321). This is the history that would never be allowed to be known, but
fortunately the episodios exist to assure that these sad truths were recorded for posterity.

When El Nasiry first meets Tuste he sees a man who is feeling the effects of war. If in the second part, Tuste had been described as physically resembling Don Quixote ("Podría pasar por un Don Quijote, en la flor de su edad (veinticinco años), caballero en un Rocinante desmedrado por la mala vida más que por los años") (III: 258), now in the third part, and after having witnessed so much death and having experienced hunger, Tuste physically resembles the tired Don Quixote of the second part who only wishes to return home: "Era el durmiente de poquísimas carnes y de más que mediana estatura, bien formado de esqueleto y miembros, por las partes que de él se veían" (III: 297).

In almost a state of idiocy, Tuste, who has now been rebaptized by El Nasiry with the name of Yahia because he apparently resembles the son of Zacharias,\(^4^3\) preaches peace to everyone that he meets: "Suspira por la paz, por el amor entre todos los humanos y la universal concordia" (III: 298). He is actually quite happy when the Spanish Army triumphantly enters into Tetuan at the end of the third part because this signifies the war has ended and peace is near. With this event, El Nasiry concludes his account lamenting this sad outcome for the Islamic cause.

IV. Part Four (Tetuan, January-February 1860)

The fourth part of Aita Tettauén is based on the testimony of Mazaltob, the woman who aids Tuste when he crosses into the Moroccan side. In this last part, the plot of the war is paralleled by the love story of Tuste and Yohar, with whom Tuste had fallen in love in the third part. The intertextuality of this fourth part jumps off the page, as Yohar recalls the character of Zoraida from Don Quixote and Mazaltob acts like Celestina, who urges Tuste to conquer Yohar's heart:
Aplícate a ella, Yahia, que no podrían encontrar mejor apaño tus partes buenas. Si ella es polida, tú barragán, y aínda sabidor mucho. Háblale como tú sabes, con todo el melindre de tu suavidad, y verás cómo te responde con sonrisa... (III: 331)

With the character of Yohar, Galdós was recreating the character of Zoraida, the captive's lover in Cervantes' Don Quixote. In fact, in the third part, Yohar, like Zoraida, tells Tuste that she wishes to become a Christian and move to Spain. For his part, Tuste seems to act like a Don Juan who so succeeds in conquering Yohar's heart with his poetry that she is willing to leave her father. As they try to leave Tetuan, the Spanish triumphantly march into the city, and thus the two main story lines end with conquest. It is at this point that Tuste meets up again with El Nasiry initially, and then with Alarcón. During his conversation with the latter, Tuste declares that the difference between the Spanish conquest and his conquest of Yohar is that his is a conquest of peace and love: "Si vosotros, con el acero y la pólvera, habéis hecho una gran conquista de guerra, yo, con pólvera distinta, he hecho una conquista de paz. ¿Cuál será más duradera, Perico?..." (III: 340). To find out the answer to this last question, however, one will have to read the next episode, Carlos VI, en la Rápita, which continues the saga of Tuste and the Spanish Army in Tetuan.

5.7 Carlos VI, en la Rápita:44 "el cajón de sastre"

This section on the seventh episode of the fourth series, Carlos VI, en la Rápita, has been subtitled "el cajón de sastre", a Spanish term which indicates the miscellaneous nature of this episode, because like a tailor's box, which is composed of many different fabric scraps, this episode is also composed of different materials. The first twelve chapters constitute, in reality, a continuation and conclusion to the previous episode, Aita Tettauén; chapters
thirteen to fifteen are set in Madrid; and the rest of the episode, chapters sixteen to thirty, follows Tuste's expedition in Northern Spain where he is sent to report on the resurgence of Carlism. Hence this episode becomes a veritable tailor's box. It is this miscellaneous nature which makes Carlos VI, en la Rápita a disjunctive novel, which worsens the quality of this episode. There is a lack of homogeneity, which tends to disrupt the focus of the reader, who is taken from North Africa to Northern Spain, with a short stop in Madrid. Due to this heterogeneous character, this episode lacks a major theme which would be able to garner the attention of the reader. This was definitely not one of Galdós' shining literary moments.

Written by Juan Santiuste, the first part of Carlos VI, en la Rápita is set in Tetuan, where Tuste himself tells the reader that he has become known as Confusio because he is so confused that he no longer knows who he is. The war has led to a serious ontological crisis for Tuste, who now questions his very existence. He also questions the value of the three major religions which, in his opinion, are very similar because they "violan el precepto en las guerras y trapisondas, mayormente si éstas son traídas por el furor pietista de los pastores que nos guían en este mundo, y en los caminos para llegar felizmente al otro" (III: 341). He also questions the contribution that Spain will be able to make to Tetuan, and he further questions the reason why Spain had gone to war against a militarily weaker nation.

Of course, Galdós knew that what mattered to the Spanish elite was not the effect on Tetuan, but rather the effect that this war would have back in Spain. And it is to this effect that in talking with Alarcón and Rinaldi, Tuste learns that Spain's success in North Africa had translated into great popularity for O'Donnell's regime back home: "Se hablaba del delirio patriótico con que acogían todas las ciudades de España los recientes triunfos; de los planes de O'Donnell; de los rumores de próxima paz" (III: 343). O'Donnell's
objective of stirring patriotic fervour had been achieved, even though it had been attained at the expense of a much weaker nation.

Completely disgusted and disillusioned with war, Tuste accepts Beramendi's advice to write to him about his own personal travails, which, in reality, Beramendi (and Galdós, of course) finds more interesting:

Desenganado Juan: Si no quieres referir cosas de guerra, refiere cosas de paz; si te repugnan los asuntos públicos, ya sean militares, ya políticos, cuéntame los tuyos, que en muchos casos las historias de hombres aislados y sueltos cautivan más que las de tribus o naciones. Con sinceridad lo digo: las aventuras de cualquier español voluntarioso, enamorado y poco sufrido, me saben a historia general más que las acartonadas narraciones de batallas o de tumultos populares que alteran la tranquilidad de la Puerta del Sol y calles adyacentes. (III: 347)

This passage reaffirms Galdós' preoccupation with la historia chica. It is for this reason that Tuste's personal life receives so much attention because, through Tuste, the reader is able to understand how this war affected the average person. To this effect, Tuste's eyewitness account of the battle at Wadras shows the suffering of the Moroccans in great detail:

A cada instante encontrábamos grupos de moros que regresaban a sus aldeas después de la batalla, unos con la espingarada al hombro, otros inermes, todos andrajosos y escuálidos, con la tristeza pintada en el rostro. (III: 363)

Unlike la historia grande which created myth, Galdós' episodios dismantled myth by revealing the truth of quotidian life. Galdós showed that there was nothing heroic to the suffering of the North African soldiers at Wadras.

As for Tuste's personal love life, which is dealt with extensively, this episode continues to describe his affair with Yohar. As was suggested in the
previous section, Yohar recalls the character of Zoraida from Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. This fact is stressed again by Yohar's admission that she wishes to become a Christian. But Galdós provides a twist to this comparison between Yohar and Zoraida when Yohar has second thoughts about converting to Christianity and suggests to Tuste that he convert to Judaism. After he refuses, Yohar proposes that they maintain their own religion and that each one tolerate the other:

-Oye tú, mi Yahia: ¿no percatas que ha de enfurecierse el Dio cuando vea que troco mi ley y me jago cristiana? Dejarme has como so y tú lo mesmo con tu Jesucrito. Onde por ello diremos a casarnos a Gilbartal, y allí moraremos, tú mercador, yo señora polida y esponjada de ropa . . . (III: 345)

Galdós' Zoraida becomes a tolerant woman who wishes to maintain her own religion. Furthermore, the comparison with Zoraida ends when Yohar runs away with Natham Papo Acevedo, a rich Sephardic Jew from Constantinople who offers her the standard of life that Tuste could not.

Yohar's rejection of Tuste causes him to wish revenge on Papo Acevedo. This revival of his Spanish honour is not understood by the Jewish women who become afraid of him. Angered by this medieval spirit, which is foreign to the Semitic culture of Tetuan, El Nasiry scolds Tuste and urges him to dispense with that false Spanish honour that is useless because it does not contribute to society:

Ya me tenía yo tragado que saldrían a relucir los Cides y Quijotes . . . Muy señores mios. ¿Cómo va de salud? . . . ¿Y en casa, todos buenos? . . . Pues en esta tierra, para que te vayas enterando, poco tienen que hacer los Quijotes y los Cides. Y ya que los has traído contigo, vuélvanse contigo a España . . . Sabrás, hijo mío, que el honor y la caballería consisten aquí en vivir como se pueda,
guardando la religión y cumpliendo todos los deberes... En la España de la parte acá del mar no da de comer el honor, ni al dinero se le mira con mal ojo, venga de donde viniere... (III: 352)

Tuste's acute sense of honour finally withers away after witnessing the realities of war. As a result, he tells El Nasiry that his honour will not be injured if he accepts the money that Yohar's father and husband (Riomesta and Papo Acevedo, respectively) had offered him, and which he, at first, rejected because he considered it an offense to his honour.

Tuste thus dispossesses himself of that quixotism that had overtaken him. Like Don Quixote who wishes to return home at the end of the second part, Tuste is also confronted by the realities of life. As a result of his extreme poverty, Tuste realizes that the Spanish concept of honour is an empty concept that does not meet his true needs. This story line thus becomes another attempt by Galdós to puncture holes in the medieval Spanish concept of honour, which is portrayed as being ridiculous for nineteenth-century Spain.

El Nasiry then takes Tuste to his home in Tangiers, from where Tuste will embark on a ship that will take him home to Spain. At El Nasiry's home, Tuste learns that his host has a harem. El Nasiry prohibits him from seeing any of his three wives: Bab-el-lah, Quentza, and Erhimo. This prohibition leads Tuste to dream that he is the captive from Don Quixote:

me acosté mecido por mi imaginación en vagorosas ilusiones, y soñé que en mí se reproducía la historia del cautivo contada por Cervantes en el Quijote. En el patio de mi hospedaje vi el baño de Argel, donde me tenía prisionero el bárbaro renegado Azan baja, y por las celosías vi asomar la caña con que la misteriosa Lela Mariem me manifestaba ser yo el preferido entre los demás cautivos. (III: 369-370)
El Nasiry's third wife, Erhimo, approaches Tuste and writes to him that she wishes to escape. This provokes in Tuste the urge to come to the aid of a damsel in distress, but any attempt to liberate Erhimo is thwarted by El Nasiry, who informs him, much to his dismay, that he knows all about Erhimo's letters to him. El Nasiry explains that Erhimo is mentally ill and that for this reason he wishes to return to Tetuan so that she can be attended to by Spanish doctors.

Before he leaves Tangier, Tuste is told by El Nasiry of the conditions of the peace treaty signed between O'Donnell and Muley El Abbas. Basically, El Nasiry asserts that Spain received very little for all its troubles: "-No se lleva nada... Digo, sí; le dan un poquito de terreno pegado a Ceuta. Esta plaza es hoy para España una chuleta que no tiene más que el hueso" (III: 376). Besides Ceuta, which was nothing more than a bone thrown to a dog, the Spaniards were to also be paid twenty million duros for Tetuan. Thus Spain, as Tuste states, did not benefit in any substantial way for all the pain, sacrifice, and suffering that it inflicted on its citizens: "Poco es lo que sacamos de esta guerra, costosa en dinero y más costosa de sangre" (III: 376). To which El Nasiry replies that, despite not gaining great financial and tangible rewards, O'Donnell had achieved his purpose, which was to elevate Spain's status in the international forum "porque España ha conseguido lo que se proponía, que no era conquistar territorios, sino hacer una demostración de su poder militar. Todo el mundo ha podido ver que tenéis un gran ejército pequeño" (III: 376). El Nasiry adds that this was a ruse on O'Donnell's part by which to eliminate opposition to his regime:

Lleva también el mayor acopio posible de militar autoridad, con que el buen O'Donnell pueda espantar y hacer el coco a los políticos que le estorban o no le dejan hacer su gusto en el gobierno
de una nación revuelta, engañada y desengañada de tantas coplas de Libertad, Constitución y viva la Pepa . . . (III: 377)

This passage constitutes a critique against O'Donnell, who had championed liberty and democracy while in opposition, but once in power resorted to politics as usual, that is, a military dictatorship. As was suggested in the last section, O'Donnell had reverted to a Caesarian democracy: architecturally the regime was democratic, but in practice it was completely autocratic.

With these last comments on O'Donnell's plan, El Nasiry sees Tuste off. As he returns to what he calls these "tierras quijotiles", Tuste begins to think about Lucila Ansúrez once again as his Dulcinea, "la figura y persona de la ideal mujer" (III: 379). However, any aspirations to marry Lucila are put to an abrupt end when he finds out that Lucila already has a fiance, Angel Cordero, who is quite similar to Vicente Halconero, in that Cordero is also a rich landowner. Beramendi adds that Cordero is so impassioned with the study of political economy that he resembles Don Quixote:

Ha leído cuanto españoles y franceses escribieron de la monserga económica, y trastornado con tal pestilencia, como Don Quijote con la de los libros caballerescos, no ha parado hasta inficionar a Lucila. (III: 381)

It seems that for Galdós nobody can escape this characterization of being a Don Quixote. Even Cordero, who seems to be such a rational being, is viewed as a Don Quixote. Undoubtedly, the obsession and single-mindedness with which Spaniards took up causes is the factor which led Galdós to see them as modern-day Quixotes. Thus even characters such as Cordero are portrayed in a ridiculous fashion because of their exaggerated passions.

The crux of the second part of this episode is Beramendi's meeting with Tuste, who, to his surprise, is assigned by Beramendi to go to Northern Spain to send back reports on the Carlist uprising led by Carlos VI. Tuste assures his
readers that Beramendi greatly appreciated his account of the war in North Africa because it offered him all the colour of the setting:

Más que la historia seca de los públicos acontecimientos le cautivan las referencias de andanzas particulares, y en ellas ve el colorido de la historia general, la cual, sin este matiz de sangre, de fuego anímico, no es más que un trozo negro que así fatiga la vista como la memoria. (III: 380)

This feeling is reiterated by María Ignacia, who implores Tuste to write about himself in his reports that he will send back to her husband:

Si a mal no lo toma usted, le recomendaré que hable poquito de las salvajadas de la guerra civil. Cuéntenos las guerras y batallas de usted mismo, sus aventuras, cuítas o calamidades; describanos costumbres no conocidas, sucesos que se aparten de lo vulgar, escenas pintorescas, como lo que le pasó a usted en el Fondac.

(III: 385)

These two quoted passages underscore Galdós' objectives in writing the Episodios nacionales. As we have seen on countless occasions, Galdós felt the need to justify what he was attempting to achieve. He defended the episodios as an alternative to traditional historiography, which had no connection to the general public. His version of history, on the other hand, attempted to describe the role of the average Spaniard in relation to the great events that marked Spain in the nineteenth century. Consequently, Galdós felt that his readers would receive a better understanding of the movements and historic characters that had shaped Spanish society.

In this same meeting between Beramendi, Manolo Tarfe, and Tuste, the former two praise the work of the Liberal Union. But in their praise, the reader can perceive the modus operandi of O'Donnell's party, which we have described as a Caesarian democracy. Both Beramendi and Tarfe underline the syncretic
nature of the Liberal Union, which paradoxically carried a big stick while promoting such ideals as progress and liberty:

Galdós' depiction of the O'Donnell's Liberal Union is resoundingly critical. The quinquenio odonnelliano is characterized as an essentially conservative regime that failed to live up to all the promises that it had made in opposition. This regime, in my estimation, symbolized Spain's crisis in the nineteenth century. Torn between tradition and modernity, which was a threatening concept for the elite, O'Donnell chose the former. His was a regime that psychologically continued to be indebted to Spain's "glorious" medieval past.

The crux of the meeting is the latest Carlist pronunciamiento in Tortosa made by Carlos VI. Beramendi assures Tuste that he has learned from his spies that the Carlists are trying to take advantage of O'Donnell's absence by plotting to wed Carlos VI's son with Isabel II's daughter:

Don Carlos Luis, conde de Montemolín, subirá al Trono con la denominación de Carlos VI... La actual reina doña Isabel y su esposo se avendarán a una jubilación decorosa, conservando título y honores de reyes... El hijo de Montemolín se casará con la infanta Isabel, y subirá al Trono cuando cumpla veinticinco años
... Isabel y Carlos reinarán juntos con igual derecho mayestático, y se titularán Segundos Reyes Católicos. (III: 386, emphasis is mine)

Emphasis has been placed on this last part of this passage because it succinctly indicates the mentality of the Carlists who wished to return to the fifteenth century, a period in Spanish history that had been elevated to the status of myth.

Tuste is consequently sent on a mission to send back reports on the trouble brewing in Northern Spain. Disguised as a priest, Tuste takes on the comical name of Juan Pérez de Confusio; he is given a set of letters of recommendation, including one from Sor Patrocinio. One of the letters is addressed to the Vicar of Ulldecona, a character who plays a prominent role in Tuste's adventures in Northern Spain, and who is described as a "varón docto y bien calificado de virtudes, carlista por los cuatro costados, con brillante hoja de servicios en la anterior guerra civil, que ilustró con ruidosas hazañas" (III: 387). Thus the reader returns to the North for the first time since Montes de Oca. But nothing has really changed in that area of Spain, as Tuste's description of his first impressions upon entering Northern Spain indicate: "Ruinas y desolación veo por todas partes, veredas de guerrilleros, emboscadas de asesinos, burladeros naturales para la sorpresa y la traición..." (III: 389).

Sadly, the North continued to be a desolate environment where war had become second-nature.

This part of the episode concentrates on two story lines: the failed Carlist uprising at San Carlos de la Rápita and the personal adventures of Tuste that involve the Vicar of Ulldecona and one of his maids, Donata. Thus in typical Galdosian fashion, la historia grande is interwoven with la historia chica to create an integral history. In fact, Tuste's affair with Donata piques the reader's interest as much or even more than the historic event.
The political event receives coverage almost as soon as Tuste has entered in Northern Spain. While at Foz Calanda, he hears that Tortosa has pronounced itself in favour of Carlos VI, who has just arrived on Spanish soil. Tuste comments in his diary that this development reaffirms "la verosimilitud de lo absurdo en nuestra patria" (III: 389). This comment thus sets the tone for the entire depiction of this event; Carlos VI and General Jaime Ortega, who led the uprising, will be harshly characterized as bumbling incompetent fools. In effect, even the Vicar of Ulldecona, an ardent defender of Carlism, accuses the protagonists of this uprising of being completely crazy for poorly planning the action at San Carlos de la Rápita. So angered by the failure of this uprise, the Vicar extends his attack to Carlos VI himself and his brother who "sin tino se metieron en esta malandanza" (III: 405).

While Carlos VI is accused of lacking sound judgment, Ortega and his cohorts are accused of insanity. Captured and condemned to death, Ortega is characterized as a Don Quixote who obsessively dreamt of leading a Carlist revolution that would place Carlos VI on the throne of Spain:

Tan ciegos estaban él y sus compañeros de locura, que en vez de correrse a la costa en busca de un falucho que los llevara mares adentro, se metieron en el corazón de España. No podían desechar la ilusión de que el país se sublevaba por la Causa. Soñaba con el levantamiento general, con Madrid convertido a la fe montemolinista. (III: 418)

Tuste's description of the execution ceremony constitutes one of the most eloquent defenses against capital punishment. While the crowd is portrayed as a hungry animal que "Bullía y bufaba como una muchedumbre de parada militar, de teatro, de toros . . . " (III: 422), Ortega gains a quiet dignity: "En mi retina se estampó la imagen del reo, calificado de traidor. Lo sería; mas
After the execution, Tuste (Galdós) comments that this law is immoral:

¡Y se llama Ley lo que es contrario al sentimiento y a la razón; Ley, la violación salvaje del principio cristiano! ¿En qué te diferencias, Ley matadora, de los criminales que matan? En que revistes tu crimen de etiquetas y trámites y en que has sabido cohonestarlo con fórmulas hipócritas de moral falsa y de religión contrahecha. (III: 422)

Throughout the Episodios nacionales, Galdós took advantage of this forum to express his beliefs on subjects that apparently had nothing to do with the historic or personal events of the episodes. As part of the didactic mission that he undertook, it seems clear that Galdós considered that issues of morality also pertained to his mission. Consequently, the issue of capital punishment becomes an important one in this episode. As an ardent liberal, Galdós was convinced that capital punishment was nothing more than sanctioned murder.

This entire Carlist escapade is characterized as a pathetic action. After capturing this cardboard king, as Carlos VI is called, Tuste feels sympathy for the cause which was coming to an unceremonial end. Carlos VI's subsequent renunciation of his rights to the crown provokes the following observation made by Tuste:

¿Quién pudo pensar que a la trágica epopeya del carlismo se le pusiera una escena final de comedia pedestre? Al bajar el telón sobre tal escena, ¿no se oirá la silba en el Polo Norte o en el Polo Sur? ¡Y para esto vinieron al mundo Zumalacárregui, y anduvo en loca peregrinación don Carlos Isidro, llevando a rastras la Generalísima su Patrona! (III: 435)

It is as if Galdós was saying that thousands of Spaniards had sacrificed themselves for nothing. The history of nineteenth-century Spain was a tragic
comedy in the best Spanish tradition. All the deaths that had occurred for
three decades had served no purpose at all.

The second story line centres on Tuste's relationship with Donata and
the Vicar of Ulldecona, who is perhaps one of the most memorable characters
of all the episodios. Tuste first encounters the Vicar when he is captured by
him as Tuste was crossing the northern countryside. The Vicar or Archpriest,
as he wishes to be called, is a character resurrected from the Middle Ages, a
fact which is stressed on more than one occasion by Tuste. Defender of the
faith like St James the Apostle, the Vicar is a warrior and defender of the
Carlíst cause who killed Cristinos in the Carlíst wars, as he himself admits:
"Fusilé y aterroricé porque así me lo dictaba la ley de guerra . . . " (III: 396). For
him the Carlíst cause had taken precedent above everything else in his life:
"Por delante de las vidas ha de ir la Causa . . . , y Dios, que es la Causa de las
Causas," (III: 396). Tuste considers him to be spiritually and psychologically a
medieval being, who is ruled by his fanatical passions: "En el atezado rostro de
aquellos interesantes bárbaros vi la ingenuidad del hombre medieval, laborioso
en la paz, matón en la guerra, defensor de su terruño y de sus rudas creencias
con fanático heroísmo . . . " (III: 411). He holds a firm feudal grip on the
inhabitants of his local town; he is the patriarch, judge, and protector,
("arcipreste, patriarca y califa" III: 399). The Archpriest cherishes his role as
protector and feudal lord: "Aquí soy fuerza y poder. ¿Por qué, amigo Confusio?
Porque protejo a todos, porque reparto entre los infelices lo que a mí me sobra.
La mitad de los vecinos de esta villa viven de mi amparo" (III: 408). He rightly
claims that his personal opposition to the authorities in Madrid is based on the
fact that the people are suffering of hunger, and that therefore they need
someone who will fight for their rights. Thus his cause has a social basis in
point:
Yo he tirado contra el Gobierno que agobia a España con las contribuciones y no da ningún bienestar a los pueblos... El pueblo no come, y allá los ricos holgazanes viven de estrujar a la pobreza. Por esto me he sublevado... (III: 407)

This is an important point that historians have tended to overlook in their analyses of the social unrest in the North. The fact is that the Liberal Union for all its talk of developing and fomenting Spain's infrastructure was unable to improve the lot of the average Spaniard. Industrialists and speculators enriched themselves at the expense of the poor masses. By making such a point, Galdós was showing his sympathy for the exploited masses, who ultimately had to pay the price for all the conflicts in their lives.

The medieval nature of the archpriest is further underlined by the parallel that is established between him and the famous Archpriest of Hita, author of the *Libro de buen amor*. The reader first suspects this resemblance when the Vicar tells Tuste that his name is Juan Ruiz Hondón, though he is popularly called Don Juanondón. In his house he has four female housekeepers, which reminds one of the Archpriest of Hita's weakness for the female sex. Finally, when he recites verses from the *Libro de buen amor*, which he was taught as a child by his mother, Tuste feels the urge to tell him that he is the reincarnation of the Archpriest of Hita with the sole exception that the Archpriest of Hita was not a military man. That such a character could still exist in the mid-nineteenth century is an indictment of the anachronism that afflicted Spain at this time in her history. Galdós saw in this character a symbol of the Carlist character, who was quick to use violence to solve any problem. A case in point is his confession of having killed a lieutenant who was seeing Fabiana, a young woman from Alcaine for whom the Archpriest had fallen madly in love. This archpriest demonstrates the irrational and medieval
nature of the Carlists, whom Galdós, as has been shown in the third chapter, considered to be one of Spain's most dangerous plagues.

As the story of the archpriest is developing, there emerges another love story between Tuste and, in this case, one of the archpriest's housekeepers, a beautiful blonde named Donata, who later reveals to Tuste that she had been bought by the archpriest for 1,500 reales (III: 429). Donata thus replaces in Tuste's heart a succession of idyllic women: Teresa Villaescusa, Lucila Ansúrez, Yohar, and Erhimo. Donata becomes "la expresión sintética de la hermosura de mujer" (III: 397). Tuste later admits that, with each day that passes, Donata resembles Erhimo more and more. And Donata does especially resemble Erhimo when she asks Tuste to free her from the clutches of the archpriest. Donata falls completely in love with Tuste because he is the first man who loves her without wanting to possess her: "Esclava soy desde que nací, y de unos a otros dueños he pasado; ahora soy esclava tuya. No me has comprado con dinero, sino con tu amor, y en el amor tuyo quiero vivir siempre" (III: 425). They then escape to Tortosa, where they stay with Polonia, Donata's cousin. It is while in Tortosa that Tuste witnesses the execution of Ortega and the arrest of Carlos VI and his brother. It is also while in Tortosa that he meets Diego, another member of the famous Ansúrez family who dedicated himself to a life at sea. Just when it seems that they will escape from the archpriest, he finds them in Tortosa. But when Tuste tells him that he and Donata love each other, the archpriest surprisingly relinquishes any hold he had on her and lets them leave with Diego Ansúrez, who is heading home to Cartagena. Besides giving Tuste a thousand reales, he offers him this last piece of advice: "Tu, Confusio, métete en lo eclesiástico, que ése es tu camino y para eso has nacido" (III: 440). And the two lovers leave on Diego's boat, but what the future holds for them is uncertain. The reader will have to go on to the next
5.8 *La vuelta al mundo en la Numancia*[^47] Spain's Quixotic Heritage in Latin America

Set in both Spain and South America, mainly in Peru and Chile, *La vuelta al mundo en la Numancia* revolves around two major historical events: the uprising at Loja, near Granada, and Spain's war in the Pacific against Chile and Peru in 1865.[^48] However, it is the latter encounter that is covered in greater detail. As we shall see, Galdós, who never visited South America, suggested that this part of the world had inherited and completely assimilated the quixotic medieval spirit of Spain in its customs and method of governing. On the level of *historia chica*, this episode deals with the travails of Diego Ansúrez whose story begins when, while escaping from Tortosa by boat, he tells Tuste and Donata about his adventurous past. Married to an ex-nun, Angustias, whom he rebaptized Esperanza, and father of a girl named Marina, or Mara as she is called, Diego is a man whose life has been dedicated to the high seas. When Tuste and Donata met him in Tortosa, Diego was just beginning his new business in coastal shipping. He now planned to return home to settle down with his wife and daughter. Meanwhile, Tuste and Donata established themselves in Murcia, but their union did not last long: Donata left Tuste for a rich, elegant, and aristocratic canon, and Tuste returned to Madrid.

Esperanza's family, the Castriles, invite her and Diego to come to Loja to stay with them. Loja, home of General Narváez, seems to be an earthly paradise at first, as both Esperanza and Mara totally enjoy themselves in this rural environment. However, Diego becomes disturbed by the acute political problems that are brewing in Loja between the Moderates and the peasant workers. Galdós' depiction of the battle at Loja signalled this event as an early
clash of two different periods of history: between the feudal medieval Ancien Regime and the dawn of the proletariat movement; between Spain's remote past and Spain's immediate future.

It is Esperanza's brother-in-law, Cristino López, who is the first to manifest that the so-called Moderates were nothing more than feudal lords who wished to keep Spain tied down to its medieval past:

Esta [la Moderación] no era más que un retoño de insolencia señorial en el suelo y ambiente contemporáneo, el feudalismo del siglo XIV, redivivo con el afeite de artificios legales, constitucionales y dogmáticos, que muchos hombres del día emplean para pintarrajear sus viejas caras medievales y ocultar la crueldad y fieros apetitos de sus bárbaros caracteres. (III: 445)

The representative of feudalism in Loja was the house of La Cañada "en quien se reunían el ilustre abolengo, la riqueza, el poderío militar de Narváez y su inmensa pujanza política" (III: 445). An obvious ally was the Church, represented by the local priest, Don Prisco Armijana y Castril, who calls for the Army to intervene on the side of order and religion:

Esto, amigo Ansúrez, pasa de la raya, y yo digo que si no nos manda tropas el Gobierno de O'Donnell, es porque el gachó quiere perdernos, envidioso del poder de Narváez . . . Tropas, vengan tropas, o nos veremos muy mal, pero que muy mal. (III: 448)

On the other side were the forces of democracy, which Diego interpreted "en el sentido estrecho de protesta de los oprimidos contra los poderosos" (III: 445). Headed by a rural veterinarian named Rafael Pérez del Alamo "inventor y artífice principal de aquel tinglado de la organización democrática y socialista" (III: 447), a secret society was organized "con fines puramente benéficos, socorro de enfermos, heridos y valetudinarios" (III: 445). The peasant movement at Loja recruited members through such socialist
newspapers as La Discusión and El Pueblo. In fact, they were able to establish a fifth column within the house of La Cañada: "Afiliados no estaban no pocos servidores del conde de la Cañada. En el propio caserón o castillo roquero del cacique feudal se sentía la continua labor de zapa del monstruoso ciempiés que minaba la tierra" (III: 446). The socialist proletariat movement was definitely seen as a threat to the status quo, as is proved by the fact that so many workers were jailed that "no cabiendo en las prisiones, se habilitaron para tales el Pósito y el convento de la Victoria" (III: 446).

In the midst of all this political agitation, Diego is the voice of reason who questions why any war has to be fought in such a fertile region:

¿Por qué se peleaban los hombres en aquel delicioso terreno, en aquellos risueños valles fecundísimos, que a todos brindaban sustento y vida, con tanta abundancia, que para los presentes sobraba, y aún se podía prevenir y almacenar riqueza para los de otras regiones? (III: 449)

Diego is thus the natural successor to Tuste in Aita Tettauen, by being the standard-bearer of peace. After pondering this issue, Diego concludes that the only explanation for war is that Spain is completely insane: "y razonando en términos más rudos de los que en esta relación histórica se indican, acababa por declarar que o los españoles son locos sueltos en el manicomio de su propia casa, o tontos a nativitate" (III: 449). As the conflict breaks out, Diego decides to flee with his family back to Cartagena, but during the journey Esperanza dies. When Diego and Mara near the town of Motril, they learn about the outcome of the battle at Loja, which was mercilessly repressed by the government forces led by General Serrano. Pérez del Alamo, however, escaped to Portugal. The author comments that this peasant leader was a quixotic visionary who "[r]epresentó una idea que en su tiempo se tuvo por delirio. Otros tiempos traerían la razón de aquella sinrazón" (III: 455). Of
course, those times to which Galdós was referring were the period in which he was writing this episode for it must be remembered that only one year later (1907), Galdós officially joined the Socialist-Republican _conjunción_. Thus as he was writing about the tragic events at Loja, Galdós was intuiting that the future would belong to the underclass of society, a feeling which he expressed with conviction to Antón del Olmet and García Carraffa in an interview in 1912, as was indicated in chapter three of this study.

As the events of Loja conclude, another episode begins in Diego's life when he and his daughter meet Belisario Chacón, who pleads with Diego to help him. Belisario is a young Peruvian who, as he himself states, is in Spain "por locuras y calaveradas más, que ahora pago con usura, pues han caído sobre mi cabeza más desdichas de las que merezco . . ." (III: 457). Belisario is a Romantic figure; he explains that his father is Spanish and married a native of Lima, but because of his father's bad temper, Belisario left home at the age of twenty to cultivate his love for the sea. He joined an English frigate that took him to Europe. Diego takes a liking to the young Peruvian, and agrees to take him to Cartagena.

At home in Cartagena, Diego and Mara settle in the home of Diego's friend, Roque Pinel. Diego sends his daughter to the school of the Ursuline nuns. At the age of fifteen, Diego takes her out of the school but, as the narrator states, she had not learned anything: "sale del convento tan rasa y monda de saber como había entrado, con bastantes malicias y astucias de más, y su cándida ingenuidad de menos" (III: 459).

Belisario, meanwhile, leads a very mysterious life; he holds a series of jobs that take him to Marseille and other ports. Seemingly out of nowhere, he reappears in Cartagena elegantly dressed "y con cierto mohín misterioso" (III: 459). Diego suspects that Belisario had come to conquer Mara's heart. In effect, he discovered that the two were exchanging letters. Belisario's poetry completely captivated Mara. Belisario
then asks Diego for Mara's hand in matrimony, which Ansúrez firmly rejects and attacks him like a wild beast. A few days later, though, Mara flees with Belisario to Peru. Besides this grave setback, Diego loses his last ship, the Esperanza. He then liquidates his business, and plans to dedicate himself to a solitary life. But his friend's brother, Anselmo Pinel, convinces him to enlist in the Navy again. When he sees the Numancia, Spain's naval treasure piece, Diego instantly decides to enlist: "De aquí no salgo ya" (III: 464). The Numancia is subsequently ordered to sail to the Pacific where Spain finds itself in a growing conflict with Chile. This then gives Diego the opportunity to search for his daughter.

On the Numancia, Diego meets Fenelón, a French Don Juan, who was a good friend of Belisario. Fenelón asserts that Mara and especially Belisario are die-hard Romantics. He attributes the escape of the two lovers to Belisario's affinity for Romanticism:

Romanticismo, pura farsa romántica. El hombre satisfacía un irresistible anhelo de disfrazarse y hacerse pasar por lo que no era, siempre a la mira y asechanza de su propósito novelesco, tal como lo que había visto en dramas y leído en libros de imaginación. Hacia, *por ejemplo*, el Montecristo, y derramaba el oro para escribir en su vida una página sorprendente de interés y emoción. (III: 467)

Belisario is thus a quixotic figure who lived his life through the Romantic works that he had read. He reminds one of Fernando Calpena from the third series of the *Episodios nacionales*, who was also caught in the wave of Romanticism. That Belisario should also be a Romantic character suggests that this was part of the Spanish inheritance in Latin America. While Romanticism had peaked in Spain in the 1830s, in Latin America it did not reach its full height until the 1860s. This point is stressed by Fenelón who states that "cuando
España arroja de sí el romanticismo, América lo recoge. Los ideales que desechan las madres maduras son recogidas por las hijas tiernas..." (III: 492). According to Emilio Carilla, the novel and the short story were born in Latin America with the advent of Romanticism (308). In effect, such a novel as Jorge Isaacs' María (1867), a truly Romantic novel, was Colombia's foundational work. Therefore, it is not surprising that Galdós should have resurrected the Romantic genre with this episodio since it genuinely reflected the Romantic spirit that had taken root in Latin America in the 1860s. What this shows, moreover, is Galdós' astute perception in realizing what had been occurring in Latin America at this time in its national development and his ability to reflect this reality in this episode.

One of the major themes of this episodio is the Spanish legacy in South America. That legacy is reflected not only in the literary field, but also in the political and military forum. When the Numancia arrives at Montevideo, Uruguay is in the midst of a civil war. The narrator comments that this event was proof of the Spanish heritage in Latin America:

Prueba plena del parentesco daban los valientes americanos con su afición al juego de la guerra civil. Como nosotros, se dividían en furiosos bandos, y se persiguían y se fusilaban «por dar gusto al dedo». (III: 469)

The narrator further notes that so fond of war were the Uruguayans that they proceeded to declare war on Paraguay. Galdós then sarcastically posits that the Spanish American nations had inherited from the madre patria an aversion to peace: "Aquello pueblo, establecidos en las regiones más feraces del mundo, tenían horror, como su madre España, a la ociosidad militar, que es la paz" (III: 470). This negative legacy is a theme that continues to be emphasized throughout the rest of the episode.
After exploring the Patagonian region for a short period, the Numancia continued on to El Callao, the port of Lima where Spain had its squadron anchored. It is at the Callao that Diego finds an old friend, Mendaro, who had moved to Peru some years earlier. Mendaro felt that the conflict between Spain and her ex-colony was basically a question of misplaced honour: "Allá se les subió a la cabeza el humo de la guerra de Africa, y acá tienen los humos de su republicanismo y el no ser menos que la vecina de abajo, Chile, y que las vecinas de arriba, Ecuador y Colombia" (III: 486). Diego echoes this sentiment by underlining that Spain's leaders were simply seeking to garner more military glory: "La miaje de gloria que va sacando el ejército de mar y tierra, es el torniquete, como quien dice, con que los mandones trincan y aseguran a los que obedecen" (III: 486). It is quite clear that Galdós felt that this military action was nothing more than an attempt to regain Spain's status as colonizer, as Mendaro rhetorically suggests: "¿Y qué te diré de la ocupación de las islas Chinchas, que fué como quitarle al Perú el corazón y el estómago? Los españoles no querían ser la buena madre, sino la madrastra de América . . . " (III: 487). The entire conflict with Peru and the subsequent war with Chile were viewed by Galdós as constituting one of Spain's lowest points because Spain had no justifiable reason for this silly war which it had sought out. Instead of warring with her ex-colonies, Spain should have been fomenting a friendship with them: "España les dió con su sangre la picazón de las rebeldías . . . ; debe tratarlos con indulgencia" (III: 499).

At the same time that relations between Peru and Spain had deteriorated, Peru was in the midst of a civil war, which Galdós viewed as part of Spain's legacy to her former colonies:

Las revoluciones americanas se parecían a las nuestras como una castaña nueva a una castaña pilonga. Sus incidentes y desarrollo, su desenlace feliz o venturoso, eran casi siempre los
mismos; sus héroes, ya coronados del éxito, ya hundidos en la derrota, llevaban en su conducta y lenguaje los propios caracteres. Resulta, pues, para nosotros el relato de la Revolución peruana de 1865 como un amaneramiento histórico . . . (III: 503)

Diego becomes emotionally involved in this civil war when he finds out that Belisario, his mother Doña Celia, and Mara are supporting the revolutionaries, who were declared enemies of Spain. Diego can hardly believe that his own daughter would be anti-Spanish. When he later learns that Mara has given birth to a boy, this news simply adds to Diego's anguish and the emotional roller-coaster that had begun in Loja. Like the Numancia, Diego was on a personal inner journey.

The Spanish Navy's position in the Pacific became even more tenuous when Spain declared war on Chile. Adding salt to the wound was the decision of Admiral José Manuel Pareja to order a naval blockade of the Chilean ports on the day that Chile was celebrating its independence. This was simply fodder for the Chilean people. Thus Spain now was forced to fight on two fronts. This blockade became a complete failure, which was underlined by the suicide of Pareja, who according to Don Manuel de la Pezuela, had killed himself "por la depresión de su ánimo ante el mal cariz de la campaña" (III: 508). Spain became completely isolated: the Americans, the English, the Italians, the Bolivians, and the Ecuadoreans came to the aid of Chile and Peru. Galdós felt no sympathy for Spain's plight in the Pacific because, as the narrator argues, Spain's leaders had never clearly defined the objectives of this mission, hence defeat was logical and justified. More than ever, this action proved once again that Spain continued to be tied to the past in its search for military glory. Galdós suggested that this preposterous war in the Pacific had been motivated by revenge for having lost the colonies half a century earlier: "Los enojos no aplacados y los ultrajes no satisfechos, forzosamente conducían a la violencia;
que las naciones, cuanto más viejas, más aferradas viven a la rutina caballeresca del honor” (III: 516). Galdós was making the case that this war constituted a sort of resurrected medieval Reconquest, which, in this instance, was totally unjustified because the Latin American nations were by the 1860s independent nations. He squarely lays the blame for this fiasco on Spain's government, which had allowed pride to rule its decisions (III: 520).

But after losing to Chile, the Spanish Navy returned to Peru; it was like coming out of the frying pan and into the fire. Galdós captured the medieval and quixotic spirit that guided the Spanish marines in this war when he characterized them as a bunch of Don Quixotes who were willing to die for their Dulcinea, Isabel II, and the fatherland:

Terminada la lectura, todos aquellos infelices, quebrantados ya de la navegación larguísimas, mal comidos y sufriendo mil privaciones, prorrumpieron en exclamaciones delirantes declarando el gusto que les causaba morir por una Reina que no habían visto nunca, y por una Patria que, a 3.000 leguas de distancia, no pedía otra cosa que la terminación de la guerra insensata. Roncos quedaron del furioso entusiasmo ... (III: 521)

The strategy of the Spanish Navy had been reduced to nothing more than an invocation to saints and to Spain's past glory: "En tierra y en mar se invocaba el fantasma de la gloria, y allá como aquí se pediría el auxilio de Dios y los santos, que se habían de ver bien perplejos para contentar a todos" (III: 521). Miraculously, under the command of Don Casto Méndez Núñez, who became known as the hero of El Callao, the Spanish were able to survive the battle against Peru, which is given extensive coverage by Galdós. But the fact remains that the spirit that had guided the Spanish in this war was rooted in Spain's medieval glory.
The realization that the policy in the Pacific was misguided came very late. Galdós reiterated that this mission had been motivated by an imperialist quest, "moda que imponía con los miriñaques otras cosas vanas, como la hinchazón de guerras sin sentido común, para deslumbrar y dominar más fácilmente a los pueblos" (III: 528). Like the campaign in North Africa, the wars in Peru and Chile allowed the government to distract the attention of the people so that domestic issues would be relegated in importance. Once this had been accomplished, Spain's leaders ordered Méndez Núñez to return home. All this fighting and death had brought nothing positive to Spain. In fact, it only served to worsen already poor relations with Latin America, as Fenelón suggests when he tells Diego that "se retrasará un cuarto de siglo, lo menos, la reconciliación de España con las que fueron sus colonias" (III: 526).

With orders to return home, the Numancia heads for the Philippines. It is during this journey that Diego reflects on the events in Peru and Chile. Throughout this episode, he has suffered an ontological crisis, but now this inner inquiry extends itself to questioning the very existence of God: "¿cómo había de permitir estas guerras estúpidas, que no son más que bambolla y quijotismo?" (III: 530). This question that he poses himself indicates that Diego realized that the entire expedition to the Pacific had been characterized by an unrealistic quixotic spirit. Diego's self-doubting becomes even more acute as many of his crewmates die of scurvy, including his close friend Desiderio García. By the middle of June, the Numancia had been depleted to around one hundred men on board. But they then arrived at Papeete, capital of Tahiti in French Polynesia, which is seen as an earthly paradise. In fact, they call it the Cuna de Venus, (Venus' cradle) because of the fertility of this region. This part of the episode has a certain Rousseauian flavour to it because of the idealization of nature and of the natives of this heavenly island. It is a resurrection of the myth of the beau savage. As the following passage indicates,
the Spanish crew of the Numancia considered this heaven on Earth, but one cannot help but feel that Galdós lamented that such a place did not exist:

¡Oh incomparable país; oh civilización silvestre, rozagante y desnuda; oh tierra de bendición y de libertad, coronada de flores y ceñida de espumas! Tu suelo fecundo y tu templo benigno redimen a los hombres de la dura ley del trabajo. Aquí la espléndida vegetación, sin las artes del cultivo, ofrece al hombre cuanto necesita para su sustento, aquí la dulzura del clima le exime de la complicada cargazón de ropa, no imponiendo más que el preciso y elemental resguardo del pudor; aquí las costumbres son proyección fiel de las benignidades de la Naturaleza; no existe ni el rigor de castas, ni el apartamiento receloso entre los sexos; la ley es suave; el matrimonio, facilísimo; la religión, alegre; la virtud, generosa; la moral, amable; la muerte, un dulce tránsito . . . Tal pensaban y sentían los españoles ante la hermosura de Papeete, capital de Otaiti. (III: 533)

As the Numancia reluctantly left Tahiti, Diego continued hoping in vain to receive a letter from his daughter. In fact, this hope was the only thing that kept him from going mad. They then proceeded to the Dutch colony of Batavia, and still no letter had arrived for Diego. The Numancia then continued past the Cape of Good Hope until they reached Rio de Janeiro, where they contracted cholera. The Numancia then headed home to Cádiz. With no hope of receiving any news from Mara, Diego is enticed by a ghost who resembles Binondo, a mate who had also lost his daughter, to become an atheist: "¿No me conoces? Soy el Ateísmo. Dame la mano; ven conmigo y yo te llevaré a mi asilo de eterno descanso" (III: 539). But Diego rejected this proposition. The narrator notes that Diego believed that he was seeing an angel, which insinuates that he still held out hope to see his daughter. This hope became a reality when the
Numancia finally anchored at Cádiz, as Mara, Belisario and their child were at the port waiting for Diego: "Si, padre . . . Hace tres meses que estamos aquí esperándote a usted" (III: 541). Overjoyed by this development, Diego ends the episode with the following words: "Lo que he visto y aprendido es que, cuando a uno se le pierde el alma, tiene que dar la vuelta al mundo para encontrarla" (III: 541). Though these words are somewhat enigmatic, it seems to suggest that the moral of the story is that despite all of life's blows and setbacks, one should always maintain hope.

Of all the episodes in the fourth series, La vuelta al mundo en la Numancia is the least interesting, perhaps because a large part of it deals with events in South America. This episode lacks diversity of perspective, since almost everything is seen through Diego's point of view. Furthermore, with the exception of Diego and Carlos Marfori, who reappear in the last episode, La de los tristes destinos, the other characters do not reemerge in any other episode, which has the effect of isolating this episode from the rest of the other episodes. Thus when Diego pronounces those last words, La vuelta al mundo en la Numancia comes to an absolute end, which is definitely uncharacteristic. The next episode, Prim, offers the reader a new cast of characters and returns to Spain for its setting.

5.9 Prim: Quixotism Revisited

In the penultimate episode of the fourth series, Galdós traced the events that led to the meteoric political rise of General Juan Prim y Prats between 1863 and 1865, a two-year period which can, at best, be described as tumultuous. Among the many important events that are covered in this episode, Prim's diplomatic mission in Mexico, the Saint Daniel massacre on April 10, 1865, Prim's failed coup d'état attempts, and the uprise of the sergeants of San Gil on June 22, 1866 are the predominant ones. It is the very
nature of the historic events which comprise this episode that makes Prim one of the most exciting episodes.

In attempting to analyze the two years that are covered in Prim, Galdós, as we shall see, reexploited the myth of Don Quixote with great insistence. In fact, the two protagonists, Prim (the historical protagonist) and Santiaguito Ibero (the fictional protagonist) are portrayed as being Don Quixotes. It is quite clear that quixotism is the central theme of this episode, as many of the supporters of the liberal revolution are also characterized as quixotic dreamers.

One of the more interesting developments of this episode is the revelation that Tuste is writing an anti-history of Spain, one which would not be faithful to the actual events of Spain's past, but would rather be guided by logic. Hence Tuste's version of Spanish history is an account based on what Spanish history should have been if events had unfolded in a logical and reasonable manner. Though his version is, at times, very humorous, there definitely is a critical undertone that is directed against the protagonists of Spain's past, especially the monarchy, which is depicted as having been the most negative force that thwarted the nation's development in the nineteenth century.

On the level of historia chica this episode sees the return of Teresa Villaescusa after five years since her last appearance in the fifth episode, O'Donnell, when she wished to put into practice the policies of desamortización. Personally, nothing much has changed in her life as she continues to sell herself to the highest male bidder. Nevertheless, Teresa plays a prominent role in this episode as she becomes the fictional character who links fiction to history; through Teresa, the reader is a witness to the failed coup d'état attempt led by Prim, which had departed from Valencia.
In the analysis of this episode we shall concentrate therefore on the following four focal points: 1. the myth of Don Quixote, 2. Prim and the political events between 1863 and 1865, 3. Tuste's Logical-Natural History, and 4. Teresa Villaescusa.

*Prim* begins by introducing a new character: Santiaguito Ibero, the eldest son of Santiago Ibero and Gracia de Castro-Amézaga. As a child, we are told that Santiaguito, or Iberito as he is also called, was very impetuous; his favourite types of games were military in nature, as he always played the role of captain and leader. However, at the age of eighteen he fell terribly ill; after surviving this illness, his parents decided to send him away to stay with Ibero's cousin, Father Tadeo Baranda, who owned a large personal library in which history books predominated. Iberito soon becomes an impassioned reader whose favourite book is *The Conquest of Mexico* by Solís. In fact, he becomes obsessed with this chronicle, which he repeatedly reads and memorizes. So engrossed in the feats of the Spanish conquistadors, Iberito wishes to imitate them, in the same way that Don Quixote desired to imitate the feats of the great knights errant: "llegó a encenderse hasta el rojo con las increíbles hazañas de Hernán Cortés, y de ensueño en ensueño, o de locura en locura, acabó por la de querer imitarlas o reproducirlas en nuestro tiempo" (III: 544). Iberito becomes set on resurrecting Spain's glorious past, much in the same way that Don Quixote had wished to resurrect the golden age of chivalry. Iberito's desire to revive the past gains momentum when he learns that Prim will be going to Mexico. Though the General's mission is diplomatic in nature, Iberito believes that Prim has been sent by O'Donnell to reconquer Mexico, as was suggested to him by Don Tadeo Baranda:

Desde que oí el anuncio del envío de esas tropas y máquinas de guerra a la parte de América que llamamos Nueva España, le calé la intención a O'Donnell, la cual no puede ser otra que
emprender la reconquista de aquellos estados de Tierra Firme
para volverlos al dominio de nuestra patria, que así, poquito a
poco, a ésta quiero, a ésta no quiero, será otra vez señora de todas
las Américas . . . (III: 545)

It is consequently no surprise that Iberito leaves his second home and decides
to enlist in Prim's column with the quixotic goal of gaining glory.

Heading towards Madrid from where he will take a train to Cádiz to meet
up with Prim, Iberito interestingly meets some shepherds with whom "sustuvo
amenas y candorosas pláticas" (III: 546) that remind one of Don Quixote's
discussions with shepherds. On his journey he stops at an inn at Almazán
where he hears one of the guests criticize Prim's role in the failed coup d'état led
by Ortega and Carlos VI. This verbal attack angers Iberito, who reacts like
Don Quixote by blindly coming to the defense of Prim:

    Caballero, quiero decir, caballo: lo que ha dicho usted del general
    Prim es una coz, y aunque a las coces no se contesta con
    palabras, yo, por respeto a la concurrencia, con palabras de mi
    boca le digo que a la gloria de Prim no pueden llegar las patadas
    del usted, so bruto; y si no está conforme, salga afuera y se lo diré
    de otro modo . . . (III: 547)

But before being attacked by the group of men who had just heard Iberito's
threats, a former sergeant in the war in North Africa, José Milmarcos, saves
the young Quixote from serious injury by intervening in the dispute. But
Milmarcos simply intensifies Iberito's passion for Prim by telling him about the
General's exploits in the North African campaign.

After staying at Milmarcos' home in Tor del Rábano, Iberito proceeds to
Madrid where he finds an old childhood friend, Juanito Maltrana,56 who laughs
at Ibero's quixotic intention to go with Prim to reconquer Mexico. He accuses
him of being the last Romantic in Spain: "Eres el último romántico . . . , porque
ya no hay románticos. Los que vienen de provincias, como tú, escapadas y sin guita . . . " (III: 551).

While in Madrid, Iberito's dream begins to wither away because nobody was speaking about Prim: "Iberito veía desvanecerse su ideal y caer desmoronado el castillo de su caballeresca ambición" (III: 556); but his dream revives when he meets two young men who are devoted to Prim: Rufino Cavallieri, son of María Luisa del Milagro who is the owner of the pension where Iberito is staying, and Rodrigo Ansúrez, who has become a notable violinist. Rodrigo's musical composition dedicated to Prim, Romancero de Prim, awakes new quixotic feelings in Iberito, evident in the following quotation, which is an excellent example of the use of stream of consciousness:

Prim no era sólo el campesín intrépido contra moros; era también el expugnador de la tiranía, el conductor de pueblos, que los llevaba, por sendero pedregoso y venciendo mil obstáculos, a regiones de paz duradera. (III: 556)

After meeting Cavallieri and Rodrigo, Iberito meets another childhood friend, Silvestre Quirós, whose surname sounds like Quixote and is, in fact, characterized as another Don Quixote: "También Quirós había sufrido el delirio de Prim y de América; también fue su sueño dorado ir en la expedición, y la imposibilidad de conseguirlo le había dejado con una murria de mil demonios . . . " (III: 557). Quirós thus has the effect of stirring up in Iberito the desire to cross the Atlantic and participate in Prim's "glorious" expedition.

However, Iberito never arrives in Mexico; he is arrested along with Quirós and an unnamed sergeant at Leganés. It is at this point, at the end of chapter five, that Galdós employs another Cervantine technique when the narrator intervenes to inform the reader that his information on Iberito's life ends at this juncture: "En aquel punto acabaron los datos y conocimientos que la Historia pudo reunir en su primer legajo para la vida y hechos del audaz
Iberito" (III: 558). Iberito does not reappear until chapter seventeen under the name of Bero, who accompanied Prim to Valencia where the conspiracy to overthrow the government was to begin in June 1865. It is in Valencia that Iberito meets Teresa Villaescusa, who was living at the time with Jacinto González Leal, an ardent supporter of Prim. Iberito tells her of his whereabouts since the moment he had been arrested in Leganés. His story reminds one of Cervantes' personal travails in Algeria. Iberito explains that he was taken to Melilla, from where he later escaped. He was picked up by some Algerians who took him to Nemours. He then proceeded to Oran where he worked for a Spanish smuggler. One day, when they were headed for Estepona they were followed by a patrol ship. Iberito and Periandro, a Greek national, took the rowboat and escaped; when the boat took on water, Periandro tried to kill Iberito, but instead Iberito was able to kill him. After a day and a half on the open seas, Iberito was picked up by Ramón Lagier, a veteran seaman who had brought Prim to Valencia from Marseille. Lagier, according to Iberito, becomes his second father by teaching him about the realities of life and the true cause for which Prim was leading the revolution.

As one can appreciate, Iberito's life resembles that of Don Quixote with all its vicissitudes. Ibero himself comes to realize that he had acted like an errant knight who wished to resurrect the past. He strongly suggests that his misfortunes made him understand the insanity of his initial goal:

Yo no me contentaba con menos que con hacer otra vez la conquista de México, sirviendo al lado de Prim, o luchando solo y por mi cuenta, que hasta esto llegaba mi destino. Pero aquella pompa de jabón reventó, ¡plaf!, aire, nada... Vinieron mis desgracias, trabajos y miserias a quitarme las ideas de guerra y de hazañas estrepitosas... (...) Como un idiota estaba yo cuando me cogió el capitán Lagier, y sobre aquel terreno baldío de
mi idiotismo fundó el maestro su enseñanza. Aprendí a conocer, primero, el mar y el cielo; después, algo de nuestras almas... (III: 627)

Iberito's change manifests itself in his greater political awareness where previously he had no grasp of the forces that were dividing the nation. Iberito had become a die-hard supporter of Prim and the liberal cause: "Pero, por lo que me dicta mi razón natural, entiendo que el General hará lo que llaman una revolución; y decir aquí revolución será lo mismo que decir justicia" (III: 629).

This inner awakening took Iberito from the past and into the present. Yet, for some characters, living in the present is not an antidote to falling prisoner to the myth of Don Quixote.

General Prim is depicted as a modern-day Quixote who fights to make his ideal of liberty for Spain a reality. Despite the numerous setbacks that he experiences, the narrator assures the reader that Prim will return because the flame that burns within him is eternal. When the insurrection that began in Valencia is aborted because of a lack of support, Prim flees back to France, but in trying to capture the emotional state of this liberal leader, Galdós saw him as a knight errant who would never allow the struggle to end:

Allá iba Prim, el infatigable revolucionario, a merced de las aguas revueltas y de los vientos furibundos, en retirada de una empresa fallida y ya pensando en otra, sin que le arredraran los reveses ni en su grande ánimo decayeran la idea destructora y la pasión ardiente que le impulsaban. Allá iba en un barco roto, sin víveres ni abrigo, valiente, inflexible, temerario. Resucitaba en nuestro tiempo la andante caballería, desnudándola del armés mohoso y vistiéndola de las nuevas armas resplandecientes que van forjando los siglos. (III: 601)
Prim is the undeterrable knight errant who, like Don Quixote, did not allow the slings and arrows of misfortune to stop him in his quest. After another insurrection fails, Ricardo Muñiz comments that this defeat was for Prim nothing more than an interval in the march towards liberty:

Y esto no era en verdad más que un alto, un respiro en el jadeante y heroico marchar, cuesta arriba, hacia la redención de España; en aquel descanso, Prim herraría su caballo para continuar su insensato correr tras el ideal. Concluída una etapa sin éxito, se empezaba otra. (III: 635)

Ironically, while the ideal of liberty becomes Prim's Dulcinea, Prim became the Dulcinea of his supporters, such as José Rivas Chaves, as the following passage suggests:

Chaves fué de los más esclarecidos patriotas, de los más candorosos mártires por la idea, que martirio y candor parecen la misma cosa, y el hombre se dejó ir a su ruina y descrédito por secundar valerosamente las ideas de libertad y justicia que sintetizaba en cuatro letras el sugestivo nombre de Prim. Prim era la luz de la Patria, la dignidad del Estado, la igualdad ante la Ley, la paz y la cultura de la Nación. (III: 641)

Prim came to be seen by Spaniards, who longed for change, as the nation's panacea. Prim was everything: dignity, equality, justice, and peace. Prim was Spain's Dulcinea, and those who supported Prim were a collective Don Quixote who, like Chaves, risked everything, including their lives. Thus the myth of Don Quixote lies at the crux of Galdós' analysis of the liberal revolutionary movement that especially grew in popularity after the end of the O'Donnell quinquennium.

The rise of Prim in Spanish politics was one of Galdós' major preoccupations in this episode. Prim's appearance on the national scene came
at a time of growing unrest and dissatisfaction with the monarchy, which is illustrated by Iberito's observation that when the public saw the queen they no longer received her in the warm and affectionate manner that they used to: "Observó Iberito que las majestades no levantaban a su paso más que un tenue viento de cortesía respetuosa" (III: 555). This point is reiterated later on by the narrator who states that Isabel II was no longer loved by Spaniards because they were dissatisfied with her performance: "Aquel hermoso nombre, que había sido emblema de libertad, alegría de los pueblos, corrompido estaba ya en el corazón de las muchedumbres y no sabía salir a los labios con ningún sentido respetuoso" (III: 572). Not only was there a certain disillusionment with the queen, but also with O'Donnell and the Liberal Union. Even Manolo Tarfe, el pequeño O'Donnell, felt alienated by the authoritarian politics of this government that had betrayed liberal principles. Tarfe argues that Prim had now become Spain's only possible solution for a liberal regime similar to the British system: "Cuando quiera será jefe del nuevo partido liberal, sinceramente liberal dentro de la Monarquía . . . , a la inglesa" (III: 564). Furthermore, there was a growing animosity towards the Church which continued to be seen as a meddling body that determined national policy. Beramendi and Tarfe discuss, for example, how Sor Patrocinio and Father José Claret had forced the queen not to recognize the kingdom of Italy, much to the annoyance of Napoleon III:

Como si lo viéramos, Isabel II comunicó inmediatamente a sus ángeles tutelares sor Patrocinio y el padre Claret las tremendas conminaciones que don Francisco le había traído de París. Es fama que ambas personas reverendas alargaron los morros y fruncieron las cejas . . . Mandara Napoleón en su casa y dejara que nuestra Reina gobernara en la suya . . . (III: 577)
The overall impression of the government in power was that it was a puppet regime controlled by non-constitutional forces: "Claramente se vió que aquí el Gobierno constitucional era un figurón con careta grave y casaca reluciente" (III: 577). It was logical therefore that, in the midst of all this disillusionment with the status quo, a heroic figure such as Prim would become Spain's great hope for the future. By the summer of 1862, Galdós clearly affirmed that Prim had become Spain's national idol:

Prim, que había llegado a Madrid en mayo, viose rodeado de mucha y diversa gente que en él veía un caudillo probable. Los españoles de la rama política y burocrática, que es la más numerosa, no pueden vivir sin capataz; es decir, sin una acción personal que supla la acción colectiva. (III: 570)

In this observation on the popularity of Prim there is a strong critique of the Spanish people, who seemed to need a strongman to govern them. The implication is that nineteenth-century Spaniards still did not grasp liberal parliamentary democracy. The Spanish people had not evolved politically to the extent that they could not conceive of a Spain without a caudillo. The difference with respect to Prim was that he was perceived as a more tolerant caudillo who would allow greater freedoms to exist. But the underlying commentary that was being made by Galdós is that Spaniards did not understand that sovereignty resided in the nation, and not in the monarchy or in a national strongman. It is clear that Galdós felt that Spaniards continued to be medieval in their political mentality.

Galdós began by tracing the rise of Prim with the confusing events that revolved around Prim's mission in Mexico. Prim had been sent to Mexico by O'Donnell to participate along with the British and the French in forming a government in the ex-Spanish colony. However, when the French installed the Archduke Maximilian on the throne of Mexico, Prim left the Aztec nation
without consulting with O'Donnell, an action which provoked the ire of this Irish Quixote, as is captured so succinctly in the following passage: "¡Cristo, la que se armó en Madrid cuando se supo la retirada de Prim, con la agravante de no consultar al Gobierno ni pedirle instrucciones!" (III: 565). Prim then rushed back to Aranjuez to explain to the queen his version of the events in Mexico. He was able to convince her that he had acted in Spain's best interest by exploiting the queen's sense of patriotism, which Galdós encapsulated with the following regal reaction: "¡Vaya, que querer encajarle a México un rey austriaco!" (III: 567). It seemed at this point that Prim had gained the favour of Isabel II, who had become tired of the Unionists and the Moderates, as Eufrasia del Socobio suggested to Tarfe:

La señora está contentísima de Prim y no desea más que empujarle... Harto de unionistas y moderados está ya la Reina... (..) El es adicto leal a la Reina y a la Monarquía; tiene talento; ambición noble no le falta; parece aristócrata sin serlo; es un hombre cortado para reconciliar al pueblo con la Corona... (III: 567)

However, the relationship between Isabel II and Prim soon deteriorated after a meeting between the two, mainly because the latter, as the narrator states, was not willing to be another accomplice of the present regime:

sacó Prim la impresión de que Isabel acariciaba en su mente el plan de gobierno adulterado expuesto por Eufrasia. Pero el General no se dió a partido: repugnaba formar Gabinete con fianza de unos cuantos clérigos de capa corta. Esto era humillante: su ambición no se satisfacía con vanos esplendores.

No quería ser pavo real, sino águila. (III: 571)

As a result of Prim's refusal to comply with Isabel's wishes, the queen denied him any possibility of forming a cabinet. Prim eventually became very
frustrated by this conscious alienation. The deterioration of relations finally reached its low point when the queen dismissed the ministry of Lorenzo Arrazola and replaced him with Alejandro Mon. Prim felt slighted by Isabel's action and subsequently reacted by deciding to conspire against her: "Prim estaba volado. Dicen, que, cerrando el puño, gritó a sus amigos: «Caballeros, a conspirar»" (III: 574). Prim's declaration of war against the regime in power was confirmed at a banquet on the Champs-Elysées on May 3, 1864 in which three thousand Spanish liberals gathered to organize the revolution. It was at this function that Prim made the now famous declaration that the traditional obstacles faced by the Progressives, that is, the Monarchy and the Moderates would be overthrown in two years and a day from the day of the banquet.61

Under the increasing pressure from the Progressives, the milieu in Spain became much more repressive, a fact which is confirmed by Isabel's decision to call back Narváez, the ultimate symbol of repression in Spain. He was given free rein by the queen, who made it clear that Narváez's mission was to eliminate Prim and the Progressive opposition: "Todo te lo permito con tal que no me traigas el reconocimiento de Italia y que me amanes a Prim y a esos endiablados progresistas" (III: 577).

When it became obvious that Narváez could not eliminate the Prim-led Progressive opposition, the queen fired the espadón and asked a reluctant Istúriz to form a new government only to recant a day later and keep Narváez in power. This farcical run of events is captured by Galdós in a scene between Isabel and Istúriz, which underscores the total ineptitude and capriciousness of her Majesty:

-¿Qué, señora?
-Que no hay nada de aquello. Ha venido Narváez . . . ¡Ay qué cosas me ha dicho! . . . Dejémoslo para otra ocasión. (III: 579)
In Galdós' account of this period, he made it clear that the queen had much to be blamed for and that her incompetent interventions on the political scene simply had the effect of increasing the popularity of Prim. One of the key events that led to her downfall was the St. Daniel's day massacre, which had been sparked initially by a dispute between the monarch and the hugely popular Republican orator, Emilio Castelar. In April 1865 Isabel II announced that she would cede 75% of the State's patrimony which would be sold to pay off the large national debt. Upon learning of this news, Castelar denounced this action on the grounds that she had no right nor did she legally possess the State's patrimony. The government, in turn, stripped Castelar of his academic position as professor of History. This unjust decision became tantamount to opening Pandora's box. Students protested the axing of Castelar, and the university rector Montalbán refused to dismiss Castelar. Consequently, Montalbán was also fired, a dismissal that, according to the narrator, "fué como prender fuego a la hoguera del enojo estudiantil y desatar sobre ella un huracán" (III: 582). As a result, student animosity for the authorities had escalated exponentially. As Beramendi suggests, the situation was now propitious for a violent confrontation between Castelar's supporters and the government: "Cuando un pueblo tiene metido el motín en el alma, basta que se reúnan 16 personas para que salgan 16.000 a ver qué pasa" (III: 582). That mutiny was to occur on April 10, 1865, St. Daniel's day. Through Beramendi and his brother Gregorio Fajardo, the reader is allowed to witness the sanguineous events that occurred in the heart of Madrid, around the Puerta del Sol. Though initially the conflict had arisen between the students and the authorities, the former were soon aided by the general populace who also felt a similar frustration and anger towards the nation's elite: "No eran ya estudiantes los amotinados: era el pueblo, la plebe . . ." (III: 585). But, as
usually happens, the innocent, who were not involved in the revolt, were massacred:

Por la calle de Sevilla y Carrera de San Jerónimo había pasado la tragedia, dejando en las baldosas huellas de sangre. Los que allí perecieron no eran gente díscola y bullanguera, sino pacíficos señores que en nada se metían: iban a sus casas; salían del Casino o del Café de la Iberia, pensando en todo menos en su fin inminente . . . (III: 586)

The overall consequence of this tyrannical action was to sway even more support towards the Prim camp and away from the queen, who was now seen as being an accomplice to these murders.

Though Prim was gaining support, he was still far from achieving his ultimate goal, a fact which is underlined by the many failed revolts that Galdós highlighted in this episode. In this episode alone, Galdós described three of those failed coups d'état, which failed either because Prim could not garner enough support or was betrayed at the last moment by frightened colonels and generals. Prim became the most wanted fugitive in Spain, whose capture would have elevated the status of any general: "Hallábase, pues, entre dos fuegos, entre tres generales aguerridos que se disputarían la gloria de cogerle y hacerle pagar con su insana osadía" (III: 621). Of the three failed revolts, the most celebrated was the revolt of the sergeants of San Gil, in which Prim did not directly participate although he did mastermind it, but which ironically aided his cause more than any other event. It is made clear in this episode that the artillery sergeants of the San Gil barracks had no intention of participating in a bloody revolt; they expected to be simply one more cog in the overall revolutionary machine, which would peacefully take power. But the San Gil sergeants were betrayed:
De la Puerta del Sol venían los que la Historia llama leales, los artilleros del Retiro, que comprometidos estuvieron con sus compañeros de San Gil para pronunciarse juntos. ¡Qué sarcasmo, Santo Dios! Los que se habían juramentado en la fe de la revolución, ahora se batían fieramente contra ella. Los amigos eran enemigos. Nadie podría decir si los leales eran traidores o los traidores leales. (III: 650)

O'Donnell, who had returned to power, learned of the conspiracy and ordered his right-hand man, General Serrano, to put down the insurrection. Galdós considered the events of June 22, 1865 to be a tragic and bloody confrontation between the establishment and the forces of liberty: "Sangre y muerte en todos los pisos mostraban cuán recia fue la batalla entre el nombre de Prim y el de Isabel II" (III: 651). It was a truly horrific scene in which many of the insurrectionists, who represented the national will, were slaughtered by the government forces:

La Plaza de San Marcial ofrecía la pavorosa desolación de la tragedia. El frontispicio del cuartel, destrozado por el fuego de fusilería y cañón, era una faz llorosa, dentro de la cual se sentía el gemido de la conciencia nacional, abrumada. (III: 652)

Galdós underlined the treasonous aspect of this insurrection by focusing on Chaves, that quixotic supporter of Prim, who was betrayed in this confrontation. By specifically focusing on Chaves, Galdós was able to put a human face on this pathetic event. Instead of condemning the revolt of San Gil to simply being another anecdote in the revolutionary process, through the persona of Chaves the revolt of San Gil takes on a more powerful importance because the reader can appreciate the suffering of a people, who were willing to sacrifice themselves in order to attain their ultimate goal of improving their future.
The importance of the revolt of San Gil cannot be diminished with respect to the eventual triumph of the liberal revolution. It was a key moment which elevated the revolutionary cause to martyrdom. As we shall see in the next episode, *La de los tristes destinos*, the execution of the sixty-six sergeants implicated in this revolt marked the beginning of the end for Isabel II.

While these events of Spanish history were unfolding, Tuste had begun a historical project of his own, which was to write a "counter-history"62 based on a liberal perspective of how Spain should have logically developed in the nineteenth century. Now known solely as Confusio, Tuste, who had suffered an almost fatal illness which caused him to forget his name and his past, was financially supported by Beramendi to undertake this ambitious historical project, which Tuste ironically entitled, *Historia lógico-natural de los españoles de ambos mundos en el siglo XIX*. Beramendi explains that "Confusio no escribe la Historia, sino que la inventa, la compone con arreglo a lógica, dentro del principio de que los sucesos son como deben ser" (III: 563). If Tuste's history is logical and natural, Spain's history is accused by the narrator of being illogical and artificial (III: 578). Though Tuste's history is fictitious, one feels, as Beramendi does, that it is truthful in that Tuste corrects all the tragic mistakes of the past.63 In this invented history one perceives Galdós' wishes of how nineteenth-century Spain should have evolved. When Tuste writes, for example, that in 1823 Ferdinand VII was shot in Cádiz, one can understand Galdós' feeling that if Spain had not been tyrannized by Ferdinand then, perhaps, Spanish liberalism would have evolved much earlier and consequently this would have led to the development of a much more modern nation.

Tuste's history is a peaceful one, just as Galdós would have wished for his country. It is a history that ends all vestiges of absolutism during the War of Independence that was fought after the death of Ferdinand VII. With the aid of Great Britain, the constitutional forces defeated the Absolutists for once and
for all, as Carlos V was also executed. There was never to be any such thing as Carlism or any Carlist wars. When the war ended in 1830 a triumvirate regency was formed with Mendizábal, Istúriz, and Zumalacárregui; the young princess, Isabel, who was not the daughter of María Cristina, but rather the daughter of Isabel of Braganza, was taken to Portugal. Tuste's or Galdós' version of history would therefore be one that attempted to establish unity, instead of the divisiveness that had traditionally characterized Spain's past.

For every major event in Spanish history, Tuste rewrites a corresponding event. The famous Progressive banquet held in Paris on May 3, 1864 pales in comparison to Tuste's open-air banquet of the Federation of Hispanic States which took place in the 1840s in Madrid, in between the Puerta de Atocha and Recoletos. It was a completely public event that established the foundations of Spanish society. According to Tuste, the summit lasted five days and was "la más grandiosa fiesta de concordia, de paz y alegría que han visto las generaciones..." (III: 575). The Federation decided to maintain a monarchy, as the Aragonese candidate, Prince Fernando María del Pilar Jaime Alfonso de Azlor y Aragón marries the Castilian candidate, Princess Isabel to create a united national monarchy. But, as Tuste explains to Manolo Tarfe, the key to this political configuration is that this would be a constitutional monarchy, in which sovereignty would reside in the nation, and not in the monarchy. The role of the military would consequently be reduced to solely matters of national defense. Hence the concept of pronunciamiento would be a thing of the past, a word that "sólo figuraba ya en el Diccionario como arcaísmo, a disposición de los pedantes" (III: 588).

It is quite obvious that for Galdós this constituted an ideal history that eliminated all the dread, lies, and dishonour of the past. It is, as Tuste explains to Iberito, a history that aims to cleanse Spain's horrible and dirty past:
Yo abandono el ambiente putrefacto que nos rodea; saco mis pies de este lodo de los hechos menudos, y subo, señor mío, subo hasta que mis oídos pierden el murmullo terrestre, y mis ojos el falso brillo de las mentiras barnizadas de verdades. Yo subo, señor, y arriba escribo la Historia lógica, y pinto la vida ideal. (III: 638)

Galdós' wish for Spain was that a true national unity could be forged amongst all the opposing factions. When Teresa bumps into Tuste at the San Marcial square, scene of the bloody events of San Gil, the pseudo-historian expresses Galdós' hope for a Spanish nation that could reconcile all the opposing forces: "Veo los muertos vivos, los enemigos reconciliados, el Altar y el Trono llevados a la carpintería para que los compongan, la Historia de España escrita por los orates . . . " (III: 653). Peace and national reconciliation were always foremost on Galdós' mind.

At the same time that Spain was attempting to liberate itself from the chains of the Bourbon dynasty, Teresa Villaescusa was also on a quest for personal liberation. Once again, Galdós insisted on reaffirming his belief that an integral history could not exclude the quotidian, the mundane, or the personal life's story. A history which exclusively rested on the "big" events of the past was an incomplete history. It cannot be stated that Teresa's personal life is given less coverage than the events surrounding Prim because, as the narrator states, "Como no hay modo de separar aquí lo público de lo privado" Teresa's turmoil shares the same importance in Galdós' concept of historiography.

In the last episode in which she appeared, Teresa had become known as the numen of the Liberal Union. Five years later, she seems to have experienced the same disillusionment with O'Donnell and his party, and has completely embraced Prim, though, as usual, she does not totally understand the Progressives' platform:
Era frenética española y neta castellana; había declarado la guerra al Imperio francés en el terreno de las cuchufletas, y lanzaba toda su voluntad hacia las soluciones progresivas, sin saber lo que eran, por simpatía innata de lo nuevo y vibrante, o por concomitancias del corazón con hombre de ideas radicales.

(III: 571)

In *Prim* Teresa continues to be tied to the men who financially support her. The first of these men in this episode is Jacinto González Leal, a violent man who lives beyond his means. When we first see Teresa, who has been living in Valencia, she asks Beramendi to intercede for her and Leal in pleading with Sebo not to call in a loan and to extend them another line of credit of 10,000 *reales*. Of course, thanks to Beramendi, Sebo accedes to the petition.

Upon returning to Valencia, the reader soon learns that Teresa is involved with her lover in the Prim-led conspiracies to overthrow the government. It is during one of these failed revolts that she meets Iberito, who had escorted Prim to Valencia. She becomes completely captivated by this younger man, much in the same way that Tuste had captivated her in *O'Donnell*.

When the revolt backfires, Leal and Teresa are forced to flee to the town of Tarancón where Teresa's mother, Manolita Pez, is waiting for her. After Leal abandons Teresa, Manolita criticizes her daughter for having been with that man. Teresa erupts in anger to these criticisms and scratches her mother's face with her long fingernails. A few days later Leal returns to demand that Teresa give him all her money. When she refuses, Leal slaps her, takes her money, and steals her earrings and two rings. Teresa then realizes that her mother was right and reconciles with her. But her mother is nothing more than a Celestina who has been plotting to sell Teresa to Enrique Oliván, a corrupt bureaucratic official.66 They then move to Fuentidueña de Tajo where Oliván
is waiting to negotiate the final agreement. But it is in Fuentidueña that Jesús Clavería, a friend of Leal who is participating along with Iberito in another insurrection, finds Teresa and pleads with her to help Leal. Apparently, he had lost all the money, and was now in hiding from the authorities after killing a guardia civil. Though she still feared Leal, she went to where he was hiding. Leal asked for her forgiveness, and she agreed to help him escape. When she returned the next day to help him flee, Leal had already been killed by the police. Teresa's reaction is to run away; she considered herself guilty of Leal's death because she had revealed to her mother Leal's whereabouts the previous evening. Manolita, in turn, told Oliván, who contacted the authorities.

Teresa is eventually found by Iberito and Clavería, both of whom form part of the Prim column that has been forced to retreat and run away from the government forces that are pursuing them. Clavería decides to bring her along with them. But Teresa's nightmare has not yet ended. In effect, Clavería is convinced that Teresa now belongs to her as if she were war booty: "Aquí ya no hay más herencia que la mía, que yo la heredo, que Leal me ha dejado por heredero . . . " (III: 621). Clavería leaves Iberito in charge of Teresa's well-being during this long and arduous journey that was to end when the Prim column crossed into Portugal. Iberito and Teresa forge an emotional bond, but when Clavería sends Iberito on a mission to Madrid, he is forced to leave her.

The next time Teresa reappears is a month after having returned to Madrid. She had refused Clavería's advances and escaped the column before the Prim-led forces entered into Portugal. Destitute and with no other options, Teresa agrees to a friendly pact, which had been negotiated by Manolita Pez. Despite her dislike for Oliván, her decision was based solely on survival: "Era ya cuestión de vida o muerte. O el pan, o la miseria" (III: 640). And, of course, as the reader knows, Teresa could not stand any type of poverty. Yet Teresa now sincerely longs for a personal as well as a national revolution to take place.
She has become so disillusioned with her life that the idea of overthrowing the queen is no longer a blasphemous proposition:

era tan revolucionaria como el primero, porque ella también

odiaba lo existente, deseaba volcar el régimen, y armarlo de nuevo
con otras ideas y otros hombres. A su tío (en segundo grado) don
José Chaves le acosaba con preguntas, le ofrecía su cooperación,
le incitaba con vehementes razones a persistir en la sanuda
porfia contra los obstáculos. Ya no ponía la salvedad de respetar la
corona de Isabel y la unidad católica . . . Todo, todo debía caer. (III:
640)

Teresa's embracing of the Progressive cause transforms her into the numen of
the revolution. If before she was seen as the incarnation of the principles of the
Unionists, now she definitely had become the incarnation of the principles of
the Progressives and the Revolution.

The second important change that occurs in Teresa is that she has
fallen in love with Iberito. With the sole exception of Tuste, Teresa had only
seen men as her financial supporters. Teresa confesses to her maid, Patricia,
that she will die if she does not find Iberito.

In the next episode, Teresa will continue her quest to find personal
happiness by searching for Iberito, who symbolizes for her the liberty that she
yearns. Teresa thus parallels and symbolizes the Spanish nation's longing for a
major change that would bring greater liberty. Both Teresa and Spain were to
find that happiness in the next and last episode of the fourth series, La de los
tristes destinos, when the Glorious Revolution became a reality and dethroned
Isabel II.
5.10 La de los tristes destinos: The End of the Isabelleine Reign

In the last episode of the fourth series, La de los tristes destinos, Galdós focused on the final three years of the reign of Isabel II from 1866 to 1868, an acrimonious period that was sparked by the major economic crisis of 1866.68 The title itself is an obvious reference to Isabel II's sad and pathetic fate. Thus an air of gloom and doom reigns over this episode. Tragedy hovers over this episode from the beginning, which deals with the execution of the sixty-six sergeants of the San Gil barracks. The importance that this event is given suggests that Galdós considered it to have been a catalyst in determining the eventual success of the Revolution of 1868.69 Moreover, this initial scene recalls a similar opening scene: the public lynching of Francisco Chico in O'Donnell. The difference was that the latter had a liberating effect, whereas the former had a repressive effect. In the public murder of Chico, one perceives that the nation felt that justice was being achieved because Chico's death became symbolic of the end of the Moderate terror. However, with the murder of the sixty-six sergeants, the nation felt that a serious injustice was being perpetrated against it by O'Donnell's ministry. This execution was seen as a betrayal to the nation and to all the hopes and dreams that had been promoted by O'Donnell's Liberal Union in the beginning. By 1866, O'Donnell had become an imitation of Narváez. The character of Rafaela Hermosilla, who attends the public execution to cry for her lover, Simón Paternina, summarizes the general frustration of the Spanish people with the establishment when she declares: "Esta es la Historia de España que están haciendo allá la Isabel y el Diablo, la Patrocinio y O'Donnell, y los malditos moderados..., que no parece sino que Vuestra Divina Majestad ha echado mil maldiciones sobre aquella tierra" (III: 659). That Spanish history was seen as nothing more than a series of bloody confrontations in Galdós' eyes becomes even clearer when Valentín Malrecado,70 a Sebo-like figure who works both sides of the street,71
comments that, according to his friend, Confusio, Spanish history is a history full of blood:

Cosas de la vida son éstas... Hoy les toca morir a éstos; mañana, a los otros. Es la Historia de España, que va corriendo, corriendo... Es un río de sangre, como dice don Toro Godo...

Sangre por el Orden, sangre por la Libertad. Las venas de nuestra Nación se están vaciando siempre; pero pronto vuelven a llenarse...

Este pueblo heroico y mal comido saca su sangre de sus desgracias, del amor, del odio..., y de las sopas de ajo. No lo digo yo: lo dice el primer sabio de España, Juanito Confusio. (III: 658)

One of the major themes of this episode becomes the increasing frustration with Isabel II and the Moderate regime, whether it was headed by O'Donnell, Narváez, or González Bravo. In effect, the execution of the sixty-six sergeants simply tightened the noose around the queen's neck, as Eufrasia del Socobio suggests to Manolo Tarfe when she comments: "Sólo sé que hay gran presión sobre la Señora para que cambie de Gobierno; pero aún no ha resuelto nada. La cosa es dura y la ocasión diabólica" (III: 660). It was not long after the public executions that the queen dismissed O'Donnell and replaced him with Narváez. In reality, according to the politician Adelardo López de Ayala, the decision had been made two days after the revolt of the San Gil barracks, but Narváez slily postponed taking power so that O'Donnell's hands, and not his, would be full of blood: "Narváez no tenía prisa. Era más cómodo para él que nosotros fusiláramos a los sargentos. Así podía venir el tigre más descansado y con aires de clemencia" (III: 664). For O'Donnell this was a sad conclusion that he could hardly believe. By then Galdós depicted O'Donnell as a frustrated man, who began with a great deal of optimism but was eventually psychologically defeated by the queen's camarilla:
Aún se resistía don Leopoldo a dar crédito a los anuncios de su caída. El gran niño no quería comprender que reducir a una camarilla, o librarse de sus invisibles asechanzas y silenciosos tiros, es más difícil que la expugnación y conquista de Tetuán. (III: 663)

As a result of O'Donnell's dismissal, the queen became even more isolated. The Moderates remained her only supporters. The Unionists and the Spanish people increasingly targeted their anger and frustration on Isabel II. In fact the phrase, "Esa Señora es imposible" becomes this episode's leitmotiv. It is first expressed by López de Ayala (III: 664) when he informs O'Donnell that he has been dismissed. It is subsequently stated by Iberito to Vicentito Halconero when the former informs the latter that the revolution is inevitable because the Spanish people have grown tired of the queen: "Cualquiera lo sabe . . . Basta tener oídos . . . Tú pon atención a lo que se habla. No se abre una boca española que no diga: "Esa Señora es imposible" " (III: 669). Iberito's statement confirms that this phrase was in the mouths of the general public. This popular phrase is reiterated later when Iberito converses with Miguel Polop, the conductor of the Tren del Norte, who assures Iberito that the revolution will soon be a reality: "¿Verdad joven que esto está perdido? Dentro de España y fuera de ella no oye uno más que . . . «esa Señora es imposible . . . » " (III: 677). By simply repeating this phrase, Galdós was able to capture the decidedly turbulent atmosphere in which the queen's hold on the Spanish throne was becoming more tenuous by the day. This was a truly masterful stroke of genius on Galdós' part because it offers the reader an insight into the feeling that had overtaken Spanish society after the San Gil insurrection.

Galdós' study of Isabel II constitutes an excellent analysis of her political blundering. Through Beramendi, whose youngest son Tinito is a friend of Prince Alfonso, the reader is given a closer look at the queen. While
Beramendi and Isabel II are engaged in conversation, Beramendi thinks to himself that Isabel's obstinancy in denying the Progressives the opportunity to form a government was her greatest mistake. It is obvious that Beramendi is simply Galdós' spokesperson, and as such when Beramendi criticizes the queen's alliance with the Absolutists (the Moderates), the reader realizes that, in reality, this represents Galdós' criticism of the Isabeline monarchy. Galdós could not comprehend why she had betrayed the liberal cause that had saved her during the regency of her mother:

¿Por qué celebras la adhesión del absolutismo, si el llamarlo y acogerlo ha sido tu error político más grande, pobre Majestad sin juicio? Eso, eso es lo que más te ha perjudicado y acabará por perderte: agasajar a los que te disputaron el Trono y dar con el pie a los que derramaron su sangre por asegurarte en él. Te has pasado al bando vencido, y para los que te aborrecieron has reservado los honores, las mercedes, el poder. Hipócritamente se agrupan a tu lado, y con devotas alharacas te rodean, te adulan, te abrazan... Pero no te fies: los que parecen abrazos son empujones hacia el abismo. (III: 702)

In Galdós' depiction of the last years of the reign of Isabel II, the reader witnesses a confused monarch who seemed not to understand why her subjects had withdrawn their allegiance to her. She complains to Beramendi that Spaniards have turned against her: "ya no me quieren..., ya no me quieren como me querían..., y muchos me aborrecen..., no por culpa mía, pues bien sabe Dios que yo no he cambiado en mi amor a los españoles..." (III: 703).

This was precisely the problem: she had not changed; she believed that her reign could continue in the same manner that it had always been run. Galdós posited that one of Isabel's major defects was that she was content to live
under the façade created by her camarilla, who simply alienated her from her nation:

Tú, más que otros reyes, inclinada a lo familiar y plebeyo, dejas que llegue a ti la verdad española en cosas externas, decorativas y verbales; pero en las cosas de carácter público no quieres más que la mentira, porque en ella estás educada, y falsedad es la misma capa religiosa, mejor dicho, velo transparente, con que quieres encubrir tus errores políticos y no políticos, Reina descuidada y sin ventura. (III: 703)

The answer to the reason why the queen had lost favour is that she had not fulfilled the promise that Spaniards had expected from her reign: where was Spain's prosperity? Basically, the Spanish people had grown tired of all the broken promises: "El pueblo español se ha cansado de esperar el fruto de ese árbol de tu bondad, que has entregado al fariseísmo para que lo cultive" (III: 704).

The return of Narváez to the national scene did not bring stability to Spain. This was no longer the iron-fisted Narváez of the Moderate decade; he was still authoritarian, but age had caught up to the espadón de Loja. In reality, as Beramendi suggests, González Bravo, Narváez's right-hand man, had become the de facto leader:

Nadie podía decir de qué lado nos caeríamos. Narváez debilitado por la edad, no era ya el gobernante de otros días, y se dejaba llevar de la mano por González Bravo. Teníamos, pues, de jefe de Gobierno a un hombre de corta vista que tomaba de la mano el ciego. (III: 687)

It seems apparent that, for Galdós, the Narváez regime was one in which the blind were leading the blind. Galdós insisted on showing the unrest that characterized the last of Narváez's ministries. Faced with any signs of
democracy from the opposition, Narváez's sole answer was to repress and send protestors into exile:

Pero iban las cosas tan mal, que no terminó el año sin que anduvieran a la greña los dos mellizos, que eran dos personas distintas y un solo sistema verdadero, y se llaman Poder legislativo y Poder ejecutivo. El Parlamento gritó: Me abro, y el Gobierno: Te ciervo, y en estas disputas, saltaron los dos presidentes, Ríos Rosas del Congreso, Serrano del Senado, con sendas protestas que firmaron diputados y senadores . . .

¿Protesta dijiste? Ni el Gobierno ni la Reina entendían este modo de señalar, y los protestantes fueron desterrados. (III: 688)

Galdós subsequently portrayed Narváez as a sort of tightrope walker who was trying to maintain some semblance of equilibrium between two opposing forces: the revolutionary and the reactionary. Narváez complains to Beramendi that he finds himself in a no-win situation:

Yo me encuentro con la revolución enfrente y con la reacción detrás . . . Tú ves la revolución, que grita y manotea; no ves la otra fiera que tengo a retaguardia y que a la calladita quiere deslomarme . . . Me gustaría verte en esta brega, toreando dos cornúpetos a la vez. (III: 689)

Of these two conflicting forces, Galdós concentrated in this episode on tracing the development of the revolutionary movement that reached its climax with the battle of Alcolea (near Seville) on September 28, 1868. In the aftermath of the San Gil revolt, the Progressives found themselves outside the country and forced to plan the revolution from Brussels, Paris, and London. It was from these three European capitals that the major leaders of the revolution such as Prim, Sagasta, and Ruiz Zorrilla plotted to overthrow the Moderates and the queen. As Chaves states, it was in Ostend (Belgium) that
the decision was finally made to topple the government and the monarchy, and replace it with a constituent assembly.

Galdós managed to capture the optimism of the Progressives who became very confident that the Revolution was an imminent event. The narrator affirms, for example, that the Spaniards in London, which had become the chief base for the Revolution, were sure that it would triumph in the near future: "La voz de la fatalidad política, secretando en los corazones, les decía que la histórica mole se desplomaría pronto" (III: 745). The key to Galdós' success in describing the events leading up to the battle of Alcolea is that he was able to show the momentum that the revolutionary machine had gathered; the Revolution had reached boiling point and was fast approaching the point at which it would overspill. The gestation period of the Revolution was now reaching maturity by the summer of 1868; it was felt that by September the Progressives would finally be giving birth to the Revolution:

La Historia se precipitaba impaciente; las ideas corrían a engendrar los hechos; la Libertad, harta ya de tentativas espirituales y de amenazas aéreas, ansiaba dar al mundo un ser efectivo, un engendro cualquiera, ya fuese bien formado, ya monstruo. Cuantas noticias llegaban de España en los últimos días de agosto y primeros de septiembre, daban ya por rematada, con todos sus perfiles la máquina revolucionaria. (III: 747)

Thus when Prim, Ruiz Zorrilla, and Sagasta boarded the Delta at Southampton, which was headed for Gibraltar, the final steps in the Revolution had begun; it was time for the Progressives to give birth: "Las vidas se agotaban, las voluntades rebeldes habían llegado a su máxima tensión, y ya . . . o reventar o vencer" (III: 754). After so many false starts, Prim was going to finally succeed. When Prim exclaimed: "¡Viva la Soberanía Nacional! ¡Viva la Libertad!" (III:755), the Navy, which was reticent at first to overthrow the
queen, also got caught up in the growing momentum of the Revolution, which Galdós described as an unstoppable wild beast: "La fiera de la Revolución estaba ya suelta, el Trono, caído y roto... Los generales, cuando vinieran, si venían, nada podrían hacer ya para encadenar a la fiera y enderezar lo caído" (III: 755). Thus when Prim left England, the Revolution was a fait accompli.

Galdós was careful to note that with the deaths of O'Donnell and Narváez, Isabel II had lost her two major supporters. As José Paúl y Angulo suggests to Iberito, who was aiding the revolutionary cause in London, the monarchy was now clinging by a thread as its only supporters were González Bravo and Marfori (III: 732). Consequently, Prim's road to Madrid had been greatly facilitated by the disappearance of the queen's two pillars.

In his treatment of the factors that led to the eventual success of the Revolution of 1868, Galdós signalled the important role that the Tren del Norte played in bringing to Spain from France the conditions necessary for revolution. The Northern Train was a vital cog in fomenting the revolutionary spirit; it could be considered a sort of fifth column that sparked the desire for revolution. Galdós praised this famous train for giving Spaniards the opportunity to experience the civilization of modern Europe:

El lleva y trae la vida, el pensamiento, la materia pesada y la ilusión aérea; conduce los negocios, la diplomacia, las almas inquietas de los laborantes políticos y las almas sedientas de los recián casados; comunica lo viejo con lo nuevo, transporta el afán artístico y la curiosidad arqueológica; a los españoles lleva gozosos a refrigerarse en el aire mundial, y a los europeos trae a nuestro ambiente seco, ardoroso, apasionado. (III: 675)

Few, if any historians, have highlighted the significant role played by the railway in fomenting the Revolution. As the train conductor Miguel Polop explains to Iberito, it was to be through this railway line that the Revolution
was encouraged: "Estos raíles ya no son España, sino Francia. Por aquí va saliendo la revolución a trabajar fuera, y por aquí la traeremos triunfante . . . " (III: 677).

In reading this episode it becomes clear that for Galdós France and Great Britain were the model nations that Spain should be attempting to emulate. He greatly admired the order and industriousness of both of these European societies. Iberito and Teresa, for example, seem to be in awe of France's order, prosperity, and industrious nature:76

Al anochecer del día siguiente vieron que a un lado y otro del tren en marcha se iniciaba la aglomeración de alegres pueblecillos, de granjas admirables, de quintas escondidas entre bosques espesos; vieron la muchedumbre de fábricas y talleres con sus chimeneas humeantes, las estaciones de una y otra línea transversal, los edículos y almacenes, los gasómetros, el sinfín de construcciones que anuncian la vida industriosa y opulenta de una gran metrópoli. (III: 721)

England receives equal, if not more praise in this episode. Iberito's friend in London, the retired Catalan Nonell exalts the British judicial system, which is at the heart of its progressive status: "¡Nación como ninguna sólida y potente, porque en ella tiene su imperio la Justicia, es respetada la Ley y amada la persona que la simboliza!" (III: 738). Iberito also lavishes praise on Great Britain, which he comes to consider as the nation to which Spain should aspire to imitate: "¡Quiera Dios que con la revolución que haremos pronto los españoles consigamos fundar un Estado tan potente, ilustrado y feliz como el de esta tierra nebulosa y fuerte!" (III: 742).

Though Galdós wrote this episode in 1907, a significant year which marks his affiliation with the conjunción republicano-socialista, he was still able to transmit to his readers the enthusiasm that characterized the
Revolution. Riego's hymn, for example, was heard all over Cádiz, the cradle of Spanish liberalism. Prim's name was on everyone's mind: "El nombre de Prim y los cañonazos sonaban con giro vertiginoso como si en espiral se enroscaran..." (III: 755).\textsuperscript{77} Galdós assured the reader that Spaniards were convinced that the ideals advocated by Prim and the Progressives were just and democratic. It was therefore no surprise that López de Ayala's manifesto was known by every supporter of the Revolution. Galdós included this manifesto, which became the \textit{de facto} constitution of the Glorious Revolution:

\begin{quote}
Queremos que una legalidad común, por todas creadas, tenga ímplicito y constante el respeto de todos... Queremos que el encargado de observar la Constitución no sea su enemigo irreconciliable... Queremos que las causas que influyan en las supremas resoluciones las podamos decir en voz alta delante de nuestras madres, de nuestras esposas y de nuestras hijas... (III: 756)
\end{quote}

The fact that Galdós would include this manifesto seems to indicate that he also deeply felt the principles that were expressed by López de Ayala. Furthermore, it is likely that Galdós in 1868, who had just returned to Madrid to witness Prim's triumphant entrance first-hand,\textsuperscript{78} also knew López de Ayala's words by heart. I would suggest that this manifesto indicates Galdós' disillusionment with the Revolution in 1907 to an even greater extent because in the years between 1868 and 1907 this liberal "constitution" had been completely betrayed.

This disillusionment with the Revolution becomes apparent at the end of this episode when Iberito sees how things in Madrid have not really changed with respect to the forming of the new revolutionary government. The large bureaucracy would continue to be filled with family members and friends of the ministers. Symbolic of this patronage is that a senior bureaucrat such as
Oliván should be considered irreplaceable. The Revolution had simply become a pretext for the Progressives to control the national bureaucracy. It was now the time for the Progressives to eat from the national trough: "La inmensa grey desheredada del Progreso y Democracia aprestábase a invadir los nacionales comederos" (III: 779, emphasis is mine).

This pessimism vis-à-vis Spain's future is echoed by captain Ramón Lagier, who advises Iberito to return to France because he believes that Spain is condemned to remain a medieval nation. Lagier suggests that the fanatical reactionaries will always have a stranglehold on Spain:

Sí, hijo mío, el fanatismo tiene aquí tanta fuerza, que aunque parezca vencido, pronto se rehace y vuelve a fastidiarnos a todos. Los más liberales creen en el Infierno, adoran las imágenes de palo, y mandan a sus hijos a los colegios de curas . . . No sé hasta dónde llegará esta revolución que hemos hecho con tanto trabajo. Avanzará un poco, hasta que al fanatismo se le hinchen las narices, y diga: "Caballeros Prim y Serrano, de aquí no se pasa."

(III: 757)

Comments such as these have the effect of subduing the joy that surrounded the Revolution's victory, which was especially celebrated in Madrid on September 29, the day after the battle of Alcolea: "Recorriendo calles, violó [Iberito] el loco júbilo de Madrid, banderas, colgaduras, cuadrillas de paisanos armados que pronunciaban la sentencia histórica con vivas y mueras" (III: 767). While Madrid had been transformed into a large street party, the queen was in San Sebastián preparing to cross the border into France. Galdós asserted that Spaniards did not feel any ill will towards Isabel, but rather they had grown tired of her and now wished to be part of a major change. He further observed that the Isabelline monarchy had been abandoned by the Church, which allowed it to stand alone. This was a significant development that nailed
the coffin on the reign of Isabel II: "¿Dónde los príncipes de la Milicia, de la Magistratura, de la Iglesia? El pobre Trono se caía sin que le prestase apoyo su robusto hermano del Altar" (III: 775). Galdós concluded his study of Isabel's more than two decades on the Spanish throne by affirming that it was a tragic reign, which was characterized by the useless deaths of thousands of Spaniards who gave their lives for her: "Véase la tragedia de este reinado, toda muertes, toda querellas y disputas violentísimas, desenlazadas con esta vulgar salida por la puerta del Bidasoa" (III: 778). Isabel had failed her country miserably by betraying the principles of liberalism that had saved her against the Carlist threat. Her escape to France was seen by Galdós as a positive and just development for the benefit of the Spanish nation:

No volverás, pobre Isabel. Te llevas todo tu reinado, más infeliz para tu pueblo que para ti. Impurificaste la vida española; quitaste sus cadenas a la Superstición para ponérselas a la Libertad. En el corazón de los españoles fuiste primero la esperanza, después la desesperación. (III: 779)

Though Isabel was dethroned, the Bourbon dynasty was not dead. By 1874 Isabel's son Alfonso was to return to Spain to become King Alfonso XII, a fact that is foreshadowed by Beramendi's words to his son Tinito, both of whom were at the train station in San Sebastián to see off the queen:

No llores, hijo. Alfonso volverá. Fíjate en él ahora. ¿No ves cómo te mira y se sonrie? ... ¿Qué te has creído tú? El Príncipe, tu amigo, viene a Francia a tomar aires. Estate tranquilo. Volverá; en España le hemos de ver. (III: 778)

Special attention is given to Alfonso's education in this episode, which seems to have been rather poor. Tinito is the first to notice that the young prince is ignorant. Tinito tells his father that Alfonso "no sabe nada. No le enseñan más que religión y armas" (III: 693). Beramendi consequently
investigates the nature of Alfonso's education and arrives at the same conclusion. He tells Confusio that the reign of Alfonso will not be different from the past Spanish monarchies "porque se le cria para idiota; en vez de ilustrarle, le embrutece; en vez de abirle los ojos a la ciencia, a la vida y a la Naturaleza, se le cierran para que su alma tierna ahonde en las tinieblas y se apaciente en la ignorancia" (III: 698).

Though Beramendi is pessimistic about Alfonso, Confusio is very optimistic. In fact, he asserts that the reign of Alfonso XII will be "el reinado de paz, ventura y progreso que prolongaré, si usted me lo permite, hasta 1925" (III: 700). In his logical-natural history, Confusio writes that the future reign of Alfonso will be a glorious and prosperous one:

El reinado de Alfonso XII será dilatado y próspero. No habrá pronunciamientos, porque el Rey sabrá usar con tino la prerrogativa moderatriz, y alternar con discreta cadencia y turno las dos políticas, reformadora y estacionaria. (III: 690)

Moreover, Confusio argues that Alfonso will eradicate the medieval spirit from Spain: "Pero el nuevo Rey, que viene al Trono con ideas precisas, con aspiraciones elevadas, fruto de su grande ilustración, destruirá el maléfico influjo de aquel espíritu protervo, vagante en la selva del alma hispana" (III: 690).

However, Beramendi ironically replies that the only way that the reign of Alfonso XII will be prosperous is if he is educated abroad: "Verás como viene robusto, templado por la desgracia, fuerte de voluntad, vigoroso de entendimiento, nutrido de sanas ideas y encaminado a las resoluciones que le harán digno jefe de un Estado glorioso" (III: 700). As for eliminating the oppressive spirit that had a hold on Spain, Galdós affirmed through Beramendi that the only way that this would be achieved is if liberalism were truly
implemented. Furthermore, the hegemony of the Monarchy and the Church would have to be eliminated:

Y en cuanto al espíritu de Fernando VII, que pegado a los tapices, a las sedas y alfombras allí subsiste, no lo echarás más que con exorcismos de Prim y buenos hisopazos de agua de Mendizábal . . . Anda, hijo emprende la obra. No te olvides de quemar la santa túnica de Patrocinio, sudada y asquerosa, que allí encontrarás; quemarás asimismo todos los papeles que encuentres de la buenísima cuanto inexperta doña Isabel, pues nada pierde la Historia con que las llamas devoren ese archivo . . . (III: 700)

These passages expressed by Beramendi serve to indicate the high level of frustration that Galdós was feeling by 1907 with the failure of liberalism to overtake the power of the Church and the Monarchy.

As we have seen, the historical element of *La de los tristes destinos* occupies a large part of this episode. The overall impression is not as positive as one would have expected from a liberal writer like Galdós. But this is explained by the fact that when he wrote this episode, Galdós had come to realize that the principles of liberalism championed in 1868 had not materialized forty years later. He sincerely felt that Spain continued to be dominated by the Church and the Monarchy.

Though the historical component is so dominant in this episode, the fictional element is as interesting as the historical. The twists and turns of the lives of Iberito and Teresa definitely pique the reader's interest. In the last episode of the fourth series, the reader learns what happens to these two lovers, who end up living together in France, which reminds one of Fernando Calpena's and Demetria's final destiny. In the subsequent pages we shall trace the phenomenal transformations of Iberito and Teresa, who, in their own way, also carry out a personal revolution.
When we left Iberito in the last episode, Prim, this young idealistic modern-day Don Quixote was participating in the San Gil revolt and searching for his Dulcinea, Salomita, daughter of Baldomero Galán. When La de los tristes destinos begins, we learn that he has been jailed along with Leoncio Ansúrez for his involvement in the revolt. Fortunately, through Manolo Tarfe's intervention, Iberito and Ley receive a royal pardon. Ley then invites him to stay at his home, but Iberito still wishes to continue his errant life: "ya sabes que mi destino es correr, navegar por mares y caminos, y salir al encuentro de las cosas grandes que vienen . . ." (III: 664). Part of this urge to travel is his desire to find Salomita. But when he is reunited with Teresa on the Tren del Norte that will take him to safety in France, he learns of Teresa's passionate love for him. Iberito becomes confused; his dilemma is whether to continue to search for Salomita or to stay with Teresa: "Cierto que no había de extremar su devoción al ideal hasta el punto en que la llevara Don Quijote, sacrificando todo comercio de amor al respeto y fidelidad de la siempre lejana y apenas vista Dulcinea" (III: 682). Teresa soon replaces Salomita, and consequently the narrator notes that Iberito's quixotism begins to wither away (III: 706). Iberito learns to live in the present, rather than in the past: "El hombre vivía más en el presente que en el pasado azaroso y en el porvenir obscuro" (III: 706). By living in the present, Iberito discards "todo lo inconsistente, ilusorio y fantástico" (III: 706).

Iberito's transformation is matched by Teresa's own personal transformation. Since her first appearance in O'Donnell, the reader had seen a woman who was searching for personal fulfillment. The many men in her life were never able to offer her the fulfillment that she desired. But upon meeting Iberito, Teresa renounces her past immoral life, and dedicates herself to Iberito. She no longer wishes to lead a lavish lifestyle, which indicates that she had previously believed that money could bring her personal happiness. She
assures Iberito that she would be content to lead a frugal life in France (III: 686). Proof of her transformation is the fact that she becomes a contented housewife (III: 706).

Later on, Teresa is offered by Ursula Plessis employment in her lace shop in Paris. Teresa's reaction is a further indication of the change that had taken place within her; she now desired to earn a living from the toils of her labour, instead of living off an allowance that would be given to her by one of her lovers (III: 720). Teresa subsequently becomes "toda entusiasmo, alientos, orgullo de su oficio" (III: 730). As the narrator affirms, Teresa had become a flower in bloom: "La Villaescusa era como una planta de tiesto transplantada en tierra libre" (III: 731).

As a result of Teresa's transformation, she becomes a model of conduct for Galdós' readers. Like such characters as Demetria de Castro-Amézaga, Ildefonso Negretti, Juan Antonio Maltrana, Vicente Halconero, and Angel Cordero, Teresa Villaescusa becomes an exemplary character. She is perhaps the most exemplary because her transformation suggests that moral regeneration is never too late for anyone. With the character of Teresa, Galdós succeeded in creating a deeply flawed character who managed to overcome them by her steely determination and devotion to the work ethic. There is no doubt that her love for her work is the key element in her transformation. Her work allows her to become self-sufficient and confident. It becomes clear that Galdós was convinced that only positive benefits could be accrued from one's dedication to one's work. Work therefore became the key remedy for Spain's ills.

In Iberito's case, however, his transformation does not occur with the same ease as Teresa's. His adoption of this new lifestyle is challenged to a greater extent, and is a result of his disillusionment with war and the Revolution of 1868.
After only a week of leading an idyllic life with Teresa, Ibero is enticed by Chaves to participate in another insurrection. Chaves is described as a serpent who "siguió tentando con promesas de gloria y otros halagos al fogoso Iberito" (III: 708). Far from denying him this opportunity, Teresa encourages him as a sign of her love for him (III: 709). Iberito bites the apple that Chaves offers him and heads to Aragon, but this insurrection is also put down by the government forces in Linás de Marcuello. Iberito flees back to France where he learns from Teresa that Salomita has become a nun. Despite the failure in Aragon, Iberito still wishes to participate in the Revolution. He is then commissioned to work for Prim in London, where he manages to board the same ship that was to take Prim and the other revolutionary leaders to Gibraltar. Iberito subsequently becomes a participant in the battle of Alcolea. The short civil war that erupted in Alcolea disillusioned Iberito to the extent that this one-time Don Quixote who wished to reconquer Mexico now renounces all wars, especially civil ones. After witnessing all the deaths on the battle field, Iberito becomes a pacifist and resembles Tuste in the war in North Africa. It is clear that Galdós was refuting the notion of a glorious revolution when Iberito asserted that there was nothing glorious or epic about war: "Los humos se escapan. Las grandezas lejanas se achican cuando nos acercamos a ellas . . . Crea usted que esta guerra civil me ha descorazonado totalmente" (III: 763). Iberito confesses to Manolo Tarfe, who was also in Alcolea, that the events of Linás de Marcuello had brought on "los primeros síntomas de esta enfermedad, o de esta curación" (III: 763). Now cured of his revolutionary quixotism, Iberito takes heed of Lagier's advice to be good, humble, honest, and virtuous: "Reconstrúid vuestras personas con actos buenos, con actos independientes de los dogmas, y que arranquen de la pura conciencia" (III: 758). Iberito thus decides to return to Paris with Teresa to lead a quiet and productive existence. In the last chapter, which is in the form of a dialogue between the two lovers, Iberito
ends the *episodio* by saying, "Somos la *España sin honra* y huímos, desaparecemos, pobres gotas perdidas en el torrente europeo" (III: 781). As the concluding note of the fourth series, this is an individual reply to the events of the Revolution, which offers a pessimistic view of Spain's future. Like the case of Fernando and Demetria, Iberito and Teresa feel obliged to move to France in order to seek and secure future happiness. Iberito's last words seem to suggest that Spain would continue to be Spain despite all the promises of the Glorious Revolution.
Notes for Chapter 5

1 Ortiz-Armengol suggests that there are "ecos familiares" in this episode. Supposedly, Pepe Fajardo's mother, Doña Librada, was based on Galdós' mother (592-593).

2 José García Fajardo, who later in this series becomes the Marquis of Beramendi, is one of the major characters of the fourth series. Though he appears in almost every episode, Pepe is the protagonist of only one episode, Las tormentas del 48.

3 I am in agreement with Ribbans when he states that "Las tormentas del 48 is one of the episodios with the least direct historical context" (49).

4 Beramendi had had a torrid affair with Antoñita la Cordonera before marrying María Ignacia, a marriage that was arranged by his sister the nun.

5 With the character of Faustino Cuadrado, Galdós created another cesante who resembled the tragic protagonist of Miau, Ramón Villaamil.

6 The convent of La Latina was famous for being the residence of Sor Patrocinio.

7 Urey astutely notes that in Narváez the Ministerio relámpago "becomes an emblem of the spiritually, morally, and materially destructive aspects of Isabel II's reign" (105).

8 Jover Zamora's admiration for Galdós is evident in the following statement, in which he praised Galdós' ability to capture the reality of nineteenth-century Spain:

> Cuando la historiografía española haya logrado establecer con exactitud la evolución demográfica del pueblo español en el siglo XIX; cuando conozca sus actividades económicas y su estratificación social referidas a marcos regionales bien diferenciados; cuando lo sepa todo - es un decir - acerca de la estructura y funcionamiento del Estado y de la Administración, acerca de la cultura en sus diversas formas y manifestaciones, todavía será momento de acudir a Galdós en busca de un imponderable que escapó al análisis de nuestros métodos.
establecidos: una sutil relación entre paisaje e historia, el entresijo de una reacción popular atípica, la hondura de una determinada forma de vivir el presente, que Galdós acertó a captar mediante un esfuerzo de aproximación incesante, de amor y comprensión hacia su propio pueblo. (14-15)

9 According to Ribbans, Galdós visited the exiled queen in Paris on two occasions in 1902 accompanied by his Canarian friend, the then Spanish ambassador to France, Fernando León y Castillo (History and Fiction 77). For his part, Ortiz-Armengol is not, however, very clear as to the dates of Galdós' visits. On page 599 it seems that it was in 1902 since Ortiz deals with the event in chapter LXV, which covers the year 1902; yet on page 600 Ortiz contradicts himself by stating that "Ahora, en 1901, cuenta Galdós que la reina lucía . . ." Ortiz also notes that in the last pages of his memoirs a "senile" Galdós, (according to Ortiz), remembered that León y Castillo had introduced him to Isabel in 1893 or 1894 at the Basileuski Palace on Kleber Avenue in Paris (599).

10 Urey has noted as well that Isabel II is portrayed as a victim of her upbringing: "It is clear from Fajardo's interviews with her that she is, indeed, in large part a victim of her birth and education" (109-110).

11 López-Morillas has suggested that Galdós was indebted to Costa's works ("Galdós y la historia: los últimos años", 60-61). As has been already suggested, it is clear that there was a link between the two men if one takes into account such works as Costa's Oligarquía y caciquismo.

12 Benítez describes Jerónimo Ansúrez as a Sancho Panza-like character:

El habla rural más desarrollada aparece en Narváez en boca de la familia de los Ansúres [sic], sobre todo del padre, que resume las experiencias del labrador español desde la antigüedad celtíbera hasta las sublevaciones de campesinos andaluces. Su refranero es enorme y refleja mejor que en el caso de Cipérez y Licurgo el conocimiento de Galdós de la paremiología del siglo XIX. (Cervantes en Galdós 150-151)
13 Urey has observed that the entire fourth series focuses on the corruption of the Church, especially the diabolical machinations of nuns such as Sor Patrocinio in the Royal Palace (*Novel Histories of Galdós* 106-107).

14 In order to capture the spirit of this title, I would translate it as *"The Fantastical Spirits of The Queen's Clique"*.

15 Ortiz-Armengol considers this *episodio* to be "una obra maestra" (601). I would add that this is one of three most successful episodes along with *O'Donnell* and *Prim*.

16 Sor Patrocinio (1811-1891) was born Rafaela Quiroga. Known for her revelation of having received the stigmata, Sor Patrocinio was Isabel II's religious confidante and advisor.

17 I cannot agree with Pattison's assertion that Merino receives a sympathetic treatment (149). In my estimation, Galdós' treatment of Merino is an objective one which tried to understand why a priest would have wanted to assassinate the queen. Galdós did not sympathize nor condemn Merino, but rather allowed the reader to decide for him or herself.

18 One of Galdós' most often exploited techniques was to make major historical events coincide with the births, deaths, marriages, and funerals of the fictitious characters. Ribbans has similarly noted that "the birth of Beramendi's children, like Isabel Cordero's in *Fortunata y Jacinta*, is used to pinpoint historical events" (*History and Fiction* 54).

19 Vicente Halconero is also sometimes called José. It is not clear whether Galdós was aware of this variation, or whether in typical Cervantine fashion, Galdós was consciously giving this character another name. It was not uncommon for many of Cervantes' and Galdós' characters to be known by more than one name.

20 Ortiz-Armengol argues that in *Los duendes de la camarilla* Galdós was advancing the argument that Spain's regeneration was to be found in the
I totally agree, but I would add that this message had already been expressed by Galdós in the previous series, especially in *De Oñate a la Granja*, the episode in which Demetria, that modern-day goddess of agriculture, appears for the first time. Ortiz-Armengol interestingly adds that this rural programme in the *Episodios nacionales* was mirrored by what he calls a "rusticación personal de don Benito, en quien se manifiesta una veta agrícola que hasta entonces no había mostrado" (602).

21 Hinterhäuser considered Virginia to be another character who manifested anarchist traits by giving up her bourgeois life to live happily in the countryside with Leoncio (Ley) Ansúrez (212). Furthermore, Hinterhäuser suggested that the entire fourth series was characterized by an anarchist orientation: "Surge una violenta crítica de la sociedad y de la cultura: algunos personajes de los últimos *Episodios* escapan de la "dorada farsa" que es la existencia burguesa" (212). I would also include under this rubric characters such as Teresa Villaescusa and Juan Santiuste. Moreover, the major character of the third series, Fernando Calpena, also rejects Spanish bourgeois life by deciding to live with Demetria in the French countryside.

22 In *History and Fiction in Galdós's Narrative*, Ribbans has shown how Galdós was a master of the spoken word.

23 The name "Telesforo" (tele/foro) is symbolic for it suggests that he is a communicator in the public sphere.

24 Palacio Atard 285.

25 Urey has perceptively noted likewise the "representational self-consciousness" of the opening paragraph (124).

26 I cannot agree with Hinterhäuser's point that ideas and great men of action "ocupan juntamente el primer lugar en la exposición galdosiana" because such a statement condemns fiction to the back page. Moreover, it is clear that, without the fictitious part, the *Episodios nacionales* would be less interesting
and historically important. Hinterhäuser based his assertion on the following passage from *Amadeo I*: "Ahora estoy preparando el cañamazo, es decir el tinglado histórico... Una vez abocetado el fondo histórico y político de la novela, inventaré la intriga". Hinterhäuser thus concluded: "el conjunto de los *Episodios* muestra sin lugar a dudas que, desde el primer momento, el autor tuvo presente la prioridad de lo histórico como principio de composición" (229). It is my contention that Hinterhäuser confused temporal succession with causal succession. If one pays special attention to Galdós' words, one comes to the realization that the novel is "prima in intentione, ultima in executione". Hence the novel is the final cause. Galdós stated that the first thing that he did was to establish an outline. He, in fact, used the term "el cañamazo", which indicates that history served as the frame for the novelistic creation. Once the outline was prepared, Galdós stated that he would create the intrigue, that is, the content. He underlined this attitude by using the verb "inventar", which denotes the creative aspect of the *Episodios nacionales*. Thus Don Benito was suggesting that the artistic element was not relegated to secondary status. We must therefore agree with Enrique Tierno Galván's observation that "[G]aldós trata los sucesos históricos como un literato cuyo argumento es la historia moderna de España" (83). In a similar vein, Peter Bush argued in his article, "The Craftsmanship and Literary Value of the Third Series of *Episodios Nacionales*", that "[F]ictional characters are given an importance at least equal to that of historical figures. The reader's interest is maintained by developments in the lives of the fictional characters as well as by the cause of Spanish history" (34). Bush concluded that "[A]t almost every point, Galdós was concerned with achieving the maximum interpenetration of the fictional and the historical as he brought together a fictional adventure-story with the objective course of the events of Spanish history and society" (51).
27 Ribbans makes a similar observation when he writes: "The Olympian narrator of O'Donnell, called in burlesque tone 'Doña Clío de Apolo', stresses ironically the apparently heroic proportions of the eponymous protagonist, as does the later narrative devoted to Prim" (History and Fiction 59).

28 Urey astutely remarks that "Teresa raises, moreover, the whole question of sexual morality and the status of women" (Novel Histories of Galdós 108).

29 In Urey's estimation the banquet scene "displays in detail how the three major codes of activities in the novel - politics, sex, and eating - are interconnected" (Novel and Histories 132).

30 Eating is also signalled by Urey as one of the three primary activities in O'Donnell (Novel and Histories 126).

31 As we shall see in our study of Carlos VI, en la Rápita, a similar observation is made by the Archpriest of Ulldecona. Such critiques were indictments on Galdós' part of the State for its inability to take care of its citizens.

32 The title of this episode seems to have been suggested by Ricardo Ruiz Orsatti, Galdós' correspondent in North Africa. In his third letter to Galdós, dated July 7, 1901, Ruiz Orsatti explained that: "De varios modos dicen los moros Guerra de Tetuán. Aita Tettauén es el más y mejor usado; dicen también Harb Tettauén, y también con frecuencia: «Aita maa el sbaniul»: guerra con el español" (Ricard, "Cartas de Ricardo Ruiz Orsatti" 103). Ortiz-Armengol interestingly notes that the working title of this episode was La guerra del español. Aita Tettauén (617), which reflects the information that Galdós had received from Ruiz Orsatti.

33 See Gregorio Torres Nebrera's article, "Aita Tettauén: texto y contexto de un episodio nacional" for an excellent study on the sources that Galdós used in writing this episode. Basically, Torres Nebrera asserts that Galdós' prime source was Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's Diario de un testigo de la guerra de Africa.
Galdós actually travelled to North Africa to research the setting for this episode, but due to inclement weather he was unable to reach Tetuan. According to Robert Ricard, Ricardo Ruiz Orsatti, a Spanish Arabist who worked as an interpreter for the diplomatic corps of Spain and Russia in Tangiers and Tetuan, sent Galdós the Spanish translation of a chapter of the *Historia de Marruecos* by el-Nasiry ("Cartas de Ricardo Ruiz Orsatti" 99-100). Ricard added that Galdós used this text and a letter written by Ruiz Orsatti and dated October 27, 1904 to write *Aita Tettauen*. The other two major letters that Ruiz Orsatti sent Galdós arrived too late to be included in *Aita Tettauen*, but were utilized in the early chapters of *Carlos VI en la Rápita* (100-101).

Shannon E. Fleming quotes Gabriel Maura Gamazo's comment on this war, which was that "the 1860 war was an act of sterile and detrimental quixotism" (100).

Torres Nebrera suggests that the character of El Nasiry was based on a similar renegade character named Santiago, an Hispanic-African who appeared in chapter thirty-five of Alarcón's *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de Africa* (388).

Hinterhäuser made a similar observation when he wrote: "La campaña de O'Donnell en Marruecos no fue más que (así lo expone Galdós) una pequeña aventura guerrera, una imitación del cesarismo de Napoleón III en la medida de las posibilidades españolas" (173).

In *El caballero encantado*, written in 1909, that is, five years after *Aita Tettauen*, Galdós reiterated his position in a more explicit fashion when the character of La Madre states: "Pues yo te digo ahora, para que te pasmes y pasmándote vayases aprendiendo, que toda guerra que mis hijos traben con gente mora, me parece guerra civil" (236).

Ribbans describes Santiuste's conversion as "Tolstoyan pacifism" (114).
which is housed at the Casa-Museo Pérez Galdós in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Galdós made notes in his copy of a French translation of *The Sebastopol Sketches* (230). Yet I recently had an opportunity to look at both of his copies of the same book (Galdós had two copies, 1886 and 1890) and they do not contain any notes, though both copies are open.

40 The link with Tolstoy seems very apparent in the following passage from *The Sebastopol Sketches* which, like *Aita Tettauen*, aims to underline the harsh realities of war: "you will see war not as a beautiful, orderly, and gleaming formation, with music and beaten drums, streaming banners and generals on prancing horses, but war in its authentic expression - as blood, suffering and death" (48). In her article, "A Note on Tolstoy and Galdós", Vera Colin illustrated the way in which Tolstoy's doctrine of non-resistance to evil influenced Galdós in three of his novels: *Nazarín*, *Halma*, and *El abuelo*. However, Colin argued that Galdós had concluded that "consistent non-resistance to evil would only lead to greater evil" (157).

41 Ribbans also made a similar observation when he posited: "In the comprehensive coverage in *Aita Tettauen* Galdós draws for much of the fighting on Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's extremely popular *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de Africa* (1860), but his outlook is very different. It is apparent, as José Schraibman has indicated, that "Galdós, entre otras cosas, está dando una respuesta a lo escrito por Alarcón" (113-114).

42 Hinterhäuser underlined the Arabic style of the third part of this episode: "La relación está hecha desde la mentalidad y el punto de vista musulmanes, con un estilo «oriental» impregnado de florituras religiosas y floridas metáforas, cuyos elementos, sin duda, han sido tomados por Galdós de *El Corán* y del *Kitáb el-istiqsâ de en-Nāsirî*" (354).

43 El Nasiry names him Yahia because Zacharias' son had been chosen to spread the message of peace to mankind.
44 *Carlos VI, en la Rápita* was written in only two months, from April to May 1905, a year of personal crisis, according to Ortiz-Armengol, who notes that in 1905 Galdós wrote besides this episode the play "Alma y vida": "Con estos trabajos del año 1905, tan dispares entre sí, nos da la impresión - que, de entrada, hemos de reconocer que es subjetiva - de que don Benito atravesía una crisis, y gira como una veleta, sacudida por vientos variables" (621).

45 This passage shows Galdós' skills in reflecting the linguistic code of his characters. In this case, Yohar's Sephardic background becomes very obvious, and thus lends a sense of greater verisimilitude to the entire episode.

46 Fleming argues that Spain's success was actually a limited one: "Spain was the clear beneficiary of the 1859-1860 war and would retain a diplomatic advantage over an increasingly dysfunctional Morocco for the remainder of the century. However, this advantage was tempered to a considerable degree by Spain's own diminished status in Europe's mid-nineteenth-century power hierarchy" (101).

47 It took Galdós three months to write *La vuelta al mundo en la Numancia* (January to March 1906), which was a month longer than usual. Ortiz-Armengol has remarked that by 1906 it was taking Galdós more time to write the episodios: "Los Episodios no van saliendo ya con la facilidad de antes, el del viaje de circunnavegación de la fragata le costó tres meses escribirlo; ello no dejaba de ser normal, pero es que antes había estado siete meses sin escribir otros Episodios" (636). There is no doubt that age and his worsening eyesight were factors that contributed to the slowing down of the production of episodes.

48 In his introduction to *La vuelta al mundo en la Numancia*, Carlos García Barrón outlines the historical background of this episode and shows how Pedro Novo y Colson's *Historia de la guerra del Pacífico* was Galdós' chief historical source.
49 Diego's pacifist declaration also recalls a similar one made by Don Beltrán de Urdaneta in the fifth episode of the third series, *La campaña del Maestrazgo*. The message of peace is one that Galdós emphasized throughout the *Episodios nacionales*.

50 As has been seen in other episodes, the accusation of national insanity abounds in the *Episodios nacionales*.

51 It is clear that this was another slight against the Roman Catholic Church.

52 Casto Méndez Núñez (1824-1869) distinguished himself in the Philippines and commanded the fleet that bombarded Valparaiso and El Callao in 1866. According to Ribbans, the original title of *La vuelta al mundo de la Numancia* was to have been *Méndez Núñez (History and Fiction 77 n7)*.

53 Alfred Rodríguez astutely observes that the structure of this episode consists of a parallel in the relationship between Spain and the ex-colonies, and Diego and Mara. Both are filial relationships (157). He also argues that the ending of this episode suggests that "filial love would have replaced fratricidal animosity" (164).

54 Ortiz-Armengol and Ribbans both feel that this is one of the weakest episodes. Ortiz feels that it is "uno de los Episodios menos conseguidos, precisamente por eso, por pasear tierras y aguas ignotas, a las que las fibras sensibles del escritor no habían tenido ocasión de tomar el pulso" (635). Ribbans shares this sentiment by arguing that it was the weakest because it was furthest from the political action (*History and Fiction* 258).

55 *Prim* took Galdós even more time to write than the previous episode. It was written in four months between July and October 1906. Ortiz-Armengol comments that "es el primer Episodio en el que había de emplear cuatro meses, lo que no había ocurrido con ninguno de los anteriores" (636).

56 Juanito Maltrana is definitely his father's son. Juan Antonio Maltrana, who first appeared in *Luchana*, was presented as a hard-working and enlightened
individual. His son has apparently learned well from his father that one has to forge one's own future, and has gone to Madrid to study law. Juanito has his head solidly on his shoulders.

57 Rodríguez correctly affirms that it is during Ibero's first stay in Madrid that he becomes aware of the harsh reality of life in the capital: "His picaresque wanderings in search of Prim bring him into contact with the sad reality of modern Spain. The prosaic pessimism of the masses, the spineless dandyism of the students, and the vegetative complacency of the upper classes are all equally repugnant to the young warrior" (149).

58 María Luisa del Milagro's last significant appearance was in Bodas reales of the third series, though she did briefly appear in O'Donnell. Her husband, the Italian opera singer, Romano Cavallieri, had died and left María Luisa penniless. She was forced to open a boarding house on 17 Jacometrazo Street, which became Tuste's (Confusio) home.

59 Santiaguito Ibero is known by many names. At times he is referred to as Santiaguito, Iberito, Bero, and also as Carlos de Castro during his stay in Bayonne.

60 Taken within the context of the entire passage, this constitutes an excellent example of double-voiced discourse, as the queen's voice springs up from the narrator's words.

61 Prim's decision to withdraw from participating in the Cortes was known as retramiento. As was noted in chapter one of this study, the withdrawal of the Progressives from the political system was a major blow to the survival of the Isabeline reign.

62 John Beverley sees Tuste as the representative of Galdós' crisis of narration, and as such, Confusio "is a parodic persona of Galdós as omniscient narrator, just as his projected Histora lógico-natural is a parodic inversion of the literary-ideological project of the Episodios themselves" ("Confusio's
Beverley further posits that Confusio's history has an esperpento quality to it: "The Historia lógico-natural which is his comic apotheosis is nothing more or less than the would-be epic of liberalism of the Episodios nacionales as a whole refracted in that distorting mirror Valle-Inclán would soon introduce in his esperpento: «la verdad de la mentira»" ("Confusio's (His)story" 75).

Urey similarly sees Confusio's history as an attempt to correct past mistakes: "Santiuste's Historia attempts to correct the factors that contributed to Isabel's disastrous reign and the revolution that Prim led to overthrow it" (Novel Histories of Galdós 115). Ribbans has also argued that Confusio's history, though it may be comical, makes solid and thoughtful points about Spain's past: "Yet the exaggeration with which his ideas are expressed should not deceive us into dismissing them as simply pointless or absurd. It seems clear to me that some of the major questions posed by contemporary Spanish history are here given, in a deliberately whimsical vein, a coherent and sustained airing which we should take seriously" (Novel Fictions 236). Hinterhäuser makes an interesting point when he notes the parallel that exists between Galdós and Confusio's work and that of the Generation of 1898: "En numerosas digresiones de los episodios XXXIX y XL, Galdós-Confusio componen un cuadro más o menos coherente de una historia ideal del siglo XIX español. Otra vez se hace aquí evidente el paralelismo con la obra que en aquellos mismos años está creando la generación del 98. También Unamuno, Azorín y Antonio Machado sufren con «el problema entrañable de los que pudo ser y no fue» (130).

Pattison also believed that Confusio was Galdós' spokesperson: "Santiuste becomes a significant conduit of Don Benito's thought when he rewrites the history of nineteenth-century Spain, his Logical-Natural History of the Spaniards" (150).
I agree with Ribbans when he states that Confusio's history offers "a tenuous hope of an eventual rebuilding of the structure of Spanish political life by steady communal effort and constructive consensus" (*History and Fiction* 241). Ribbans further argues that: "Confusio's *Historia lógico-natural* sustains the remote dream of concord, reconciliation, and reform and holds out to Spaniards, in the years following the disaster of 1898, some hope that they are not inexorably doomed, Sisyphus-like, to a futile process of enduring sterility and repetition from which there is no escape" (*History and Fiction* 245). There is no doubt that Galdós was seriously frustrated with Spain's immediate past, but there was always a kernel of optimism in Galdós' work, as was argued in chapter three of this thesis. Likewise, I cannot agree with Beverley's pessimistic view of Confusio's history. Beverley argues that the *Logical-Natural History* is a manifestation of Galdós' abandonment of his initial aim, which was to trace the development of the middle class under the aegis of liberalism. But as the principles of liberalism were betrayed, Galdós could no longer write about the middle class. He had "become aware of the fiction of his own subjectivity" ("Confusio's (His)story" 76). The creation of Confusio thus corresponded to this new awareness: "The melodramatic *aporia* which regulates the construction of the early and middle novels is no longer necessary or relevant in the case of someone like Confusio, since the friction between his subjectivity and the real is ultimately of no consequence to the reader" ("Confusio's (His)story" 76). Beverley's argument, though quite eloquent, fails to take into consideration such facts as Galdós' incorporation into the *Conjunción republicano-socialista* the following year (1907), which indicates that Galdós was still willing to fight for his beliefs, and his continuing to write more *episodios*. He was to write six more, despite his blindness and ill health, and had actually planned to write four more in order to complete the fifth
series. If Beverley's suggestion were true, then why would Galdós have continued to write more episodios.

66 Enrique Oliván is the son of Eduardo Oliván e Iznardi, that successful lazy bureaucrat who briefly worked with Fernando Calpena in Mendizábal. The Olivanes are like the famous Pez family of the Novelas contemporáneas in that they always manage to obtain a government job, despite all the changes in government.

67 La de los tristes destinos took Galdós even more time to write than the last two episodes. It was written in five months, from January to May 1907, which means that it was written at the time that he officially became a member of the Conjunción republicano-socialista in April. His increasing political activeness contributed, no doubt, to the extended period of composition of this episode.

68 See chapter one of this study for details on the economic crisis of 1866 and its significance to the Revolution of 1868.

69 Asís Garrote has noted likewise the importance of the revolt of the San Gil barracks in the future success of the Revolution: "Para Galdós, como para los historiadores del periodo, el acontecimiento revistió una importancia capital en las conspiraciones y levantamiento de aquella etapa histórica. Prueba de ello puede ser el amplio eco con que se recoge en la historiografía de la época" ("Revolución y mito" 612).

70 Malrecado's surname is symbolic for it means "bad message", which is precisely what his presence announces to all who speak with him.

71 La Jumos accuses Malrecado of being a double-agent: "-Te mandaba vigilar a los progresistas, y tú comías en la cocina de don Pascual Madoz./ -Cobrabas del Gobierno por seguir los pasos a Moriones, y le contabas a Sagasta los pasos del Gobernador" (Obras completas III: 659).
Once again, this passage is reminiscent of Don Beltrán de Urdaneta's soliloquy in *La campaña del Maestrazgo*, in which he denounces Spain's obsession with war.

Ribbans writes in a similar vein that: "It is clear, however, that whatever sensitivity towards the people she once possessed has now deserted her completely" (*History and Fiction* 128).

Paúl y Angulo was later accused of participating in the assassination of Prim in 1870. Moreover, it should be noted that his identity is not directly revealed in this episode. In fact, he is referred to at first as simply Don José.

Casalduero noted Galdós' fascination with trains in such novels as *Doña Perfecta, Marianela, Tormento*, and, of course, *La de los tristes destinos*. Casalduero further observed that the Northern Train brought Europe to Spain ("El tren como símbolo" 20).

Asís Garrote has also highlighted the importance of France as a model for Spain to adopt: "Francia es el país trabajador y hospitalario donde se puede vivir en libertad. Ibero ve en París el gran horizonte, la amplitud en las ideas; Teresa el ensanche del pensamiento y de la acción" ("Rевolución y mito" 618).

That Prim had become the ultimate symbol of the Revolution is echoed by Asís Garrote, who argues that Prim "[e]ncarna la idea sintética, la representación objetiva de los ideales de la revolución del 68. Prim/libertad es el binomio en el que se concentra la esperanza popular, el grito revolucionario, también de rebeldía o de venganza" ("Rевolución y mito" 612).

Galdós had been in Paris for the Universal Exposition when the Revolution broke out in Andalusia.

In effect, Alfonso was a student at the Sandhurst Academy in Great Britain when Martínez Campos restored the Bourbon Monarchy in December 1874 at Sagunto.
Ribbons, however, does not feel that the ending is all that pessimistic: "Individual freedom to develop, as advocated by Lagier, is preferred over the new but very fragile opportunity of overcoming the cynical transactions of the past. Yet it would be wrong, perhaps, to dwell too much on the pessimism, since Galdós, in accordance with his normal tactics, offers no conclusion for the moment; the opportunity for change is there if only it can be seized effectively. The narrative is to that extent open-ended" (History and Fiction 137).
Conclusion

The major focus of this study of the third and fourth series of the *Episodios nacionales* is Benito Pérez Galdós' use of the myth of Don Quixote. Galdós' Spain is populated by an inordinate amount of quixotic characters who abound in every sector of society. From the upper classes to the lower classes, there are many Don Quixote-like characters who inhabit the Spain of the Isabelle reign.

As has been shown, Galdós' admiration for Cervantes manifests itself throughout these two series, not only with regards to the use of the myth of Don Quixote, but also with respect to Cervantine literary techniques that have been highlighted in the analyses of individual episodes. However, it is the myth of Don Quixote that most stands out, especially in the third series, though the myth does remain an important and intrinsic aspect of the fourth series.

The exploitation of this myth reflects Galdós' vision of nineteenth-century Spain as being an antiquated nation that continued to be medieval in spirit. In Galdós' view Spain's past continued to exist and flourish in the present. Thus the fact that there are so many quixotic characters reflects the anachronism of the Spanish nation, which looked to the past to find its inspiration, rather than attempting to forge a modern and progressive nation based on the concepts of productivity, reason, and logic. These modern day Quixotes are portrayed as being ridiculous and impractical individuals. In fact, all the characters, fictional or historical, who obstinately act like Don Quixotes fail miserably; Fernando Calpena, Alonso de Castro-Amézaga, José Fago, Santiago Ibero, Santiago Iberito, Nicomedes Iglesias, Diego León, Montes de Oca, Mendizábal, O'Donnell, and Zumalacárregui fail to carry out their quixotic projects.

Consequently Galdós' depiction of the quixotic characters is, with few exceptions, resoundingly negative. These characters are portrayed as idealistic
dreamers who live outside the realm of reality. They are unproductive citizens who live in their own world and fantasize about achieving unrealistic goals.

If failure is the outcome of all the quixotic characters in the third and fourth series of the *Episodios nacionales*, then those who act as responsible individuals are destined to achieve success. In effect, two quixotic characters manage to transform themselves into standard-bearers of a modern Spain. They are Fernando Calpena and Santiago Iberito, the protagonists of the third and fourth series, respectively. Both men begin by acting as selfish knights-errant; however, through their experiences they become conscious of the fact that they have been nothing more than parasites. Both Calpena and Iberito learn to embrace values such as responsibility, hard work, reason, and diligence. They thus become responsible citizens who find peace and happiness with their wives in France, a fact that, while praising the virtues of France, underlines Galdós' pessimistic view of Spain.

Linked to the transformation of these originally quixotic characters, is the Regenerationist nature of the episodes of both of these series of the *Episodios nacionales*. Galdós created a series of characters who are anti-quixotic. They are models of behaviour for Galdós' readers to emulate. Characters such as Demetria de Castro-Amézaga, the Arratia family, Vicente Halconero, Juan Antonio Maltrana, and Ildefonso Negretti are firm believers in the work ethic, reason, and productivity, values that Galdós cherished as a sort of antidote against the quixotic values.

Though Galdós was pessimistic about the path Spain's leaders had taken in the nineteenth century, he maintained hope that his country could still find the path to modernity. Through the character of Teresa Villaescusa Galdós showed his readers that the nation could regenerate itself. Like Teresa, Spain could learn to reform itself in order to become a productive nation that no longer dreamt of past glory, but rather worked to create an industrious
nation that could be compared to England or France. Hence a character such as Teresa Villaescusa becomes a beacon of hope for Spain.

A second important focus of this thesis is Galdós' political ideology. An attempt has been made to show how Galdós' growing frustration with the failure of liberalism manifested itself in the third and fourth series of the Episodios nacionales. In effect, the two series constitute a denunciation of Spain's elite. The country's politicians, the Roman Catholic Church, and the military are the three targets of Galdós' critical eye. It is clear that for Galdós these three institutions had undermined Spain's progress in the nineteenth century. His venom was especially bitter against the Moderate liberals, whom Galdós accused of having betrayed the principles of the Glorious Revolution of 1868. For advocates of the Revolution, such as Galdós, Spain's future resided in its ability to modernize and liberalize itself. But Spain's liberal leaders, such as Espartero, Narváez, O'Donnell, and Serrano, whom Galdós depicted as acting like knights errant, had done nothing more than attempt to resurrect a false glorious past. Thus Galdós felt that by the end of the nineteenth century the principles and goals of the Revolution had been betrayed. Consequently, Galdós' rapprochement towards republicanism and socialism was based on his frustration with the liberals. Yet despite his political affiliation with the republicans and the socialists in the Conjunción republicano-socialista, I have argued that Galdós remained a liberal at heart and in mind. At no time did Galdós compromise or betray the principles he had defended since his first years in Madrid. He remained a Krausist-influenced liberal. His rejection of the liberals was a rejection of the two major liberal parties; it was never a rejection of the liberal ideology.

Moreover, with regards to the accusation made by some critics that Galdós became a sentimental socialist in his later years, I have argued that Galdós' concept of liberalism was one that was inclusive of every social class.
Galdós was a truly national writer who did not limit himself to the middle class. As I have shown in this thesis, his sympathy with the lower classes was already apparent in the newspaper articles he had written in the 1860s.

The third focus of this thesis is the metanarrative element of the twenty episodios of the third and fourth series. As we have seen in the analyses of the individual episodes, Galdós insistently dealt with the issue of interweaving history with fiction, without sacrificing either aspect. In these historical novels Galdós discussed with his readers his attempt to write a total history; a history that would be representative of the entire nation, and not simply reflect the one-sided perspective of the nation's elite. Galdós' Spain encompasses every imaginable type of person; in the episodios one finds kings and beggars, politicians and workers, priests and prostitutes. Every character is treated with respect. The reader perceives that Galdós valued the lives of every Spanish citizen, regardless of their socio-economic class. It is for this reason, for example, that Galdós was able to juxtapose a session of the Cortes with the personal vicissitudes of a cesante. As a result, the Episodios nacionales, as Jover Zamora has so eloquently argued, have become a faithful reflection of nineteenth-century Spain.¹

Finally, the Episodios nacionales of the third and fourth series depict a Spain in crisis. It was a Spain that was oscillating between the past and the future. A nation that was unable to unleash itself from its past. Though there was much talk of embarking on the road to modernity, the values of the Middle Ages continued to loom in the national psyche. Galdós had placed his hopes on liberalism to eradicate the old oligarchic Spain and forge a modern industrial and democratic Spain. However, in Galdós' estimation, the nation's elite had betrayed the principles of the liberal revolution. Consequently, the Spain of the Isabeline period is depicted as being a decrepit, corrupt, and unjust society that was ruled with an iron fist by a few leaders.
Notes for the Conclusion

Though a similar point was made in the fifth chapter, Jover Zamora's eloquent praise of Galdós' *Episodios nacionales* merits being reiterated because it underlines the great socio-historical value of the *Episodios nacionales*:

Cuando la historiografía española haya logrado establecer con exactitud la evolución demográfica del pueblo español en el siglo XIX; cuando conozca sus actividades económicas y su estratificación social referidas a marcos regionales bien diferenciados; cuando lo sepa todo - es un decir - acerca de la estructura y funcionamiento del Estado y de la Administración, acerca de la cultura en sus diversas formas y manifestaciones, todavía será momento de acudir a Galdós en busca de un imponderable que escapó al análisis de nuestros métodos establecidos: una sutil relación entre paisaje e historia, el entresijo de una reacción popular atípica, la honda de una determinada forma de vivir el presente, que Galdós acertó a captar mediante un esfuerzo de aproximación incesante, de amor y comprensión hacia su propio pueblo. (14-15)
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