THE *RESTAURACIÓN* IN THE NOVELS AND *EPISODIOS* OF GALDÓS

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In earlier studies I have attempted to make a general distinction between Galdós's treatment of historical incidents in the contemporary novels and the *Episodios nacionales* which deal with near contemporary history, that is to say, those of the fourth and fifth series. Some critics, like Casalduero, have firmly denied that there is any such distinction: «*Episodios nacionales* es título con que [Galdós] agrupaba en colección una serie de obras que *fundamentalmente en nada se diferencian del resto de las novelas*» (43; my italics).[1] For all my respect for a pioneering study, I find this position untenable and agree with Madeleine de Gogorza Fletcher's rather timid assertion, which I would take much further, that «the *Episodios* do fulfill a different function from Galdós's other novels. ... It is the concrete practical aspect of the national problem which comes to the fore in Galdós's *Episodios* rather than philosophical-religious theorizing» (2). Alfred Rodríguez, for his part, has clearly indicated a fundamental difference:

> It is their rigid formal outline, far more than any stylistic, thematic, or procedural criteria that might be applied, that distinguishes the *Episodios nacionales* from the rest of Galdós' work. Because they deal with a specific constant (historical time), and with a subject matter for which the novelist's perspective required a specific order of treatment, the *Episodios nacionales,* unlike any other segment of the novelist's work, are fixed into a set literary form: ten volume Series unit, progressive sequence of time, and prescribed quantitative limitations. (198)

My view is more categorical: the whole range of the *Episodios nacionales* can be clearly differentiated from the contemporary novels in form and intention and the newly found awareness of the importance of history in the latter should not lead us to blur the distinction.[2] Let me indicate summarily what seem to me the main differences between them. In the novels individual historical events are used, frequently but not systematically, to provide background for selected factional occurrences, to indicate parallels between private and public behavior, and to deepen characterization. Not all the significant events of the time of action are included nor are those which do find a place necessarily treated in more than a partial and limited way. What is conveyed, rather, is the immediate impact of certain crucial events or an acute awareness of the continuity of past and present. In Peter Bly's words, they are «stepping-stones of historical data which lead to the novel's overall historical dimension» (5). Nor is history simply a question of major political happenings; indeed, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether major or minor incidents are of greater fundamental importance. As the narrator in *Angel Guerra* says: «bien mirado el asunto, las ideas de Guerra sobre la supremacía de la Historia no

excluían las de Dulce sobre la importancia de las menudencias domésticas, pues todo es necesario; de unas y otras cosas se forma una armonía total, y aún no sabemos si lo que parece pequeño tiene por finalidad lo que parece grande, o al revés. La Humanidad no sabe aún qué es lo que precede ni qué es lo que sigue, cuáles fuerzas engendran y cuáles conciben. Rompecabezas inmenso: ¿el pan se amasa para las revoluciones o por ellas?» (5: 1209).[3] It is clear, however, that in the novels what has been called *la historia chica* or *pequeña* predominates; *la historia grande* plays a subordinate role.[4]

The *Episodios*, by contrast, set out to trace with some coherence and completeness a sequence of external historical occurrences, and within this limited area they have an evident didactic aim of providing information and stimulating thought about the issues of the immediate past. Consistent and meticulous use of historical detail is blended with fictitious incidents to give a convincing panorama of the collective life of a specific period; *la historia grande* stands out more clearly, and *la historia chica*, no longer fully autonomous, is coordinated with it. Such an elementary fact as the titles used makes their purpose abundantly clear: not one of the 46 titles of the *Episodios* fails to refer explicitly to an historical event or personage, whereas not one of the contemporary novels after *La Fontana de Oro* includes any historical or political circumstance in its title. What Lukács calls the «necessary anachronism» (357) associated with any reconstruction of the past is cut to a minimum, and the telescoping of events to achieve greater concentration is substantially reduced. The degree of selection allowed the author is also diminished; he cannot pass over important events or skip from one period to another without justification, restrictions that do not of course apply to the contemporary novels.

A significant number of the contemporary novels take place during the revolutionary period from the 1860s to 1874, and two cover the time of the *Restauración*. It is noteworthy that after the Restoration era none of the novels is closely involved in the history of the period. Peter Bly attributes this at least partly to a change in orientation on the part of Galdós towards history: «The relative absence of any significant post-1875 coverage is due not only to the relative calm of the Restoration period, but also to the change in Galdós's use of historical matter after 1888» (182). I am inclined to place more emphasis on the first factor and see the change in subject as reflecting the historical context. The *Restauración* was a watershed and the culmination of a period of revolutionary fervor that fascinated Galdós. By contrast, political events of the subsequent years had little distinctive resonance. At the same time I fully concur in Bly's subsequent observations: that there is an important continuum in nineteenth-century Spanish history, that the Restoration is closely linked with the pre-revolutionary years, and that there was no substantive change from one period to the next.

In *La desheredada* the Cánovas era plays a substantial part, though not as significant a one as the reign of Amadeo.[5] In *Fortunata y Jacinta* it has greater importance, both as setting and point of reference. The *Episodio nacional* devoted to the *Restauración* is *Cánovas,* written some thirty-seven years after the event and twenty-five since *Fortunata y Jacinta* was published.[6] By then Galdós had reentered politics as a Republican in 1907, with much

more radical fervor than before but with little enduring sucess. Moreover, he was handicapped in writing what was to be the last *Episodio*, as he had been for the previous three (*Amadeo I*, *La primera República*, and *De Cartago a Sagunto*), by his increasing blindness, which necessitated his dictating the text to an amanuensis, Pablo Nougués. The *Episodio* itself has similar characteristics to the earlier ones: the narrator is Proteo Liviano (Tito) —having been assigned the task by *El Celtíbero* in *Amadeo I*—assisted by the humble muse of history Mariclío and her messengers, the *Efémeras*.

The second part of *La desheredada*, chapter 19, entitled «Efemérides,» opens with a rapid synthesis of historical events from the advent of the Republic until the Restoration settlement. In the mental diary by Relimpio that follows, the entry relative to «Diciembre» [1874] is: «La guerra sigue. La Restauración toca a las puertas de la patria con el aldabón de Sagunto. Asombro. La Restauración viene sin batalla, como había venido la República. La Providencia y el Acaso juegan al ajedrez sobre España, que siempre ha sido un tablero con cuarteles de sangre y plata» (4: 1067). The idea of the Restoration knocking on the door strikes a slight note of comedy, as Bly points out (17), but it also implies an occurrence whose time has come: hence the lack of commotion. The skillfully turned metaphor of chess leaves ample scope for Chance («el Acaso») as well as for design or fate («la Providencia»). History, though predisposed by the laws of necessity, is nonetheless affected by chance events.

Under the entry for 1875, the archetypical bureaucratic Pez family is momentarily in disarray as a result of the new dispensation:

> Los Peces grandes y chicos se ven desterrados de las claras aguas de sus plazas y oficinas. Bien quisieran ellos aclamar también al rey nuevo; pero la disciplina del partido les impone, ¡ay!, una consecuencia altamente nociva a sus intereses. Tienen que poner un freno a sus agallas. Además, la lucha por la existencia, ley de las leyes, ha llevado a los Pájaros al Gobierno, y éstos no encuentran en la Administración bastantes ramas en que posarse. Algunos Peces de menor tamaño y del género *voracissimus* quedan en oficinas oscuras. Son Peces alados, transición entre las dos clases, pues la triunfante tuvo en situaciones anteriores sus avecillas con escamas. (4: 1067-68)

Here, expressed in extremely vivid style, is a recurrent topic of Galdós's assessment of the *Restauración*: hungry state employees avidly demanding posts from their leaders. The only difference from later versions of the theme is that, at this stage, some are temporarily discomforted, though evidently not for long. Galdós ingeniously uses an image drawn from the new science of evolution to demonstrate the genetic ability of the Pez species to adapt itself to the temporary dominance of the Pájaros.[7] What emerges is the impelling urge of the government to provide for its followers (the Pájaros if not the Peces), the success of some undeserving individuals, such as Sánchez Botín, in the commercial and political ambience of the time, and the efforts of others, notably Melchor de Relimpio, to exploit the system.

Later in the same passage, a second key theme surfaces when the Pez's eclipse inclines them towards the Carlist camp: «Todos los Peces, confirmando la antigua idea de que en España *el despecho es una idea política*, se alegran de las ventajas de los carlistas» (4: 1068; my italics). The idea that political extremism is produced by personal frustration—«el despecho es una

idea política»—is deep-rooted in Galdós. Juan Pablo Rubín is a clear example of this tendency [8] and so is the young Angel Guerra. [9] Characteristic rather of the pre-Restoration period, it is attenuated by the broad liberality of the new establishment. In *La desheredada* the two prime examples are Mariano and Isidora; their deep-rooted frustrations are not quelled but exacerbated by the Restoration settlement. Mariano, alias *Pecado*, is driven to make an attempt on the king's life [10] by blind resentment and envy of the wealthy in whose ranks he has been led to believe he rightly belongs (4: 1147) as well as by a certain «Herostratism» that anticipates Unamuno. [11] As a workmate observes to Juan Bou about Mariano: «éste dice que quiere ser célebre, aunque para ello tenga que hacer una barbaridad.» Since, however, money continues to be his central concern, Bou comments in a way that both reiterates the partial parallel and reveals his imperfect knowledge: «no era como tú el célebre Erostrato... uno que pegó fuego... a un templo..., no sé si de Babilonia, de Venecia o de dónde» (4: 1083). If he thus participates in Isidora's illusions, his sister in turn has much in common with him, as she turns against «la gente grande» without losing her contempt for «la grosería y suciedad de las personas bajas» (4: 1134). She is entirely lacking in that sense of the middle ground that is the Restoration's strength: she declares that «no me gustan términos medios» (4: 1110). As Miquis says: «Su hermano y ella han corrido a la perdición: él ha llegado, ella llegará. Distintos medios ha empleado cada uno: él ha ido con trote de bestia, ella con vuelo de pájaro...» (4: 1154). For her part, *La Sanguijuelera* is well contented with a new traditionalist government, full of show and splendor, where «los señores son siempre señores y los burros siempre burros» (4: 1067), though her enthusiasm for the new sovereign does not do her much good when she seeks clemency for *Pecado*.

In *Fortunata y Jacinta* the references are more frequent and more nuanced. It is remarkable how the event that inaugurated the Restoration, the *pronunciamiento de Sagunto,* is given prominence, obliquely and in anticipation, in the year 1871, during the Santa Cruz's honeymoon («strange,» as Raphaël terms it). The young couple pass the station in a train: «¡Sagunto! ¡Ay, qué nombre! Cuando se le ve escrito con las letras nuevas y acaso torcidas de una estación, parece broma. No es de todos los días ver envueltas en el humo de las locomotoras las inscripciones más retumbantes de la historia humana. Juanito, que aprovechaba las ocasiones de ser sabio sentimental, se pasmó más de lo conveniente de la aparición de aquel letrero.» Jacinta is not over-interested: «¡Ah! Sagunto; ya..., un nombre. De fijo que hubo aquí alguna marimorena. Pero habrá llovido mucho desde entonces» (1: 221). [12] In effect, «ha llovido mucho» since 218 B.C. when Hannibal sacked Saguntum; however, Galdós's concern, clearly, does not lie in the Second Punic War but in the modern «marimorena» that is to occur three and a half years later. Moreover, the very word *Restauración*, with its counterpart *revolución,* [13] is used as a metaphor for one of the main themes of the novel. In the private life of Juanito Santa Cruz and to a lesser extent that of Maxi and Fortunata, the political terminology becomes both a domestic metaphor and a social parallel.

What do the characters expect from the *Restauración*? Amid the general enthusiasm of his class, the disillusioned Anglophile Moreno-Isla, who has no confidence in his compatriots, is pessimistic, though well disposed, towards the new monarch: «¡Lástima de rey! Yo le dije: "Vuestra majestad va a gobernar el país de la ingratitud; pero vuestra majestad vencerá a la hidra." Esto le dije por cortesía; pero yo no creo que pueda barajar a esta gente. El querrá hacerlo bien; pero falta que le dejen» (2: 70).

On the other hand, the idea of the *Restauración* is welcomed wholeheartedly by the Santa Cruz family circle. The fickle Juanito, after short-lived enthusiasms for Montpensier and the Republic, «Por graduaciones lentas, ...llegó a defender con calor la idea alfonsina,» evidently the most appropriate for his class and his temperament. Only Don Baldomero, old-fashioned *progresista* that he was («pensaba el 73 lo mismo que había pensado el 45; es decir, que debe haber mucha libertad y mucho palo»), at first contradicts his son, bringing forward the famous *jamases* of Prim.[14] The women, like all upper-class ladies of the time, both live and fictitious, are, according to Galdós, enchanted with the young prince, especially Jacinta: «Jacinta dejaba muy atrás a las más entusiastas por Don Alfonso. "¡Es un niño!..." Y no daba más razón» (1: 288). By the time Alfonso enters Madrid, Don Baldomero too «estaba con la Restauración como chiquillo con zapatos nuevos.» Doña Bárbara is equally ecstatic («reventaba de gozo»). For his part, Juanito is now no longer so convinced about the desirability of the *Restauración*; he does not venture to contradict the overwhelmingly strong support for Don Alfonso expressed by his father and friends, but he does express doubts about its permanence (his own return to legality will certainly be temporary), adding sententiously that he does not approve of the illegal coup which brought it about: «lo que a mí no me gusta es que esto se haga por otra vía que la de la ley.» Coming from him, this comment is particularly ironic and produces an inner expression of disgust from Jacinta: «"¿Qué sabes tú lo que es ley? ¡Farsante, demagogo, anarquista! Cómo se hace el purito... Quien no te conoce..."» (2: 53). As for Doña Guillermina, she demonstrates both her own involvement with the establishment and her individual priorities: «lo hemos traído con esa condición: que favorezca la beneficencia y la religión.»

The exception now is Jacinta. Having just received incontrovertible proof of her husband's infidelity, she has her own personal reasons for being sceptical about apparent returns to law and order. For her, private life takes absolute precedence over political upheavals. A similar reaction had occurred at the time of the departure of another king, two years earlier, in February 1873: «¿qué le importaba a ella que hubiese República o Monarquía, ni que don Amadeo se fuese o se quedase? Más le importaba la conducta de aquel ingrato que a su lado dormía tan tranquilo» (1: 282). On the latter occasion she turns, significantly though silently, on Don Baldomero, who exercises a benign but all-embracing despotism over her and the Santa Cruz household: «Pero a este buen señor, ¿qué le va ni viene con el Rey?» (2: 51). She had gone with Doña Bárbara to witness the procession from Eulalia Muñoz's house on the Plaza Mayor, and Amalia Trujillo took her aside: «Hallábanse las dos solas en el balcón de la alcoba de Eulalia, y ya sonaban los clarines anunciando la proximidad del Rey, cuando Amalia, ¡plum!, le soltó el pisto-

lazo. —Tu marido *entretiene* a una mujer...» The use of the political image of the pistol shot (Alfonso was to be the target of several attacks on his life, including the fictitious one by Mariano Rufete) to denote the devastating effect on Jacinta marks the effective intertwining of public and private life: «Quedóse yerta... Desde aquel aciago instante, ya no se enteró de lo que en la calle ocurría. El Rey pasó, y Jacinta le vio confusa y vagamente, entre la agitación de la multitud y el *tururú* de tantas cornetas y músicas. Vio que se agitaban pañuelos, y bien pudo suceder que ella agitara el suyo sin saber lo que hacía... Todo el resto del día estuvo como una sonámbula» (2: 52).

In *Cánovas*, naturally, the emphasis at the king's arrival is more political, though in one respect there is a parallel with the novel. Alfonso, it is noted, produced a generally favorable effect on the men but elicited an altogether more enthusiastic response among the ladies: [15] «Entró el rey a caballo... Vestía traje militar de campaña y, ros en mano, saludaba a la multitud. Su semblante juvenil, su sonrisa graciosa y su aire modesto le captaron la simpatía del público. En general, a los hombres les pareció bien; a las mujeres agradó mucho» (3: 1331). In the *Episodio*, though, Galdós is concerned with establishing historical comparisons. Not only does Alfonso's procession recall past parades following military coups; it also brings back memories of a different procession: Prim's funeral cortege. Tito does not fail to indicate the irony of this recollection, given Prim's vehement opposition to the restoration which is now taking place: «Una procesión de carácter bien distinto, tétrica y desesperante, y que marchaba en sentido inverso, dejó en mi alma impresión hondísima: la salida del cortejo fúnebre de Prim para el santuario de Atocha. Señaló una coincidencia que me resultó irónica: en el mismo sitio donde vi la entrada de don Alfonso de Borbón había visto pasar el entierro del grande hombre de la revolución de septiembre que dijo aquello de "jamás, jamás, jamás."» The hopes of the «glorious» Revolution of 1868 which deposed the Bourbons and in which Prim played the principal part are implicitly seen to be finally dashed.

Towards the end of 1874 the apparently impending Restoration is also the subject of spirited discussion in the café frequented by Juan Pablo Rubín, Feijoo, and the so-called *curas de tropa*. Basilio de la Caña thows out mysterious hints of conspiracies involving Cánovas and Romero Robledo and contends, against Rubín and others, that Alfonso will be on the throne within a month. When the change comes, it brings to most of them a golden opportunity to profit from government patronage. Immediately after Sagunto, Villalonga, who in Feijoo's words «es de la situación» and «uña y carne de Romero Robledo,» offers, at Feijoo's instigation, a minor post to Juan Pablo Rubín, who after some token resistance renounces his resolute anti-Alfonso position. Subsequently, Villalonga, now a minister in the Cánovas government, [16] offers him a senior position far above his deserts as *gobernador de una provincia de tercera*, [17] and Juan Pablo quickly sheds all previous allegiances and loyalties, including personal ones to his lover Refugio. His brother Nicolás, thanks once more to Feijoo, also benefits from the situation by becoming a canon. [18] The hollow and pretentious Basilio de la Caña attains his coveted *credencial*; the ex-military priest *Pater* receives a post manipulating elections. Since all the reinstalled employees order new clothes, the tailors

too participate in the new prosperity. Even Izquierdo, thanks to Doña Guillermina, is a beneficiary: he becomes an artist's model for heroic characters. Only poor Villaamil fails, despite Feijoo's recommendation, to benefit from the new regime. Needless to say, no question of merit enters into any of these appointments. The overwhelming increase in jobs made available by the new regime for old and new supporters—*resellados*, as the latter were called—is now firmly established.

The manner in which compromise has become second nature is shown in a famous passage from *Fortunata y Jacinta* describing café life in Madrid:

> Allí brillaba espléndidamente esa fraternidad española en cuyo seno se dan mano de amigo el carlista y el republicano, el progresista de cabeza dura y el moderado implacable. Antiguamente, los partidos separados en público, estábanlo también en las relaciones privadas; pero el progreso de las costumbres trajo primero cierta suavidad en las relaciones personales, y, por fin, la suavidad se trocó en blandura. Algunos creen que hemos pasado de un extremado mal a otro, sin detenernos en el medio conveniente, y ven en esta fraternidad una relajación de los caracteres. Esto de que todo el mundo sea amigo particular de todo el mundo es síntoma de que las ideas van siendo tan sólo un pretexto para conquistar o defender el pan. Existe una confabulación tácita (no tan escondida que no se encuentre a poco que se rasque en los políticos), por la cual se establece el turno en el dominio. En esto consiste que no hay aspiración, por extraviada que sea, que no se tenga por probable; en esto consiste la inseguridad, única cosa que es constante entre nosotros; la ayuda masónica que se presta a todos los partidos, desde el clerical al anarquista, lo mismo dándose una credencial vergonzante en tiempo de paces, que otorgándose perdones e indultos en las guerras y revoluciones. Hay algo de seguros mutuos contra el castigo, razón por la cual se miran los hechos de fuerza como la cosa más natural del mundo. La moral política es como una capa de tantos remiendos, que no se sabe ya cuál es el paño primitivo. (2: 15)

It would be difficult to find a more accurate evocation of what the *Restauración* represented. In a world of constant civil strife and insecurity, principles and ideas have given way to a network of personal relationships that provide protection and insurance. The means of achieving these conditions are specifically mentioned: the *turno pacífico*. The narrator is careful not to express his own views («Algunos creen...»), but it is clear that political morality is, literally, a thing of shreds and patches. As a practical consequence, since the state exercises no discrimination, let alone moral judgment, in bestowing favors, the initiative is left to individuals to exploit the situation as best they can. The typical use of a crude vocabulary of basic sustenance («pescar,» «mamar,» «garbanzo,» «el pasto,» «conquistar o defender el pan,» etc.) emphasizes the down-to-earth nature of these concerns. Idealism and reformist zeal are conspicuous for their absence, but so is anger or indignation.

The way the political process that culminated in the Restoration functions accounts precisely for the attitude and actions of one of the most fascinating characters of the novel, Don Evaristo Feijoo.[19] He views politics with complete scepticism, as a «comedia.»[20] Politics becomes a way of distributing largesse and nothing more. As he declares to Juan Pablo Rubín: «Yo... soy progresista desengañado, y usted tradicionalista arrepentido. Tenemos algo en común: el creer que todo esto es una comedia y que sólo se trata de saber a quién le toca mamar y a quién no» (2: 15). The logical consequence is that, believing only in tolerance and personal relations, he uses what opportunities arise, as we have seen, to benefit his friends or his interests.

Living in society, for Feijoo, means respecting outward forms and appearances, acting prudently to conceal any infringement of the rules and keeping one's emotions carefully under control. What separates him from the hypocritical and self-seeking caste of society as a whole is his awareness of his motivation and his benevolence towards others. This fact goes a long way to explain, in my view, the apparent paradox that Feijoo can at the same time reflect so faithfully Restoration behavior and yet have a clearly independent, tolerant, and humane approach to life. The way in which the novel deals with political and social issues—oblique, incomplete, ambiguous—is necessarily different from the procedure in an *Episodio* or an article on current affairs, but the underlying attitude is the same. It is the logical outcome of the whole administrative structure of Spain and of political accommodations made over a period of years.

In this regard, the political and social commentaries that Galdós wrote both before and after the *Restauración* are instructive. In these articles he opposed all political extremism, and his first priority was governmental stability. Yet, as Peter Goldman, who has done much to elucidate Galdós's ideology, concludes, he did not unquestioningly accept the Cánovas settlement: «Differentiating Galdós's vision of a two-party system from the *turno pacífico* later implemented by Cánovas during the Restoration is the strict maintenance of ideological integrity and its corresponding socio-political purpose by each party; without the "juego y equilibrado contrapeso" which such political independence affords, no constitutional regime is possible» («Galdós and the Politics» 83; see also «Historical Perspective» and «Galdós and the Nineteenth Century Novel»).

In the post-Restoration articles of around 1885, Galdós praises to a surprising extent what he sees as its achievements, particularly the maintenance of the constitutional rights of the Revolution and the freedom of the press. He treats Cánovas with great respect, condemning only his condoning of Romero Robledo's electoral manipulations and the associated problem of *caciquismo*. He deplores any resort to violence. He does not believe revolution imminent or desirable. While Sagasta and Castelar enjoy his esteem, he sees as the besetting sin of the Liberals their endemic tendency towards disunity; on this count he is highly critical of Ruiz Zorrilla. (The revolutionary uprising in which Angel Guerra is involved around 1883 can be linked with the determined efforts of Zorrilla to bring down the Alfonsine monarchy, but the leader, Brigadier Campón, is fictitious and the details of the revolt are deliberately left in obscurity.)[21] In *Cánovas* Zorrilla is called «aquel gran ciudadano, rebelde y tenaz»; as Estébanez Calderón (20-21) has pointed out, Galdós's earlier critical attitude towards the Radical leader had changed to approval between 1885 and 1908.

Some years later, in 1903, in «Soñemos, alma, soñemos,» we have a forceful critical comment on the role the state machine had played as universal provider: «Las clases más ilustradas reclamaban y obtenían el socorro del sueldo. Había dos noblezas: la de los pergaminos y la de los expedientes, y los puestos más altos de la burocracia se asimilaban a la grandeza de España. Un socialismo bastardo ponía en manos del Estado la distribución de la sopa y garbanzos del pobre, de los manjares trufados del rico.» In the familiar

down-to-earth language he habitually employs, he reports that, surprisingly, there had been «un gran progreso» over the previous fifty years in eliminating this excessive dependence on the state: «es incalculable el número de los que han aprendido a subsistir sin acercar sus labios a las que un tiempo fueron lozanas ubres y hoy cuelgan fláccidas. Los españoles han crecido; comen, ya no maman» (6: 1258-59).

These same problems, with some change of attitude, are equally apparent in *Cánovas*. The *demócrata* politician Felipe Ducazcal, previously involved in the famous counterdemonstration of prostitutes against the Alfonsine *mantillas blancas* procession organized to discredit the Savoyan dynasty, now returns as an early adherent of the Alfonsine faction: [22] «me llevó al Círculo Popular Alfonsino, hervidero de pretendientes al sinfín de plazas que brindaba la Restauración a los españoles necesitados» (3: 1329). It is another example of the capacity of the renewed dynasty, from its earliest days, to *resellar* its former opponents by creating jobs for them. Several other figures, some real, some fictitious, are listed as enjoying the benefits of the regime.

Tito refuses to take any part in or enjoy the benefits of the *Restauración* settlement. The extreme degree of patronage exercised, however, is shown close to him in the offer made to Casiana (who is just beginning to learn to read under Ido's guidance) of a sinecure as «inspectora de escuelas,» with no obligation to turn up except to collect her salary. Rather than let even this incident, exaggerated as it is, speak for itself, Tito comments: «Guardé el nombramiento, en el que vi un signo de los tiempos. Todo era ficciones, favoritismos y un saqueo desvergonzado del presupuesto» (3: 1341). This familiar criticism is repeated directly or by example time and again in a tone of heightened disgust throughout the *Episodio*. Part of these comments come from García Fajardo and part from Tito, but there is little difference between them: it is clear that the readers are being offered an unequivocal viewpoint which they are invited to accept. [23] First, Segismundo delivers a violent diatribe against the dynastic wars that had produced half a century of bloody conflict. Then he expresses the opinion that nothing has changed and that all the Bourbons are the same; the only difference is that now, between generals and civil servants, there are more mouths to feed (the point made so vividly in the novels), and there is more show, more pretension. «¡Oh, desmedrada España!» he exclaims. «Cada día pesas menos, y si abultas más, atribúyelo a tu vana hinchazón» (3: 1359). These two factors—crowds of dependents and vain ostentation—typify the *Restauración*, but we are told so rather than being shown it happening.

The topic of hollow ostentation is also repeated *ad nauseam*. Hordes of inflated bureaucrats, parvenus flaunting new titles of nobility from Amadeo or Alfonso, and a new caste of superficial and gallicized *señoritos* abound. The birth of María de las Mercedes on September 11, 1880, in particular, brings out all the worst features of Alfonsine society. An ignoble dispute between the patriarchs of Spain and the Indies as to who is to baptise the *infanta*; the flood of honors that demonstrate «la degradante frivolidad a que habían llegado las clases superiores del Estado»; the gastronomic and rhetorical excesses to which the event gave rise: all these events are related by a narrator committed to a hostile point of view. None of it is as effective as

the ironic and apparently sympathetic descriptions in *Fortunata y Jacinta* of the fatuous society—Aparisi, the marquis of Casa-Muñoz, Federico Ruiz—surrounding the Santa Cruz family, the café discussions of Juan Pablo Rubín's circle, or the pretensions of the *Samaniegas*.

Tito, in the company of Casiana, reacts strongly if eccentrically against these pretensions: «creyendo que la llamada "gente cursi" es el verdadero estado llano de los tiempos modernos,» he enjoys «extremando las formas de la ordinariez presumida ("crema" de la cursilería)» in reaction to «las elegancias faranduleras y la hinchada presunción traídas a la sociedad española por el cambiazo de Sagunto.» «Somos cursis,» he exclaims, «por patriotismo» (3: 1346). Spanish society as a whole is, in his view, a tentacular growth from the values of the *Restauración*: «Lo que hemos visto es el familión político triunfante, en el cual todo es nuevo, desde el rey, cabeza del Estado, hasta las extremidades o tentáculos en que figuran los últimos ministriles; es un hermoso y lucido animal, que devora cuanto puede y da de comer a lo que llamamos pueblo, nación o materia gobernable.» The concept is clearly related with the intricate social and political ties revealed in the commercial world of the Santa Cruz and Arnaiz families, but the portrayal in the novel, seen from inside, is far more vivid and at the same time more balanced. Spain is, Tito goes on, a consumer society diputing over its inadequate resources instead of striving to produce more. Its worst feature, according to Tito-Galdós in 1912, in stark contrast with the more encouraging view in «Soñemos, alma, soñemos» nine years before, is the mass of unproductive individuals who depend parasitically on the state: «los míseros de levita y chistera, legión incontable que se extiende desde los bajos confines del pueblo hasta los altos linderos de la aristocracia, caterva sin fin, inquieta, menesterosa, que vive del meneo de plumas en oficinas de covachuelas, o de modestas granjerías que apenas dan para un cocido. Esta es la plaga, ésta es la carcoma del país, necesitada y pedigüeña, a la cual, ¡oh, ilustre compañera mía!, tenemos el honor de pertenecer...» Once again, this is precisely the world—that of the Pez family, Bringas, Melchor de Relimpio, Villaamil, etc.—that is evoked in a more lively way within a clearly defined context in the contemporary novels. He then talks of «la inmensa tribu de desheredados, y la misión benéfica que desempeñan, en algunos casos y a hurtadillas, las dos mujeres guapas con quienes hemos hablado hace un ratito... España era un país algo comunista. Por los canales contributivos venía todo el caudal a la olla grande, de donde salía para repartirse en mezquinas raciones entre el señorío paupérrimo de la flaca España... olla grande... a lo que en lenguaje político llamamos Presupuesto.»

The actual analysis of aspects of the same phenomenon—the «socialismo atenuado e inofensivo» (1: 240) [24] he comments on in *Fortunata y Jacinta*—is much more telling as it is less direct and less strident. A certain acquiescence in the realities of life without overt denunciation or protest is replaced by a bitter sense of disgust and frustration. As for the sardonic view that women of the demi-monde have more influence on the country than its rulers, Galdós had already expressed the sentiment just before, speaking of these same «damas de las camelias» like Leona la Brava: «aquellas mujeres guapas

que nos hablaron antes ¿también mandan?» asks Casiana. «—¡Que si mandan! Más que el rey. Más que nadie» (3: 1332) is the reply.

Other novels contain isolated references to the Restoration era. Even a novel like *El doctor Centeno,* set as early as 1863, the earliest of the whole series, has an ironic reference, as Peter Bly has indicated (35-36), to the year of composition, two decades later, in full Restoration period. As a prank, students from Doña Virginia's boarding house send Jesús Delgado a letter dated November 8, 1883, which makes far-fetched prophesies for the next twenty years:

> Ya no existen aquellos rutinarios moldes que se oponían a la *Educación Completa.* Todo ha variado, egregio hierofante: la sociedad ha vencido su letal modorra, y despabiladísima aguarda las ideas del legislador de la enseñanza. En este lapso, ¿no sabe usted que, al fin, ha sido derrocado el trono secular, y con él han desaparecido las prácticas añosas y las ideas rancias? Cual generosa espada cubierta de orín, que en un momento es limpiada y recobra su hermosura, temple y brillo, así la nación ha limpiado su mugre. Nuevas instituciones tenemos ya, ¡oh!, y nuevos caracteres y principios... (4: 1388)

No doubt the reader of 1883 could not restrain a wry smile at this travesty of what the Restoration might have been. The contrast with the views expressed in *Cánovas* could not be more marked.

Lo prohibido, set in the early 1880s, heyday of the *Restauración,* also has evident links with its values. José María Bueno de Guzmán considers himself conditioned by his times: «producto de mi edad y de mi raza... hallándome en fatal armonía con el medio en que vivo» (4: 1776). Whether this is a justification, the result of genetic and environmental determinism, or the excuse of an irresponsible individual is precisely what the novel encourages us to examine. From the political point of view, he is a *diputado cunero* who does not take his duties seriously, in contrast with the earnest Anglophile Pepe Carrillo. Both his closest friends, Severiano Rodríguez and Villalonga, are *diputados* too, and they carry out a sort of private *turno pacífico* among themselves: «su rivalidad política era sólo aparente, una fácil comedia para esclavizar y tener por suya la provincia» (4: 1692). There is, however, much more insistence on economic than on political activity and fortunes are made (Cristóbal Medina) and lost (Torres, José María) on the Stock Exchange: another characteristic aspect of the *Restauración.*

The same naturally applies to the Torquemada series. The money lender's prosperity, comprehensibly, is intimately linked with the Restoration. At the beginning of *Torquemada en la hoguera* the narrator says:

> El año de la Restauración, ya había duplicado Torquemada la pella con que le cogió la *gloriosa,* y el radical cambio político proporcionóle bonitos préstamos y anticipos. Situación nueva, nóminas frescas, pagas saneadas, negocio limpio. Los gobernadores flamantes que tenían que hacerse ropa, los funcionarios diversos que salían de la oscuridad, famélicos, le hicieron un buen Agosto. Toda la época de los conservadores fue regularcita; como que éstos le daban juego con las esplendideces propias de la dominación, y los liberales también con sus ansias y necesidades no satisfechas. Al entrar en el Gobierno, en 1881, los que tanto tiempo estuvieron sin catarlo, otra vez Torquemada en alza: préstamos de lo fino, adelantos de lo gordo, y vamos viviendo. (5: 906-07)[25]

On the other side of the fence are the pretentious and erstwhile impoverished bureaucrats like the Peces, Basilio de la Caña, Melchor de Relimpio, Juan Pablo Rubín, and their friends, many of whom provide Torquemada's clientele.

By contrast, Villaamil in *Miau*, set in 1878 in the full bloom of the *Restauración,* comes off badly. Amid the incessant demands for posts and the consequent pushing and shoving we have seen, Villaamil is too old, too unprotected, too much of the old dispensation, and too unlucky to be accommodated.[26] As he himself says: «Con esta Restauración maldita, epílogo de una condenada revolución, ha salido tanta gente nueva...» (*5*: 223), and speaking specifically to Pura of the Pez tribe: «Figúrate una gente que ha mamado en todas las ubres y que ha sabido empalmar la Gloriosa con Alfonsito.» Since *La desheredada* Galdós has had second thoughts about the unrivalled ability of the Peces to adapt themselves to any situation.

The *Restauración* was important to Galdós as the conclusion of the revolutionary period on which he had set such hopes. It enters into his novels as the event that brings much appreciated relief from conflict, a period of peace and tranquility based not on conviction but on expediency, together with a vacuous sense of pretensions and complacency. It is at one with the society it exemplifies and which is explored in detail in the fictions. Its clearest consequence lies in the plethora of undeserved rewards it offers, as well as a few examples of manifest injustice, to those who come into its all-embracing fold. It serves as part of the backcloth of Isidora's tragic pursuit of chimera and of Jacinta's disillusion. It is a brilliant metaphor for an essential aspect of Juanito Santa Cruz's domestic life.

From an *Episodio* one might expect a consideration in depth of the motif forces that go to produce this new stability in society, but regrettably *Cánovas* does not do full justice to the theme. Physical circumstances were no doubt partly responsible for the abrupt change of technique and for a certain structural clumsiness, but there is also a profound change in Galdós's attitude to history. Regarding the fourth series, Diane Urey has acutely pointed out the inner contradictions of Pepe Fajardo's focus on history (205). Without doubt, too, despair at the course of Spanish history after 1898 caused a strong reaction. One aspect of Galdós's rejection of orthodox history is the construction, within the framework of the later *Episodios* of the fourth series, of the ideal, logical history of Spain penned by Santiuste-*Confusio* and fostered by Beramendi: in my view a justified play of fantasy that gives interesting results (Ribbans, *La historia*).[27] He then went on to develop a different brand of fantasy by the creation of allegorical figures, initially secondary characters within a Spanish cultural context—Don Juan Urríes, Don Wifredo (Don Quixote), Celestina Tirado—and subsequently embracing the narrator himself. At all events, the decision to abandon the technique of the involved narrator, who has access to the principal historical figures, represents in himself a distinctive point of view, and moves within a circle of friends of varying persuasions (Beramendi, Santiago, Ibero, Halconero)

for a largely allegorical structure with a fixed autonomous narrator[28] seems to me most regrettable (see Ribbans, «Galdós' Literary Presentations»).

Previous *Episodios,* such as *Prim, La de los tristes destinos,* and *España trágica,* possessed the distinctive qualities of their subgenre, which enabled them to complement the schematic but imaginative references to political events in the contemporary novels with a more thorough, balanced, on-the-scene consideration of contemporary issues. *Cánovas* does not succeed in doing this as well as its predecessors, but even if it fails in literary quality to match the high level of the novels in their evocation of selected aspects of Restoration society, its detailed treatment of an important theme and its relation with Galdós's earlier work will ensure that it continues to attract attention.

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NOTES

[1] On the following page Casalduero claims: «En algunos *episodios* y en algunas novelas el andamiaje histórico está presente; en otros *episodios* se relega a un lugar completamente secundario, llegando casi a desaparecer, y en las novelas, a partir de 1888, desaparece también casi en absoluto.» Between two essentially true statements comes one that is palpably false. Amado Alonso, at pains to distinguish the *Episodios* from the classical historical novel, also denies any essential distinction between the two forms Galdós used (212).

[2] See particularly Bly, Gilman, and my 1970 article. Bly and Dendle (*Galdós*) provide thorough studies (though I disagree on specific details) of the historical approach of the novels and the later series of *Episodios,* respectively, but do not bring the two forms together to any extent.

[3] For the contemporary novels other than *Fortunata y Jacinta* I utilize the *Obras completas.*

[4] For these terms see Hinterhäuser (236-47). In my 1986 article this distinction is linked with the dichotomy between the hedgehog and the fox established by Sir Isaiah Berlin.

[5] For the earlier historical period in *La desheredada,* see Bly (2-23), Gilman (*Galdós* 84-129), Ruiz Salvador (53-62), and my 1986 essay. Both Bly's and Gilman's studies, perceptive though they are, err in my view in the direction of over-symbolizing the characters.

[6] I have in preparation a more detailed study of *Cánovas* and its view of the Restoration.

[7] Bly points out that the Republican government of February-June 1873 was known as «el ministerio de los pájaros» because of the names of some of its members: Pi, Tutau, Chao, Sorní (15).

[8] «¿Y qué menos podía hacer el desgraciado Rubín que descargar contra el orden social y los poderes *históricos la horrible angustia que llenaba su alma?*» (*2: 434*).

[9] «Soy revolucionario por el odio que tomé al medio en que me criaste, y a las infinitas trabas que poner querías a mi pensamiento» (5: 1251).

[10] Mariano's assault recalls the real attempts by Oliva and Otero. See Dendle («Isidora» 51-54).

[11] In stressing Galdós's belief in meritocracy, Labanyi points out the role of both envy and hereditary factors in Mariano's personality. Her argument for a political interpretation of the word «desheredada» is strengthened by its use in *Cánovas.* For Unamuno's «Herostratisms» see my 1971 essay (100-03) and Ulmer.

[12] On this question Caudet, the editor of the excellent Cátedra edition, seems unduly cautious: «Como el viaje de novios transcurre en 1871, no sería pertinente ver una alusión al pronunciamiento saguntino de Martínez Campos (29 de diciembre de 1874) aunque Galdós, que escribe en 1885, puede jugar con la resonancia que entonces tendría el renombre de la ciudad.

[13] The Bringas couple make no distinction between political revolution and moral laxity: witness their indignation, put into political terms, at the elopement of Agustín Caballero and Amparo at the end of *Tormento* (4: 1568). Jover Zamora points out that «en el lenguaje coloquial de las clases *medias tradicionales la palabra 'república' pasa a ser sinónimo de desorden*» (281). «República» is frequently found in this sense in Galdós.

[14] Cf. Florencio de Morales in *El doctor Centeno,* «un progresista platónico y vergonzante» (4: 1307), who seeks to combine «mucha libertad, mucha religión y venga paz» (1415); he holds similar ideas but is held up to ridicule.

[15] This popularity with society ladies is revealed as early as *España sin rey* as well as in *Fortunata y Jacinta*: «todas las señoras elegantes quieren al niño Alfonso» (3: 875).

[16] Villalonga continues his political career, as opportunistic as ever, in *Lo prohibido* and *La incógnita*. Juan Pablo Rubín and Basilio de la Caña are still enjoying official positions in *Miau* and *Angel Guerra*.

[17] It is curious to note that Galdós, discussing in December 1885 the acute problems new administrations face in choosing provincial governors, indicates that «todos los candidatos quieren las provincias de primera clase, y no hay ninguno, por insignificante que sea, que no haga ascos a las de segunda o tercera clase» (*Obras inéditas* 102).

[18] Both Fortunata and Doña Lupe comment on this injustice. See my Critical Guide (116).

[19] Feijoo is the central figure in the important book edited by Goldman.

[20] Like José María Bueno de Guzmán (see below). Cf. also the corrosive political cynicism expressed by Don Carlos de Cisneros in *La incógnita*.

[21] Campón's supposed uprising, though it took place earlier, recalls the Villacampa *pronunciamiento* of September 19, 1886. Galdós wrote an article about the revolt on September 25 (*Obras inéditas* 213-20), showing no sympathy for its objectives. Subsequently he advocated the death penalty for its leaders, though he later praised the Queen Regent's clemency.

[22] By a curious error the two demonstrations are confused at the time of the bullfight in honor of the royal marriage: the «tanda de mujeres, ataviadas estrepitosamente con pañolones de Manila... las que el año 72 hicieron en la Castellana, a las órdenes de Ducazcal, la famosa manifestación *contra* la dinastía de Saboya» (3: 1376; my italics).

[23] Montesinos comments: «Lo malo de estas jeremiadas, por demás genéricas, es que no sólo contribuyen a potenciar la novela, sino que más bien la desustancian, mostrando demasiado a las claras el rencor del novelista» (299).

[24] Augusto Miquis makes similar remarks in *La desheredada* (4: 1064). The *Fortunata y Jacinta* passage is very similar to parts of «Soñemos, alma, soñemos.»

[25] There are other prosperous moneylenders in the Restoration period: the Ramos couple, parents of «Posturitas,» in *Miau*; the Marquis of Feramor in *Halma*, a more discreet usurer; and in the *Episodios*, Gregorio Fajardo and, more aggressively, his widow Doña Segismunda.

[26] Cf. Pantoja's remark: «Esa gente, que sirvió a la Gloriosa primero y después a la Restauración, está con el agua al cuello porque tiene que atender a los de ahora, sin desamparar a los de antes, que andan ladrando de hambre» (5: 238). For Villaamil and *cesantía*, see Lambert and Ribbans («La figura»).

[27] In an early study Clavería indicated the importance fantasy played throughout Galdós's work.

[28] See Gilman («The Fifth Series») for a description and a justification of Tito; he comments that the final *Episodios* are the ones he loves best.

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