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Galdós's political and ideological evolution has been studied by Estébanez Calderón and Antonio Regalado, but no study has yet focused on his attitudes toward the most radical labor movement of his time, anarchism.[1] We shall focus first on Galdós's early journal articles in *La Ilustración de Madrid* and *La Revista de España*, followed by an examination of his more extensive concerns during the 1880s and 1890s in his *Cartas* to the Buenos Aires newspaper *La Prensa.* Next, we shall consider the dispersed 1907-1913 writings collected by Víctor Fuentes in his *Galdós demócrata y republicano*. Finally, we shall show how Galdós utilized his interest in anarchism for a variety of purposes in the novels *La desheredada, Fortunata y Jacinta, Lo prohibido, Torquemada en la cruz, El caballero encantado,* and the following *Episodios: La primera república, De Cartago a Sagunto,* and *Cánovas.*

After the failed liberal revolutions of 1848, a leftist movement developed in a number of European countries which chose as its core belief the centuries-old idea of anarchism. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* defines anarchism as "a cluster of doctrines and attitudes centered on the belief that government is both harmful and unnecessary." The *Encyclopedia of Politics: The Left and the Right* elucidates further:

> The etymology of the word *anarchism* is derived from the Greek *anarchos*, meaning no rule by anybody or having no government.
>
> Central to anarchist thought is the belief that all forms of authority and oppression—state, church, patriarchy/sexism, racism, national chauvinism and conventional morality are detrimental to the fulfillment of human potential. Anarchists contend that society is natural and people are good but power is corrupting. Therefore, the highest stage of humanity is the freedom of individuals to express themselves and live in harmony on the basis of creativity, cooperation, and mutual respect. ("Anarchism" 21) [2]

In Spain remnants of the First International re-emerged in the anarchist-denominated *Federación Regional de Trabajadores*, and as Raymond Carr states further: "[T]he terrorists of propaganda by deed set off a wave of bomb outrages and assassination, [which] provoked drastic police repression and this, in turn, set off the mechanism of anarchist reprisal"

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(441). Violence and rumors of violence led Spanish newspapers, most notably *El Imparcial*, *El Liberal*, and *La Vanguardia* (the latter in Barcelona) to begin commenting on anarchist activities in 1891. Three years later they were joined by *La Correspondencia de España* and *Heraldo de Madrid*. Luis Izquierdo Labella has detailed how these five periodicals sometimes offered sensationalist reports of Spanish and foreign anarchism (65-72). Readers found screaming headlines, gruesome details, emphasis on excruciating emotional reactions, and predictions of future terror. Correspondents exaggerated accounts of casualties, property damage, incriminating evidence, and the curtailing of public activities.

Galdós, in contrast and starting earlier, preferred a much calmer, more reasoned approach. At age 28 he was writing simultaneously for two conservative periodicals founded by José Luis Albareda. In the first of these, the short-lived *La Ilustración de Madrid*, he participated from January to May 1872; in the second, *La Revista de España*, he was active from February 1872 to November 1873. In *La Ilustración de Madrid* his biweekly contribution was entitled "Crónica de la quincena" and in his introductory statement of aims, dated 15 January 1872, he mentions some things it would be nice to ignore. One of these would be "no dar crédito alguno a lo que de los internacionalistas y petrolistas se cuenta [y] las pretensiones insolentes del proletariado [que] ofrecen una perspectiva del peligro que exige gran previsión de todos los gobiernos" (64). True to this expressed desire, Galdós did not return to the subject of anarchism in his subsequent eight "Crónicas."

He was already addressing this subject in his monthly "Revista Política Interior" section of *La Revista de España*. On 13 May 1871, in the first of his fourteen articles for *La Revista de España*, Galdós opens with a focus on the dangerous repercussions that the popular uprising which established the Paris *Commune* has been having on different factions within the Spanish parliament. He himself considers the *Commune* a "bárbara e inmoral insurrección" and fears that events in Paris might be replicated in Spain considering the mood and temperament of certain localities (2). Urgent action is needed in order to "combatir las doctrinas de la Internacional con discursos y folletos" by those cherishing individual freedom and the right to personal property" (5). In his seventh contribution, 13 April 1872, Galdós shows understanding of the plight of both the rural and urban proletariat. In Andalusia, absentee landowners, he notes, have turned production over to much-hated, exploitive managers. Bloodshed is not uncommon; the managers "tienen que defender a tiros sus aceitunas y sus lugares, para lo cual necesitan ejércitos de guardas, aborrecidos en toda la comarca como funcionarios *del despotismo*" (79). The situation is equally alarming in industrialized centers, where "[l]os obreros incapaces por falta de cultura y de juicio de asociarse o trabajar por su cuenta emancipándose de la *tiranía del capital* del único modo posible en lo humano, han aceptado las ideas internacionalistas como un medio fácil para conseguir lo que de otro modo exigiría trabajo y discernimiento" (80). In his discussion two weeks later, Galdós affirms that one strong reason for opposing the radicalized proletariat is that this movement gives alarmist ammunition to the far right, especially the Carlists. Both they and the radicals employ equally repugnant violence (96), and neither supported the ill-fated monarchy of Amadeo I, which Galdós believed was the best means of preserving many of the gains of the liberal *Revolución Gloriosa*.

Not until fifteen years later, after the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, did Galdós again write about international anarchism. In his 25 May 1887 *Carta* to the Buenos Aires newspaper *La Prensa*, he condemns anarchist bombings as he addresses "el famoso descubrimiento de los petardos en el Congreso" (of 5 April 1887). He also reveals pertinent new information in noting that a few days subsequent to the first discovery of an unexploded bomb "junto a una de las puertas que dan entrada al salón de sesiones," many more bombs were found and many people have been arrested (qtd. in Shoemaker 237).

Three years later in his 18 May 1890 *Carta* to *La Prensa*, Galdós discusses at length the May Day workers' strikes in several European countries, and praises the peaceful scene in Germany, accomplished, he believes, by Bismarck's forward-looking social legislation. He does not foresee major labor problems for Spain, and believes that humanity's problems might be ameliorated by economists and sociologists, but certainly not by the "anarquistas [. . .], esos caballeros que patrocinan el escándolo y la holgazanería" (qtd. in Shoemaker 401).

On 4 September 1893 during a military parade, an anarchist threw an impact-exploding Orsini bomb at General Martínez Campos, the military governor of Catalonia, wounding him and several officers, one fatally. Additionally, many bystanders were injured in the ensuing panic. Galdós reflects at length on this event in his 29 September contribution to *La Prensa.* After speaking of the strong nation-wide emotional impact on Spain's citizenry, Galdós turns his attention to the crime's boastful perpetrator, Paulino Pallas Latorre. He is, Galdós reports, thought to be "un fanático anarquista de los que creen que van a arreglar el mundo y a corregir los desequilibrios sociales disparando a quema-ropa sobre seres indefensos" (qtd. in Shoemaker 485). Furthermore, Galdós believes that "[e]l anarquismo, si no fuera una bárbara y criminal secta, digna de los mayores castigos, merecería la represión por estúpida y necia." However, Galdós recognizes that present-day society, which has evolved over centuries, has many injustices that cannot be quickly resolved: "Veamos en el anarquismo una enfermedad del organismo social. Hay que curarlo. ¿Cómo?" (qtd. in Shoemaker 486).

Without answering this question, Galdós continues by putting the Martínez Campos assassination attempt in a historical perspective. It is, he says, one more horrendous crime in a historical panorama, including the death of the Russian Czar Alexander II (1881), and the bombing attempt on the life of Napoleon III at a Paris theater (1868). Such violence is epitomized in the life of the Italian, Félix Orsini, the inventor of the terrorist's favorite weapon: the bomb bearing his name.

Later the same year, the 7 November *Teatro Liceo* bombing in Barcelona, which resulted in 30 deaths, occasioned Galdós to again condemn anarchism. The scope of his considerations may be seen in the following outline, which introduces his 29 December 1893 *Carta*, "Los anarquistas de Barcelona": "Luz en el proceso. — Prisiones. — Pánico en los teatros. — El anarquismo y la literatura dramática. — La oscuridad compromete el éxito de una obra. — El anarquismo y la devoción. — Perturbación del culto católico. — Tristeza y nostalgia de las personas timoratas. — El diablo anarquista" (qtd. in

Shoemaker 511). Galdós begins by expressing satisfaction that the *anarquistas* suspected in the bombing are now imprisoned and that public confidence should start to improve. Moreover, numerous new prisons have been constructed in Barcelona, Valladolid, and Madrid. Nevertheless, "no por esto ha cesado la angustiosa alarma que el rumor de la repetición de aquellos increíbles crímenes produce" (qtd. in Shoemaker 513). Especially affected is theater attendance in Barcelona, where many theaters have been forced to close. The enjoyment of theater in Madrid is also jeopardized. Galdós cites a recent occurrence at Madrid's *Teatro-Comedia.* Near the end of Echegaray's *A la orilla del mar*, the lights were purposefully lowered for artistic effect, but many in the audience became terrified with the thought, "que admirable ocasión que aquellos pillos de anarquistas nos arrojen una bomba" and they exited the theater (qtd. in Shoemaker 514). Not only was the desired effect of Echegaray's play completely compromised but, more importantly, Galdós extrapolates: "Moraleja: en estos tiempos en que el programa de renovación social tiene tan salvajes adeptos, no se deben introducir en los dramas escenas, y menos actos en que la acción requiera la oscuridad para desarrollarse. Hay que hacer frente al anarquismo, en la vida real como en la ficticia, a la clara luz del día" (qtd. in Shoemaker 514).

This *moraleja* is clearly a call for a more active resistance to anarchism, rather than sitting passively in the theater enjoying the special effects. Echegaray's play (starring María Guerrero) does not engage anarchism at all, but the theater ("la ficticia") could be/should be a venue for combating anarchism.

Galdós closes this *Carta* by drawing attention to the fact that one of the principal objects of the anarchists' campaign is the Church—which they hope to destroy "por el terror" (qtd. in Shoemaker 515). Although there are no church bombings at present (as there had been during the casino owners' campaign of 1881 [Schnepf 111, n.11]), there are many anonymous threats and Galdós recalls the carnage at an earlier, unspecified Madrilenian church. He repeatedly denounces the anarchists in such terms as "brutales dinamiteros," "malditos anarquistas [con] sus diabólicas máquinas de muerte," and "aquellos diablos del siglo del XIX" (qtd. in Shoemaker 514-15).

Stimulated by Spain's ever-worsening societal and political deterioration, Galdós reentered politics in 1907, now as a *Republicano*. This was a party that not only had a strong interest in the welfare of the proletariat, but also was one that he had opposed in the 1870s. Of the 33 pro-Republican documents from Galdós's pen collected by Víctor Fuentes in *Galdós demócrata y republicano (escritos y discursos 1907-1913)*, two are especially illustrative. In a letter to *El Liberal* and *El País* dated 6 April 1907, announcing his campaign to become a *Diputado del Congreso*, representing "el pueblo de Madrid [. . .], con las muchedumbres desválidas y trabajadoras" (qtd. in Fuentes 51), Galdós expresses a desire to join in the fight against government corruption, apathy, clericalism, and *caciquismo* in order to move toward a successful revitalization of the nation (Fuentes 51-52).

In 1909, after having been elected to the *Congreso*, Galdós published simultaneously in three newspapers (*El País*, *España Nueva*, and *El Liberal*) a vigorous protest and call to action entitled "Al pueblo español" in which he denounces the military campaign against

the Riff in Morocco, the influence of the Church, and the most denigrating and barbaric government since the reign of Fernando VII.[3] Although Galdós became clearly socialist in sympathy and speech, he had no similar solidarity with the anarchists, who had become opponents of the socialists. This Galdosian position, however, did not stop the conservatives from branding him an anarchist, for he says: "No temamos que nos llamen anarquistas o anarquizantes, que esta resucitada Inquisición [ya con el nombre Defensa Social] ha descubierto el ardid de tostar a los hombres en llamaradas de la calumnia" (qtd. in Fuentes 84). Thus one sees that the word anarchism is still being used with the same terrifying connotations that it had when Galdós was using it in his own articles, starting in the early 1870s. Now, however, Galdós is the recipient of the appellation rather than its dispenser.

Galdós's opponents had stimuli for such labeling, for this was also a time when Galdós was prominently and repeatedly photographed as an front-line activist, as seen, for example, in the 28 March 1910 antigovernment protest of "republicanos, progresistas y socialistas contra el gobierno de A. Maura" (Rodríguez Puértolas 12) and the 3 July 1910 "Manifestación contra la intromisión religiosa en la vida social y política llamada popularmente 'manifestación anticlerical'" (Rodríguez Puértolas 15). Also the 29 May 1910 cover of the periodical *Vida Socialista* featured a full-page photograph of Galdós, and he is prominently seen in the picture of the 15 May 1910 election victory celebration of the *Conjunción Republicana-Socialista*, an alliance which Galdós had formed with Pablo Iglesias, the founder of the Socialist party in Spain.[4] This victory celebration closed not only with the playing of the Republicans' song "La Marsellesa," but also with "la marxista *Internacional*" (Rodríguez Puértolas 56).

Galdós's opinions concerning anarchism are at times less clear-cut in his fiction. The first work in which we notice references to anarchism is *La desheredada* (1881). In that year, there suddenly arose a new, anarchist-like but really more capitalist-inspired, non-internationalist bombing campaign—one instigated by Madrid's casino owners. Michael Schnepf has detailed how this activity was uniquely Madrilenian. The capital's gambling casinos had operated with impunity by bribing top officials of the local government until a new administration began on 28 February 1881 to close all such establishments. The latter reacted with a "terrorist campaign in an effort to pressure the Sagasta government to relent" (Schnepf 108). The bombings began on 18 March and concluded on 21 June, with the "discovery of an extensive ring of terrorists, police corruption, government involvement, multiple arrests, and the end of the *petardos*" (Schnepf 108-09).

Galdós finished *La desheredada* the month following the end of the bombing campaign (Shoemaker 133, n.1) and, following the lead of his surrounding reality, placed public violence in his novel, but connected it to the anarchist movement. He does so by having Mariano Rufete not only plant bombs for a casino owner, but also attempt to assassinate the king—while sporting a "new tie with anarchist colors of black and yellow" (Ribbans 794).[5] Antonio Ruiz Salvador believes that in order to create Mariano as "el anarquista 'Pecado,'" Galdós drew upon the lives of two unsuccessful, would-be assassins, Juan Oliva and Francisco Otero—one of whom claimed to be an anarchist—in order to create "una síntesis de los [dos] tristemente célebres" (55).[6] Like his two real-life predecessors, Mariano is executed. The furious reaction of the crowd present at Mariano's assassination

attempt (1148) accurately reflects popular horror at the attempt on the life of the much-esteemed Alfonso XII. Significantly, Ruiz Salvador concludes that "Galdós critica abiertamente la violencia del creciente movimiento anarquista español, convencido de que estos medios no cambiarían el destino del país" (55).

A sincere voice for more anarchistic belief is the hard working printer Juan Bou, who condemns the bombings as "arma traidora de los perdidos, truhanes, jugadores y demás escoria" (1136). Critics are divided about Bou's politics. Jo Labanyi believes that Bou seems a socialist, "but Mariano, despite being Bou's disciple is clearly the stock figure of the anarchist terrorist" (57, n. 2). Geoffrey Ribbans reminds us that "Bou's anarchist aspiration to abolish all law and institutions, [along with] his clumsy use of the Proudhonian notion that money as a medium of exchange will be superseded by the mutual exchange of goods are incomprehensible to Mariano" (789).

Three years later in *Lo prohibido* (1884-85), Galdós uses the term "*Mano Negra*" rather than *Internacional* or *anarquismo.* The term is quite in keeping with labor-management perceptions at the time of *Lo prohibido*. In reaction to a strike of agriculture workers in late 1882, "the police announced that they had discovered a formidable secret society, the *Mano Negra* or 'Black Hand,' whose members had formed a plot to assassinate all the landowners of the district. Thousands of arrests were made, there were three hundred sentences of imprisonment and, after the usual tortures to obtain evidence, eight executions" (Brenan 160).

La Mano Negra was also heatedly debated in the *Congreso* (Saillard 83) and among the Madrid newspapers that sent reporters to cover the trial of alleged members of the secret organization was *El Día.* This newspaper engaged Galdós's close friend Leopoldo Alas, and on 26 February 1883 it published two separate reports by Alas, both under the caption "*La Mano Negra*" (Saillard, image XI).

The narrating protagonist of *Lo prohibido*, José María de Guzmán, has recently left his vineyards and moved to Madrid, and Peter Bly states that "[t]he campaign of terror launched by *La Mano Negra* [. . .] is adduced as the reason for José María's absence from his Jerez estates" (167). In support of this opinion, we note that during a fleeting temptation to leave Madrid, José María muses: "¿A dónde diablos me iba? ¿A Jerez? La situación comercial y agraria de aquel país era muy alarmante. Bueno estaría que me cogieran los de la *Mano Negra* y me degollaran" (167). James Whiston glosses this quotation: "En el campo andaluz se produjo entonces (1882) la primera huelga de trabajadores agrícolas. Y en la región de Jerez tuvo lugar el primer episodio de la 'Mano Negra,' agrandado y deformado por los órganos estatales y por la prensa, cuyo resultado fue el encarcelamiento de centenares de campesinos y la ejecución de varios de ellos" (*Lo prohibido* 167, n.109).

At the end of *Lo prohibido*, José María de Guzmán receives a severe comeuppance from a stroke that pathetically reduces him almost to animality. However, there is no mention that this includes in any way punishment for having been an Andalusian landowner. Thus it seems that Galdós's brief reference to the Jerez-*Mano Negra* situation is primarily designed to engage the reader with current events of the novel's fictional time as part of

the Realist aesthetic. Another motive might be perceived in the fact that Galdós sent a copy of this novel to Leopoldo Alas and that the latter reviewed it favorably. Galdós undoubtedly knew that Alas had a strong interest in the situation in and around Jerez, having sojourned in the region while covering the 1882 Jerez trial for Madrid's *El Día* and writing also several articles regarding the extreme poverty elsewhere in Andalusia.[7]

Appropriately in *Lo prohibido* Galdós does not use the term *anarquistas*. Local anarchist groups in and around Jerez denied any knowledge of *La Mano Negra*, a graphic icon, copies of which were timely and strategically utilized. Juan Madrid in his book chapter "El fantasma que recorre Andalucía" not only relates the supposed finding of the already mentioned documents alleged to be "estatutos y reglamentos" of the "*Mano Negra*" (75), but also subsequently details how the hysteria generated by the documents was used by the authorities and the landowners to persecute the workers and peasants (82). Blasco Ibáñez, in preparation for his 1905 novel *La bodega,* went to Jerez and not only visited the prison where peasants had been detained and tortured, but he also interviewed survivors. Blasco's character, Juanón, who has permanent scars from torture, recalls his association with other workers, "pero de la 'Mano Negra,' de la terrorífica Asociación con sus puñales y sus venganzas, no sabía una palabra" (1251).

In Galdós's next novel, *Fortunata y Jacinta* (1886-87), preparatory to the decisive vocal and physical encounter between the eponymous protagonists at the climax of Part III, there is stormy dialogue between Fortunata and Guillermina Pacheco. Here Fortunata reveals her "pícara idea," (III, 250) that she is the true wife of Juanito Santa Cruz because he had promised matrimony and because, unlike Jacinta, she has borne a child. As this confrontation with Guillermina escalates, Fortunata insists on her beliefs, "volviendo a exaltarse y a tomar la expresión del *anarquista* que arroja la bomba explosiva para hacer saltar a los poderes de la tierra" (III, 250; italics mine). Galdós had prepared for this usage a bit earlier by having the narrator refer to Fortunata as "la anarquista" (III, 248), this being a change which, according to Yolanda Arencibia, he made on the galleys (23). James Whiston states that prior to the Beta version of the novel the narrator had said, "Estalló su ira como una *mina*" (*Practice* 241; italics mine).[8] The effect of this change is to make the explosion imagery more personally appropriate to Fortunata. Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, who states that Fortunata "is identified over and over again with the 'pueblo,' anarchy, ignorance [and] disorder" (15), also details how Fortunata is a worthy force opposing the Restoration (13-18). We also remember that very early in his initial chapter of Part I, as Juanito Santa Cruz is released from jail after participating in the *Noche de San Daniel* manifestations, Galdós has his narrator playfully call Juanito, "el revolucionario, el anarquista, el descamisado" (I, 105).

Because 1893 was the year of both the attempted assassination of General Martínez Campos and the horrific *Teatro-Liceo* bombing, as well as Galdosian *Cartas* to *La Prensa* about each, it is not surprising that our author incarnates the reality of anarchist bombing in *Torquemada en la cruz*. At the climax of this 1893 novel, Rafael del Águila comments: "¿Qué pasa hoy? Que la plebe indigente, envidiosa de los ricos, los amenaza, los aterra y quiere destruirlos con bombas y diabólicos aparatos de muerte" (1015). Then Galdós effects an ironic inversion, for Rafael, a member of the aristocracy, wants to join in on the attacks against the bourgeoisie. He himself, although blind, attempts to secure a bomb

from a fireworks-making friend of the family: "[H]azme un petardo, un petardo que al estallar, se lleva por delante [hasta] medio mundo" (1015).

Rafael also predicts a time when he can use such a bomb:

> [L]os aristócratas arruinados, desposeídos de su propiedad por los usureros y traficantes de la clase media, se sentirán impulsados a la venganza [y] arrojaremos máquinas explosivas contra toda esa turba de mercachifles soeces, irreligiosos, comidos de vicios, hartos de goces infames. Tú lo has de ver, tú lo has de ver. (1015)

Rafael's desire for a bomb is not only an expression of the extreme opposition he has to the uncouth plebian Francisco Torquemada's marrying his sister Fidela, but it is one of the early indications that this character, who will commit suicide at the end of *Torquemada en el purgatorio*, "no tiene la cabeza buena [y ya] su locura era de las de remate" (1024).

Two years after reentering politics, Galdós revisited in *El caballero encantado* (1909) the basic causes of rural anarchism mentioned in his earlier articles: absentee landownership, exploitation of workers, and lack of education. To these Galdós now adds the synergizing factor of *caciquismo*, which had become ubiquitous after the Restoration with Cánovas's instituting of the *turno pacífico* in order to secure the permanence of the monarchy and the established religion. Galdós wrote to Teodosia Gandarias on 2 September 1909:

> Volviendo a mi *Caballero encantado*, que es ahora mi idea fija en el terreno literario, te diré que en esta obra presento algunos cuadros de la vida española en aspectos muy poco conocidos, la vida de los labradores más humildes, la de los pastores, la de los que trabajan en las canterías en obras de carreteras y otras duras faenas. Son cuadros de verdadera esclavitud, que en la vida hay en estos tiempos, aunque no lo parezca. (Nuez Caballero 173)

In order to investigate and educate as to the causative factors behind Spain's rural poverty, Galdós creates a protagonist, who is himself a spoiled, self-centered *latifundista*. Then, in a state of enchantment, this protagonist, Carlos de Tarsis, finds himself transformed into an illiterate farm worker named Gil, and working for a desperately poor independent farm owner. The latter is in such dire straits that he must borrow money from the local *cacique*, who also functions as the only rural banker. In addition to charging ruinous interest, the political boss demands possession of the exceptionally hard-working Gil, and also tries to seduce the farmer's wife (Later in the novel we read that the farmer, José Caminero, has died of exhaustion while working valiantly alone in his fields, and also that his wife has now no recourse but to submit to the *cacique* [292]).

After some time tending the *cacique*'s flocks, Gil is visited by *La Madre*, the spirit of Spain, who sends him forth to other locations in *Castilla La Vieja*: to toil first in a stone quarry and then in state-sponsored excavations in the ruins of Numancia. *La Madre* appears to him from time to time as he learns first-hand ever more about exploitation, poverty, and the history of Spain. The protagonist's journey of learning climaxes in Boñices (7 miles south

of Soria). In this "emporio de la miseria" (293) one sees again that the local political boss is not only doing the *latifundista*'s bidding, but he also controls the local financing, judiciary, and education, as well as vocational opportunities for women. Bad as conditions are for the dwindling population, no one in Boñices utters the words *anarquismo* or *Internacional* —neither as a solution nor as a threat. However, Galdós does show how an anarchist-like rural uprising could start:

> Alguien propuso que se reunieran los sobrevivientes [. . .] con la gente de aldeas cercanas, hombres y mujeres, viejos y chiquillería, y armadas con garrotes o con escopetas el que la tuviese, se lanzaran por los campos y caminos hasta llegar a Soria y la casa del gobernador, y allí, con escándalo, tiros y estacazo limpio, pidieran y recabaran a vivir. (304)

In this instance, lack of leadership and the conciliatory advice of *La Madre* prevent justifiable violence.

Galdós's solution, finalized the month following his *Conjunción* with Pablo Iglesias, is seen in the novel's denouement as the now much wiser and more compassionate protagonist returns, after killing a *cacique*, to his pre-enchantment state.[9] He will henceforth have greater understanding of and deeper sympathy for his agricultural workers. Importantly, he will also collaborate actively with his new wife, Cintia, a school teacher, in the very important task of educating a new generation of Spaniards.[10]

Having shown in *El caballero encantado* how an anarchist revolt might start, in the *Episodio* entitled *La primera república* (1911) Galdós now engages an anarchist uprising that actually occurred, that at Alcoy in 1874. Significantly, the narrating protagonist, historian Tito Liviano, does not give a personal opinion. Rather, when addressed as "sabio corifeo," and asked about "lo de Alcoy," Tito says that he has not heard about it: "¿Cómo he de saberlo si acabo de llegar del extranjero?" (1123). Thus a wider perspective is easily presented:

> Fraccionada en retazos que salían de diferentes bocas, oí la historia de lo acaecido en la ciudad levantina, que fué como sigue: Los trabajadores de Alcoy, afiliados en su mayor parte a la Internacional, pidieron que se les aumentara el salario en un cincuenta por ciento, y se les declarase dueños de los telares en que trabajaban. Surgió la huelga. El alcalde, señor Albors, que había sido diputado en las Constituyentes del 69, declaró en un bando la libertad de los huelguistas y de los no huelguistas; es decir que podía cada cual hacer lo que le viniera en gana… El motín estalla, los trabajadores arrollan la escasa guarnición: pegan fuego al Ayuntamiento, asesinan a todas las personas que odian, matan a trabucazos al alcalde y arrastran ferozmente su cadáver… (1123)[11]

An impressive, and loyal adherent to the central government, Indalecio García ("*Pajalarga*"), however, insists on another version. This "miliciano" asserts that it was all the work of outsiders, paid for by reactionaries, and that the perpetrators are now being pursued by General Velardo and soldiers from Valencia (1123). Thus Galdós, focalizing

through his protagonist/historian Tito, not only captures the fragmentary nature of breaking news but also presents two prevalent views of the unfortunate events at Alcoy, without insisting on the correctness of either.

Also in 1911, now in *De Cartago a Sagunto*, Tito is once again involved with current events. In contrast to "lo de Alcoy" in *La primera república*, he is now an active participant reporting with appropriate storm imagery the afternoon and evening sessions inside the *Congreso* preceding the destruction of the Republic. Additionally he captures the post-session, late-night opinions in the streets and public establishments, and also describes General Pavía's ready-to-pounce troops. About all this Tito is very emotional and the pro-Republic sentiments also recur in a subsequent dream (1210).

General Pavía did not keep his promise to Castelar not to intervene militarily (1202), but waited until sympathetic parliament members indicated the right moment to act. Concerning this event, Tito reports that Luis Domínguez, the *Ministro de Guerra* and *Presidente de Ministros*, has received a telegram dated 3 January 1874 from General Pavía announcing that he has effected a "golpe de estado y diciendo que tal acto fúe sólo una medida heroica para sacar a España del anarquismo y del caos" (1214). Thus ended after some armed resistance Spain's first attempt at a republic.

Finally, in 1912, when writing about the events of 1879 in *Cánovas*, the last of the *Episodios*, Tito Liviano mentions the 25 October attempt to assassinate Alfonso XII, which had been a climactic event in *La desheredada*. Here in *Cánovas* the perpetrator is identified as Juan Oliva Moncasi, and "según se dijo estaba afiliado a la Internacional" (1338). The narrator expresses not only popular, but also his personal disdain, which concords with that expressed in *La desheredada*, when he says further:

> La emoción de este suceso no duró mucho. El tal Oliva era indudablemente un fanático, pero con menos visos de locura que de tontería. Según mi leal entender, en aquella época de una insipidez mal azucarada, hasta el regicidio era tonto, desaborido y sin picante. Del desdichado Oliva se habló un poco en aquellos días, y otro poco cuando le dieron garrote en enero del año próximo. (1338)

The evidence we have presented indicates that, although Galdós condemned the excesses of the Paris *Commune* and feared that they could be replicated in Spain, he readily understood the plight of the proletariat. In most instances his fiction creativity was stimulated by and often appeared in print simultaneously with, or retrospectively not very long after, widely publicized anarchist activity, much of which he covered in his *Cartas* for *La Prensa.* Such activity included an attempted assassination of Alfonso XII, the anarchist trial in Jerez, bombs found in the *Congreso* building, the attempt on the life of the General Martínez Campos, and the *Teatro-Liceo* bombing. In comparison with his journalistic articles, in most of the 1880 and 1890 novels Galdós is much less concerned with expressing his condemnation of anarchist activity than he is with artistic considerations. Especially notable in this regard are his change to anarchist imagery for the Fortunata-Guillermina confrontation near the end of volume three of *Fortunata y Jacinta*, and the aristocrat Rafael del Aguila's wanting a bomb in order to join the anarchist campaign

against the bourgeoisie at the climax of *Torquemada en la cruz*. In the years after his election to the *Congreso de los Diputados* as a *Republicano* and the formation with Socialist Pablo Iglesias of the *Conjunción Republicano-Socialista*, Galdós makes no criticism of the *Internacional* or anarchism in his novels. However, he does offer in *El caballero encantado* other suggestions for confronting the problems he had previously addressed in his articles and novels. In the *Episodios La primera república*, *De Cartago a Sagunto*, and *Cánovas* the terms *Internacional* and *anarquismo* return, but now they are used in factual reports supplied by an objective-minded, narrating historian/protagonist.

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Notes

[1] Neither Francisco Madrid and Ignacio Soriano's monumental "Bibliografía del anarquismo en España. 1869-1939" nor the database of the *MLA International Bibliography* have entries linking Galdós and anarchism.

[2] For a comprehensive work on multifaceted aspects of anarchism, see José Alvarez Junco's *La ideología política del anarquismo español (1868-1910).*

[3] "Al pueblo español" appeared in *El País* and *España Nueva* on 6 October 1909 and in *El Liberal* the following day.

[4] Galdós is said to have explained to *El Bachiller Corchuelo* that, with conditions so bad in Spain, his reason for uniting with Pablo Iglesias was: "El y su partido son lo único serio, disciplinado, admirable que hay en la España política" (10, qtd. in Rodríguez Puértolas 16).

[5] Ruiz Salvador states further:

> Varios rasgos de Oliva coinciden con los del joven Rufete: es joven, hijo de honrados labradores, pésimo estudiante "por su carácter díscolo e indómito" y trabajó en un taller de imprenta. Francisco Otero, que por su juventud hace sospechar a la Prensa "que no haya nacido espontáneamente en el inculto cerebro de un aprendiz de pastelero la idea de cambiar la situación política del país de un pistoletazo," parece prestar la fuente de su indigestión de teorías políticas a "Pecado," a quien en el trato de seis meses con Bou se le había comunicado la idolatría del ente Pueblo. (55)

[6] Alas had long been sympathetic to the plight of the Spanish workers. He had been a reporter at the repressive *Mano Negra* trial of alleged anarchists in Jerez in 1884. Although Alas disliked the anarchists's leaders and the movement's ideology, he believed, as did other activist professors at the University of Oviedo, that the workers could gain much more through education than through acts of violence (Lissorgues 61-67).

[7] This change occurred on page 648 of the discarded pages from Alpha (Whiston, *Practice* 241). Whiston designates these pages, prior to Beta, as the AB version (*Practice* 13).

[8] The *Conjunción Republicano-Socialista* was publically proclaimed on 7 November 1910 and *El caballero encantado* appeared the following month.

[9] When Gil's beloved Cintia-Pascuala is in danger of being exploited by a *cacique*, a confrontation occurs between the protagonist and the local political boss. Although in this novel of enchantment the *cacique* "superaba en tamaño a una casa de las más grandes y afectaba a la forma y redondeces bien cebado," Galdós's hero says, "Yo que no temo a los leones menos no temo a los cochinos" (311) and he attacks like a veritable Don Quijote. At the first blow he cuts the pig-like giant back to normal size and then kills him with dispatch (313). Subsequently Galdós's protagonist says modestly, "Yo maté a un cerdo" (336.)

[10] In the 18 May 1890 *Carta* to *La Prensa*, Galdós, in his evaluation of the recent May Day activities in Spain, calls especial attention to Alcoy. It is still a place where "la población es casi totalmente obrera," with understandable grievances, and "en las

huelgas de Mayo ha sido teatro de algunos sucesos desagradables sin llegar a lo sangriento" (qtd. en Shoemaker 399).

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