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## INDICE

<b>Maria Sofia Corciulo</b>	
<i>Introduzione</i>	I
<i>Foreword</i>	VII
<i>Calendario del Congresso</i>	1

## IN MEMORIA DI ANTONIO MARONGIU

<i>Il ricordo</i>	
Mario D'Addio	11
Vittorio Frosini	15
Helmut G. Koenigsberger	23
(In traslation)	29
<i>L'opera</i>	
Maria Sofia Corciulo	
<i>Il Marongiu "minore"</i>	37
Guido D'Agostino	
<i>Ricordo di un maestro. Antonio Marongiu:</i>	
<i>Preparlamenti e parlamenti nella prospettiva</i>	
<i>"neo-parlamentarista"</i>	54
Danilo Marrara	
<i>Antonio Marongiu storico delle Università</i>	66

## PARLAMENTI E PARLAMENTO NELLA STORIA D'ITALIA

Mario Ascheri

*Assemblee, democrazia comunale e cultura politica:  
dal caso della Repubblica di Siena (secc. XIV-XV)*

77

Giancarlo Vallone

*"La curia Regis" tra amministrazione e giurisdizione*

100

Paolo Pissavino

*Rappresentanza del patriziato e conflitti istituzionali  
nella Milano del Seicento*

110

Helmut G. Koenigsberger

*Principe and Parliament in a Composite monarchy:  
the Parliament of Sicily and the States General of  
the Netherlands in the sixteenth century*

145

Maria Teresa Guerra Medici

*La rappresentanza negata*

169

## MOMENTI SIGNIFICATIVI DELLA STORIA PARLAMENTARE EUROPEA

John Grever

*The Reconstruction of an Assembly Narrative: The  
States of Holland and the War with Spain during  
the 1620s.*

185

John Rogister

*Transforming the Representative institutions of*

<i>the ancien régime in France, 1787-1789: some governmental and "parlementaire" views</i>	216
Juan L. Castellano <i>La representacion en las Cortes de Castilla durante la edad moderna</i>	231
Joseba Agirreazkuenaga, Susana Serrano, José Ramon Urquijo, Mikel Urquijo <i>Spanish Parliamentary prosopography during the rise of the liberal revolution (1808-1874)</i>	248
Fulvio Cammarano <i>"Wear your colours, record your own vote". Franchise, Communities and Electioneering in Victorian England</i>	262
Antonio Pedro Manique <i>Parlement, gouvernement et formation des lois au Portugal (1834-1852)</i>	304
Ljubinka Karpowicz <i>Gli Stati Uniti della Grande Austria. Disegno di uno Stato federale di A. Popovici</i>	321
Maria Manolova <i>Le parlementarisme bulgare</i>	333
Jacek Jedruch <i>Rise of Parliamentary Institutions in Lettland, Estland and Finland</i>	339
Monika Senkowska-Gluck <i>La Diète du Duché de Varsovie: les traditions parlementaires</i>	391

<i>mentaires polonaises face au défi napoléonien</i>	355
Stanislaw Russocki	
<i>Antonio Marongiu et les études récentes sur la naissance     du parlementarisme en Pologne</i>	362
<i>Méthodes actuelles de recherche sur le conseil des Sou-     verains et les préparlements polonais</i>	367
Cristina Senigaglia	
<i>Dalla Germania guglielmina alla repubblica di Weimar:     il ruolo del Parlamento nel giudizio di Weber e di     altri storici</i>	371

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*Spanish Parliamentary prosopography during the rise of the liberal revolution (1808 - 1874)*

The study of prosopography in Spain has acquired new momentum in recent years. Proof of this can be seen in the work done by research teams like the ones coordinated by Pedro Carasa in Castille and Joseba Agirreazkuenaga in the Basque Country, or the contributions of Sánchez Marroyo in Extremadura, Pedro López in the Rioja region, A. Bahamonde in Madrid, María Sierra in Andalusia and Aurora Garrido in Cantabria. Our aim here is to publish the first partial results of a study of parliamentary history.

We have followed the model used for British parliamentary history<sup>2</sup>, which divides the study into three sections, one on the general characteristics of the election (formation of disrits, call to elections, and so on), one on what actually happened during the elections and, lastly, one giving biographies of the MPs.

The first section, which will finished this summer, consists of an

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2. *The History of Parliamentary*. London, Secker & Warburg, 1964. The first volume was published that year and there are more volumes to come.

electoral atlas showing the variations in electoral legislation, the formation of districts, statistical tables and graphs of the number of candidates and electoral results<sup>3</sup>.

The second section, currently in preparation, studies the evolution of electoral legislation, the formation of candidatures, political debate, the presence of political groups, voting and results, and ends with a sociological analysis of the elected members<sup>4</sup>.

A biographical dictionary of MPs, already completed, makes up the third and final section<sup>5</sup>, together with a further series of publications giving the results obtained to date<sup>6</sup>. All that remains is to finish the conclusive study on the published dictionary.

### The model

The first step in producing MPs-biographies was to create a standard index file<sup>7</sup> and to select the essential data for the biography

3. *Atlas electoral de Vasconia (1808-1876)*, Bilbao, 1994 (in preparation).

4. The study should be ready in the last quarter of 1994.

5. *Diccionario biográfico de los parlamentarios de Vasconia (1808-1876)*. Vitoria - Gasteiz, Parlamento Vasco-Eusko Legebiltzarra, 1993. The authors would like to express their gratitude to the Basque Parliament for allowing them to use this material.

6. J. AGIRREAZKUENAGA, *Fuentes y metodología para un estudio prosopográfico: el Diccionario de los parlamentarios de Vasconia (1808-1876)* J. Agirreazkuenaga, S. Serrano, J. R. Urquijo and M. Urquijo. In: *Jornadas de Sedano*. - Burgos, 1991 (in press) and J. AGIRREAZKUENAGA, *Trayectorias de la élite parlamentaria vasca durante la crisis del Antiguo Régimen (1808-1876)* J. Agirreazkuenaga, S. Serrano, J. R. Urquijo and M. Urquijo. In: *Historia Contemporánea*. 1992, n° 8. pp. 175-187.

7. For further discussion, see H. BEST, *Reconstructing political biographies of the past: configurations, sequences, timing and the impact of historical change*. - In: *Information et Prosopographie*. Paris: CNRS, 1984, pp. 247-259.

itself<sup>8</sup>. The file covers four different areas. The first includes the member's personal details, including date of birth, marriage and death, together with family relations and mobility. The second area gives information on private means and property. The third covers the social and cultural background, detailing education and professional career, and the fourth refers to the subject's political career, including posts occupied, ideological leanings and his importance within the political party, the election mechanisms used, his relationship with the constituency and his work as parliamentarian.

All this gives a fairly clear idea of the people studied and enables us to draw a number of general conclusions. Once the standard index had been designed and the list of members drawn up, the next problem was to find the sources that would provide the required data.

### The sources

With the list of MPs complete, we began a close study of the existing regional and national encyclopaedias, without ever forgetting that some of the available information is erroneous. It was really only a first approach for information, and we knew that all data unearthed would have to be double-checked for inaccuracies, errors and even possible misprints. We then moved on to the bibliographies (Palau, Del Burgo<sup>9</sup>) ably complemented by the excellent work done by Jon Bil-

8. See N. BULST, *Prosopography and the Computer: Problems and Possibilities*. In: *History and Computing. II*, edited by P. Denley. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989. pp. 12-18.

9. JAIME DEL BURGO, *Fuentes para la Historia de España. Bibliografía del siglo XIX. Guerras carlistas. Luchas políticas*. Prologue by Federico Suárez Verdaguer. 2nd edition. Pamplona: Imprenta de Navarra, 1978. AGUSTIN PALAU CLAVERAS, *Addenda & Corrigenda o volumen complementario del tomo primero del Manual del librero hispanoamericano de Antonio Palau Dulcet*. Barcelona: Palau & Dulcet, 1990. AGUSTIN PALAU CLAVERAS, *Índice alfabético de títulos-materias, correcciones, co-*

bao<sup>10</sup> on the Basque sector.

Although many of the texts are of little use for a dictionary principally designed to provide information on opinions, looking over the books the biography of the 19th century, particularly those on MPs, is in itself a very rewarding exercise. With the bibliographical search concluded, we analysed archive sources, beginning with the archives that had published catalogues of personal records.

Information on soldiers is contained in the *Archivo General Militar* in Segovia, which includes military records (section 1a), marriages, prosecutions (sections G) and a special section covering *Ilustres* (VIPs) who occupied high office (Ministers for the Army and so on), the whole of which is on microfilm in the *Servicio Histórico Militar* in Madrid<sup>11</sup>. The most important personal information is contained in the service records, authentic professional biographies structured in accordance with the army's organisational criteria: jobs and ranks; the corps in which the soldiers in question served and commands held; campaigns and war service; commissions; medals and other awards. The records usually include date of death. In the case of soldiers admitted to Academies before 1834, there are also certificates on family background and

*nexiones y adiciones del Manual del librero hispanoamericano de Antonio Palau y Dulcet*. Ampuries-Oxford: Palacete Palau Dulcet-The Dolphin Book, 1981-1987. 7 vols. ANTONIO PALAU Y DULCET, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano. Bibliografía general española e hispanoamericana desde la invención de la imprenta hasta nuestros tiempos con el valor comercial de los impresos descritos*. 2nd edition. Barcelona-Oxford: Librería Anticuaria de A. Palau-The Dolphin Book, 1948-1977. 28 vols.

10. JON BILBAO, *Enciclopedia general del País Vasco. Cuerpo C. Eusko Bibliografía*. San Sebastián: Auñamendi, 1970-1981. 10 vols. JON BILBAO, *Eusko Bibliografía 1976-1980*. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco - Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, 1985-1987. 3 vols.

11. *Archivo General Militar de Segovia. Índice de expedientes personales*. Instituto Luis de Salazar y Castro. Madrid: Hidalguía, 1959-1963. 9 vols.

financial guarantees covering expenses while the cadet is studying. Also included are a number of official communiqués referring to some of the incidents entered in the service records, which in many cases deprives the rest of the documentation of its interest.

The electoral dossiers (Credentials section) of the *Archivo del Congreso de los Diputados* (the Spanish parliamentary archives) contain very few personal references to elected members, but are absolutely vital for any electoral analysis, since some protests were made directly to the *Cortes*, which was the sole body with authority to give definitive approval to the election certificates. During the periods when restricted vote systems were operating, members had to prove that they complied with all the conditions; the problem is that on more than one occasion they withdrew such certification and on others provided only the minimum economic documentation required by law. Also of great interest are the books<sup>12</sup> from each legislature classifying the members for each constituency according to province, recording the votes finally approved by the Committee and the date of the oath-taking. The names of the members are given in alphabetical order in another volume, which also includes their declared professions and Madrid addresses; this information enables us to draw some interesting conclusions about relations between some of the members and, above all, about the sociological transformation of some areas of Madrid.

The documentation kept in the *Archivo del Senado* (the Senate archive) was interesting too on occasion. While members were legally required to provide documentation demonstrating their "quality", many of the documents were withdrawn some time later. Economic certification was generally limited to proving that members fulfilled minimum requirements and did not cover all assets.

There are a number of different sources for anyone that belonged to the civil state administration. First, we have the records of their time

12. These books are given the title *Libro registro de los Diputados nombrados para las Cortes* (Registration book of the Members appointed to the *Cortes*), the first of which dates from 1822.

at the Ministries in question<sup>13</sup> and, above all, pensioners' records. This last documentary series is divided in three different Archives: up to approximately 1871 in the *Archivo Histórico Nacional*<sup>14</sup>, between 1868 and 1911 in the *Archivo General de la Administración* at Alcalá de Henares<sup>15</sup>, and from then on at the *Archivo de la Dirección General del Tesoro y Política Financiera* (Archive of the Treasury and Finance Policy Directorate).

These records contain exhaustive information on civil servants and pensioners. The main element is the service record, which records all placements with date of appointment, the date office was assumed and compulsory retirement, together with all special situations (suspensions). In all cases, the salary is stated. The record also includes communiqués to the civil servant in question and to his superiors, leave granted and so forth. The pensioner's records add birth, marriage and death certificates, testaments provided by pension applicants (wife or children).

The *Archivo Histórico Nacional* has several collections containing interesting information. In the *Consejos* section, there are several bundles of mostly printed lists of merits and services presented together with applications for posts in Justice to be decided on by the *Cámara* of Castilla<sup>16</sup>. There are two time limits on these documents. The first is the

13. The records of civil servants belonging to the Ministries of Justice, Interior and Economy are held at the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* (National Historical Archive). A number of typewritten inventories of each Ministry also exist. The Central Archive of the Ministry of Justice still holds the records of high-ranking Ministry of Justice officials (including Ministers, Subsecretaries and so on).

14. ANTONIO MATILLA TASCON, *Índice de expedientes de funcionarios públicos. Viudedad y orfandad 1763-1872*. Madrid: Hidalguía, 1982.

15. VICENTE CADENAS Y VICENT, *Archivo de la Deuda y Clases Pasivas. Índice de Jubilados 1869-1911*. Madrid: Hidalguía, 1979.

16. RAMON PAZ REMOLAR, *Índice de relaciones de méritos y servicios conservados en la Sección de Consejos*. Madrid: Archivo Histórico, 1943.

fact the practice disappeared when *Consejos* was abolished in 1834, and the second that the lists cover only the first years of applicants' lives, usually up to one or two years after finishing their university studies. The positive part is that they usually up to one or two years after finishing their university studies. The positive part is that they usually provide data about a period for which information is scarce. Generally speaking, they include date of birth and educational career, providing a detailed record of the time spent at university; some adduce personal or family political merit (for instance, participation in the war of independence). This documentation is occasionally found in the personal records of civil servants, but the lists in *Consejos* very often contain notes on *Cámara*'s judgement on specific applications.

The same section also has information concerning nobility titles<sup>17</sup>. The data that interest us fall into two categories: title awards and transmissions, giving the date of death of the previous holder and the permits for marriages of the descendants of title holders, which enable us to analyse family relations and the policies of alliances. The continuation of this information is to be found at the Ministry of Justice.

The section of Military Orders<sup>18</sup> is also well worth visiting. The

17. EUGENIO SARRABLO AGUARELES, *Catálogo alfabético de los documentos referentes a Títulos del Reino y Grandezas de España conservados en la sección de Consejos suprimidos*. Eugenio Sarrablo Aguareles, José Antonio Martínez Vara. Madrid: Patrónato Nacional de Archivos Históricos, 1951-1954. 3 vols.

18. The section of Military Orders has several printed catalogues: *Archivo histórico nacional*, Madrid. *Sección de Órdenes Militares. Índice de expedientillos y datas de hábito de caballeros en Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara y Montesa*. Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1976. VICENTE CADENAS Y VICENT, *Caballeros de la Orden de Alcántara que efectuaron sus pruebas de ingreso durante el siglo XIX*. Madrid: Hidalguía, 1956. VICENTE CADENAS Y VICENT, *Caballeros de la Orden de Calatrava que efectuaron sus pruebas de ingreso durante el siglo XIX*. Madrid: Hidalguía, 1976. VICENTE CADENAS Y VICENT, *Caballeros de la Orden de Montesa que efectuaron sus pruebas de ingreso durante el siglo XIX*. Imprenta y Editoria Maestre, 1957. VICENTE CADENAS Y VICENT, *Caballeros de la Orden de*

records there provide family information covering three generations: birth certificates, marriage, testament and proofs of nobility which, in some cases, consist of the certification of posts held by relatives. The records of the Order of Carlos III are similarly structured, and are held in the State section dating up to 1847, when the system was modified and the Order became a simple decoration requiring no such documentary evidence<sup>19</sup>.

The *Presidencia* section of the *Archivo General de la Administración* at Alcalá de Henares preserves the original documents of the appointments and retirements of Civil Governors, of members of the Royal Council and the state. But the best organised information of this kind is to be found in the *Presidencia del Gobierno* archive.

The *Archivo de Presidencia del Gobierno* contains the records of Ministers, which are not usually very useful for a number of reasons. In the first place, they do not record all appointments and retirements; the first years of Isabel II's reign are particularly poor in this respect. The documentation itself also lacks interest, as most of it gives the text of decrees that originally appeared in the *Gaceta de Madrid*, and so provide very little information (a resignation perhaps, or the award of

*Santiago que efectuaron sus pruebas de ingreso durante el siglo XIX*. Madrid: Hidalguía, 1958. AUREA JAVIERRE MUR, *Pruebas de ingreso en la orden de San Juan de Jerusalén*. Madrid: Patronato Nacional de Archivos Históricos, 1948. JOSÉ LUIS SANTALO Y RODRIGUEZ DE VIGURI, *Los Caballeros de la Orden de Santiago en el siglo XX*. José Luis Santaló y Rodríguez de Viguri, Luis Alfonso Vidal y de Barnola. Madrid: AHISDEO, 1979. VICENTE VIGNAU, *Índice de pruebas de los caballeros que han vestido el hábito de Calatrava, Alcántara y Montesa desde el siglo XVI hasta la fecha*. Vicente Vignau, Francisco R. de Uhagón. Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de la Viuda e Hijos de M. Tello, 1903. VICENTE VIGNAU, *Índice de pruebas de los caballeros que han vestido el hábito de Santiago desde el año 1501 hasta la fecha*. Vicente Vignau, Francisco R. de Uhagón. Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de la Viuda e Hijos de M. Tello, 1901.

19. VICENTE CADENAS, *Extracto de los Expedientes de la Orden de Carlos III (1771-1847)*. Madrid: Hidalguía, 1979-1988. 13 vols.

special honours at a funeral) not included in the gazette.

University files often contain worthwhile biographical information, including the subject's academic record and the circles of friends and teachers he frequented. We examined archives in Madrid (*Archivo Histórico Nacional* and the *Universidad Complutense*), Vallodolid (the universities of Valladolid and Oñate) and Salamanca, which are the most important references in Basque university student tradition.

The *Archives Nationales* in Paris (section F7 packets 11,981 - 12, 119) contain a wealth of information compiled by the French police on the liberal MPs who were obliged to emigrate.

Another abundant source is newspapers and journals, some official, like the *Gaceta de Madrid*, the provincial gazettes or the reports of parliamentary or senate sessions, and some (about twenty) non official publications like the *Irurac-Bat* or *Euscalduna* newspapers.

Also included here is the partial result of exhaustive pictorial research. The laboratory for the analysis of the transition of the *Ancien Régime* contains an archive and a pictorial database on the 19th century which has provided portraits of the MPs<sup>20</sup>.

## Conclusions

The biographies of the 296 MPs representing the provinces of Alava, Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa and Navarra have enabled us to draw a number of preliminary conclusions.

The general chart of Members of Parliament and Senators is as follows:

MP constituency seats	SENATE seats	TOTAL representatives
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20. We did the research work for the pictorial database and completed it in 1991, with a UPV-EHU research project entitled *La transición del Antiguo Régimen vista por sus contemporáneos: Iconografía y cartografía de Vasconia (1789-1876)*.

ALAVA	30	16	43
BIZKAIA	62	15	74
GIPUZKOA	54	14	65
NAVARRA	110	21	122
TOTAL	256	66	
REPRESENTATIVES	251	65	296

The first impression we get from this table is one of mobility, which suggests an open élite in a phase of transformation. Opposed to this general conclusion are the cases of members like Fermín Lasala Collado, *Duque de Mandas*, member for the San Sebastián disrict almost uninterruptedly from 1857 through to the last legislatures of the 19th century. There were other cases: Pedro Egaña was returned on 11 occasions, I. Altuna on 7, and Nazario Carriquiri 14.

Most members come from families originating in the Basque Country, although some were actually born elsewhere. Some families, mainly traders and merchants from other parts of Spain or even further afield, settled in the Basque Country and then became part of the ruling élite. This suggests that the élite was in fact fairly permeable. Of the members originating from the Basque provinces, attention should be given to the sizeable group of them living in Madrid, where they looked after their financial interests. Lastly, it should be remembered that at times of change and, therefore, of political instability, a number of sponsored candidates from outside the Basque Country arrived in Vasconia. In the two years from 1854 to 1856, known as the *Bienio Progresista*, the leaders of the *moderantismo* group<sup>21</sup> took refuge in the Alava and Bizkaia districts. During the period known as the *Sexenio*

21. Conservative splinter group of Spanish liberalism united in the "moderate" party. See M. ARTOLA GALLEGOS, *Partidos y programas políticos, 1808-1936*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1977. pp. 244-254 and MANUEL ESPADAS BURGOS, *Guerra de la Independencia y Epoca Constitucional (1808-1898)* Manuel Espadas Burgos y José Ramón Urquijo Goitia. - Madrid: Gredos, 1990. - (Historia de España/coordinada por Angel Montenegro Duque; t. 11). pp. 294-296.

*Democrático*, a six-year democratic interlude lasting from 1868 to 1874, important Carlists<sup>22</sup> won their election certificates in these provinces. Another example is the presence of highranking soldiers, veterans of the last Carlist war in the Basque Country, who also chose to stand in these discrits.

Most members had a university education. In the Basque Country, the Seminary at Bergara and the University of Oñate were the most popular educational centres; further afield the universities of neighbouring regions such as Zaragoza (Saragossa), Valladolid and Salamanca were also favoured, as was Madrid. Some, like Mariano Zabalburu, studied in Paris. A considerable number of MPs were professional soldiers who had received their training in military academies.

The division of parliamentary representatives by age gives us roughly three groups. First, the representatives of the Assembly of Bayonne (1808), the *Cortes* of Cadiz (1810-1814) and the three-year Liberal period (the *Trienio Liberal*) from 1820 to 1823, all of whose members were educated in the Enlightenment tradition which took France as its model. A second generational group sprang from the political experience of the *Trienio*; some belonged in the radical constitutionalist camp and others stuck to traditionalism. This generation took the leading role in the first Carlist war (1833-1839) and governed the country until the 1854 revolution. At this time, two great political movements, liberalism and Carlism, were forming around ideological attitudes shaped over the preceding years. Despite the military confrontation in the 1830s between the two, liberalism and Carlism united over *fuerismo*<sup>23</sup>, an ideology that could have been an instrument for peaceful coexistence and the political backbone of the new nation. But this agreement was frustrated at the end of the next decade by the changes

22. Counter-revolutionary splinter group united around the Pretender from a branch of the Bourbon family. The group stood for traditional monarchy and religion.

23. By *fuerismo* we mean the political tendency that united liberals and Carlists in defence of the exclusive laws of the Basque provinces and their institutions.

brought about in Spain by the 1868 revolution; a second Carlist war, lasting from 1872 to 1876 was the result. The war ushered in a new era and new generations of leaders in the Basque political élite.

It is interesting to note how part of the *Ancien Régime* system survived in Navarra in the new constitutional state: both in the *Cortes* of Cadiz and the *Trienio*, the province maintained a representational system similar to that of the *Diputación*, or Council, elected by the Parliament of Navarra<sup>24</sup>, as in the classic *Ancien Régime* system: one representative for the nobility, one for the clergy and a third for the ordinary state, elected from among the representatives of the towns with a seat in the *Cortes*.

Nor should we lose sight of the fact from the 1830s onwards, when the liberal system really became set on course, the mercantile bourgeoisie, particularly in Bilbao and San Sebastián, began a concerted campaign to win themselves representative political posts and, of course, MPs' and senators' seats. Despite this, throughout the period studied the majority of the seats were occupied by the agricultural élite, except for districts like San Sebastián or members such as Nazatio Carriquiri, a Navarrese trader and rural *rentier*. People that did not belong to these élites only broke in to the political scene in periods of change like 1842<sup>25</sup>, 1854<sup>26</sup>, 1869<sup>27</sup> or 1873<sup>28</sup>. Senators, under the same conditions of eligibility, were great agricultural land-owners and in many cases members of the nobility.

24. The Kingdom of Navarre maintained its *Cortes*, or parliament, which had its roots in the Middle Ages, until the 19th century.

25. General Espartero's regency, when the Government was dominated by progressive liberals.

26. The 1854 revolution which ushered in two years of progressive government.

27. Isabel II of Bourbon was overthrown in 1869 and a democratic monarchy was established with a new constitution. The new king was Amadeo I of Savoy.

28. 1<sup>o</sup> Spanish Republic.

In the larger Spanish political spectrum, Basque representatives usually sided with the conservative options. This political standpoint was defended behind the veil of the proposal for a *política vasconizada*, or what we might now term *Basquepolitik*<sup>29</sup>, involving a determination to remain aloof from the debates dividing moderates and progressives and, later, republicans and monarchists, and only defending the interests of the Basque provinces while avoiding open confrontation with successive governments. This *Basquepolitik* broke down when the progressives were in power, when not only the conditions for a *Basquepolitik* as such, but also the conservative way of life, were endangered.

All this gives a fairly clear idea of the general ideological mindset of Basque parliamentary representatives in this period. The main political debating issue was bound to be the *Fuero*<sup>30</sup>, and it gained in importance throughout the 19th century. The introduction of the foral element helped to distinguish the Basque case from the classic political confrontations in Spain between traditionalist and liberals, moderates and progressives, monarchists and republicans.

Another factor is the gradual shift of most representatives from progressive to conservative options; very few of their number made the journey in the opposite direction.

One final aspect is the participation of the MPs studied in the tasks of both Houses. Two *blocs* can be made out: the liberal progressives, who considered themselves the representatives of the Nation but on an equal footing with the other citizens, took an active part in parliamentary work. The *fueristas*, or foralists, whether of liberal or Carlist lea-

29. The term describes the type of politics supported by the conservative sectors of the élite in the Basque Country, referring to the defence of the interests of the Basque Provinces while ignoring the political debates that divided the Spanish parties.

30. The *Fuero*, or rather the *Fueros*, were the exclusive foral laws peculiar to the Basque Provinces. Fitting them in to the constitutional framework that arose in the wake of liberalism caused much heated argument and the whole question became a central element of political debate.

nings, considered that the provincial parliaments in their provinces<sup>31</sup> should be responsible for domestic policy and so they did not participate actively in legislative work except when such work endangered the Foral laws, or went directly against their political principles; this occurred in several Parliaments after the 1868 revolution and during the debates over the recognition of the Kingdom of Italy. This tallies with what we have previously said about *Basquepolitik*. It is also interesting to note that a number of men appeared as members of parliamentary commissions when the commissions were dealing with subjects affecting their own business interests.

To round off, then we can draw up the following general "photofit" portrait of the typical parliamentarian of the time: a native of the constituency he represented, with university training, usually the owner of agricultural land, although there was also the occasional rich merchant. Very much a conservative, our subject was often quite politically active. This portrait, while generally accurate, can of course be adjusted according to the considerations and circumstances discussed here.

31. Another paper will be given on this subject during the conference: JOSEBA AGIRREAZKKUENAGA, *Dissolution of the Basque Provincial Parliaments during the rise of the Liberal Revolution*.