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Exile as Source of Spanish Moderate Political Thinking during the First Half of Nineteenth Century
Considerations on English case after 1823

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Abstract

This article seeks to analyze the moderate political thinking of those exiled during the postrevolutionary stage, as a conservative solution that many new elites of the Spanish liberalism tried to perform within the difficult context Spain was going through by the first decades of 19th century. A new moderate constitutionalism was common in the 30s in this country, and it was considered a necessary step mean the transition towards liberalism was being completed.

The main goal herein is to review some previous assumptions and provide new insights on the role that the exile played during the first half of nineteenth century as a source of moderate political thinking in Spain. This will be an effort to understand the influence of the exile in their new identities paying special attention to their lives overseas. It implies a study about how that experience had a bi g impact in the new Spanish political project.

Keywords: Liberalism, conservatism, postrevolutionary stage, local politics, parliamentary regime, exile, Spain

1. Perspectives of Exile as a Source of Political Thinking Changes in the 19th Century

In History all particular causes lead to particular consequences, and even small causes can be said to have very significant consequences.[i] These ideas can make us to consider that, in order to come with some initial assumptions about the role that the exile played during the first half of nineteenth century as a source of moderate political thinking in Spain, it is important to have in mind which was the historical context in that country, as well as the new reality exiles experienced in their new destination. The effort to understand the role of the exile in the shaping of their new identities demands a central focus on their lives overseas, and a recognition of the way that experience had been driven by and reflected in their new political project; as "borders have crossed lives as often as bodies have crossed borders."[ii]

On March 19, 1812, the first political Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy was enacted in Cadiz with a clear liberal content. This let a whole new political class participate in the decisions of the Cortes and the Government, and gave sovereignty to the people, something unknown for them until then. It implied, in short, a triumph over the monarchist absolutism and, simultaneously, was the culmination of the country ś struggle that had been held since 1808 against the Imperial Army of Napoleon.

Despite the initial success of the legislative text, all the strong political commitments expected as consequence of this constitutional progress disappeared once Ferdinand VII ascended the throne. After the negotiations of Valençay by the end of 1813, the monarch was able to return to Spain in February 1814, supported by most of the people who had fought for its legitimacy during the last years. Despite the hopes of the Spanish people to maintain the rights and freedom that the Constitution of Cádiz had granted, Ferdinand VII ordered its abolition on May 4, 1814. It was the start point of a six years period of absolutistm along with a widespread repression against liberals, francophiles and any military official who had defended Joseph I Bonaparte. It would be the first liberal exile of the century.

Nevertheless, the ideological and political pillars of a liberal state had been settled, and it did not take long for them to reappear; wich could mean the decadence of the Ancien Regime as an effective political system. This is why the insurrection of Rafael de Riego triumphed on January 1, 1820, in Las Cabezas de San Juan. This rebellion resulted in

the promulgation of the Constitution of 1812 that led the nation to a second period of constitutional political exercise known as "Trieno Liberal".

The liberal principles and the representative constitutional system were again confirmed as overcoming the anachronistic absolutism, that had not succeeded in imposing its power over the people and their demands for change since 1812. "From 1820 to 1823, everything was about consolidating the constitutional government and promoting its advantageous consequences: at giving reverence and respect to the throne, as well as unity and stability to the administrative machine."[iii] It resulted in a very brief triumph again, though. Ferdinand VII had been forced to recognize the Constitution, but he never really accepted its contents. For this reason he sought help from Europe, and in 1823 the Holy Alliance entered Spain through the Pyrenees to help to restore his power. Those regiments and the enterprise were supported by European powers, who had decided during the Congress of Viena to support an international intervention in domestic politics of Spain "for the purpose of preserving the old kingdom in order to reconcile it to Europe."[iv]

This response from the absolutist monarchs facing the liberal movements in the continent put an end to the second Spanish liberal experience. In consequence, the absolute monarchy was restored in government, which let Ferdinand VII begin a new persecution against all the liberal men that might put his authority at risk. He condemned to death a large part of the deputies. Some leaders of the military forces defending the emerging liberalism were prosecuted, everyone holding a political responsibility during the years of the Trienio was condemned, and thousands were forced to exile because of their liberal beliefs. A second liberal exile started then, with France and England as main destinations for many individuals from all social classes departing, mainly, from Cadiz, Gibraltar and La Coruña.[v] This new exile would make those who suffered it reconsider their ideas in favor of more moderate political changes in Spain rather than the first radical approaches of 1812.

Thus, this article aims to reflect on the concrete experience of the exile some Spanish political actors lived through in England after 1823, in order to better understand why so many of them performed such ideological moderation back in Spain. Although France continued to be a common destination for migrants, the new European atmosphere after the Napoleonic Wars motivated them "to seek refuge in the bustling London to an elite group of liberal intellectuals, conspirators, politicians, artists, senior government officials, police officers and persecuted, Spanish or European, whose countries were ruled by absolutist regimes."[vi] It is not the purpose of this article to focus on the private lives of the characters mentioned, nor study their careers. More specifically it attempts to be an approach to the way some exiles tended to moderate ideas after the 1820s seeking to adapt themselves and Spanish politics to a new social and political reality.

The situation in Spain was complex, trying to pass over the Ancien Regime in order to establish a liberal political system toward democracy. After some revolutionary attempts coming from the Constitution of 1812, a new moderate constitutionalism was settled in the 1820s and the 1830s. This was considered by a majority to be a necessary step of transition towards liberalism. Although some of the "exaltados" tried to perform a more radical liberalism during the first decades of the century, both the exile experience after the absolutist repression and the character of Spanish people convinced them to moderate their struggle. Their experience of the exile made them to get in touch with other political solutions and new social environments where they could develop their professional or political training.

Many eventually realized that moderatism was an option which will let them keep their economic privileges, hold their network of patronage, and move forward into national politics and liberal institutions. The following pages seek to show some of the key points that support this idea, taking in consideration the experience of renowned politicians together with the observation and emotions from the displacement.[vii] The liberals who supported a new representative type of government during the first half of the nineteenth century were part of a romantic generation crossed by repression and a long exile background.[viii]

2. First Constitutional Experiences of a New Liberal Political Class in the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. Brief Review

As outlined above, the foreign invasion of the Península by the end of 1807 resulted in fundamental changes and the first contact with contemporary European political thought. During this period, some signs of imminent political changes coming can be observed during the War of Independence. The fact that it all began as a result of an armed conflict meant that the occupation of the troops accelerated the succession of events. From then on, the definitive collapse of the absolute regime could not be stoped, as it was no longer useful in Spain. This originated the appearance of the first attempts to set up a modern liberal state in the country, which actually took place gradually in a constant process of feedback from the old institutions and new ideas, and from new institutions and old privileges.[ix] Thus, the two first decades of the nineteenth century provided a background of permanent instability and constant upsets due to the war and the bicephalous power in the country: the Napoleonic solution giving the throne to his brother José and the proliferation of Juntas everywhere in the country. The Cortes also approved the Constitution of Cádiz in 1812, which

was supposed to be a model of liberties and the gateway to liberalism in Spain. Concepts like representativeness, individual rights and freedoms, separation of powers or rationality became common interests among Spanish people and politics.

Many of the members who played an important role working for public institutions at the beginning of the century were landowners who showed strong roots in provincial politics, as well as a high level of education; both essential requirements to understand their personal and professional growth together with their concerns on public affairs. In those days, public officials should have been elected, but the real practice showed the persistence of vertical relationships of influence that meant the perpetuation of nepotism. Many of them, although formed under enlightened ideas, became supporters of the new liberal ideas. The latter would lead the country to ensure a parliamentary political solution which tried to solve the problems generated by the lack of strong public authorities after the royal family abandoned the country due to the French invasion. It was a political measure that would allow both the economic recovery of the nation and its cultural progress toward the "ideas of freedom."[x]

At first, most men who supported liberalism did so from a rather revolutionary position, as almost any attitude opposed to absolutism would be considered rebellious at that time. This is something that cannot be understood without taking notice of the difficult political situation in Spain and its permanent instability. People constantly cried out for measures to solve their problems once and for all. Hence, although almost every person in the country wanted changes, many people tended to look for innovative but also cautious and conservative ideas.

These were the ideas of a new generation, who suffered the consequences of the national events and demanded reforms. Most of the time reforms cannot be considered progressive, as coming along with those demands for change was a widespread search of the best way to maintain their economic interests and their heritage. Thus, even though liberals were typically more radicals, those then spectators of the national political scene ended up being much more prudent and more conservative in practice.

This first liberal experience in Spain lasted only from 1812 to 1814. After the institutional and political reorganization that Ferdinand VII performed between 1814 and 1820, the next triumph of liberal ideas would be in January 1820, when the Constitution of Cádiz was again passed and the second period of liberal government, the Trienio, started. It is possible now to see how the two attempts to restore the absolute monarchy in Spain failed. The experience of 1812 and the Trienio had prepared the way for a change which could not be reversed. Despite those who dissented the new principles, the liberal cause and a more democratic government were permanently on the minds of the people. Politicians, furthermore, never ceased then to defend the two basic pillars of the Nation: the monarchy and religion.

Over the years most of the public authorities became committed to the new constitutional advances, acting together against those who caused offense to property rights and national morale or endangered the stability of the Nation. It became evident that the achievement of the necessary public to make any progress toward the consolidation of a liberal state needed to be based on a constitutional monarchy, away from radicalism and extreme positions in any form.[xi]

Nonetheless, as pointed out before, despite all the improvements achieved and some preventive measures, absolutism was restored in April of 1823, thanks to the European intervention in the Península.[xii] The following liberal turn-around of institutions and government that took place implied a new exile for many political figures and intellectuals. Ferdinand VII did not hesitate to act immediately imprisoning those whom he was able to capture, and forcing others to take up exile.

As a consequence of all these regime changes and institutional, legal and economic processes in the country, Spanish liberals –while exiled- started to realize they needed to readapt themselves to the time and context they were living in. There was a gradual transformation in their way of seeing and practicing politics as they had to live through a whole series of historic changes. Excited once by the new liberal ideas, the experience of exile and the failure of absolutism in Spain made them lean towards moderate positions in the next stage of their political life; a moderation which could be the solution for the problems of the nation.[xiii]

Tracing their lives throughout their exile would give us a sense of how crucial it was and why it is said the exile changed the life and spirit of the exiled. In some sense, the approach of this paper seeks to understand the significance of that experience to them, and how they lived far from their homes.

It is neccesary to interpret the careers of people in their changing personal context –as it was the exile for all of them-, so as to look at their actions through the prism of their economic, political and socio-cultural actions. Moving beyond the nation also provided a new geographical scene from which national identity and political thoughts could be articulated anew. While each person was unique, the lives of these men were interconnected in an effort to integrate themselves into a new world overseas.

3. The Experience of Exile

The exile was an essential part of nineteenth century politics and the life of many liberals. It was an experience that modified the life and beliefs of all those who suffered it as both personal and political perspective. In the case of Spanish exiles, it was the process that put them into a direct contact with the European liberalism and that greatly contributed to the forging of a new generation of men committed to the new ideals. How was life of these men in London on a daily basis? And, what were their experiences or learning environment? It is worth mentioning, succinctly, some of its characteristics in order to understand how the experience of exile and the way it was carried out affected these men.[xiv] At the same time they were always aware of the Spanish problems within a context of crisis, they showed great admiration of English prosperity.

Some exiles were already famous politicians before arriving in London. Nonetheless, many others revealed not to be renowned political leaders nor men who devoted their life only to the parliamentary cause. They were men who did not produce ideological theories and did not write a long list of works or speeches in Congress that could let us to know more about their rhetoric and eloquence. Some of them did, some did not. Some accomplished leading political positions, and some did not. Regardless which the case was, together they represent a true portrait of enlightened, educated men, involved in their businesses, dedicated to their profession and, in their personal ascent, willing and able to take advantage of the new political and historical circumstances of the contemporary Spain on the cusp of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

There was no doubt London had become one of the biggest meeting points for immigrants from both Europe and other cities in England. Together with the population growth, that caused significant changes in London śs society, culture and administration.[xv] Spanish exiles were direct witnesses to this England which offered a totally diferent picture and experiences than the one they were used to living in Spain. ¿Were they able to understand the meaning of these changes and realities? Could they integrate and assimilate them to their culture? Mention must be made of this, however briefly, to really understand what the experience of exile meant to them. Whatever came to pass, no one could escape the stamp that those years impressed on their lives.[xvi]

3.1 Life in London

The first problem that Spanish exiles had to confront was the departure and the trip away from home and family. Ramón Alesón Alonso de Tejada claimed that "it was an unpleasant sensation to feel alone, without anyone to talk to, and being suspicious to a government that is leery not only of you but of all Spaniards and Portuguese."[xvii] José Maríá Blanco White was also of that opinion, remembering how he, "with too little clothing for the English winter, cold…," felt nostalgia and homesickness in that country "so completely different from his adored sun from Andalucia and the light of its landscapes."[xviii] These testimonies place the subjects in their most specific dimension in time and space, which is helpful to understand their lives and thoughts.

Longing for their country and the unfamiliarity with the English language caused them not just the painful experience of migration itself, but also the personal upheaval of being torn from their homes. This represents "how hard subjects had to work to create communal spaces of belongings based on the perceived reproduction of traditions."[xix] The language barrier was a major obstacle for them, so they needed to find common spaces to meet, familiar places to share, and friends or entertainment to help them cope with their stay in England. Nonetheless, in addition to these inherent nuances in any socio-cultural change imposed by a forced exile, it is necessary to refer to the most original and fascinating circumstances that they could experience in the first person.

3.1.1 London, the Richest City in the World

During the first decades of the nineteenth century England went through a period of great splendor, and London became the heart of the country. A flourishing trade, the development and progress of scientific knowledge, along with increasing social classes differentiation, made London to be the most influential and prestigious city in Europe. Trade was the center of gravity for its economy, as it brought about true admiration.[xx]

For exiles this city was immense and boundless. This is why Blanco White describes it as the richest, happiest and most civilized city widely known throughout history.[xxi] Everything was expensive, and nothing was more appreciated than gold and wealth.[xxii] For each of the characters mentioned, as well as others such us Ángel Saavedra, Espronceda, Ruiz de la Vega or José Joaquín de Mora, it was a place where money seemed to appear everywhere and every last detail could arouse great admiration from all who had been there.[xxiii] By the midcentury Henry Colman pointed out this same idea drawing attention to the fact that it was "absolutely imposible to communicate to one who has not seen it any just idea of it."[xxiv] This immense wealth has to be understood in relation to the opportunities offered by the English industry. The latter was able to satify the demand on the domestic market whilst ensuring large surpluses to export by "a rising standard of living, a growing population and an expanding demand from the colonies provided a market for a wide variety of consumer goods."[xxv]

Spanish exiles were able to witness such a prosperous and healthy economy, which really struck them. This was not only because they could experience new liberties related to politics, religion or economy, but also because of an atmosphere of liberty in all spheres of public and social life. There was freedom of religion without fear of retaliation, freedom of the press, and freedom to take an acting part in the representative government. Additionally, it was also possible to trade freely and bank easily, as "during the 19th century London became the world´s greatest money market, the supreme international centre of banking, commercial credit, overseas loans, commodity transactions, share-dealing and insurance."[xxvi] It was suggested that new constructions, the rehabilitation of different urban areas and an extension of some parts of the city were perfomed to include and accommodate the new social reality, generating further jobs with the addition of a sustained expansion and growth.

Despite these positive developments and challenges, there were very important outstanding problems that were inherent to British society such as poverty, misery, alcohol abuse and social conflicts.[xxvii] Anyone could observe both sides of the spectrum while walking around London: on the one hand, the beautiful well-mantained buildings in the City of Westminster along with its gardens and squares. On the other hand, exclusion, poverty and social destitution which proliferated in Southwark or Bethnal Green. While the life at Court, the activities at Parliament or the habits and attitudes of the high society offered a kind face of London, a very different reality provided a picture of epidemic diseases, corruption and criminality, prostitution or even dirt and agglomeration.[xxviii] However, this poverty was not directly linked to the Spanish exiles in any case, as they were living among the wealthy groups of individuals in London.

3.1.2 Facilities in the City

It is also important to draw attention to another element among the ones that exile experienced: transport infrastructures in England, with a predominance of canals, roads and railways. The former was the most developed by the beginning of 19th century. Canals, together with navigable rivers, made both exports and domestic trade easier, as well as connections between cities.[xxix] It was probably by the second half of the century that the city and port of London started competing successfully with other English cities whose commercial opportunities arose slowly: Lancashire, Liverpool, West Riding, and so on. However, despite the key importance of these new trading or business cities, London clearly played out an economic superiority as a distribution center for goods such as: tea, wool, rubber, copper, tin, diamonds, platinum, spices, carpets, furs, feathers, ivory, silk, and many other products coming from the East and the colonies. This is the reason why exiles admired so much this system of transportation which contributed to English economic growth.

There were, however, economic problems associated with these maritime routes such as high investment of materials and skilled labor. These extra costs, together with the expansion of distribution networks, revealed the need to promote road networks instead of financing new canals.[xxx] It became clear that an improvement of the transport system and its diversity was necessary to expand markets resulting from industrial change.

The real implementation of these initiatives reached its peak of development during the nineteenth century, when the Parliament authorized private companies to start-up some projects for the construction of roads which had a small toll which allowed them to redeem part of the money invested. This profit was spent then on road construction, repairs and maintenance. These efforts led to the upgrading of roads linking the capital with other territories, at the same time that new construction techniques led to more fluency, speed and accessibility for roads. Even though canals remained for a while the most dominant mode of transportation, roads would be essential in making London the most important city of the British Empire.

Streets throughout the city were narrow and curved with pavements in poor condition, which made it difficult to pass through them.[xxxi] Major initiatives were undertaken between 1810 and 1820 to improve some important roads and streets. The Soho area was outfitted for the upper class in London society, the nobility and the *gentry*.[xxxii] The embellishment of this part of the city encouraged the exiles to settle in the area setting up there their residence, meeting points or even amenities and leisure zones. They witnessed its public utility implying both social and cultural benefits. In words of Blanco White it was amazing how easy it was to move from one place to another within England: "cien coches de diligencia salen aproximadamente de Londres en el espacio de sol a sol. Y están construidos de tal manera que además de cuatro o seis pasajeros puedan dar asiento a nueve personas fuera."[xxxiii] Like Blanco White, Ramón Alesón also mentioned to his family the possibilities this transportation offered: "este modo de viajar es general en Inglaterra y viajan así mujeres, hombres, ricos y no ricos y aun los marineros van en las diligencias, que las hay en todas las ciudades del reino y en muchísimos pueblos y llevan cada una 18 o 20 personas."[xxxiv]

However, even though roads were an important symbol of prosperity, "steam railways were the arteries of Victorian England's economic power. Without them the infinitely intricate tissues of nineteenth century urban society and the commerce and industry which they generated would have assumed a very different pattern."[xxxv] The railway lines were

the best mode of transportation to cover long distances, and they involved a growing demand for coal, iron, wood, bricks and labor. For this reason its development was essential to the safe transportation of people and goods, but also to create jobs in a society undergoing major demographic and industrial expansion. The train became "el elemento indispensable para los transportes interiores y exteriores; principalísimos factores de la actividad intelectual, industrial y mercantil del mundo entero."[xxxvi] However, it was a reality not yet developed in Spain. In fact, by the mid-1820s, there were no railroads planned in Spain. A few years passed before any project could be started and finally accomplished in the 1850s.

3.2 New Spaces of Sociability: a Point of Reference for Spanish Exiles

In this particular context characters such as Mendíbil, Felipe Bauzá, Ramón Alesón, Torrijos, or Espoz y Mina lived in London; but also many others who were well-known politicians at the time such as Argüelles, Toreno, Alcalá Galiano, Flórez Estrada or Javier Istúriz, among others. They were all men who played an important political and cultural role during the first decades of the nineteenth century in Spain; men who promoted the spread of liberal and democratic ideas from Europe throughout the country. Accompanying them were also peasants, artisans, small shopkeepers or other liberal professions, which illustrates the wide spectrum of social backgrounds of the exiles. Without any doubt they assembled a remarkable variety of occupations and self-representations: "In 1823 London was peopled with exiles of every kind and every country; constitutionalists who would have wanted just one chamber, constitutionalists who wanted two; constitutionalists that admired the French model, the Spanish, or the American; generals, dismissed presidents of republics, presidents of parliaments dissolved at the point of the bayonet, presidents of cortes dispersed by the bomb-shell; [...] journalists, poets and   men of letters.[xxxvii]

Spanish men had to learn how to adapt themselves to live in a different country, in the city of gold and richness. They went through different individual experiences that defined their lives in England, in which it is possible to detect "the relevance of the exileś contacts with foreign intellectuals and foreign political and economic models."[xxxviii] The richness of their experiences and learning in London had a great impact on their exile, as well as in their subsequent evolution in politics and socio-cultural thinking. The lively political discussions they held and the cafés, social lounges or new meeting points they frequented played an important role in their further careers and the political future of Spain.

Along with high levels of population growth there were changes in the entertainment customs within English society. It continued to be common for upper classes walking around the gardens and attending coffee houses to meet other members of high English society. But new activities and amenities also became common among them, especially circus events, theaters, concert halls or other music performances, which generated a dynamic cultural atmosphere.[xxxix]

Closely related to these questions and events, exiles had the opportunity to attend special programs, exhibits and performances of great importance for the power and prosperity of England during the century. In this sense, it was the way they could be contacted by other exiles while learning how the social life worked in London. Habits and life style linked to aristocratic well-educated society let Spanish exiles cultivate their moral values and good manners, as they were seen as moderate pleasures of who enjoyed a status of privilege.[xl]

Most of Spanish exile were displaced because of their political positions when Ferdinand VII re-established the absolutism. They were part of a group whose privileges had been substantially modified. Saurin de la Iglesia wrote that they were "forced to live as if tomorrow was not for them to see", kept aware of "their belonging to an intellectual elite with social responsibilities."[xli]

All of these men, more or less politically engaged, took part in clubs or cafe meetings, as did the group attending the sessions in Lord Holland House. While in there, they spent their time in talks, being informed about Spain on a daily basis, and sharing political thoughts or ideas.[xlii] Many influential characters came together at these houses: Meléndez Valdés, Martínez de la Rosa, Juan Álvarez Mendizábal, Flórez Estrada, Agustín Argüelles, Ramón Alesón, Antonio Alcalá Galiano or Canga Argüelles, as well as other renowned figures like Blanco White, Valentín Llanos, José Muñoz Sotomayor, Álvaro Agustín de Liaño, José Manuel Vadillo, Joaquín Lorenzo & Jaime Villanueva, José Espronceda, Llorente, Moratín, Clemente Zulueta, Pablo Mendíbil, Pablo Montesinos, José Joaquín and Juan José de Mora or Mateo Seoane, among others.[xliii]

Tertulias, as frequent places to meet, were reading and learning places for those in exile, places to exchange ideas, opinions or concerns. Throughout the entire nineteenth century they were the most renowned intellectual and literacy centers for the upper class to meet as a symbol of success and prestige. There is no doubt Spanish exiles could attended them at the same time they learned more about the English political system; a moderate parliamentarism which was highly respectful of the English crown and social traditions. It implied a kind of government they could easily admire, as it proved to them being extremely useful and flexible to be adapted in the Spanish system in order to overcome the general crisis experienced for years in the country. A country which had been unable to perform the step-by-step advance required to achieve a more liberal political change[xliv].

4. Political and Ideological Changes after the Exile

Taking the events of 1823 and the progresses accomplished in English society as a starting point, together with the series of the experiences exiles lived through there, it is time to reflect on the reasons why this situation caused such an impact on these men and the way it was an exceptional vital and political learning opportunity for them.[xlv]

It is not always possible to acknowledge their political impressions or thoughts while in exile. Spanish government frequently confiscated the mail to prevent conspiracies and ensure the fidelity to the crown and the new regime. One of these men confirmed the precautions that needed to be taken in a letter sent to his wife from London. In this letter he wrote to her: "Your letter arrives opened in London, it brings the stamp of Najera (where you probably put it on the mail), and also brings the approval from Bilbao signed in the verso. This make me believe that it had been sent there to some government commissioner in order to recognize it."[xlvi]

Despite all these difficulties and setbacks, a slow but steady ideological advance can be seen in these subjects when they were back in Spain and appeared to be, more or less, recognized as public figures. In England they could observe, study and assimilate customs and readings that made them aware of the need for essential political changes in Spain. English political and cultural programmes had begun to have some impact in the Spanish context since the final decades of the 18th century, as it presented a political program which exiles could later experience first-hand during their time in London. A time when they did not let emigration take up all their energy, but rather managed to establish the largest possible number of personal and financial relations or learn the most about the English political system.

It was a phase of permanent instabilty and constant upsets in Europe. There were indeed major ruptures and changes throughout the continent during this period; ruptures and changes which made the people be consciuous of living through a time of transition in Europe between two great eras, in which the torrent of civilization needed to destroy all the institutions which belonged to the past. They were also part of a period of deep political changes along which civil liberties had been fundamentally redefined.[xlvii]

A huge amount of experiences had been influencing their lives. On the one hand, the new ideas that sprang up and spread in Spain as a consequence of the crisis of the Ancien Régime over decades. On the other, the events lived in their public existence that were happening simultaneously to the historical evolution of national political life. All of this helped to shape their attitudes and cultural baggage that partially determined their actions and thinking.

These circumstances took place in a space and a time in which many public men were exposed to a gradual process of personal and political adaptation that finally would place them into the ranks of the moderate movement; generally the moderatism project. This analysis allow us to leave aside reductionisms which swing from one extreme to another. One extreme that would understood that only radical breaks with the Ancien Regime could be the correct basis for the establishment of a liberal regime giving the power to the people. And the other extreme, in which the supporters of absolutism defended the perpetuation in power of those who refused to give up their political and economic influence. It is necessary the combination of both, because individuals continually readapted themselves to the changing circumstances imposed by the historical moment and their personal experiences.

4.1 Transition to Political Renewal during the Exile

An overview of their exile is the only way to understand how they were able to re-imagine their socio-political and cultural thoughts throughout difficult moments. The exile provided them an acknowledgement of new values and the political adaptation involved, which took place as a consequence of the contact of exiles with new realities and foreign influences. Many Spanish had to emigrate to England because of their liberal positions and thoughts; and they would later have a main role when back in their mother land. As they took part in the politics of the first liberalism, to which they belonged and therefore formed part of, they contributed to the final support for the social and political local networks in the country. From moderate points of view it was possible to change the mentality of the Spanish people by those who showed themselves to be closer to them and in whom they could see their own interests reflected.

This situation of exile made them to react with fear and rejection towards any radical political demands because they understood perhaps conservative policies were more particularly appropriate for Spain.[xlviii] Alcalá Galiano is one of the most interesting example of those who alternated from "liberal" ideas to ultraconservative ones during the first decades of 19th century.[xlix] It is also the case of Manuel García Herreros; one of the most radical individuals during the Cortes of Cádiz (Regional Assembly of Cádiz) who had to revise his political projects and concepts to adapt himself to the new regime and survive.[l] Alesón, Mendíbil, Istúriz, Canga Argüelles or Villanueva brothers were, along with the former, some of the ones finally defending monarchical conservatism. From the enlightened ideas of the Ancien Regime they took the leap to the liberal system on the path of moderate reforms.

After the second re-establishment of absolutism in 1823 they felt let down and disappointed by the King, being more conscious then that Spain needed to adapt her political system to the frame shaped by liberal movements at the time. A

parliamentary system of government based on constitutional principles, similar to the British example they observed, was urgently needed. Mar á Sierra pointed out that this necessity led Spanish politicians to look for political models in Europe, being the exile the perfect scenario for that purpose.[li]

They wanted to reconfigure the government as long as they could keep their privileges, and their moderation was an attempt to overcome the revolutionary period of 1812 in order to achieve it. While in London they verified the success of a monarchical system where sovereignty was shared between Parliament and the King, and a limited suffrage was practiced. Therefore, their experience in England provided Spanish exiles the knowledge of European and British liberal ideas. It was a long hard experience to go through for all of them. And they needed to hold back their spirit and revolutionary actions to avoid suffering further punishments.

Various factors can explain why they finally moved from ideas of freedom towards moderation. Standing out among them there were a permanent fear of repression, many difficulties experienced during their stay in England and a desire of conservating the privileges and possessions they had. Here, it is necessary to add they were encouraged by the strong belief in British Parliament operations. A clear positioning among the ranks of moderate liberalism could be perceived after those life experiences, an option toward which they had been moving since the Trienio and after their return from England. It is important, though, to point out the fact that Moderate Party –so named- was founded in 1836, as a reaction to the government presided by Mendiz ábal once Ferdinand VII was not king any more.[lii] During the 1820s, some sources still defined *liberal* as a "jealous supporter of the Constitution, King, Religion and the prosperity of the Motherland."[liii] We should keep in mind that during the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s, there was an "enormous difficulty of establishing clear boundaries" between the different political branches in Spain and its projects or programmes.[liv]

After the 1830s the two big parties of the first Spanish liberalism, *progresistas* and *moderados*, consolidated themselves as such. But it was not until 1845 that a certain stability in the new parliamentary system began to be appreciated, once the *moderados* were elected to form a new government and the so-called "Moderate Decade" started.[lv] Because all of this, the consolidation of liberalism in Spain, unlike in France or other European countries, did not start as much as a revolutionary process as after a long process over an extended period of time, scattered with hurdles to overcome.[lvi]

By the end of the 1820s, the men defending constitutional governments presented a specific ideological and political evolution which present themselves as a group of early liberals who found themselves in a context of adaptation and transition in the process of shaping political parties –which were not clearly differentiated until the second half of nineteenth century. This is why it is better to refer to moderate tendencies rather than talk about members of the Moderate Party, strictly speaking.

Their professional, economic and political interests always went hand by hand with the defense of the well-being of the Nation, its progress and prosperity, and a recognized loyalty to the new representative system built around the monarchy. This is why they always defended a government based on social order and the observance of the law. An institution should respond to the acclamations of the people to their right to be "well-governed".[lvii] The common good needed to prevail over any partisan interest, and the people interests had to be guaranteed regardless of political ambitions. Bernardino N úñez de Arenas, contemporary of those suffering exile in London, expressed his opinion saying that political parties existed as a necessity in a constitutional system, and it should be their main goal to promote freedom of speech and thought to find a proper balance in which to experience the people rights.[lviii]

During these years in which the new liberal regime was trying to succeed, it was understood the parties had the duty of achieving the balance between their programs and the work of legislators and government, in order to adapt the system to the specific circumstances of Spain. They payed attention to the need to fight for the proper rule of the country at the same time that the interests of the people and their welfare were guaranteed. On that purpose it was necessary to deal with the historical evolution and the constant changes happening in politics, economics and society rate in the first half of the nineteenth century. Reforms were essential for the prosperity of the nation; they had to be moderate and well-defined changes in order to achieve social and political harmony and national stability.

Their expectations of peace and tranquillity for the country meant to them preventing armed or political conflicts in the years to come. They had finally understood this was the only way for liberal governments and concepts to succeed. The months lived in London made them define their political position from that moment on. Only a moderate political affiliation seemed to help achieve the equilibrium they claimed between their economic privileges and their political concerns, positions or relationships.

4.2 Consequences of that Ideological and Political Adjustment

As previously discussed, the experience of exile changed the life of all those who suffered it. Their stay in England showed them a unique sight; a new world of social rights, political liberties and economic opportunities. But that ought not mean that somehow we also must talk about negative feelings of loneliness, confusion and disillusionment, which were likely at the foundation of their ideological redefinition. Ist úriz wrote to Ram ón Ales ón in 1840 about the trace of

time, the longing for the political dreams of the past and the liberal excitement during the first decade of that century: "hopes are gone and it is late for them to come back. The era of Greed Street is at an end". Alcalá Galiano also said of his youthful years: "Those happy hours! We surely can called them so, as we remember now later disillusionments, hopes dissipated or even our own errors!."[lix]

It should not be seen as a contradictory or pejorative attitude that they adapted their thoughts to moderatism. It is rather the ultimate reality of men who had struggled to survive and had witnessed the decadence of the absolutist political system. Ramón Alesón, for whom one of his biggest achievements was the advance he managed to make from the local to national power in government, understood the necessity of a change: "After a few years examining Spanish people, I came to the conclusion that the Monarchy should be a national institution, and the King a representative of the willingness of all Spaniards."[lx]

Throughout this entire transitional process, the most outstanding value of Spanish Liberalism was its effort to establish a constitutional government, firstly attempted in 1812 and 1820.[lxi] Exile was the gateway to moderatism as the more pragmatic solution to preserve economic privileges, cultural principles and political convictions. I already pointed out that the 1812 Constitution was an international model of liberties during the first two decades of nineteenth century. However, it had shown itself, by the 1830s, ineffective as a tool for new governments. Many of the Spanish exiles confessed their tendency to another more monarchical and moderate constitution, as "with a new one we can advance a little, with the other, nothing."

Traditional local oligarchies, still struggling to maintain their economic and social powers, and a young political generation, more connected to meritocracy and liberal values, found themselves sharing the new political scenario. Looking at this reality, alongside the ideological manifestations from both sides, we can understand the climate of understanding and negotiations, as well as moderate principles of adaptation, which took place by the mid-decades of the century.[lxii]

Once back in Spain, they changed their minds and attitudes. But it was not a quick process of adaptation to the new liberal ideas. Thereafter, the conservative shift in their political approaches to the government did not mean they rejected reforms, but these reforms neded to be perfomed throughout a peaceful and ordered process. Only order and moderation could ensure the victory of a liberal and representative government in a Spain claiming for institutional, economic, social and political reorganization since the beginning of the nineteenth century. And in that context, leaders in national and local politics played a key role in establishing new cultural, intellectual and further political trends.[lxiii]

To name a concrete example, the same conservative ideas developed by Alcalá Galiano, Martínez de la Rosa or Alesón, aforementioned, can be seen in other public –although not politicians- individuals such as Pascual Gayangos or Mora.[lxiv] In the case of Alesón, as in many others, it is not a coincidence that he won a position as a Deputy of the Spanish Parliament from 1836 to 1840 as a moderate representative of Logroño. 1836 was the year when moderatism triumphed in most of the Spanish provinces, and it was then that Alesón, exiled in London from 1823 until 1826, reached that position. At no time did he fail to watch out for the monarchic and religious cause. He desired for "el gobierno mas libre que sea posible", a representative monarchical government which could look for freedom and civil liberties and rights for Spanish people and nation.[lxv]

Such was the political tendencies followed by many of the members around Lord Holland while in England: Alcalá Galiano, Istúriz, Ramón Gil de la Cuadra, Argüelles, Valdés, Bauzá, and so on. A different political project than the more "progrestista" one promoted by individuals such as Espoz y Mina or Torrijos, and which could be a topic for a different article.

5. Conclusions

As it has been described in the preceding pages, hundreds of Spanish intellectuals and politicians were forced into exile during the 1810s and 1820s after the drastic repression which followed the return of Ferdinand VII to the throne of Spain. Britain was then a country whose asylum policy remained fairly liberal, so it became the destination for many of these Spanish liberals.

Once in London, they were confronted with a very different economic situation and radically new politics and culture than the ones they had known in Spain. Although most of them tended to stay in England within Spanish groups and were mostly isolated, a few individuals became involved in British culture, politics and social life. In both cases they witnessed the reality of a new world while suffering the consequences of being away from their homeland. These men came into contact and formed closer links in London, which then had a significant impact on the course of their careers.

In those critical years, clubs, tertulias and cafés provided a perfect platform to analyze and absorbe the British social networks and politics of the moment. These links among exiles were very important for them to learn about the efficient functioning of the British Parliament. It was a representative power shared by the King and Parliament, a system who had been established by moderate measures since the final decades of the seventeenth century.

They had the opportunity of reconsidering their characters and political thoughts, and made them evolve from just "liberal" plans for Spanish Government toward moderate liberal ones which let the country overcome the crisis it was living through, at the time it could start the path for the triumph of Liberalism. In any case did they fail either to watch out for the monarchic and religious cause, with their ultimate aspiration being the welfare and progress of Spain.

They were men who moved, both at a political and professional levels, easily within the networks of sociability of the local and national contexts. Through these links, it was possible to establish the definitive changes at the basic political level that would help to make the Liberal Regime triumph in the country in the midcentury. They lived their lives between two centuries and, more particularly, between two great moments in the political history of Spain: the Ancien Régime and Liberalism. The exile meant to them the opportunity of finding the balance necessary between the possibility of advancement that was open to them thanks to their socio-economic origins and the new opportunities which the liberal culture offered.[lxvi]

Taking into consideration their constant search for prosperity and liberties for Spanish people and government, most of them saw it necessary to tend towards conservative measures, instead of revolutionary ones, to achieve their goals. It was an ideological readjustment and professional retraining as a consequence of their years in England and the knowledge acquired through influences absorbed there. Some would opt for a *progresista* path after the 1830s, but most understood during the 1820s that the critical situation of Spain demanded a political atmosphere of tranquillity which let them start long term successful liberal reforms.

Their first ideas of a free popular education, the welfare of the nation and a good government came from the eighteenth century. First liberals assimilated and learned them to later start the way claiming for liberal and representative institutions in the beginning of nineteenth century. They were the nexus beteween the old regime and the new. And moderatism was their political response to the evolution and expectations of the country, along with their own social and economic interests.

Acknowledgements

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[i] Translation from Comellas J.L. (2006). Del absolutismo a la monarquía constitucional. In *Nación y constitución: de la Ilustración al Liberalismo*. Sevilla: C. Cantarela, Consejería de Innovación, Ciencia y Empresa, Universidad Pablo de Olavide y Sociedad Española de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, 108. All translations in this document correspond as closely as possible with the style and conventions, including spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and the use of italics and other devices, of the texts as originally printed.

[ii] Deacon, D., Russell, P. and Woollacott, A. (2010) reported these considerations in *Transnational Lives. Biographies of Global Modernity, 1700*-Present. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 5.

[iii] *Preservativo contra El Bú de El Piloto, o sea defensa de los liberales*. (1839). Zaragoza: Impr. del Coso, n°116, D. M. Peiro, 8.

iv Fontana J. (2006). *De en medio del tiempo: la Segunda Restauración española, 1823-1834*. Barcelona: Crítica, 33. It is also interesting the approach of the text: La Parra, E. (2007). *Los Cien Mil Hijos de San Luis. El Ocaso del primer impulso liberal en España*. Madrid: Síntesis.

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x The   book from Fernández Sebastián, J. and Francisco Fuentes, J. (2002*). Diccionario político y social del siglo XIX*. Madrid: Alianza, is an essential reference.

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xii An interesting compendium of contemporary reflections can be read in Ramos Domingo, J. (2008). *Crónica e información en el sermonario español del siglo XIX*. Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca.

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xvii Archivo Histórico Provincial de La Rioja (La Rioja Provincial Historical Archive, henceforth   AHPLR), P-A, correspondence from London, Cipriana, October 17, 1823.

xviii Moreno Alonso, M. *Blanco White. La obsesión de España…*, 44-45.

xix Portier, A.M. (2000). *Migrant Belongings. Memory, Space, Identity*. Oxford: Berg, 1.

xx Garside, P.L. (1992). London and the home counties..., 474. Fox, C. compiled the work *London-World City 1800-1840*. New Haven-London: Yale University Press-Museum of London, in which she draws attention to this idea along Chapter 1. A visitor´s guide to London World City, 1800-1840, 11-20.

xxi M. Moreno Alonso, Blanco White. La obsesión de España, 52.

xxii Expressions from María Franzero, C. (1977). *A life in Exile. Ugo Foscolo in London, 1816-1827*. London: W.H. Allen and Co, 12, and AHPLR, P-A, correspondence from London, Manuela, September 8, 1823.

[xxiii] Cooke analyzes this in Cooke, P. (2008). Siete *Cartas desde Londres*: aspectos de autonomía y moralidad en *Ocios de españoles emigrados*. In Blanco, A. y Thompson, G. (eds.). *Visiones del liberalismo. Política, identidad y cultura en la España del siglo XIX*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 43-64.

[xxiv] Colman, H. (1849). *European life and manners*. vol. I. London: John Petherham, 151-155.

[xxv] Hilton. (2006). *A mad, bad, dangerous people? England 1783-1846*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[xxvi] Inwood, S. *A history of London...,* 475.

[xxvii] Langford, P. *A polite and commercial people*, 150-162. It was necessary an Act of Parliament to regulate public spaces uses and practices. Although it was a progress, the problems were not completely solved.

[xxviii] Hollen Lees, L. (1988) *Poverty and pauperism in nineteenth-century London*. Leicester: University of Leicester, 2. Other books on these matters: Engels, F. (1969). *The condition of the working class in England, 1845*. Ed. E. J. Hobswam; Briggs, A. (1968). *Victorian Cities*. Harmondsworth: Penguin; Gladstone, D. (dir.). (1996). *Poverty and social Welfare*. v. I. London: Routledge-Thoemmes Press; Brodie, M. (2004). *The politics of the poor. The East of London (1885-1914)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Davey Smith, G., Dorling, D. and Shaw, M. (2001). *Poverty, inequality and health in Britain: 1800-2000*. Bristol: Policy Press, or Gatrell, V.A.C. (1990). Crime, authority and the policeman-state. In Thompson, E.M.L. *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*. Vol. 3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 243.

[xxix] For a more detailed exploration of this issue Willson, D.H. (1967). *A History of England*. USA: Holt, Rinehart and Winston; or Langford, P. *A polite and commercial people*,   410-417.

[xxx] More information in Langford, P. *A polite and commercial people*, 391-410.

[xxxi] Inwood, S. *A history of London,* 541. For related information, see C. Mackay, A history of London, 387-389.

[xxxii] Adán Poza, M.J. (1998). El exilio de los liberales españoles. *Historia 16 270*, 80-89, 82.

[xxxiii] Moreno Alonso, M. *Blanco White. La obsesión*, 53.

[xxxiv] AHPLR, Fondo P-A, correspondence from London, Cipriana, October 21, 1823.

[xxxv] White, J. (2007). *London in nineteenth century*. London: Jonhatan Cape, 37-46.

[xxxvi] "Caminos de Hierro", in *La Rioja*, January 16th, 1909, 2. Some works can be pointed out as a complement: Artola, M. (1978). *Los ferrocarriles en España, 1844-1943*. Madrid: Banco de España; Pascual Doménech, P. (1978). El ferrocarril de Barcelona a Mataró (1848-1856). *Hacienda Pública 55*, 313-338, and Ibidem (1984). Ferrocarriles y colapso financiero (1843-1866). *Moneda y crédito ClXIX*, 31-68, or Gómez Mendoza, A. (1989). *Ferrocarril, industria y mercado en la modernización de España*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe; and Delgado Idarreta, J.M. (dir.) (2013). *Un Viaje Sobre Raíles. La Rioja (1863-2013)*. Logroño: IER, among many others.

[xxxvii] Pecchio, G. (1978). Osservazioni semi-serie di un esule sull'Inghilterra. In Pecchio, G. *Scritti Politici*. Roma: P. Bernardelli ed., 404.

[xxxviii] Biagini, E.F. (2006). Liberty, Class and Nation-Building. Ugo Foscolo's 'English' Constitutional Thought, 1816-1827. *European Journal of Political Theory 1, V. 5*, 34-49, 35.

[xxxix] Thompson, E.M.L. *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*. vol. 2, 294-320.

[xl] More details in Inwood, S. *A history of London*, 669-671 and Besant, W. *London in the nineteenth*, 176-183.

[xli] Saurín de la Iglesia, M.R. (1997). Variaciones sobre un tema goethiano: *Ocios de españoles emigrados* (1824-1827). *Spagna Contemporanea 11*, 31-50, 46.

[xlii] News from Spain arrived quickly and easily in England as consequence of speed of communications. Pablo Mendíbil y Alesón pointed out as "desde el puerto de Santa María venían las noticias por el telégrafo en 7 u 8 días; por el correo ordinario en 12 o 13 días. De Madrid vienen en 11 días, y tenemos aquí ya noticias de Barcelona de 31 de octubre, que es decir, de hace 8 días", Fondo P-A, correspondence from London, Cipriana, November 7, 1823.

[xliii] Hamnett, B. (2003). Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva (1757-1837): de católico ilustrado a católico liberal. El dilema de la transición. In Blanco y Thompson, *Visiones del liberalismo*, 19-42. Further discussion can be found in Viguera Ruiz, R. *El exilio de Ramón Alesón*, just as an example. Some other "Tertulias" during this period were the ones held at "Librería Clásica y Española", owned by Vicente Sardá in Regent Street, and at "Imprenta Española," a property of Marcelino Calero in Frederich Place (Goswell road). Together with them cultural, political and social meetings were held near Somers Town, in D. Agustín Argüelles´house. He was also a member of the Lord Holland´s group, and shared the house with Cayetano Valdés and Ramón Gil de la Cuadra. Istúriz, Alcalá Galiano, the Villanueva Brothers and others who attended those sessions. See Argüelles, A. (1834). *Apéndice a la sentencia pronunciada en 11 de mayo de 1823 por la Audiencia de Sevilla contra sesenta y tres diputados de las Cortes de 1822 y 1823*. Londres: C. Word e hijo. He, together with Mendizábal, went back to Spain during the 1830s after some years in England and France.

[xliv] Viguera Ruiz, R. *El liberalismo en primera persona*, conclusion pages.

[xlv] Butrón Prida, G. El exilio liberal y afrancesado en el reinado de Fernando VII: un breve estado de la cuestión. In Casas Sánchez, J.L. y Durán Alcalá, F. *III Congreso sobre republicanismo,* 75.

[xlvi] AHPLR, Fondo P-A, correspondence from London, Cipriana, September 10, 1824.

[xlvii] As K. Mckenzie has argued in: Opportunists and Impostors in the British Imperial World. The tale of John Dow, Convict, and Edward, Viscount Lascelles. In Deacon, D., Russell, P. and Woollacott, A. *Transnational Lives*, 71.

xlviii Further discussions on the matter of the profound impact of exile in identities and politics in Kamen, H. (2007). *The disinherited: the exiles who created Spanish culture*. London: Allen Lane, and Fuentes, J.F., Rojas Friend, A. and Rubio, D. (1998). Aproximación sociológica al exilio liberal en la década ominosa (1823-1833). *España Contemporánea 13, VII*, 7-19.

xlix More details in Sánchez Garía, R. (2003). *Textos y discursos políticos* (Antonio Alcalá Galiano), Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, and (2011). Alcalá Galiano. Política y literatura en el exilio. In Muñoz Sempere, D. and Alonso Garía, G. (eds.) *Londres y el liberalismo hispánico*. Vervuert: Iberoamericana, 17-33.

l References about this character: Reinares, E. (2006). *Garía Herreros "El Numantino": emigrantes, judíos, clérigos y otras vidas riojanas insólitas en la revolución liberal*. Logroño: Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Tecnicos de La Rioja, and Reinares, E. and Viguera Ruiz, R. (2012). *Manuel Garía Herreros: un liberal camerano en las Cortes de Cádiz*. Logroño: Asociación Amigos de San Román de Cameros.

li Sierra, M. (2009). El espejo inglés de la modernidad española: el modelo electoral británico y su influencia en el concepto de representación política. *Historia y Política 21*, 139-167, 141.

lii A great work on this topic to complete these ideas is: Fernández Sarasola, I. (2009). *Los partidos políticos en el pensamiento español de la Ilustración a nuestros días*. Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia.

liii "El soldado adulador". Manuel Ruiz, D. (1821). *Aplicación de las voces de serviles y liberales con alguna cosilla sobre la causa del diez de marzo en Cádiz*. Jerez de la Frontera, 6. For related information see Gómez Ochoa, F. (2003). Pero ¿hubo alguna vez once mil vírgenes?. In Suárez Cortina, M. *Las máscaras de la libertad. El liberalismo español 1808-1950*. Madrid: Marcial Pons-Fundación Práxedes Mateo-Sagasta.

liv For further discussion on this issue see Blanco and Thompson. (2008). *Visiones del liberalismo. Política, identidad y cultura en la España del siglo XIX*; Romeo, M.C. (2005). De patricios y nación. Los valores de la política liberal en la España de mediados del siglo XIX. *Melanges de la Casa Velázquez 35*; Burdiel, I. (2003). La consolidación del liberalismo y el punto de fuga de la monarquía (1843-1870). In Suárez Cortina, M. *Las máscaras de la libertad.*, or Suárez Cortina, M. (2009). Las culturas políticas del liberalismo español (1808-1931). In Delgado, J.M. y Ollero, J.L. (eds.), *El liberalismo europeo en la época de Sagasta*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva-Fundación Práxedes Mateo-Sagasta.

lv It has been stressed by Professor Gómez Ochoa, F. (2002). Manuel Orovio y el liberalismo conservador español. *Graccurris 13*, 23-64, 31 ff.

lvi Several authors have insisted on this point, amongst the ones it could be highlighted Vivero, P. (2001). La transición al liberalismo: de las formas administrativas a las reformas políticas (1823-1833). *Ayer 44*, 175-196, Fontana, J. (1979). *La Crisis del Antiguo Régimen, 1808-1833*. Barcelona: Crítica, as well as Luis, J.P. (2001). La década ominosa (1823-1833). Una etapa desconocida en la construcción de la España Contemporánea. *Ayer 41*, 85-111, among many others.

lvii Many specialists have studied this matter. Amongst them is Gómez Ochoa, F. (2002). Manuel de Orovio, or (2004). Problemas sociales y conservadurismo político durante el siglo XIX. *Historia contemporánea 29*, 591-624, for example.

lviii Nuñez de Arenas, B. (1840). *De nuestra situación. Moderados, exaltados, tercer partido*. Madrid: Imprenta de Mellado.

lix Alcalá Galiano, A. (1955). *Recuerdos de un anciano*. Madrid: BAE.

lx AHPLR, Fondo P-A, 032/18...

lxi There are many works on the connections between Spain and Europe in that period, as for example are Santirso, M. (2008). *Progreso y libertad: España en la Europa liberal (1830-1837)*. Barcelona: Ariel; La Parra E. and Ramírez, G. (2003). *El primer liberalismo. España y Europa, una perspectiva comparada*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana-Biblioteca Valenciana, or Casmirri, S. (1998). *La Europa del sur en la época liberal: España, Italia y Portugal: una perspectiva comparada*. Santander: Universidad de Cantabria-Università de Cassino, among others.

lxii Romeo, M.C. (2001). Tras los escombros de la revolución. El moderantismo y las estrategias políticas y culturales de dominación. In Fuentes, J.F. and Roura i Aulinas, L. *Sociabilidad y liberalismo en la España del siglo XIX. Homenaje al profesor Alberto Gil Novales*. Lleida: Milenio, 239-260.

lxiii Ginger, A. Exile, return and the fashioning of the liberal self: Jacinto Salas y Quiroga and others. In Muñoz Sempere, D. and Alonso Garía G. (eds.), *Londres y el liberalismo*, 189-202, 189.

lxiv Escribano, F. El extraño exilio de Pascual de Gayangos en Londres. In Muñoz Sempere and Alonso Garía (eds.). *Londres y el liberalismo*, 75-94; Monguió, L. (1965). Don José Joaquín de Mora en Buenos Aires en 1827. *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 31, 1: 317-318 or Amunátegui, M.L. (1888). *Don José Joaquín de Mora. Apuntes biográficos*. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nacional, 10-11.

lxv All these references are contained in AHPLR, P-A, 032/11, "escritos, documentación y borradores para intervenciones de Ramón Alesón en las Cortes como Diputado por la provincia de Logroño".

lxvi It was a background shared by many nineteenth century liberals, as studied by Burdiel, I. and Romeo, M.C. (1996). Los sujetos del proceso revolucionario español del s. XIX. *Historia Contemporánea 13-14*, 149-156.