

The politics of representation: elections and parliamentarism in Portugal and Spain, 1875–1926

edited by Pedro Tavares de Almeida and Javier Moreno Luzón, Eastbourne, Sussex Academic, 2018, 273 pp., £65 (hbk), ISBN 9781845198756

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To cite this article: María Zozaya-Montes (2021) The politics of representation: elections and parliamentarism in Portugal and Spain, 1875–1926, *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, 41:1, 118–120, DOI: [10.1080/02606755.2020.1767858](https://doi.org/10.1080/02606755.2020.1767858)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02606755.2020.1767858>



Published online: 08 Jun 2020.



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zu einem Staatsamt, zweitens das Ende des höfischen Absolutismus und drittens die Idee von Freiheit und Gleichheit aller Angehörigen einer Nation.

Im Abschluss skizziert Kraus verschiedene Auffassungen von Monarchie im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts: zunächst eine konservativ-religiöse, dann die Vorstellung einer sozialen Monarchie, jene der konstitutionell-parlamentarischen Monarchie und schließlich die Idee einer national-demokratischen Monarchie, die eine Einheit von Monarch und Volk postulierte.

Der Beitrag von Volker Sellin über die „Nationalisierung der Monarchie“ gibt einen Überblick über die Entwicklung ausgewählter konstitutioneller Monarchien vom Ende des 18. bis in das späte 19. Jahrhundert. Sein Resümee ist, dass der moderne Verfassungsstaat in Europa weniger der Revolution selbst zu verdanken sei als den Restaurationen, die weitere Revolutionen vermeiden wollten.

Den Abschluss des Bandes bildet Franz-Rainer Erkens Essai „Vom ‚magischen Kitt‘ der Monarchie“, in dem er sich im Wesentlichen mit der Vorstellung des Gottesgnadentums, primär in der Neuzeit, beschäftigt. Auch wenn Aufklärung und französische Revolution die entscheidende Erschütterung für die Idee des Gottesgnadentums brachten, hatte die Idee des Gottesgnadentums auch im 19. Jahrhundert noch Anhänger und Nachwirkungen, mit denen sich Erkens im letzten Teil seines Essays beschäftigt.

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<https://doi.org/10.1080/02606755.2020.1808921>




The politics of representation: elections and parliamentarism in Portugal and Spain, 1875–1926, edited by Pedro Tavares de Almeida and Javier Moreno Luzón, Eastbourne, Sussex Academic, 2018, 273 pp., £65 (hbk), ISBN 9781845198756

This collaborative book, edited by Tavares de Almeida and Moreno Luzón, concerns essential aspects of political life during the monarchical and constitutional period since the 1830s, focusing on the period of consolidation of Iberian liberal regimes from the 1870s to 1930s. Authoritative researchers reveal that both countries had strong political similarities and convergences. Common to both were the origins of a representative system with clientelist mobilization, electoral processes with fraud and corruption, the evolution of suffrage to a wider population, although with class and gender limitations, and the critical image of the role of parliaments for intellectuals and for ordinary citizens.

Tavares de Almeida analyses elections and parliamentary recruitment in Portugal since 1878. Electoral reforms extended the right to vote, and republican and anti-dynastic parties grew, but the expanded suffrage was restricted in 1895. Real political activity had irregularities and unlawful practices, dominating the electoral caciquism with clientelist transactions, and the rotational system. Candidates should have had a party affiliation or political connections, their predominant geographical origins were Lisbon and Porto, their average age was 44 years old, and they had to be landowners or to have a university degree. The first republic recruited the political elite - younger, with more modest social origins, from liberal professions and military officers. Carlos Dardé analyses elections after the Spanish restoration in 1875, which brought about political stability,

began to call for democracy, criticizing local caciques, public servants, or party marshals. Its primary function was to desacralize by using laughter and political satire, to criticize old values, the monarchy, the corrupt parliament, and electoral fraud. Javier Moreno describes images of parliamentarism during the Spanish restoration (1875–1923). Focuses on literary sources, novels, columns, and drawings reflects a view of elections, deputies, and parliament. During all of the constitutional regimes, politicians appeared in those sources, but since 1883 the liberal press laws allowed freedom of expression, thus growing criticism against them. From 1890 to 1920, many works underlined the defects and the vices of the parliamentary system, using fiction as a tool of ideological combat for moral reproaches, denouncing its corruption, reinforced by political cartoons and parliamentary chronicles since 1900. Rural scenarios show clientelism and personalism from the countryside, depicting a bestiary of bad and good caciques, and chambers were seen as a useless but necessary spectacle for archetypes.

This book speaks to the birth of democracy in South Europe and explains its insecure roots, with a strong tradition of corruption and discredit of the political system, thus explaining some origins of dictatorship. This indispensable book on Iberian peninsula politics should be in the library of every serious historian of the period.

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<https://doi.org/10.1080/02606755.2020.1767858>



Il governo rappresentativo: Cultura politica, sfera pubblica e diritto

costituzionale nell'Italia del XIX secolo, by Giuseppe Mecca, Macerata, Eum, 2019, 240 pp., €16 (pbk), ISBN 978-88-6056-623-2

Through an in-depth analysis of the doctrine, literature and memoirs, this volume examines the concept of the Italian representative government under various profiles: legitimacy, nature and foundation, relationship with the Crown, continuity / discontinuity.

The question of legitimacy is dealt with moving from the debate around the concept of Constitution: be it granted by a King, or established by a Constituent Assembly, or considered as a continuous work in progress stemming from the idea of Parliament as a 'perpetual Constituent body'. This debate, influenced by internal and external conditions (the risk of a civil war between Royalists and Republicans, or the risk of military intervention by European monarchies against the perspective of a Constituent assembly), led to a Pact between King and nation, which solves the problem of sovereignty (neither that of the Prince, nor that of the people). However, inside that pact the author correctly underlines two levels of legitimacy: the plebiscites on unification, voted by universal suffrage and considered by the majority of democrats as the true origin of united Italy; the election of the Chamber of Deputies, by limited suffrage and considered by the Liberal ruling class the very expression of the country.

The nature and foundation of a representative government is based, above all, on the presence of elected institutions and a public constitutional sphere, developed through freedom of speech. The book emphasizes the interdependence between 'constitutional communication' and 'constitutionalisation' of Liberal Italy. However, the crucial aspect of the relationship between government and representation remains slightly on the background. This crucial