

The rise of the legal profession, its relative wealth, and its expansion from the Old Town into the Ensanche 1841-1911

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El auge de los juristas, su relativo estatus acomodado y traslado del Casco Viejo al Ensanche 1841-1911

Abstract

The exodus of legal professionals from the Old Town of Bilbao to the first *Ensanche* (urban expansion area) came in response to the many social problems in the last quarter of the nineteenth century resulting from Bilbao's 'shock' industrialization. While the legal profession expanded into and remained in the 'space' of the new *Ensanche*, principally after 1890, the great industrial and financial bourgeoisie of Bilbao, like the 'upper middle classes' of Manchester, abandoned the city centre for pleasanter coastal villages or 'leafy' suburbs.

Key words: legal professionals, lawyers, Bilbao old town, urban expansion, industrialization.

Resumen

El éxodo de los bufetes de abogados del Casco Viejo de Bilbao al primer ensanche resulta un ejemplo del impacto social de la industrialización. Mientras los abogados y profesionales asociados se ubican después de 1890 en el nuevo ensanche, la burguesía industrial y financiera, al igual que las clases medias altas en Manchester, proceden a abandonar los núcleos urbanos para trasladarse a villas costeras y barrios residenciales.

Palabras clave: juristas, abogados, Bilbao Casco Viejo, ensanche, industrialización.

Laburpena

Legelari eta abokatuen gorakada, bizimaila ona eta aldeta alde zaharretik Bilboko zabalkunde aldera. 1841-1911 legearen inguruko profesionalak, abokatuak tarteko, alde zaharretik Bilboko zabalkunde aldera joan ziren eta hori industrigintzaren ondorioz etorri zen. Abokatuak eta inguruko profesional Bilboko zabalkundean finkatzen ziren bitartean, finantza eta industria arloko burgesia eta hiri gunetatik inguruko kostaldera eta auzo erresidentzialetara alde egiten zuten Manchesterreko erdi-go mailetako klaseak egin zuten bezala.

Hitz gakoak: abokatuak, legearen profesionalak, Bilboko alde zaharra, zabalkundea, industrigintza.

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Nineteenth century liberal optimists saw the town or rather the growing industrial city as a centre of industry and technology and therefore 'progress', whereas conservatives saw it as a place where old values and social ties were being lost. For the English dissenter and liberal Robert Vaughan¹ towns were bulwarks of the commercial class against the conservative landed aristocracy and where the trading class represented the spirit of the age. This very much chimes with the antagonism between Carlism and the countryside against liberalism and the city in Biscay, the Basque Country and generally in Spain, a problem that required three civil wars and more than a hundred years to fully overcome. Indeed Braudel² ascribed such great influence to the town that he designated it the 'generator of progress and the motor of civilization'. For Marx³ the struggle of the town against the country was a struggle of the bourgeoisie against the feudal powers of private property against feudal estates and common ownership; it was the place, the space, the laboratory from which new means of production originated, it was the origin of civilization, whereas for Engels it created a new barbarism.

R.J.Morris⁴ has suggested that British towns and cities were substantially the creation of their middle classes within which they sought, extended and defended their power. The middle class in England no less than its social equivalents in Continental Europe was predominantly identified with urbanism and urbanity. Simon Gunn⁵ suggests the meanings of 'middle class' have been carved out in close relation to the changing configuration of urban space and place. A new kind of physical and social space, 'the urban' was strongly identified with the middle class. By the mid-Victorian period 'middle class' has a clear socio-economic basis in business and the professions. Robert Gray⁶ has further emphasized how in the 1850s and 1860s a new sense of urban England took shape around the agenda of reform, led by professional networks of ministers, medical men and philanthropists. Consequently, towns became implicated in middle class networks that transcended their boundaries. Employers and professionals remained identified with the urban locale up to 1900 and beyond and reinforced the idea of towns as the natural habitat of the middle class. After the 1840s 'middle class' meaning shifted from the moral and political to the social and cultural and with this shift came a changing perception of the spatial configuration of the town, the distinction between the centre and the periphery and different functional spaces. Before and after 1918 cities witnessed a steady outflow of their traditional elites, alternatively it has been suggested that the exodus of elites has been somewhat exaggerated since other sections of the middle class remained active players in town and cities up to 1950. However, there is widespread evidence of the withdrawal of leading employer and professional families from industrial towns and cities after 1900 with the First World War representing a watershed. The withdrawal of the wealthiest employers and business people from municipal government and voluntary associations was frequently taken by professionals and small business owners especially in smaller towns, the bank manager, solicitor, clergyman and teacher continued to be seen as pillars of the local community.

However, Bilbao's expansion was determined by its physical handicaps, popularly known as the '*botche*' because of the fact that it is hemmed in on three sides by mountains, it was unable to expand its boundaries other than by the annexation of the satellite villages such as Abando, Begoña and Deusto, which did not finally become part of Bilbao until the 1920s. Consequently, the first *ensanche*, created on the other side of the river Nervión was in direct response to the problems of overcrowding, water pollution, the supply of clean drinking water and the periodic outbreaks of cholera in the *Casco Viejo*, well before this policy of annexation had started. The illustrious engineers Ernesto Hoffman and Pablo Alzola were given the responsibility of planning the new *ensanche*. The Spanish concept of the '*Ensanche*'⁷ or enlargement put Spain at the forefront of European urban planning and Cérda is a figure of European importance in formulating the *ensanche* as a theory and model for urban planning. Nevertheless, after his death in 1876 there was a damaging discontinuity as Spanish urban planning lost touch with its theoretical underpinnings just when urbanization was beginning to accelerate.

Bilbao had grown from being a thriving town of artisans, sailors and merchants and had been transformed into a city comprising an urban *ensanche* and surrounding districts where 58% of the active population worked in secondary occupations in 1900 according to Joseba Agirreazkenaga⁸. Bilbao had already engulfed such 'spaces' as Abando and Begoña and in 1907 plans, designed by Federico Ugalde, were underway to create a new Bilbao by 1910. The new Bilbao of the surrounding working class districts appeared at the end of the nineteenth century as a result of the exploitation of the iron ore mines of Miravilla and the opportunities for work they provided. The 'spatial configuration' of Bilbao was emphasized by the distinction between its centre and the periphery and their functional differences. During the last third of the nineteenth century Bilbao underwent a transformation into an urban city which spread from the metropolitan area along the Ibaizabal to the estuary. Along with this rapid growth came the social problems of overcrowding, the precarious supply of drinking water, outbreaks of cholera and consequently the shortened expectations of life for the popular or working classes. For the industrial and financial

burguesía the solution was to be found by an exodus from the *Casco Viejo* to the *Ensanche* on the other side of the river Nervión. The seven streets of Bilbao became a centre of shops popular middle classes.

One of the staples of local history, legal records have allowed considerable insight into the workings of institutions integral to modern localities and has provided one of the most valuable windows on to the complexity of social relations. Law courts have been characterized as instruments of social control serving the interests of élites; typically the law was seen as an instrument of ruling-class oppression. However, a recent approach underscores the links between the law and social conflict with high levels of both civil and common law litigation cited as evidence of an acutely conflict-ridden society. On the other hand, legal institutions especially the borough courts of incorporated towns have been identified as sites of negotiation and reconciliation serving to justify and protect traditional community values threatened by an expanding market economy. The purpose of this paper is to bring to light the emergence of a neglected urban jurisdiction, that of Bilbao, as a potential prism in which to explore the growth of the legal profession and its exodus from the *Casco Viejo* and expansion to the *Ensanche* space.

Bilbao's jurisdictional limits had been determined by the 1888 reorganization of *Audiencias Territoriales* under the new national legal code and Bilbao was embraced within the jurisdiction of the Burgos Territorial *Audiencia*. However, this jurisdiction did not limit Bilbao in other ways. Middle class lawyers and the liberal professions in general tended to be monarchists linked to the industrial and financial *burguesía*, such as the likes of Gregorio Balparda and Federico Moyua both of whom were lawyers with mercantile business interests, whereas Basque Nationalist mayors of Bilbao tended to be university graduates usually with a degree in law and linked to the business enterprises of entrepreneurs like the Basque Nationalist Ramón de la Sota. The growth of, spread and expansion of the legal profession from the confines of the *Casco Viejo* to the open space of the *Ensanche* is what concerns this paper.

The principal empirical focus concerns the analysis of the primary sources, such as the various forms of the Bilbao Census or *Padrón* housed in the *Foral* Archives of the Biscay *Diputación*. In addition, the *Impuestos de Utilidades*, a tax imposed on the liberal professionals and housed in the same archives, are especially interesting for an insight into the liberal professionals' inroads into corporatism and '*pluriempleo*', together with the *Judicial Corregimiento* especially for the analysis of the most prominent lawyers and solicitors in Bilbao based on the number of lawsuits they were involved in, particularly for the early period from 1830-1850, thereafter with the change of the jurisdiction to Burgos, the archives were housed separately in Vitoria. No similar study has been undertaken in Bilbao of lawyers, and the only work of a similar nature in Spain is that of Stephen Jacobson's "Catalonia's Advocates: Lawyers, Society, and Politics in Barcelona, 1759-1900"⁹. For the first time, an in-depth empirical analysis of the growth of lawyers in the old citadel of Bilbao and their geographical spread to the *Ensanche*, has been carried out. The sources reveal both the extent to which the legal professions grew from such small beginnings in the 1840s *Casco Viejo*, to their extensive exodus into the *Ensanche* across the Nervión. Briefly the sources reveal the growth of lawyers, their offices and the streets they worked in between 1841 and 1909 as can be seen from the maps below.



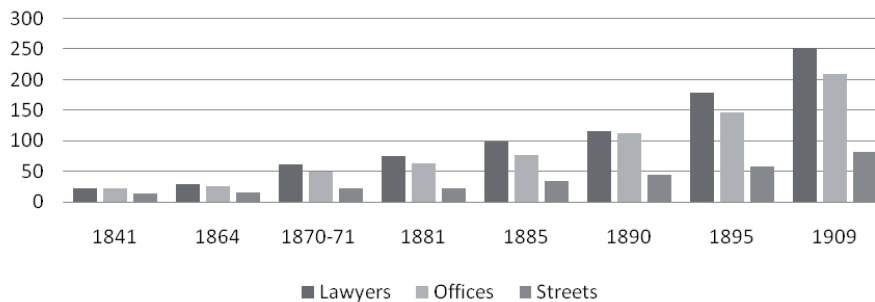
This map of Bilbao shows its surroundings during the first siege in 1835, but the *dots* represent the number of lawyers in Bilbao in 1841, when there were 22 lawyers working from 22 offices spread over 14 streets all located in the *Casco Viejo*, where they remained until the 1880s.

The Rise of Lawyers, Lawyers Offices and the Streets they worked in:

	Lawyers	Offices	Streets
1841	22	22	14
1864	30	26	15
1870-71	61	49	22
1881	75	63	22
1885	99	76	35
1890	115	112	44
1895	178	146	58
1909	252	209	82

Firstly, the rise in the number of lawyers shows the existence of a proletariat of lawyers (as suggested by Raymond Carr, "Spain, 1808-1975"¹⁰) in numbers (overcrowding) rather than hardship, especially in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and first decade of the twentieth century. By 1911 there were 289 lawyers, a 1,313% since 1841 compared with a 700% rise in the population of Bilbao between 1826 and 1900 from 11,900 to 83,306.

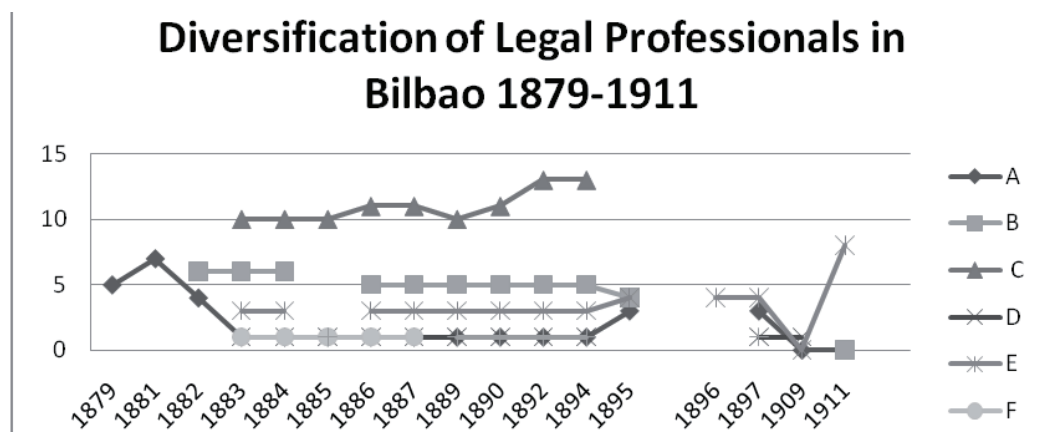
The Rise of Lawyers in Bilbao 1841-1909



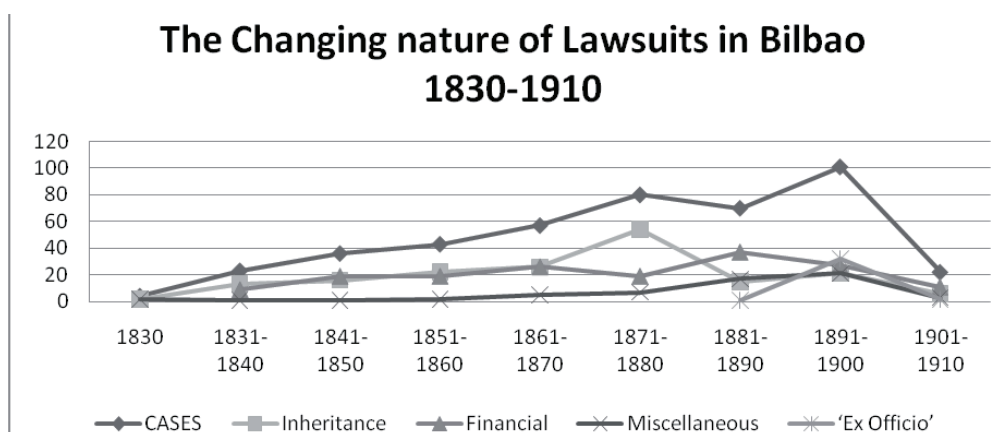
By 1909, this map shows the full extent of the lawyers' exodus from the *Casco Viejo*, to the *Ensanche*, which is indicative of how separate the two parts of the town had become. Secondly, the effects of industrialization: Diversification and Specialization. Between 1879 and 1895 diversified legal occupations rose from 7.8% to 40.8%, especially 'C' the **Criminal Law Courts and the Public Prosecutor's Office** between 1883 and 1894, as can be seen from the graph below.

Categories of diversification of lawyers or legal professional

- A – Juzgado de Primera Instancia (The Court of First Instance); De 1911 Ensanche; De 1909 Distrito del Centro (From 1909 Central District); From 1881 + Secretary
- B – Escribanos Actuarios de la Primera Instancia (Actuary Clerks of the Court of First Instance)1911
- C – Audiencia y Fiscalía de lo Criminal (Criminal Lawcourts and Public Prosecutor's Office)**
- D – Registro de Propiedad (Property Register; From 1897 Property and Mercantile* Register)
- E - Juzgado Municipal (Municipal Court) De 1909 Médico Forense (Frensic Doctor)
- F – Escribanía Marina (Naval Clerk of Court)
- G – Achivero de Protocolos (Protocols Archivist)



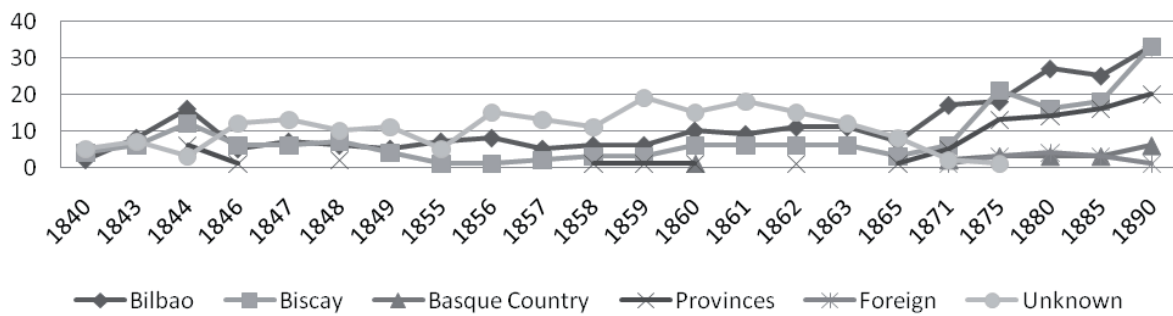
Thirdly, lawyers in Bilbao carried out many financial transactions on behalf of their clients and functioned as informal deposit bankers as my research into the *Inventario General del Banco de Bilbao* shows. Lawyers did the same in Manchester and England generally in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, which amounted to an important channel for early industrial capital. In the 1840s there were far more lawyers like Vicente Martinez, who was dependent on the landed interest for business, for which such lawyers played the traditional role of servant to the aristocracy. The graph below shows a predominance of inheritance cases up to and including the 1871-1881 decade, after which they declined in favour of more commercial or financial cases as the effects of industrialization kicked in.



Inheritance cases grew steadily until 1871-1880 and were superseded by Financial cases from 1881 as well as 'ex officio' cases from 1891 as a result of increased industrial activity and industrial disputes.

Fourthly, the highly politicized nature of lawyers' work becomes clear, since none of the non-political lawyers appear on a table of the eleven most prominent and famous lawyers, who lived between 1801 and 1901. Most lawyers were employed in administrative positions in the *Diputación* of Biscay, the town hall of Bilbao and the State Administration. Some forty four and a half percent of all lawyers were involved in different administrative posts for the state and other institutions, while forty percent of all liberal professionals were in some way involved in the legal profession. Fifthly, the *Padrones de Bilbao* show clearly that the origins of lawyers were from Bilbao and Biscay.

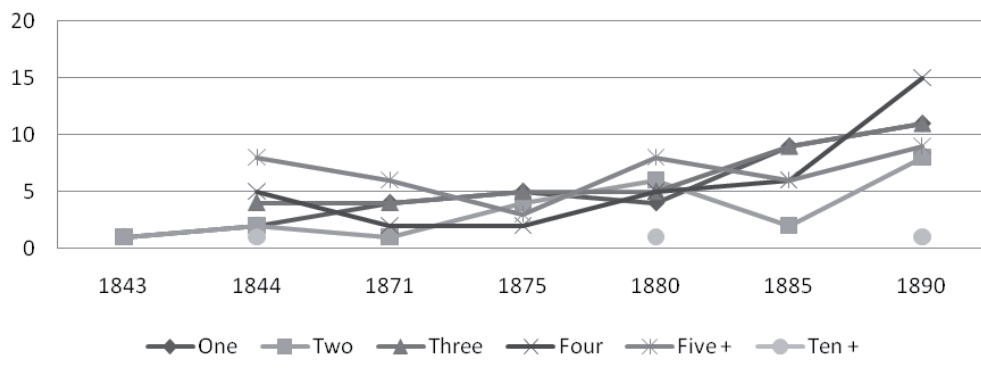
The Origins of All Legal Professionals in Bilbao 1840-1890



The graph shows the origins of legal professionals based on their place of birth according to the *Padrones de Bilbao*. Significantly, both the Bilbao and the Biscay graphs meet in 1890.

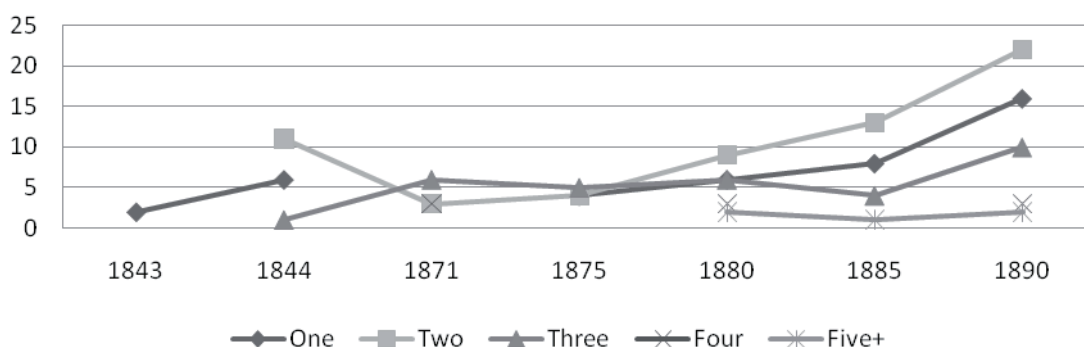
Sixthly, the sources reveal that lawyers' financial standings indicate that they were relatively well off generally speaking considering most of them employed two servants throughout the period, except between 1871 and 1875. However, by 1890 lawyers with only one servant had jumped significantly and those with two were soaring ahead of the rest, which confirms the consolidation of those lawyers living in the *Casco Viejo* alongside the parallel expansion of a 'proletarian' group of lawyers into the *Ensanche* at the time, juxtaposed with a far richer indigenous group of lawyers, who apart from having five or more dependents, employed at least three servants and sometimes as many as five or more.

Lawyers' Dependents in Bilbao 1843-1890



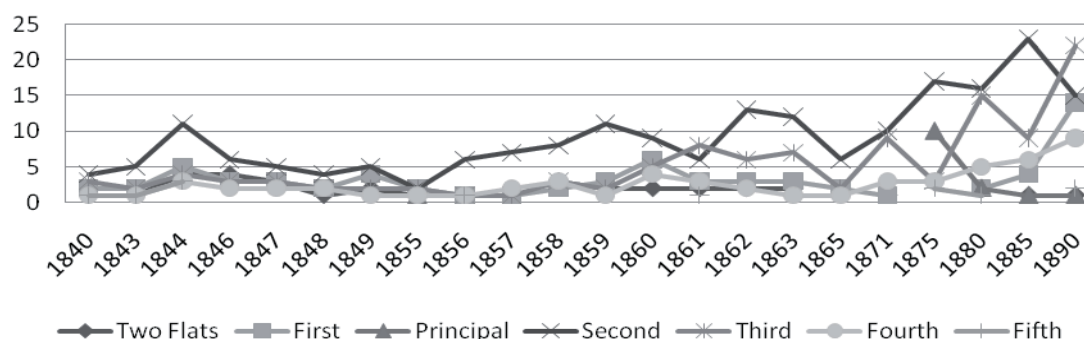
This graph shows that between 1844 and 1871 lawyers had as many as five dependents living with them the same is true for 1880. Thereafter, lawyers with three dependents and one dependent take precedence in 1885, followed by the four-dependent graph and the five-dependent graph. By 1890, however, the four-dependent graph is the leading graph.

Lawyers' Servants in Bilbao 1843-1890

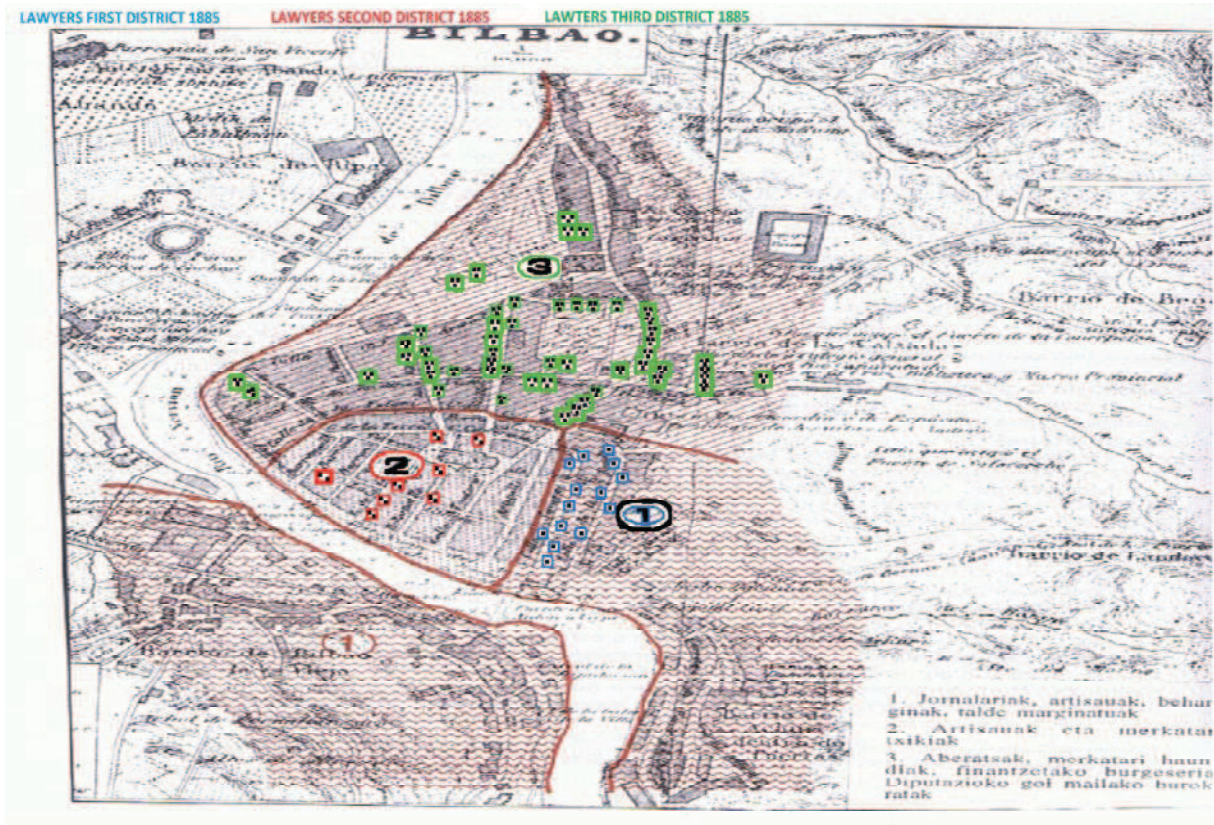


In contrast, the number of domestic servants lawyers employed does not diminish overtime. The graph shows that in 1844 and between 1880 and 1890 there was a clear preference for two servants only. Moreover, lawyers had a clear preference for *second floor* dwellings, which were the most desired better off floors after two flats or two floors or *principal (pral.)* This was because they were sufficiently near the ground, before the advent of lifts but not too noisy and dirty like first floor flats, and also because the higher one lived the worse the water pressure became.

Lawyers' Residency by Floor in Bilbao 1840-1890

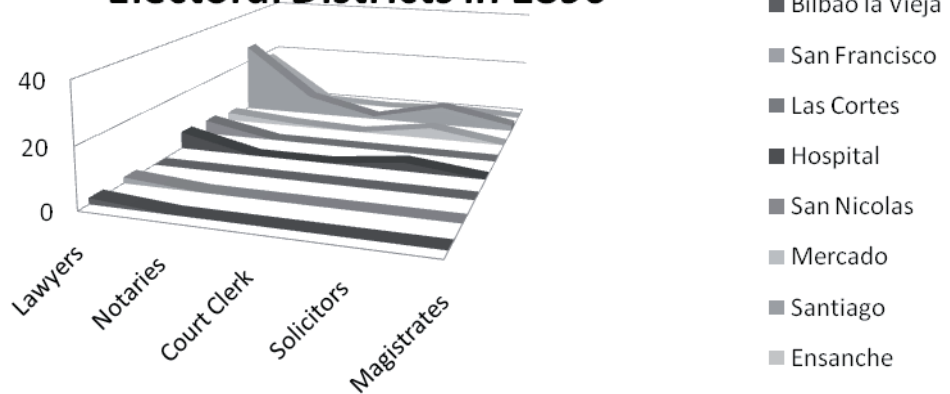


This graph shows the steady climb of second floor residency until 1890, when it is abruptly overtaken by the third floor residency graph.



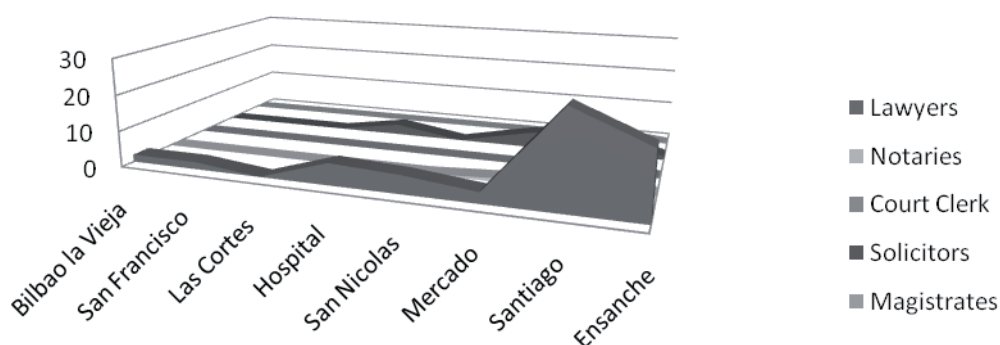
The map above shows the overwhelming predominance of lawyers living and working in the **Third District**, by far the wealthiest of the three districts. By 1890 there were eight electoral districts, Santiago being the wealthiest and once again the most popular with lawyers.

Legal Professionals' Residency in Bilbao's Electoral Districts in 1890



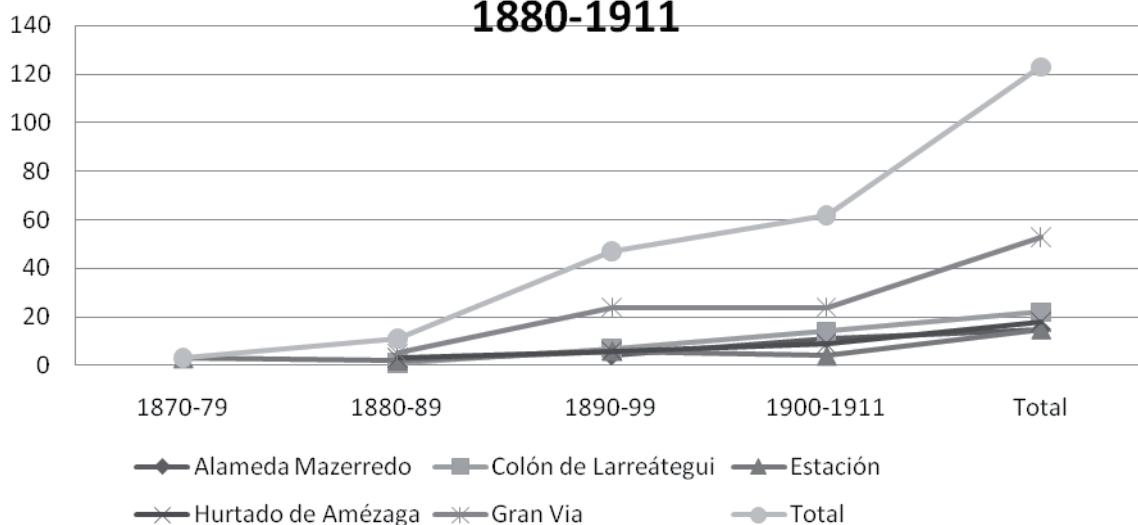
This graph shows how lawyers outstripped all other legal professionals in all districts of Bilbao in 1890.

Legal Professionals' Residency in Bilbao's Electoral Districts in 1890



Lawyers predominated in the *Casco Viejo* streets like Ronda and Correo, between 1841 and 1911, in the *Ensanche*, on the other hand, between 1880 and 1911 **Gran Vía** became the street of choice for lawyers.

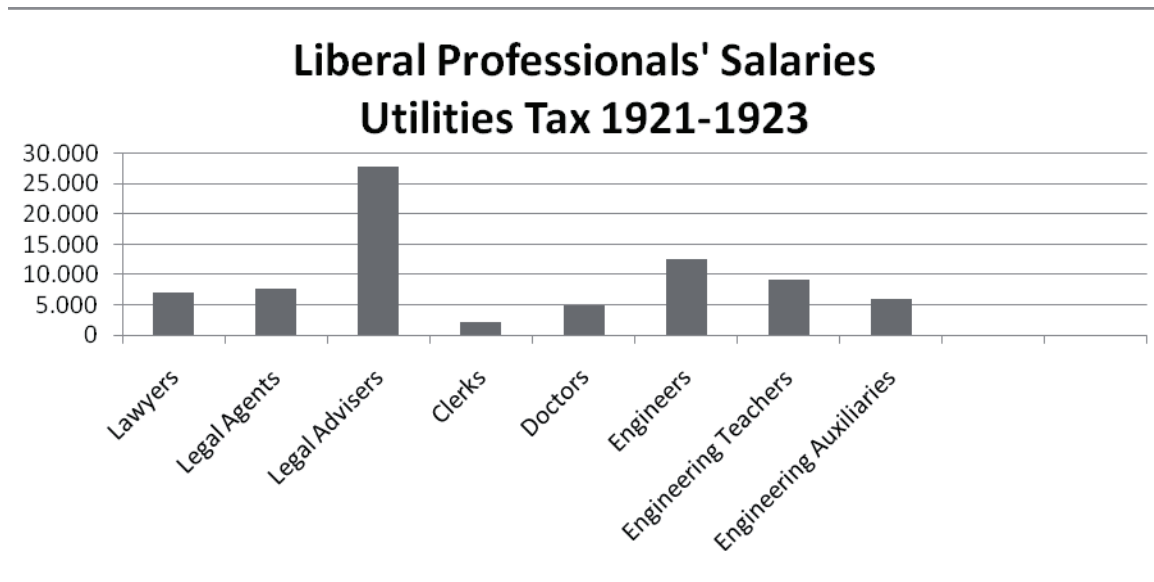
Lawyers' Residence in the *Ensanche* streets 1880-1911



Seventhly, lawyers of great renown as politicians or bankers, such as Manual Lecanda, Manual Barandica and later Ramón de la Sota and Lorenzo Arielza were equally very wealthy judging from an insight into the Voluntary Deposits of their bank accounts in the *Inventario del Banco de Bilbao* and who made up the numbers of the so called 'lawyer intelligentsia'. My research conclusively demonstrates the parallel existence of a 'proletariat of lawyers', as the term is used by Raymond Carr¹¹, significantly worse off than the elite lawyers, but meaning 'overcrowding' in Stephen Jacobson's words, that is in numbers rather than any real hardship or living on the 'bread line', as suggested by Alvin Toffler, or the literal meaning of a proletariat selling his labour for a wage.

The *Impuestos de Utilidades*, reveal that engineers were by far the greatest contributors to this tax as the largest group of salaried liberal professionals, but there was a significant number of other liberal professionals such as lawyers and doctors, which indicate the growing inroads of corporatism and 'pluriempleo' in the 1920s. The gra-

ph below is particularly indicative of how well paid legal advisers were - those who made up the 'lawyer intelligentsia'. The *Impuestos de Utilidades*, reveal that engineers were by far the greatest contributors to this tax as the largest group of salaried liberal professionals, but there was a significant number of other liberal professionals such as lawyers and doctors, which indicate the growing inroads of corporatism and '*pluriempleo*' in the 1920s. The graph below is particularly indicative of how well paid legal advisers were - those who made up the 'lawyer intelligentsia'.

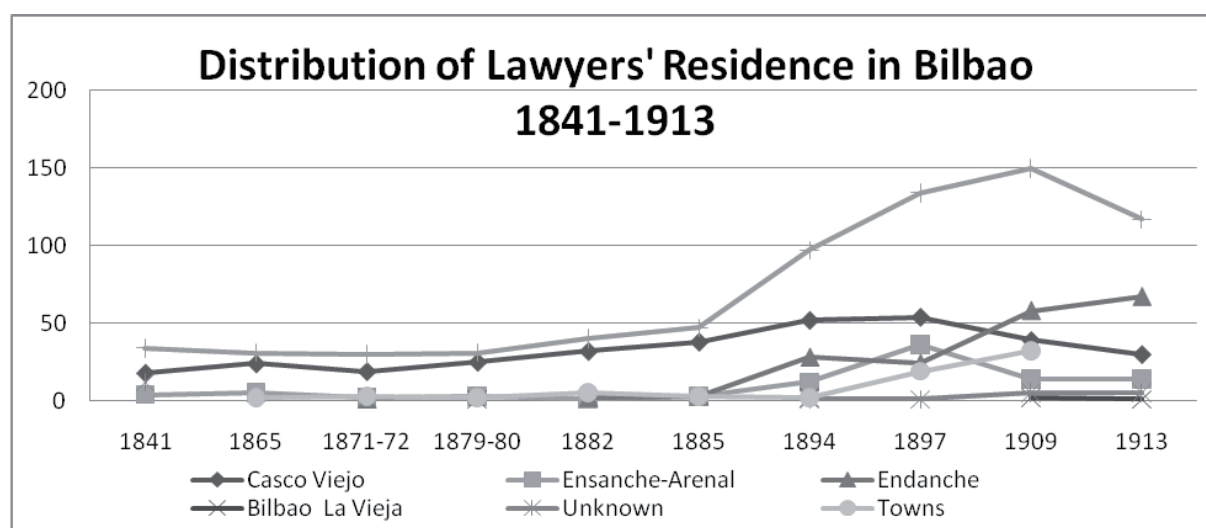


Eighthly, an exhaustive reading of the prosopographic works of Dr. Joseba Agirreazkuenaga¹², including the dictionaries of Basque parliamentarians, the *Actas de Conferencias* and Bilbao Mayors, has enabled me to identify from the findings of a rolling analysis, the liberal professionals, especially lawyers, involved in the Biscay *Diputación* and Bilbao Town Hall. These lawyers and other liberal professionals had largely been concerned with the politics of defending the Basque *Fueros* and safeguarding their ancient privileges against the increasing incursions of Madrid's centralizing intentions from the end of the First Carlist War in 1839 on. However, the councilors (*consejeros*) who made up the Bilbao town halls towards the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century were drawn from the liberal professions, including lawyers, who were far more concerned with tackling Bilbao's overcrowding problems, the supply of clean drinking water and controlling the periodic outbreaks of cholera. The solution was found in the policy of enlargement, particularly the first *Ensanche* on the other side of the river Nervión from the *Casco Viejo* as well as the annexation of the municipal councils of Abando, Begoña and Deusto, for which the skills of the learned lawyer, Manuel Lecanda became of paramount importance. In addition, there were the likes of the famous engineer/entrepreneur Pablo Alzola, Ernesto Hoffman and the celebrated hygienists Doctors Gallástegui and Pascual, not forgetting the renowned Dr. Enrique Areilza.

Many of the schemes had the backing of such forward looking Bilbao mayors as, Federico Victoria de Lecea Marzarredo 1844-1845; Eduardo Victoria de Lecea Arana 1867 and 1881; Fidel Sagarminaga Epalza 1872; Felipe Uhagón 1874; Manuel Lecanda 1880; Gregorio de la Revilla 1891-93; , Emiliano Olano Loizaga 1893- 95 and Joaquin Moreno 1896. All of them played critical roles in the development and improvement of Bilbao, in many and varied political struggles, for example, to enforce the compulsory purchase of properties and land in order to make way for the new *Ensanche*, the new park and even the new Hospital of Basurto. What was emerging was the beginning of a 'professional ideal'. Professionals in Bilbao were becoming more concerned with finding solutions to the many and varied social problems facing the *villa*, rather than the purely economic or financial interests of the industrial middle class or *burguesia*. A 'middling class' or third tier, within the middle class was emerging linked to the great financial and industrial *burguesia* on professional grounds and even by marriage, constituting an oligarchy of son-in-laws or '*yernocracia*'. The term 'middling class' was coined by R.S. Neale¹³, an authority on the radical town of Bath in the 1830's, where such a class emerged first.

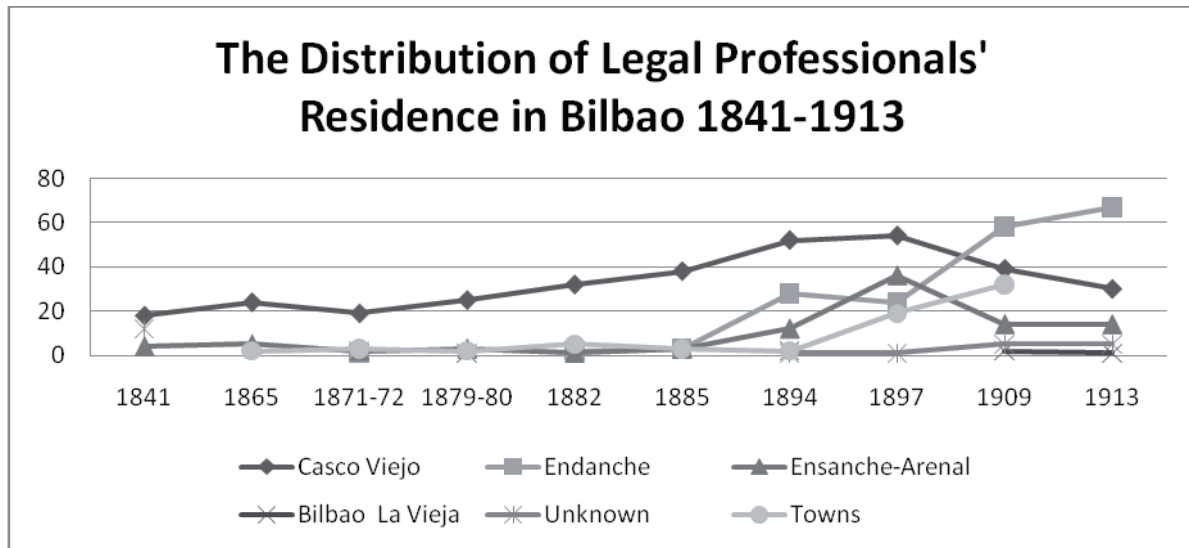
But as far as the legal profession is concerned 97% were resident in the so called *Casco Viejo* in the 1840s and 3% in the Arenal and Casa Mayor. By the 1850s legal professionals living in the citadel had slipped to 92% the other 8% lived in the Arenal and Urazurrutia. This figure had fallen slightly to 91% in the 1860's the other 9% lived in Urazurrutia. In the 1870's the figure falls sharply to 68%, but which is still very high, the other 30% lived in Estacion, Sendeja, Libertad, Arenal, San Francisco, San Antonio and above all in Calle Nueva and Urazurrutia. By the 1880's the number rises for the first time in forty years to 80%, the other 20% were living in San Mames, the Arenal, Libertad, Santos Juanes, Campo Volantin, San Francisco and the *Ensanche*.

Finally, in the 1890's there is a substantial decline in the number of lawyers (legal professionals) living in the Old Part of Bilbao to 57%. Another 33% were living in the *Ensanche* and the rest in the Arenal, Libertad, and Urazurrutia (*Bilbao La Vieja*). These figures are taken and elaborated from the *Bilbao Segunda Sección* and Bilbao Census in the Municipal Archives. While there is a clear migration of newcomers to the *Ensanche* there is no significant indication of well established lawyers moving en masse from the *Siete Calles* to the *Ensanche*, at least not before 1890. As in England where cities witnessed a steady outflow of their traditional elites both before and after 1918, in Bilbao the exodus reached its height after 1890 but principally to the *Ensanche* across the river Nervión as well as beyond to Getxo and the suburbs of Neguri which was settled by the wealthiest members of the Bilbao *burguesia*.



Sources¹⁴ elaborated from the *Bilbao Primera Sección*, *Bilbao Segunda Sección* and Bilbao Census. The above graph shows the Legal Professionals' distribution of residence between the *Casco Viejo* and the *Ensanche*.

	Casco Viejo	Ensanche-Arenal	Endanche	Bilbao La Vieja	Unknown	Towns	Total
1841	18	4			12		34
1865	24	5				2	31
1871-72	19	2	1		2	3	30
1879-80	25	3		1		2	31
1882	32	1	2			5	40
1885	38	3	3			3	47
1894	52	12	28	2	1	2	97
1897	54	36	24		1	19	134
1909	39	14	58	2	5	32	150
1913	30	14	67	1	5		117



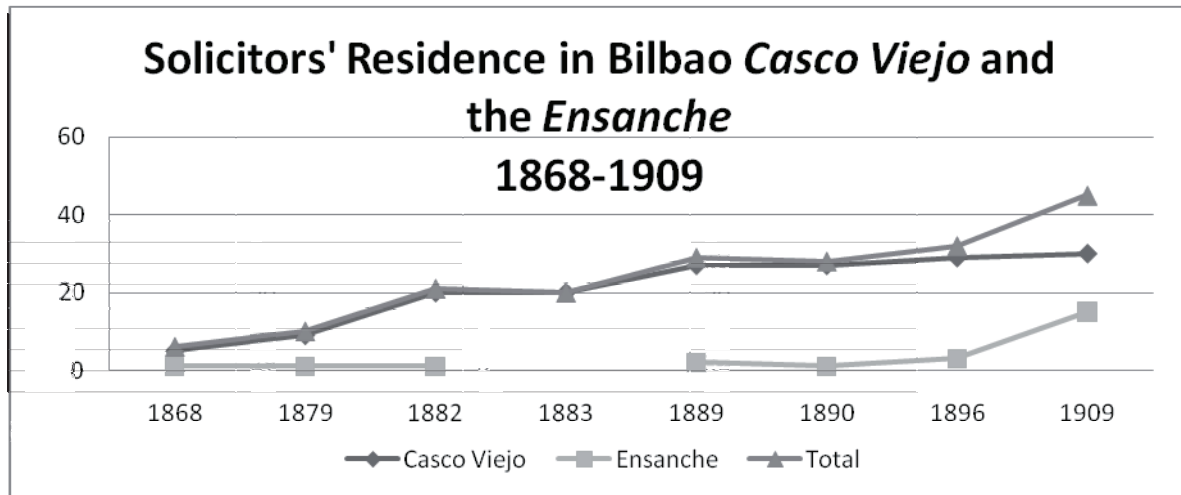
Source¹⁵ elaborated from the lists of the *Colegio de Abogados de Vizcaya*

Before 1868 the *Ensanche* was confined to the area encompassing the Arenal, Ribera, Estufa and Esperanza, beyond the *Casco Viejo* but not on the left bank of the Nervion. The above graph and table elaborated from the far more extensive Law College lists show a completely different picture from the 1890s onwards. From the collegiate lawyers' list there is a high of 83-82% an average of 80% of lawyers living in the *Casco Viejo* between 1865 and 1885 to a low of 27% in 1909 and an average of 39.5% lawyers between 1894 and 1913 lived there. On the other hand, between the same period an average of 9.8% lawyers lived in the *Ensanche* with a low of only 3% in 1871-72 to a high of 69% in 1913 an average of 50% from 1894 onwards.

Finally, between 1897 (10%) and 1909 (18%) an average of 14% of collegiate lawyers on the lists lived in towns of *anteiglesias* outside Bilbao. All in all, between 1876 and 1900 the population of Bilbao almost tripled from 32,734 to 83,306, the urbanized area of the citadel quadrupled from 121.50 hectares to 454.81 hectares and the number of streets and squares more than doubled from 71 to 151, where before 1876 wide open fields, *caseríos* and allotments once existed, a new district – the *Ensanche* – was constructed. *Gran Vía* became its principal artery along which appeared banks, company offices as well as those of the best doctors and lawyers, with pride of place going to the architecturally pretentious *Palacio de la Diputación*, symbol of the rapidly growing city. However, only Vicente Martínez Bolívar as a practicing lawyer seems to have made this journey from the *Casco Viejo* to what is termed the elite *Ensanche* of Bilbao, before 1890. Lawyers residing in Bilbao are from sources elaborated from the Collegiate lawyers' lists from the *Colegio de Abogados de Vizcaya*¹⁶ 1865-1909. The table above, while by no means exhaustive is indicative of the handful of lawyers who migrated from the *Casco Viejo* to *Ensanche* between 1865 and 1913, only two, Pantaleón Sarachu and Ricardo Ortiz span the whole period. Sarachu went from Artecalle in the *Casco Viejo* and after many changes of address during the period eventually ended up in *Gran Vía* in 1913, while Ortiz started out from Lotería in 1865 and in 1913 was in *Sendeja*. Most of those who made the journey from the *Casco Viejo* to the *Ensanche* did so in the nine years between 1885 and 1894, some did not leave until 1897 and in at least one case, Ramón Olascoaga went the other way in 1897 he returned to the *Casco Viejo* (*Sombrereria*) from *Gran Vía* in 1894 and previously in 1885 he had been in Somera. The overwhelming majority of lawyers who settled in the *Ensanche* were new lawyers who had never been in the *Casco Viejo*. The attractions of the so called elite *Ensanche* area did not appeal to most of the well established lawyers like Manuel Lecanda who never left Bidebarrieta or Ignacio Arias who remained in *Fueros* until 1897. In the 1850s Vicente Martínez lived in Bidebarrieta, in the 1860's he moved to Ribera and then to Correo, finally from the 1870's on to the 1890's he is registered as living in Estación, where he lived with his brother Bonifacio. He is the only lawyer who is listed in 1841 as living in Rivera arguably not in the *Casco Viejo*, who is registered in the Bilbao Census as having moved to the *Ensanche* (Estación), now called Hurtado de Amézaga, where he still lived over fifty years later. This table shows the migratory pattern of certain leading lawyers 1865-1913.

	1865	1871	1879	1882	1885	1894	1897	1909	1913
Pedro Echevarria Gorro		Valmaseda	Santa Maria	Henao	Henao				
Adolfo Urquijo		Correo	Rivera	Deusto	Deusto	Huertas			
Pantaleon Sarachu	Artelcalle	Fueros	Jardines	Jardines	M ^a Muñoz	M ^a Muñoz	M ^a Muñoz	Ibañez de Bilbao	Gran Via
Fernando Olascoaga			Victor	Arenal	Arenal	Arenal			
Lorenzo Arielza			San Francisco	Santa M ^a	Santa Maria	Gran Via		Gran Via	
Perfecto de la Mata			Ronda	Loteria	Loteria	Jardines	Jardines		
Ricardo Ortiz	Loteria		Carniceria Vieja	Correo	Correo		Travesia	Sendeja	Sendeja
Baldermero Villasante					Ascao	Zumelzu		Santa Maria	Santa Maria
Julian San Ptlayo					Estufa	Sendeja		Ungo Nuva	
Ramón Olascoeaga					Some- ra	Gran Via	Sombrereria		
Pedro Anitua					Perro	Gran Via	Gran Via	Plaza de Arri	
Manuel Unzurrunzaga		Ronda	Ascao	Cruz	Cruz	Fueros	Gran Via	Gran Via	
Joaquin Moremo			Plaza Nueva			Esperanza	Ayala		
Aureliano Galarza			Ascao			Esperanza	Ronda	Principe	B. Aldamar
Ciriaco Gondra						Correo	Plaza Nueva	Colon de Larrategui	
Gregorio Balparda							Estufa	Plaza de Estación	Gran Via
Mauricio Delclauz							Ascao	La Salve	La Salve

Vicente Martinez was born in Bilbao on 5th April, 1812 (or 1811) in 1885 he had two servants and one in 1890. He was the lawyer responsible for administrating the Marques of Torrecilla's estate, in 1897, some of his land was offered to the Town Hall for acquisition in order to install a new gas factory, but it was turned down because it had no access to the river.



Even more striking is the overwhelming congregation of solicitors in the *Casco Viejo* compared with the *Ensanche* almost 100% until the decade or so before 1909 when still 66% preferred the *Casco Viejo* to the 33% in the *Ensanche*. In Britain solicitors were the lower branch of the legal system compared with barristers – the higher branch – which is reflected in their incomes too. A similar difference seems to have existed at least geographically in Bilbao.

	1882	1883	1889	1890	1896	1909
Laureano Perez	Artecalles	Artecalles	Perro	Perro	Torre	Gran Via
Nicolas Murga			Correo	Correo	Correo	Gardoqui
Torbio Vidaña	Correo	Ascao	Ascao	Ascao	Ascao	Ribera
Benito Diaz					Ronda	Ledesma
Bartolome Fernandez	Somera	Somera	Hernani	Cruz		
Geraldo Quintana					Hurtado Amezaga	Hurtado Amezaga
Ricardo Arana	Jardines	Plaza Nueva	Plaza Nueva	Plaza Nueva	Plaza Nueva	Plaza Nueva
Domingo Luengas					San Francisco	San Francisco
Augustin Arecha-valeta	Artecalles	Portal de Zamudio	Portal de Zamudio	Portal de Zamudio		Iturubur

Only five solicitors migrated from the *Casco Viejo* to the *Ensanche* and two of those went to Ribera outside the famous *Siete Calles* but still on the north side of the river Nervión. Whilst most, especially the most well established either remained at the same address in the *Casco Viejo*, many others like the lawyers only moved within the *Casco Viejo*. Not one notary seems to have moved from the *Casco Viejo* to the *Ensanche* other than Felix Uribarri and Calixto Ansuategui, who were both occupied by the *Casa Consistorial* and thereafter moved to Ribera in Felix Uribarri's case and to Jardines, then Plaza Nueva in Calixto Ansuategui's.

In Manchester the 'departing grandeur of the upper middle class'¹⁸ in 1917 signaled the altered nature of 'the urban' between 1900 and 1939 so much so that the identity of the middle classes and the particular urban place, which had been so powerful in the second half of the nineteenth century, began to fragment in the first half of the twentieth century. This was fundamentally tied up with economic changes such as the spread of limited liability in manufacturing industry and the development of corporate capitalism. In Bilbao, however, the departure of legal professionals from the *Casco Viejo* was largely confined to the first *Ensanche* after 1890. By 1910, indeed plans were well in train for the second *Ensanche*, which was not abandoned by any of the middle classes or *burguesia* since this new enlargement represented the building of a new Bilbao as part of the regeneration move-

ment following the disaster of the '98. Its completion was well underway by the 1920s particularly with the enthusiastic support of the dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera.

Whereas, 'the grandeur of the (Manchester) upper middle class,' had departed to the leafy suburbs of Cheshire, the Lancashire coast and even the Lake District with the advent of the railways, the great industrial and financial *burguesia* of Bilbao and their families began to settle in Neguri and other pleasant nearby coastal villages. Meanwhile, in towns and cities the length and breadth of England liberal professionals, the likes of bank managers, solicitors and teachers began to occupy the places left vacant in municipal government and voluntary associations by the deserting upper middle classes. Similarly, in Bilbao liberal professionals remained in overwhelming numbers in the city and in relative wealth as we have seen above: some in the *Casco Viejo* (increasingly fewer after 1890) and many more in the *Ensanche* across the river Nervión. Moreover, the composition of the Bilbao town council, in the late 1890s, became far more professionally based (that is with liberal professionals) as well as increasingly technical in nature in view of all the varied social problems, such as the supply of fresh drinking water, they had to tackle. Ever since the abolition of the Basque *Fueros* in 1876 the need for renowned lawyers such as Manuel Lecanda remained integral to the drawing up of the new Civil Code and although lawyers did not abandon such institutions as the *Diputación* their focus was no longer solely on the preservation of the *Fueros* as it had been since 1839, but rather on the pressing social problems thrown up by Bilbao's rapid and 'shock' industrialization. Finally, this map of Bilbao in 1893 is only three years later than the 1890 data available, the map below is from 1920. It clearly shows the extent to which legal professionals had begun to move into the *ensanche* especially around the new law courts in Colón de Larrategui.



Notes

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2. F. Braudel, 'Civilization matérielle, économie et capitalisme. Xve-xviiiè siècle' Paris, 1979.
3. Karl Marx, 'Grundrisse der kritik der politicks Oekonome' (1857/59)
4. R.J. Morris, 'The middle class and British towns and cities of the industrial revolution, 1780–1870', in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London, 1983), p.287
5. S. Gunn 'Class, identity and the urban:the middle class in England ,c. 1790–1950' in *Urban History*, Vol. 31 Part 1, May 2004, pp.29-48.
6. R. Gray and D. Loftus, 'Industrial regulation, urban space and the boundaries of the workplace: mid-Victorian Nottingham', *Urban History*, 26, 2 (1999), p. 221.
7. John K. Walton, 'Current trends in nineteenth and twentieth century Spanish urban history', in *Urban History*, vol. 30, Part 2, August, 2003.
8. Joseba Agirreaz kuenaga, (Dir.) 'Bilbao desde sus Alcaldes: Diccionario biográfico de los alcaldes de Bilbao y gestión municipal en tiempos de revolución democrática y social', Vol. II, 1902-1937, pp.13-44.
9. Stephen Jacobson, "Catalonia's Advocates: Lawyers, Society, and Politics in Barcelona, 1759-1900"
10. Raymond Carr, "Spain, 1808-1975"
11. Ibid., Carr
12. Joseba Agirreazkeunaga (ed.) 'La articulación político-institucional de Vasconia: Actas de las Conferencias firmadas por los representantes de Alava, Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa y eventualmente de Navarra (1775-1936) Tomo II, Vol. VI.
13. R.S. Neale, "Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century", London, Routedledge, 1972.
14. Bilbao Primera Sección, Bilbao Segunda Sección and Bilbao Census
15. *Colegio de Abogados de Vizcaya lists.*
16. Ibid., lists
17. Ibid., lists.
18. W.H. Mills, cited by S. Gunn, op.cit., Gunn.