

THROUGH A NEW SOCIAL CRYSTALLIZATION: VALLADOLID'S SOCIAL ELITE IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (c. 1750-1850)

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I- Introduction

The debate about the continuity or change of social structures in Europe after the Revolutionary period is not new¹. The ideological framework of this debate has changed in the past decades and the results of this process have raised new questions and problems². This paper aims to contribute to this field of research by shedding new light on recruitment patterns and power structures of urban elites. I have chosen the Castilian city of Valladolid and the Prussian city of Magdeburg as asymmetrical comparative case studies to elucidate these phenomena. Both cities were provincial capitals and as such important administrative centres and hubs of regional commerce and industry with a prominent bourgeois presence. Both cities were also important centres of communication and distribution of agrarian products whose relative distance to the state capitals, Madrid and Berlin, was similar.

The comparative perspective will be set as well in a broader European framework, referring to the scholarship on kinship strategies and familial reconstitution in the 18th and 19th centuries by Delille,³ Sabea⁴ and Stulz-

¹ The different approaches on this debate to be seen in J. SPERBER, "Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft: Studies of the German (Upper) Middle Class and its Sociocultural World", en *The Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997), pp. 271-297; A. V. HARTMANN, "Kontinuitäten oder revolutionärer Bruch? Eliten im Übergang von Ancien Régimen zur Moderne", en *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 27 (1998), pp. 389-420; and R. SÁNCHEZ GARCÍA, "La revolución liberal en España: un estado de la cuestión", en D. CARO CANCELA (coord.), *El primer liberalismo en Andalucía (1808-1868): política, economía y sociabilidad*, Universidad de Cádiz, 2005, pp. 11-62

² S. CALATAYUD, J. MILLÁN y M^a. C. ROMEO, "El Estado en la configuración de la España contemporánea. Una revisión de los problemas historiográficos", en Id. (eds.), *Estado y periferias en la España del siglo XIX. Nuevos enfoques*, Valencia, PUV, 2009, pp. 9-130; from the perspective of the nobility, see J. MATZERATH, *Der Schritt in die Moderne: sächsischer Adel zwischen 1763 und 1918*, Köln, Böhlau Verlag, 2001.

³ G. DELILLE, *Famille et propriété dans le Royaume de Naples, XVe-XIX- siècle*, Rome, Ecole française de Rome; Paris : Editions de l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1985.

Herrnstadt.⁵ In doing so, I believe that the comparative model can help us to better understand two different models developed in response to the political and economic landscape of the Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic period: revolution versus reform processes in Spain and Prussia respectively, as well as the different role that liberalism played in the public activity of these notables.

I will combine here prosopographical and biographical methods of analysis to engage with this process. With the latter I will compare two biographical case studies in order to detail the marriage strategies and behaviour of local power structures. Through prosopography I will analyse a data of 250 local personalities and their marriages using also an asymmetrical comparative perspective centring on the case study of Magdeburg. In doing so, I will stress the importance of the individual in group analyses and the need to view the chosen individual firmly in its interactions with other human beings, groups, institutions, and larger communities.⁶

II- Between Individuals and Families. Map of the Urban Leading Group

During the first half of the nineteenth century one can observe a social change within the leading group in Valladolid. Among mayors and those who paid the highest tax rate (*mayores contribuyentes*) in the 1830s and 1840s, around 60% were not born in the city. This statistic implies a relatively important immigration process which affected the distribution of municipal leadership positions in later decades.⁷ These developments entailed a restructuring of power relations.

⁴ D. W. SABEAN, *Property, production and family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870*, Cambridge/New York, Cambridge University Press, 1990; and from the same author, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

⁵ N. STULZ_HERRNSTADT, *Berliner Bürgertum im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Unternehmerkarrieren un Migration, Familien und Verkehrskreise in der Hauptstadt Brandenburg-Preussens, Die Ältesten der Korporation der Kaufmannschaft zu Berlin*, Berlin/New York, W. De Gruyter, 2002.

⁶ V. R. BERGHAHN, "Structuralism and Biography: Some Concluding Thoughts on the Uncertainties of a Historiographical Genre", en V. R. BERGHAHN and S. LÄSSIG (eds.), *Biography between Structure and Agency. Central European Lives in International Historiography*, Berghahn Books, New York / Oxford, 2008, pp. 234-250, here p. 244.

⁷ This shift is also be seen in J. CRUZ, *Los notables de Madrid: las bases sociales de la revolución liberal española*, Madrid, Alianza, 2000, p. ; j. CRUZ y C. SOLA CORBACHO, "'El mercado madrileño y la

Although German historiography, following Lothar Gall's lead, has tended to emphasize social continuity until the 1850s⁸, we do actually see change within the leading groups in Germany also⁹. That was the case in Berlin, according to Stulz-Herrnstadt, who points out that enterprising migrants from the late 18th century played a central role in the commercial and industrial development of the cities and of their power groups¹⁰. Magdeburg resembled Berlin in this respect, as Straubel's work on tradesmen and manufacturing entrepreneurs has shown¹¹. Thus, existing bibliographical and archival leads to study this change and to explain the social consequences.

To make them visible, I have analysed the background of Valladolid's social elite based on a sample from the city council, which required payment of a set tax rate to become eligible. My sample consist of 70% -62 people- of all men who were councillors between 1835 and 1843, allowing me to trace the surnames in the baptism, matrimonial and deceased registers, as well as inheritance documents in order to reconstruct their family connections. In doing so, I have obtained a list of 250 marriages and a surname correlation of around 1500 entries which further make it possible to deduce 'centres' and 'peripheries' within the urban power group.

Fig. 1 illustrates the distribution of kinship ties within the power group in this sample. It shows differences in geographical origin (migrants versus natives) and also between professions (economic versus *bildungsbürgerlich* strata)¹².

industrialización en España durante los siglos XVIII-XIX", en J. TORRAS y B. YUN (Dir.), Consumo, condiciones de vida y comercialización. Cataluña y Castilla, siglos XVIII-XIX, Junta de Castilla y León, Ávila, 1999, pp. 335-354. However, this author stresses the vertical mobility over the horizontal for interpreting social change.

⁸ L. GALL, "Stadt und Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert. Ein Problemaufriss", in L. GALL (Hg.), *Stadt und Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, München, Oldenbourg, 1990, pp. 1-18; H.-W. HAHN, *Altständisches Bürgertum zwischen Beharrung und Wandel: Wetzlar, 1689-1870*, München, Oldenbourg; L. GALL, *Von der ständische zur bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, München, Oldenbourg, 1993.

⁹ F. MÖLLER, *Bürgerliche Herrschaft in Augsburg 1790-1880*, München, Oldenbourg, 1998

¹⁰ N. STULZ-HERRNSTADT, *Berliner Bürgertum...*

¹¹ R. STRAUBEL, *Kaufleute und Manufakturunternehmer. Eine empirische Untersuchung über die sozialen Träger von Handel und Grossgewerbe in den mittleren preussischen Provinzen (1763 bis 1815)*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995.

¹² This graphic has been made using a social network analysis program called Ucinet. A node represents a surname, and the links between nodes the relationships between them. See S. P. BORGATTI, M. G. EVERETT and L. C. FREEMAN, *Ucinet 6 for Windows*, Cambridge MA, Analytic Technologies, 2002.

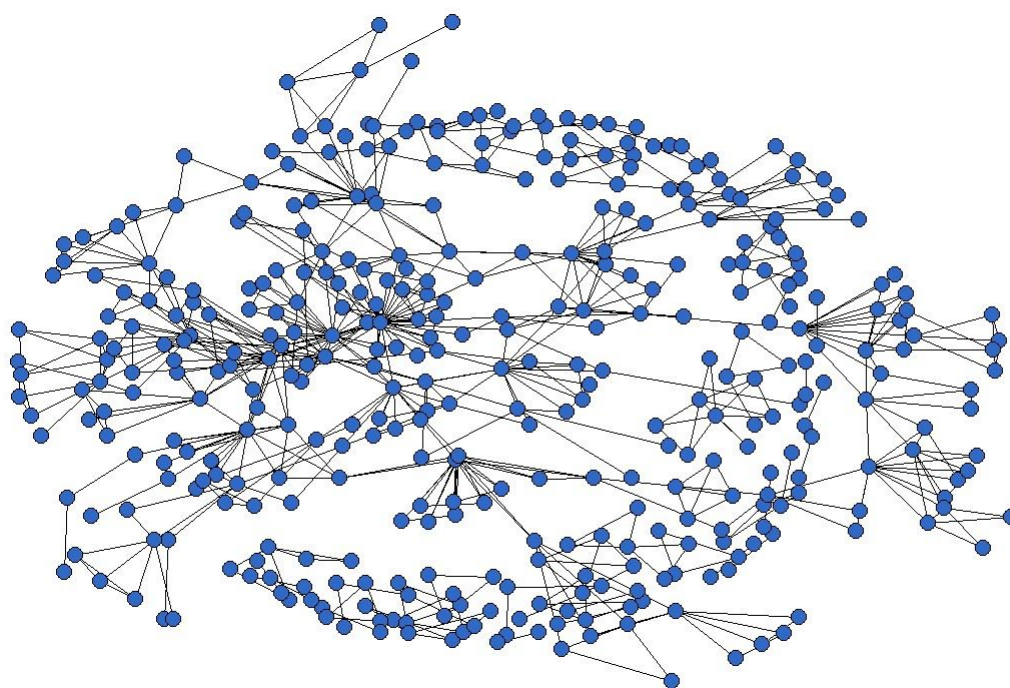


Fig. 1.

European Network on Theory and Practice of Biography

The dense part in *Fig. 1* represents marriage links between migrant tradesmen, who considered kinship building amongst themselves a useful means to increase their collective power vis-à-vis native notables from the second half of eighteenth century onwards. The outer ring draws attention to clusters of smaller kinship networks around persons of influence who also cultivated links to other families.

What also becomes clear from these figures is that urban power was fragmented and that there existed different levels of influence within notable society. However, it is necessary at the same time to understand this group as a whole and to pay attention to dividing lines between them as well as bonding factors which bring them together. Although in many aspects, as I will try to show, locals and migrants, or merchants and lawyers set themselves apart from each other, there were spheres of confluence for all of them, whether in venues of sociability or other more specific social activities. It is this point which makes symbiosis and adaptation key concepts for analysis since urban society consisted of multifaceted power spheres and adaptation mechanisms.

III- Strategies of Integration and Adaptation. Through a New Social Crystallization

Both migrants and long-time residents had to develop strategies of socio-economic integration and adaptation to the post-Napoleonic situation. The previous graphic makes visible the evolution of several spheres of influence. One consequence of this was that notables chose their living quarters in the city according to their origins and profession. Place of residence determined their social interaction and laid the basis for different strategies of power.

The Napoleonic Wars and the dismantling of the *ancien régime* in Cádiz – and then during the *Trienio* – opened up new economic, political and social arena, prompting the reordering of the social structures. The present paper seeks to move beyond the old debate between scholars like Jesús Cruz, who argue in favour of the absence of social change, and left-wing social historians, who emphasise that a new social class did emerge during this formative time. It is shown here that complex social power shifts did occur as corollaries of Spanish society's redistribution of power resources in the age of liberalism. In this sense, migrant and native power structures converged and gave way to a reconfigured social scenario in the context of the ascendancy of liberalism.

This transformation brought about what I call the social crystallisation of a new local notable class between the late eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth centuries. The term 'crystallization' is borrowed from Tolstoi's evocative description of thermal baths for the upper classes in *Anna Karenina*:

As in all places indeed where people are gathered together, the usual process, as it were, of the crystallization of society went on, assigning to each member of that society a definite and unalterable place: Just as the particle of water in frost, definitely and unalterably, takes the special form of the crystal of snow, so each new person that arrived at the springs was at once placed in his special place.

But societies are not static, which is why structural and political changes did occur. That is to say when new social groups arrived in the city, these new 'particles of water' configured new crystals of snow. That brings us to the question of who these notables were. Those who came to power in the 1830s, had secured important positions of responsibility by different means during the previous decades, and the collapse of the absolutist system opened up access to new positions of power. In this sense, there was no sudden rupture but rather a gradual change of strategies and, in some cases, a long-term process of adaptation accelerated by a liberal revolution. The defeat of royal absolutism in 1833 opened up new socio-political spaces for old and emerging elites at the municipal level. To understand these dynamics, it is necessary to scrutinise the under-researched historical conditions that made possible the shake-up of the kaleidoscope in 1833. The present paper sheds new light on this issue.

It is important to stress, first of all, that notables with a migrant background already possessed social status in the communities where their families originated. Integration in the municipalities therefore happened on a horizontal level. Developments in Berlin, Magdeburg and Valladolid were similar. In the latter case many of the migrants asked the courts for recognition of their *hidalguía* (nobility without title) at the end of the eighteenth century. But where did all these migrants come from?

The late eighteenth century was marked by economic growth and incipient industrial development, which in turn shaped migration and marriage patterns. The latter stood in direct relation to the economic structure of a territory. *Fig. 2* shows the stronger geographical points in the matrimonial maps of the Valladolid notables.

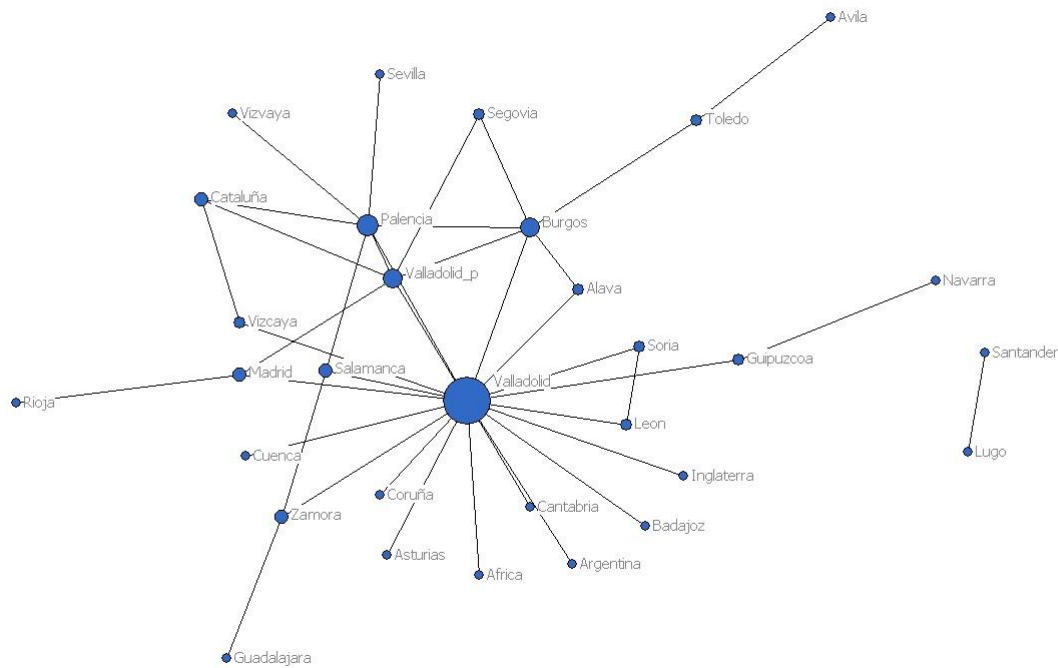


Fig. 2
European Network on Theory and Practice of Biography

Valladolid, the surrounding rural hinterland, together with urban and rural areas in Palencia and Burgos, represented the main recruitment grounds for migration during the first decades of the nineteenth century. The significance of other towns remained secondary. In the case of Magdeburg, tradesmen also had strong links with the surrounding territory and in some cases matrimonial relationships extended to important cities like Berlin or Hamburg.

While some of these migrant tradesmen needed to build complex kinship networks to integrate into the city, to develop their business interests and to rise to positions of power, local merchants and jurists had no need to do the same. They were able to construct around them –around their surname- small kinship networks. The reason was that their surname functioned as a point of convergence which many other families wanted to join. At the same time, they took advantage of opportunities to marry into families located at the centre of the matrimonial map. Instead of deriving from extensive family connections, their power became based on the ability to turn their families into centres of confluence of smaller kinship groups

and to create careers for themselves at the national level and urban administration.

It is telling that those migrants who constructed these kinship networks in the 1830s stood for town council, but not national, elections. Only native tradesmen and lawyers possessed the authority to get elected to the national parliament, although the success of their candidacy depended on political circumstances as well.

As seen in the family network of Fernández Vítóres, new arrivals to the cities managed to establish very effective kinship networks over time. The latter helped them to come to terms with existing socio-economic power structures, especially at the start of the nineteenth century. The kinship-building trends analysed here conform with Delille and Sabean's explanations for the transformation of the European family model in the middle of the eighteenth century. While in the German case endogamy was one of the main kinship strategies of reproduction, notably when marriages between cousins became socially more acceptable and thus common, exogamy prevailed in Spain.

Local tradesmen and lawyers had no need for complex kinship networks. They exerted their power chiefly by other means, but constructed around them smaller kinship networks also. *Figs. 3 and 4* compare the egonets of one of the main merchants¹³ with two main local jurists.¹⁴

¹³ Juan Manuel Fernández Vítóres. In the *Fig. 3 and 4* are the

¹⁴ Nemesio López and José María Cano.

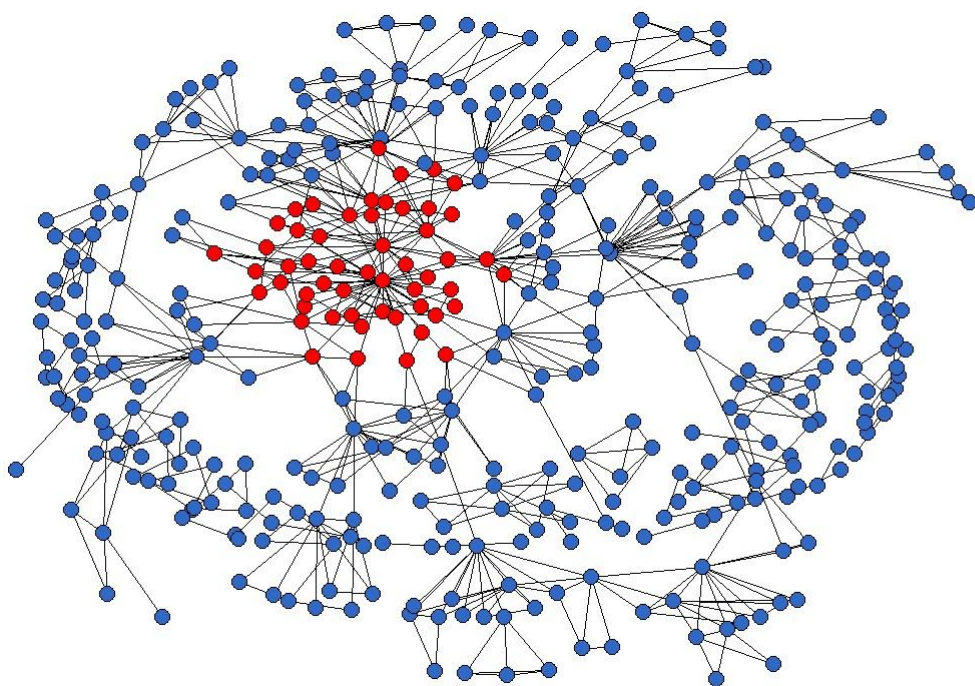


Fig. 3 European Network on Theory and Practice of Biography

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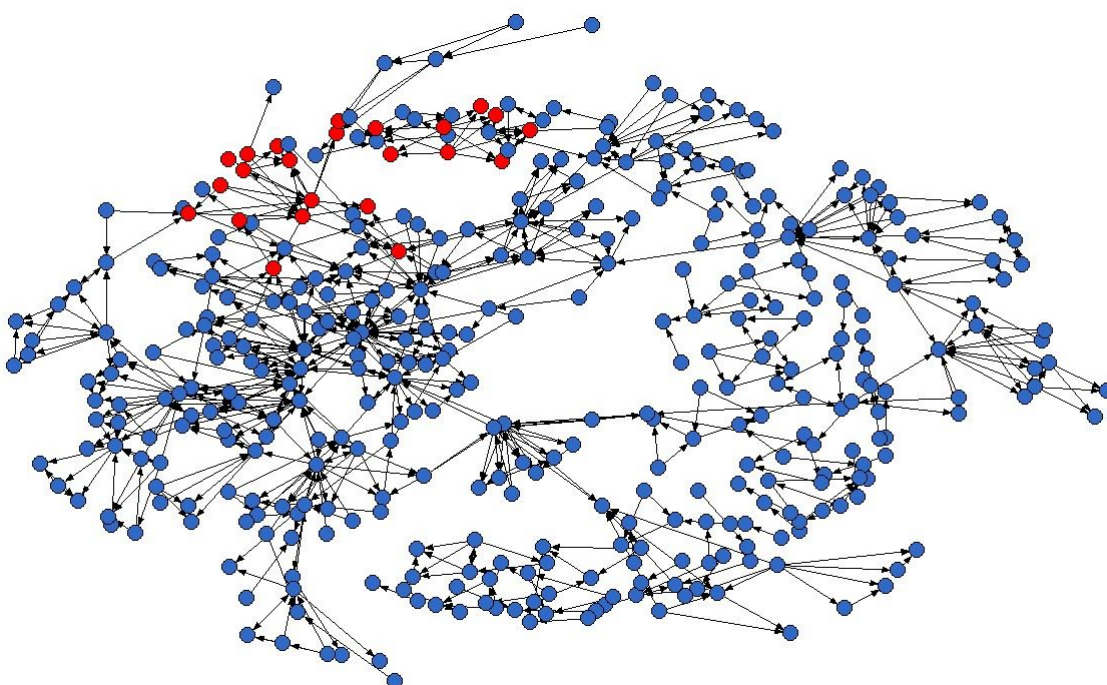


Fig. 4

The 'crowded hubs' and the positioning of individuals within the chart are very expressive. Spatial centrality within the *Fig. 1*, however, does not equate with hegemonic power (although it may be worth to follow up this question). The results of my computation rather seem to show that geographic and professional background informed the formation of the relevant circles of power.

Tradesman and lawyers occupied different spheres of action within the city. One can measure these social cleavages according to parish residency within towns as *Fig. 5* shows. In Valladolid, merchants used to live in the parish of Santiago while lawyers preferred San Martín. Both professions mingled in the parishes between them: Salvador, Catedral and Antigua, which were closer to the town centre.¹⁵ While Santiago started to develop into the commercial hub of Valladolid in the late eighteenth century, San Martín remained popular among jurists due to the quarter's proximity to the municipal courts of law.

European Network on Theory and Practice of Biography

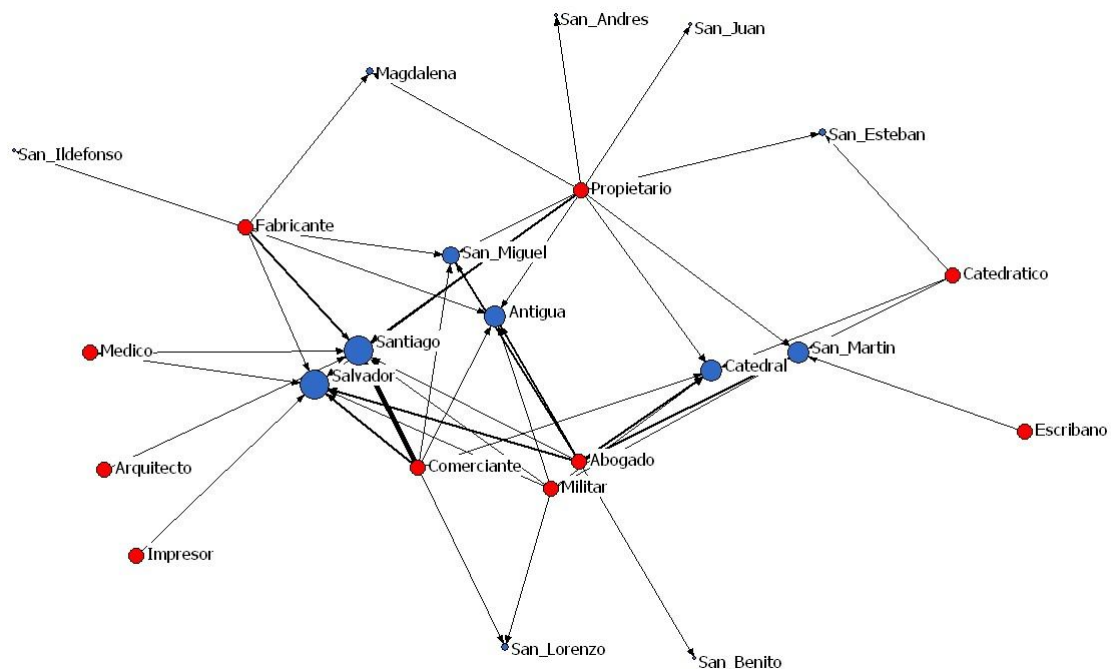


Fig. 5

¹⁵ P. LAVASTRE, *Valladolid et ses elites : les illusions d'une capitale regionale, 1840-1900*, Madrid, Casa Velazquez, 2007, p. 139.

Profession also became an important factor in the social reproduction of these families, which created mechanisms of trust and solidarity. Credit, loans and mutual help constituted these trust mechanisms, as Laurence Fontaine has shown in a case study of peddlers in the Alps in the early modern period.¹⁶ Solidarity facilitated younger generations' entry into the family profession. Not only were marriages more common between families from the same profession, but these ties had financial implications inasmuch as families helped new couples to set themselves up and provided husbands with necessary business contacts.

There are parallels between Valladolid and Magdeburg. Tradesmen congregated in the *Breiter Weg* – at the time one of the most beautiful baroque streets in Europe - while servants of the state chose to live around the Cathedral Square. Solidarity mechanisms were also visible in the continuance of the paternal profession and the formation of commercial societies in which kinship and group associations were common, which applied equally to Valladolid.

To better illustrate these processes of social crystallisation we will now turn to some biographical examples which highlight the immediate individual, family and group interaction and to show how a *jeux d'échelles* could serve to identify more nuanced mechanisms of integration and adaptation for these notables.

IV- Comparing Biographies

By comparing a few biographical examples I will try to show in a more detailed way the process explained before. To do this, I have chosen the most representative surnames in Valladolid and Magdeburg. That is, the families designated by the surnames Guerra and Coqui, and particularly the members of the family around Gregoria Guerra Aragón¹⁷ (Villarramiel, 1800-Valladolid, 1848) and Johann Gustav Coqui (Magdeburg, 1805-Berlin, 1876). Both of them were central nodes in the power relations within the

¹⁶ L. FONTAINE, *History of Pedlars in Europe*, Cambridge UK, Polity Press, 1996.

¹⁷ I have chosen here a gender perspective because Gregoria Guerra has illustrated the questions on the membership of one of the main town families, that is, of the wife of Juan Manuel Fernández Vítóres, as well as the origin of the elite in Valladolid. Although in the next pages I will also focus on her husband's activities, I have considered the gender perspective to be more illuminating for the understanding of the problem addressed in this paper.

city and the centre of the complex structure of a kinship network. Through the confrontation of these two personalities, I will finally show the similarities and differences of the group of power in both case studies and the reorganization of power structures in the European city between 18th and 19th centuries.

Both had an interesting origin, Gregoria Guerra was born in a small town in the cold and agrarian *Tierra de Campos*, while Coqui belonged to a religious minority group in Magdeburg, the so-called *Pfälzer Kolonie*,¹⁸ a group of Reformists and Huguenots established there since the end of the 17th century after their expulsion of France for religious reasons. Both also had a similar social origin. The father of Coqui had been one of the last mayors of the *Kolonie* and he continued a long family tradition in commerce and industry –father and grandfather were involved in beet and sugar production-.¹⁹ Gregoria Guerra, on the other hand, came from a *hidalgo* family dedicated to property and commerce –wheat was one of the main products of the area and the *Canal de Castilla* passed by²⁰. I will also focus in comparing the public activity of Coqui with the one developed by Juan Manuel Fernández Vitores (the husband of Gregoria Guerra).

The changes brought by the Napoleonic Wars and the dialectic fight between liberalism and absolutism began when they were young. 1808 marked the end of the autonomy of the *Kolonie*, the beginning of the war in Spain, and the year in which Gregoria Guerra moved to the city.

The *Pfälzer Kolonie* on the one hand, and Villarramiel on the other turned out to be very important points for the development of the power groups in both cities during the first decades of the 19th century. Both represented the crystallization of a new society and a new group of power in the shift from 18th to 19th century since they were the geographical base in which the groups changed. Villarramiel, as a rural town from north Castile²¹ was, if not the most important, then at least a typical example of

¹⁸ J. FISCHER, „Die Pfälzer Kolonie zu Magdeburg“, in *Magdeburger Kultur- und Wirtschaftsleben* Nr. 19, Magdeburg o.J. (1939).

¹⁹ Entrances on the Coqui family in *Magdeburger Biographisches Lexikon*, <http://www.uni-magdeburg.de/mbi/>.

²⁰ C. GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA-VALLADOLID, *Datos para historia biográfica de Valladolid*, Valladolid, Maxtor, 2003, Tomo I, pp. 470-472.

²¹ P. MADDOZ, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar*, tomo XVI, Madrid, 1850, p. 275.

geographical extraction for many of those tradesmen who came to Valladolid starting in 1750. The possibility for Gregoria Guerra to move to Valladolid when she was 8 years old²² was prepared by a complex relationship of interests of people from Villarramiel, people also from her family. The marriage between her aunt María Pérez with Gabino Abril linked her family with important tradesmen from the capital. From María Pérez or from her milieu, a key marriage alliance was made for the formation of the integration strategies of these Castilian tradesmen in Valladolid, the Guerras and the Aragons being important pieces of this process.

The *Pfälzer Kolonie* was also an important centre on which the urban power group in Magdeburg was built during the first decades of the 19th century. The mere continuity of those who attained power positions around the 1830s and 1840s –people with residence in the city for generations– does not mean that a reorganization of power structures did not occur. Some of the most renowned notables of the times came from this *Kolonie*. They also continued the strong manufacturing tradition, or built relevant industries in the city following the familial tradition of commerce and craftsmanship.²³

Both for the Guerras and the Coquis, it was convenient to build a complex family and to extend their ties. A big kinship network was social, economic and cultural capital. And that was what this group of tradesmen needed to integrate themselves firstly in the city structures and then to obtain the access into power. Through some strategic marriages, the family Guerra came to be located in the centre of the migrant group, agglutinating the main migrant merchant families of the city. Firstly, Gregoria Guerra's aunt, María Pérez, became engaged to Gabino Abril, and through him with one of the most important local trade families in Valladolid, the Reynosos. Then, her cousin Teresa Aragón married a member of the Tejasdas family, and through the Tejasdas they engaged with Sigler, who had good connexions with the Semprún, the Urquidi and others. Other members of the Guerras were also well-connected, with marriages to relevant families of these migrants. And through Gregoria's marriage to Juan Manuel Fernández

²² Archivo Municipal de Valladolid, Padrón de 1838, parroquia de la Antigua.

²³ R. STRAUBEL, *Kaufleute und Manufakturunternehmer*, pp. 153-155. A contrasting interpretation is advanced in H. TOLLIN, *Geschichte der Französischen Colonie von Magdeburg*, Bd. 3/1, Halle und Magdeburg, 1889-1893, p. 659.

Vitores, the kinship network became even more complex and large. The four surnames (Guerra, Aragón, Fernández and Vitores) joined the main foreign commercial families of Valladolid who arrived during the 18th century. These four surnames became central to understanding part of the urban power structure, and the family ties of a part of the local *notabilité*, and show how the successful economic strategy of some of these tradesmen during the 18th century increased kinship relationships through them and made this mechanism fundamental for maintaining and increasing power during the 1830s.

The kinship network of the Coquis was also complex and extended.²⁴ Two differences are noticed in the case of Guerra and Fernández Vitores. The first is the familial endogamy through some cases of marriages between cousins. The second is that despite a high number of marriages, the kinship network with other tradesmen of town is not so complex as in the Valladolid case. In this sense, many marriages took place with people from outside the city, especially from the important economic area of Magdeburg such as the rural area near it, Berlin and Hamburg. Although marriages between the economic bourgeoisie –industrials, manufacturers, and landowners- were common, there are some examples of marriages with functionaries. Thus, the kinship network was, as in the Spanish case, complex but evidently diverged in some respects.

Their economic activity was based in the kinship network, on which they patterned their involvement in civic associations. Some members of the Coqui family were married to cousins in Hamburg, where another branch of the family was established, or to Berlin in order to maintain a link with the capital. Fernández Vitores had also a brother in Madrid, married a daughter with a family from Ávila, and was linked with people from other areas.

Also, both developed an intensive local activity discharging different functions in the municipality. Fernández Vitores was twice mayor of the city, member of the *Diputación Provincial*,²⁵ member of different cultural circles

²⁴ See G. HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Magdeburger Familien in Andel, Gewerbe, Industrie, Wissenschaft und Verwaltung. Ein historischer Streifzug in Wort und Bild*, Magdeburg, 2008, pp. 85-106.

²⁵ P. CARASA, E. BERZAL de la ROSA, J. A. CANO GARCÍA, J. LUENGO SÁNCHEZ y G. RIVILLA MARUGÁN, *Diccionario de Alcaldes de Valladolid (1808-2010)*, Ayuntamiento, Valladolid, forthcoming. See also J. A. CANO GARCÍA, “La apuesta por el liberalismo de las élites vallisoletanas. Representación políticas en los inicios del reinado de Isabel II”, en *Investigaciones Históricas* 27 (2007), pp. 157-178, here p. 161.

and even some inscriptions carried out from his shop. He was also *Caballero Comisario de Fuegos*,²⁶ member of the *Junta de Beneficencia*,²⁷ lieutenant of the *Milicia Nacional*,²⁸ justice of the peace –always as member of the municipality-,²⁹ and founding member of the *Sociedad Castellana de Emulación y Fomento*.³⁰ Most of these positions were related to the town council and maintained and legitimated the newly founded system.

The case of Coqui is different, as he was also an active member in town but in a different way. Although both presided over economic associations - Coqui was part of the *Ältestenrat der Magdeburger Korporation der Kaufmannschaft* and was elected in 1857 as advice supervisor of the first *Magdeburger Privatbank*-. Coqui's most important activity, pertained to the defence of liberalism against the state. This is the most important difference because although both became supporters of liberal ideas, Fernández Vitores cooperated with state.³¹ But an official liberal framework already existed in Spain, so personalities like Fernández Vitores did not have to fight for liberal ideas, but rather to use them to legitimate their own power position.

It is the officiality of liberalism in Spain which led to Fernández Vitores to become part of one of the main local branches of liberal institutions while Coqui turned in one of the local heads in the opposition to the system asking for liberal reforms.

Benefiting from the process of *Desamortización*,³² confronting the carlists, Fernández Vitores obtained a licence to establish a flour factory near the main defensive military point in the city.³³ He even advocated for a more open commercial system free of charges, as when he refused to pay a tariff for the introduction of chocolate in one of the city gates, thus entering into

²⁶ Archivo Municipal de Valladolid, Libro de Actas, 4 January 1834.

²⁷ C. GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA-VALLADOLID, *Datos para la historia biográfica...*, pp. 470-472.

²⁸ Archivo Municipal de Valladolid, Libro de Actas, 6 and 10 June 1834

²⁹ *Ibid*, 15 October 1836

³⁰ P. CALVO CABALLERO, *Defensa de intereses y cultural de la patronal castellano-leonesa (1876-1931)*, Tesis de Doctoral, Universidad de Valladolid, 1999, p. 1002.

³¹ *Magdeburger Biographisches Lexikon*, entrance on Johann Gustav Coqui, <http://www.uni-magdeburg.de/mbl/>.

³² G. RUEDA HERNANZ, *La desamortización de Mendizábal en Valladolid (1836-1853): transformaciones y constantes en el mundo rural y urbano de Castilla la Vieja*, Valladolid, Institución Cultural Simancas, 1980, p.

³³ Archivo Municipal de Valladolid, Libro de Actas, 24 October 1837.

conflict with a municipal authority.³⁴ On the other hand, Coqui promoted in the early 1840s the creation of a new liberal journal, the *Magdeburger Wochenblattes für Angelegenheiten des bürgerlichen Lebens*. He was a very active member and one of the heads of the *Bürgerversammlung*. The liberals from Magdeburg organized them to get elected to local and provincial institutions to develop their opposition from inside, and so Coqui was elected to the town council in 1843, to the *Provinziallandtag* in 1845, to the *Vereinigte Landtag* in 1847, and to the *Berliner Parlament* during the 1848 revolution. Together with a group of strong liberals, who were also the economic head of town and an important part of the city notability, Coqui helped to develop a strong opposition movement to the Prussian authorities pushing for liberal reforms and a Constitution.³⁵

V- Concluding Remarks

European Network on Theory and Practice of Biography

Liberalism was the ideological common ground of notable society in Valladolid and Magdeburg, but in Germany, unlike Spain, it never became the official creed of the state. Nevertheless, the elites in both cities developed similar kinship strategies to buttress their authority within the private sphere, but whereas Spanish municipal elites cooperated with the state to legitimise their public positions, their liberal counterparts in Magdeburg gained public favour by defending local interests against the more conservative central government.

Kinship facilitated migrants' integration into urban power structures in Spain, although these power structures continued to favour natives over migrants slightly until the 1830s. Between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a process of social crystallization took place which integrated the interests of both groups in the public sphere, and was only opened for renegotiation after the final breakdown of absolutism.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 30 December 1837 and 10 January 1838.

³⁵ J. ENGELMANN, *Die Rolle der Bürgerversammlung und des „Magdeburger Wochenblattes für Angelegenheiten des bürgerlichen Lebens“ für die Entfaltung der bürgerlich-liberalen Oppositionsbewegung in Magdeburg 1843 bis 1847/48*, Dissertation, University of Magdeburg, 1988.

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