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Population Censuses in the Portuguese Empire, 1750-1820: Research Notes*

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Abstract: Since the mid 18th Century a significant amount of colonial censuses for the Portuguese overseas empire is available. Yet so far, scholars have not studied this information in a systematic way, neither from the normative perspective nor for demographic analysis. This paper tries to highlight the importance of the Portuguese colonial census as an important tool in the construction of Modern Portugal within the frame of *Political Arithmetic*. The production of vital statistics for the Portuguese colonies corresponds to a long process of persistence both from the central and local administration in order to establish a *statistical culture*. We will briefly outline the normative framework of these population statistics and pay attention to the information gathered in these censuses. A special importance will be given to the royal orders of 1776 and 1796-97 that standardized the process of data classification among the overseas settlements. A set of appendixes with the sources description and classification of the major Portuguese overseas domains will also be given.

Keywords: Portuguese Empire, colonial population, census-taking in the 18th and 19th Centuries colonies, population statistics framework.

1. Introduction

Vital statistics were a decisive instrument in the construction of modern states and colonialism. This knowledge reinforced control over territories and populations and permitted the implementation of new policies. The long process of creating a normative framework and bureaucratic apparatus capable of producing, collecting, and interpreting numerical data resulted in the first quantitative classification of peoples in the Portuguese overseas possessions.

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Statistical categories and circuits of production reveal the intensity with which the State penetrated its territories and constructed a new order. In this context, the act of counting populations can also be understood as an exercise of power over a territory and an instrument of mobilization against internal and external threats to the State.

As from the second half of the 18th Century, the Portuguese imperial administration began demanding increasingly detailed and systematic information on its various dominions, as well as on their respective annual movements (births, deaths and marriages). This trend fell within the framework of the *Political Arithmetic* that would take a large effect in Portugal over the course of the 18th Century. As with other European imperial powers, strengthening the role of the State clearly involved a systematized control over population, public finances, productions and military capabilities.

In the period under study, the Portuguese empire extended across a huge geographic range. Around the Atlantic, there was Brazil, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and the archipelagos of the Azores, Madeira, Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe[1]. In Asia, the *Estado Português da Índia* (Portuguese State of India) incorporated Goa (its capital), Daman, Diu, Macao and East Timor. The territory of Mozambique fell out of Goa's sphere of control in 1752, when an authority answering directly to Lisbon was put into place.

Contrary to some European empires, in particular the Spanish, Portuguese imperial holdings were utterly discontinuous from a geographical perspective and also extended over enormous social and religious diversity. Furthermore, different models of settlement prevailed and resulting from the changing nature of Portuguese expansion: military conquest, colonisation, as well as the commercial model. This heterogeneity posed countless administrative and political difficulties that naturally bore repercussions for the intended census categories in addition to the respective processes of statistical collection.

On the Atlantic archipelagos and in Goa–small in a geographic point of view–it was relatively easy to count the population, even if the ethnic and religious diversity proved fairly complex in the case of Portuguese India. The situation differed starkly in the cases of Brazil, Angola and Mozambique. In addition to the ethnic differences and the constant trafficking in slaves, these territories covered huge unknown regions in which effective rule over the populations was quite tenuous.

Despite all these contingencies, the documentation lost and the varying degree of reliability, we are in possession of a significant set of "population

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[1] The Azores and Madeira were deemed integral parts of the Portuguese kingdom as from the 16th Century.

charts" produced on orders of the crown. As Dauril Alden states "*despite their shortcomings, they furnish a good deal of useful information which cannot be gleaned from any other type of sources*" (1963: 201).

This article represents an exploratory study and falls within the scope of a research project aiming to generate coherent demographic data out of the statistics ordered by the Portuguese crown between 1750 and 1875. In general terms, this theme has attracted very little attention from scholars that may partially be explained by the following factors: 1) the significant dispersion of statistical information across national and international archives and their gradual deterioration and loss over the course of time, 2) the scarcity of printed legislative collections able to facilitate swift access to royal commands and instructions on statistical affairs, 3) the administrative evolution of the empire and the multiplicity of the entities involved in the production and reporting of information, 4) the favouring of demographic analysis based upon parish records and nominative population lists (*case studies*), to the detriment of the "population statistical tables".

The core objective of this article is to highlight certain guidelines underpinning the production of population statistics in the several overseas dominions. Based upon samples of these "charts" or "statistical maps", orders issued by the central administration and the literature, we seek to define the main typologies of statistical tables and their respective specific features. Whenever feasible, this analysis also seeks to establish the main phases of the informations production.

2. Population surveys of the Portuguese empire: from the dispersion to the systematization attempts

The first census in Portugal was carried out in 1801 marking the beginning of the "pre-modern statistics" period[2]. Despite this information being collected by the Catholic Church, its implementation was determined and structured by the State around a nominative basis (family bulletins). The structure and reliability of the data is in line with the realities encountered in other European countries. It should be remembered that identical census-taking operations occurred in Spain (1787), France (1800) and Great Britain (1801) (Alden 1963: 175; Alterman 1969: 163-207). However, and in spite of the various "*numeramentos*" (counts) held across all Portuguese districts since 1835, only as from 1864 was a regular census system enacted.

[2] Generally, Portuguese historians-demographers designate as censuses those statistics deriving from the "state of the population" based upon the *family bulletins* (1801 and 1864-2001). Hence, the "population tables" covered within the scope of this article are made up of the *levantamentos, cômputos* or *numeramentos* of the population.

The advent of pre-modern statistics in Portugal has since overshadowed the range of data collected on peoples, particularly in the form of "numeramentos" (counts), "cômputos" (computations) or "levantamentos" (surveys), which took place over the course of the 18th Century. While the majority of such efforts coincide with the Pombaline period of rule (1750-1777), a series of steps forward were taken in generating statistics on the Portuguese population during the reign of King D. João V (1700-1750).

As the 18th Century advanced, the progressive construction of a modern state structure was founded upon increasingly effective fiscal and military instruments. Such operations inherently depended upon the prior generation of knowledge on the respective population totals and their regional distribution. Correspondingly, it was during the reign of King D. João V that more abundant details on the national reality were produced (Sousa 1995: 82-84). Effective knowledge on the imperial reality had correspondingly already begun to be a greater priority to the central authorities.

In 1720-1721, the Crown, through the mediation of the Real Academia de História (Royal History Academy), decided to gather information on the Kingdom and its overseas possessions. These details (households and number of *souls*), due to make up an "Ecclesiastic History of this Kingdom and its conquests", were requested, on behalf of the monarch, from bishops, cathedral chapters, religious orders, municipal councils and judicial entities (Sousa 1995: 83). Despite knowing this work took place in 1721, we are unfortunately yet to discover the whereabouts of some of its statistical output.

The existence of global counts carried out in 1700, 1721 and 1732 clearly demonstrates the trend towards greater state centralisation driven by bureaucratisation processes. This approach, although taking place at a later phase, would spread out to include the imperial territories. Their rule required up-to-date and accurate knowledge on population totals particularly for military, economic and state administrative purposes, but also even for religious missions. In the opinion of Patrice Bourdelais, the implementation of population surveys in some imperial possessions may also be related to symbolic needs, reinforcing sovereignty and bringing about better control of the peoples under the rule of European powers (Bourdelais 2004: 99).

As we shall return to, the implementation of a regular system for surveying the empire's population was launched by a decree issued on 21.5.1776. However, a series of earlier efforts, generally territory specific, took place throughout the 18th Century, for example, Cape Verde (1731), the Azores (1747, 1766-1775), Madeira (1722, 1732, 1745, 1750, 1767), São Tome (1758), Mozambique (1722, 1766) and Goa (1718, 1720, 1722, 1749, 1750, 1753), with the majority on the orders of the crown (Carreira 1987: 33-76; Lopes and Matos 2006: 15-70, Madeira 1999, Newitt 1995: 227, Noronha 1996, Matos 2008: 241-324, Matos 2011, Neves 1989: 227, Santos s/d: 1212-1255, Wagner 2006).

These statistics are relatively sparse and in their greater part seem to reflect sporadic requests issued by the Crown. On the one hand, the census coverage extended throughout all of the respective territories[3] and on the other these surveys featured an exceptional level of information details. The best examples are those of Cape Verde (1731) and, in particular, Goa (1720), both already subject to academic study (Carreira 1987, Matos 2008).

Brazil was, by the mid-18th Century, the most populous dominion and in itself concentrated by and large 55% of the imperial population. Its definitive borders would only be stipulated in 1750 by the Treaty of Madrid, following heated military and diplomatic conflict with Spain. However, actual knowledge of the reality on the ground remained limited. Not only did the region of Amazonia remain practically unknown, but also the territory lying to the south of Rio de Janeiro and Sacramento also represented a demographic desert (Kuhn 2008: 103-108, Matos and Sousa 2008: 540-541).

The interest generated by the Brazil's wealth naturally drove a desire to better understand the environment so as to better exploit it. Within this framework, the scientific expeditions and consequent cartographic production were stepped up very often accompanied by population charts (Tarcisio et al. 2008: 60-74; Furtado 2007: 69-87). Correspondingly, we know of various surveys carried out in different administrative units of Brazil prior to 1770. This is the case, for example, of Santa Catarina (1753, 1767), Bahia (1759), Pernambuco (1762-1763) and São Paulo (1765) (Alden 1963, Marcílio 2000: 33-35; Tarcísio et al 2008: 59-77, Smith 1995: 5-7).

With the mercantilist doctrine prevailing, states began to perceive their populations as one of their main sources of wealth. This position was clearly expressed in the words of the Marquis of Pombal: "*the strength and wealth of all States consists primarily of the number and multiplication of the people who inhabit it*"[4]. Within the context of the Treaty of Madrid (1750), it is hardly surprising that detailed knowledge on the population was grounded in practical reality. The regulation of migratory flows and military enlistment involved specifically ascertaining the number of inhabitants. As from the mid 18th Century, both Iberian kingdoms organised large-scale movements of couples to their

[3] On various occasions, these are broken down by level of *freguesia* (village) or *paróquia* (parishes). In the case of Brazil, the data was collected for the majority of the capitanias (captaincies, administrative areas) even while indigenous populations, beyond the control of the administration, are often left out. Furthermore, slaves were not always included.

[4] Letter dated 21.09.1751 sent to Gomes Freire de Andrade.

American colonies so as to settle and consolidate their borders. In 1747, Portugal sponsored the transport to Santa Catarina of around 6,000 residents of the Azores and Madeira, some of whom would later move onto Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul. Although the magnitude of these *families recruitment* dropped off significantly after 1770, they remained within the scope of royal thinking through to the independence of Brazil in 1822 (Matos and Sousa 2008: 535-577).

Beyond these displacements of subjects, there are also the various campaigns encouraging movement to Brazil and Angola. The abundant documentation produced by the *Conselho Ultramarino* (Overseas Bureau) sets out how during the second half of the 18th Century various governors insistently requested the sending out of conscripts and professional soldiers to their dominions. These population movements could only be subject to analysis in Lisbon following careful calculation of the totals of people in the overseas provinces[5].

Both the greater frequency of censuses ordered by the crown and the significant movements of peoples encouraged by the king demonstrate the determination to control population flows, channeling such human resources towards their strategic objectives (Matos and Sousa 2008: 535-577). This approach takes on particular importance in the 1760s when the Marquis of Pombal was consolidating his reputation with the King D. José I. Within this context, the *Political Arithmetic*, as a mechanism to support State decisions takes on particular relevance.

Analysis of the census documentation on Portuguese dominions reveals that the regular production of statistics was begun, in the majority of the colonies, as from 1766. Through to the new orders of 1776, whether in series or by isolated tables, we do already know information of earlier data for the Azores, Madeira, Brazil, Angola, Cape Verde and São Tome and Príncipe with structures that, in many cases, is quite similar to the royal order of 1776. For Goa, we only do have a regular series starting after 1776 (*see appendix IV*)[6].

[5] There are several offices from the Brazil governors to the Overseas Bureau in Lisbon providing information about the soldiers available for the captaincy defence. As an example we can register the letter of Pernambuco's governor dated 22.06.1775 to Martinho de Melo e Castro informing about the number of troops sent to Rio de Janeiro (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, henceforth AHU, *Pernambuco*, box. 118, doc. 9149). In 1797 the governor of Maranhão informed the Overseas Bureau about the possible number of recruits that could shift from the captaincy to Lisbon metropolis (AHU, Maranhão, box. 93, doc. 7683). What this letters show us is that both the Overseas Bureau and several governors had a reasonable knowledge about the males in conscription age in the Portuguese settlements.

[6] However, the orders sent out do make references to earlier diplomas, some of them not implemented by the authorities. Cf. AHU, *Monções do Reino (Monsoon collection),* no. 157, fls. 157 and 167.

Without ignoring detailed analysis of each territory, a global reading of the population tables available points to a first effort at statistical harmonisation ongoing between 1766 and 1776. In this first phase, royal orders are handed down either through diplomas or through instructions issued to recently charged governors. The results are highly variable in terms of the information produced. Nevertheless, one key theme to this period comes with the regularity that these charts began reaching Lisbon.

The territory that we know most about in terms of census production is the archipelago of the Azores. The execution of regular census-taking system was established in 1766 following the creation of a new administrative framework, the *Capitania-General* (General Captaincy). In the *Secret Instructions* given to the first incumbent was the recommendation to stimulate an increase in the population "*by the particular and appropriate means by which this has been moved forward in the colonies of France, England and Holland*" (Madeira 1999: 30). As a means of gauging the scale of this enlargement, the monarch ruled that by the end of January of each year, an *exact report* divided up into three sections: people taking their first communion, baptism and death certificates issued in the civil year ending[7]. The clergy prepared these reports, the reason for which a royal letter dated 2.8.1766 was also dispatched to the Bishop of Angra do Heroísmo with the same instructions (Madeira 1999: 31).

Available to our analysis are the population charts from 1766-1769 produced for each island, many of which were accompanied by the original reports and comments from the local parish priests[8]. However, nothing is known as to global tables, certainly due to a lack of information as regards to some of the islands. It is perhaps for this reason that new orders were issued on 1.07.1771. This now requested a report based on the street layout of all cities, towns and settlements, differentiating between gender and inhabitant age. The age classification covered men between the ages of 0-7, 15-50, 50+ with women categorised by 0-7, 7-15, 15-40 and 40+. The crown also requested the number of those married up to the age of 40, while vital statistics

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The previous census of 1749 or 1753 follow a different structure from the maps produced after 1776.

[7] This communion group corresponded to the population range over the age of 12 for females and over 14 for males, that is, those individuals eligible to receive communion. The death certificates were to be grouped into the following age groups: 0-10, 11-40, 41-70 and the over 80s.

[8] Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU). A part of this documentation is also housed at Torre do Tombo (ANTT) (National Archive), *Ministério do Reino*, bundle 312. The same happened as regards the 1794 census (ANTT/MR, bundle 614) (Matos and Sousa 2008: 551-577). This document dispersion–and not to mention the shortcomings of the document description in many archives–shows that the historical characterisation of censuses and their respective demographic study is always susceptible to revision.

(baptisms and deaths) were to be discriminated by gender[9]. This standard would remain in effect in the archipelago through to 1776 (*see appendix I*).

As with other dominions, especially Brazil, the 1771 instruction also attributed responsibility for data collection to *corregedores* (ministers of justice). It is no easy task to trace the process of census systematisation in the Portuguese America given the quantity of captaincies, countless administrative, judicial and ecclesiastic participants. Studies by Dauril Alden and Maria Luíza Marcílio conclude that attempts by the crown to establish a standardised statistics system can confidently be dated to the late 1760s[10]. (*see appendix III*).

The captaincy of São Paulo represented an exception within the Brazilian panorama. Here, the censuses based on nominative surveys were carried out, village by village, since 1765. Contrary to the majority of other jurisdictions, we may safely state that both civil and military entities undertook the preponderance of these duties. Hence and for example, a list was prepared by the military entities encharged with enrolling the population under their jurisdiction every year[11]. However, the chart-summaries on S. Paulo do not always incorporate all the information contained in the lists, specifically gender, race and age (Alden 1963: 184, Marcílio 2000: 29-43).

In Angola, as well the Azores, the royal orders stipulating the production of population charts were conveyed to the new governor by means of *Instructions*. Thus, António de Lencastre, appointed to rule the kingdom of Angola in 1772, had already drafted a chart of city of Luanda inhabitants by the end of the following year, representing the first existing survey of the colony (Curto 2001: 16). This approach included "*information on white, mulatto free and slave, and black free and slaves capable of bearing arms ... white, free mulatto, and free black women; and government troops by colour ... and civilian males under fifteen and over fifty years*"(Curto 2001: 16). The second census– already extending across the kingdom–came in 1781 and was already in accordance with the model set down by the Crown in 1776. However, only as from 1796 do we find a practically unbroken series for each *presídio* of Angola (*see appendix II* for Luanda).

[9] Population tables structured in accordance with this typology are known for the island of S. Miguel (1770-1775) and were published by Artur Madeira 1997.

[10] A list of Brazilian sources produced between 1750 and 1820 and their respective characteristics may be found in (Alden 1963: 184). This should be complemented by other summaries, specifically Russell-Wood (1997: 287-288) and the diverse monographs published in the meanwhile.

[11] Much of this information is housed at the Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo and Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon) and was studied in detail by Maria Luiza Marcílio.

In São Tome and Principe archipelago, the panorama was not particularly different. In 1770, there was a summary of inhabitants with information about ecclesiastical members, those locally born and those arriving from elsewhere both white), *pardos* ("mixed" race) and blacks (these broken down by frees or unslaved). This also included the population under the age of 7 (*menores de confissão*–too young to attend confession), without ever actually specifying ethnic origin and position[12]. This operation–also based on the confessional lists–was repeated in 1771 with an identical approach (Neves 1989).

3. On standardisation: the diplomas of 1776, 1796 and 1797

The regular reporting of population statistics (status and annual movements) is to a large extent the result of the royal order of 21.05.1776, dispatched to various governors across the Portuguese Empire[13]. The diploma represented a new paradigm in imperial statistical production and bringing consequences across three levels. Firstly, data presentation was standardised – in particular in terms of age groups–thus enabling their comparability. Secondly, the collecting of information tends, in the majority of cases, to cover the full extent of the territories. Finally, and perhaps more importantly, the order demanded the sending of population data for every year to the Overseas Bureau.

The information required by the Minister for the Colonies divided the population into 10 classes:

I. male children (*crianças*) under age seven
II. boys (*rapazes*) between seven and fifteen
III. adult males (*homens*) between fifteen and sixty
IV. men over sixty (*homens velhos*) [14]
V. female children (*crianças*) under seven
VI. girls (*raparigas*) between seven and fourteen
VII. adult women (*mulheres*) between fourteen and forty
VIII. women over forty (*adultas e velhas*)[15]
IX. number of births during the year
X. number of deaths during the year

The age classification adopted was practically identical to that in the order dated 1.07.1771 dispatched to the *Capitania-Geral* of the Azores due both to the

[12] "Sumário dos habitantes desta ilha e cidade de S. Tomé tirado pelos róis das confissões...," published by (Neves 1989: 268-269).
[13] Alden 1963: 177-180, Wagner 2006: 1-3.
[14] The majority of tables also detailed men over the age of 90 (velhos).
[15] As in the case of men, there was frequently a separate category of women (*velhas)* aged over 90.

continued clerical role in data collection, and hence category one, and the overall military prerogative determining the need for category three. The 0-7 age group corresponded to minors of confession and not normally included by the clergy in their records. The grouping of women into the 14-40 age group relates to their being of child bearing age, and perhaps designed to be used for population projections. Finally, the existence of the large interval of 15 to 60 years for men corresponds exactly to the ages prescribed in militia regulations as eligible for military enlistment.

Despite the standardisation by age group, the orders were vague in terms of the social groups to be included, a situation that would only change across almost all the empire in 1797. This question does not raise problems in the Azores and Madeira archipelagos given the overwhelming preponderance of the white population. In Brazil, however, various governors opted to include information on ethnicity and status (free or slaves) and "domesticated indians". In these cases, distinctions were made between whites, *pardos* ("mixed"race)[16], slaves as well as Christianised Indians (Alden 1963: 196-199; Russell-Wood 1997: 284-295). In Angola, the censuses of 1777 and 1778 only differentiated between free and slaves (Thornton 1980: 421), while the 1781 survey of Luanda included whites, *pardos* and blacks (in both cases detailing as to whether free or slave)[17]. In Portuguese India, and especially in Goa, these distinctions were religiously based, systematically discriminating only between Christians and *gentiles* (Hindus and Moors).

In all statistical operations, it was the Catholic Church that took on the main role in collecting the primary data. Thus, generally the circulars sent out to imperial governors was replicated and dispatched to bishops and archbishops requesting their assistance in the smooth execution of the surveys. However, various other entities (far too many as Dauril Alden justly points out) participated in the process: the *capitães de ordenança* (garrison captains), *juízes de fora* (appointed judges from the King), *corregedores* (justice officers) and employees in the service of *capitanias*, *presídios*, *tanadorias*, dependent on the respective administrative area[18].

In general terms, through to 1910, statistical data collection remained dependent on the Church, particularly in terms of annual movements of births, marriages and deaths. To this end, the parishes made recourse to the confessionary lists and the parish baptism, matrimonial and death records.

[16] A descendent of African and non-African parentage.

[17] AHU, *Angola*, box 64, doc. 63.

[18] The processes of gathering data and the chain of production are subject to thorough discussion in (Alden 1963: 179-183 and 196-201, Curto 2001: 6-26, Madeira 1999: 28-49), and especially by Marcílio 1968: 98-103.

These sources, given they reflected an ecclesiastical reality, tended to overlook minors under the age of 7 (too young for confession)[19] and to under-record deaths given that some children dying at young ages would not be recorded[20]. Studies of some statistical tables demonstrate that these shortcomings were recurrent but over the course of time tended to decline across most dominions. The actual governors also provided a range of comments about the quality level achieved by the clergy's commitment to properly implementing the tasks.

In Spanish America, a systematic census also took place in 1776. The Iberian monarchies "*acted almost simultaneously to secure even more detailed information concerning the inhabitants in their colonies*" (Alden 1963: 177). The Spanish Gálvez order of November 1776 was sent out to all regions of the Indias "with proper distinction of classes, [marital] status, and castes of all persons of both sexes, without omitting the infants" (Alden 1963: 177, Sanchéz-Albornoz 1974: 14-15). Once again, the efforts to put a homogenous population statistic system into practice date back to the late 1760s (Sanchéz-Albornoz 1974: 14-15). However, contrary to the Portuguese reality, the data collected in Spanish America distinguished more systematically between castes and slaves.

In the French and British empires, the counting of peoples in their respective American dominions was no less heterogeneous. In Quebec, 16 surveys were carried out between 1665 and 1754 but efforts to produce global censuses were only undertaken in the second half of the 18th Century (Alden 1963: 175-176, Bourdelais 2004: 102-103, Higgs 2005: 3). Britain was the first colonial power to introduce standardised censuses into their American colonies. In 1761, the Board of Trade called on governors to submit periodical data "*concerning the number of whites, blacks and Indias and the reasons for their decrease during the previous biennium*" (Alden 1963: 177). Census production depended greatly on the respective colony. Many did not extend beyond the simple counting of inhabitants. The first extensive census of the United States took place in 1790 containing information on whites by gender and age (adults and minors aged under 16), "other free individuals" and slaves (Alterman 1969: 201).

Towards the end of the 18th Century, the main population census statistic restructurings for the Portuguese empire date to 1796 and 1797. On

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[19] As late as 1837, a priest on Terceira island (Azores) highlighted on his chart: "the number of minors under the age of seven […] is made by an approximate calculation […] that the parish clergy only do out of curiosity", Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional de Angra do Heroísmo (Public Library and Archive of Angra do Heroísmo, Azores), *Capitania-Geral*, População, bundle nº 5.

[20] For example, a priest on Flores island (Azores) in 1766 stated "relative to those having passed on, it is not common practice to list those aged under ten". Cf. AHU, *Açores*, box 6, doc. 15.

14.09.1796, an order issued to the governor of Angola required an annual survey of the population of all the *presídios*. The information went into significant details, including ecclesiastical, men and women (white, blacks and mixed race), status (free or slave), civil status and age (0-7, 7-14, 14-25 and +25 for both genders). The charts were also to contain data on professions, arrivals and departures of inhabitants during the civil year along with births and deaths. As a result of these undertakings, we are in possession of hundreds of statistical tables covering the diverse *presídios* of Angola practically continuously as from 1798.

Another document typology emerges out of the various imperial surveys as from 1798, specifically in the Azores, Brazil and Benguela (Angola). These results are an output of the royal diploma dated 6.12.1797 that ordered governors to deliver a total of eight charts, three of which related to the population[21]. The first related to the prevailing state of the population. The information was identical to the diploma of 1796 but with one important innovation: the age groups became regularly distributed, 0-5, 5-10, 10-20, ... 100+. Questionnaire 2 required details on the distribution of males by professions and the respective daily wages of artisans and labourers. Movements were subject to significant improvements (map 3). They requested births by child gender, whether living, stillborn or twins. Deaths were also broken down by gender and now discriminated by age (0-1, 1-5, 5-10, ... 100+), with the same case for weddings. Finally, reporting was also requested on the cause of deaths (both for *natural* and *accidental* cases). Each cause of death was to be recorded by age (grouped into categories of five years) and gender.

The order dated 6.12.1797 ushered in a new paradigm for Portuguese imperial statistics. The detailed information actually enabled the calculation of life tables, infant mortality and total fertility rates, something that would only prove possible in Portugal itself in the early 20th Century. Unfortunately, the statistics formulated in accordance with this directive relate only to the Azores (Matos and Sousa 2008: 551-577), Benguela[22] and for some of Brazil's *capitanias*, especially Maranhão[23]. It may be the case that some others still do survive across the various archives both in Portugal and abroad.

Despite the limited direct impact of the 1796 and 1797 orders, they did generate a general trend towards change in statistical outputs in global terms. As from 1797, the Goa charts retain the age group divisions set out in 1776 but do now systematically include whites, *pardos* ("mixed" race), gentiles and

[21] AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, códice 579, fl. 193v. (Order issued by the governor of Benguela). This order mentions the "settled indians", and is certainly a copy of orders issued to many captaincies across Brazil.

[22] See, for example, AHU, *Angola*, box. 89, doc. 88.

[23] National Archive of Rio de Janeiro, box 03.03.17 ("Maranhão 1798-1800").

Muslims, blacks and slaves (Matos 2011). Furthermore, the information on Diu, Daman and even Macao (Bauss 1997: 199-216) already tends to extend out to the diverse ethnic-religious groups distributed by regular age group classifications. Through to the independence of Brazil, in 1822, the same trends are ongoing in the colony. Even with major variations between the captaincies, the population statistics tend to list the indigenous population and classify the various groups into regular age classifications.

4. Conclusions

Continuing trends first encountered during the reign of King D. João V, the Portuguese imperial authorities produced an extensive body of orders designed to bring together systematic and standardised information on the respective populations in the second half of the 18th Century. To a large extent, this process was accelerated during the 1760s when the Marquis of Pombal launched wide reforms of both Portugal and its dominions. Furthermore, the new challenges deriving from the Treaty of Madrid (1750), the gradual loss of gold revenues from Brazil and the reorientation of flows to and from the colonies, including military recruits began to demand ever more specialised knowledge on inhabitants.

The geographic dispersion of the colonies, their social heterogeneity and administrative decentralisation hindered the implementation of systematic and particularly standardised censuses. However, central administration did prove able to impose an increasingly demanding statistical culture and to a greater or lesser extent regular in nature.

Irrespective of the time frames inherent to each local territory, there is a first period (1766-1775) during which the majority of colonies embarked upon the production of population charts even if with highly variable regularities and levels of information. The 1776 order would simultaneously guarantee greater uniformity in the charts and their regular dispatch to the Overseas Bureau. The 1796 diploma guaranteed the collection of data from inland regions of Angola, while that of 1797 significantly expanded the level of information detail to be reported.

Although the statistical series are highly uneven between the various dominions and contain variable levels of reliability, they do show that the advances in Portuguese imperial statistical production was in keeping with other European imperial powers and, in some cases, displaying relevant innovation in terms of the information collected. Hence, the thorough demographic study of much of the Portuguese empire, particularly for the period post-1776, is a feasible research objective.

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Appendices

Appendix I - Demographic sources for the Azores, 1747-1820

Place	Year	Source	Sex	Race	Totals only	Number of souls	Births and Deaths	Marriages	Ages	Marital status	Professions	Unit level	Other
Azores	1747	A1			x	x						I	
	1776	A2	x				x		x			P	
	1777	A3	x				x		x			P	
	1779	A4	x				x		x			P	
	1780	A5	x				x		x			P	
	1781	A6	x				x		x			P	
	1782	A7	x				x		x			P	
	1791	A8	x				x		x			P	
	1793	A9	x				x		x			P	
	1794	A10	x				x		x			P	
	1795	A11	x				x		x			P	
	1796	A12	x				x		x			I	
	1820	A13										I	
S. Maria	1800	B1	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
	1801	B2	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
	1807	B3	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
S. Miguel	1769	C1			(a)		x					P	(a)
	1770	C2					x					P	(a)
	1771	C3	x			x	x		x	b)		P	
	1773	C4	x			x	x		x	b)		P	
	1774	C5	x			x	x		x	b)		P	
	1775	C6	x			x	x		x	b)		P	
	1801	C7	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
	1804	C8	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
	1805	C9			x							P	
	1807	C10	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	P	(c)
	1811	C11	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	P	(c)
	1813	C12	x	x					x	x		I	
	1819	C13	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	I	
	1825	C14	x		x							I	
Terceira	1766	D1			a)		x					P	(a)
	1769	D2			a)		x					P	(a)
	1770	D3			a)		x					P	(a)
	1798	D4	x				x		x			P	
	1800	D5	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	

	1801	D6	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
	1807	D7	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	P	(c)
	1812	D8	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	P	(c)
	1813	D9	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	P	(c)
Graciosa	1766	E1			a)		x					P	(a)
	1769	E2			a)		x					P	(a)
	1770	E3			a)		x					P	(a)
	1799	E4	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
	1800	E5	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
	1814	E6	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
São Jorge	1766	F1			a)		x					P	(a)
	1769	F2			a)		x					P	(a)
	1789	F3	x				x		x			P	(c)
	1790	F4	x				x		x			P	(c)
	1799	F5	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	P	(c)
	1800	F6	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
	1801	F7	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
	1807	F8	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
	1819	F9	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	I	
Pico	1770	G1			a)		x					P	(a)
	1798	G2	x				x		x			P	(c)
	1799	G3	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	P	(c)
	1810	G4	x			x						C	
	1813	G5	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	P	(c)
Faial	1769	H1			a)		x					P	(a)
	1770	H2			a)		x					P	(a)
	1799	H3	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	P	(c)
	1800	H4	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
	1801	H5	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	I	
	1808	H6	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	P	
	1809	H7	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	P	
	1812	H8	x	x					x				
Flores and Corvo	1765	I1			a)		x					P	(a)
	1766	I2			a)		x					P	(a)
	1768	I3			a)		x					P	(a)
	1769	I4			a)		x					P	(a)
	1770	I5			a)		x					P	(a)
	1810	I6	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	P	

a) Only comunion souls; b) Only married (MF); c) Unsorted parish information
Sources: Madeira 1997; Tables A10, B3, C10, C11, C12, C13, D4, D7, D8, D9, E4, E5, E6, F3, F4, F5, F8, F9, H6, H7, H8 and I6 (Matos and Sousa 2008)

Appendix II - Demographic Sources for Luanda,1781-1832

Years(s)	1781	1796	1797 to 1798	1799 to 1832
Sex	x	x	x	x
Age groups	x			
Color	x	x	x	x
Civilians		x	x	x
Non-civilians		x	x	x
Births	x		x	x
Marriages				x
Deaths	x		x	x
Social condition	x	x	x	x
Marital status				x
Households		x	x	x
Occupations				x
In-migrants			x	x
Out-migrants			x	x

Source: Curto and Gervais 2001: 49

Appendix III– Demographic sources for Brazil, 1750-1816

Place	Year	Source (a)	Sex	Race	Totals only	Number of souls	Births and Deaths	Ages	Marital status	Civil status	Other
Rio Negro	1762	A1	x					x			Indians only
	1764	A2	x					x			Indians only
	1772	A3	x			x		x			
	1778	A4	x	x		x		x	x	x	
	1785	A5	x	x		x		x	x	x	
	1786	A6	X			x	x	x			Indians only
	1786	A7	x	x		x	x	x			
Pará	1773	B1	x			x		x			
	1778-79	B2	x	x			x	x			
	1789	B3	x	x		x		x	x	x	
	1816	B4			x						
Maranhão	1777	C1	x		x						
	1798	C2		x	x						
	1798	C3					x	x	x	x	

Piauí	1777	B1	x		x					
Pernambuco	1774-6	C1	x			x	x	x		
	1791	C2	x		x			x		
Ceará	1808	D1	x	x		x	x			
	1816	D2			x					
Baía	1759	E1			x	x				
	1775	E2			x	x				
	1778	E3			x					
	1780	E4			x		x			
Rio de	1780	F1	x	x						
Janeiro	1798	F2	x	x			x	x	x	
Sta Catarina	1750	G1			x					
	1753	G2			x					
	1767	G3								
	1777	G4								
	1788	G5						x		
	1796	G6			x	x		x		
	1812	G7			x					
Rio Grande	1780	H1	x	x				x	x	
Sul	1798	H2	x	x			x		x	
	1802	H3	x	x			x	x		
Sacramento	1777	I	x	x		x			x	
São Paulo	1765	J1				x		x		
	1767	J2				x		x		
	1772	J3								
	1776	J4	x				x	x		
	1779	J5								
	1780	J6	x				x	x		
	1782	J7	x				x	x		
	1783	J8								
	1784	J9								
	1787	J10			x					
	1789	J11								
	1790	J12								
	1791	J13								
	1792	J14								
	1793	J15								
	1797	J16	x	x			x	x		
	1800	J17	x	x			x	x		
	1805	J18	x	x			x	x		
	1816	J19	x	x			x			x

Minas Gerais	1767	K1			x					
	1770	K2								
	1776	K3	x	x			x			
	1777	K4								
	1800	K5			x					
Goiás	1779	L1			x					
	1780	L2			x					
	1804	L3		x		x			x	x
Mato Grosso	1780	M1				x	x			
	1800	M2		x						
	1815	M3								
	1817	M4								
Rio Grande do Norte	1801	N1	x	x			x	x	x	x
	1805	N2	x	x			x	x	x	x
	1806	N3	x	x			x	x	x	x

(a) Sources and its structure comes from Alden 1963: 184-185.
Except the following ones:
A1 - Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), Rio Negro, Cx. 2, doc. 113
A2 - AHU, Rio Negro, Cx. 2, doc. 120
A3 - Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro (BNRJ), box 03.03.17
A6 - AHU, Rio Negro, Cx. 11, doc. 414
A7 - AHU, Rio Negro, Cx. 11, doc. 445
B2 - AHU, Grão Pará, cx. 85, doc. 6940
D2 - AHU, Ceará, cx. 178, doc. 12472
O1 - AHU, Rio Grande do Norte, cx. 10, doc. 629
I1 - AHU, CU-021, cx.1. doc. 67
N19 - Marcílio 2001: 213-219. Many sources for the 19th Century are contained in this study
L1 - AHU, Minas Gerais, cx. 93, doc. 58
L2 - BNRJ, 03.03.17
N1 - AHU, Rio Grande do Norte, cx. 9, doc. 565
N3 - AHU, Rio Grande do Norte, cx. 10, doc. 629

Appendix IV - Demographic Sources for Goa (Índia), 1749-1834

Year/period	Village	Ecclesiastics	Sex	Children	Whites	Naturals =Christians	Gentiles = Hindus	Moors	Slaves	Timores, Chinese and Bengalis	
1749	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	
1750	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
1753	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	Village	Sex	Age groups	Christians	Gentiles = Hindus and Muslims	Births	Deaths				
1776 to 1796	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
	Village	Sex	Age groups	White Christians	Natural Christians	Negroes	Mixed race (pardos)	Gentiles and Muslims	Births	Deaths	Marriages
1797 to 1834	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Note: These sources refers to the provinces of Ilhas de Goa (Islands of Goa), Bardez and Salcete (Old Conquests). Each province had a separate population statistical map.
Source: Matos 2011: 155-177.

"Thou shalt not kill". The Evolution of Homicide Rates in Old Kingdom Romania

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Abstract: This study deals with a neglected topic–homicide rates in Old Kingdom Romania at the end of the 19th Century and the first years of the 20th Century. Starting from demographic and medical statistics that included information about the causes of death, we shall reveal what was a probable evolution of homicide rates both at a national level and for some of the most important cities as well. The data will be compared with that from other European countries/regions. Furthermore, homicides will also be examined in relation with other causes of death affecting the Romanian society.

Keywords: homicide rates, Old Kingdom Romania, homicides, causes of death, medical statistics, demographic statistics.

1. Introduction

In February 1901, a gruesome murder was minutely depicted in the Romanian newspapers. Alexandru Candiano, aged 19, the son of the general Alexandru Candiano-Popescu (1841-1901), killed a certain Iulia Iarcu, aged 50, with the help of his accomplice, Ştefan Vlădoianu, aged 15. The newspapers published numerous articles about the murderer who was shown to be a sadistic, mentally deranged, individual (*Adevărul* 1901: 1-3). When confronted with the body of Iulia Iarcu, at the murder scene, Alexandru Candiano stated, in French: "*On dirait que c'est une vache égorgée*"[1]. Even foreign newspapers such as *Wiener Tageblatt* wrote about this murder. Despite its emotional impact, this sensational case was just one of the 292 homicides committed in 1901 in Old Kingdom Romania and Iulia Iarcu one of the 44 women, victims of homicides that year.

Traditionally, the homicide rate is a key index for measuring criminal activity. A crime rate expresses the count of criminal incidents as an indicator of the population that produced it. This number usually takes the form of a

[1] "One could say she looks like a slaughtered cow." (Translation from French).

ratio, for instance the rate of burglaries per 10,000 residents in a certain area (Hale, Hayward, Wahidin, Wincup 2009: 45). Homicides represent one of the most serious types of criminal behaviour and therefore, they are more likely to be included in criminal statistics than other criminal activities, especially non-violent offences. Consequently, the so-called "dark figure" of crime statistics – the amount of unreported or undiscovered crime, is lower in the case of homicides (Gatrell and Hadden 1972: 350-351).

However, crime rates are not limited only to the fields of criminology or sociology. Historians who deal with the history of crime have also adopted and applied this concept in their studies. As the late Eric H. Monkkonen (1943-2005) stated:

> "*Homicide rates are understood in large part by comparison. Almost without thinking we compare this year to last, this place to that*". (Monkkonen 2003: 809).

Historians using this concept identify and explain different trends in the evolution of criminal behaviour or compare more states/regions. In order to analyse homicide rates for great lengths of time or from more states, it is widely accepted that the deaths, which resulted after homicides, should be related to the demographic indices. Consequently, homicide rates are usually reported per 100,000 inhabitants for a given year and country/region/city. Especially for historians, at times, it can be very difficult trying to determine the homicide rates per 100,000 inhabitants. While this might not be necessarily a laborious task for a researcher who examines the homicide rates for an early 20th Century state with a strong bureaucratic apparatus, the same cannot be stated for someone who seeks to estimate homicide rates during the Middle Ages. Gerd Schwerhoff argued that in the case of medieval cities, the standard of 100,000 inhabitants is not appropriate due to the population sparseness (Schwerhoff 2002: 106-107). Generally, for criminal statistics but also for homicide rates, the further one investigates into the past the harder it is to offer reliable estimates homicides (Gatrell and Hadden 1972: 350-351).

Historical studies of homicide rates are not new. Manuel Eisner's study, published a decade ago (Eisner 2003: 133-142), provides some insights into the historiography of homicide rates researches. Geographically, the studies he mentioned dealt with homicide rates especially across Western and Northern Europe. Except for data referring to the last two decades[2], there are only a few mentions relating to the historical evolution of homicide rates in Romania. In fact, Pieter Spierenburg admitted that there is a general lack of knowledge

[2] Homicide rates for Romania and other Eastern European countries during the last decades are available at the Historical Violence Database. (See *Homicide in Eastern Europe,* 1955-2005). Retrieved from http://cjrc.osu.edu/researchprojects/hvd/europe/eastern%20europe/.

concerning the long-term development of homicide in Eastern Europe, not only in Romania (Spierenburg 2012: 36). In his 1981 book on the history of violence, Jean-Claude Chesnais provided some data for homicide rates in Romania. According to him, during the 1880's, there were, on average, 5.3 yearly convictions for homicides per 100,000 inhabitants (Chesnais 1981: 86). The conviction rate for homicides was lower than in Serbia (with 10.5 yearly convictions), Italy (9.9) or Spain (5.5) but considerably higher than in Western and Central Europe – France with 1.49, Germany with 0.94 or England with 0.6 (Chesnais 1981: 86). In Chesnais' view, later on, during 1929-1931, there were 5 yearly deaths caused by homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in Romania (Chesnais 1981: 56). Again, the figure was higher than in Western and Central Europe (France 0.9, England 0.5, Germany 1.9, and Italy 2.6) but similar with those from other Eastern European countries (Hungary 4.2, Poland 4.5 and Greece with 5.6) (Chesnais 1981: 56).

The figures proposed by Chesnais for Romania only refer to a few years; they don't include yearly figures for several decades so it's impossible to speculate whether there were any variations. Moreover, the figure suggested for the 1880's was not actually the homicide rate but the rate of convictions for homicides. Despite this, nowadays, the rate of convictions for Romania during the 1880's is widely accepted as an indicator of the homicide rate (Eisner 2003: 104). Considering the current stage of historical research on homicide rates, we seek to reveal what was the evolution of this index during the second half of the 19th Century and the first years of the 20th Century, until World War I in what is known in historiography as Old Kingdom Romania. The result of our investigation will enable us to present a comparison between Romania and other European countries and also to rank homicides among other causes of death within the Romanian society. Due to the lack of studies on homicide rates in Old Kingdom Romania, this paper's goal is more that of presenting and comparing the data rather than that of providing a thorough analysis.

2. Criminal statistics in Romania

The homicide rates for Old Kingdom Romania were not published in any official documents. They can, however, be determined using demographic or medical statistics, which included data on the causes of death. The development of the Romanian bureaucratic apparatus made it possible for these statistics to exist. Romania was established after the unification of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859. Still, the process of unification was achieved throughout a few years. Both Moldavia and Wallachia had their own governments until 1862. There were also two separate statistics offices set up in 1859. In April that year, a statistics office was created in Bucharest for Wallachia, led by Dion P. Marțian and later, in July, one was also organized by Ion Ionescu in Iassy, the capital of Moldavia (Pencovici 1890: 27). These offices provided information about the territory, the population, commerce and industry. After the administrative unification of Moldavia and Wallachia was completed, the statistical office from Iassy was annexed to that from Bucharest (Pencovici 1890: 32).

Besides the demographic or medical statistics we shall employ, criminal statistics also provided essential information about crime rates in general. One of the key attributes of the State, as expressed by Max Weber – the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical violence, was related to the surveillance, control and punishment of crime through its institutions, mainly the Police, the Court of Law and the Prison. The recording and classification of the offences and felonies committed in Romania and defined by the Criminal law was one of the tasks of the bureaucracy. These statistics were published for every year starting from 1864, with the exception of 1867 and 1868. For 1864[3], 1865 and 1866 the judicial statistics were included in the periodical *Analele Statistice ale României* and during 1869-1914 they were published separately in the periodical *Statistica judiciară a României*.

There had been some criminal statistics available even before 1859 but they did not provide extensive information. In Nicolas Soutzo's *Notions statistiques sur la Moldavie* (1849) we find data on the individuals who were accused, those sentenced to death, those in prisons or those who had been acquitted during 1832-1841 (Soutzo 1849: 73). The criminal statistics published in 19th Century Romania were usually either judicial or penitentiary statistics. Some of the first penitentiary statistics for the whole of Romania, published in 1863 and 1864, contained the reports of Ferdinand Dodun des Perrières, a French expert, appointed the General Inspector of Romanian Prisons in 1859. Previously, he had been responsible for prisons from Moldavia (Stănciulescu 1933: 58). These kind of statistics included detailed information about the number of those arrested and convicted, their nationality, age, gender, religion, marital status, profession and crimes for which they had been convicted[4]. Ioan Tanoviceanu (1858-1917), professor of Criminal Law used these penitentiary statistics to analyse the evolution of crime in Romania. Nevertheless, he admitted that these statistics had many flaws (Tanoviceanu 1896: 6-7), mainly

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[3] Besides the judicial statistics for 1864, *Analele Statistice ale României* from 1864 also published the data on the yearly number of murders for the period 1859-1863. See *Analele Statistice pentru cunoscintia României* V 1864: 90.

[4] Most of the dates were published in *Statistica stabilimentelor penitenciare* (1863-1864; 1874-1880; 1882; 1886-1890).

because of the way in which the data was gathered. In addition, we might add, they did not provide any information on homicide rates or even the number of deaths caused by homicides.

3. Counting deaths

The detailed demographic statistics for Old Kingdom Romania were published in the periodical *Mişcarea populaţiunei României* starting from 1870. They included information on the yearly number of births, marriages, divorces or deaths. One section is of particular interest to us, the one that discussed the causes of death.

On the basis of data gathered from all over Romania – body inspection reports conducted by physicians or local officials, this section showed how many inhabitants died and what had caused their deaths. Needless to say, this is by far the best source we can use to determine homicide rates for Old Kingdom Romania. For other European countries, such as the Netherlands, these body inspection reports conducted either by judicial or medical authorities are available from a much earlier period – the 16th Century. Still, for most European countries, medical statistics on the causes of death are not available until the turn of the 19th and 20th Century (Spierenburg 2012: 26).

Unfortunately, in Old Kingdom Romania, the first body inspection reports were general and offered information on just three causes of death: diseases, accidents and suicides. The first account of the number of deaths caused by homicides was published for 1893 (*Mişcarea populaţiunei României în anul 1893* 1898: 104-108). It made reference to the victim's gender, age, the county where the homicide had taken place or if it was a town or a village. However, not all of these reports were conducted by physicians. Some high officials pointed out the fact that in rural areas there were not enough doctors and the cause of death was determined by laymen, often with no medical training (Scărlătescu 1911: l-li). Before 1893, there were even reported cases when suicides, sudden deaths or assassinations were listed as accidents (*Mişcarea populaţiunei României în anul 1891* 1895: XXXIV). Generally, the data for urban areas is more reliable. Nonetheless, we consider that the real problem lies with the fact that not all the demographic statistics published after 1893 included data on the causes of death. The complete national statistics for causes of death are available for the period 1893-1908. Between 1909 and the start of World War I, the demographic statistic published in *Mişcarea populaţiunei României* were incomplete and made no reference to causes of death.

Clearly, in Old Kingdom Romania after 1893, there was a preoccupation to also count the number of deaths caused by homicides even though the data was not always published. What other sources could we employ? As we have mentioned, the body inspection reports were usually conducted by physicians. In urban areas it was much easier to contact a physician in order to determine the cause of death. The medical journal *Buletinul Direcţunii generale a Serviciului Sanitar*, published since 1888, provided information on the yearly causes of death for the largest cities in Romania, the administrative centres for every county[5].

The data on the causes of death for these cities is available starting from 1906 until Romania's entry in the Great War in 1916. The information with the number of deaths caused by homicides was published on a monthly basis and there was also an estimation of the total population living in those cities. However, these statistics did not include any information on the victim's gender or age, unlike the national statistics, which provided more details. On the other hand, it can be argued that the information they provided was more reliable than national statistics because the latter also comprised data for the rural areas, which could not be properly checked.

4. Methodology and the data

These two publications – *Buletinul Direcţiunii generale a Serviciului Sanitar* for 1906-1916 and *Mişcarea populaţiunei României* for 1893-1908, are the sources, they provide the data we shall use to determine the homicide rates per 100,000 inhabitants. The population estimations for Old Kingdom Romania are included in different studies[6].

Another issue should be taken into consideration. In the case of homicide rates for the 32 cities from Romania, we decided to group them together, without calculating the rates for each one. The reason for this is the fact that for a small city with a population not exceeding 100,000 inhabitants, a slight increase in the number of homicides would result in an important increase in homicide rates[7]. For instance, a city with a population of 20,000 inhabitants and one homicide for a whole year would have a homicide rate of 5 per 100,000 inhabitants.

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[5] The 32 cities were: Bucharest, Bacău, Bârlad, Botoşani, Brăila, Buzău, Caracal, Călăraţi, Câmpulung, Constanţa, Craiova, Dorohoi, Fălticeni, Focşani, Galaţi, Giurgiu, Huşi, Jassy, Piatra-Neamţ, Ploieşti, Piteşti, Râmnicu-Sărat, Râmnicu-Vâlcea, Roman, Slatina, Tecuci, Târgovişte, Târgu-jiu, Tulcea, Turnu-Măgurele, Turnu Severin and Vaslui. From 1913, after the annexation of Southern Dobrudja, also known as Quadrilater, decided at the Treaty of Bucharest, two cities were added: Bazargic and Silistra.

[6] We employed two sources: *Anuarul statistic al României în anul 1922* 1923: 21 and *Mişcarea populaţunii României în anii 1904 şi 1905* 1915: iii. The former contains an approximation of the yearly population for 1901-1920 and the latter presents a similar evolution for 1860-1913.

[7] We have already mentioned Gerd Schwerhoff's view regarding the inadequacy of this index for smaller cities. See Schwerhoff 2002: 106-107.

Table 1. Homicide rates per 100,000 in 32 cities from Romania

	Jan	**Feb**	**Mar**	**Apr**	**May**	**Jun**	**Jul**	**Aug**	**Sep**	**Oct**	**Nov**	**Dec**	**Yearly**
1906	0.71	0.91	1.21	0.91	1.01	0.4	1.42	0.71	0.3	1.5	0.91	0.71	**10.7**
1907	0.5	1.01	1.42	1.32	0.5	0.7	1.11	1.01	1.11	1.21	1.21	0.5	**11.6**
1908	0.6	1.01	0.4	0.6	0.5	1.32	0.9	0.8	1,22	0.71	0.5	1.61	**10.17**
1909	0.4	0.3	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.9	1.3	0.6	1.2	0.9	1.1	0.6	**9.7**
1910	0.6	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.7	1.3	0.8	**8.1**
1911	0.49	0.89	0.89	0.59	0.79	1.09	0.19	0.59	0.69	0.79	0.69	0.49	**8.18**
1912	1.08	0.59	1.18	0.59	0.99	0.59	0.89	1.18	0.39	0.79	0.59	0.49	**9.35**
1913	0.53	0.62	0.98	0.62	0.26	0.89	0.26	0.98	0.8	1.25	0.98	0.71	**8.88**
1914	0.43	0.78	0.52	1.31	0.6	0.78	0.86	1.56	1.21	1.13	0.6	1.3	**11.08**
1915	1.04	0.77	1.38	0.86	1.03	0.86	0.69	0.94					***11.35***
1916				0.77	0.77	1.38							***11.68***

Source: Buletinul Direcţiunii generale a Serviciului Sanitar 1906-1916.

Table 2. Homicide rates per 100,000 in Romania

Year	**Population**	**Homicides**	**Homicide Rate**
1893	54.85	168	3.06
1894	55.44	80	1.44
1895	56.35	177	3.14
1896	57.09	316	5.53
1897	57.95	227	3.91
1898	58.63	267	4.55
1899	59.56	377	6.32
1900	60.45	346	5.72
1901	61.21	292	4.77
1902	61.95	374	6.03
1903	62.91	427	6.78
1904	63.92	460	7.19
1905	64.80	429	6.62
1906	65.85	526	7.98
1907	66.84	511	7.64
1908	67.71	484	7.14

Sources: Mişcarea populaţiunei României 1893-1908; Anuarul statistic al României în anul 1922; Mişcarea populaţiunii României în anii 1904 şi 1905 (the population data is listed in hundreds of thousands of inhabitants).

According to the estimations from *Buletinul Direcţiunii generale a Serviciului Sanitar*, the total population for the 32 cities during 1906-1916 fluctuated between 980,000 and 1,158,000 inhabitants. Consequently, a slight variation in the number of homicides would not have a significant impact on the homicide rate. The data with the monthly and yearly homicide rates per 100,000 inhabitants in the 32 cities is listed in the Table 1[8].

The data from the other publication – *Mişcarea populaţiunei României*, reflects various aspects related to homicide rates or victims of homicides. Generally, population statistics from a later date offer more detailed information. Since we chose to illustrate any evolution that might have taken place during the period 1893-1908, we have included pieces of information available for every year. The data is listed in the Tables 2 and 3.

Table 3[9]. Victims of homicides in Romania

Year	**Number of victims**			
	Urban areas		Rural areas	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1893	38	9	106	15
1894	19	2	53	6
1895	19	7	66	22
1896	32	14	215	55
1897	19	5	163	40
1898	49		218	
1899	63	13	250	51
1900	59	12	219	56
1901	51	8	197	36
1902	69	11	261	33
1903	72	20	292	43
1904	97	19	283	61
1905	100	31	252	46
1906	125	19	334	48
1907	134	16	303	58
1908	122	21	279	62

Source: Mişcarea populaţiunei României 1893-1908

[8] For 1915 and 1916 the data was available for just a few months. The yearly figure is listed with italics to show that it was not based on all the months and it is somewhat unreliable.

[9] For 1898 the data makes no reference to the victims' gender.

5. Data analysis

"There are lies, damned lies and statistics". Probably anyone working with statistics is well-aware of this aphorism. Historians dealing with crime have adopted and adapted it (Morris 2001: 111-127). Most of the times, the various interpretations of criminal statistics might confirm the aphorism above. Nonetheless, the data itself, as we have seen, is subject to corrections and interpretations, especially if the information from the sources is regarded as incomplete or unreliable. According to Table 2, the homicide rate in Romania in 1894 was 1.44 per 100,000 inhabitants. This figure was obviously lower than in any other year during the period 1893-1908. In fact, except for 1894, the homicide rate was never below 3 per 100,000 inhabitants. However there are some reasons to question the accuracy of the data. Even high officials responsible for the publication of *Mişcarea populaţiunei României* emphasized the unreliability of the statistics related to the causes of death (*Mişcarea populaţiunei României în anul 1894* 1900: xxxv-xxxxvi.).

The evolution of the national homicide rates reveals a possible situation of under-reporting homicides. In 1907, the year of the greatest peasants' revolt of the period in Romania, which claimed the lives of many peasants and landowners, according to the demographic statistic, there were only 511 homicides, less than the previous year. The statistics indicate for rural areas 361 homicides in 1907. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that this is a correct estimation. Even if we disregard the several thousands of peasants killed in the confrontations with the Romanian Army, there were still numerous landowners or land tenants who also lost their lives.

Another issue worthwhile discussing is that of unknown causes of death. Statistics also mentioned deaths with unknown causes and in some years (1893, 1894, 1895, 1896 and 1907) their number was higher than that of homicides. If a killer wanted to hide a body or if a murder was discovered several years later, it is possible that some of the homicides might have been listed as deaths with unknown causes in the statistics.

Therefore, what do the homicide rates from tables 1 and 2 and homicide count from Table 3 actually tell us? One answer would be that they are more a reflection of the activity of the authorities and their ability to detect and identify homicides than a reflection of actual crime rates[10]. Taking into

[10] In the case of these homicide rates for Romania, we cannot apply R.S. Sindall's approach on statistics. He argued that criminal statistics are not a reflection of a phenomenon, they are not a measure of what was happening but of what people believed was happening because they based their beliefs on statistics. Still, in late 19th Century or early 20th Romania, homicide rates were not present in any statistics and no contemporary authors tried to discuss about this topic. (See Sindall 1986: 35).

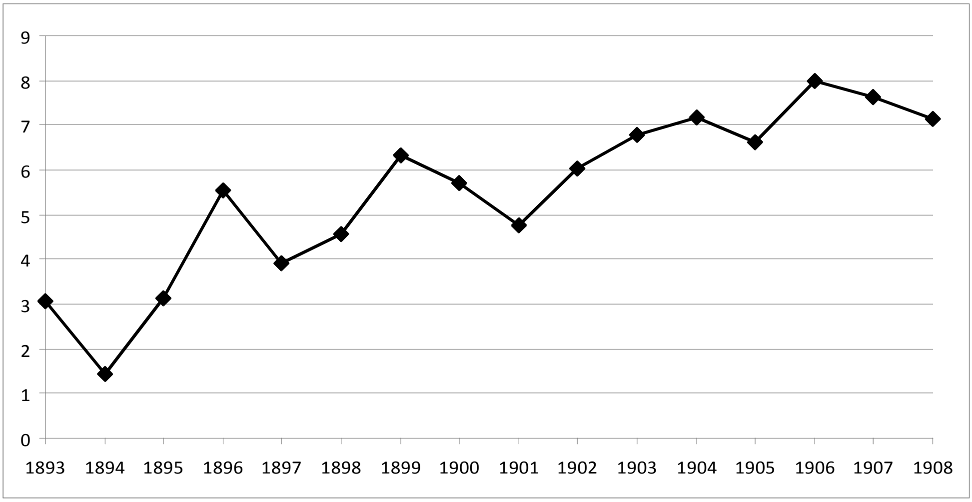
account the fact that the authorities never discovered some homicides or, in 1907 for rural areas, probably, they willingly under-reported the number of cases, it is fair to say that the actual rates of homicide or number of homicides were higher than our results from tables 1, 2 and 3. We can ascertain that the number of homicides and, hence, the homicide rates too, were, at least, at the level shown by our research. In other words, this is a minimum value and, most likely, they were higher. Probably, for 1907, the homicide rates were much higher.

How should we use these results? This is again a question with more answers. The main objective of this paper is that of determining the yearly homicide rates for Old Kingdom Romania. Nevertheless, there are quite a few aspects that can be examined. We chose to briefly look at only three: the evolution and victims of homicides, the comparison between homicides and other causes of death within the Romanian society and, finally, the correlation between Romania and other European states in terms of homicide rates.

6. The evolution and victims of homicides

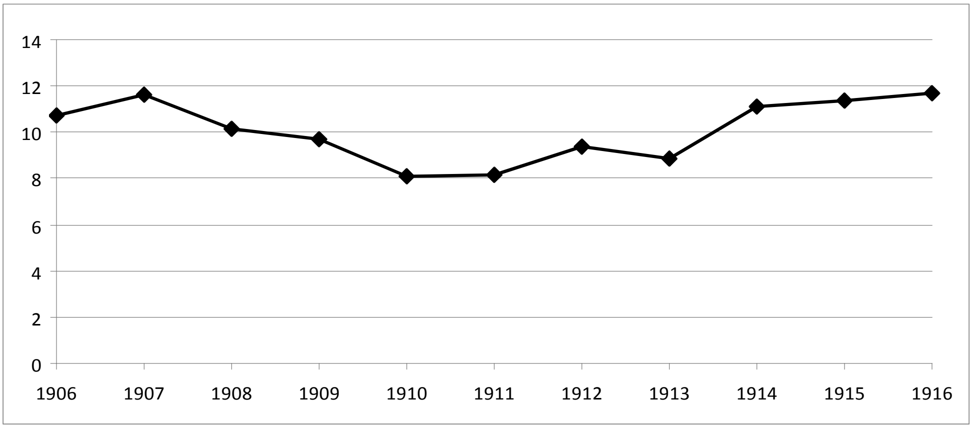
Naturally, the population data is very important for determining the evolution of homicide rates. Authors who have examined homicide rates highlighted the need to take into account demographical shifts (Monkkonen 2003: 810). Young males (20-29 years) are more likely to be involved in violent crime and therefore the evolution of this age group should not be ignored. The two population censuses of 1899 and 1912 provide us with some information about the age distribution but unfortunately, the national data for homicides is available only for the period 1893-1908. Even so, if we compare the data from 1899 with that from 1912, it seems that 7.7% of the total population was between 20 and 30 years old in 1899 (Colescu 1905: xxxvi) and in 1912, the figure for the same age group was of 8.9% (Scărlătescu 1921: 31). Based on this 1.2% increase in the interval 1899-1912, we estimate that during 1893-1908 there wasn't a spectacular demographical shift that might have had an obvious impact on the evolution of homicide rates.

Figure 1. National homicide rates per 100,000 inhabitants



Source: Mişcarea populaţiunei României 1893-1908

Figure 2. Cities homicide rates per 100,000 inhabitants



Source: Buletinul Direcţiunii generale a Serviciului Sanitar 1906-1916

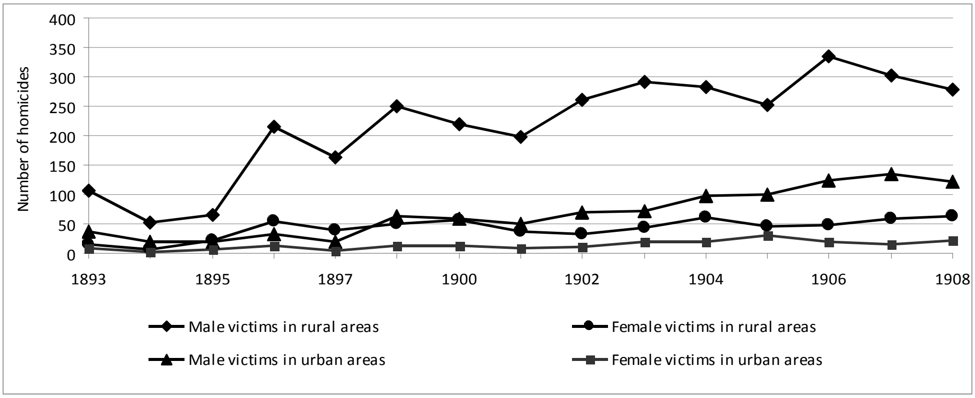
The two charts above reflect the evolution of homicide rates both at a national level and in the 32 cities, which were administrative centres. Before proceeding to an analysis, we should acknowledge the fact that these two charts do no show a long term evolutions but only for 13 and 11 years. Any analysis of crime rates, be it a short or a long term evolution, must be correlated with changes related to the functioning of the administrative system. This illustrates a well-known irony for those dealing with criminal statistics, if State institutions are more efficient in detecting and punishing crime, then statistics will show a rise in crime rates. However, the assumption that the administrative system gets more efficient in detecting, preventing and punishing crime can be confirmed especially in the case of long-term statistics. V.A.C. Gatrell and T.B. Hadden's perspective was that for short-term analysis, in the absence of any administrative, legal or any other type of changes, taking immediate effect, the fluctuations of crime rates are likely to be meaningful reflections of real trends in criminal activity (Gatrell and Hadden 1972: 362).

During the period 1893-1916 there have been some administrative changes that, in theory, could have led to the detection of more homicide cases. In 1893 the rural gendarmerie was created and in the following years the number of these gendarmes rose to reach 6,130 in 1908. In 1892, a secret police–"Poliția de Siguranță", was set up. The Police was reorganised according to the law adopted in 1903 (Constantinescu 2012: 113-114). All these might have improved the efficiency of the authorities in detecting homicide cases. Still, in Old Kingdom Romania laws weren't always and everywhere implemented with the same efficiency. Particularly in rural areas, State institutions did not always rose to the challenge of detecting and controlling criminal activities (Constantinescu 2012: 117). Furthermore, the doctors who were supposed to establish the cause of death, could not evaluate each case. Even as late as the 1930's some authors manifested concern for this situation, which ultimately affected the national statistics (*Mişcarea populației României în anul 1931* 1931: 43). All in all, further research is needed in order to evaluate to what extend did the administrative changes from 1893-1916 improve the detection and control of crime in general during those years.

If we evaluate the data without minding other aspects, it is noticeable that during 1893-1908 (Figure 1) there was an increase in national homicide rates from an average yearly homicide rate of 2.54 per 100,000 in the first three years to an average of 7.58 per 100,000 in the last three years. This was not a constant increase, there were fluctuations from year to year but the trend indicates an obvious increase. Another important aspect is that the yearly average was 5.48 per 100,000. Nevertheless, national homicide rates were perceptibly lower than homicide rates in the 32 cities we have examined. Even if we exclude the two years for which the data is incomplete, 1915 and 1916, the yearly average homicide rate in those cities is 9.75 per 100,000 inhabitants, almost twice as high compared with the national rate. In regards to the evolution (Figure 2) of cities' homicide rates, it seems that the highest rates can be associated with the first three years and the last three years, whereas during the mid years 1909-1913, the homicide rates decreased.

The statistics also reveal significant details concerning the victims of homicides in Old Kingdom Romania. What individuals were most likely to die as a result of homicides? Prior to an examination of the data gathered from the national statistics, we should also consider the demographical distribution. In 1899, only 18.8% of the population was living in cities and the overwhelming majority, 81.2%, resided in rural areas (Iacob 2003: 57). In respects to the gender distribution, the male population was roughly equal to the female population (Iacob 2003: 59). We have included the data related to the victims of homicides from Table 3 in a chart so as to better reflect the distribution and evolution.

Figure 3. Homicide victims



Source: Mişcarea populaţiunei României 1893-1908

In view of the population distribution it's no surprise that most victims of homicides were males from rural areas. Although in some years there were more female victims from rural areas, generally, males from urban areas were the second likely victims of homicides. If we take into consideration males' propensity towards violent criminal activities[11], which is almost a truism, then it's clear that the most common situation for a homicide was when men killed other men.

7. Homicide and disease

Nowadays, a widely accepted classification is that there are two main causes of death. On one hand, we have deaths caused by disease, on the other, violent deaths (Rotariu 2003: 102). The latter may refer to several categories: accidental deaths, self-inflicted deaths – suicides, deaths caused by animals, and deaths caused by other people – homicides, wars, revolutions, etc. (Rotariu 2003: 104).

Despite their simplicity[12], some classifications of death causes were also used in Romanian statistics. There is no need for a thorough analysis of the statistics we have used so far from *Mişcarea populaţiunei României* and *Buletinul Direcţiunii generale a Serviciului Sanitar*, to realize that the most prolific killers in Old Kingdom Romania, were diseases not people. Furthermore, accidents or, ironically, suicides, usually led to the deaths of more individuals than homicides. With the exception of 1904, 1906 and 1907 for national statistics, suicides claimed the lives of more individuals than homicides. According to the data for 32 cities, published in *Buletinul Direcţiunii generale a Serviciului Sanitar*, every year, during 1906-1916, the number of suicides exceeded that of homicides. Of course, during the period 1893-1916, there were some variations regarding the number of homicides, suicides, accidental deaths or deaths by disease but *grosso -modo*, this pattern remained the same.

There are two types of data that can be used but the statistics did not mention both every year. The most common reference was that of listing the number of victims for each cause of death. As the statistics became more complex, the number of victims was counted for a greater number of diseases. However, the second type of information, the correlation between percentages and causes of death, provides us with a better overall picture.

The data from Table 4 clearly shows that, statistically, homicides did not represent an important cause of death. In fact, they were the least important cause of death in Old Kingdom Romania, if we exclude the category "unknown causes". We could compare homicides with some medical conditions. In 1904, in all the urban areas throughout Romania, not just in the

[11] For Old Kingdom Romania see Ştefănescu-Galaţi 1907: 16-17. He based his analysis on penitentiary statistics published by the Ministry of Internal Affaires in 1906 – *Statistica închisorilor centrale pe anii 1866-1905 şi aresturilor preventive pe anii 1881-1905*.

[12] As we have seen, until 1893, the demographic statistics mentioned just three causes of death: disease, accidents and suicide. Gradually, more and more diseases or even homicides made their way into the statistics published on a yearly basis.

32 cities we have mentioned, homicides accounted for 0.3% of the total deaths. During the same year, syphilis was made responsible for 0.5% of all deaths, measles for 0.3%, influenza for 0.5%, alcoholism for 0.2%. Pulmonary tuberculosis with 12.7%, diarrhea and enteritis with 9% or pneumonia with 6.2% were far deadlier (Angelescu 1915: lix). The demographic statistics suggest that microbes were the most effective killers, not men, in Old Kingdom Romania. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the homicide rates for Romania were very low, especially when compared with other countries.

Table 4. Mortality causes in Romania 1896-1905

Year	Natural causes	Accidents	Suicides	Homicides	Unknown causes
1896	98.1%	1.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.4%
1897	98.5%	1.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%
1898	98.3%	1.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%
1899	98.2%	1.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%
1900	98%	1.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%
1901	98.1%	1.4%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%
1902	98.2%	1.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%
1903	97.8%	1.5%	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%
1904	97.6%	1.7%	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%
1905	97.6%	1.7%	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%

Source: Angelescu 1915: lix

8. Romania and Europe

As we have mentioned from the first pages of this paper, there are quite a few studies dedicated to the issue of homicide rates in Western or Northern Europe. Generally, with the exception Eastern Europe, for most countries on the Continent, a significant amount of investigations on homicide rates have been published. Moreover, the data usually spans for several centuries, not just for a few years, like in the case of our research. For this reason we have selected the data related to homicide rates in Europe at the end of the 19th Century and the start of the 20th Century.

Even if the period is not exactly the same, the data from Table 5 clearly shows that homicide rates from Old Kingdom Romania were higher than those from Western and Central European countries. The closest to Romania seems to be Italy, which had a yearly average homicide rate of 5.5 during 1875-1899 and 3.9 during 1900-1924. However, we should not compare Romania with Western and Central European countries without considering some historical differences. Romania was a new state, established in mid 19th Century and it gained its independence in 1878. The State's capacity to control, prevent, and punish criminal violence within its territory could not reach a comparable efficiency with England or France at the end of the 19th Century.

Table 5. Yearly homicide rates per 100,000

Country/Region	**Period**	
	1875-1899	1900-1924
England	1.3	0.8
Netherlands and Belgium	1.5	1.7
Scandinavia	0.9	0.8
Germany and Switzerland	2.2	2
Italy	5.5	3.9
Old Kingdom Romania (1893-1908)	5.48	

Sources: Eisner 2003: 99; for Old Kingdom Romania, *Mişcarea populaţiunei României* 1893-1908

Still, some regions/countries had an even higher homicide rate. In Corsica, during 1890-1910, the yearly homicide rates fluctuated between 10 and 20 per 100,000 individuals (See Roth 2009). In Russia, at the start of the 20th Century, during 1902-1907, it rose from 6 to 13.7 (See Stickley 2006). Thomas Gallant's study revealed astonishingly high homicide rates for Greece during 1888-1891. These varied from a low of 79 per 100,000 to over 180 per 100,000 (Gallant 1997: 9).

We can look even closer, at the neighbouring Transylvania, a province in Austro-Hungary at that time. Apparently, from 1901 until 1910, a total of 4,503 deaths were caused by homicides (Rotariu, Semeniuc and Elemer, vol II 2005: 11). According to the censuses from 1900 and 1910, the Transylvanian population rose from 4,858,295 to 5,243,180 (Rotariu et al., vol I 2005: 16). In Old Kingdom Romania, during 1901-1908, there were 3,283 homicides, but the population was considerably higher, 6,045,000 in 1900 and 6,996,002 in 1910. Therefore, it is safe to admit that homicide rates were probably higher in Transylvania than in Romania during the first decade of the 20th Century.

What about homicide rates for urban areas? During 1906-1914, in the 32 cities for which *Buletinul Direcţiunii generale a Serviciului Sanitar* provided data, the yearly average was 9.75 per 100,000 inhabitants. In London, during 1906-1913, the homicide rates never exceeded 0.6 per 100,000. In Liverpool, during the same period, it fluctuated between 0.27 and 1.08 per 100,000 persons (see Monkkonen 2001). The disproportion between the Romanian cities and the two cities in Great Britain, in terms of homicide rates, is obvious. Nevertheless, other urban areas from Europe had higher homicide rates. Rome, for instance, had a yearly average homicide rate of 7.7 per 100,000 during 1904-1909 (Boschi 1998: 133), much closer to the 32 cities in Romania. However, if we consider other major cities, homicide rates are higher than in Romania. Thomas Gallant's study shows that during 1888-1891, the average homicide rate in Athens and its region was of 23.9 per 100,000 (Gallant 1997: 10).

The data confirms what was already known: in Southern and Eastern Europe homicide rates were higher than in Western, Northern and Central Europe. Generally, mortality rates from Southern and Eastern European countries, reached higher levels than those from Western, Northern and Central European countries (Bacci 2003: 158), not just homicide rates.

9. Conclusions

This research was based on demographical and medical statistics, which included data on homicides. Even though they are available only for a short period (1893-1908 for national homicide rates and 1906-1916 for cities' homicide rates), these statistics are the best sources for examining homicide rates in Old Kingdom Romania because they count the actual deaths not the charges or the punishments for homicides as the criminal statistics did.

However, the data is not without flaws, especially due to the under-reporting of homicides. It would be reasonable to accept that the actual homicide rates were higher than those listed in Tables 1 and 2. Probably, they were much higher for rural areas in 1907, the year of the peasants' revolt.

It seems that at a national level, there was an increase in homicide rates from 1893 until 1908. In the case of the 32 cities for which we had access to information, between 1906 and 1916, the homicide rates fluctuated, first decreasing and then increasing. However, national homicide rates were considerably lower than homicide rates from the 32 cities.

Men's propensity for criminal activities in general could also be associated with their victimization in case of homicides. The most likely victims of homicides during 1893-1908 were men from rural areas. Despite the fact that homicide rates in cities reached higher levels than national ones, roughly 80% of the population lived in rural areas and this explains why most of the homicides took place in rural areas.

Homicides did not represent an important social issue in Old Kingdom Romania. Most people died because of diseases (roughly 98% of the total deaths) not because of homicide (roughly 0.2%). In fact, it was more likely for someone to kill himself rather than be killed by another person.

Even if homicides did not rank as one of the top causes of death within the Romanian society, the homicide rates were much higher than in Western, Central or Northern European countries. From this perspective, at the end of the 19th Century and the start of the 20th Century, Romania could be placed alongside countries such as Italy, Russia or Greece. Its homicide rates were slightly higher than those in Italy, lower than those in Russia and much lower than those in Greece.

Since this is one of the first researches on homicide rates for Old Kingdom Romania, these are not intended as final conclusions but as an invitation for further investigations. The three issues we have examined in this paper – the evolution and victims of homicides, the comparison between homicides and other causes of death or that between Romania and other countries, could be approached by further researches. Moreover, a research on the long term evolution of homicide rates in Romania is also needed. The demographic statistics published after World War I could provide some interesting insights on the evolution of homicide rates, especially if they are correlated with the results from this paper.

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Social and Economic Factors of Romanian External Migration. Preliminary Statistical Analysis: Comparison between the Counties of Cluj and Suceava

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Abstract: The starting point of our essay refers to the listing of the main theoretical and disciplinary currents in the studying of migration, having as background the aim of *integrated approach* (Sociology, Demography, Economics, Legal Science, Political Science, Anthropology, and Social Psychology). The disciplinary one–sidedness that dominates most of the migration analysis is partially solved by a few theoretical currents and examples oriented towards interdisciplinary trends – *the theory of cumulative causality, the institutional theory, the theory of world systems* (Sociology, Demography and Economics) -, and furthermore unifying theoretical orientations such as *the theory of migration systems* and *the multidisciplinary approach.* Although not herein detailed, the analysis of Romanian external migration makes reference to these theoretical trends and to their corresponding migration patterns. They are very useful for explaining, from various points of view, the tendencies of contemporary migration, through their multi-factorial essence and furthermore for the preliminary statistics' analysis (pilot) regarding permanent emigration, by comparing the situation in two counties – Cluj and Suceava. This represents the foundation for a more complex research that is on the verge of being performed[1]. Although the permanent migration phenomenon displays certain immediate benefits (economic and social interests of remittances, and, to a certain extent the cultural loan from Western countries, in the form of patterns of social and economic progress as well as of diversity), its long and medium term demographic and social and economic effects are rather negative, especially caused by the decrease of the young and active population as well as by the *brain drain phenomenon.* Finally, we approach recent tendencies in the manners of studying the international migration phenomenon relying on specialized literature.

[1] Secondary statistical analysis of the migration phenomenon of the two counties, reported to the one at national level, comprised by the empirical part of the PhD thesis.

Keywords: international migration, transnational migration, multidisciplinary, macro, medium and micro-social approach of migration, tendencies of migration, migration structural factors.

1. Definitions, concepts and multidisciplinarity in the study of migration

Although the bases for any type of sociological research of migration are given by demographic data, the major components of the process are far more complex and wide. The main elements used by the analysis of the migration phenomenon are the following: territorial dimension (aspect studied as quantitative approach by demographers, yet equally found in theoretical studies in other fields), the economic one (that regards the economic field, the political area and consequently the legal area) and the psychological and social one (that regards not only professional aspects and socializing processes but involve to the same extent hierarchical systems and options, interactions, motivations, interests etc.)

From the series of migration definitions, we selected the most relevant ones regarding the major perspectives the phenomenon is subscribed to. A general definition of *migration from sociological point of view,* that naturally comprises economic, social and cultural factors involved in the phenomenon, is given by A. G. Johnson (2007: 215), who deems migration as "the actual movement of people within social systems and among them". This movement has great influence on the social structure of population, thus changing the race, nationality and class related relationships, positively or negatively affecting the economy and being at the same time an important source of numeric increase of urban population (Johnson 2007: 215-216). A classical classification of the *migration* phenomenon, broadly speaking, *as a process of population mobility,* is made by the sociologist J. Szczepanski, who defines it by "a series of phenomena that lie in the movement of individuals or groups from place to place within the social space" (Szczepanski 1972: 402). From the psychological – social perspective, the approaches of *migration as life strategy* are quite timely, this representing "a perspective on the durable report between undertaken goals and the means to achieve them […]. They are action rational structures, somewhat durable at the level of the agent that adopts them" (Sandu 2000: 6), but they can also stand for the outcome of certain protest strategies "reported to changes and the leaving of a society where they fail to find the place they wished for" (Voicu 2004: 2).

As general typology, we can speak of two types of migration: *external migration* (emigration, immigration) temporary and permanent, and *internal migration*. Consequently, the *international migration* phenomenon features as starting point the process of departing the mother country (donor) and as final point the country of destination (host). International migration takes place when individuals voluntarily (immigrants) or involuntarily (refugees) move from one country to another, permanently or temporarily locating in another state.

At the same time, external migration can be *legal* or *illegal.* An addition to this typology is offered by J. Weinstein and V. Pillai (2001) who add here the *coercive migration,* the one taking place against the will of the individuals (slavery) or when the departure is brought about by external causes (acts of God or civil war).

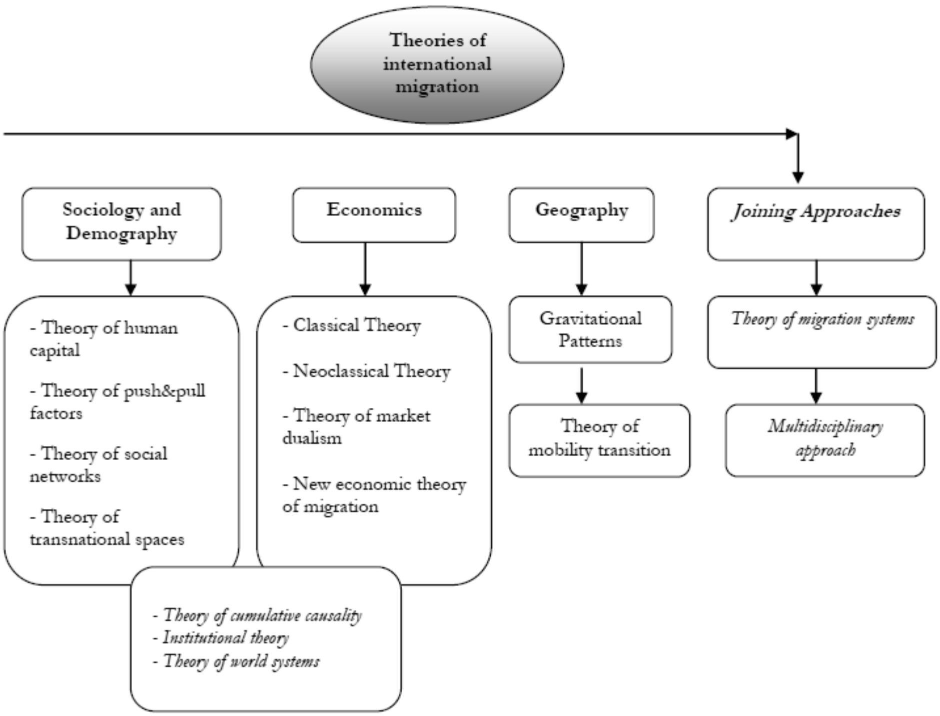
An *integrated approach* of the research regarding the migration phenomenon should assimilate the points of view of scientists differently trained (sociologists, demographers, geographers, economists, jurists, political science researchers and anthropologists). These disciplinary perspectives are nonetheless rather unilateral, lacking in important components that might offer a thorough image and facilitate interventions in the legal, economic, social area, herein related.

The core element of any theory on migration is the *disciplinary accent.* This factor depends of the *factors determining migration* emphasizing numerous elements whose importance is deemed crucial reported to the phenomenon's approach perspective. Emphasis goes on the demographic, social, political, cultural, economic, geographic factors (Brettell and Hollifield 2004). We may notice at first that all these factors are of a *structural* order. While theories that focus on *the individual dimension* start from the idea that each immigrant is a reasoning being that assesses available destinations and chooses the optimal combination, evaluates advantages and disadvantages (wages, social security, costs etc.), the ones that stress on the *family dimension / household* are the outcome of the same analyses for the entire family, the focus on *structural dimension* interprets the choices of individuals as being tightly dependent on the economic, social and political forces' pressure (the theory of market dualism and world systems has been born from here.) (Bijak 2006, Faist 2000). The worldwide social and economic context generated during the last decades new visions and rationalist theories regarding migration, the so-called "econometric patterns of cost and benefit type" (Rotariu and Mezei 1999: 10). Thus, numerous studies on migration focus nowadays on the international space, this pattern being connected to the international migration typology (Sandu 2010). Analyses consider classic theories of migration, yet they are enriched and adapted to concrete situations required by the evolutions of contemporary world, considering that forms of migration, motivations and migrants' flows underwent significant and rapid changes during the last half of the century.

The enrichment of the area represented an evolution of the theories of migration, by passing from *structure* type theoretical analyses, where, within the classical period of migration study the economic and demographic ones used to dominate, to the approaches focused on *agency* (social networks and pawns). Currently, we witness a tendency for migration theories to cover a distinct interest area that includes large diversity of classification theoretical frames (some sort of meta theories) of theories of migration (Horváth and Anghel 2009: 30-31).

One may find below a diagram (Bijak 2006) that supplies the image of a first typology of migration theories reported to the field that first hosted them, in the right part of the figure, as well as the outcome of joining certain social-demographic and economic theories, both areas being marked in italics, giving approaches that experiment various joining of theoretical overviews, stressing on the structural dimension:

Figure 1. Theories of international migration



Source: Bijak 2006: 28 (adaptation)

Although there is no joining theory to explain the emergence and development of international migration, one should note the integration attempts of certain approaches derived from different disciplines (Brettell and Hollifield 2004).

They pursue incorporation of various perspectives, levels of analyses and hypothesis, the theory of systems being the established one herein.

2. Levels of analysis in migration theories and patterns: micro, medium and macro- social

Theoretical and empirical approach of migration, focusing on the whole society (macro), communities and social networks (medium) and on the individual (micro), underwent a large variety of theories, accompanied by research and analysis patterns. Most of the studies have been achieved, not accidentally, in America, Canada, Australia and Western Europe, the interest for the topic of external migration being relatively recent in the countries that were rather exporting (such as Central and Eastern Europe). The main topics of analysis for the study of migration are as follows: migrant flows and stocks, features of migration selectivity, feminization of migration, the issue of immigrant integration within the host community, the role of migration for optimum economic growth, grounds for migration, effects of the migration phenomenon on the mother countries and the ones of destination and on the trans-border space, features of the phenomenon, drafting and implementation of a joint migration policy (Bijak 2006, Faist 2000, Hammar et al. 1997).

The main ranking between the most important theories is made between the economic and non-economic ones. The first covers the macro and micro perspectives, focusing on the migration potential and on the economic effects of the migration phenomenon on the donor and receiving countries, and the other (non-economic) comprises medium and micro approaches and seeks sociological and psychological aspects of international migration.

The synthesis of dimensions and subjects pursued by these approaches, included in the migration theories, is presented in Table 1. At *macro* level one should mainly consider quantitative aspects. Studies that are relevant at macro level (Bijak et al. 2004, Faist 2000, Harris and Todaro 1970, Hammar et al. 1997, Ranis 2007, Sandu 2004, 2006, Straubhaar 1988) form the bases for more refined analyses, including medium or micro-social type analyses, but they are mostly relevant in state, regional and worldwide regulation strategies of certain migration policies. Official statistics (statistic processing of overall data) and surveys are most frequently employed at this level as quantitative research methods. The strength of social networks, the nature and contents of relationships between the migrant and his/her family of origin and community and those of destination, relations with other migrants, symbolic relations based on political options are scrutinized at *medium* level (Berry 1992, Brochmann 1996, Faist, 2000, Portes and Sensenbrenner 1998, Sandu, 2004, 2010, Stark 1999, Zhou 1992). The most frequent research techniques regarding the medium social level are the surveys, the semi-structured interview and the analysis of informal documents. *Micro* type studies analyse the mechanisms of migration decision, aiming to reveal responses regarding advantages and disadvantages (attraction - rejection) assessed in the emigration decision, the role of the family in making the decision, expectations at departure and outcomes at return, or after certain amount of time in the receiving country, migration individual and family effects, migration strategies, returning, re-migration, degree and time of acculturation etc. (Berry 1992, Black et al. 2006, Krieger 2004). This level, the most refined one, especially pursues the qualitative, essential dimension of the phenomenon, using besides social enquiries and structured, semi-structured or non-structured interviews, testimonies (verbal memories, diaries, letters) direct observation, projective techniques, especially for children, psychological tests for individuals and families (regarding self-esteem, personality features, etc.).

Table 1. Analysis levels of international migration

Macro level (macro structures)	**Medium level (social networks, communities)**	**Micro level (individual values, wishes, expectations)**
Economic field - differences at the level of income and unemployment rate ***Political field*** - regulations regarding spatial mobility at state level as well as international mobility regime - political repression, ethnic, religious, national conflicts ***Cultural filed*** - discourse and dominant cultural norms - integration, cultural adjustment ***Demographic and ecological field*** - population evolution - availability of arable land - technological level	***Social ties*** - strength of family and household ties - potential migrants, intermediates and stable ones (stationary) ***Symbolic ties*** - organizations created on political, ethnic, cultural, religious criteria, “symbolic communities” ***Relations, trades contents*** - obligations, reciprocity and solidarity, information, control and access to the resources of others	***Values, motivations (subjective)*** - security of survival or improvement of the living standard - material and psychological well-being, social condition, comfort, autonomy - freedom, affiliation, morality - acculturative strategies

Source: Faist 2000: 31 (adaptation)

With powerful descriptive accents, and reaching more or less central all analyses' levels (macro - society; medium - community; micro - individual / family), migration theories do not rule each other out, but rather mutually supplement each other, offering multiple explanations on the phenomenon.

Drafted at the same time as the perspective theories, migration analysis methods tackle with economic, social and cultural (factors) in making the decision and regarding the emigration process. Migration patterns aim to describe migration effects and its origins, destination as well as interaction between these effects (Taylor 2003). Most migration formal patterns focused on *economic factors:* opportunities and constraints related to revenues and the status of the origin countries of migrants (limited capital and technology, issues of employment markets, market faulty environment), salary opportunities in the destination countries (demand of labour force in the large urban and industrial centres), and emigration costs (travelling, contact network and the ones related to destination prospecting, border policies etc.). Not all contextual variables are exogenous reported to migration: some may be influenced by migration decisions, as it occurs when losing financial constraints in the migrant origin area, with offsets for both the households of migrants and non-migrants (Portes and De Wind 2007). The multiplication and diversification of researchers is caused by the intentions of elucidating the effects of migration processes. Although the outcomes of *sociological research* usually lead to the result that migration represents the product of rational decision made by individuals as rational actors, the researchers also consider non-economic variables within the list of determining factors and effects, viewing migration as a *social process. Anthropological research* usually waives the method of quantitative data gathering, favouring ethnographic research, considering *migration within the cultural, historical, political and economical context* (Reubens 1983, Taylor 2003). At the same time, anthropological research, normally run at *micro level,* favour focus on a sole theory or exploration manner. The most frequently used techniques in anthropological research are the semi-structured or non-structured interview and observation (Rotariu and Iluţ 2006).

There are numerous patterns that rendered operational the main theoretic approaches of migration, continuously covering the economic, migration policies, anthropological, psychological and social spectrum: the gravitational pattern (Ravenstein 1889, apud Taylor 2003), the neo-classical pattern (Lewis 1954 and Schultz 1964, apud Taylor 2003), the alternative neo-classical patterns (Todaro 1969, Harris and Todaro 1970, apud Massey et al. 1998), the micro-behaviorist patterns: man capital and social capital networks (Bourdieu 1979, Bourdieu et al. 1991, Coleman 1988, Portes and

Sensenbrenner 1993), the new economy of migration (New Economics of Labour Migration – NELM – also see Taylor 2003, Massey et al. 1998), the acculturative patterns (Graves 1967, Berry 1980, apud Brinton and Nee 2008, Berry 1974, Berry et al. 1987, apud Berry 2008).

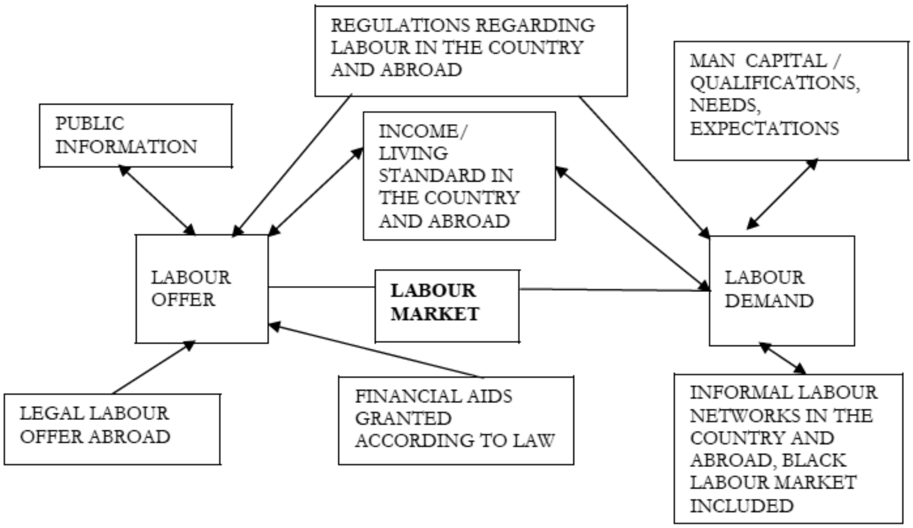
The goals of migration patterns are those of offering an analytical structure by which one may identify the migration's direct and indirect influences, record trends, as well as the impact of migration as exogenous natural population movement from a certain area, including analysis of the changes' effects within migration policies (see also Rotariu 2009: 165-177). The statistic patterns are used in order to test specific hypothesis derived from migration theories and to assess the magnitude of determining factors and migration effects. The assessing formulae, together with the techniques like statistical analysis of data bases are used in order to explore or simulate effects of policies or other influences on the migration decision. It is certain that simulations cannot entirely comprise the exogenous context variables, as the latter are the only ones that researchers and decisional factors may directly influence within the policies' area (Taylor 2003, Portes and De Wind 2007).

3. Contemporary migration trends: Romania

As a preamble of displaying the new dimensions and trends in the international migration phenomenon, I illustrate the complexity of the causal chain that mainly affects the labour market, as major determining area in the evolutions of the phenomenon, as well as the other way around, the effects of the phenomena of the labour market on society in Figure 2.

In order to support the idea of "the new migration age" as synthesized by Horváth and Anghel (2009: 14-17), four major phenomena that act and interact globally within the last few decades may be called upon: volume and extension of the migration phenomena; changes at the level of diversification and contemporary migration dynamics; dependence on migration and issues generated by immigrants and migration; enhancement of the globalization process and restructuring of global economy. Following the analytical course of these changes' dimensions, we shall develop the corresponding phenomena, by expressly referring to the situation of Romania.

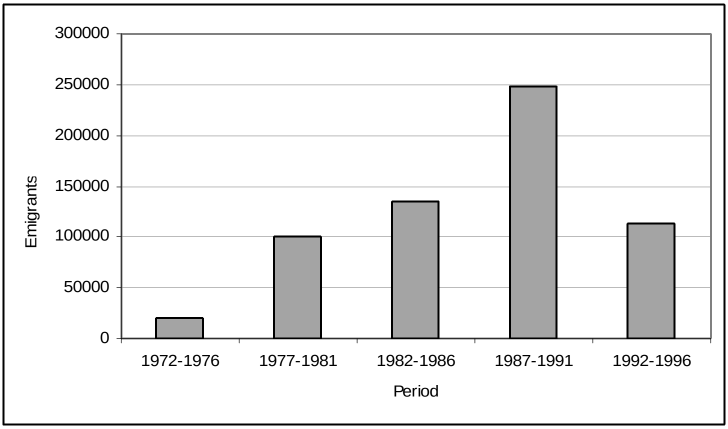
Figure 2. Factors of labour market and emigration (own drafting)



Arguing against one of the migration laws initiated at the end of the 19th Century by Ravenstein (1889: 286, apud Taylor 2003), by which it is ascertained that migration phenomena extend gradually, nonetheless complying with the logics of geographic proximity (with predominance of migration on relatively close geographic distances), the evolutions of the last century show that that assertion no longer holds under the current context: the volume and extension (size) of the migration processes are more and more significant. If between 1985 and 1990 the world population increased by an average of 1.7% per year, the increase of the number of migrants was of 2.6%. Compared to 1965, the number of officially recorded migrants increased in 2005 (during four decades) from 75 million to 192 million (IOM 2000: 5, apud Horváth and Anghel 2009). Besides these official figures, there are figures indicating the size of the phenomenon in its illegal displays: according to ILO (2004), in 2003 the number of migrants with no legal residence documents has been assessed in between 15-30 million, this figure featuring dynamic increase (Horváth and Anghel 2009), rendering 3% of the world population as belonging to the migrant category.

Where our country is concerned, there are two great external migration stages during the last four decades, characterized, at their turn, by various types of flows and trends: namely the communist period and the one following year 1990. During the communist period, official figures used to reflect an "optimistic situation" regarding Romanian emigration. In fact, the number of the ones who "ran off" before 1989 is far larger than the one reflected by statistics, nevertheless no demographic assessment, no matter the increased emigration assessed number. The numerical evolution of official emigrants and the increase, in absolute numbers, within the interval 1987-1991, owed to the Romanian emigration boom of 1990-1991, is illustrated below:

Figure 3. Dynamic of Romanian emigrants recorded in 1972 – 1996



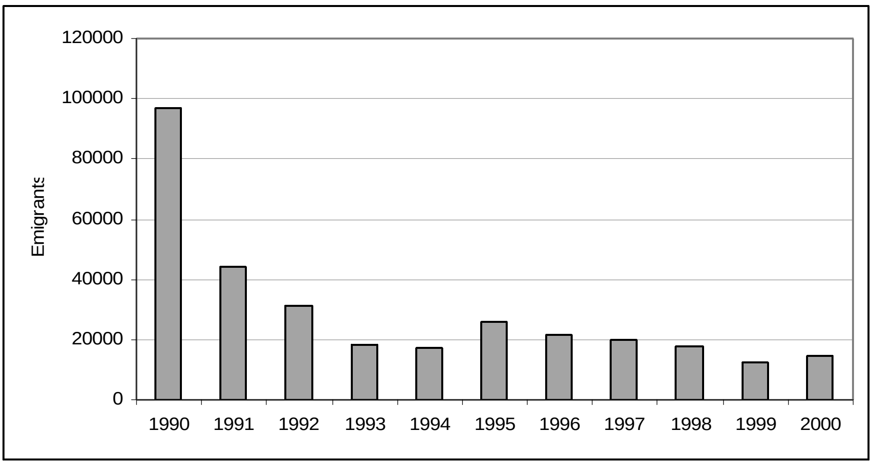
Source: processing from the Romanian Statistical Yearbook (INS 1995, 1997)

The explanations for these fluctuations in our country are first of all associated with the major economic crises undergone by Romania, of which the first took place after 1973 (subscribed to the general worldwide crisis, but displaying specific features for us, namely a "primary" worsening of the living standard, by the fact that available food products became harder to find), accompanied by the fact that the communist political regime became very strict, mainly affecting certain categories of citizens deemed as dangerous and "undesirable". Thus, there was a record of increasing migration waves up to 1989, when especially Germans (18,000 between 1977 and 1989) and Jews (270,000 between 1948 and 1989), subject to the conditions of the agreements entered between the Romanian state and the receiving ones (Germany, Israel). By the end of the 80s, we recorded the same trend for Hungarians – within the *repatriation of ethnic minorities'* processes. There were also numerous asylum applications in the Western states starting with 1980 (when international laws concerning acceptance of refugees / asylum applicants were regulated), the number of emigrants thus reaching the maximum in 1989. Asylum applications submitted by Romanian citizens grew from 2,476 applications in 1980 (especially for USA and Austria) to 14,164 applications exclusively registered in 1989 (the applicants being mostly Romanians), the decade 1980-1989 gathering a total of 55,000 Romanian citizen asylum receivers who thus settled in various democratic states (UNCHR 2001, apud Horváth 2012), to which 40,000 Hungarian asylum receivers were added (Romanian citizens) who went to Hungary, that exactly due to the extra-legal situation of its diaspora in Romania, adopted the legislation necessary for awarding asylum (Horváth 2012: 200).

A more thorough analysis of the migration phenomenon as a process of ethnic non-homogenization in Europe (Germans, Hungarians, Russians) is achieved by R. Brubaker (2009). All these were followed by the migratory peak pursuant to the change of regime in 1989 (the fall of the overall protectionist state system, political liberalization and democratization of the country, that simultaneously generated an external wave of empathy and the tendency of various categories of population to select a life in the developed states, associated to the so called "Western mirage", option that was accompanied by medium or long term economic strategies of the emigrant families or not) (also see Campbell et al. 2007, Diminescu 2003, Horváth 2007, 2009, 2012, Sandu 2004, 2005, 2006).

Thus, if we analyse the first decade of the post–1989 period in our country, we may conclude that if the number of officially recorded emigrants was the largest in 1990-1991, this number would gradually decrease, slightly fluctuating up to year 2000 (Figure 4):

Figure 4. Dynamic of Romanian emigrants recorded in 1990 – 2000



Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook (INS 2001)

Regarding the extension of the migratory processes, by the development of technologies in transportation and communication industries, the quick transfer and mobility of information and people has been facilitated. This global phenomenon led to the development of migration systems (migration practice regulated between comprised geopolitical entities) located at great distance (different continents).

Diversification and dynamics of contemporary migration firstly resides in the heterogeneity of destinations and features of population categories that migrate. *Diversification* comprises the following dimensions:

a) Compared to the past, the migratory process acknowledges a strong trend of *feminization* through the increase of number of migrant women, that respond to the demand of specialized care labour force in the developed countries, with growing old population, but also due to the family reunion policies, the phenomenon of marriages by relationships at a distance, as well as by sex trade, all of these factors weighing heavily in the migration report between genders. Compared to other states, where the percentage of women is equal or less to that of men out of the emigrants' total (China, India, the Muslim States etc.), where Romania is concerned, out of the total of Romanians who left the country, according to INS data of 2009, almost 65% were women and 35% men. Table 2 below displays the evolution of (legal) emigrations between 2006 and 2009 in Romania, emphasizing the unequal report between genders, as well as considering the age category (the predominant segment is that of those fit for work or studies) and ethnicity.

Table 2. Romanian citizens who settled abroad following several variables (number of persons)

Variables		2006	2007	2008	2009
Gender	Male	5341	3088	3069	3768
	Female	8856	5742	5670	6443
Age	Under 18	963	1003	1214	1289
	18-40 years of age	9924	6041	5829	6486
	41-60 years of age	2621	1442	1419	2061
	61 years of age and beyond	689	344	277	375
Ethnicity	Romanian	13296	8589	8485	10052
	Hungarian	693	167	194	103
	German	85	12	18	15
	Jew	54	21	27	27
	Other nationalities	69	41	15	14
Total		14197	8830	8739	10211

Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook (INS 2010)

b) *Social categories* involved in migration, considering pursued goals (economic, educational, professional, familial, retired persons who choose another region for cheaper living), are more and more diverse: young people going to work or study, highly qualified or non-qualified persons, adults seeking temporary or permanent income sources, people who retired. In Romania, the structure of migration by age groups emphasizes the larger tendency for leaving of working persons, of those who have in fact the better chance to get professional achievement. Thus, according to INS, in 2009, approximately 50% of the emigrants were persons with ages between 26 and 63, already grown-up, with work potential. During the last ten years (2000 - 2010) the "brain flight" or "brain hunting", also called "*brain drain*", representing the strategy of developed states to collect human capital with potential, inclined the balance by 14% in 2010 for the population with ages between 18 and 24 who were school graduates or who were attending their last school years and who had perspectives or chances to work abroad. Academic graduates represent about 10-12% of the total of legally emigrated persons. Emigrants who graduated vocational or technical schools represent approximately 9% of the emigrants. One third of the total of emigrants is represented by persons who solely graduated primary school or secondary school, and among them, there are many children and adolescents who emigrated together with their families. External migration for work is normally provisional. Those involved in this migratory legal movement are part of three great categories of labour force: the highly qualified one, the 25-40 years of age category; the labour force with intermediate qualification, specialized in: constructions (Germany), health (Italy, USA, Canada, Switzerland), hotels and accommodation, public food supply (Western market); unqualified or semi-qualified labour force for activities in agriculture, sanitation, constructions (Spain, Portugal, Greece) (Campbell et al. 2007, Gheţău 2007).
c) *The dynamics of contemporary migration* is formed considering the report between the destination country and the origin country: a series of states in Southern Europe (Italy, Portugal, Spain) became destination states for immigrants, and others (such as the countries from the ex-communist block), following a period of migratory flow blockage, became significant emigration sources (Poland, Romania, Russia). In Romania, *the migratory balance* was and has been fluctuant during the last years. The larger presence of multi-national companies is the central explanation for the increase of the number of foreigners who come to our country (attracted by the income increments and various incentives), another encouraging factor being that of Romania joining the EU in 2007, that led to the economic, social and geopolitical security of the area.

By the end of 2006, the number of foreign residents (persons who at the time held a valid residence permit in Romania) was of 48,200. An analysis of external migration, undergone as a première by the National Institute of Statistics (INS 2008), shows that Romania became, during the last few years, an attractive country for foreigners who wish to settle down here: due to EU joining immigration is wished by the immigrants employed by multi-national companies who operate in our country. In 2008, the difference between foreigners coming in Romania and Romanians going abroad was twice as big as in 2007, reaching a positive balance of 1,291 persons; the same year 8,739 people left the country for good and 10,030 foreigners settled down in our country. The positive resulted balance (1,291 persons) is twice as much as the one in the previous year and prognoses are of significant increase for the immediately following period (Horváth 2007: 7) which indicates the fact that Romania offers opportunities to become a place of attraction for certain classes of foreign citizens. Although Romania continues to be preponderantly a country of transit, there are nonetheless attraction forces that act on foreign citizens who come to Romania in order to reside here. These forces are represented by a series of benefits that ex-pats receive from the Romanian state, as citizens, but mostly as employees of multi-national companies, on behalf of their employers (Ghinăraru 2006, apud Gheţău 2007).

Below there are the main countries of provenance and destination of migrants from Romania (immigrants, emigrants, recorded in 2009, according to INS data of 2010):

Table 3. Classification of provenance / destination countries of immigrants / emigrants in Romania (2009)

A. *Classification of provenance countries of immigrants in Romania (2009)*	
Country	***Number of persons***
1.Republic of Moldavia	3.476
2.Italy	1.290
3.USA	581
4.China	580
5.Turkey	566
6.Germany	526
7. Hungary	368
8.Canada	334
9.Siria	224
10.Israel	204

B. *Classification of destination countries of emigrants from Romania (2009)*	
Country	***Number of persons***
1.Germany	1.788
2.Canada	1.738
3.USA	1.591
4.Italy	1.098
5.France	431
6.Hungary	354
7.Austria	345
8.Spain	238
9.R.Moldova	189
10.England	130

Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook (INS 2010)

According to official data, the evolution of emigrations from Romania, during the last four years, by *country of destination,* is configured as follows (number of persons):

Table 4. Number of persons emigrated from Romania, by country of destination (2006 – 2009)

Country of destination:	**Year**			
	2006	2007	2008	2009
Australia	125	83	82	128
Austria	581	313	345	421
Canada	1655	1787	1738	2045
France	529	372	431	576
Germany	3110	1902	1788	1938
Greece	134	72	85	124
Israel	128	57	50	111
Italy	3393	1401	1098	984
Spain	330	138	238	547
U.S.A.	1982	1535	1591	1793
Sweden	37	2	7	15
Hungary	900	266	354	331
Other countries	1293	902	932	1198

Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook (INS 2010)

Another globally growing phenomenon is the *migration dependence*, as are the issues *involved by immigrants and immigration.* A series of communities, national regions, states (national economies) and even macro-regions depend on migration in order to provide a decent or better living (the amounts of money emigrants send home - "remittances"). In Romania as well, the recent economic growth (translated through internal consumption) is consistently attributed to these remittances. In Romania, calculations of remittance contribution for year 2007[2] have been assessed as representing 6% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). For some states, such as the Republic of Moldavia or Ukraine in Europe, this resource is "often deemed as a remedy for under development" (Horváth and Anghel 2009: 5). On the other hand, there is also dependency on migration of the economies of certain emigrant receiving countries (especially persons not qualified or with intermediate qualification), that represent cheap labour force, bringing substantial profits to certain economic areas (agriculture, constructions etc.). What is more complicated to assess for the destination countries is the so-called "brain flight" (immigration of the highly qualified labour force). According to several authors (Ferro 2009, Ghețău 2007, Horváth and Anghel 2009, Rotariu 2009, Sandu 2010), there is a circuit of negative dependencies (lack of resources in the origin countries) and of positive ones (advantages for the countries of destination).

The issue of dependencies, circuits (mutual effects) of migration is even more complex, involving a series of negative consequences as well. As shown by T. Rotariu (2009: 178-193), there are a few great classes of *migration effects* (both for the receiving and the origin countries): *demographic effects and economic and social effects:*

I. The migration phenomenon brings serious *demographic repercussions:* on *mortality* (especially on life expectancy – with the risk of its decrease especially in the emigrant donor countries), on *fertility* (fertility rates shall decrease in the origin countries, because emigrants are mostly at an age when they can have children), on *marriages* (imbalance by genders, modification of matrimonial behaviour), on population *age structure* (both in the states with many immigrants – a most likely ageing of population, and in the origin ones – an even more acute ageing of population), and on *population evolution,* an issue rather ignored by demography (analysis of the impact the two elements shall have on this evolution: *population growth* and *degree of demographic ageing*). It is not by hazard that the UN specialists (according to Horváth and Anghel 2009) refer to "*population replacement migration*", which is a provision of accepting young migrants, subject to foreseeing imbalances at the level of the demographic

[2] According to Eurostat, data concerning the GDP quantum for Romania.

structure of a state or region (an increasing number of inactive citizens, especially retired, supported by a decreasing active population).

II. *Economic effects* are rather positive, especially for the receiving countries. Although there are also negative effects, they are slim and often ambiguously considered as "...none of the developed countries aims to cancel the migration flows, and *selection of the admitted ones is made* (beyond humanitarian relief) *basically on economic criteria, namely reported to market demands for labour force and the benefits the immigrant can provide the receiving community with*" (Rotariu 2009: 187). For the donor countries, the visible effects and short-term ones are *the improvement of the living standard* of the people left behind, through the transfer of assets and money, both legally and informally. Nevertheless, on the long run, the flow of money and investments sent to donor countries may diminish. At the *macroeconomic* level, consumption increase may change the commercial balance of the country in question with other countries, and risk may emerge *in the external payment balance.*

III. *Social effects* are ordinarily most frequently debated upon, but they are also harder to quantify and analyse. Among these, the most significant ones for the receiving countries are the following: the issue of *immigrant integration,* a complex phenomenon that implies both social policies and public opinion factors and rejection reaction of the population in the receiving countries. The origin countries also undergo multiple social effects: *the "civilization" transfer,* either superficial or profound, *mentality influence* (modification of gender reports, increased autonomy of women), and also *the effects on family life* (also see Campbell et al. 2007).

Globalization is in a mutual determination report with migration. On the one hand, migration became international due to globalization, but it creates and supports globalization under all its forms at the same time. The ones involved in migratory movements shall impact on the culture of the host countries, but maybe more significantly, on the origin countries, returning with the taste of "civilization" and, most importantly with the means of achieving a certain living standard. And if they fail to return, they "contaminate" their relatives and close ones, either by inducing them with new living principles, or by advising and helping them to emigrate. Thus, an entire *culture of migration* is developed (also see Bădescu et al. 2009).

Globalization mainly signifies the development of communication and transport means. Written media, television and more and more the internet, as well as the possibility to travel to far away destinations in a short period of time, render reachable opportunities of a better life for adults and especially for their children. The possibility of better living alternatives is a factor that predisposes to emigration. Thus, both globalization and migration are strongly associated to the phenomenon of *democracy internationalization* (Berry 2008).

This tendency is not solely diplomatic, but one of economic, political, juridical and implicitly social and cultural integration through the creation and development of unions such as the European Union. Consequently, eternal migration becomes a form of regular mobility. Besides, the homogenization processes at all levels of everyday life are more emphatic. Yet, the extension of democracy facilitated international migration from other two important perspectives: 1) Authorities and population in the target countries changed attitude (especially those in Western and Northern ones) towards emigrants, candidates to emigration having positive reaction to this change; 2) Dictatorships stimulate emigration to democratic countries, as democracy calls for and allows for political emigration (Kritz 2003).

To conclude, the study of tendencies in international migration is at the same time ground for the need of interdisciplinary processes in the analysis patterns of the phenomenon. It is obvious that, compared to the classical period of economic, sociological, historic, geographic etc., perspectives regarding the migratory phenomenon, the last decades especially impose an amendment of the visions on international migration.

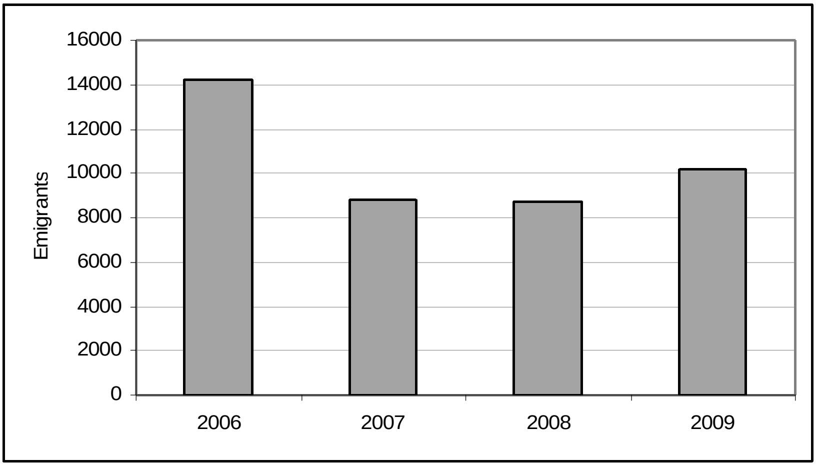
4. Primary analysis regarding external migration in the counties of Cluj and Suceava

Temporary migration is a specific Romanian phenomenon starting with the years following the month of December 1989, in opposition to the one of permanent migration (mostly recorded among ethnic minorities). The grounds for work emigration are due to the consequences of post-communist transition: increase of urban unemployment, poverty, the process of retro-ceding the land, the quest for new adjustment strategies for a large part of the country's population (economically vulnerable classes).

The studies we achieved refer especially to *temporary emigration* (emerged following December 1989) and *internal migration* (especially from villages to big cities) (we specify a few relevant studies on the matter: Anghel and Horváth 2009, Campbell et al. 2007, Diminescu 2003, Horváth 2007, 2009, 2012, Rotariu 2009, Rotariu and Mezei 1999, Sandu 2005, 2006, 2007, 2010; Sandu et al. 2004).

Where *permanent migration* is concerned, at national level, the data provided by the National Institute of Statistics indicate fluctuations of emigration corresponding to the explanations derived from the *area of macro-social factors*. One may find below a representation of how joining the EU impacted on the evolution of those who settled abroad (legally emigrated – officially recorded) in 2006-2009:

Figure 5. Dynamic of emigrants from Romania residing abroad in 2006 – 2009



Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook (INS 2010)

The increase of the number of emigrants as soon as economic crisis started is obvious: the number of active persons who settled abroad in 2009 is significantly larger than in the previous year. This increasing tendency kept its course during the following two years (2010, 2011).

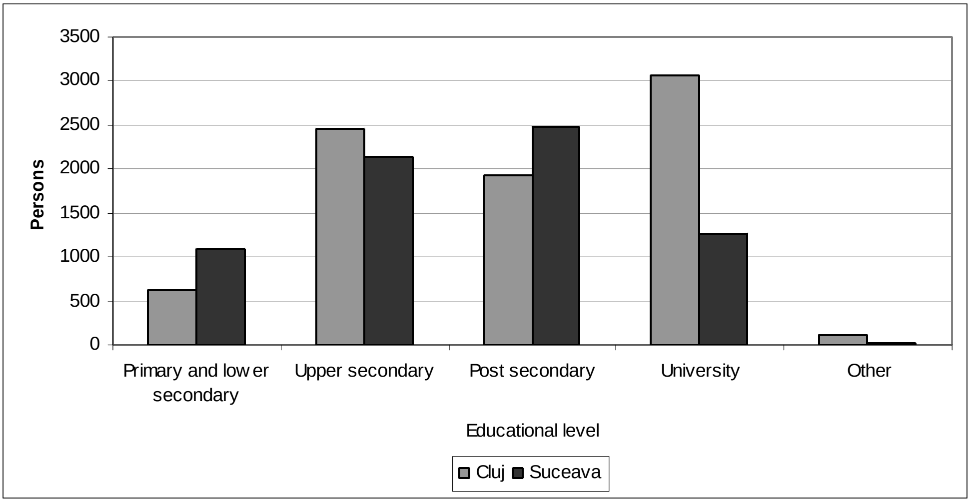
Due to the fact that the statistical situation of temporary migrants for short time periods raises questions from the point of view of official recordings, I believe that Romanian emigrants who already settled abroad represent a more accurate and relevant topic, in view of valid research. The goal of the brief representation to come – which is a pilot study (simple, preliminary statistical analysis), being the basis of more complex pending analyses (the empirical part of my Ph.D. thesis) – is to emphasize the educational profile of the people who work abroad and who have their permanent residence there. To this end, I chose two counties featuring approximately the same number of citizens, but coming from different areas of development for comparative analysis regarding the educational condition of Romanian citizens that have permanently lived abroad in the last decade (2000 – 2011), counties of Cluj and Suceava. This comparison reports to the general evolutions at the level of the whole country.

In year 2000, there were 723,939 officially recorded inhabitants in Cluj County and 659,400 inhabitants in 2011. In Suceva County there were 717,224 inhabitants in 2000 and 614,451 inhabitants in 2011. Consequently, the emigration resources of the two geographic areas, strictly numerically speaking, may be analysed as equal.

Centralizing the data the National Institute of Statistics provided us with (Cluj and Suceava Regional Departments of Statistics) regarding the number of Romanian citizens permanently settled abroad in the time period between 2000 and 2011, for the two counties, considering the education level (primary and lower secondary, upper-secondary, post secondary (vocational, technical schools), and academic studies), we obtain the distribution in the Figure 4.

The figure speaks for itself because it not only illustrates the differences by educational level of the ones who permanently reside abroad (the ones with upper-secondary studies are predominant for both counties – 4,591 persons, followed by the ones with academic studies – 4,335 persons and by the ones with various qualifications that suppose intermediate or superior qualification in certain professions – 3,113 persons), but also the inter-counties differences.

Figure 6. Number of Romanian citizens who permanently settled abroad in the decade 2000-2011, from two counties of provenance (Cluj and Suceava), by education level



Source: The Ministry of Internal Affairs, The General Directorate for Passports, Bucharest

For Cluj there are 3,067 of university graduates who permanently left Romania during 2000-2011, while for Suceava, during the same interval, there are 1,268 university graduates who permanently settled abroad. This situation comes from the enormous difference regarding the educational supply in university education in the cities of Cluj-Napoca and Suceava (more numerical details about this topic are found in the Appendix). The 10 universities that operate in Cluj-Napoca (the third academic centre of the country based on the number of universities and faculties, and the second based on the number of students and teachers) have only one corresponding university in the town of Suceava. Proportionally, the number of faculties is also extremely discrepant in the two cities. This is the probable result of the low request for academic studies in the County of Suceava (a lot of Suceava inhabitants live in rural or semi-rural localities), of the lack of academic tradition in the town, that makes the young who wish to pursue academic studies to choose one of the more prestigious centres in order to enrol in a university (from neighbouring counties, such as Iaşi, or even further on, Bucharest, etc. or abroad), but also of the lower social, economic and cultural development of that area.

This statistical image confers rather significant different social and demographic profiles to the two analysed counties, from the point of view of the social and professional structure of the emigration "offer". The same goes from the point of view of graduates in the two counties. We can ascertain that the significantly larger number of the university graduates who settled abroad from Cluj County is representative for the "brain drain" phenomenon, while those in Suceava reflect the phenomenon of "intermediately qualified labour force demand" from the developed states, as immigration countries (high school graduates are first, followed by the ones with secondary school studies and specific qualifications). This difference is once again given by the educational structure (educational level) of the people in the two counties and emphasis or control of these variables is another phase of wider research.

Regarding a general comparison of tendencies within the permanent migration phenomenon of Cluj and Suceava, as reported to the national situation, the figures indicate the same growing evolution of Romanian citizens' settling abroad: if in 2010, 578 citizens of Cluj had permanent residence abroad, in 2011, their number grew to 620. In Suceava County, the increase is even more obvious: from 423 persons in 2010 to 1,076 in 2011 (which is more than double!).

The degradation of the living standards of families, as soon as economic crisis settled in, associated with the political and economic instability may be deemed as the main grounds for this evolution, more developed in the poor areas. Looking at matters diachronic, we may say that one part of the emigrants who left before the crisis, for uncertain periods (temporary, travel like), succeeded to settle down for good in a few years. It was exactly the deep crisis in Romania which probably contributed the most to this decision, but also the social and professional adjustment and the stability acquired in a few "trial" years in the host countries.

This analysis facilitates assessment of the grounds for permanent emigration. Mainly wishing for better living standards associated with a better life quality, as indicated by public surveys of the last years, emigrants weigh their real chances to reach their goals, being guided by elements that refer to qualification and labour force per areas of expertise and training levels. The professional status is the main starting indicator in assessing one's own living standard, in the process of decision making in order to permanently settle abroad.

Consequently, the pecuniary factor is important to those people in their emigration option, but calculation of costs – benefits, and in terms of human capital, is the basis that determines permanent settling of the migrants in states with higher living standards. Among other reasons for the above we find representations regarding the future of their children. We must also consider the importance of emigration networks available prior to the departure (relatives, friends who already live in the host countries) as factors of opportunity for social and cultural adjustment and of economic and professional support.

5. Conclusions

The main conclusions derived from our analysis are related to D. Massey's (2004: 2) ideas, who supports the ideal of an integrative theory in the migration approach, within contemporary societies. Thus, any valid perspective should comprise the following main elements: A) Analysis of structural factors that determine emigration from the less developed states; B) Analysis of structural factors that attract emigrants to developed states; C) Analysis of motivations, goals and expectations of individuals responding to these structural factors, who become international migrants; D) Analysis of social and economic structures that develop in order to connect emigration areas to immigration areas. This is a complex pattern, offering wider views, but it is in fact greatly reducible to the pattern of attraction and rejection forces (pull / push). Stating that a general theory, a reference capable to explain any form of migration is not possible, D. Massey (2004: 3) suggests the drafting of "specific theories, capable to comprise the phenomenon variety under different economic contexts and not to seek universal theories, which by their great degree of generality, risk to ignore some important aspects". D. Massey is in fact the author of a complex approach attempt (2003, apud Massey 2004), by which he mingles economic, political, social and psychological factors with the concept of "migration transition" and with the role of the "duration of stay" effects. He thinks that migration in the post-industrial era is the joint result of social and economic development and of adjustment processes to the host country. Due to the fact that this integrative approach requires information that international statistics have not yet developed, it is difficult to operationalize, but at the same time it represents a viable starting point.

Under the same integrative emblem, contemporary specialists, mainly sociologists (Portes and De Wind 2007) show that the international migration dynamics, including the emergence of new forms as for instance travel for work or that of retired persons, the feminization of classes of migrants in particular world areas, the "brain drain" phenomenon and its complex consequences, call for a readjustment of theoretical perspectives, by tackling with new research paths, translated into valid patterns for all three levels of analysis: macro, medium and micro-social.

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Appendix

Table 1. Romanian academic education, selection per towns (2005-2010)

Towns	**Number of academic institutions (jointly: full – time, evening classes, reduced attendance, distance learning)**						**Number of faculties**					
	2005	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**
Bucharest	37	34	34	35	35	33	191	184	184	168	167	165
Iași	12	11	10	10	10	11	66	65	59	51	51	51
Cluj-Napoca	***10***	***10***	***10***	***10***	***10***	***10***	***56***	***56***	***58***	***52***	***51***	***50***
Timișoara	9	8	8	8	8	8	52	50	50	47	46	45
Constanța	6	5	4	5	5	5	33	32	32	30	28	29
Brașov	6	3	3	3	3	3	31	28	26	25	23	23
Sibiu	4	4	4	4	4	4	27	27	29	21	19	21
Oradea	4	4	4	4	4	4	27	27	27	24	23	25
Suceava	***1***	***1***	***1***	***1***	***1***	***1***	***10***	***12***	***12***	***9***	***9***	***9***

Towns	**Number of enrolled students**						**Number of people in the teaching staff**
	2005	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2010**
Bucharest	210139	253247	302248	389517	388161	285720	10707
Iaşi	60272	60686	60102	62875	60226	58418	3316
Cluj-Napoca	***61134***	***65691***	***66033***	***67982***	***61487***	***60371***	***3932***
Timişoara	43511	45750	48541	50587	47487	42259	2306
Constanţa	28048	29928	32701	38915	40093	36860	985
Braşov	26372	32109	37538	49869	60519	58976	1018
Sibiu	21954	22569	26816	25884	25221	24211	883
Oradea	22126	22929	23100	22075	21013	19182	1446
Suceava	***9047***	***9909***	***10373***	***11039***	***9947***	***9796***	***364***

Source: Romanian Statistical Yearbook (INS 2010: 260-262)

Pierre Goubert (1915-2012). A take-off from Beauvais to Global History

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Abstract: The contributions that follow the present introduction illustrate successive phases of Pierre Goubert's life course, the development of his intellectual interests from various perspectives and illuminate his strong personality, pioneering research, achievements, books, heritage and followers. Five colleagues comment and discuss his views and writings and what the author of a master piece entitled "Beauvais and the Beauvaisis from 1600 to 1730. A contribution to the social history of seventeenth-century France" (1960) brought to History as a discipline, to their generation in particular and to the academic world in general, opening a way to global historical approach. One of Goubert's former doctoral students presents Pierre Goubert as a generous and inspired master. His son, my colleague from the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales*, *Centre de Recherches Historiques* (Paris), offers a unique view of Goubert as a family breadwinner and father of two children. A list of references, including translations, is proposed to the reader of this bunch of contributions dedicated to "Pierre Goubert (1915-2012) beyond *the Beauvaisis.*"

Keywords: Pierre Goubert, Beauvais, Beauvaisis, *Annales School*, Historical Demography, Global History

Nothing in his family or social background predestined Pierre Goubert (1915-2012) to take up an academic career, as he recognized in his autobiographic writings (Goubert 1984: 9, 1996).[1] When, aged 26, during the Second World War, he was appointed as a school teacher in Beauvais, this was by a pure bureaucratic accident. This professional position was already a sign of upward social mobility. It provided the young man some satisfaction and freedom, and secured him a minimum standard of living. The contributions that follow will

[1] I am very grateful to Sølvi Sogner, Helena Silva and Sally Bould for their valuable comments on previous versions of this essay. I also thank Marius Eppel, who helped me enormously with his search for Goubert's publications in the Romanian academic libraries.

illustrate successive phases of Pierre Goubert's life course, the development of his intellect interests from various and complementary perspectives and will illuminate his strong personality and achievements: three foreign colleagues − a British (Tony Wrigley[2] from Cambridge) and two Spanish scholars (Antonio Eiras Roel[3] and Ofelia Rey Castelao[4] from Santiago de Compostela) − comment and discuss his views and writings and what this well-known historian, author (among other books) of a master piece entitled *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730. Contribution à l'histoire sociale de la France du XVIIe siècle.* (1960) Paris: SEVPEN [Beauvais and the Beauvaisis from 1600 to 1730. A Contribution to the Social History of Seventeenth Century France] brought to what was then the state of the art and to their generation. One of Goubert's former doctoral students, Anne-Marie Cocula-Vaillières, from Bordeaux University, presents him as a generous master and pioneering researcher.[5] My colleague Jean-Pierre Goubert from the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Centre de Recherches Historiques* (Paris), historian of medicine, remembers his father through his childhood memories, offering a unique view of Goubert as head of family and father of two children.[6]

The first academic tribute to Pierre Goubert, who passed away on 16 January 2012 at Issy-les-Moulineaux near Paris, was by a workshop at the Archives of Oise Department, on 5 March, 2012, in the heart of the town of Beauvais[7]. A full day conference was later organized by his direct disciples,[8] at the Sorbonne, Amphithéâtre Bachelard, on 9 June 2012, presenting how their current research was in the line (or not) of their master's interests and past lessons ("Demain, l'histoire sociale. Hommage à Pierre Goubert"). Some of Goubert's other colleagues and friends were present, as myself, together with a few from abroad as Antonio Eiras Roel and Ofelia Rey Castelao who both contribute to the present issue of the *Romanian Journal of Population Studies* and who are grateful that such an opportunity of an international publication is offered to them to disseminate their words of tribute to Goubert, explaining their academic connection with this French professor and his work, and for so many years.

[2] E. A. Wrigley, "The region as a unit of study; history and geography in harmony."

[3] Antonio Eiras Roel, "Ce qu'un galicien trouva dans le *Beauvaisis* en 1973. L'évocation d'un *horsin*."

[4] Ofelia Rey Castelao, "Pierre Goubert en Espagne."

[5] Anne-Marie Cocula-Vaillières, "Pierre Goubert, un professeur hors du commun."

[6] Jean-Pierre Goubert, "Pierre Goubert Beauvaisien."

[7] The text of four presentations by Thibaud Viguier, Jean Duma, Jacques Bernet and Jean-Pierre Besse are accessible online: http://archives.oise.fr/.

[8] The Scientific organizing Committee included the following French colleagues: Gérard Béaur (EHESS, Paris), Jean Duma (University of Paris-Nanterre), Nicole Lemaitre (University of Paris-1), Claude Michaud (University Paris-1), Jean Queniart (University Rennes 2) and Daniel Roche (Collège de France, Paris).

A Curriculum out of the norms

On 25 January 1915, Pierre Goubert was born in Saumur, a town of the Loire valley, the father being employed as a manual worker in the local seed-trade (eventually gardening around), and the mother, a seamstress, running a small grocery shop. He had no brother or sister and, given his excellent results at school and thanks to successive national annual grants, he was able to study as *élève-maître* at the *Ecole Normale d'instituteurs* of Angers. He prepared the entrance examination to the *Ecole Normale Supérieure de Saint-Cloud* near Paris. He was successful and admitted into this prestigious institution as a fellow, aged twenty (1935). A *cursus* in Literature and languages was not open to him, given that he had not studied Latin and Greek. His only other option was to choose History & Geography as a main discipline. He did so, with a preference for Geography.

During World War II, Goubert was first a caporal in 1939, teaching meteorology in the army and then a few months in a Pithiviers school, before he was attached to Beauvais in 1941. He graduated at the same time at the Sorbonne and passed successfully the *aggregation* of History (1948). Augustin Renaudet, Professor of early modern history (*histoire moderne* in French), directed his *Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures* on Beauvaisis.

Beginning 1951, Pierre Goubert was a researcher at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS); in 1956 he was also appointed as a permanent *Directeur d'Etudes* at the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (EPHE), 6th section. Two years later he quitted the CNRS to teach as a tenured Professor of early modern history at the University of Rennes. In 1958, aged 43 years, he defended his main PhD thesis in history at the Sorbonne, an event remembered below by Anne-Marie Cocula-Vaillières. The book *Beauvais and Beauvaisis* was published in 1960 by EPHE. His minor thesis (*thèse complémentaire*)[9] on the merchants of Beauvais had been published in 1959, under the title *Familles marchandes sous l'Ancien Régime. Les Danse et les Motte de Beauvais* by the same EPHE/VIth section publisher, this means under the scientific and financial responsibility of Fernand Braudel, who was then President of this institution.

The Annales and the Ecole Pratique

Goubert's chance at *Ecole Normale Supérieure de Saint-Cloud* was that his professor of history happened to be Marc Bloch, which allowed him to follow

[9] Two dissertations were needed for obtaining a PhD in France (thèse d'Etat/ state thesis) up to a 1969 reform. A *doctorat de 3e cycle* was possible since 1954. In 1984, *doctorat nouveau régime* and *habilitation à diriger des recherches* were created and the state thesis disappeared.

the very early beginnings of the *Annales* journal.[10] Marc Bloch disappeared tragically, killed by the Gestapo in June 1944. Goubert always shared with enthusiasm the path breaking orientations of the editorial group and friends, a trend and successful movement towards the study of economy, society and civilization, in large comparative perspective.

It must be noted−and I can attest this from my own experience (Fauve-Chamoux 2010)−that the *Annales* group has never been considered a *school* in France. The expression *Annales School* has always been surprising to me. It comes probably from the fact that the editors of the *Annales E.S.C.* journal were attached to the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (EPHE). The VIth Section of the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (EPHE) was not a university, with its multi-secular rituals and teaching constraints.[11] This academic institute – nowadays it would be called an Institute for Advanced Studies–even accepted researchers without a regular academic curriculum. They were allowed to write a dissertation for a specific diploma, the *Diplôme de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*. The *Ecole* organized specialized research seminars, and published one of the most prestigious historical francophone journals of the time, the *Annales E.S.C.*

Partly thanks to the *Annales E.S.C*, the VIth Section was well-know and considered as a leading institution all over the world for its international presence, its interdisciplinary approach, and "leftist" intellectuals. The *Annales* "School" is considered abroad to have been an important movement in historical scholarship. Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre proposed a new approach to the study of history in France in the late 1920s. It developed thanks to the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* from 1929 to 1938. During World War II, the journal was called *Annales d'Histoire Sociale* and later, after the *Libération*, *"Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations (Annales ESC*). With a new generation, it changed its title again in 1994, and is now *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales* (ou *Annales HSS*). It promoted a "total history" embracing all the social sciences and attracting historians worldwide (Burguière 2009).

The *VIe Section* was the most recent sector of EPHE and was founded in 1947 (*Section des sciences économiques et sociales*) by Braudel with Lucien Febvre and Charles Morazé with some help from the Rockefeller Foundation, New York. The *Centre de Recherches Historiques* was the largest group – and still is at EHESS – and it provided a unique place for collective projects and intellectual

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[10] Marc Bloch cofounded the *Annales* journal. The title changed several times: *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* from 1929 to 1938*; Annales d'histoire sociale* (1939-1941) ; *Mélanges d'histoire sociale* (1942-1944*)*; in 1945 *Annales d'histoire sociale ;* followed by *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* (or *Annales ESC*) up to 1993; since 1994, the journal title is *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales* (or *Annales HSS*).

[11] See http://www.ehess.fr/

debates largely opened internationally and based on interdisciplinary approaches. It was organized in research seminars and research centers, most of them receiving complementary funding from the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS).

Braudel, chairing the *VIe Section* up to 1972, was a fabulous manager and fund raiser. He had good financial relations with the French National Centre for Scientific Research (*Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*) and benefited from other finances, including, initially, the Rockefeller Foundation, as mentioned above. Braudel created in 1962 the *Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme* (FMSH), an institution of "public interest" dedicated to the Sciences of Man". He had received a Ford Foundation grant and government funds to create this new independent institution, which he directed from 1970 until his death in 1985.

According to the official decree from January 4, 1963, the unique objective of FMSH was to "promote studies of human societies that focus on current social realities and contexts." It should keep a high degree of flexibility and was actually using the model for "network project management" before the term even existed.

Goubert had been classified, by some reviewers, as a product of the *Annales* group from the time of the *Beauvaisis* publication in 1960, but he resented this easy classification. For example, Robert R. Harding–who wrote on early modern France (Harding 1978)–provided an interesting summary of how Goubert was understood by the academic reviewers, and reported the common opinion that, "by the 1960s, local history and historical demography were closely identified with the *Annales* and the VIth section" (Harding 1983: 181-182). Pierre Goubert considered himself as fully independent, even if he was *Directeur d'études* at the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes,* VIth section (EPHE) which was to be called *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales* (EHESS) sometime later (1975). He loved teaching and his professorial career is astonishing and on many points out of the norms. Beauvais provided him a unique bottom up approach of History.

History from below

In the early 1940s, thanks to his pupils and neighbours, Pierre Goubert became close to the people of the Beauvaisis countryside and Beauvais city, which had lost 80% of its historical streets and houses: in 1941, this town was mostly in ruins after a Luftwaffe bombing in June 1940. The beautiful Gothic cathedral had escaped by miracle, as had some main archives. In the shortened edition of his doctoral thesis, *Cent mille provinciaux au XVIIe siècle* (1968), Goubert recalls his early motivations for working on this region:

> *"I wanted to better understand this complex and severe country* [Goubert used here the term *pays* in French and not "region"], *and the research that went out with this book was an act of curiosity and commitment. I especially wanted to know the real life of all men at any given time. I was particularly fond of the small farmers and poor workers, and I cannot regret it. Ultimately, I had not to change anything essential to this early work.* (Goubert 1968).*"*[12]

As an historian Goubert was also looking for

> *"a direct and continuous contact with the families, groups and castes that rise and fall, unite and separate and oppose one another; human groups of a hard century, suffering, struggling and often succumbing, all have a right to this great effort of sympathy".*[13] (Goubert 1960: 624).

Sometime later, in 1984, he said that his rural family background helped him a great deal understanding the Ancien Régime society.

> *"I have never been a pure demographer; I've never been either a specialist of rural world: even in my early books, bourgeois and workers can be found, even quite a few nobles and priests. I always was fascinated by priests."* (Goubert 1984: 13)

Jean-Pierre Goubert – who was born in Beauvais–relates below, in his article about his childhood memories included in the present issue, how it had been difficult for his father – a convinced and active socialist, once writing regular articles in *L'Oise socialiste* (Goubert 1945, Besse 2012)–to reconstruct the mentalities of Ancien Régime catholic priests (*curés),* and the son recalls the regular country *pilgrimages* and visits that his father organized for his family in the surrounding countryside of Beauvais.

> *"It is true that I paid much attention to the peasants (and workers of past Beauvais), and that way, I was influenced by my early years spent in a very popular area and in close relationship with many rural relatives. Thanks to this familiarity, I avoided some mistakes about the rural world and I did understand some details of farming, because the countryside way of living in 1920-1925 was actually still close to the old regime situation, which is no longer the case. In addition, in Beauvais, I had access, as later in the French West, to wonderful church records and historical sources of the feudal time, rich sources that the 1789 Revolution has usually very well preserved, especially quantities of inventories done after death, a mine for documentation and further reflection for me. Sometimes, only a portrait of the person who had passed away was missing."* (Goubert 1984: 13).

[12] Translations from French are made by Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux in this essay, unless otherwise specified.
[13] English is here from Harding, 1983, p. 183.

Understanding social inequalities and identities of common people

Pierre Goubert's historical approach was an effort to apprehend the social mentality of men of the past, and this was new. In his introductory words to his doctoral thesis (Goubert 1958, 1960), the author provides a fascinating text which later served as point of departure for an article published in 1956 in *Past and Present*. Goubert revised the paper in 1965, after the *Beauvaisis* book was published and reviewed by many commentators and critics, and a new version (with the same title) appeared as a chapter in an edited volume devoted to *Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660* (Goubert 1965a). In this early writing, Goubert expressed very clearly what his intention was with the *Beauvaisis* study, when choosing a modest and a rather limited scope, in order to reach the real people. He wanted to base his account:

> *[…]"on the antithesis* ***laboureur*** (peasant)−***manouvrier*** (wage-worker), *which expresses almost the sum total of what is generally known about French peasant society. If this oversimplified antithesis remains roughly true, it is far from expressing the whole graded complexity of social relations in the village. It has, however, the merit of stressing the interest in social terminology which prevailed in the French countryside. Like the town-dwellers, the French peasants were very conscious of titles and dignities. One has only to look through the registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials (the most abundant of all French documents of the seventeenth century), or to peruse the tax-rolls to see that Jacques Bonhomme or Pierre Durand is only too glad to assume a title to express his position in society. If he can do no better, he is merely "Jacques Bonhomme, manouvrier." If he tenderly cultivates three rows of bad vine-stock, he styles himself "vine-grower". If, in the course of the winter, he repairs three pairs of wheels, he becomes "wheelwright". Should he sell a few sacks of wheat or a few fleeces in the neighbouring market, he proudly calls himself "merchant." Should he happen to own that great wooden instrument bound with a few pieces of iron, which in the Beauvaisis was the usual plough, and the two horses required to pull it, he becomes "laboureur." But if he holds lands of the Prince de Conti, of the nuns of the Abbaye Royale de Saint-Paul, or of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux and Abbot of Saint-Lucien-les-Beauvais, Jacques Bonhomme flaunts the title of "laboureur, fermier, et receveur de Monseigneur." In fact, the host of* ***manouvriers*** *constituted, in nearly every village, the majority − the overwhelming majority − of the inhabitants. In the Beauvaisis it was rare for a* ***manouvrier*** *to be a fully-fledged proletarian."* (Goubert 1956: 58-59).
>
> *[…] "How much better the* ***laboureur*** *lived than the mass of the peasants! He ate off pewter, sometimes laid out on a table-cloth. His cupboards were stocked with pairs of sheets, towels, shirts − some of fine embroidered cloth. He had reserves of corn, peas, beans, and even a whole pig in his earthen salting-tub. His*

> *Sunday-clothes were of stout serge. To attend mass or the village ball, his wife and daughters would deck themselves out in linen bodices, bright-coloured skirts and petticoats, and a small golden cross at their necks. All of which was in glaring contrast with the manner of living of the bare-footed manouvrier, clad in coarse hempen cloth often without bed- or table-linen, without even a table or provisions, eating a thick soup from an earthen bowl with a wooden spoon."* (Goubert 1956: 63-64).

We are not surprised that Pierre Goubert, with such a talent for writing and portraying, published a *Vie quotidienne* (1982). And one of his specificities, which has been stressed, was his capacity to trace real sceneries and at the same time explain them in a very accessible way for a large public, beyond students and professional historians.

> *"Doubtless there existed a few wretched families, dependent more or less on begging, who eked out their lives in hovels of wood, straw, and dried mud, which could scarcely be called houses. These poor wretches appear in the tax-rolls as "property-less," "destitute," "impotent," taxed symbolically at a farthing. Except in times of plague and famine, however, these social outcasts remain the exception."* (Goubert 1956: 58-59).

A peste, fame et bello. Libera nos, Domine!

Litanies of the Saints are invocations. The litany cited by Goubert many times in his writings (*A peste, fame et bello. Libera nos, Domine!*) is pronounced by the Catholic priest during the mass (usually following the *Kyrie eleison*) or other sacramental office. "From pestilence, famine, and battle" these words are followed by an answer by the attendance: "Good Lord, deliver us". Litanies are not a series of prayers to the saints, but requests, expressed individually to each of them (including local saints), for intercession with God, for example: "Holy [Mary] pray for us" meaning, "please, intercede for us with God". They are sung at various calendar occasions, as Toussaint (the feast of all saints). These incantations may be pronounced also in time of distress, during some disaster, war or famine (see the list of litanies presented by Weller 1952: 453-457). They were still very common in the 1950s in France. According to my own memories, they were then pronounced in French and no more in Latin. They used to begin with Holy Mary, ending with local saints and the current Pope.

Pierre Goubert explained which categories of peasants were frequently exposed to hardship:

> *"The small peasant who was least severely affected by the complex system of initial charges on the yearly produce was the proprietor who farmed his own land: the most severely affected was the small tenant-farmer who owned but few acres. By heavy toil, the* ***manouvriers, haricotiers****, and small* ***laboureurs*** *were able,*

in favourable years, to extract from a good deal of rented land, a fair proportion of the food required for their family's upkeep, which their own fields were unable to provide. In years of bad harvest small farms were more of a burden than a support. In no case could a holding of less than 12 hectares assure its occupant of the slightest trace of economic independence. As our documents amply illustrate, the great majority of peasants – three quarters or more – remained well below that level. Were they, then, condemned to suffer hunger, or even starve to death? The answer is most definitely in the affirmative. Three facts emerge beyond dispute. In the first place, the majority of the peasants of the Beauvaisis suffered from almost continuous under-nourishment. Secondly, they devoted considerable courage and imagination to attempts to procure that extra food which their own lands could not produce. Thirdly, they did not always succeed in doing so: during lean years, which were not exceptional, they had to resign themselves to dying in their thousands for lack of food. The first fact, the most difficult to prove beyond all doubt, emerges from the study of a large number of inventories drawn up after death […]. Incessant search for other forms of income, for piece-work and such like, that is characteristic of all the ***manouvriers****, of almost all the* ***haricotiers****, and of most of the smaller labourers. This search, which was absolutely essential in order to feed their families, to pay the* ***taille****, and to survive at all, took the form of hunting for vacant leases, for wool to spin, for lace to manufacture, for wood to chop, carve, or sell, for any small job on the larger estates. If need be, should ordinary work fail, they would resort to all sorts of alternatives – picking leaves, herbs, acorns, berries, which every forest-owner forbade, royal, noble, or episcopal. The result was a considerable crop of offences against the forest-laws, not to mention breaches of the laws relating to fishing and hunting. (It is a striking fact that nearly every peasant went armed.) It was but a small step from this to a profusion of minor thefts, or even to open begging. This was a particularly distinctive feature of those dreadful years when, as the saying went, "the times were out of joint," and harvests shrank to a half, or even to a third, of their normal yield.”* (Goubert 1956: 67-69).

The 17th Century regular diet in Beauvaisis was discussed by Maurice Garden in his study of Lyon who brought examples of another reality, in another environment and urban context, where meat could be, by contrast with Beauvaisis, rather common (Garden 1970). Here comes the way Goubert had presented it:

“The first fact, the most difficult to prove beyond all doubt, emerges from the study of a large number of inventories drawn up after death. The almost total absence of meat from the manouvrier’s diet was due, as we have seen, to his lack of livestock. He hardly ever had bacon since he had not the means to feed pigs. His vegetables were those of low food value: apart from cabbages, green vegetables were little known, and certainly rarely grown, except just outside the towns. There was a

> *general absence of fruit, except in autumn: soft fruit was scarce since it takes a long time to ripen. The wild berries picked in the hedges were mostly used in drinks; and cider-apples and pears were crushed to make weak cider, heavily diluted with water. A little fruit of better quality was sold in the town-markets: the income derived from it helped to pay the tax. On the plateau of Picardy only the wealthier labroureurs and the larger tenant-farmers had milk and cheese: in the pastoral district of Bray, milk was made into butter and cheese and sold to Parisians at Gournay."* (Goubert 1956: 68).

In his collection of essays, *Clio among men* (1976), Goubert was happy to note that History became social and popular in France: the muse, Clio was, at last, down on Earth among men, among all men, the rural masses of little people and beggars. Men, women and children were known through their life events, some of their problems and their belongings.

Goubert's demographic results highlighted the everyday demographic reality of the past centuries, particularly the early modern times. The percentage of illegitimate births was around 4 or 5% of live births in town and below one percent in the countryside. Premarital conceptions were rare in Beauvaisis, infant mortality was high and 50% of children did not reach their 20th anniversary. Age at first marriage was between 24 and 25 years for brides and at least 27 years for men. On average, a couple experienced 4 or 5 births.

Were these results immediately accepted in the 1950s and early 1960s? Goubert was not a pure demographer, as he put it himself (Goubert 1984: 13), and he received many comments and critics, first of all from professional demographers and historians.

Goubert, the Annales and the post-World War II international research community

The publication of *Beauvais and Beauvaisis* was certainly an event in the world of French historians of the early 1960s. The congratulations which came to the author were many, but some negative comments had also been expressed before his main book was out of press, as Robert Harding recalled in a very interesting overview written for *History and Theory*, after the EHESS reprinted the masterpiece in 1982 (Harding 1983). Just after Goubert's doctoral defence, Marcel Reinhard, Professor at the Sorbonne – who had been chairing the panel – published a detailed article in form of a long summary of Goubert's thesis in *Population* (1958), focusing on demographic results, being critical on many points, and reviving the previous methodological debate that had taken place between Pierre Goubert and Louis Henry in the early 1950s (Henry 1953, Goubert 1952, 1954).

In 1953, Louis Henry, a demographer from INED, published a critical article entitled « Une richesse démographique en friche: les registres paroissiaux », in *Population,* reacting to the article that Goubert had published in the *Annales*, under the title "In Beauvaisis: 17th Century demographic problems" (Goubert 1952, Henry 1953). Goubert replied in detail to Henry by an article in *Annales* entitled: « Une richesse historique en cours d'exploitation. Les registres paroissiaux » (Goubert 1954).

It must be stressed that Pierre Goubert had a long experience of local archives and had chosen his field study in 1944, long before Louis Henry conceived his method on how to collect life events in parish registers and how to analyze them statistically. Henry was then thinking of preparing a guide explaining how to handle parish registers in order to study the demography of past populations, this in collaboration with an eminent archivist of the *Archives Nationales* in Paris, a historian, Michel Fleury, who had some knowledge of these documents (Fleury and Henry 1956).

In the present essay, we must stress that Pierre Goubert had been working beautifully on parish registers in his own way, as an inspired historian, much before Louis Henry forged his concept of "family reconstitution" sometime in 1954.

Louis Henry's "family reconstitution" concept appeared only in 1954

According to Michel Terrisse, who later reproduced a model of a Swedish family form (*familjeregisterkort*) used by Hannes Hyrenius, a Swedish scholar (Terrisse 1975: 146), Louis Henry established some family reconstitution draft forms in 1954 (Le Mée 1995). This was after his debate with Goubert. During World War II, in 1942, the Swedish demographer Hannes Hyrenius published a study presenting a collection of basic data concerning a Swedish minority group in Estonia, repatriated after the Soviet occupation of 1940 (Hyrenius 1942, Terrisse 1975). The data consisted of individual cards and collective schedules drawn up by pastors in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Results concerned nuptiality, age-specific fertility and parity-progression ratios, and gave some information on "non-contraceptive fertility", although complete absence of birth control was not proved. Hyrenius' family reconstitution concerning 2,907 unions made it possible to measure a fertility decreasing trend between 1840 and 1937, which was slighter than in Sweden of the time.

Henry was very much interested by Hannes Hyrenius' work when he discovered it: he published immediately a brief note in *Population* (1959), after reading the article published in English by this Swedish demographer (Hyrenius 1958). In January 1959, Henry made contact with Hyrenius, inviting him to INED in Paris (Rosental 2003) to discuss fertility behaviour and methodology. The success of Louis Henry's method, with his FRF (*Family Reconstitution Form*), in the context of the late 1950s and 1960s, has been analysed from various points of view.[14] Personally, I attended Louis Henry's weekly seminars at the 4th Section of *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, in 1967, 1968 and 1969, which took place at the Sorbonne and attracted French speaking researchers from Canada or Latin America. I appreciated his extraordinary statistical rigor and pedagogical capacities: without the Fleury and Henry *Manuel* (1956) historical demography could not have developed so easily, at least in France.[15] But we should reconstruct the academic context and what was at stake after World War II.

Historical demography in the line of the 9th CISH Congress in Paris, 1950

Goubert was a man of dialogue and exchanges and, all his life he maintained contacts with foreign colleagues. This was already a must anyway since he was involved with the *Annales* group, as mentioned above. He, therefore, participated in the international networks of the time, through the editorial work of this journal, international meetings, conferences, seminars and visits.

In 1950, he was a delegate to the 9th *Comité International des Sciences Historiques*/CISH Congress taking place in Paris at the Sorbonne, from 28 August to 3 September 1950, where he could talk with well-known historians from all over the world, as can be seen from the impressive published list of participants (*Comité International des Sciences Historiques*/CISH 1951: 299-324). This was a considerable post-war event for the international community of historians (Pinwinkler 2008). It is noticeable that Charles Morazé, an eminent member of the *Annales* team and of the young EPHE/ 6th Section, was then also the General Secretary of the CISH and was consequently responsible for the choice of the publisher for the *Proceedings* of the Paris 1950 summer event. Armand Colin was publishing the famous *Annales* journal and Morazé (who was very close to Fernand Braudel) was consequently in charge for this other publication. It is noticeable that several sessions were devoted to historical

[14] Paul-André Rosental studied the development of the French particular interest in history of populations during the period 1930-1960, and its political origins (Rosental 1997, 2003). The role of Alexis Carrel during the World War II and the INED origins were put into light. For more on Louis Henry, see Isabelle Seguy's contribution in Fauve-Chamoux, Bolovan and Sogner, forthcoming.

[15] The number of local *monographies* using family reconstitution methods in France, between 1960 and the mid-1980s, was estimated to 500 by René Le Mée, archivist and researcher at the *Centre de Recherches Historiques*, EHESS, including published and non-published dissertations, masters and other studies (Le Mée 1995).

demography during this Paris 1950 CISH congress, as Morazé commented in his conclusion to the CISH *Proceedings* (Morazé 1951: 285).

During this 9th CISH Congress, Paris, 1950**,** a total of five sessions were dedicated to historical demography! All reports and discussions were published in the main CISH *Proceedings*, in 2 volumes (Comité International des Sciences Historiques/CISH 1951, Bourdon 1950, 1951). In a note in *Population*, 1951, Jean Bourdon expressed his willingness to be an active president of what he called the *Commission* ***internationale*** *de Démographie Historique* born in his presence, more than twenty years before, in the frame of the CISH, and baptised *Commission de démographie historique comparée* (Commission of Historical Comparative Demography) at the CISH 6th International Congress in Oslo, 1928.[16] Bourdon reported that the French "national" section of this Commission just met twice, on 6 and 9 April 1951, Paris, discussing particularly Jean Meuvret's thesis on subsistance crisis and Pierre Goubert must have been part of it.

Louis Henry and the INED Coup d'Etat on Historical Demography (1953)

What happened soon after the reports following the 1950 9th CISH Congress in Paris is an astonishing *coup d'état*, apparently due to a quasi-military successful strategy conducted quickly and professionally by Louis Henry, taking full control of the development of historical demography at INED.[17] This must have taken Jean Bourdon by total surprise: a new French group was created without him, officially called "Sous-section française de Démographie historique", but immediately renamed "Sous-commission" française de démographie historique", as we saw above, placed theoretically under the simple umbrella of the "French CISH section" (usually called "French National Committee of Historical Sciences"). This new "section" or team was in no way "International", but it left Bourdon, president of the pre-*Commission internationale de Démographie Historique*, totally and definitely isolated and penniless in his own country, France.

[16] For the history of this early *Commission internationale de Démographie Historique*, see Fauve-Chamoux, Bolovan and Sogner, forthcoming. The present *International Commission of Historical Demography* (ICHD/CIDH) was created in 1960, within the International Committee for Historical Sciences (CISH), at its General Assembly in Stockholm, during the 11th International CISH Congress. Louis Henry gave there a brilliant formal presentation of the methods of Historical Demography and its potential developments.

[17] It cannot be a coincidence that Louis Henry's main 1953 critical article of Goubert's work was published in the same issue of *Population* as the one where the "French sous-section" was announced by Jean Bourdon.

That way, Henry could develop his methodology, publish guidebooks and handle all his national plans with the help of the INED and in proper polite connection with prominent historians belonging to powerful and well financed institutions, providing perfectly trained collaborators and well paid or volunteering devoted hands in the archives.[18] Bourdon's *chant du cygne* was his publication of two rather marginal papers in *Population*, 1953 (Bourdon 1953a, 1953b). After this, he fully disappeared from INED journal, but seems to have remained active at the *Société de Statistique de Paris*.[19]

Goubert and the French Sous-Commission of Historical Demography

Lucien Febvre, respected historian and member of the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques,*[20] President of the French National CISH section, clearly favoured the birth of the "sous-section française" group based at the INED, in 1953. Louis Chevalier was president of the newly created group, "Sous-section française de Démographie historique", immediately re-baptised "Sous-Commission française de démographie historique" which had two main objectives:[21]

1) to establish relationships between historians and technicians of demography
2) to prepare French reports to be discussed at the forthcoming 10th CISH Congress in Rome.

In the first Board, Louis Henry was a vice president, with Marcel Reinhard, and Pierre Goubert was Secretary. We shall see how this 1953 event opened the road to the *Société de Démographie Historique*, while putting the

[18] Henry's astonishing military tactic in order to eliminate historians like the old Bourdon appears in the line described by Seguy (Fauve-Chamoux, Bolovan and Sogner, forthcoming), given what I could learn about the early stages of the *International Commission for Historical Demography* as traced above. Henry considered Bourdon as poorly apt to handle statistics. Bourdon was in his eyes more or less a self-made man: Bourdon was not an *ancient élève* of a *grande école*, had no prestigious professorship, was not a member of the College de France nor a member of the *Institut* (*Académie des Sciences morales et politiques*).

[19] According to Isabelle Seguy (forthcoming), Bourdon dared to contradict Louis Henry at a meeting of the *Société de Statistique de Paris* in 1958. Louis Henry mentioned only the opinion of an anonymous historian (Henry 1973: 345: "un historien a mis en doute"). Le Mée affirmed that this "historian" was Jean Bourdon, but did not give the source of his identification (Le Mée 1995: 1476). His source of information could be the Proceedings of the published debates of the *Société de Statistique de Paris*, or some other testimony. In 1958 Bourdon was already aged 69. The end of his life, up to now, is rather obscure and we do not know when he died.

[20] Jean Bourdon never succeeded in being elected by the famous company of scholars, after he gave a presentation in 1938.

[21] Anyway the two objectives appear clearly as the core of its necessary Constitution and served as a Call for papers for the 10th CISH Congress scheduled in Rome, 1955.

International Commission for Historical Demography quite aside for a time, at least in France, even if Louis Chevalier had expressed some interest in Bourdon's work. The activities of the *Commission (Internationale) de Démographie Historique (comparée)* during the 10th CISH Congress, Rome 1955, will be further explored, as the growing role of the *International Union for the Scientific Study of Population*/IUSSP, which had been created in Paris, 1928 (Bunle and Levy 1954: 19).[22]

In 1955, Rome, Goubert was present, at the following 10th CISH Congress, three years before defending his doctoral thesis. Once the *Beauvaisis* was published, with Marcel Reinhard and some others, as Jacques Dupâquier, Goubert was closely involved in the foundation of the *Société de Démographie Historique*.

Goubert President of the Société de démographie historique (SDH) 1965-1968

The *Société de démographie historique* (SDH) was founded in March 1963 (a month before the Liège mortality conference (Harsin and Hélin 1965)[23], where Goubert was active as General Secretary of this non-profit French association. The first President was the historian Marcel Reinhard, Professor at the Sorbonne and editor with André Armengaud of the *Histoire générale de la population mondiale* (1961) (Dupâquier 1973). The role of Marcel Reinhard, not to be forgotten, was a crucial one in connecting historians from universities and demographers from INED and other institutions. He gave talks in Oxford and Belgium (Reinhard 1950a and 1950b).

This institution, the SDH, an association regulated according to 1901 French legislation, was particularly needed after the 11th CISH Congress in Stockholm (1960), where the French economic historian Ernest Labrousse – who had directed Goubert's PhD thesis − asked Reinhard to prepare a general report of the demographic situation of Europe in 1815, to be presented in 1965 at 12th CISH Congress in Vienna. This was a heavy commitment, given his multiple activities and teaching, this is why the French papers at the 1963 *International Commission for Historical Demography* (ICHD) Congress on mortality, organised by Paul Harsin in Liège, were put in the hands of a "remodelled" French team composed of Philippe Aries, André Armengaud, Jean-Noël Biraben, Jean Glenisson, Marcel Godechot, Pierre Goubert and Louis Henry, forming a "sous-commission" (Dupâquier 1973: 8), a group already existing

[22] For Italy, see Eugenio Sonnino and Lucia Pozzi chapter in Fauve-Chamoux, Bolovan and Sogner, forthcoming.

[23] Goubert was one of the 49 participants to this large 1963 Liège Mortality Conference (Harsin and Helin 1965).

(Dupâquier forgets to explain that this was just part of the CISH French national Committee section).[24] Reinhard was the first President of the *Société de Démographie Historique*, but soon gave this responsibility to Pierre Goubert, so that he could dedicate more of his time to his work for the Vienna Congress.

Thanks to his good contact with the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS), Marcel Reinhard managed to rise enough funding for launching a periodical, initially called *Etudes et Chronique de Démographie Historique* (1964 volume)[25], immediately after baptised *Annales de Démographie Historique*. The first part of Reinhard's report at CISH Vienna Congress, 1965, was published by CISH as a "Grand theme" (Reinhard 1965a), the second part, was included in the second volume of the *Annales de Démographie Historique* (Reinhard 1965c), as well as other contributions to the ICHD Vienna session. But the interesting discussions of the main theme were published by CISH.

Participants to those main ICHD meetings of 1963 and 1965 were encouraged to join the *Société de Démographie Historique*, as was Sølvi Sogner (Norway). This explains why this French association counted 100 members in 1965, 200 members in 1967 and 242 in 1970, with about a quarter foreign members from all over the world. The SDH was, at this time, an active member of the French *Comité National des Sciences Historiques*.

As President of the SDH, Goubert was active with interventions in Vienna, 12th CISH international Congress, 1965. Unfortunately the session organized by the International Commission of Historical Demography on migrations was not considered very successful, as Reinhard also reported in the *Annales de Démographie Historique* (Reinhard 1966). An American colleague who was in charge of the report did not come and what he sent to the president of the Commission, Paul Harsin, appeared of very poor interest to Goubert, who applied his usual critical analysis on the text, and showed "surprising shortcomings both in the method of the findings and rejected the paper" (Reinhard 1965b: 182). We learn, by reading the words of introduction to the session presented by the organizer, professor Ştefan Pascu (Cluj, România) – who will later become President of the *International Commission of Historical Demography* (CIDH) from 1975 to 1985 and Rector of Cluj University – that

[24] As explained above, this *Sous-commission française de démographie historique*, initiated by Lucien Febvre, then President of the French national Committee of Historical Sciences – called also *Section française du CISH* (Bunle & Levy 1954: 30), appears in 1953 (Le Mée 1995: 1479).

[25] The Introduction to this volume was written by André Armengaud and Marcel Reinhard: "The Société de Démographie Historique prepares a report of the demographic state of Europe for the coming CISH Vienna Congress, 1965" (*Annales de Démographie Historique* 1964: 6). Marcel Reinhard and André Armengaud had previously published jointly in Paris an edited volume entitled *Histoire générale de la population mondiale* (Reinhard and Armengaud 1961).

this contested report was "on the 'New World' and particularly on North America" and was by Krause (Pascu 1965: 422).

> *"P. Goubert (Rennes) regrets that Mr. Krause's report came so late and is so general. It is regrettable that this author presents evident truths and assertions without any serious evidence. He hopes that the next symposium of historical demographers will be able to focus on specific and well-defined subjects and will be carefully prepared"* (Goubert 1965b: 426).

Some tensions between Pascu and Goubert may have followed this serious incident. The work of Pierre Goubert was not disseminated in Romania as it has been in most of other European countries. This may be due mostly to the difficult situation in this country under the communist regime, because Pascu referred in his writings to Goubert's books in detail[26]. Goubert did not participate in any further events organized by Ştefan Pascu in Romania or abroad, except for his participation in the Moscow CISH Congress in August 1970 where his joint report with Jean Meyer was not in the frame of historical demography (see below). But Pascu was a member of the *Société de Démographie Historique* (SDH) and as such he received all its publications, and he organized beautifully the 15th CISH Congress in Bucarest in August 1980. So we may interpret as words of nostalgia what Pascu said, at the CIDH meeting, when, in his report, citing Goubert's contribution to the SDH *Festschrift* offered by his friends and colleagues to Marcel Reinhard, at the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the *Société de Démographie Historique*[27] (Goubert 1973d). Pascu said (in French):

> *"Pierre Goubert's metaphor concerning how certain disciplines separated themselves from the field of history as did demography among others, but managed –simultaneously– to branch out in order to keep a link with their trunk, is very suggestive."* (Pascu 1980b: 319).

We understand that Goubert, as President of the *Société de Démographie Historique*, was very nervous and angry (as he could sometimes be) with the situation he experienced at CISH Vienna, given the distinguished international

[26] Up to 1990, Goubert's books seem to have been mostly consulted out of Romania, and none of them were translated into Romanian language. In Cluj academic library, among books published before 1990, where Goubert appears as author, we only find Braudel and Labrousse 1970. This is probably the very copy (vol. II) cited precisely by professor Ştefan Pascu (Pascu 1980b: 298, note 6, Braudel and Labrousse 1970), referring to the first of Goubert's contributions to volume 2 (Goubert 1970b: 21). Maybe Pascu also had a personal copy of Goubert's *Clio parmi les hommes*, 1976 (which is not in Cluj libraries) because he cited also this book, but without a page reference (Pascu 1980b: 300, note 13).

[27] The *Société de Démographie Historique* Tenth Anniversary event was celebrated at the Sénat, in Paris. It was reported, with some of the other interventions, in the SDH newsletter, *Bulletin DH*, 1973, special n° 8 bis.

audience in the room. But the relative session failure of the CIDH session on migration, in 1965, was due, in our opinion, not only to the poor content of Krause's report but also to the lack of communication and the fact that some papers sent by participants, by mail, to Paul Harsin (Liège) never arrived. We see in the proceedings that A. J. Taylor (Leeds, UK) anyway shared Goubert's opinion on the weakness of the proposed report[28]. Pierre Chaunu, who was then professor in Normandy, Caen University was a participant and presented the state of the research concerning Spanish migration to Latin America (Chaunu 1965: 423-424).

By contrast, Goubert had been extremely satisfied with a first class session, organized by David Eversley, mostly taking place in English, on which he reported in the same *Annales de Démographie Historique* 1966 volume. Some days before Vienna, in August of the same summer 1965, the *3rd International Conference of Economic History* took place in Munich (Goubert 1966b: 183-184). It was dedicated to "Economic growth and demographic growth". Goubert was impressed by the quality of the papers, particularly from Eastern Europe: young Czech and Polish colleagues presented excellent contributions and team work.

At the same time, Pierre Goubert participated in various seminars and conferences organized by European universities. In the present issue, talking about the first conference of Methodology Applied to Historical Sciences (*I Jornadas de Metodología Aplicada de las Ciencias Históricas*), taking place at Compostela (1973), both Antonio Eiras Roel and Ofelia Rey Castelao recall, from different points of view, how important was the presence of French colleagues, and particularly Pierre Goubert, for the development of historical research at the University of Saint-Jacques de Compostela, and for Spanish historiography in general. Other meetings may be mentioned, in Switzerland (*Rencontres franco-suisses d'histoire*), Italy and Belgium (Spa and Liège). In 1963, Goubert was appreciated at the large conference on mortality organized by Paul Harsin and Etienne Hélin.

Appointed to the Sorbonne in 1969, retired in 1978, Pierre Goubert not only travelled to conferences, but he travelled to give invited lectures or courses, and not only in Europe (Goubert 1996). He was invited to USA at

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[28] "I think that Krause, in his contribution, has minimized the significance of the 17th Century. As professor R. Denis has shown, this was a period of commercial revolution in England, distinguished by the large growth of the entrepôt trade. This was a major stimulus to the mondialisation of the following century. This suggests the need of a somewhat more sophisticated approach to the problem of migration and economic growth than is presented by professor Krause's present paper – but no doubt this is a point with which Krause, himself, were he here, would agree". (Taylor 1965: 427).

Princeton University and New Orleans, and in Canada at least at Montreal, Kingston, Toronto.[29] He went to Mexico, where the second volume of *L'Ancien Régime,* dedicated to powers, was published in Spanish (1979). Professor Hiroyuki Ninomiya hosted Goubert at the University of Tokyo, where Akira Hayami−who founded historical demography in Japan− remembers how proud he was to meet Goubert and to invite him for a meal at his home. Pierre Goubert went twice to Côte d'Ivoire, beginning 1971, to deliver a course of early modern History at the University of Abidjan (Goubert 1996: 225). At Antananarivo, in 1979, he even provided a full six weeks course at the University of Madagascar.

Further impacts of Goubert's writings and approach

According to Eiras Roel and Ofelia Rey, the influence of Pierre Goubert was a major one among young Spanish historians, the *Beauvaisis* having served as a model for regional thesis of rural history for long. If few copies of the first edition (1960) had been available, the shortened version published by Flammarion in 1968 under the title "A hundred thousand seventeenth century provincials" was very well known and received. At least, reprints of Goubert's *Beauvaisis* book (1982) may be found in most Spanish university library catalogues. Before 1982, the book was known by the Spanish historians who had studied in France. Whatever the edition, the model of analysis presented in the *Beauvaisis* has deeply attracted Spanish historians of Early Modern History or Economic History and they wanted to compare their results with those of Goubert.

Ofelia Rey, in her contribution to the present issue, mentions also the importance of the historical debate on orders and classes that took place during successive conferences held at Saint-Cloud. Goubert was active in the discussions, taking position against Roland Mousnier (this was not new, as we understand from Cocula's contribution in the present issue). Goubert stressed "the myth of the three orders" and introduced the debate in his introductory words, as follows:

> *"Some said that the Ancien Régime was not only a society of orders, or a class society or a caste society (these are simplistic labels that deplete the real)."* (Goubert, in Mandrou et al. 1961).

Louis Henry succeeded Goubert as President of the *Société de Démographie Historique* (SDH). In Moscow, 13th CISH international Congress in August 1970, Goubert presented a major report on the problems of the nobility during

[29] At Princeton, Goubert saw Lawrence Stone, Robert Darnton and Steven Kaplan. In Toronto, he met Natalie Zemon Davies.

the seventeenth century, with Jean Meyer (Goubert and Meyer 1970). Goubert remained member of the SDH group for some years, but withdrew from active participation. He did not come to the important Historical Demography meeting that Pascu organized in Cluj in September 1977.[30] (Pascu 1980a) He used to say:

> "*I quit Historical Demography in 1970, when there were followers*" (Goubert 1984: 12).

He wanted to write for a larger public and, as Harding put it wisely, speaking of the *Beauvaisis*:

> *"Le Roy Ladurie studied the peasants without the towns, and Pierre Deyon studied a town without its hinterland, but Goubert did not think one could be understood without the other."* (Harding 1983: 184).[31]

After 1970, Goubert wrote, in a way, keeping in mind Braudel's criticism of Beauvaisis (Braudel 1963), and at the same time, looking for a non-professional readership. He used his pen as a tool for the building of a "total" history.

Fernand Braudel reviewing *Beauvaisis: beyond space and time*

Pierre Deyon, writing on the history of Amiens, a city not far from Beauvais, expressed that his major ambition had been to write "a total history" (Deyon 1967). For Braudel, this could be done through the studies of regions, towns or countryside as soon as the author was putting his observation in a general perspective, beyond space and time. In his review of the *Beauvaisis*, Fernand Braudel was apparently not satisfied: he described Goubert as looking for a "needle in a haystack" (Braudel 1963: 767), quite a harsh comment! It seems that Goubert, after 1970, spent the rest of his life answering Braudel who found Goubert's research space too small, limiting his study to the 17th Century.

> *"The Beauvaisis is both too narrow for the success of a macroscopic study, that would be squeezed in its 200,000 hectares of arable land, and it is too large for an exhaustive study of micro-history."* (Braudel 1963: 771).

Nevertheless, the friendship and intellectual connivance lasted for ever between Braudel and Goubert who told:

> "*my last great memory* [of Braudel] *was a long conversation on the side-walk in front of the Luxembourg. Maybe an hour, one of the most beautiful of my life".* (Goubert 1976).

Braudel considered that:

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[30] See Ioan Bolovan's chapter "Half a Century of Historical Demography in Romania (1960-2010)" in Fauve-Chamoux, Bolovan and Sogner, forthcoming.

[31] Referring to Le Roy Ladurie 1969 and Deyon 1967.

> "*Goubert tries an extensive triangulation of seventeenth-century France. He traces sketches with talent and boldness"* but Braudel did not want *"an army of young French historians to engage in the kind of the same business that the disciples of the prestigious Paul Vidal de La Blache realized: studying the various regions of the French mosaic, one after another: the frame of the research should not be the bailiwick, the country or the region, or even the department (for more recent periods), but it should be the problem. Lucien Febvre never stopped saying this. And the only complaint, in truth, I address to the beautiful book by Pierre Goubert, is not to express perfectly the problem".* (Braudel 1963: 777-778).

E.A. Wrigley, with his article in the present volume, explains how the links between history and geography were often viewed differently in France and Britain, given differences in school systems. He notes, in Goubert's *Beauvaisis*, that:*"the interplay between the people and their environment is a recurring theme throughout the book*." Wrigley proposes a fascinating parallel "*between the argument voiced by Malthus and writings of historians of French regions such as Goubert and Paul Vidal de La Blache*", stressing "*the fact that in both cases the world soon changed in ways that made their approaches increasingly inappropriate to the issues they addressed*."

We should keep in mind that, later in life, Fernand Braudel, especially in *Identité de la France* (1986), discussed the relationship between center and periphery. My master, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie also contributed to this question in his book *L'histoire de France des régions* (2000), where he inserts regional identities in a *longue durée* historical perspective, tracing for each entity –the Alsace, Brittany, Corsica, etc.–the long history of negotiations with the royal power of the Ancien Régime and the Empire, and successive republican governments.

In this line, we could mention Peter Sahlins (1989) who has shown the formation of national feeling in the peasant communities of Cerdanya – on both sides of the Pyrenees – and in both cases, before any influence from state policy.

Goubert from Beauvais to Global History

Basically, Goubert quit historical demography when the *Annales* changed and launched a "new history." The French historiography experienced two periods since the Second World War (Lepetit 1995: 11). The first period, mainly around Fernand Braudel and Ernest Labrousse, associated macro-economic approach, the study of social structures, the joint analysis of secular trends and "short" term situations, otherwise, *conjonctures*. Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora started the second period, the *Nouvelles Annales*, with their three collective volumes *Faire de l'histoire* (1974). New objects were considered, that were previously outside the scope of History, as body questions, sexuality, table manners, language, myths, etc. This new trend was close to anthropology, but some fragmentation of research resulted. Pierre Goubert's entire work seems located on both sides of this major turning point. He remained an independent historian. He wrote and taught the History he wanted. He did not participate as such in the new *Annales* movement with theories and debates but by his everyday approach, teaching, writing and publishing with a large visibility in the world of knowledge, as can attest the list of references below. Many of his books were translated–*L'Ancien Régime*, 2 volumes, *La vie quotidienne*, *Initiation à l'histoire de la France*, *Mazarin*, but never the *Beauvaisis* even in its 1968 shortened edition–in English, Spanish (in Spain, Argentina and Mexico), Italian, German, Russian and Korean, at least.

In the early 1960s, Pierre Goubert's *Beauvaisis* was considered as a brilliant illustration of Economic History as this discipline was taught in France and practiced by Ernest Labrousse, a master to whom the author dedicated this book. But, mainly, the *Beauvaisis* marked the brilliant entry of Historical Demography in the field of History, and this before the first path breaking article of John Hajnal on the "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective" (1965) and before the technique of family reconstitutions, as defined by Louis Henry, was largely disseminated in France (Fleury and Henry 1956). Parish registers were considered a quantitative source, constituting a gold mine from which surprising realities emerged, enlightening the way past populations of Ancien Régime, as seen through real individuals and families, behaved and managed to survive. Taking advantage of local historical sources, Pierre Goubert gave life to humble men, women and children from the Beauvais region, town and countryside, at the time of Louis XIII and Louis XIV.

> *"This regional study aims to contribute to social history. It is a project and a specific approach much more than firmly established science. I just felt the desire and almost the need to be interested in all men, not just those who shone by their birth, their status, their function, their wealth or their intelligence."* (Goubert 1968a).

Half a century later, we can appreciate that not only the author succeeded in his main ambition for his *Beauvaisis* book (Goubert 1960), but that he reached a large readership. As Fernand Braudel put it in one of his last writings, "history is not only the study of the past but also the study of the present" (Braudel 1997: 167). The historian must also be able to trace portraits, life stories; placing monographs in a long perspective, for better understanding our own world. For sure, this was done extremely well in 1975, by my master, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, village Occitan from 1294 to 1324*, a book translated into multiple languages and quite familiar to students of history on the planet at the end of the twentieth century.

Pierre Goubert said, commenting his life course and deliberate career choices:

"I quit Historical Demography in 1970, when there were followers" (Goubert 1984: 12).

We should recognize that, with instinct, Goubert paved the way to Global History: he succeeded to get rid of the ecstasy of archives−a dangerous paralyzing illness for some historians, as Jean Meuvret himself recognized, who ironically was the one who pushed Goubert to sit and write.[32] Goubert taught and published with talent both for an academic and a large public, using simple words and clear methodological advices for future researchers.

And Fernand Braudel was probably somewhat jealous, with the premonition that he was losing one of his potential heirs:

> *"Pierre Goubert has the meaning of life; he tells a History that recreates life. Beauvais and the Beauvaisis surely dazzle and amaze; we are seduced because of the obvious author's talent, his humanism, his way of seeing and being seen."* (Braudel 1963: 777).

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[32] Jean Meuvret, *Le problème des subsistances à l'époque Louis XIV. La production des céréales dans la France du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècle*. Paris-La Haye, EHESS/Mouton, 1977-1988 (6 vols), was published posthumously, thanks in particular to Jean-Paul Desaive, and the book represents only a part of unpublished manuscripts that Meuvret (1901-1971) left when he died. He was a fellow at the Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENS, rue d'Ulm) and, beginning 1951, hold a famous research seminar as Directeur d'Etudes at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 6th section.

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The Region as a Unit of Study; History and Geography in Harmony

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Abstract. The existence of an intimate linkage between a regional society and its physical environment was a constant theme of much French historical writing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a feature exemplified in the work of Pierre Goubert and Paul Vidal de la Blache. In societies in which the great bulk of the population was rural, agriculture was by far the most important industry, and transport costs were unavoidably high, it was natural to approach the understanding of social and economic life in this manner. As de la Blache showed in *La France de l'Est*, however, the industrial revolution involved changes which rendered the assumptions underlying regional studies invalid. A new and different unit of study was needed. There are instructive similarities between the difficulties produced by the advent of the industrial revolution for French regional history and the comparable difficulties which it produced for the assumptions of the classical economists in Britain. Several of their key assumptions proved untenable as the industrial revolution gathered momentum.

Keywords: Region, pre-industrial world, industrial revolution, appropriate unit of study

Although a given academic discipline may have the same name in two different countries it does not always carry the same connotation. For example, because the great majority of economic historians in the United States have trained as economists whereas many economic historians in Britain were initially historians, their interests and methods often differ. Similarly, the links between history and geography were often viewed differently in France and Britain in the twentieth century. A striking illustration of the nature of this difference may be found in the fact that the bulk of the first volume of Ernest Lavisse's multi-volume *Histoire de la France*, published in the second decade of the century, was written by Paul Vidal de la Blache, a geographer (Lavisse 1900). If a similar enterprise had been undertaken in Britain at that time it is most unlikely that the first volume would have been written by any but an historian.

An appreciation of the intimate connection between a society and its physical environment was fundamental to much French historical writing in a manner and to a degree that was uncommon on the other side of the Channel. Pierre Goubert's *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730* was subtitled 'Contribution to the social history of France in the seventeenth century' and appeared in a series devoted to 'Demography and Societies' but the interplay between the people and their environment is a recurring theme throughout the book. The region's history and geography are vital both to the understanding of *Structures* which is the subject of the first half the book and to the description and analysis of *Conjonctures* to which the second half of the book is devoted.

The contrast between French and British practice among historians and geographers in examining the linkage of societies and their environments, like the contrast between British and American economic historians in their understanding of their subject, may have been due in part to differences in their earlier education. Geography formed part of the intellectual upbringing of French historians to a degree which was uncommon in Britain. There is, however, an aspect of this contrast which may also help to explain it which can be illustrated from the writings of Goubert and Vidal de la Blache. This topic provides the subject matter of this essay.

In many respects the two men shared a similar vision of the nature of the intimate links between a society and its environment within a region or a *pays*. The society was 'local' in the sense that the bulk of the materials used as food, to construct dwelling places, and to provide fuel were of local origin. The dominant economic activity was agriculture. Each region might conduct trade in a limited range of commodities with other regions but the overwhelming bulk of the material goods which sustained life were locally produced. In consequence there were often regional foods and dishes, agricultural tools and practices, architectural styles, speech patterns, and so on. Vidal traced the history of Alsace and Lorraine over a span of almost two millennia (Vidal 1917). There was much change and fluctuation during this period reflecting the impact of war, political upheaval, rebellion, and demographic crises but it was change within a continuing dialectic of man and land, the elaboration of a pattern set by the exigencies of life and soil. To bring home to his readers what he had in mind in drawing attention to the enduring nature of regional life, Vidal made use of an arresting image. The surface of a pond, he wrote, may be disturbed by a passing breeze so that the watcher can no longer see through the water to the bottom of the pond, but when the wind dies down and the surface of the water is once more calm the contours of the bottom of the pond will again become visible and will prove to have been unmoved by the temporary disturbance at the surface (Vidal 1911: 386).

This vision of the essential nature of a region which can survive the vicissitudes both of social and political change and of climatic and other natural hazards also underlies Goubert's treatment of the history of the Beauvaisis. The timescale of this study was, however, much briefer, covering only the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. He depicts a society in which the vast majority of the population rarely entered the market either to buy or sell: 'Their purchases and sales were confined to a minimum: selling a calf, paying tax or rent.' (Goubert 1960: 139). Beauvais, the principal town, helped to provide a social and economic focus for the whole region and linked it to other regions of France and to the capital but without disturbing the fundamental features of social and economic life. Indeed, the absence of radical change was as evident in the town of Beauvais as in the region as a whole. After describing its twisting streets, tottering wooden buildings, and distinctive odours, he added 'A peu de chose près, la ville de 1940 était la ville du XVIIe siècle' (Goubert 1960: 229)

Although both men painted a picture of a steady persistence of basic regional patterns and structures over decades and centuries, in one respect there is a striking difference between *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis* and *La France de l'Est*, arising from the periods covered in the two studies. Goubert's monograph described a relatively brief period of less than two centuries, whereas Vidal covered two millennia in his depiction of the history of Alsace and Lorraine.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Vidal's pond was exposed to a storm radically different from any previous disturbance, a period of change which no longer left the contours of the bottom of the pond unchanged. On the contrary the contours were transformed. In Alsace a modern cotton industry was established housed in factories rather than cottages. The population of the town of Mulhouse began to expand rapidly. Patterns of economic activity were developing which no longer conformed to ageless regional norms. Contact with other regions was reshaping local life. The advent of the steam-engine and the development of railway networks meant the emergence of a new order. Vidal regretted its arrival but recognised its significance. He even suggested a symbolic date for the advent of the new order, 1846, when the marked divergence in population trends between the industrial arrondissements in Alsace and the arrondissements in the region which remained rural and agricultural foreshadowed a very different future. The waters of the pond were exposed to something for which there was no earlier equivalent (Vidal 1917: 126). Vidal considered that much that was best in the life of France was linked to the range and balance of its regional communities. The moral qualities of rural life were valuable and their decay and eventual disappearance was a cause for alarm, but he did not doubt that the changes which had occurred were irreversible and that their description and analysis would require a different geographical frame of reference which recognised, for example, the increasing importance of regional specialisation, the rising volume of long-distance trade, and the structuring of much economic activity through the functioning of urban hierarchies in many aspects of economic and social life.

In considering the importance of regional studies such as those by Goubert and Vidal de la Blache in the writings about the social and economic history of France in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries and the relative unimportance of such studies in English history, the very different histories of the two countries should be borne in mind. The feasibility of studies such as *Beauvaisis* depended on the continued existence of rural societies in which agriculture was the dominant industry. Intimate and largely unchanging links between a society and its environment could exist only when the great bulk of the population lived and worked on the land. Occupational structures therefore provide a clue to the likelihood that a situation like that which Goubert described in the Beauvaisis will arise and become established.

In England the proportion of the male labour force working on the land had already fallen to one half by the beginning of the eighteenth century and to one third a century later (Shaw-Taylor and Wrigley, forthcoming). In France the comparable figures were much higher. Even as late as 1856, 53 per cent of the national French male labour force was engaged in agriculture (Mitchell 1981: 163); in many regions it was far higher. The national percentage before the Revolution was substantially higher, probably double the English figure of the period. One important reason for this contrast lay in the strikingly different patterns of urban growth in the two countries. The proportion of the French population living in towns with a population of 5,000 or more was 8.7 per cent in 1600 and had grown only modestly by 1800 when it was 11.1 percent. In contrast the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a period of exceptionally rapid urban growth in England: the comparable percentages were 8.25 and 27.5 (Wrigley 1987: 162, 184-185). Urban growth was so rapid in England, indeed, that during the seventeenth century a third of all the urban growth in Europe as a whole took place in England, and in the second half of the eighteenth century this figure rose to the extraordinary level of 70 per cent (Wrigley 1987: 177). Urban growth on this scale was accompanied by a major expansion in the urban demand for agricultural products and a parallel increase in the volume of traffic in agricultural goods, much of it by road (England remained broadly self-sufficient in food, apart from tropical products such as sugar and tea until the end of the eighteenth century (Overton 1996: 75)). The maintenance of an unchanging pattern of rural life, such as the Beauvaisis experienced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was unlikely in such circumstances.

In very general terms the reason for the change which undermined the integrity of regional life was the occurrence of the industrial revolution, a vast and vastly complex transformation. One aspect of the transformation which has a special relevance to the disappearance of the old certainties of regional life was the revolutionary change in transport facilities. Focusing on this aspect of the wider changes is a convenient way of illustrating the contrast between economy and society before and after the industrial revolution.

Economic activity in all societies in which agriculture was paramount was necessarily widely dispersed given the nature of farming. It was *areal* in nature. Production was spread thinly and relatively evenly over the bulk of the land surface of a region (excluding from consideration land which was too high or too steep to encourage vegetable growth or allow cultivation). This in turn meant that the transport network was dendritic in character, a vast web of links of which the great majority carried very little traffic. In these circumstances large-scale investment in constructing good roads and maintaining road surfaces in good condition made little sense, since the potential savings depended on traffic volume. If the volume was low, the return on investment would be too small to repay significant expenditure. In contrast where production and/or consumption was *punctiform*, where a substantial proportion of the population lived in towns and cities, or where coal or other minerals were mined on a large scale, investment in the improvement of transport facilities with an associated fall in transport costs could bring returns which fully justified the capital expended. Regions such as the Beauvaisis or Alsace and Lorraine before the industrial revolution were essentially 'areal' in their economic constitution and this characteristic severely constrained the possibility of transport improvement. Overland transport depended primarily on packhorses or horse-drawn carts. Road surfaces were poor, rutted in summer and muddy in winter, the movement of goods was slow and expensive. But the low volume of transport on the great majority of transport routes in an 'areal' economy made investment in improvement uneconomic.

In these circumstances it was as if each region was surrounded by high tariff barriers. 'Imported' goods were necessarily expensive and local production was largely protected from outside competition. There were, of course, exceptions to this rule. Commodities such as salt were not always locally available but were essential. Salt had a high value/weight ratio. The cost of its distribution did not prevent its wide distribution. Textiles, especially high-quality textiles, could bear the cost of movement and still be competitive. They were neither heavy, bulky, or perishable. Most other goods were not so fortunate. The nature of the transport facilities prevented the exploitation of the economies of scale and specialisation which cheaper transport would have permitted.

Where available, water transport created a very different situation. It is no accident that so many of the towns of early modern Europe were located on navigable rivers or were seaports. Goods could be moved over long distances by water at a comparatively modest cost per ton-mile. For example, the fact that the coal pits along the Tyne in Durham and Northumberland were close to the river solved the problem of meeting the fuel needs of London which rose rapidly as its population increased dramatically. By the end of the seventeenth century approaching half a million tons of coal a year was imported from Newcastle to London by sea (Hatcher 1993: 41). Each inhabitant of London was consuming a ton of coal each year. This would have been impossible using traditional modes of land transport.[1]

In the absence of good water transport and where heavy investment in the improvement of road surfaces did not bring cost savings to repay the expenditure, the invisible 'tariff' barriers surrounding rural agricultural communities severely limited the opportunities even to exploit the opportunities for growth and change theoretically available in a 'Smithian' world. The nature of the transport problem prohibited, or at best severely limited, the gains from market size and specialisation of function which represented one of the most important ways in which economic advance could occur in pre-industrial circumstances.

The industrial revolution brought about radical change in transport facilities. In particular, the creation of railway networks transformed the situation. They were very expensive to construct and many individual lines never 'paid their way' but they greatly reduced the cost of moving heavy and bulky goods overland. They also greatly shortened journey times. It is easy to

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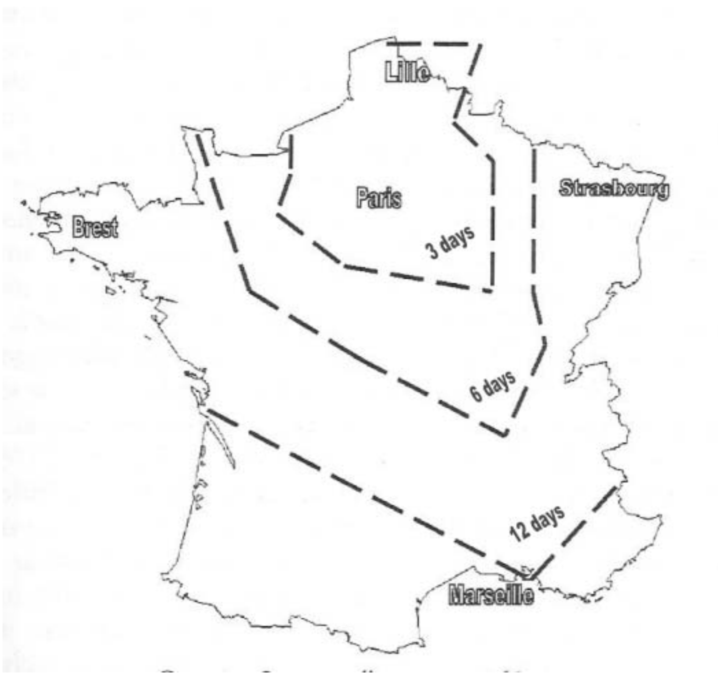
[1] Goubert emphasized the relative isolation of the Beauvaisis compared with more favoured locations close to the sea or navigable waterways: 'From Beauvais to the sea – a hundred kilometres – involved two days of difficult travel by old, winding, muddy roads down which only the fish-carts dared to venture' (Goubert 1960: 86). Since this appeared to reflect relatively rapid movement, he added in a footnote that this involved a special system of relays.

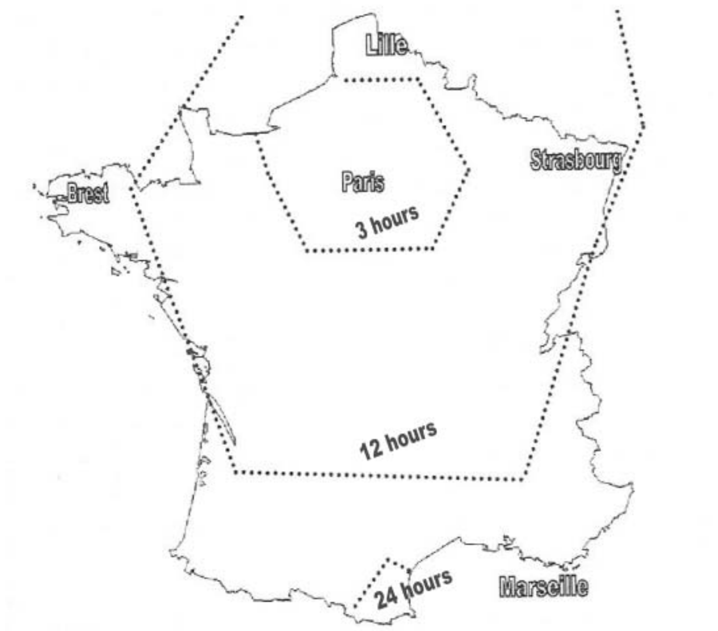
forget how much time a man with wide-flung business interests had to spend in the saddle or in a coach before the creation of rail networks. John Cockerill, the most influential member of a family which had much to do with the early development of Belgian metal, engineering, and textile industries, described by Schnabel as the first 'truly princely businessman since the days of the Fugger' travelled constantly to foster his interests, which extended far beyond Belgium to much of Europe north of the Alps (Schnabel 1934: 262). He died in 1840 but had been active for three decades previously and must have spent a significant fraction of his waking hours in making journeys which in the next three decades would have taken him only perhaps a quarter as much time as rail networks spread and interlinked. The scale of the change brought about by the construction of rail networks is well illustrated by the two maps shown below. The trip from Paris to Marseilles took about 12 days in the later eighteenth century. A century later it could be accomplished in 1 day.

Figure 1. Time from Paris by horse-drawn public coach in 1765 in days



Source: Studeny 2009: 121.

Figure 2. Time from Paris in 1870 by train in hours



Source: Studeny 2009: 129.

There is an instructive similarity between the problem posed by the classic French studies of the region, such as those of Goubert and de la Blache, and that posed by Malthus's *Essay on population*. Malthus, like his great contemporaries Adam Smith and David Ricardo, was intent on analysing the prime characteristics of a world which had embarked on radical change of which they were unaware. All three men were reflecting on the nature of 'organic' economies at a time when they were about to disappear.[2] In an organic economy the opportunity for increasing output is necessarily limited by energy availability. By far the most important source both of heat energy and mechanical energy was the process of plant photosynthesis. Only a small fraction of the energy reaching the surface of the earth from the sun each year was captured by plant photosynthesis, yet it provided the great bulk of the

[2] The concept of an organic economy is briefly described in Wrigley 1988: 17-20. See also Wrigley 2010: 13-21.

energy used in all production processes and in transport.[3] Heat energy was secured by the burning of wood. Mechanical energy was derived principally from the human and animal muscle power which in turn came from plant growth either directly, as with bread, or indirectly, as with pork or beef. Other energy sources, such as wind or water power were of minor significance (Wrigley 2010: 37; Warde 2007, 69, 73). It is no accident that the harvest festival was such an important symbolic event in many organic societies. The scale of the harvest signalled the fortunes of the coming year.

It is demonstrable that the maximum quantity of energy which can be secured from the plant photosynthesis each year is relatively modest. It is impossible, for example, to secure sufficient heat energy from this source to make it possible to produce iron and steel on a scale which would permit the construction of a modern railway system (Wrigley 1988: 80-81). Only the increasing use of coal and at a later date other fossil fuels enabled this problem to be overcome. They, too, represented the product of photosynthesis, but in this case the energy was accumulated over hundreds of millions of year rather than being the product of a single year's photosynthesis. The classical economists, when reflecting on the constraints on expansion experienced by all organic economies, did not express the problem in this form but they made essentially the same argument when asserting confidently that all growth must decelerate and eventually cease for reasons which sprang from the laws of nature rather than arising from economic, social, or political factors. Ricardo summarised the view common to all the classical economists. He noted that whereas the supply of labour and capital might, in principle, be expanded indefinitely, land, the third factor necessary to all forms of material production, was in fixed supply. Beyond a certain point if production was to be increased either existing agricultural land must be worked more intensively, or poorer land must be taken into cultivation, or both. This in turn must mean decreasing returns to labour and capital and must therefore at some point lead to growth ceasing (Ricardo 1951: 125-126). As a result living standards would be driven down close to bare subsistence among the labouring poor. As Adam Smith had earlier remarked:

> *In a country which had acquired that full complement of riches which the nature of its soil and climate, and its situation with respect to other countries allowed it so acquire; which could, therefore, advance no further, and which was not going backwards, both the wages of labour and the profits of stock would probably be very low.* (Smith 1961: 106).

[3] In general only between 0.1 and 0.4 per cent of the energy reaching the surface of the earth as incident sunlight is captured by plants. White and Plaskett 1981: 2, 12, Pimentel 1984: 2.

Malthus added a further consideration which reinforced the grounds for pessimism. He had studied mathematics as a young man in Cambridge and made use of this background to suggest an analysis of the prospects for the future which had gloomy implications. He argued that at best agricultural output might rise as an arithmetic progression but that population would rise as a geometric progression unless constrained by lack of resources. The tensions which were therefore inevitable spelled misery for the masses. In the first edition of the *Essay* he suggested that population growth would be arrested chiefly by rising mortality and that the condition of the bulk of the population would then be miserable. Later in life he modified his initial stance and envisaged a wider range of possible outcomes but it was the view expressed in the first *Essay* which remained in the public mind and caused such intense controversy.

The parallel between the argument voiced by Malthus and writings of historians of French regions such as Goubert and de la Blache lies in the fact that in both cases the world soon changed in ways that made their approaches increasingly inappropriate to the issues they addressed and, essentially, for the same reason. The industrial revolution, facilitated by the increasing use of energy derived from fossil fuels, created a situation in which material production could rise exponentially. This made the contrast between arithmetic and geometric progression increasingly irrelevant. More importantly, however, the assumption that population would trend to grow exponentially soon ceased to hold. When fertility became subject to individual control, increasing prosperity proved likely to be accompanied by falling rather than rising fertility. With increased prosperity, population growth rates often decreased sharply. Societies today are as likely to worry about the problems which arise when fertility falls below the replacement level as about the possibility of excessive population growth.

Similarly, the industrial revolution gradually brought about changes which, as Vidal recognised in his study of Alsace and Lorraine, undermined many aspects of regional life which had survived the vicissitudes of many centuries. The rapid increase in urbanisation; changing occupational structures; the far greater ease, cheapness, and speed of travel of both people and goods; the rise of a mineral-based economy exploiting the availability of apparently limitless quantities of energy derived from fossil fuels: all these meant that patterns of life changed in ways which caused the region, as it had been envisaged by Goubert or Vidal, to cease to be a viable basis for the study of most aspects of economic and social life.

Both the Malthusian model of the relationship between economic and demographic change and employing the *pays* as a setting for the description of many aspects of the economic and social life remain important to the study of societies *before* the industrial revolution. Both will therefore remain essential in attempting to describe and understand the life of societies for much of human history. But as a guide to the understanding of economic and social activity *since* the industrial revolution both have largely lost their relevance.

Goubert's *Beauvaisis* exemplifies the value of drawing upon both history and geography in order to gain a fuller insight into the pressures, constraints, and opportunities experienced by those living in communities in the millennia preceding the industrial revolution. Are there comparable possibilities for the study of societies transformed by the industrial revolution? This is a vast topic outside the scope of this short article but in concluding two preliminary comments suggest themselves.

The first concerns the appropriate unit of study. When the *pays* ceased to be a viable option as a unit of study, economic and social historians increasingly adopted the nation-state as the preferred unit for description and analysis. There is a growing consciousness, however, that many issues fundamental to economic and social life are now best considered globally. Yet it remains important not to divorce the study of economic and social activities from their physical and biological environments. An obvious example may be found in the problems arising from environmental pollution and rising temperatures. Coal-fired power stations do not simply affect the probable course of average temperatures locally; the whole world shares the problem. Sea levels will rise by similar amounts on the coasts everywhere; Brazil and Sweden are equally at risk from coal burnt in, say, Britain or Australia. A long and growing list of similar examples could be made. It would have been much shorter a century ago: its increase forms the background to much of the economic history of the last century. The understanding and analysis of many economic problems and activities, though global in their nature, remains as dependent upon a knowledge of their physical and biological environments as was the case in the study of regions in the organic economies which existed before the industrial revolution.

The second comment relates to another aspect of the interplay of societies and their environments. In the era of organic economies a prominent feature of regional studies such as that undertaken by Goubert was the *stability* of the relationships involved. Hence the force of Vidal de la Blache's image of the wind ruffling the surface of a pond but failing to change the contours of its basin. Since the industrial revolution *instability* has become more common in such relationships. A different aspect of the example given in the last paragraph is a case in point. All fossil fuels are exhaustible. Every ton of oil or coal extracted means a ton less to be extracted in the future in contrast to the position in organic economies. Dependence on the annual cycle of plant photosynthesis set a limit to the amount of energy which could be expended on all forms of material production, but, on the other hand, it was renewed each year. It had no necessary tendency to decline over time. It was a *flow* not a *stock* as is the case with fossil fuels. Drawing down a stock will eventually exhaust it. Future energy supplies must, therefore, depend upon finding different sources of energy if the patterns of life which have developed as a result of the industrial revolution are to be sustained in the future. Many comparable sources of instability spring to mind.

Reflecting on the course of events over the last two centuries, historians in future years may well wish to emphasize the changing balance between the types of unit which have proved most useful in pursuing the topics which they find of greatest interest and importance. The relative significance of the region, the nation-state, and the world as a whole has changed radically in the course of the last three centuries.

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Ce qu'un galicien trouva dans le *Beauvaisis* en 1973. L'évocation d'un *horsin*

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Abstract: The author visited Pierre Goubert in Paris in 1972 and invited him to participate in the first international conference that he organized at his University, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, on Historical Methods applied to Social Sciences. The French historian accepted the invitation and his contribution had important consequences on the Spanish historiography, since his path breaking methodological historical approach was adopted by an entire generation of historians in the 1970s and 1980s, and in Galicia prior to other places in Spain. For twenty years, as an economic historian and social demographer, the author kept strong academic contacts and visited Goubert in Paris every year.

Keywords: Methodology, Goubert, Beauvais, Beauvaisis, Spanish historians, Early Modern History, Galicia, Rural society, Economy and Demography.

Lors de mon intervention à la séance universitaire dédiée en Sorbonne à honorer le grand historien français que fut Pierre Goubert[1], je me suis senti dans le devoir de justifier cette évocation – peut-être même l'irruption d'un *horsin*[2]? – au sein d'une séance qui appartenait légitimement à ses disciples directs, qualité qu'en tant qu'historien de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle, je ne possédais pas. La seule justification à ma présence active à ce colloque provenait d'une longue connexion académique avec Pierre Goubert et son œuvre, entretenue pendant plus de vingt ans et cela du dehors.

Je fis la connaissance de Pierre Goubert il y a quarante ans, dans le «pèlerinage» que je fis, en juin de 1972, à son domicile du 16^{e} arrondissement, 5 rue Francisque Sarcey, un jour qui aurait pu être ordinaire. Mais ce rendez-vous

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[1] Une journée d'Hommage à Pierre Goubert se tint à Paris, le samedi 9 juin 2012, de 9 h à 17 h, à la Sorbonne, Amphithéâtre Bachelard.

[2] Sous l'Ancien régime, en France, un *horsin* est un contribuable qui habite un autre village que celui où il détient une propriété foncière ou tenure. Plus largement, ce terme désigne un étranger, celui «qui n'est pas d'ici ».

parisien se retrouva par la suite se répéter presque chaque année, souvent au mois d'octobre, à l'occasion des *Entretiens de Malher*,[3] et cela jusqu'à 1997, si ma mémoire est fidèle.

Les premiers Colloques de Méthodologie Historique appliquée aux Sciences Sociales (1973-1993)

La raison de cette lointaine première visite d'il y a 40 ans était simple et précise : je venais voir Pierre Goubert avec le propos de lui proposer d'être rapporteur de séance au premier *Colloque de Méthodologie Historique appliquée aux Sciences Sociales* que j'organisais à l'Université de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle, à l'occasion du cinquantenaire de la fondation de sa Section d'Histoire, crée en 1923 (ma propre section, au sein de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres). Je précise qu'il s'agissait pour lui de tenir ce rôle l'année suivante, sur le thème *Histoire démographique*, à la séance plénière intitulée *Démographie et structures sociales*, ce qui avait une signification toute particulière à l'époque, puisqu'à cette date, Pierre Goubert avait déjà présidé (1965-1968) la *Société de Démographie Historique*, fondée en 1962, et avait dirigé de ce fait les *Annales de Démographie Historique* (Jacques Dupâquier en étant le rédacteur en chef).

Cet événement des 24-27 Avril 1973, suivi en direct par 500 étudiants de toutes les Universités espagnoles, fut véritablement un colloque franco-espagnol : ses *Actes*, publiées peu après, présentent des communications en français et en espagnol (Actas 1975). Il signifia surtout l'arrivée de la méthodologie dite des *Annales* en Espagne, avec, en tête, un véritable état-major, avec Ernest Labrousse, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie et Pierre Goubert, comme *rapporteurs* ou présidents de séance, et bien d'autres historiens parisiens tels Roland Mousnier, de plusieurs Universités de France ou de l'Espagne comme communicants et participants aux débats. Un second Colloque suivit, que j'organisais comme chef du Département d'Histoire moderne, en 1982, puis un troisième en 1984 et encore un autre en 1993, sur des sujets toujours monographiques, avec également nombre d'autres historiens français. Pierre Goubert fut actif dans trois de ces colloques, auxquels il dédiera en 1996 un généreux chapitre, dans son ouvrage intitulé, *Un Parcours d'historien. Souvenirs, 1915-1995* (chap. XXXI, Paris: Fayard, pp. 284-290).

Avant 1973, la méthodologie des *Annales* n'était connue en Espagne qu'à travers Fernand Braudel et son livre innovateur sur *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (1949, Paris, Armand Colin). Ernest

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[3] Les *Entretiens de Malher* furent des journées d'études thématiques organisées à Paris annuellement, dans les années 1980 et 1990, par la Société de Démographie Historique, 9, rue Malher, 75004, dans un amphithéâtre mis à sa disposition par l'Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne.

Labrousse n'était généralement pas connu, ou l'était à peine; Roland Mousnier l'était un peu mieux. Mais Pierre Goubert était un inconnu dans nos milieux universitaires ou éditoriaux. Avec ce premier colloque de 1973 tout commença à changer: Goubert devint une autorité, son *Beauvaisis* ou son *Ancien Régime* (Goubert 1960, 1969, 1973) étaient consultés, suivis et cités et, plus important encore, les deux volumes de *L'Ancien Régime* furent traduits en espagnol (Madrid, 1979-1980).

En Galice, le *Beauvaisis* fut lu avec quelques années d'avance; ainsi, à la fin de 1973, se tint déjà une soutenance de thèse du Département d'Histoire Moderne (fondée sept ans auparavant, en 1966): la thèse de Baudilio Barreiro sur la vie rurale d'une contrée galicienne bien typée, le froid plateau intérieur du Xallas, une région assez élevée, avec vingt-cinq paroisses, quelques huit mille habitants sur 240 kilomètres carrés, et une densité peu supérieure à 30 habitants par km^{2}. C'était la première thèse programmée en Espagne plus ou moins sur la grille *beauvaisine*, et bien fournie de citations de ce livre de Goubert, déjà devenu un classique pour nous, à Santiago de Compostela.

Deux ans plus tard c'était la thèse, encore plus ambitieuse du point de vue démographique, de Jose Manuel Pérez García sur la zone maritime du Salnés (vingt et deux paroisses, quelques douze mille habitants sur 130 kilomètres carrés, et une densité de 90 habitants par km^2) (Pérez García 1979). Au cours de ces années soixante-dix on note encore une troisième thèse, soutenue aussi à Santiago, celle de Hilario Rodríguez sur la presqu'île atlantique du Morrazo (quinze paroisses, douze mille habitants aussi sur 110 kilomètres carrés, donc densité de 100 habitants par km^2, ce qui est beaucoup pour le 18^e siècle) (cf. Rodríguez 2003).

Des thèses de troisième cycle et/ou mémoires de maîtrise suivront dans les années soixante-dix et quatre-vingts, soit un ensemble de travaux coordonnés sur des entités différentes de la même région – et avec des résultats parfois proches, parfois contrastés – mais tous pétris dans le moule *beauvaisien*, qui s'adaptait assez bien à notre propre réalité rurale, avec les nuances inévitables, comme l'inexistence de manufacture « *drapante* », et de notables différences de régime démographique, fécondité et mortalité surtout.

Ce qu'un galicien trouva dans le Beauvaisis en 1973

J'avais promis de parler de ce que j'avais trouvé dans l'œuvre de Pierre Goubert, plutôt à la fin des années soixante, pour amorcer devant mes jeunes élèves – une équipe en formation, toute jeune et encore très réduite – un programme de travail séduisant sur la vie rurale et sur les comportements démographiques de ma région, la Galice espagnole, une région de 30.000

kilomètres carrés, un peu plus grande que la Normandie, et presque comme la Belgique, avec un million d'habitants dans ses 3.000 paroisses à la date de 1700, un million et demi en 1800, c'est-à-dire trois ou quatre fois la population de l'Anjou ou douze fois le Beauvaisis. Donc, il fallait cantonner le travail en subdivisant la région en zones bien délimitées, chacune avec sa propre configuration physique et agricole; mais surtout il fallait programmer consciemment.

Voilà donc ce qu'on trouva dans le *Beauvaisis* dans ces commencements tâtonnants, à l'époque où nous nous mîmes à l'école de la France: un programme de travail séduisant avec son questionnaire à remplir, avec son répertoire de sources à employer et à critiquer et avec la diversité des nouvelles méthodes d'analyse adaptée, afin de dépasser le descriptif et trouver l'explicatif profond.

L'œuvre de Pierre Goubert nous fournissait trois éléments essentiels dont nous avions besoin pour notre recherche historique, la grille, les sources et les méthodes:

1. La grille fournie

La grille fournie par Pierre Goubert touchait l'ensemble des problèmes et des questions d'histoire rurale et urbaine, économique et sociale, de production et de consommation, de la rente et du salaire, des prix nominaux, du signe monétaire et des échanges; des permanences et des fluctuations, des structures et des conjonctures etc., sur tout ce faisceau de sujets rien à dire de ma part, puisqu'ils seront ici l'objet d'analyse d'autres interventions. Je soulignerai que l'adresse et la capacité à rassembler et à combiner une telle multiplicité de facettes dans un seul diamant faisaient pour nous du *Beauvaisis* un exemple parfait – ou presque parfait, si l'on préfère – de cette *histoire totale* qui était toujours prônée. Il manquerait peut-être dans cette œuvre des années cinquante – puisque la thèse fut rédigée en 1958 – quelque incursion dans le *quantitatif du troisième niveau,* le domaine du mental (la source testamentaire par exemple), mais cela constituerait la matière pour un autre livre et une autre thèse, la tâche future pour une décade encore à venir.

2. La critique des sources historiques

Du coté des sources, l'élément fondamental est de signaler que le répertoire des sources de diverses natures (sources notariales, seigneuriales, fiscales, ecclésiastiques, hospitalières, judiciaires) mises en valeur par Goubert dans sa thèse (sources encore « dormantes » chez nous) se révélèrent de semblable utilité pour l'Espagne du nord, à peu d'exceptions près. Particulièrement les actes notariés et les comptabilités ecclésiastiques, avec leurs séries des baux à ferme (les « *foros* » galiciens de nature semi-emphytéotique), avec leurs séries de fermage de la dîme en argent et beaucoup d'autres renseignements coïncidant avec ceux des « minutiers » et des comptabilités ecclésiastiques, permettaient des parallèles qui étaient attribuables, selon moi, d'une part à la commune diffusion du Droit romain et du Droit canonique à partir du XIIe Siècle, et d'autre part à l'empreinte médiévale de la colonisation monastique de la Galice et d'autres régions du nord de l'Espagne par les ordres de Cluny et les Cisterciens dès le XIe siècle. Avec quelques exceptions nonobstant, car nos inventaires de paysans n'incluent pas ces «prisées de récolte» si précieusement valables pour le calcul des rendements à la semence; et nous ne disposions non plus de ces procès de tailles ou «oppositions en surtaux» si chères à Pierre Goubert pour l'étude des biens et possessions des couches supérieure et moyenne de la paysannerie.

Mais le point fort de Goubert n'était pas seulement la recherche de sources nouvelles, en partie déjà connues des auteurs antérieurs, mais la critique des sources, critique de la valeur de chaque source, de sa loquacité et de ses faiblesses. Et c'était une double critique qu'il fallait appliquer: une critique *externe* ou d'authenticité (de première main ou non); et une critique *interne* ou de crédibilité surtout (véracité, intentionnalité, représentativité sociale de la source). Aux critiques, parfois impitoyables de Goubert, aucune source n'échappait, pas même ses préférées, comme les documents notariaux, dont la représentativité est parfois mise en doute, car ils excluent les secteurs les plus modestes de la paysannerie.

Une critique identique, ou plus sévère encore, concernait les registres paroissiaux. A ces derniers il dédia des pages très sérieuses dans son précieux rapport de 1973, *Histoire démographique* (*Actas de las I Jornadas de Metodología Aplicada de las Ciencias* Históricas/AIJMHA, vol. III, *Histoire Moderne*, 1975, pp. 253-273), où il nous prévenait: « Quels que soient les dispositions administratives et les contrôles (ces derniers, rares et superficiels), la tenue des registres paroissiaux dépend de la qualification et de l'application des prêtres qui les rédigent. L'attitude de ces scribes est toujours fondamentale. Un registre ne constitue pas une unité; l'unité, c'est son rédacteur: à d'excellents rédacteurs (les curés) peuvent succéder de très médiocres… ». Et finalement: « Les registres paroissiaux sont d'abord des documents historiques à critiquer, et non pas des machines à fournir automatiquement des données chiffrées ».

3. Les méthodes d'analyse historique

Mais, comment aborder d'un seul coup la variété des méthodes qu'on trouvait à chaque paragraphe du Beauvaisis urbain et rural, ou dans l'analyse démographique? Il est seulement possible d'apporter ici le témoignage que le *Beauvaisis* nous fournissait un *vade-mecum* de la rénovation méthodologique de la deuxième génération des *Annales* dans ses trois vecteurs principaux : 1) l'élargissement thématique (nouveaux sujets, nouveaux aspects, nouveaux problèmes) ; 2) de nouvelles sources jusqu'alors « dormantes », comme exprimé plus haut; et 3) une rénovation des méthodes d'analyse dans le sillage des sciences sociales, celles-ci dosées selon une juste mesure.

La base commune à toute cette variété de méthodes est la quantification de tous les facteurs qui permettent d'être quantifiés dans le discours historique (dans les nombreux domaines de l'économique et du social, le fait culturel mis à part). Mais il s'agit d'une quantification simple et sans artifice; sans ce genre d'adoration des machines prodigieuses qui se déclenchera dans la suivante décade (à la Robert Fogel 1974[4]). Goubert replaçait dans ses justes limites les apports de l'intelligence « artificielle »; l'essentiel pour lui – son grand apport – était la validité et la rigueur des matériaux chiffrés de base, même soumis aux calculs les plus simples.

4. Le «modèle»

Doué du sens naturel de la dimension, de la mesure, il débordait pour passer au-delà. Dans son grand livre*, Le Beauvaisis,* Goubert nous introduisait – et presque sans se donner la peine de nous en avertir – à la méthode toute structuraliste des « modèles », avant la lettre; le modèle, est un mot dont il n'abuse pas, qu'il l'écrit même entre guillemets. Mais, nonobstant, voici le « modèle » pensé et dessiné pour tirer à la surface les valeurs chiffrées, essentielles, interdépendantes et inter-connexes d'un système complexe.

Parmi les « modèles » que nous apprîmes de Pierre Goubert, quelques-uns se révélèrent très efficaces pour le comparatisme. Par exemple les suivants:

- Le mode de calcul des prélèvements sur le produit brut agricole en fonction des rendements à la semence (la taille, la dîme, le champart, la ferme, les droits seigneuriaux et la semence même).
- Le calcul du produit net paysan et de l'existence ou non d'excédents négociables en fonction de la productivité de la céréale à la surface (une

[4] Robert William Fogel, historien économiste, fut un défenseur de la quantification et de l'application des méthodes quantitatives à l'histoire. Il reçut le Prix Nobel d'économie en 1993. Son livre le plus connu et controversé fut écrit en collaboration avec Stanley L. Engerman, sur l'économie de l'esclavage en Amérique.

fois déduits les prélèvements, les besoins de l'autoconsommation du cultivateur et de sa famille et les autres frais de culture payés en nature).

La réussite de ce genre de modélisation est qu'il permet ce comparatisme entre sociétés analogues et non analogues, ce qui est, depuis Marc Bloch (l'un des maîtres de l'étudiant Pierre Goubert), le principal point de repère pour la connaissance historique, en histoire sociale surtout. Un seul exemple de comparatisme doit suffire, tiré d'un pays bien différent du Beauvaisis du nord, « pays de blé, pays de moutons » : dans un système agraire fondé sur le maïs et son corrélatif le minifundium extrême, dans un pays de bovin sans jachère ni « vaine pâture », à savoir par exemple dans la contrée maritime du Salnés galicien, Pérez García a trouvé, par la même méthode, des prélèvements bien plus légers et une capacité supérieure de générer des excédents négociables. Bien d'autres exemples sont disponibles.

Pour l'étude des structures et conjonctures démographiques du Beauvaisis, Goubert recourt également à la modélisation. Par exemple, il établit un taux de remplacement (T.N.R.) pour les populations de la France du Nord à partir de ses calculs préalables sur 438 familles de la localité d'Auneuil. Il tient compte des mariages célébrés entre 1656 et 1735, des mères, des naissances et du taux de masculinité, ainsi que de la mortalité à vingt ans et du célibat féminin. D'autres statisticiens feront par la suite nombre de calculs de ce genre, mais seul Goubert nous offrait à l'époque un « modèle » simple pour synthétiser, dans une seule valeur, le taux de remplacement dangereusement proche de l'unité (T.N.R. 1,03), la clef qui suffisait à expliquer la fragilité de la croissance des populations du XVIIe siècle, le siècle des « crises ».

Une évocation du dehors

Qu'ajouter de plus ? Rien de majeur, sinon que j'ai taché de rendre compte de la dette intellectuelle que nous, groupe d'historiens galiciens, parmi d'autres « horsins », reconnaissons envers Pierre Goubert et son œuvre monumentale d'histoire rurale et démographique. Une œuvre qui tranche et symbolise bien un moment de l'historiographie européenne, cette époque où la France était au centre de tous les regards. Je pourrais adresser à l'auteur du *Beauvaisis* les mots mêmes qu'employa à son intention son maître Ernest Labrousse, en 1984: « Statistique et succulence… Toute une postérité vous gardera son cœur » (Labrousse, 1984: 344). Au lieu de ces mots que je partage mais qui ne sont pas miens, je peux seulement offrir au bon maître angevin et sorbonnard, Pierre Goubert, l'humble témoignage de cette remémoration tardive et rapide, faite cependant pour marquer ma reconnaissance sans faille d'une dette personnelle. Je tiens enfin à signaler que tous les membres de mon ancien Département d'Histoire Moderne, que Goubert honora de ses séminaires volants en plusieurs occasions, se sont joints à moi et ont exprimé chacun adhérer pleinement au présent hommage, et cela par voie d'un courrier dont la Professeur Ofelia Rey Castelao, représentant la deuxième génération de *goubertiens* espagnols[5], fut porteuse à Paris.

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[5] Ofelia Rey Castelao, Professeur à l'Université de Santiago de Compostela, apporta à Paris, aux organisateurs du colloque du 9 juin 2012, une lettre d'hommage à Pierre Goubert et de reconnaissance, signée par tous les collègues du Département d'Histoire. Dans le présent numéro, elle témoigne en détail de l'influence de l'œuvre de Pierre Goubert sur toute sa génération, par son article: « Pierre Goubert en Espagne ».

Pierre Goubert en Espagne

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Abstract: Pierre Goubert (1915-2012) has been one of the most important French historians and his studies had a great influence in Spain. His path breaking books were translated in Spanish in several countries – Argentina, Mexico, Spain – and Spanish students received very well their exciting content and adopted Goubert's methodology and approach; in particular, his major doctoral thesis on *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis* de *1600* à *1730. Contribution à l'histoire sociale de la France du XVIIe siècle* (1960) and his two books on the French society during the Old Regime (1969 and 1973).

Keywords: Pierre Goubert, Spanish historiography, rural history, historical demography.

L'autobiographie de Pierre Goubert consacre un chapitre à ses visites académiques en Espagne et à ses contacts avec les historiens espagnols, en soulignant de manière spéciale sa participation au congrès international *Premières Journées de Méthodologie Appliquée aux Sciences Historiques* en 1973, où il fut une des «étoiles invitées» (Goubert 1996: 284). Goubert avait visité l'Espagne auparavant et connaissait des historiens comme Jordi Nadal[1], et des hispanistes comme François Chevalier et Jean-Paul Le Flem, et avait séjourné à la Casa de Velázquez – le centre d'études français à Madrid –. Évidemment, les oeuvres de Goubert étaient connues des historiens espagnols avant ces *Journées* de 1973, mais sa participation audit congrès le rendit célèbre. En 1979–1980, Goubert retourna en Espagne pour donner un cycle de conférences dans les Universités de Barcelone, Valence, Madrid, Séville et Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, où il

[1] Jordi Nadal i Oller (born in 1929 in Catalonia), disciple de Jaume Vicens Vives, fut professeur d'histoire économique à l'Université de Barcelone de 1956 à 1967, puis à Valence (1968-1969) et enfin à l'Université Autonome de Barcelone entre 1970 et 1980. Il avait publié en 1960, en français, *La population catalane de 1553 à 1717: l'immigration française et les autres facteurs de son développement. Paris:* S.E.V.P.E.N, et également avec Emili Giralt i Raventós (1966), cette fois en espagnol, *La población española (siglos XVI a XX)* [*La population espagnole (XVI*^{e}*-XX*^{e} *siècles)*]. Barcelona: Ariel.

traita des thèmes les plus marquants de son œuvre: les paysans, la bourgeoisie et les commerçants, les types de nobles, la population sous le règne de Louis XIV. Dans toutes les universités espagnoles, la personnalité de cet historien et sa manière d'expliquer l'histoire causèrent un fort impact. En 1982, Goubert retourna en Galice pour assister à un autre congrès à Compostelle, le Deuxième Colloque de Méthodologie Historique, *La documentation notariale et l'Histoire* (Eiras Roel 1984), et de nouveau en 1984, pour le Troisième Colloque, *Agriculture et population à l'Epoque Moderne* (Eiras Roel 1990).

Cet article présente quelle était la situation de l'historiographie espagnole consacrée à l'époque moderne en 1973 et comment elle s'est développée jusqu'en 1984. Ces deux dates marquent une étape fondamentale de l'historiographie espagnole, où l'influence de l'historiographie française fut très intense. En effet, entre 1973 et 1984, l'historiographie espagnole a beaucoup évolué, bien que le véritable envol ait été postérieur. Il n'est pas aisé d'expliquer cette époque, puisque les historiens espagnols n'ont pas l'habitude de faire une réflexion théorique sur leur métier, mais il y existe suffisamment de données pour retracer un bref parcours et ainsi situer l'œuvre de Pierre Goubert dans le contexte espagnol, où elle prit une dimension spéciale et durable (Bravo 1998: 49; Valdeón 1996: 309).

1. L'Espagne visitée par Pierre Goubert (1973–1984)

En 1973, l'Espagne vivait encore sous le régime de Franco – qui est décédé en 1975 – et les universités souffraient du poids de la dictature, mais dans cette atmosphère il y a eu d'importants changements, comme le nouveau plan d'études universitaires qui créa en 1973 la maîtrise de Géographie et d'Histoire; le succès de cette maîtrise a été immédiat parmi une génération d'étudiants qui était née pendant le boom démographique de 1955–1956. Le cursus de Géographie et d'Histoire avait une organisation pyramidale et était orienté vers la formation des futurs historiens en tant que chercheurs et non seulement enseignants, comme auparavant. Ce changement de la structure théorique des matières fut très important, car on imposa un programme d'études de type français qui traitait la démographie, puis l'économie, la société, les mentalités et la politique. L'application de ce programme et de ces règles dans les archives constituait un complément de formation idéal: en conséquence, l'exploitation des archives paroissiales se généralisa en Espagne parmi les historiens de l'époque moderne. Les mémoires de maîtrise de fin de cycle complétaient la formation des chercheurs. Etant donné que la plupart des étudiants avaient étudié la langue française au baccalauréat, le modèle français de recherche fut adopté de manière presque générale. Pendant les années qui suivirent, l'essor du nombre d'élèves en histoire–rendu propice par les réformes universitaires, la croissance démographique et une plus ample facilité d'accès aux universités–et également l'essor du nombre de professeurs universitaires et d'historiens professionnels, puis leur présence postérieure dans l'enseignement secondaire, les archives, les bibliothèques et même l'université changèrent radicalement le cours de l'historiographie en Espagne. À la fin de cette époque, en 1983, la *Loi de Réforme Universitaire* imposa un type de concours pour le professorat qui favorisait la recherche dans l'enseignement, ce qui confirma la tendance. L'amélioration des possibilités de formation et d'étude à l'étranger, et la dotation bibliographique et technique des universités permirent aux historiens de trouver de bonnes conditions pour travailler et le résultat en fut un nombre croissant de thèses doctorales, de publications et l'édition de revues scientifiques dans un pays, où jusqu'alors il y avait eu peu d'histoire.

Le facteur humain fut fondamental dans ce contexte institutionnel et universitaire. Avant la mort de Franco–et avant même la première visite de Goubert–, une nouvelle génération d'historiens spécialisés dans l'époque moderne avait déjà ouvert la porte à l'influence française: la réception de l'historiographie française en général–et de *l'École des Annales* en particulier – avait permis la formation d'une «communauté historiographique», qui avait provoqué un important changement par rapport à l'histoire des décennies postérieures à la Guerre Civile (Fernández Albaladejo 2002: 325, Morales Moya 2008: 199). L'impact français a été étudié lors de plusieurs congrès ces dernières années – en 2002, au cours du XXVe anniversaire des *Premières Journées de Méthodologie* de 1973 (López López et González Lopo 2003) – et ce fut le sujet monographique d'un colloque de la Casa de Velázquez en 1999 (Pellistrandi 2002) et d'un autre à l'Université de Castille-La Manche en 2006 (García González 2009). Ces réflexions ont resitué la dette des espagnols envers leurs collègues français et expliqué les éléments de cette influence: en effet, contre l'idée d'une "colonisation culturelle" promue par les «hispanistes», on a conclu que l'influence française était due au prestige de l'hispanisme français et à l'activité de la Casa de Velázquez (Delaunay 1994), mais surtout due au contact des jeunes historiens espagnols avec leurs collègues français en France ou lors de colloques internationaux et à la lecture de l'historiographie française, qui arrivait sans grande peine aux bibliothèques universitaires et qui était lue facilement dans une ambiance académique, puisque le français était la langue dominante dans l'enseignement (Rey Castelao 2009a, 2009b); sans doute, pour les historiens espagnols, la publication des thèses de Pierre Goubert et d'Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie dans la collection de poche Flammarion fut essentielle et a permis que nos historiens se familiarisent avec ces deux œuvres fondamentales de la troisième génération des *Annales*[2]. En outre, les grandes maisons d'édition hispano-américaines publiaient des traductions d'importants livres français, ce qui fournissait l'accès aux nouveautés du pays voisin: par exemple, l'édition espagnole des deux volumes de *L'Ancien Régime* de Goubert fut décisive pour les étudiants espagnols, bien qu'ils connussent déjà l'édition française.

Quand Goubert retourna dans notre pays en 1979-1980, les choses avaient beaucoup changé en Espagne, qui était devenu alors un pays démocratique. Goubert visita une poignée de villes, dont les universités avaient connu un essor remarquable, comme en général toutes les universités espagnoles, bien que les inégalités fussent importantes. Madrid avait tout pour réussir – des archives, des bibliothèques, des écoles officielles, des maisons d'édition etc. –, mais la capitale n'était pas une référence pour les historiens, car le renouveau historiographique était surtout un produit des régions périphériques. Néanmoins, il y avait des groupes de travail très actifs dans l'Université Autonome, où Miguel Artola (Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine) et Felipe Ruiz Martín (Histoire Économique) avaient promu un effort d'actualisation.

Barcelone était également bien dotée de moyens et plus avancée en ce qui concerne les études d'Histoire Moderne; les universités catalanes vivaient sous une double influence française: d'une part, la figure de Pierre Vilar, dont la thèse sur la Catalogne (1962) eu un effet intense et durable; d'autre part, la figure de Jaume Vicens Vives (1910–1960), professeur d'Histoire Moderne à l'Université de Barcelone depuis 1940, qui mêla l'insertion de l'historiographie espagnole avec les nouvelles tendances européennes, en particulier l'école des *Annales*; Vicens avait créé en effet la revue *Estudios de Historia Moderna* et *Índice Histórico Español* (1953), guide d'information des nouveautés de l'extérieur et des publications en Espagne. Parmi les disciples de Vicens, on compte Jordi Nadal, Joan Reglá, Emili Giralt, Joan Mercader ou Josep Fontana, mais ce dernier fut un des auteurs les plus critiques à l'égard des *Annales*. À Valence, Goubert trouva un département dynamique qui, en 1972, avait créé la revue *Estudis*, l'une des plus prestigieuses. Valence était marquée, depuis 1959, par la personnalité du professeur d'Histoire Moderne Joan Reglá Campistol (1917–1973), un disciple de Vicens, dont le principal domaine d'étude était l'histoire de la Couronne d'Aragon, ainsi que le banditisme catalan, les conséquences de l'expulsion des Morisques etc. Quant à Séville, elle n'était pas encore rompue à l'Histoire Moderne et le sera par la suite sous la direction de Carlos Álvarez Santaló, qui avait fait une thèse de démographie urbaine, et d'Antonio García-

[2] L'influence étrangère provenait aussi des anglo-saxons, spécialement des marxistes britanniques.

Baquero qui avait publié en 1972 sa thèse sur le commerce colonial; en Histoire Economique, il y avait aussi un noyau d'historiens à l'affût des dernières nouveautés: Pierre Chaunu avait publié son étude fondamentale sur le commerce entre l'Espagne et l'Amérique au XVIe siècle (Chaunu 1955–1959), mais il n'avait pas joué le même rôle que Pierre Vilar en Catalogne. Finalement, à l'Université de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, l'influence française avait été directe: dans ses *Souvenirs*, Goubert explique bien son lien avec Antonio Eiras Roel, son amphitryon en 1973. Eiras Roel avait été l'instigateur d'une petite école d'historiens qui utilisaient le modèle français de recherche, sans l'intermédiaire des hispanistes, à partir d'un programme de contacts avec la France, où les figures d'Ernest Labrousse et de Pierre Goubert furent les points de référence (Eiras Roel 1976: 201, Pérez García 1985–1986: 145-173). Eiras fut le seul Espagnol invité à faire un apport au livre d'hommage à Pierre Goubert, publié en 1984.

En 1984, année de la dernière visite de Goubert en Espagne, l'influence de la France était en crise. D'autres historiographies avaient une influence chaque fois plus importante, particulièrement l'historiographie anglaise, qui avait aussi une tradition académique en Espagne et une communauté d'hispanistes bien connue (De Bernardo 2001); la revue *Past and Present* – pour laquelle l'époque moderne était prioritaire (51,3% des articles y concerne cette période, entre 1982 et 1986) – avait un grand prestige, mais un peu à l'ombre des *Annales* pendant les années soixante-dix, lorsque les questions politiques posées par cette revue intéressaient moins que l'histoire sociale et économique des *Annales*. Cependant, le facteur le plus évident fut la chute libre du français comme première langue de l'éducation, ce qui rendait plus difficile que l'on trouva des étudiants capables de lire la bibliographie française ou de se rendre dans des centres de recherche en France. Il y a également d'autres facteurs: les historiens espagnols avaient comme référence plusieurs revues européennes, et bien que la plus prestigieuse fût celle des *Annales*, celle-ci avait perdu certains des éléments solides qui l'avaient caractérisée – l'attention portée à la France rurale, par exemple; elle prétendait conquérir l'Amérique latine – terrain réservé exclusivement aux historiens espagnols– et le temps présent; l'influence des hispanistes déclina et la revue de la Casa de Velázquez, *Mélanges,* ne prêtait pas une attention spéciale à l'histoire moderne – seulement 12% des articles lui étaient consacré avant 1985 –, puisque la revue était traditionnellement orientée vers la culture.

Au cours des années 1973–1984, on ne peut dont pas accuser l'Espagne de lenteur ou de résistance à la réception des tendances européennes, ni d'absence de débats internes, surtout parmi les historiens de l'époque moderne et les historiens de l'économie (Olabarri 1985, 1990). Pourtant, la création d'une école «espagnole» fut impossible: la dispersion institutionnelle et territoriale rendirent difficile l'établissement d'un réseau d'historiens, qui auraient pu travailler ensemble. Il fut important que, dès la mort de Franco, l'Espagne s'organisa en régions autonomes, qui vivaient chacune des processus de construction d'identité; cette nouvelle organisation provoqua une atomisation de la recherche. Il faut ajouter à cette dispersion régionale un autre problème: de l'influence française, les historiens espagnols ont hérité un type de recherche par secteurs: démographie, société, économie (Pro Ruiz 1997: 59, Rodríguez Sánchez 1997: 87). Au cours des années quatre-vingts et postérieures, chaque secteur et chaque région eurent un niveau différent de renouvellement. Une part importante des historiens espagnols avaient accepté le modèle français et le projet de comprendre chacun des aspects de l'évolution des sociétés humaines et d'expliquer comment ils étaient articulés; ils avaient fait un effort de formation méthodologique et de recherche dans les archives, à partir d'une partition thématique et régionale, pour canaliser des moyens, fixer des problématiques, spécifier des concepts et chercher de nouvelles sources d'information; mais la crise de ce modèle de l'historiographie française – puisque l'étude par secteurs n'a pas pour résultat la totalité de ceux-là – eut pour effet sur les historiens espagnols qu'ils cherchèrent de nouvelles références ailleurs, à partir de cette crise, soit en Angleterre, soit en Italie, et élaborèrent alors leurs propres idées.

L'un des secteurs où l'on voit le mieux l'impact français, est celui de la démographie historique, qui connut un énorme succès parmi les historiens espagnols: en 1983, on créa l'Association ibérique de Démographie Historique (ADEH) et son bulletin – *Boletín de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica* (Pérez Moreda & Reher 1988, Pérez García 1990: 41–70 et 2003: 179–192). Les méthodes complexes inventées par Louis Henry et par d'autres démographes étaient employées par les démographes espagnols, mais surtout, pour les historiens de l'histoire rurale, connaître la démographie à partir de l'œuvre de Goubert fut primordial, c'est-à-dire, sa manière de rendre facile à saisir la complexité du comportement des populations de type ancien. Avant 1982, les méthodes démographiques et l'étude des mécanismes internes d'anciennes populations fascinaient les espagnols, ainsi que l'originalité de l'école démographique française: ses sources–les recensements, les registres paroissiaux–, son échelle territoriale–la paroisse–et sa technique–la reconstruction de familles–, de même que son image scientifique (Reher 1995). Rapidement, ils furent découragés, car un résultat divers, territorialisé et plurifactoriel émergeait de tout cela; et par conséquent, les historiens espagnols se sont acheminés vers la lecture sociale des comportements démographiques à travers l'histoire de la famille et vers la reproduction biologique et sociale, sous l'influence de la recherche socio-structurelle (Chacón Jiménez 1991, 1995: 5, García González 1994: 331).

On peut dire la même chose de l'histoire économique: au cours des années soixante-dix à quatre-vingts, la séparation fut claire en ce qui concerne les historiens de l'époque moderne (Martín Aceña et Prados 1985:12, Fernández Clemente 1997: 59; Fernández de Pinedo 1993: 69). Ils participèrent à la réalisation de grandes enquêtes – sur le climat, sur la production agricole – et aux grands débats, comme celui de la construction de modèles explicatifs dans lesquels le moteur de l'histoire était la mécanique des fluctuations multiséculaires, comme par exemple, au colloque de Compostelle de 1984 auquel a participé Pierre Goubert (Eiras Roel 1990). Par la suite, leur centre d'intérêt s'est porté sur des objectifs plus modestes et plus faciles à aborder par des chercheurs qui travaillaient en solitaire ou en petits groupes.

Quant à l'histoire sociale, durant les années quatre-vingts, elle paraît avoir dominé les méthodes quantitatives et d'autres innovations méthodologiques, en ce qui concerne l'étude des inégalités sociales, ainsi qu'un programme centré sur les groupes et classes sociales, sa définition, constitution et ses relations, conçues non seulement en termes d'opposition, mais aussi de collaboration. Cependant, l'échec relatif de la proposition d'Ernest Labrousse[3] – pourtant la mieux conçue pour classer la société de l'Ancien Régime et pour la rendre compréhensible –, a provoqué plus de questions que de réponses; puisque la société est toujours réticente à se laisser classer, il faut se demander comment doit-on faire, comment éviter que des catégories soient superposées à d'autres, comment les mesurer. Les mêmes problèmes furent posés par les historiens espagnols, mais l'histoire sociale n'a pas produit en Espagne un modèle original, contrairement aux pays voisins, et la rénovation a dépendu de l'influence des *Annales* et, secondairement, de l'histoire sociale allemande, de la *microstoria* italienne et des tendances anglo-américaines (Fortea 2001: 225; Molas Ribalta 1985: 299).

Dans l'Espagne de l'époque qui nous intéresse, on cherchait une voie méthodologique pour accéder au niveau mental à travers les éléments matériels; ce fut un objectif prioritaire pendant les années soixante-dix et quatre-vingts, parce que c'était le troisième secteur qui devait permettre la construction de l'histoire totale et parce qu'il paraissait logique que les succès de la rénovation méthodologique laisseraient en dehors ce niveau. Le

[3] En Espagne, la publication du Colloque de Saint Cloud de 1967, publié en espagnol en 1978, eut un grand succès.

programme dessiné en France pour faire l'histoire des mentalités, qui comprenait les pratiques, rites et symboles, afin d'accéder aux systèmes de valeurs dont ils étaient l'expression, consacrait la dimension collective en négligeant l'individuelle – échelle favorite de l'ancienne histoire des idéologies –, à travers des sources et une information susceptible d'être quantifiées. Le succès de ce type d'histoire fut énorme parmi les historiens espagnols, mais l'histoire de la culture fut le substitut rapide de l'histoire des mentalités, ancrée dans l'étude des attitudes devant la mort ou de la religiosité populaire (Bazán 1993: 37).

Dans le contexte espagnol, les hispanistes français servirent de médiateurs, en encourageant les historiens espagnols à utiliser de nouvelles sources, à appliquer la critique interne, et à étendre les zones de travail en dépassant les tendances territorialisées (Vincent 1997). En démographie, ils ont invité les Espagnols à couvrir les lacunes qui existaient dans la connaissance de l'évolution et des caractères de la population espagnole; Bartolomé Bennassar, Bernard Vincent et d'autres hispanistes ont contribué à ouvrir des voies nouvelles comme, par exemple, l'étude des pestes – mais ils n'étaient pas démographes –. Plus clair était l'intérêt de l'hispanisme français pour l'économie espagnole de l'époque moderne, surtout pour l'insertion dans le système d'échanges de l'Europe occidentale et la relation avec l'Amérique, c'est-à-dire, les relations de marché. Avant et pendant l'époque qui nous occupe, les lignes classiques de l'économie ont été mieux étudiées par les hispanistes: le commerce extérieur et l'économie maritime et leurs circuits et niveaux (Chaunu); la conjoncture analysée à travers les indicateurs traditionnels – monnaie, prix et salaires – et leurs agents sociaux (Lapeyre). En ce qui concerne les activités industrielles, l'historiographie française a tardé à reconnaître l'importance de l'industrie rurale, puisqu'elle n'était pas liée au grand marché et parce qu'il n'y avait pas une source globale d'information; mais l'industrie corporative urbaine et les centres textiles ont été bien étudiés surtout par Pierre Vilar. Pour ce qui est de l'histoire sociale, les hispanistes étaient plus intéressés par l'étude des groupes sociaux, spécialement, des secteurs minoritaires ou bien des privilégiés, de leurs caractéristiques et des fondements économiques de l'inégalité sociale; aussi par l'étude de la noblesse traditionnelle; de l'invasion des charges de la monarchie (Pelorson, Fayard); des villes et de leurs habitants (Bennassar, Montemayor).

Pourtant, le point de contact entre les hispanistes français et l'influence de Pierre Goubert se trouve dans le secteur économique fondamental que constitue le monde rural. Noël Salomon fut le premier hispaniste qui fit un effort pour étudier l'Espagne rurale; B. Bennassar, J.P. Amalric, F. Brumont, J.P. Le Flem, G. Lemeunier, P. Ponsot s'engagèrent dans l'étude des territoires ou des problèmes du monde rural espagnol, surtout pour les XVIe et XVIIe siècles (Brumont 2009: 87, García González 2009: 127); ils ont collaboré en comblant le déficit d'études sur les conditions générales de la paysannerie et ses niveaux de richesse, sur la vie rurale et communautaire, la distribution de la propriété, les régimes de location de la terre, le poids de la féodalité etc., aspects qu'ils ont abordés généralement à partir d'une perspective régionale, selon le modèle français. Les hispanistes spécialisés dans le monde rural vivaient en contact avec les historiens du monde rural espagnol et c'est ensemble qu'ils ont organisé des colloques internationaux sur ce sujet.

2. Les livres de Pierre Goubert en Espagne

a) Beauvais et le Beauvaisis (1960)

Le nom de Goubert apparaît cité parmi les historiens qui avaient ouvert de nouvelles possibilités à l'histoire démographique comme, par exemple, leur application à l'Histoire de l'Éducation, lorsque l'on réclamait des liens avec d'autres disciplines, grâce au "réalisme" que les données démographiques apportent à la connaissance historique (Eiras Roel 1976, 1992, Martínez Navarro 1982: 193), il est cité dans des études sur les sources démographiques (Martín Galán 1981: 231), sur des aspects spécifiques comme la mortalité et les épidémies (Martínez Gil 1984: 323; Fortea 1981: 45); dans les débats sur les populations stables (Castellón Traver 1978: 38) et sur l'histoire de la famille, car on peut reconnaître en Goubert l'un des premiers historiens qui a traité ce sujet (Chacón Jiménez 2003: 26). Rappelons que Pierre Goubert fut, en France, président de la *Société de Démographie Historique*, une association qui, depuis 1964, publie les *Annales de Démographie Historique*, une revue qui a un impact en Espagne.

Cependant, l'influence de Goubert fut fondamentale, parmi les jeunes historiens espagnols, en tant que modèle pour les thèses régionales d'histoire rurale. L'œuvre clé de Goubert est la magnifique thèse sur une petite ville, Beauvais, et son territoire, le Beauvaisis, pendant le XVIIe siècle. Il faut souligner qu'il n'y avait pas beaucoup d'exemplaires de la première édition, publiée en 1960, qui n'était pas bien distribuée, dans l'Espagne de 1973. Par contre, la version commerciale de 1968 de l'éditeur parisien Flammarion – *Cent mille provinciaux au XVIIe siècle* (1968) – fut très bien diffusée. Cela peut être vérifié dans les bibliothèques universitaires espagnoles, qui possèdent généralement cette édition ou la réédition du texte original publiée en 1982, mais non pas la première, sauf quelques exceptions très symboliques–par exemple, les Universités de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, de Barcelone, de Valence–; la première édition était aussi connue grâce aux historiens espagnols qui avaient fait des études en France. Que ce soit une version ou l'autre, cela n'a pas d'importance: ce modèle d'analyse a profondément attiré les historiens espagnols d'Histoire Moderne ou d'Histoire Économique: «Comme s'il s'agissait d'un rite d'initiation, toutes les recherches mises en marche essayaient de comparer leurs séries avec celle-là» (Fernández Albaladejo 2002: 325); le fait que Pierre Goubert ait étudié le XVIIe siècle, pour lequel les sources espagnoles ne sont pas bonnes, n'a pas été décisif, puisque le modèle a été appliqué surtout au XVIIIe siècle, pour des raisons de qualité et de quantité de l'information. Évidemment, la thèse de Goubert n'est pas le seul modèle. La thèse de E. Le Roy Ladurie sur le Languedoc (1966) a été suivie avec la même admiration; et il faut remarquer qu'il y avait déjà deux thèses territoriales françaises sur l'Espagne: celle de Pierre Vilar sur la Catalogne (*La Catalogne dans l'Espagne moderne* 1962) et celle de Bartolomé Bennassar sur Valladolid (*Valladolid au Siècle d'Or* 1967). Toutefois, sans doute, l'œuvre de Goubert avait l'attrait de sa clarté narrative et de la simplicité apparente de son schéma de travail.

Le succès de l'histoire rurale territoriale en Espagne n'est pas discutable. Il y eu des fruits avant 1973, mais surtout par la suite: Baudilio Barreiro sur Xallas au XVIIIe siècle. (1973); E. Fernández de Pinedo au Pays Basque de 1100 à 1850, en 1973 également; A. García Sanz en Vieille-Castille en 1981, etc. L'analyse de leurs bibliographies révèle qu'on connaissait, en général, *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis* par son édition titrée *Cent mille provinciaux au XVIIe siècle.* Sans doute, l'attention portée par les historiens à l'histoire régionale, à partir de 1973, a joué un rôle important dans le changement qui était devenu nécessaire pour l'historiographie espagnole, et, dans ce contexte, Goubert a été vu comme l'historien qui avait créé la méthode la plus applicable pour une recherche de type individuelle, sans équipes et sans moyens financiers, mais qui exige une bonne connaissance du territoire à analyser.

Le lien entre l'étude de la population, les bases économiques et l'organisation sociale avait été formulé en France autour d'un modèle de travail avec deux variantes: l'histoire urbaine et l'histoire rurale, liées à travers les analyses régionales. Des historiens attachés à l'histoire de l'Espagne, comme Fernand Braudel (1949) et Pierre Chaunu (1955-59), auteurs de deux gigantesques essais de macro-histoire, étaient conscients que l'étude des grands espaces pouvait être conduite vers des dimensions plus pratiques, à travers les monographies régionales: la recherche de longue durée n'exigeait pas impérativement d'être réalisée dans des contextes très vastes, mais elle pouvait être effectuée dans un cadre plus petit, sans perdre pour autant sa valeur scientifique. Les grandes monographies françaises d'histoire rurale ont alors adopté un espace de plus petite portée comme les bassins méditerranéens ou atlantiques, mais se caractérisaient par leur unité; il suffit de rappeler trois monographies qui ont servi de modèle: le Beauvaisis de P. Goubert, le Languedoc d'E. Le Roy Ladurie (1966) et la Basse-Provence de René Baehrel (1961). Les études de caractère régional partent d'une réalité définie par des paramètres géographiques et par certaines constantes historiques ou sociales; le territoire est soumis à l'analyse de leurs éléments essentiels: la population, l'économie rurale et les autres économies, le régime de propriété et le système de revenus, le rôle et la fonction des différents groupes sociaux, l'examen de la société rurale, les niveaux socio-économiques, les mentalités et les habitudes culturelles et religieuses, l'organisation politique et les pouvoirs locaux. Tout cela devrait nous conduire, avec une double optique, de la réalité statique à la réalité en mouvement: il s'agissait d'étudier l'articulation des structures et les conjonctures d'un territoire.

La monographie régionale comme modèle

La monographie de base géographique part du concept que le savoir global progresse grâce à l'accumulation des connaissances locales, mais cela n'a jamais été atteint, car ce type de recherche était individuel comme sa réflexion sur la signification et l'articulation des variables, de sorte que le résultat ne fut pas homogène et il y avait autant de modèles que d'études. Néanmoins, les historiens espagnols ont bien compris l'importance de résultats différents pour une Espagne qui était en train d'organiser un système de régions et de municipalités autonomes, puisque chaque monographie étudie un petit monde où l'on développe, à propre échelle, l'histoire totale en considérant toutes les facettes de l'expérience humaine, économique, sociale, culturelle et politique. Pour les historiens, les espaces d'analyse, géographiquement délimités, structurés ou matérialisés par les différences de paysage naturel ou culturel et par des relations économiques ou sociales, peuvent être étudiés de façon autonome (Aymard 1974: 493): l'échelle locale était légitimée par l'uniformité des situations et dans cette échelle, l'historien développait une histoire totale qui valait comme exemple. Le temps est le second élément des monographies territoriales: le temps historique peut être décomposé en unités de durée variable, car s'il est homogène et répétitif, l'espace est hétérogène, de sorte que chaque analyse pouvait marquer des différences et sous-estimer les similitudes avec les zones étudiées par d'autres. Comme dans le cas français, les analyses régionales allaient contre une synthèse, mais en Espagne, la différence était la clé.

L'objectif de Goubert et d'autres auteurs était l'intégration de leurs territoires dans une synthèse en France, mais cela fut impossible pour des motifs très complexes: les sources, techniques et méthodes ne coïncidaient pas; il y avait des interprétations différentes, rythmes et comportements divers, et, surtout, un manque de capacité pour les intégrer dans un schéma complexe. Cette tendance à la dispersion explique la crise des analyses régionales, sans comprendre que du désordre on détachait un ordre: les fluctuations économiques, sociales, culturelles ou politiques des territoires répondaient à une même causalité et étaient, par conséquent, un moyen d'accéder à la globalité; les corrélations entre les séries forment un système. D'autre part, la tendance séculaire et les oscillations cycliques, la structure et la conjoncture, et leurs connexions ont servi pour construire une image scientifique du métier d'historien et pour régulariser l'ordre narratif des résultats de la recherche, qui a marqué un style (Denis 1995: 56). L'histoire régionale doit beaucoup à Pierre Goubert et a été, jusqu'à présent, l'un des essais d'analyse les plus fructueux. Pourtant, Goubert n'a pas échappé aux critiques: Antoni Furió l'accuse d'agrandir les permanences et les inerties dans un système relativement stable et de contaminer les monographies régionales avec son emphase dans les grandes structures – démographiques, productives –, mais il reconnaît aussi qu'il nuance la stabilité à travers les différences entre les paysans riches et les autres (Furió 2007: 391).

Néanmoins, il faut souligner que, parmi les espagnols, la thèse de Goubert est le Beauvaisis et non la ville de Beauvais, malgré son influence évidente sur les études urbaines de B. Bennassar et d'autres chercheurs consacrés à l'histoire urbaine (Vilalta 2009: 165). Quelques historiens l'ont suivi dans des études sur Valladolid, Cáceres, Cartagena, etc. Goubert n'est pas cité dans les études sur le commerce et les négociants ou sur l'industrie textile, sauf exceptions (Molas Ribalta 1977: 13, Ramos Medina 2000: 16); mentionnons des chapitres importants de la thèse de González Enciso, A. (1980); ou bien, sur des questions sociales urbaines, comme la pauvreté, bien qu'il ait un écho dans des œuvres consacrées à Séville (Carmona 2000: 285) et à la société picaresque du Siècle d'Or (Cavillac 1975: 106). Il y a d'autres aspects de *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis* qui sont passés inaperçus pour les historiens espagnols, par exemple, l'importance accordée à la culture populaire, de sorte que Goubert est peu cité dans les études sur l'univers mental rural (Moreno Navarro 1972: 58, Gomarin 1987: 149) et urbain (Zozaya 2007: 354).

b) L'Ancien Régime de Pierre Goubert (1969 et 1973)

Si du point de vue de la recherche, l'influence de Goubert a été très notable avec *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis*, une autre de ses œuvres, *L'Ancien Régime*, publiée par la maison d'édition française Armand Colin à Paris, en deux volumes successifs, de 1969 et 1973, eut un bien plus grand succès en Espagne. En 1971, la traduction en espagnol du premier volume sur la société contribua grandement à ce succès, qui est tangible à travers le nombre de rééditions. Quand on publia à Buenos Aires la traduction de cette première partie, la publicité présentait Pierre Goubert comme le seul historien capable de faire une synthèse de si haut niveau sur l'Ancien Régime français; la maison d'édition justifia cette affirmation en nous renvoyant à sa thèse, une «contribution excellente à l'histoire de la France du XVIIe siècle», qui l'avait consacré «parmi les grands historiens français actuels», puisque son «étude monographique et régionale, méticuleuse et complète» permettait «de comprendre les grandes tendances du *grand siècle français*». Le volume était une synthèse de recherches et des œuvres d'autres historiens spécialistes du XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle. Les éditeurs faisaient l'éloge de l'auteur et de l'importance du livre «pensé avec profondeur et synthétisé avec simplicité, dont il connaît le sujet comme personne»; mais, sans doute, le plus frappant est que l'on insistait sur l'explication du concept d'«Ancien Régime» et de son contenu, qui constituait autant une nouveauté méthodologique qu'«un véritable succès pédagogique»[4].

Le second volume, consacré aux pouvoirs, fut traduit plus tard en espagnol, en 1979, au Mexique, et fut présenté par la maison d'édition comme «un manuel utile pour la compréhension de l'Ancien Régime», de sa décadence et disparition, «ainsi que de sa survie sous des manières transformées: dans ce tableau, on combine les faits pleinement documentés avec des hypothèses interprétatives suggestives». Toutefois, Goubert n'emploie pas l'ordre classique qui partait de l'exposition de l'État comme centre du pouvoir et qui dessinait sa structure pyramidale–le roi, la Cour, les ministres, les conseils, les administrations centrales, provinciales, locales et spécialisées, les grands corps...–, mais Goubert pose la question des résistances à l'action de l'État comme des manifestations de la société dont l'État forme partie et affirme que l'État et ses institutions représentent seulement une petite partie de la société; par conséquent, Goubert cassait le schéma traditionnel, où la structure de l'État et ses initiatives (positives) faisaient face aux résistances, en tant que réponses négatives et ancrées dans les forces du passé, opposées au progrès et représentées par le pouvoir. Goubert parle de la société comme d'une partie inséparable de l'État, des territoires et des «provinces», des unités «naturelles» pour lesquelles l'action de l'État apparaît comme une intrusion[5].

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[4] En Argentine, la traduction vers l'espagnol est d'Alberto Calou et la relecture de l'historienne médiéviste Reyna Pastor de Togneri.

[5] *L'Ancien Régime*, Mexique, Siècle XXI, 1979; la traduction est de Nestor Miguez.

Le succès de cette œuvre est reflété par le nombre d'éditions (en 1984, le volume sur les pouvoirs en était déjà à sa quatrième édition), par le nombre d'exemplaires dans les bibliothèques espagnoles, et les comptes-rendus écrits par des historiens, mais aussi par des sociologues comme R. Morales Arias. Le compte-rendu de Morales Arias, publié dans la *Revista española de opinión pública* en 1975, souligne l'intérêt du premier volume de l'œuvre de Goubert pour les sociologues, en proposant une étude sur la société et l'État comme principes ou forces opposés: pour les sociologues, *L'Ancien Régime* avait ouvert une nouvelle perspective, séparée des approches de *consensus*, en mettant l'accent sur la dialectique, en ligne directe avec Marx; toutefois, Morales signale que Goubert oubliait l'influence anglaise et le caractère critique de la pensée française et qu'il tendait à généraliser le modèle français en négligeant l'importance du modèle anglais.

Cette note et d'autres ont marqué une autre dimension de l'*Ancien Régime*, la pédagogique, essentielle de deux manières très différentes: citer Goubert est devenu une pratique générale dans les concours de professorat des universités – il a fait partie de la «mise en scène» de ces concours –, mais l'œuvre est devenue ce qu'avaient prétendu les éditeurs espagnols, c'est-à-dire, un manuel d'Histoire Moderne. Il faut tenir compte de ce que l'œuvre a été incorporée comme référence incontournable dans le nouveau plan d'études de Géographie et d'Histoire en 1973, mentionné plus haut; par exemple, en 1975, on expliquait pour la première fois à l'Université de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle «d'Histoire Moderne Universelle» et le «manuel» de Goubert faisait partie du matériel d'études, tandis que *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis* et *Cent mille provinciaux* étaient lus au cours de la dernière année de maîtrise, dans la matière «Méthodologie de l'Histoire Moderne», comme les œuvres de Braudel, Labrousse, Le Roy Ladurie etc., et servaient de base aux mémoires de maîtrise sur l'histoire rurale de Galice.

3. Goubert après Goubert

Les bibliothèques des universités espagnoles ont beaucoup d'œuvres de Pierre Goubert dans leurs collections et son nom n'a pas été associé seulement à ses livres les plus spécialisés. Son livre sur la vie quotidienne des français (1982) a eu son écho dans des livres comme celui de P. Saavedra sur la Galice (1994) et certains de ses aspects, comme l'analyse de la vie paroissiale, ont inspiré des auteurs qui se sont consacrés à l'étude du clergé et de l'Église (Puigver i Solá 2001), mais leurs apports ne sont pas reconnus d'une façon générale. La dimension politique des textes de Goubert a été très bien acceptée, mais il a reçu quelques critiques pour sous-estimer les individus; il est vrai que ces critiques ont été faites par des historiens français qui étudient l'Espagne (Schaub 2004). Sa biographie de Mazarin (1990) ne fut pas un livre de référence: les historiens n'ont pas vu cette œuvre comme un livre essentiel (Usunariz 2006, 400) et l'on n'a pas fait de traduction espagnole qui aurait visé un lectorat non professionnel. Cependant, le nom de Pierre Goubert sera toujours le nom d'un maître qui nous a fait comprendre et aimer l'histoire.

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En hommage à Pierre Goubert : un professeur hors du commun

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Abstract: This essay intends to express, with some emotion and retrospective happiness, what our master, Pierre Goubert, brought to me and to a generation of fellow historians, through his teaching and books. He was one of the great historians of early modern peasants during the reign of Louis XIV, thanks to his researches in archives and his pioneering studies in historical demography, not to mention his talents as a writer, portraying and giving life both to humble people and to some well-known characters, including Louis XIV and Mazarin!

Keywords: Ancien Regime, Beauvaisis, Parish Registers, Peasants, Province, History, Annales School.

J'avais vingt ans l'année (1958) où Pierre Goubert a soutenu sa thèse de doctorat d'Etat dans un amphi tout aussi vénérable que la vénérable Sorbonne où il se présentait devant son jury avec pour directeur Ernest Labrousse[1]. J'avais dix ans de plus lorsque parut en librairie, en 1968, publiée à Paris chez Flammarion, une version abrégée de sa thèse : *100.000 provinciaux au XVIIème siècle. Beauvais et le Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730*. Bien sûr, nous ne pouvions savoir que nos années d'études, en lycée puis à l'université, étaient comprises au sein des « Trente Glorieuses », ainsi baptisées *a posteriori*.

Bien sûr nous ne pouvions mesurer la chance qui était la nôtre de pouvoir mener à bien notre penchant ou plutôt notre passion pour l'histoire tant étaient reconnus et rayonnants les travaux en cours des historiens de l'Ecole des *Annales*. Pierre Goubert avant d'en faire partie n'avait-il pas été un moment l'étudiant de Marc Bloch à l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Saint-Cloud après ses années d'études comme élève-maître à l'Ecole normale d'instituteurs d'Angers ? En même temps, sa génération comme la nôtre, même séparées par l'immense et tragique fracture de la seconde guerre mondiale, bénéficiaient du

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prestige et du rôle des disciplines littéraires, toutes confondues dans une même reconnaissance de la culture et de l'humanisme.

Autant d'atouts étrangement absents aujourd'hui au regard des difficultés actuelles de nos jeunes collègues et du déclin des vocations pour le métier d'enseignant. Notre chance supplémentaire a été de rencontrer Pierre Goubert. Il fut notre professeur d'histoire moderne à l'Ecole normale supérieure/ENS Cachan qui s'appelait alors l'ENSET (Ecole normale supérieure de l'enseignement technique) et venait juste d'abandonner les locaux parisiens tristes et exigus du boulevard de l'Hôpital pour s'installer dans ses grands bâtiments de Cachan où nous étions bien logés, assez bien nourris et pleinement satisfaits d'intégrer pour trois années une grande Ecole moins soumise au bachotage surhumain d'une classe préparatoire qu'elle soit parisienne, provinciale, ou même versaillaise comme celle où j'avais été admise après l'obtention du baccalauréat à l'issue d'études secondaires au lycée de jeunes filles de Périgueux, désormais lycée Laure Gatet, implanté route de Paris, aujourd'hui avenue Pompidou. Dans cette même ville, sur l'autre rive de L'Isle, dans le quartier des Barris, largement exposé aux débordements de la rivière, se dressait sur la place Faidherbe, aux platanes centenaires, l'Ecole Normale de Périgueux réservée aux futurs instituteurs. Juste avant la guerre, au sortir de Saint-Cloud, Pierre Goubert y enseigna les lettres avec pour distraction des balades en vélo sur les routes sinueuses du Périgord.

Dès la rentrée qui suivit notre admission à l'ENSET (1956), notre promotion de « littéraires » fut scindée en quatre : le groupe le plus nombreux réservé aux futurs enseignants de lettres, le plus réduit aux « artistes », dévolus à l'enseignement des disciplines artistique en lycée technique, le reste de la promotion étant partagée, presque à égalité, entre les options de langues et celle d'histoire-géographie. Dans ce dernier groupe de moins de dix étudiants, nous allions recevoir un enseignement de spécialité afin de franchir sans encombre les épreuves écrites et orales, théoriques et pratiques, du CAPET (Certificat aptitude professionnel de l'enseignement technique) en se référant à un calendrier jalonné d'exposés, d'interrogations orales (colles) et de concours blancs. Soit la perspective de trois années bien remplies mais souvent joyeuses, agrémentées de sorties parisiennes dans les cinémas ou au Théatre National Populaire/TNP de Jean Vilar, en rien semblables au rythme oppressant de la préparation du concours d'entrée. Le tout étant agrémenté du statut flatteur d'élève-professeur doté d'une rémunération convenable, une fois défalqués nos frais d'hébergement sur le site de Cachan. Pour la plupart, autant que je m'en souvienne, nous n'éprouvions guère d'inquiétude pour un avenir que nous savions désormais bien tracé en dépit de l'incertitude, savamment entretenue par l'administration, du lieu de notre première nomination, la plupart du temps au nord de la Loire, ce fleuve frontière des carrières enseignantes. Même pour les garçons de la promotion, l'obligation du service militaire en ces années douloureuses de guerre d'Algérie était adoucie, à la sortie de l'Ecole, par une fréquente affectation comme enseignants dans une école militaire, le temps d'un service de plus en plus allongé.

Notre chance ne s'arrêtait pas à ces avantages qui semblent aujourd'hui des privilèges, elle comprenait aussi pour compléter notre formation le recrutement par l'Ecole de professeurs différents de ceux qui avaient fait de nous des apprentis historiens au fur et à mesure des années passées en lycée et en classe prépa. Pour tout dire, cette différence faisait d'eux des enseignants inhabituels dont la mission était de nous initier aux doutes et aux questions propres à tout parcours de recherche soumis aux oscillations entre intense curiosité et perpétuelle insatisfaction. L'une n'allant pas sans l'autre et toutes deux étant dépendantes de deux impératifs qui nous étaient bel et bien inconnus: celui des sources documentaires, quelle que soit leur nature, et celui de la méthode. Désormais, à l'époque laborieuse et répétitive de l'acquisition de connaissances parées du label de manuels qui avaient été notre pain quotidien, allait succéder une nouvelle période, balisée par des enseignants aventuriers de la recherche dans leur discipline et sur un territoire déterminé et jalousement gardé, celui de leur sujet de thèse. Eux-mêmes, nous l'avons appris plus tard, à l'heure des confidences après quelques décennies de silence, appréciaient de trouver un public qui les préparait au grand passage vers l'enseignement supérieur.

Pour notre plus grand plaisir, teinté d'admiration, Pierre Goubert fut l'un d'eux. Nous ne savions pas alors qu'il terminait une thèse commencée dès 1946 dans l'immédiat après-guerre, juste après sa nomination au collège de Beauvais. Nous ignorions aussi l'intitulé de son sujet : « Beauvais et le Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730. Contribution à l'histoire sociale de la France du XVIIème siècle ». Mise à part l'immense cathédrale Saint-Pierre, chef d'œuvre de l'art gothique, et l'héroïque résistance de Jeanne Hachette face au « méchant » Charles Le Téméraire, il est peu probable que son territoire d'historien ait été connu de nous. Lui-même a d'ailleurs mis du temps à nous en parler à la fois par discrétion et pour ne pas s'évader hors sujet puisque la question mise au programme de notre futur CAPET–« Les Européens hors d'Europe » – n'avait rien de commun avec ses propres recherches et avec les patients et méticuleux dépouillements qu'il menait en archives depuis une décennie. A vrai dire, et mon souvenir n'est pas infidèle, lui-même n'était guère connaisseur de cette question de notre programme: il la défrichait quelques jours ou quelques heures avant de nous faire cours et de nous transmettre avec l'humour teinté d'allégresse ou de réprobation qui était le sien ses étonnements et ses découvertes historiennes et historiographiques. Ainsi avons nous progressé ensemble sur les mers et les océans des grandes découvertes avec pour compagnons de navigation les Portugais, puis les Espagnols, puis les Anglais, enfin les Français, sans oublier les Hollandais, représentants d'une nation que Pierre Goubert n'a cessé d'admirer et de respecter au regard de ses combats de libération puis de sa résistance contre les Espagnols et les Français au cours de ce XVIIème siècle qu'il connaissait déjà si bien. C'est pourquoi il eut longtemps le projet de consacrer un ouvrage aux « siècles d'or » des nations en commençant par celui des Provinces Unies, exemplaire à plus d'un titre. Cette appréciation ne fut peut-être pas étrangère à l'écriture de son *Louis XIV et vingt millions de Français*, approche incomparable d'un souverain avec ses deux clés d'entrée: à l'intérieur du royaume de France, celle des habitants-sujets de Beauvais et du Beauvaisis, à l'extérieur, celle de la Hollande que Louis XIV réduisait à une « république de marchands » qu'il fallait effacer de la carte de l'Europe des monarchies.

A mesure que nous explorions les terres colonisées par les « Européens hors d'Europe » en compagnie de Pierre Goubert, tellement scrupuleux de la chronologie et des événements mais tellement lucide quant aux conséquences de cette domination sans concession, nous avons pris l'habitude de transformer les pauses entre les heures de cours en sujets de conversation hors programme. Lui-même s'y prêtait bien volontiers comme la plupart des étudiants de notre groupe qui, délaissant les couloirs, choisissaient de ne pas quitter une salle de plus en plus enfumée par les uns et les autres. Ces instants de récréation sont restés ancrés dans ma mémoire car ils ont servi d'entrée en matière à la compréhension de l'histoire tissée par Pierre Goubert à partir de sources d'archives capables de livrer sans fioriture la vie quotidienne des Français de l'Ancien Régime à partir de l'observatoire de Beauvais et du Beauvaisis, une ville et ses campagnes environnantes étroitement soudées sans être pour autant solidaires. Nous avons su alors, sans pouvoir en mesurer toute l'importance, quelles trouvailles il avait faites par la seule consultation, mûrement réfléchie et solidement organisée, des registres paroissiaux transcrits en courbes constituées de clochers de mortalités catastrophiques, suivies de descentes brutales, puis de faux plats qui lui rappelaient peut-être ses excursions à vélo en Périgord. En attendant l'âge de l'ordinateur, un petit nombre d'entre nous, convertis à la démographie historique, s'est exercé à son tour à tracer des barres les unes à côté des autres avant de les compter et de les recompter à la façon des bûchettes qui avaient guidé nos premiers calculs à l'école primaire.

Cette initiation à une comptabilité des êtres humains devenue la mesure de leurs misères, de leurs souffrances, de leurs maladies et de leurs décès, nous la devons à Pierre Goubert, inlassable défricheur d'un monde paysan, non pas unique et solidaire, mais pétri de catégories sociales aux appellations changeantes d'un lieu à l'autre, d'une province à l'autre. Il n'est pas seul dans cette formidable exploration d'une société d'Ancien Régime, d'autres historiens l'ont accompagné sur leur territoire de recherche, d'autres l'ont suivi, formés à ses méthodes, à sa bonhomie faite de générosité et de bon sens. J'ai eu, quelques années après la sortie de l'ENSET, la chance de préparer une thèse[2] sous sa direction à la fois amicale et rigoureuse. N'avions-nous pas pour point commun de connaître le Périgord et même la place Faidherbe de Périgueux, lieu de son entrée dans l'enseignement ? Bien plus, le territoire qui devint le mien, celui de la vallée navigable de la Dordogne au XVIIIème siècle et de ses « gens de rivière », ne pouvait lui être étranger car ces bateliers de la Dordogne qui travaillent la rivière à la façon d'une terre porteuse de récoltes de poissons et acquittent pour naviguer quantité de péages, de droits et de taxes, versés aux seigneurs et aux villes riveraines, ressemblent comme des frères aux paysans du Beauvaisis. Comme eux, ils dépendent de marchands bordelais, proches dans leur manière d'être et de s'enrichir aux deux familles marchandes et beauvaisiennes des Danse et des Motte dont la stratégie n'avait plus de secret pour leur historien, Pierre Goubert.

En 1977, lors de ma soutenance de thèse, comment ne pas se souvenir du rendez-vous officiel qu'il avait donné à ses étudiants de l'ENSET et de Saint-Cloud de venir assister à sa soutenance de thèse? Pour nous c'était une première à laquelle j'eus l'honneur d'assister en compagnie de proches camarades: Claude Algret, historien de ma promotion, hélas disparu, Denyse, sa future épouse, amie de longue date, et Daniel Roche, venu de Saint-Cloud, en attendant d'être quelques années plus tard associé à Pierre Goubert pour la composition et l'écriture de leur manuel hors du commun: *les Français et l'Ancien Régime*, avant de devenir lui-même un grand historien de la génération suivante sur des sujets d'abord proches, puis différents de celui qui fut notre maître et que nous continuons de reconnaître comme tel, surtout en souvenir des questions insidieuses, teintées d'idéologie, que lui posa Roland Mousnier lors d'une soutenance qui fut le contraire d'un long fleuve tranquille. Mais lui-même s'y attendait et nous avait avertis de contenir notre émotion et notre indignation!

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[2] *Les gens de la rivière de Dordogne: 1750-1850*, par Anne-Marie Cocula-Vaillières.

Pierre Goubert Beauvaisien

Jean-Pierre Goubert

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Abstract: The first academic tribute to Pierre Goubert, historian (1915-2012), famous author of *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730. Contribution à l'histoire sociale de la France du XVIIe siècle,* Paris (1960), was by a workshop at the Archives of Oise Department, 5 March, 2012 in Beauvais. At this panel, his son, Jean-Pierre Goubert, himself historian of medicine at EHESS, Paris, presented a personal evocation of his father's life course and childhood memories of post-war family life.

Keywords: Pierre Goubert, Beauvais, Beauvaisis, Annales School, post-war France, historical demography, parish registers

L'hommage rendu à mon père, Pierre Goubert, concerne aussi bien l'enseignant que le chercheur et l'historien.[1] Son non-conformisme, sa personnalité originale par rapport à certains *sorbonicoles* sont allés de pair avec une acuité et une somme de travail hors du commun; et cela en particulier lors de ses années beauvaisiennes: de 1941 à 1959.

Tard le soir, en revenant du cinéma tout proche de la place Jeanne Hachette où nous habitions, il m'arrivait souvent d'entendre le cliquetis de sa machine à écrire dans le silence de Beauvais endormi. Le lendemain matin, après une courte nuit, il était occupé à préparer le petit déjeuner de la famille. Le jeudi, à cette époque, les élèves avaient congé. Notre père nous emmenait souvent nous promener dans un Beauvais en reconstruction semé de terrains vagues.

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[1] Le premier hommage académique rendu à Pierre Goubert le fut par une table ronde, présidée par Madame Claudine Cartier, à l'initiative des Archives départementales de l'Oise, le 5 Mars 2012, à Beauvais. Lors de cette séance, son fils, Jean-Pierre Goubert, tint à remercier les autorités présentes, les organisateurs, les intervenants et tous les amis de son père, par la présente intervention, en évoquant la figure de son père et quelques souvenirs de son enfance d'après-guerre, en son nom et en celui de sa sœur, Annie, dans les termes qui suivent. Une plaque donnant le nom de Pierre Goubert à l'auditorium des Archives départementales fut alors dévoilée.

Sachant notre gourmandise et fort de la sienne, qu'il manifesta jusqu'à un âge avancé, il nous achetait qui un pain au chocolat, qui un cornet à la crème. Il était, en effet alors libre de son temps pour avoir décroché quatre années de détachement au C.N.R.S.

Après plus d'un an d'attente, après avoir passé le permis de conduire à quarante ans – ce qui, d'après lui fut l'examen qui lui parut le plus difficile– la 4 CV Renault fit son arrivée. Désormais, la guerre, l'occupation, la libération elle-même appartenaient au passé, quoiqu'il en parlât souvent entre amis. Alors advint le temps d'excursionner en Beauvaisis. Bongenou, le Coudray Saint-Germer, Gerberoy, les étangs de Milly, Goincourt, Valdampierre reçurent la visite de la famille Goubert. Mon père conduisait assez nerveusement, la gauloise au bec. Outre les loisirs, la petite voiture de mon père nous emmenait lui et moi assez souvent reconnaitre les hauts-lieux qu'il avait découverts à la lumière des archives de l'Oise, Auneuil en premier, la ferme Saint-Jean en second, et puis tant d'autres!

Peu après son départ du C.N.R.S. (1955), il entra à la VIe Section de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, en continuant d'être Beauvaisien.

Après avoir habité et quant à moi être né à Voisinlieu dans une H.B.M.,[2] le confort urbain nous était advenu: une salle de bain au lieu de l'évier de la cuisine, le chauffage central au lieu du poêle Godin, qui trop souvent s'éteignait la nuit, et que mon père remplissait d'un mauvais charbon d'après-guerre dans la maison d'école de la route de Paris.

Mais, plus de jardin, plus de cour d'école où gauler les noix. De la banlieue ouvrière au confort des classes moyennes le pas avait été franchi en ce temps des « Trente Glorieuses ». Depuis plusieurs lustres, l'ascenseur social avait fonctionné. Saumurois de naissance, le fils unique d'un ouvrier agricole et d'une couturière devenue épicière avait brillé par ses études. Boursier à l'école primaire, élève-maître à l'Ecole Normale d'Angers, il avait préparé l'E.N.S. Saint Cloud à Rennes où il fit la connaissance de notre mère. Une fois reçu, il découvrit aussi la capitale dont il garda pratiquement toujours la mémoire en matière de musique classique et de littérature. Tôt marié, il obtint un poste double (1937) à Périgueux, où il enseigna à l'Ecole Normale. Une fois achevée la brève campagne de France, il entreprit de reprendre ses études, cette fois universitaires. Sous le coup de sa rencontre avec Marc Bloch qu'il avait eu comme professeur à l'E.N.S. Saint-Cloud, il s'orienta vers l'Histoire. Tant qu'il le put, il aima évoquer sa ronde silhouette, son verbe clair et précis, sa verve aussi, qui le charmaient au sens fort du terme. Une seconde rencontre, fut celle

[2] Les Habitations à Bon Marché (HBM) deviendront HLM (Habitations à Loyers Modérés) en 1949.

d'une toute nouvelle revue, je veux parler des *Annales*, dont le premier numéro parut en 1947. Sa lecture l'incita à persévérer dans la voie qu'il s'était proposée.

Mais, pour parvenir à passer une licence d'Histoire, à cette époque il lui fallut apprendre le latin. Il y parvint, cependant qu'il habitait Voisinlieu, seul, avec l'aide d'un dictionnaire défraîchi et d'une grammaire latine du même acabit; et cela alors qu'il exerçait en tant que professeur de Lettres à l'Ecole Primaire supérieure de Beauvais. Les succès universitaires lui sourirent. Il lui arriva de devoir aller en vélo de Beauvais à Paris lorsque la ligne était bombardée; sinon il prenait le train ouvrier celui des wagons de bois des troisièmes classes. Sa licence obtenue, il prépara un Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures, car il se proposait d'enseigner au lycée de Beauvais. Il en attendait une nomination qu'il obtint. Cependant, Clio veillait sur lui. Faute de pouvoir dépouiller les archives de l'Oise alors indisponibles il se rabattit sur les archives hospitalière de Beauvais: celles du « Bureau des pauvres » au 17e siècle, de ce siècle dont Marc Bloch lui avait signifié qu'il était pour lors *terra incognita*. Il parvint alors à déchiffrer la difficile écriture de l'époque. Reçu 4e à l'agrégation, il continua d'enseigner au lycée de Beauvais, améliorant ainsi l'ordinaire, une fois passé le temps des topinambours et des tickets de rationnement. Sa délectation pour le travail sur archives le reprit de plus belle.

Vous le savez ou bien vous l'apprenez, mon père trouva son bonheur d'historien aux archives de l'Oise. Au milieu d'un fouillis, poussiéreux à cette époque, il détecta les seuls registres qui étaient classés: ceux des baptêmes, des mariages et des sépultures. Ouvrant un registre qui concernait la grande crise de 1693-1694, il fut frappé par ses effets sur le petit peuple beauvaisien et sur les campagnes d'alentour. Seul, sans aide, il braqua le projecteur sur Beauvais et le Beauvaisis. Suivant en cela la leçon de Jules Michelet, il ressuscita un 17e siècle qui il était ni celui des rois, ni celui des princes, des évêques et des grands généraux. Les petits paysans, les manouvriers, les laboureurs, de même que les « bons bourgeois » lui tinrent compagnie et firent ses délices.

Le studieux séjour de mon père à Beauvais aura été décisif. S'il se fit connaître du monde des historiens, il fit aussi connaitre le nom de Beauvais dans l'ensemble de la France et jusque dans des pays réputés exotiques. Désormais, grâce à lui en particulier, le nom de Beauvais n'était plus synonyme d'un point ni d'une manufacture de tapisserie.

Pour en terminer, laissez-moi évoquer un souvenir personnel. Alors que voici cinq ans ou environ, je rendais visite à mon père dans sa maison de retraite, je lui fis cette réflexion: « C'est curieux comme ton Beauvaisis ressemble parfois à ton Saumurois natal! » Et lui de me répondre: « C'est normal, c'est le pays de mon père! ».