

Charleville's census reports: an exceptional source for the longitudinal study of urban populations in France

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1. Introduction. In the 1960s, building on the work of Pierre Goubert and Louis Henry, French historical demography developed a large body of research based on a specific source, parish registers, which are abundantly available in France. The questions raised by Peter Laslett (1972) and his team concerning household composition in early modern and nineteenth century societies were then addressed in the 1970s thanks to the deployment of the rare census reports undertaken under the Ancien Regime (Biraben 1963)¹, and the French quinquennial reports of the nineteenth century². French historical demographic research groups undertook large-scale projects, which were grounded in the genealogical monitoring of families³, notably centred around the TRA survey initiated in 1980 by Jacques Dupâquier⁴. In contrast, French research in population history has encountered significantly more difficulties in integrating a number of new methods, such as event history analysis, because of an apparent lack of sources, comparable in terms of precision and regularity to the long Italian series of *stati animarum*⁵ or *anagrafi*⁶, to the Belgian population registers (Leboutte, Obotela 1988; Neven 2003), or to Swedish parishioners' records (Brändström 1998), all of which track with extreme precision the life-course, family evolution, and residential mobility of individuals.

However, this relative lag to a major current in international historical demography is likely to diminish in the coming years with the (re)discovery of a source that is unique in France and rare in Europe: the nominative lists of Charleville's census reports. Since 2007, «Mobilités, Populations, Familles en France du Nord de la fin du XVII^e siècle à la fin du XIX^e siècle»⁷, a research project funded by the National Research Agency (ANR), has been working on building a database for the long-term study of the population of this small French town. It will compare various nominative sources, including these highly regular censuses spanning several centuries, using methods developed over the past twenty years in other countries but which have not yet had a field of application in France until now.

Investigation is still underway and data entry is far from complete. However, it is now possible to clarify the boundaries, describe the database construction, and even provide some initial results that, at least for France, are unprecedented.

2. Charleville and its census reports

2.1. A new town. Our research project is based on Charleville's census reports. This city, which in 1966 merged with its neighbour, Mézières, to become Charleville-

Mézières, is situated today in the prefecture of the Ardennes, a north-east Département of France, bordering Belgium.

Historically, Charleville is a recent creation. It was created in 1606, at the behest of Prince Charles Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers. It was a ‘new town’ (ville neuve), destined to be the capital of the Principality of Arches, a tiny independent principality within the Holy Roman Empire, bordering the kingdom of France and the Low Countries, the southernmost part of which was under Spanish rule at the time. Like most new towns of the Early Modern era, it adopted a geometric layout, centred around a main square (Gonel 2006). To populate his creation, the prince offered privileges to those who agreed to settle there (Hubert 1854, 61-63). No customs duties were imposed on manufactured goods sold beyond the town, asylum for offenders and criminals (1620) was offered, and Jews were welcomed (Robinet 1965-66; Marby 2010). There was slow population growth during the seventeenth century as is evidenced by a ‘livre de bourgeoisie’ listing the names of 1291 individuals (1099 men and 192 women) who had come to settle between 1622 and 1708 (Buffet 2007).

Even though Charleville did not belong to the kingdom of France, the presence of its powerful neighbour became quickly apparent. The frontier city, which adjoined the French fortified town of Mézières, was viewed with suspicion by the Bourbon monarchy who waged recurring wars over its north-east boundaries. In 1687-1688, while maintaining the sovereignty of the Gonzagas, Louis XIV ordered the destruction of the fortifications of Charleville, and the local government came under French domination, in practice. The transition was completed after the death of the last Gonzaga in 1708: the principality was given to the Condés who were required to render homage to the king of France. Charleville became a mere fief; but retained its privileges until the French Revolution. The inhabitants finally gave them up, reluctantly, at the end of 1789. The National Assembly reproached the city for its lack of enthusiasm and chose its rival Mézières to become the administrative centre of the Ardennes. Charleville consoled itself by obtaining the Department’s new Episcopal see (Cart 1991, 87-96).

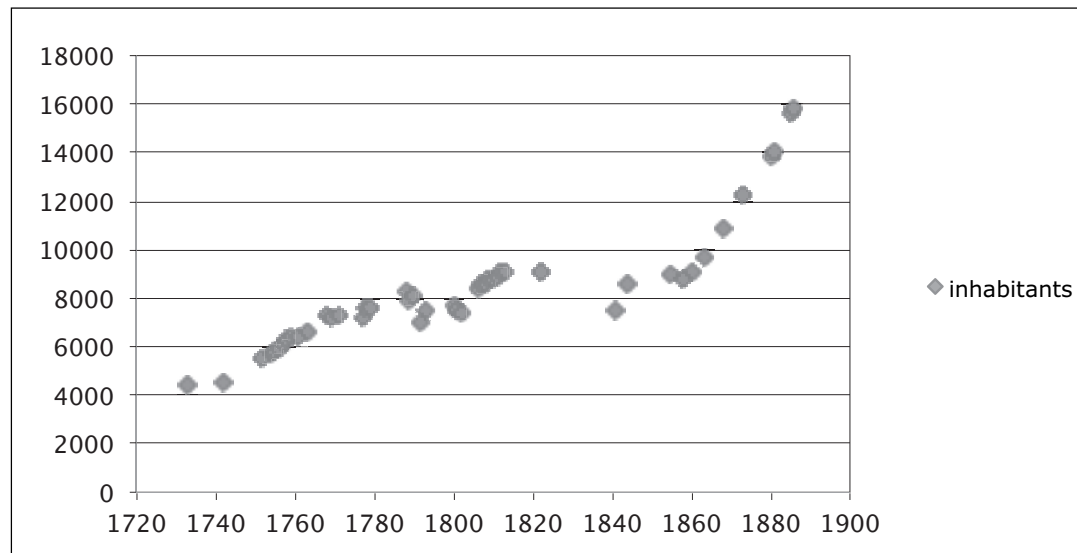
2.2. *An industrial vocation.* Thanks to its port on the Meuse and its tax exemptions⁸, Charleville quickly became an important trading place. The town was home to an important regional grain market and many merchant families. More unusually, the town showed signs of an early industrial dynamism. As early as the Ancien Régime, the city specialised in the production of nails and arms (Colinet 2001)⁹. In 1688 a Royal Arms Manufacture was established that expanded significantly during the second half of the eighteenth century. This was where the famous model 1777 guns were produced, the same that would equip the French army during the American Revolutionary War, but especially during the Wars of Revolution and under Napoleon. Charleville was the second largest arms manufacture of the Napoleonic Empire, behind Saint Etienne.

This vitality can be seen in Charleville’s demographics (Tab. 1; Fig. 1). At the end of the seventeenth century, the town consisted of roughly 4000 inhabitants.

Tab. 1. *Charleville's population growth between 1733 and 1886*

Year	Population
1733	4372
1742	4517
1789	7900
1813	9108
1843	9183
1886	15866

Source: Charleville's communal census. It should be noted that for the nineteenth century, these figures differ from those of the five-year national census provided by the Statistique Générale de la France (General Statistics of France - Le Mée 1989, 336), probably because residence is defined differently and because institutional populations (convents, military personnel, schoolchildren, etc.) were not tallied in the same way.

Fig. 1. *Charleville's population from 1733 to 1886*

After stagnating in the early eighteenth century (4517 inhabitants in 1742¹⁰), its population grew quickly in the second half of the century: 8000 inhabitants in 1789 and 9000 at Napoleon's fall.

Thereafter followed a difficult period. The loss of the Empire and the end of the Napoleonic Wars reduced the demand for weapons, and the Manufacture, considered too close to the border in case of conflict, was closed in 1836. However, economic and population growth resumed during the Second Empire, with the arrival of the railroad (1858) and increased activity throughout the Meuse valley with the growth of the industrial production of nails, metal, glass, brushes (Cart 1991, 120-125). It was during this period that Charleville abandoned its traditional model of proto-industrial production of urban merchants distributing production to workers scattered in the surrounding villages. Thereafter, the reorganisation of the once-

scattered industry into large-scale mechanised installations led to a concentration of the work force in the town. Charleville had only 9183 inhabitants in 1843. By 1873 it had reached 12,000 inhabitants and around 16,000 in 1886. Population growth resulted in the expansion of the outskirts, especially surrounding the railways, which welcomed factories, workers, and railway employees (Cart 1994). The characteristics of a small industrial town were maintained until the economic crisis of the 1970s.

2.3. Exceptional census reports. However, beyond its specific political trajectory and long standing industrial orientation, Charleville's importance for French historical demography resides in the fact that it has a collection of unique census reports¹¹. Indeed, in 1622, the municipal authorities started maintaining a «book of citizenship» (with the names of new residents). In 1698 they started an annual census count that lasted until 1789. During the Revolution and the Empire, they took remarkable care when complying with national guidelines that requested regular censuses (Reinhard 1961). This resulted in a complete series of census counts available from 1805 to 1814. Under the Restoration, at the initiative of municipal authorities, annual counts resumed until the Second World War (Ruggiu 2005). During this same period, other French towns opted to perform census counts only every five years; though there were rare exceptions, Versailles being one of the very few (Levy-Vroelant 1988)¹².

Why Charleville and why 1698? This remains a mystery. It is clear that the initiative certainly took part in the same movement that encouraged the French monarchy in the late seventeenth century, to undertake censuses, particularly in militarily strategic border towns in the North and the East. We must not forget that in 1686, Vauban published his «Méthode générale et facile pour faire le dénombrement des peuples». Eight years later, in 1694, he launched a national survey to establish the capitation tax (Esmonin 1954; Vilquin 1975; Virol 2003). When Charleville began its censuses, four years after that, in 1698, the city was clearly under French administration, in fact if not in law.

Though we can assume the influence of a mindset conducive to census counts, Vauban's direct impact is difficult to demonstrate. Thus the format of Charleville's first nominative lists do not correspond to Vauban's method. The reports began as «simple lists of heads of households», without specifying the composition of the household; this indicates most probably the municipal authorities' fiscal motivations. In 1733, the enumerations were called a «census» of «mouths to feed», and thus were destined more towards managing the city's food supplies. It would seem therefore that the initiative stemmed from local authorities' will to meet administrative goals. These goals emerged in the seventeenth century in Charleville during a period of institutional uncertainty and transition and would intensify and multiply throughout the eighteenth century¹³. From decade to decade, the procedure took on a routine nature. Enumerators conducted the survey over several days in July and August. In 1739, records became pre-printed and their content complied more fully with the census guidelines indicated by Vauban several decades earlier.

Regardless of the reasons for their creation, the presence of this series of censuses makes Charleville one of the few French towns or cities for which annual monitoring of the population is possible and the only town during the Early Modern era. It is the town with the longest series, extending over two centuries and beyond.

Of course, this idyllic discovery for the historian/demographer must be immediately qualified. The series that began in 1698 continues chaotically until 1731; the years are rarely complete and the year 1732 is missing. Counts are more systematic from 1733 to 1739 before a new gap appears from 1740 to 1741, reflecting the significant demographic and economic crisis that undoubtedly resulted in a breakdown of municipal services. The records then covered all the years from 1742 until 1789. From 1789 to 1850, counts were again irregular and often incomplete (one or more quarters of the city are missing). However, the quality and consistency improved dramatically between the Second Empire and the early twentieth century¹⁴. In contrast, during the inter-war years, census reports were once again uneven (Tab. 2).

Moreover, the content of counts is far from constant (Tab. 3). Not only was there an increase in the data collected during the eighteenth century; but the data itself evolved according to commissioning authorities. During the major part of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries municipal governments ordered reports. During the Revolution, this task would devolve to national authorities. The name of the head of household and his or her occupation had been provided from 1698 all the way through to the end of the nineteenth century. However, the precise identity of the other household members (full name, age, place of birth) was provided only after the Revolution. Before 1733, the census only gave the size of the household. After 1733, it detailed the number of minor children under 16, adult children over 16, and servants. It is therefore necessary to resort to additional documentation, such as parish registers, for the always challenging and less than complete identification of the individuals involved. During the nineteenth century, however, information on integration of households in the city diminished. In fact, before the Revolution, the arrival in Charleville of a head of household and the date he became a *bourgeois* were recorded. The status of *bourgeois* lost all legal meaning during the Revolution when urban privileges were abandoned; it therefore disappeared from the census reports after the Revolution. Similarly, the duration of residence in Charleville of identified residents was no longer mentioned. Despite all of this, tracking individuals chosen from the entire population is much easier in the nineteenth century than the eighteenth century.

3. Charleville and its database. Rendering operational the many nominative lists, compiled for a city that at the end of the Ancien Régime numbered roughly eight thousand inhabitants, is a lengthy and complex process. It involved creating a database that included an individual file for each person studied, combining information from three different sources:

- Charleville censuses;
- baptism, marriage, and burial registers from the Saint-Rémy parish (the only

Tab. 2. 1698-1910 Census reports – existing and entered into the database

Years	Existing Census reports	Counted in the group of B patronyms
1698-1731	yes**	no
1732	no	-
1733-1736	yes	no
1737	yes*	no
1738-1739	yes	yes
1740-1741	no	-
1742-1762	yes	yes
1763-1789	yes	no
1790	yes	yes***
1791	no	-
1792-1793	yes	underway
1794	yes*	underway
1795	no	-
1796-1797	yes*	underway
1798	no	-
1799	yes*	underway
1800-1804	no	-
1805	yes	yes
1806	yes*	yes
1807-1814	yes	yes
1815-1819	no	-
1820-1821	yes*	yes
1822-1824	yes	yes
1825-1829	no	-
1830-1831	yes*	yes
1832-1836	no	-
1837	yes*	yes
1838	no	-
1839-1840	yes*	yes
1841-1844	yes	yes
1845-1850	no	-
1851	yes*	yes
1852-1854	no	-
1855-1860	yes	yes
1861-1863	yes	no
1864-1869	yes	yes
1870-1872	yes	no
1873-1876	yes	yes
1877	yes	no
1878	no	-
1879-1910	yes	no

* Missing at least one of the five neighbourhoods in Charleville.

** Lists of only heads of households, often incomplete.

*** Full census entry.

NB: census reports, similar to the National Quinquennial reports, are available starting in 1881.

Tab. 3. *Carolopolitans census counts*

	Before 1733	Starting in 1733	1790	1792	XIX ^e
	Number of 'mouths'	Form	Form	Form	Form
Households					
Census Date	x	x	x	x	x
Names of home owners		x	x	x	x
Address	Quarters ¹	Quarters ¹	Quarters ¹	Quarters ¹	Quarters ¹
	Outskirts ²	Outskirts ²	Outskirts ²	Outskirts ²	Outskirts ²
		Streets	Streets	Streets	Streets
Military housing				x	
Household members					
Last and first names of the <i>Bourgeois</i>	x	x	x	x	x
Age				x	x
Profession and positions	x	x	x	x	x
Place of birth		x	x	x	x
Last domicile (before Charleville)				x	
How long have they lived in Charleville and have they been accepted as <i>Bourgeois</i> ?	x	x	x		
Active citizens, vagrants, suspicious individuals, ill-intentioned people ³			x		
Number of children > 16		x			
Number of children < 16		x			
Number of children			x	x	
Number of boys who are 18 years old			x		
Number of boys who are 21 years old			x		
Number of children < 12					x
Number of boys < 6					x
Number of girls < 6					x
Number of servants		x	x		
Observations					x ⁴
Total number of people	x	x	x	x	x

¹ The city's quarters (intra-muros): Notre-Dame, Saint-Sépulcre, Saint-Ignace, Saint-François.

² Outskirts: the Jardiniers, Montjoly, the Petit Bois.

³ The July 5, 1791 law on the municipal police ordered municipalities to record the status of inhabitants on a register indicating the name, age, place of birth, last residence, profession, occupation, and other means of livelihood.

Article III stated: «Those who, in the prime of life, have no livelihood nor occupation, nor respondents will be listed as vagrants. Those who refuse to make any statements will be registered under their physical description and listed with suspicious individuals. Those who are convicted of making false declarations will be listed with ill-intentioned people».

Article IV stated: «Should those belonging to the three classes previously mentioned, take part in a brawl, a rebellious or rioting crowd, an act of assault or violence, they will be subjected to correctional penalties».

⁴ «Left the city», «Deceased», etc.

parish in Charleville) that allowed us to reconstitute the families studied, a key base for all subsequent studies;

- and finally, the city’s notarial minutes; the eighteenth and nineteenth century documents are almost complete.

These documents record not only the fundamental events that regulated a person’s life (marriage contracts or wills and testaments), but also the most ordinary financial acts (apprenticeship contracts, bonds, or annuities). These sources reflect not only the living standards of both male and female Carolopolitans, but also their activities and the ties that bound them.

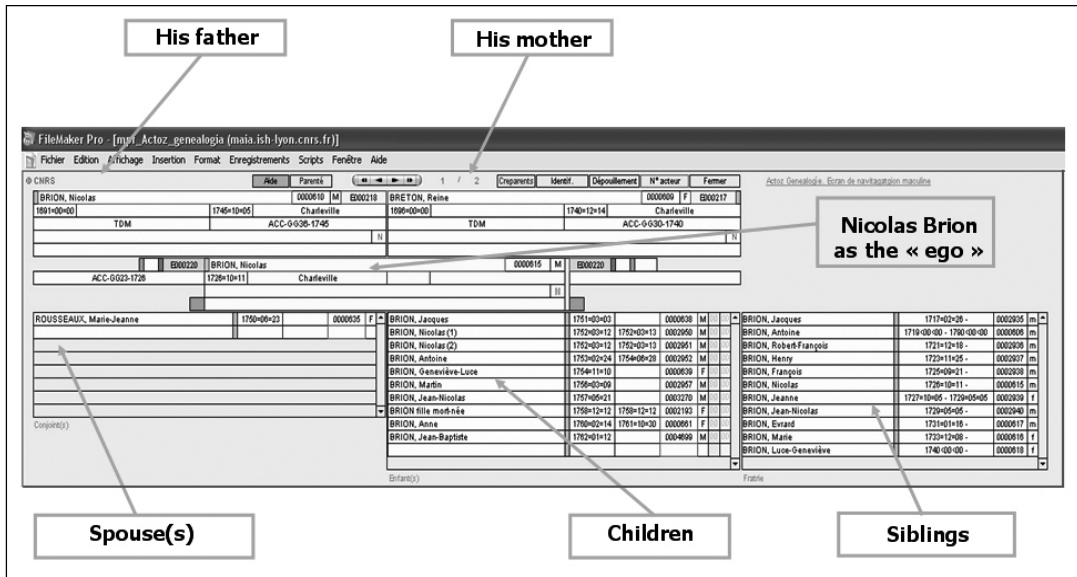
3.1. Fichoz: a methodological choice. FileMaker Pro was chosen as the database software in order to make use of «Fichoz», an Integrated System of Processing Historical Data, created by Jean-Pierre Dedieu¹⁵. The choice was motivated by the flexibility of this tool, a key requirement for processing historical data; secondly, by the fact that it is user-friendly and streamlines the creation of screen presentations; and third, by its widespread use which guarantees its continuity¹⁶. This database is now web-accessible and multiple users can consult it simultaneously.

The sheer scale of information gathered has posed certain difficulties. First, a choice had to be made between an exhaustive processing of all the data to be presented or the selection of one or several samples. In the end, a combination of both approaches was chosen. An initial sampling was established with a longitudinal study of all individuals whose surname began with the letter B. Then, several annual surveys will be processed entirely at different periods (see Tab. 3). This will allow us to test the sample’s representativeness at regular intervals, while providing information on all the individuals likely to figure in a census count.

3.2. The importance of identification. Our work initially consisted of entering into the database all the marriages available from the late seventeenth century through the late eighteenth century. It gave us an extensive list of family names that were all identified; it also automatically generated different types of event files¹⁷. Indeed, the system functions using systematic identifiers that define each of the individuals, events, and references mentioned; it does not recognise an individual by name but by an identification number. Conversely, the database user recognises the individual by his or her name. The name mentioned therefore is the one the individual used during the event being recorded; the name assigned to each individual changes accordingly. Within the designated fields, the name is written in capital letters to facilitate its visual recognition¹⁸. Thus, each individual has a unique identification number. Let us take the example of Nicolas Brion¹⁹, tanner, born October 11, 1726, bearing the identification number E000220. His father was also called Nicolas Brion (E000218), as was his brother Jean-Nicolas (E027584), and at least three of his sons would bear the same name (Fig. 2).

3.3. The different database files. The database is made up of 3 main files (Fig. 3). At the centre of the life-course table²⁰, all known events in the life of every individual

Fig. 4. Nicolas Brion as the “Ego” in the Genealogy file



These five dimensions allow us to consider major life events (birth, marriage, death, etc.), as well as career elements (education, appointments), the expression of personal opinions, judgements about the individual, their financial state, in other words, any and all available information.

Two types of events appear on-screen:

- ‘biographical’ events in which the individual is the sole actor. For example, the birth of Nicolas Brion in 1726, his occupation as a labourer in 1750, or as a tanner in 1751 and 1761;
- ‘relational’ events involving two individuals connected by the event. The example here is Nicolas Brion’s appearance as a godfather during a baptism, his signature as witness to a marriage, or simply as father at the baptism of his own children.

Also included is a genealogical table (Fig. 4), allowing each individual to figure as the «Ego», thus providing an overview of parents, siblings, spouses, and children. This allows us to better grasp relationships behind the choice of a witness at a wedding or a godparent at a baptism.

Finally, there are population lists filed by households (household tables). The Census file consists of two related files (Fig. 5):

- a ‘household’ file containing information about households: census date, name of home owner, home address, and information source.
- household ‘member’ file that details the composition of the household (first and last name, sex, age, relationship, birthplace, occupation).

It should be noted that for the eighteenth century only the surname of the head of household is available. We were therefore obliged to cross-reference a number of sources to establish the name of the spouse and descendants.

Thus, if we go back to Nicolas Brion, we can only find his name in the 1750 cen-

Fig. 5. Census File

Fig. 6. Longitudinal tracking for Nicolas Brion

CHRS	Date	Noms	To househ.	All fields	Help	P1 16	Marker	Link to household	Role	Head household id	Head household name	List	Scr	Naturality	Age	Gender	Office	N° actuel	Tab	Manage	Cost	Message	
1739-00-00		BRION, Nicolas						00049300	Enfant	E000218	BRION, Nicolas				<10	I						AR	Petit Bois
1742-00-00		BRION, Nicolas						00041934	Enfant	E000218	BRION, Nicolas				16	I						AR	Fbg Saint-François
1745-00-00		BRION, Nicolas						00045106	Enfant	E000218	BRION, Nicolas				19	I						AR	Fbg Saint-François
1748-00-00		BRION, Nicolas						00045567	Frère	E000219	BRION, Antoine					M						AR	
1749-07-00		BRION, Nicolas						00045778	Frère	E000219	BRION, Antoine					M						AR	Petit Bois
1750-07-00		BRION, Nicolas						00045916	Chef	E000220	BRION, Nicolas			Charleville		M	manouvrier					AR	Fbg Saint-François
1751-03-00		BRION, Nicolas						00046130	Chef	E000220	BRION, Nicolas			Charleville		M	mégissier					AR	Fbg Saint-François
1752-07-00		BRION, Nicolas						00046354	Chef	E000220	BRION, Nicolas			Charleville		M	mégissier					AR	Fbg Saint-François
1753-07-00		BRION, Nicolas						00046619	Chef	E000220	BRION, Nicolas					M	mégissier					AR	Fbg Saint-Sépulcre
1754-07-00		BRION, Nicolas						00046951	Chef	E000220	BRION, Nicolas					M	mégissier					AR	Fbg Saint-François
1755-07-14		BRION, Nicolas						00047162	Chef	E000220	BRION, Nicolas			Charleville		M	mégissier					AR	Fbg Saint-François
1756-08-00		BRION, Nicolas						00047403	Chef	E000220	BRION, Nicolas			Charleville		M	mégissier					AR	Fbg Saint-François
1757-09-00		BRION, Nicolas						00047640	Chef	E000220	BRION, Nicolas			Charleville		M	mégissier					AR	Fbg Saint-François
1758-04-00		BRION, Nicolas						00047884	Chef	E000220	BRION, Nicolas			Charleville		M	mégissier					AR	Fbg Saint-François
1759-07-00		BRION, Nicolas						00048121	Chef	E000220	BRION, Nicolas			Charleville		M	mégissier					AR	Fbg Saint-François
1760-08-00		BRION, Nicolas						00048375	Chef	E000220	BRION, Nicolas			Charleville		M	mégissier					AR	Fbg Saint-François
1761-09-00		BRION, Nicolas						00048601	Chef	E000220	BRION, Nicolas			Charleville		M	mégissier					AR	Fbg Saint-François

us report when he married his wife, Marie-Jeanne Rousseaux. After cross-referencing sources, we identified him as a child in his parents' home from 1739 to 1745. Then, upon his father's death in 1745, he founded a new household with his brothers Antoine and Evrard until his marriage in 1750 (Fig. 6, 7, 8, 9).

The capacity of grouping – within the same database, under a directly accessible, nominative form – data collected by different researchers has, in and of itself, remarkably enriched research capacities. All users can view the documentation that they are interested in, from their chosen standpoint.

While computer knowledge is necessary, only basic manipulations are required to visually consult and upload data. All the usual research tasks are automated and accessible via on-screen buttons. A series of presentation screens also allows researchers to access data under all standard formats.

However, the system does not process statistical data; it is first and foremost a storage and filtering tool²¹. To perform statistical analysis, all the corresponding

Fig. 7. *Nicolas Brion, as a child...*

© CNRS	Id ménage	Id / Nom propriétaire	Lg	All fields	Actor name	Actors	Help	Close	Sx	Age	Id	Role	Profession/Etat	Naturalité	Bgsie	Sort date	Sort name
1739-00-00		TISSERON, Gaspard	E033051		BRION, Nicolas				M		E000219	Chef	passager	Charleville			0 10
Petit Bois				001 A	BRETON, Reine				F		E000217	Epouse					Enf G G Dom Tt 18 21
ACC-BB32-1739					BRION, Evrard				I	<10	E012200	Enfant					11 < Tt / Pb
Ménage notes * Sources ** Adresse ***					BRION, Jean-Nicolas				I	<10	E027974	Enfant					00040930
Registres de pop. 1790				A.R. 1790 1792 1793/94 XIXe	BRION, Nicolas				I	<10	E000220	Enfant					Record id. Typologie
					BRION, François				I	<10	E027577	Enfant					
					BRION, Henry				I	<10	E027574	Enfant					
					BRION, Robert-François				I	<10	E027573	Enfant					
					BRION, Antoine				I	>10	E000219	Enfant					
1742-00-00		BRION, Nicolas	E000218		BRION, Nicolas				M		E000218	Chef	passager	Charleville			0 9
Fbg Saint-François		/les jardiniers		020 A	BRION, Nicolas				I	<10	E000220	Enfant					Enf G G Dom Tt 18 21
ACC-BB33-1742					BRION, Antoine				I	<10	E000219	Enfant					10 < Tt / Pb
Ménage notes * Sources ** Adresse ***					BRION, Evrard				I	<10	E012200	Enfant					00041934
Registres de pop. 1790				A.R. 1790 1792 1793/94 XIXe	BRION, François				I	<10	E027577	Enfant					Record id. Typologie
					BRION, Jacques				I	<10	E027572	Enfant					
					BRION, Robert-François				I	>10	E027573	Enfant					
					BRION, Henry				I	>10	E027574	Enfant					
					BRION, Jean-Nicolas				I	>10	E027584	Enfant					
1745-00-00		BRION	E000218		BRION, Nicolas				M		E000218	Chef	passager				0 5
Fbg Saint-François		/les jardiniers			BRION, Nicolas enfant 1				I	<10		Enfant					Enf G G Dom Tt 18 21
ACC-BB30-1745					BRION, Nicolas enfant 2				I	<10		Enfant					4 < Tt / Pb
Ménage notes * Sources ** Adresse ***					BRION, Nicolas				I	19	E000220	Enfant					00045100
Registres de pop. 1790				A.R. 1790 1792 1793/94 XIXe	BRION, Nicolas enfant 4				I	>10		Enfant					Record id. Typologie
					BRION				I		E000218	Propriétaire					

Fig. 8. *Then as brother to Antoine and Evrard...*

1748-00-00		BRION, Antoine	E000219		BRION, Antoine				M		E000219	Chef	passager	Charleville			0 3
		/les jardiniers			BRION, Nicolas				M		E000220	Frère					Enf G G Dom Tt 18 21
ACC-BB39-1748					BRION, Evrard				M		E012200	Frère					4 < Tt / Pb
Ménage notes * Sources ** Adresse ***					BRION, Antoine				M		E000219	Propriétaire					00045507
Registres de pop. 1790				A.R. 1790 1792 1793/94 XIXe													Record id. Typologie
1749-07-00		BRION, Antoine	E000219		BRION, Antoine				M		E000219	Chef	pêcheur	Charleville			0 3
Petit Bois					BRION, Nicolas				M		E000220	Frère					Enf G G Dom Tt 18 21
ACC-BB40-1749					BRION, Evrard				M		E012200	Frère					4 < Tt / Pb
Ménage notes * Sources ** Adresse ***					BRION, Antoine				M		E000219	Propriétaire					00045778
Registres de pop. 1790				A.R. 1790 1792 1793/94 XIXe													Record id. Typologie

Fig. 9. *Finally as head of a household with his wife and children*

Fbg Saint-François		/rue Basse Sainte-Catherine			ROUSSEAU, Marie-Jeanne				F		E001520	Epouse					Enf G G Dom Tt 18 21
ACC-BB48-1756					BRION, Geneviève-Luce				I	<2a	E027620	Enfant					6 < Tt / Pb
Ménage notes * Sources ** Adresse ***					BRION, Martin				I	<2a	E027620	Enfant					00047403
Registres de pop. 1790				A.R. 1790 1792 1793/94 XIXe	BRION, Jacques				I	<10	E012201	Enfant					Record id. Typologie
					PIERRET, Jacques				M		E002790	Propriétaire					
1761-08-00		PIERRET, Jacques	E002790		BRION, Nicolas				M		E000220	Chef	mégissier	Charleville			0 8
Fbg Saint-François		/rue Basse Sainte-Catherine			ROUSSEAU, Marie-Jeanne				F		E001520	Epouse					Enf G G Dom Tt 18 21
ACC-BB49-1757					BRION, Jacques				I	<10	E012201	Enfant					7 < Tt / Pb
Ménage notes * Sources ** Adresse ***					BRION, Martin				I	<10	E027620	Enfant					00047640
Registres de pop. 1790				A.R. 1790 1792 1793/94 XIXe	BRION, Geneviève-Luce				I	<10	E022694	Enfant					Record id. Typologie
					BRION, Antoine				I	<10	E027699	Enfant					
					PIERRET, Jacques				M		E002790	Propriétaire					
1768-07-00		PIERRET, Jacques	E002790		BRION, Nicolas				M		E000220	Chef	mégissier	Charleville			0 8
Fbg Saint-François		/rue Sainte-Catherine			ROUSSEAU, Marie-Jeanne				F		E001520	Epouse					Enf G G Dom Tt 18 21
ACC-BB50-1758					BRION, Jacques				I	<10	E012201	Enfant					7 < Tt / Pb
Ménage notes * Sources ** Adresse ***					BRION, Martin				I	<10	E027620	Enfant					00047804
Registres de pop. 1790				A.R. 1790 1792 1793/94 XIXe	BRION, Geneviève-Luce				I	<10	E022694	Enfant					Record id. Typologie
					BRION, Antoine				I	<10	E027699	Enfant					
					PIERRET, Jacques				M		E002790	Propriétaire					
1769-07-00		PIERRET, Jacques	E002790		BRION, Nicolas				M		E000220	Chef	mégissier	Charleville			0 8
Fbg Saint-François		/rue Sainte-Catherine			ROUSSEAU, Marie-Jeanne				F		E001520	Epouse					Enf G G Dom Tt 18 21
ACC-BB51-1759					BRION, Martin				I	<10	E012201	Enfant					7 < Tt / Pb
Ménage notes * Sources ** Adresse ***					BRION, Geneviève-Luce				I	<10	E022694	Enfant					00048121
Registres de pop. 1790				A.R. 1790 1792 1793/94 XIXe	BRION, Antoine				I	<10	E027699	Enfant					Record id. Typologie
					PIERRET, Jacques				M		E002790	Propriétaire					
1780-08-00		PIERRET, Jacques	E002790		BRION, Nicolas				M		E000220	Chef	mégissier	Charleville			0 7
Fbg Saint-François		/rue Sainte-Catherine			ROUSSEAU, Marie-Jeanne				F		E001520	Epouse					Enf G G Dom Tt 18 21
ACC-BB52-1780					BRION, Jacques				I	<10	E012201	Enfant					8 < Tt / Pb
Ménage notes * Sources ** Adresse ***					BRION, Martin				I	<10	E027620	Enfant					00048376
Registres de pop. 1790				A.R. 1790 1792 1793/94 XIXe	BRION, Geneviève-Luce				I	<10	E022694	Enfant					Record id. Typologie
					BRION, Antoine				I	<10	E027699	Enfant					
					BRION, Anne				F	0	E023448	Enfant					
					PIERRET, Jacques				M		E002790	Propriétaire					

records must be selected first. Then, the necessary data must be exported into processing software, such as Excel, before being used. The system is a pure database; its sole function is to facilitate the counting, storing, and retrieving of data.

4. Carolopolitans' short term mobility away from their city. Though the constitution of the database is far from complete, we can already glimpse the many possibilities to further our understanding of urban populations in France. As part of our introduction to the project, we want to demonstrate its capacity based on the study of Charleville's short term urban emigration.

Though research on immigration to French cities during the nineteenth century is abundant, work on intra-urban mobility²², or departures from town²³, is less common. The availability of sources is largely responsible for this situation. At best, censuses usually indicate the geographical origin of individuals (notably starting with the 1872 census for France), which allows for a history of immigration. Monitoring intra-urban or extra-muros mobility on the other hand is a challenge in that it requires frequent nominative lists (preferably annually) as well as clear indications of individuals' addresses or destinations. The nineteenth century French sources are unfortunately not always very thorough on this point.

Charleville's municipal censuses are not immune to this rule. Addresses are not precise enough in the long term for a close analysis of intra-urban mobility, although studies are probably possible for the last third of the nineteenth century. It is still too early, in the current state of development of the Charleville digital database, for such an investigation. However mobility to and from the city is more easily achieved for the second half of the nineteenth century. The database provides an annual, nominative monitoring of individuals living in the city, which allows us to compile the date they arrived in Charleville and their geographical origin (place of birth) as well as their year of departure, though not their destination. All deceased persons need to be removed after cross-referencing Census reports with the death registrations in the *Etat Civil*.

Among the French cities of the nineteenth century whose inhabitants have been monitored for mobility, Charleville is unique in several respects. Existing work mainly focuses on large cities; be they Lyon, Strasbourg, or Versailles (respectively home to 177 190, 75 565, and 35 367 inhabitants in the 1851 census²⁴). Charleville in contrast, was a small town with a major industrial activity and therefore a more limited range of activities than the prefectural cities with more developed tertiary functions. Second, unlike conventional, nineteenth century censuses, the annual Charleville censuses allow us to study mobility from one year to the next instead of every five years. Finally, because of its geographical location, though comparable with that of Strasbourg²⁵, the city was home to a large foreign community, mainly Belgians. Migration to Charleville therefore was not uniquely the result of a rural to urban movement, or of the metropolization of small towns towards larger ones, but also of larger, trans-national movements.

As part of this article, whose primary function is to present an exceptional source of data and more modestly to demonstrate its potential for population history research, we have chosen to study yearly individual mobility. It is in studies of very short term change that the Charleville data take on their full importance as compared to documents available in other French towns. The choice of the years 1864-1865 can be explained both by the quality and regularity of censuses at the

time and the favourable economic conditions enjoyed by the city under the Second Empire, both in terms of its industrial development and its demography.

4.1. An important short-term migration. The sample analysed includes 896 individuals, aged 6 years and older in the 1864 census, whose surnames begin with 'B'. It represents a little less than one tenth of Charleville's population at the time, which numbered roughly 10 000 inhabitants. Our first goal was to try to find out how many were still present in 1865; we then tried to account for their mobility or inactivity. This approach addresses two main questions. The first concerns the measurement of mobility rates in a small, industrial town during a development phase. In such a context, are population movements particularly intense and do they involve all categories of individuals, regardless of age, gender, and geographic, social and professional origins? The second question addresses the specific issue of one-year mobility. Are the mechanisms of short term mobility (1 year) identical to mid-term mobility (5 years), the most widely studied due to available sources? Or conversely, is one-year mobility influenced by specific family and professional situations?

Among the individuals identified in 1864, 889 were still alive by the time of the 1865 census²⁶; but 128, or 14.4%, had left Charleville in the meantime. There is a dearth of short term mobility studies in France due to missing sources. Only Claire Levy-Vroelant's work on Versailles provides a basis for comparison, although her study measures a slightly different reality. She notes a one year absence rate for households – not individuals – at 19% in the mid-nineteenth century (Levy-Vroelant 1989, 27-33). Jean-Luc Pinol (1991, 228-231) extrapolates rates for Lyon at the end of the nineteenth century that are both quite different and very similar to ours; but again from a sample constructed from different sources. Basing his conclusions on the electoral roll in 1896 and 1901 (which refer solely to adult men), he finds a departure rate of 37% over 5 years, from which he deduced an average, gross, annual departure rate of 8.37% and of 7% when the sample excluded persons who had died in the interval between the two electoral censuses²⁷. At Charleville, five-year departure rates are close to Lyon's results. After deducting the thirty-two individuals who had died in the meantime, 33.2% of residents present in 1864 were absent from the 1869 census, which is equivalent to an average annual departure rate of 7.75%, close to Lyon's 7%. However, the average annual value established over 5 years, masks in the case of Charleville – and probably in the case of Lyon – the intensity of short-term mobility. In reality, one-year mobility is much higher (14.14%), closer in magnitude to the actual one year mobility of households measured at Versailles by Claire Lévy-Vroelant²⁸.

These results present Charleville as a town of high mobility. On the basis of a 5 year sample, the average mobility in Charleville in the mid-nineteenth century seems broadly comparable to that of other cities in France, Europe, and America. With an average, annual departure rate of about 7%, Charleville and Lyon are in a similar range to Bochum (Germany) in 1880 (7.92%), Boston (USA) in 1830 (7.91%), Norristown (USA) in 1920 (4.69%)²⁹, or Hamilton (Canada) in 1850

Tab. 4. *The mobility of Charleville inhabitants between 1864 and 1865 (896 'B' individuals from the 1864 census)*

Age in 1864	Total	Deaths	Presumed living	Absent in 1865	% of absences amongst the presumed living
Age brackets					
0 (6-13 years)	119		119	9	7.6
1 (14-20 years)	126		126	22	17.5
2 (21-30 years)	179		179	39	21.8
3 (31-40 years)	157	1	156	18	11.5
4 (41-50 years)	140	1	139	16	11.5
5 (51-60 years)	81	1	80	11	13.8
6 (61-70 years)	62	1	61	8	13.1
7 (71 and over)	31	3	28	5	17.9
Sex					
Female	440	3	437	74	16.9
Male	456	4	452	54	11.9
Origins					
Charleville	331	1	330	31	9.4
Surroundings	52		52	6	11.5
Rural Ardennes	236	3	233	39	16.7
Urban Ardennes	54	2	52	11	21.2
Bordering Departments	39		39	6	15.4
The rest of France	62		62	14	22.6
Belgium	86		86	11	12.8
Other foreign countries	12		12	2	16.7
Indeterminate	24	1	23	8	34.8
Position within the household					
Head	327	6	321	48	16.5
Spouse	214	1	213	26	12.6
Child	278		278	23	8.3
Collateral	16		16	6	37.5
Servant	49		49	20	40.8
Hired hand	11		11	5	45.5
Domiciled/Housed	1		1	0	0
Presence in 1859					
Present	570	6	564	46	8.2
Absent	326	1	325	82	22.2
Total individuals	896	7	889	128	14.4

(about 7% / year)³⁰. This contradicts once again, the myth that nineteenth century French cities were more stable than American cities, and signals that French cities with such divergent profiles – both in terms of size and activity – as Charleville, Versailles, and Lyon were experiencing the intermingling of large swathes of their population³¹. The intense mingling of Carolopolitans is confirmed by previous

rates: 36.4% of individuals surveyed in 1864 (326 out of 896) were not there five years earlier for the 1859 census.

However, if the starting level determined in Charleville between 1864 and 1865 were compared to emigration rates calculated on annually monitored populations, it would exceed many cities of the time. If we were to take Milan during the mid-nineteenth century and focus only on household heads and their spouses, we would obtain annual 'emigration quotients' that fall between 2.52% (1861) and 4.83% (1856) (Faron 1997, 449 ff). However, in the migration process, it is true that Milan, as with Paris³², was more a city terminus than one to be passed through, as were apparently, Charleville or Lyon. Charleville is relatively close to the communes of Charleroi's industrial zone (Belgium). Thierry Eggerickx states that these communes had an annual emigration rate of about 10% during the second half of the nineteenth century, appearing as highly mobile cities for Belgium (Eggerickx 2010, 299, 308). As in their case (Eggerickx 2010) and that of Huy-sur-Meuse, studied by Michel Oris (1993, 197 ff), urban emigration was fuelled by the strong immigration underway: 22.2% of individuals present in the 1864 census and who had settled in Charleville after 1859, left the city in 1865, against only 8.2% of those who were already living in Charleville in 1859.

Charleville's annual census also serves to highlight the irregular rhythm of short-term mobility. Annual mobility between 1864 and 1869 (7.75% per year) does not acknowledge that nearly half of the individuals who left Charleville after five years had actually already done so at the end of a single year. In one year, one seventh of the original sample has disappeared from the census. Thereafter, departures rates slowed down dramatically, hovering between 3 and 4% per year. This dual reality is not verifiable in most French surveys, based on five year censuses. However, the case of Versailles suggests a similar situation: 19% of households left the city after a year and 30% between 2 and 5 years (or 49% over 5 years), implying a more moderate departure rate (7-8% per year) after the first year of observation (Levy-Vroelant 1988b)³³. This dual phenomenon suggests that very short-term mobility has its own characteristics and obeys factors that are different than those of short-term mobility, which we will examine next.

4.2. An explanatory model of mobility. To study short-term mobility, we used data from the 1864 census for each of the individuals listed and incorporated the elements into a model whose dependent variable is an absence in 1865. In this model, which involves all individuals over six years old, there were 889 individuals, once the deceased were removed from the count, and five explanatory variables.

The first is gender. Insofar as the Carolopolitans census – unlike the electoral rolls – allow us to investigate female mobility, we felt it important to retain this variable, even if it meant initially renouncing the variable on occupations³⁴.

The second is the age of individuals in 1864. This variable distinguishes four situations: legal minors (6-20 years), young adults (21-30 years), middle-aged adults (31-50 years), and finally the elderly (51 years and over). This particular distribution distinguishes two categories of adults, in line with previous research (Pinol

1991, 216, 221), and highlights relatively differentiated behaviours between the 31-50 year olds and the young adults. The former are more generally married with dependants and frequently have more stable occupations over time, whereas the latter are more volatile because they are often still in apprenticeship and are generally unmarried³⁵. Charleville's base table of raw data attests to behavioural differences amongst the 21-30 year olds. In this age group, 21.8% of individuals left the city after one year against only 11.5% of the 31-50 year olds (Tab. 4).

The third explanatory variable relating to one-year mobility used here is the birthplace mentioned in the 1864 census. Table 4 shows that native and non-natives have different levels of mobility; less than 10% of individuals born in Charleville left the city in one year against 16.6% of non-natives (89 out of 536 individuals). It seemed important to refine the analysis by distinguishing several situations for non-natives, so as to check if short term mobility should be correlated with geographical distance or whether it obeys a more complex logic taking into account the opposition between town and country or nationality. The variable 'origin' thus distinguishes Charleville natives from other French nationals born in the surrounding communities, in the villages of the Ardennes, in the *Département's* towns³⁶, in neighbouring *Départements*, and finally in the rest of France. Belgians and other foreigners make up the variable's two other modalities.

We also postulated that the position of individuals within a household – our fourth variable – could affect their eventual departure. We therefore distinguished individuals listed as 'heads of family'³⁷ or 'spouses' in the 1864 census from their children; both groups together forming the nuclear family in the strictest sense. A separate category accounts for other relatives linked to the nuclear family (the 'Collaterals') who were probably dependent on the host couple or individual: nephew, niece, sister of a spouse, etc. We also took into account the specific position of servants and employees living with their employers: they were at one and the same time exterior to the nuclear family and dependent within the household³⁸.

Finally, we hypothesised that insertion into a dense network of kinship in Charleville could lead to a relative stabilisation within the city. It provided emotional ties, creating links based on mutual support, or allowed individuals to benefit from all sorts of resources at the micro-local level. As we do not have individual information on the scale of kinship networks available outside the home, we set an approximate variable that assesses the significance and size of networks of available relatives. These networks are comprised of the households other than the «Ego's», residing in Charleville in 1864, and which include at least one member with the same patronym.

The model clearly suggests that age plays a significant role on one-year mobility. The 6-20 and the 21-30 year olds are more absent in 1865 than the 31-50 year olds, confirming the mobility peak modelled by Rogers and Castro (1981) that affects mainly adolescents and young adults at the start of their professional lives. Gender however had very little impact on the model. This is not surprising, as the nineteenth century is marked by an increase in female mobility to rates comparable to those of males, even if this migration to the city does not correspond to the same

Tab. 5. *Logit Model: departures from Charleville after one year. 1864's overall sample*

	1864-1865 (887 observations)		
	Odds Ratio	Std. Error	P > z
Household Position in 1864: reference = head of household or spouse			
Children	.2960575	.1283254	0.005***
Collaterals	2.8249	1.593116	0.066*
Servants	2.955364	1.126801	0.004***
Hired hands	2.952974	2.055464	0.120
Origin: reference = Charleville			
Bordering communes	1.115368	.5407961	0.822
Rural Ardennes	1.328994	.372452	0.310
Urban Ardennes	1.954787	.8107101	0.106
Neighbouring <i>Départements</i>	1.497797	.7580436	0.425
Distant <i>Départements</i>	1.960788	.7688064	0.086*
Belgium	.7190925	.3051737	0.437
Other foreign countries	1.583575	1.369906	0.595
Indeterminate origins	3.738612	1.965646	0.012**
Age in 1864: reference = 31-50 years old			
6-20 years	3.049512	1.350023	0.012
21-30 years	2.277094	.6435814	0.004***
51 years and more	1.297443	.3836074	0.378
Sex: reference = male			
Female	1.246041	.2667014	0.304
Number of households with homonyms in 1864: reference = 0			
1 or 2	1.006569	.2922686	0.982
3 to 8	1.299008	.3745739	0.364
9 or more	.9103397	.2827303	0.762
LR chi2(19) = 67.89		Prob > chi2 = 0.0000	
Log likelihood = -332.12558		Pseudo R2 = 0.0927	

*** significant threshold at 1%.

** significant threshold at 5%.

* significant threshold at 10%.

type of professional mobility (Moch 2003, 121-122). More women were employed in domestic occupations than industrial ones, which in Charleville was primarily focused on metallurgy.

Household position in 1864 however, strongly influenced mobility. Individuals identified as 'children' of heads of family were more stable than 'heads of households and spouses'. In fact, this result suggests that all things being equal, families with children were more stable than households without children as the latter included single adults who were heads of households. The stability of families with children was relatively expected³⁹. Less expected was the fact that the 'family' did not stabilise the 'collaterals' who resulted absent a year later more often than the

household heads (statistically significant at the 10% level). The raw data demonstrates that 37.7% of 'collaterals' in 1864 were no longer there in 1865 and 68.8% had left by 1869. Presumably, following the logic of the nuclear family that prevailed in the region⁴⁰, their presence could only be temporary, and their integration into a nuclear family that was not their own was most certainly linked to specific, short-term situations: a recent widow, an orphaned child, temporary welcome for a migrant relative, and the like. This explains the extremely high instability of this group, which had little to do with an intra-urban residential instability and more to do with a mobility that boasts a true migratory dimension. These collaterals not only did not belong to the same household the following year, they had also left the city⁴¹.

The case of servants, clerks, and employees approximates that of the collaterals. Here again, we are studying elements exterior to the nuclear family and marked by a dependance that was not designed to permanently link them to their foster households. Servants, mostly women at the time, were generally absent from Charleville one year later. The majority only stayed briefly in the city, probably because another position became available elsewhere, or because their stay in Charleville was programmed within a plan to return fairly quickly to the village, possibly to get married as they entered the next stage in the life cycle of a servant girl.

In the case of clerks, apprentices, and employees housed by their employers, analysis must be more cautious. A year after the 1864 census, this group was not significantly more absent than the household heads. It must be underlined however that the group's workforce was reduced. Their relative stability over a single year does not influence their mid-term stability (a 5-year analysis shows a strong tendency to leave but the models are not presented here). One can only assume that because greater professional commitment was generally required from employees than servants, because of the more pronounced interdependence between employer and employee – linked for example by an apprenticeship contract – the position of clerk was more favourable to short-term stability than domestic positions.

Finally, origins do not appear to be a univocal variable to understanding short-term mobility. Rather unexpectedly, natives are no more stable after one year *ceteris paribus* than most other groups⁴². Neither does the distance between the place of birth and Charleville have a direct role on mobility either⁴³. Only those born furthest away, that is to say in *Départements* not bordering the Ardennes, appear more mobile over a year, but the significance is low. Moreover, the case of foreign individuals, especially the Belgians who make up the bulk of this group, contradicts the idea of a simple correlation between distance from the place of birth and high mobility away from Charleville. The Belgians are particularly interesting, being both foreign and neighbours, since the Belgian border is very close to Charleville. Yet it is remarkable that the Belgians were not more likely to leave the city between 1864 and 1865 than Charleville natives (or even those born in the Ardennes). It is clear that the Belgians who settled in Charleville in 1864 were more stable than the Carolopolitans of French citizenry who came from distant *Départements*. It seems that for this particular group, settling in Charleville was a more durable and defin-

itive undertaking⁴⁴. Their massive presence, one tenth of the population in 1864, allowed them to perceive the city as a highly familiar location. In addition, foreigners and French citizens who migrated to Charleville did not have identical migration processes due to factors such as their respective professions in the city, as some occupations were reserved for French nationals. Thus French government workers⁴⁵, who for their service sometimes came from afar, beyond the neighbouring *Départements*, and then left quickly for other positions in France, reinforced the instability of the group of French citizens, non-native to Charleville, who come from distant *Départements*.

Finally, let us highlight the fact that the relatively minimal differentiation in short-term mobility between natives and non-natives of Charleville is reinforced by the lack of any anchoring effects of individuals within a dense network of relatives in the commune. Whether an individual is isolated from this point of view or highly surrounded does not significantly affect behaviour in the span of one year. This suggests that short-term departures from the city played out less in terms of family networks inherited at the local level (be it the birthplace and therefore the geographic origins of the family, or at least of the parents; or the importance of a network of relatives in the city approximated by the fifth variable), and more so in terms of more individual criteria, such as household status or age, and therefore of life cycles.

5. Conclusion. This analysis on mobility during the Second Empire illustrates the innovative analytical possibilities for urban, French populations that the Charleville database offers. It bears repeating that the annual census reports, on which the investigation is based, are a unique source for urban France, both in duration and because it covers both the Ancien Régime and the nineteenth century, which is not the case of the annual census reports for the rare French cities that compiled them.

The current project is designed to allow a longitudinal and nominative analysis of the population, coinciding with a major trend in European and North American historiography of historical demography. The task at hand is also to create a database that will become a collective resource. Any researcher can consult it for specific searches that are not contained within the usual issues of historical demography. The database was conceived so that each individual of the sample can be linked to information other than purely demographic data, which can be found in censuses, parish registers, or civil state registration. Data from notarial acts, from cadastral maps (using GIS methods), or from tax sources (e.g. registration of inheritance) will be integrated within the data base. Researchers are already working on subjects as varied as Carolopolitans' wealth and patrimony, godparents in Charleville, the spatial distribution of urban activities, urban poverty in the eighteenth century, household structures, and the inheritance strategies of the intermediate social classes.

¹ For example Noël 1967; Zeller 1983; Le Mée 1993.

² For example Bourdelais 1985 or Bideau *et al.* 1986.

³ On this theme, see Brunet 1998.

⁴ For an assessment, see *Annales de Démographie Historique* 2004-1 «3000 familles. Vingt ans après».

⁵ See for example Matteo Manfredini and Marco Breschi's work on Tuscan villages (Breschi, Manfredini 2002).

⁶ For example those in Milan and Follina (Veneto) studied respectively by Olivier Faron (1997) and Cristina Munno (2005; 2008).

⁷ «Mobility, People, Families in Northern France from the late seventeenth century to the late nineteenth century». The current team includes Guido Alfani (Bocconi University, Milan); Fabrice Boudjaaba (CNRS – Rennes II University); Youri Carbonnier (Artois University); Hélène Cormy (Bordeaux III University), Vincent Gourdon (CNRS – Paris-Sorbonne University); Stéphane Minvielle (Bordeaux III University); Cristina Munno (INED, Paris; Ca' Foscari University, Venice); Yves Perret-Gentil (CNRS – Paris-Sorbonne University); Jean-Pierre Poussou (Paris-Sorbonne University); Carole Rathier (Bordeaux III University); François-Joseph Ruggiu (Paris-Sorbonne University); Marion Trévisi (Picardie University).

⁸ Charleville thus acquired Mézières' trade resources that had been solidly established over several centuries (Carret 1988). Many Mézières merchants settled in Charleville, which helps explain the town's initial rise, while other 'new cities' during the seventeenth century quickly stagnated.

⁹ Charleville's arms production developed in relationship with and in competition with neighbouring Liège. Many gunsmiths from Liège settled in Charleville during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; one example is Jean Gosuin, director of the Charleville Manufacture during the French Revolution. This migratory current ended during the nineteenth century with the disappearance of Charleville's Arms Manufacture (Gaier 1996).

¹⁰ On Charleville's demographic evolution during the eighteenth century and after the demographic crisis of 1740-41, see (Stevenin 1974).

¹¹ These census reports are conserved at the Charleville Communal Archives starting with the call number BB 22 for census counts from 1698 to 1790, then at the *Départementales* Archives of the Ardennes, call number 1F3 to

1F395 from 1792 to 1910. On the question, see (Taute 1957).

¹² The same holds true for Strasbourg after 1871. However, this was a consequence of Alsace's annexation by the German Empire and the adoption of its legislation (Hahn, Pinol 1995).

¹³ The fact that Charleville was home to a garrison and the issues involved in housing troops were also factors favoring regular and precise census counts as evidenced by the 1793-1794 report with a column for 'Garrison et passade' (Garrison and transit).

¹⁴ State organized quinquennial census reports do not seem to be available before 1881.

¹⁵ Pre-formatted data entry files were developed and given their own digital routines by the PAPE group (Personnels Administratifs et Politiques de l'Espagne du XVIIIe siècle), to count and reconstitute document series relating to administrative and political personnel in Spain during the eighteenth century. The group has been an active members of the UMR TEMBER (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique / Bordeaux III University) since 1989 and it has created a network of researchers from France (mainly Bordeaux, Toulouse, Paris, and Montpellier), Chile (the Catholic University of Chile, Santiago), and Spain (mainly Barcelona, Alicante, Granada, Madrid). It has greatly benefitted from the support of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, notably thanks to a PICS (Projet International de Coopération Scientifique), and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and three Franco-Spanish integrated projects. It was transferred in January 2005 to the UMR LARHRA (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique / Lyon University / Ecole Normale Supérieure) in Lyon, which currently retains the intellectual property rights.

¹⁶ The meta-bases were constituted to endure long after the end of the programs that justified their creation, in this case beyond our current ANR (National Research Agency) project.

¹⁷ The marriage under consideration, but also the parent's marriage when they are mentioned in the marriage act, or any former marriages (in the case of widows and widowers).

¹⁸ The same field contains both the first and last name. The family name is given precedence to facilitate alphabetical classification.

¹⁹ His first name is sometimes listed as Nicolas and at other times, Nicolas-Jean.

²⁰ Event file.

²¹ The system facilitates research by integrating a systematic coding of stored events and relationships. It also allows users to constitute their own code files according to specific needs, without interference from codes used by other researchers. We consider that the data will be used in a wide variety of ways according to the needs of each researcher and along unpredictable pathways; the creation therefore of a dedicated program that would manage this was doomed to failure.

²² See (Pinol 1991) on Lyon; (Hatt-Diener 2004) on Strasbourg; (Lévy-Vroelant 1988; 1989) on Versailles between 1820 and 1880. We should also mention the special edition of the *Annales de Démographie Historique* 1999-1 «Faire son chemin dans la ville», dedicated to intra-urban mobilities.

²³ For France, there is essentially Pinol (1991) and, to a lesser extent, Levy-Vroelant (1988a; 1988b; 1989).

²⁴ Numbers provided in (Le Mée 1989). In 1851, 5 French cities had over 100 000 inhabitants, 10 had between 50 000 and 99 999, and 49 between 20 000 and 49 999. Charleville is one of the 241 urban centres that had between 5000 and 9999 inhabitants.

²⁵ During the nineteenth century, one fourth of Strasbourg's migrant population was foreign (mostly German) (Hatt-Diener 2004, 152).

²⁶ The calculations do not include individuals who passed away between the two census reports. To identify them, we consulted the 'Etat Civil' and the 'Registre de mutation par décès' (an inheritance register for fiscal purposes). We discovered that 7 people died between the 1864 and the 1865 reports: this is a relatively small proportion that can be partly explained by the fact that our sample only includes individuals over 6 years old and therefore is not affected by the high mortality rates in young children. Children under 6 years old are not nominally designated in the census reports; this is why they are excluded from the study (see Chapter 1).

²⁷ Number of presumed dead calculated by the authors based on mortality tables.

²⁸ Temporary emigration of Carolopolitans explains only a small part of the intense one-year mobility: 3% of individuals present in 1864, were absent in 1865, only to have returned by 1869.

²⁹ See the summary tables of average annual mobility in the different cities in (Pinol 1991, table 33, 231).

³⁰ Annual averages for males from 1851 to

1861, calculated by the authors using (Katz 1975, 122).

³¹ Ties between economic development and population mobility are not evident. David Reher (1990) demonstrated for Cuenca, a small town of several thousand inhabitants in the Mancha (Castilla) the existence of a strong culture of mobility that is evidenced in the rates of population renewal that reach nearly 25% every year in the mid-nineteenth century, in the absence of any industrialisation process.

³² Emigration from Paris from the 13th and the 15th arrondissements respectively attained only 1.16% and 1.47% per year for males at the end of the nineteenth century according to Pinol's calculations (1991, 229), based on Alain Faure's work on electoral rolls (1982, 116-119). It should be noted that this mobility is in large part destined for the nearby, southern suburbs (Faure 1982, 108-109) and that the survey was only interested in factory workers. Parisian mobility is high but it is mostly intra-urban as Paris is a city terminus in the migratory process.

³³ Rates for Versailles are higher than for Charleville. However they refer to 'households'. They should therefore not be interpreted as a sign of higher individual mobility than elsewhere because the 'household' is an extremely unstable entity: the disappearance of a household does not necessarily translate into mobility away from the city of each of its members.

³⁴ Women's occupations were rarely mentioned in census reports as compared to men. The insertion of an explanatory variable for professions would therefore have reduced the significance of the model. We integrated the professional variable for men in another model presented at the Charleville international conference in December 2010. It would appear that the most stable of groups were the craftsmen and tradesmen whereas five year mobility was much stronger amongst servants, workers, and employees of the public administration and the rail companies (Boudjaaba, Gourdon 2010).

³⁵ In Hamilton, between 1851 and 1861, the presence rates over 10 years of males between 16 and 25 years old was the lowest of all (23% as compared to 35% for the less than 16 year olds and always more than 30% for those over 25). Only those over 60 were exceptions (23.3% of those present), but Katz's study does not take into account death rates (Katz 1975, 121-122).

³⁶ Cities were defined according to the legal

limits of the time for the 1851 census: 2000 agglomerated inhabitants. Their list is given in (Le Mée 1989, 336).

³⁷ Who could be either male or female, a widow for example. We must point out that the matrimonial state variable (single, married, widowed) could not be taken into account in this model because the 1864 counts did not directly provide this information.

³⁸ The case of boarders and lodgers was not an issue for Charleville because only one person, an assistant school teacher, was found to be living with a person exterior to her family.

³⁹ In Hamilton, marriage appears to be a stabilising factor. Individuals who were married accounted for 40.5% of those present and only 26.5% of those absent. Single individuals made up 55.8% of those present and 68.5% of those absent (Katz 1975, 124).

⁴⁰ If we use Laslett's categories, household structures in Charleville during the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century were clearly dominated by nuclear families (type 3): 73.09% from 1744 to 1761, 75.73% from 1807 to 1810, 76.6% from 1856 to 1858. However, if we look at complex households (expanded or multiple), they represent respectively only 9.12%, 16.63%, 6.34% for these three census periods (Minvielle 2010).

⁴¹ We are monitoring individual and not household paths of mobility. In consequence, if a col-

lateral left in 1865 the household where he had lived in 1864 only to find another household within Charleville, he would still be considered present. Our model only takes into account mobility outside of Charleville.

⁴² As Claire Lévy-Vroelant noted (1989, 29), «being born in Versailles represents a factor of stability: among those who lived there for over 15 years, 42% were born in Versailles whereas among those who stay only one year, the Versailles born make up only 15%». The non-natives are also less stable in Lyon or Poughkeepsie from 1850 to 1860 (Pinol 1991, 231-232).

⁴³ A model that is not presented here, testing the one year mobility of Charleville natives as compared to non-natives, indifferently grouped together in terms of birthplace, confirms the low to no impact of this variable over the short term. However, an absence five years earlier (during the 1859 census) significantly increases the one-year mobility of individuals counted during the 1864 census.

⁴⁴ The Charleville Belgians were part of an essentially border migration. The majority came from the Walloon provinces of Hainaut, Namur, and Luxembourg. Only a handful came from the province of Liège and only two from Flanders.

⁴⁵ The same was true for railroad employees.

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Summary

Charleville's census reports: an exceptional source for the longitudinal study of urban populations in France

In this article, we present a new historical demography research project about a French little city near the Belgian frontier, Charleville. Created in the seventeenth-century by the Gonzaga's dynasty, Charleville is the only French city where the urban authorities have made annual reports of the population since the end of the seventeenth-century till the Second World War. With this new database, which is described in the paper, we intend to make a nominative and longitudinal reconstruction of the life-course of a large sample of the inhabitants (those whose patronymic begins with the letter B) for two centuries. Furthermore, we also try to rebuild their genealogies, their social networks and their residential mobility. As an example of new research that makes use of the available data, we study the emigration from Charleville during the French Second Empire. The annual emigration in particular was very important, as 14% of the inhabitants who were in the city in 1864 had left one year after. Finally, we examine the impact of some explaining factors for individual emigration, as the age, the geographical and the national origin, and the position in the household.

Riassunto

I rapporti censuari di Charleville: una fonte eccezionale per gli studi longitudinali delle popolazioni urbane in Francia

In questo articolo viene presentata una nuova inchiesta di demografia storica sulla piccola città francese di Charleville, ai confini col il Belgio. Fondata all'inizio del Seicento dalla dinastia Gonzaga, Charleville è l'unica città della Francia dove le autorità municipali abbiano effettuato censimenti annuali della popolazione dalla fine del Seicento alla Seconda guerra mondiale. Utilizzando un nuovo database, descritto nell'articolo, cerchiamo di condurre uno studio nominativo e longitudinale degli eventi vitali di un campione di abitanti (tutti coloro il cui patronimico inizia con la lettera B) per due secoli, ma anche di ricostituire le loro genealogie, i loro legami sociali e i loro percorsi residenziali. Poi, come esempio di nuova ricerca che impieghi i primi dati disponibili, studiamo l'emigrazione dalla città durante il Secondo impero francese, mostrando l'importanza dei movimenti annuali (il 14% degli abitanti presenti in città nel 1864 emigra entro il 1865) e l'impatto di fattori quali l'età degli individui, la loro origine geografica e nazionale, la loro posizione nella *household*.