

European Research Council

**ERC Advanced Grant 2015**  
**Research proposal [Part B1]**  
*(to be evaluated in Step 1)*

*Unity in diversity?*  
*Convergence and divergence in income and welfare*  
*across Napoléon's empire (c.1810-12)*

UNIDIV1812

**Cover Page:**

- Name of the Principal Investigator (PI) : **Jean-Pierre Dormois**
- Name of the PI's host institution for the project: **SCIENCES-PO BORDEAUX**
- Proposal full title: ***Unity in diversity? Convergence and divergence in income and welfare across Napoléon's empire (c.1810-12)***
- Proposal short name: **UNIDIV1812**
- Proposal duration in months: **60**

Recent efforts in growth accounting have extended, for a number of European countries, the Maddison time series of population and GDP backwards in time from 1820. However, these indicators, rooted as they are in early 21<sup>st</sup> Century PPP converters, could favour 'diachronic' consistency over time at the expense of 'synchronic' comparability across space. Our ambition is to provide an early 19<sup>th</sup> Century benchmark estimate of income and welfare indicators for Western continental Europe at the subnational level. Such an enquiry will be possible by assembling a new statistical dataset from the information collected by officials across the Napoleonic empire in 1810-12. As a result of the French administrative template being imposed on the territories conquered by Napoléon, a wealth of socio-economic data was collected from the reports addressed regularly to central authorities. Military defeat impeded the imperial government's completion of the publication of these data as it had planned. The statistical material, however, has survived either in the form of the manuscript summaries, or the original returns by the local representatives (usually the prefect or his subordinates). It provides key indicators for a total of 162 departments (733 districts) encompassing the later Benelux countries, the left bank of the Rhine as well as the Hanseatic departments, Northern and Central Italy, Catalonia, the Illyrian provinces in addition to France proper. For this purpose we have set up a team of like-minded colleagues, familiar with historical national accounts and plan to forage into these different sources. In addition to data on people and resources, we plan to process the conscription and tax records and construct estimates of food consumption, the occupational distribution of the labour force, disposable income, 'welfare ratios' and indicators of the 'biological standard of living' which will be compared across the Empire, and with GDP measures produced for other countries.

**Section a: Extended Synopsis of the project proposal (max. 5 pages)**

Convergence in incomes and standards of living as a result of political European integration has been a central theme of the history of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. European integration, however, has a longer history and prior periods of convergence have been observed, notably at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century – following the liberalization of trade in the wake of the Cobden-Chevalier treaty of 1860 and the Latin monetary Union (1865) fostering the creation of what has been termed “the first common market<sup>1</sup>.” The “Napoleonic interlude” presents another landmark in European integration albeit of short duration. For a brief span of time (a few years to two decades) large swathes of Western Europe were fused into one single political organisation, the French empire and its appendix, the Kingdom of Italy (1805-14). Therein (and to a lesser extent in the Kingdom of Naples) the French invaders introduced the administrative practices and divisions on the French revolutionary template: parishes became municipalities, grouped in cantons, themselves assembled in *arrondissements* (or districts) making up departments of supposedly comparable size and/or population, each headed by a central government representative, the prefect. This official was responsible for drafting the reports claimed by his Paris masters, and in the process collected essential socio-economic data on the area under his authority. The statistical material contained in these reports (in published or manuscript form) constitute the prime documentary basis for the present enquiry. It covers, in addition to France’s original 86 departments, the later Benelux countries (17 departments), the left bank of the Rhine, Hamburg, Bremen and a chunk of Lower Saxony (8 departments), North-western Italy (17 departments) to which can be added the “Illyrian provinces” (7 departments, annexed 1809), Catalonia (4 departments, annexed 1812), and the “Kingdom of Italy” (24 departments, 1805-14)<sup>2</sup>. France’s war effort during these years was not the sole reason for the statistical ‘activism’ displayed by Napoleon’s subordinates. The First empire’s statistical ‘mania’ also testifies of an “ambitious programme [with a view of establishing] a rational state which would force the pace of modernising society”<sup>3</sup>. From the time he assumed supreme power (1802), Napoléon conceived the plan of a general statistical survey of the French Empire by department, the publication of which was, however, only partially completed; repeated requests were sent out to this effect notably in 1802-3, 1807-8 and 1811-12. The focus in this study will be on the second benchmark (with reference and possible extrapolations from the first when needed).

This period – the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century – represents the frontier of research in the field of national historical accounts and the quantitative economic history of Europe. Recently, efforts have been made to extend the Maddison database backward from 1815/20 (for which GDP estimates reconstructed by the SNA methods exist for only three Western European countries) to 1500 and beyond. They involve the major economies of the Continent and have already yielded substantial additions to Maddison’s original insights<sup>4</sup>. Unidiv1812 intends to integrate the ongoing Maddison Project strategy by fitting in historical GDP estimates based on SNA both methods and indirect proxy variables (categories 2 and 3 of Van Zanden’s classification). By systematically investigating indicators at the local (departmental) level, it should add significantly to the pool of quantitative information required for this type of reconstruction.

Although its grand ambition was eventually only realised a generation later<sup>5</sup>, the Napoleonic state managed to compile an extraordinary array of socio-economic data for the area under its rule – starting with population numbers. On the heels of the first French census of population (1801), French authorities introduced compulsory registration of births, marriages and deaths in the newly annexed territories and planned to launch surveys of just about everything that came under their jurisdiction, in order to inventory resources and determine the annual contingent of young men to be drafted into the army. In addition, attempts were made at estimating the movement of population and actual mortality tables by department. As is well known from the appendix to Montalivet’s *Exposé de la situation de l’Empire* of 1813<sup>6</sup>, French authorities kept a watchful eye on a number of key productions, starting with foodstuffs (and wine), but

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<sup>1</sup> Peter T. Marsh, *Bargaining on Europe: Britain and the First Common Market, 1860-1892*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

<sup>2</sup> These provinces stretching from the Julian Alps to the Boka Kotorska (in present day Montenegro) along the Adriatic coast were stripped from Austria at the peace of Schönbrunn. A map is available on: [http://dormois.jp.net/unidiv1812/map\\_depts.pdf](http://dormois.jp.net/unidiv1812/map_depts.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> Woolf, Stuart, *Napoleon's Integration of Europe*, London, Routledge, 1991, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Bolt, Jutta, and Jan Luiten van Zanden, “The Maddison Project: collaborative research on historical national accounts” *Economic History Review* vol. 67 No. 3 (2014), pp. 627-39: includes a review of recent developments in the field.

<sup>5</sup> The Statistique Générale de la France, France’s central statistical office was finally organised in 1836.

<sup>6</sup> *Exposé de la situation de l'empire présenté au Corps législatif dans sa séance du 25 février 1813 par S. Exc. le comte Montalivet*, Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1813.

including also counts of horses, dairy cattle and the annual output of raw wool and other textile fibres (flax, hemp and silk) – sheep-rearing, for instance, was surveyed on the basis of 12 regions on the basis to the prevalent breeds. Industrial production likewise could be closely monitored because of the licensing involved. Thus, the number of blast-furnaces and foundries, the output of iron and steel as well as the production of coal and salt are well documented; likewise is the activity of textile mills of different types. Because of the concomitant technological changes going on in Britain at the same time, manufacturing industry has often received prime of attention, especially with regard to the effects of the Continental blockade (from 1806 on). However, for our purpose, their contribution to income and welfare, at the district level, in view of the paucity of the numbers occupied by these industries, needs to be brought into line with the other agricultural and traditional (and still dominant) crafts sector.

Our prime aim will be to estimate food production by district (and hence by department). For vegetable production, this can be achieved in two ways: either by the direct estimates compiled by the authorities for the main crops, or by applying the prevalent yield ratios to the acreage under various crops. For animal products, the departmental surveys provides the average weight of animals in addition to their numbers and milk production (an essential provider of proteins in traditional societies) can be deducted from contemporary (or even somewhat ulterior) individual yields. Other (local) types of crops can be dealt with on an individual basis (chestnuts, millet, fruits) and with the help of subsequent information<sup>7</sup>.

Conscription records can usefully complement standard socio-economic data in this respect. Because they quote the declared occupation (in addition to age, date and place of birth and height), the rolls can provide, when aggregated over several years, a proxy distribution of male occupations at the district level – and hence help measure, for instance, the size of the non-agricultural sector.

Finally, tax records can provide precious indications about relative levels of earnings primarily because of the standard tax schedule imposed by the French government on annexed countries. This device has been used for later periods of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and can be applied to the present sample of departments for our benchmark<sup>8</sup>. According to its opponents, the Napoleonic state was apparently rather good at collecting taxes – compared to its predecessor and successor regimes<sup>9</sup>. Separately constructed consumption indicators can then serve as consistency checks for the amounts of tax levied in various areas.

Thus, although never assembled in a collective publication, the socio-economic statistical database for this crucial period in Western European history on the eve of industrialisation exists and can be reconstructed from extant sources. The major hurdle resides in its dispersion. Although some 40 departmental monographs were published under his reign (and some after his fall), Napoleon's grand project never reached its final aim of a multi-volume comprehensive survey. Furthermore, the publication of volumes presenting the familiar double-entry statistical tables was still a generation away<sup>10</sup>. Some of the prefects' reports, however, were printed in monograph form and circulated at the time. Others percolated in other types of publication. Peuchet, an official in the statistical bureau of the Interior Ministry who supervised the first departmental survey under Minister Chaptal (1801) published several books visibly quoting information from the prefects' reports<sup>11</sup>. Chaptal himself when he compiled his monumental *De l'industrie française* (published in 1819) must have used unpublished official information. Likewise, the first prefects' reports (some of them at any rate) appeared in a periodical founded for the purpose, the *Annales de statistique*<sup>12</sup>. In the papers of Coquebert de Montbret, last director of the statistics bureau (abolished in 1812) in the Municipal library in Rouen feature a number of the prefects' answers to the questionnaire of that year (sent as late as 1814).

While the published material of the prefects' reports will need to be 'combed' in order to obtain all the retrievable quantitative information contained therein, it is likely that others exist only in manuscript form, either in the Archives Nationales in Paris, or in local (departmental, provincial) archival deposits<sup>13</sup>. Although some of these sources have sometimes been exploited either by 19<sup>th</sup> Century economists within the post-1815

<sup>7</sup> Among others, the French agricultural Survey of 1840 (*Statistique de la France, Agriculture*, 4 vol. Paris, 1847-51).

<sup>8</sup> Morrisson, Christian & Wayne Snyder, "Income inequality of France in historical perspective," *European Review of Economic History* vol. 4 (2000), pp. 59-83.

<sup>9</sup> Sir Francis d'Ivernois, *Napoléon administrateur et financier*, Paris and Geneva, Paschoud, 1814, passim. Tax receipts by department are found in *Compte de l'administration des finances en 1811*, Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1813.

<sup>10</sup> See Perrot, Jean-Claude & S. J. Woolf, *State and Statistics in France, 1789-1815*, London, Harwood, 1984.

<sup>11</sup> Peuchet J. & Chanlaire, L. G., *Description topographique et statistique de la France*, 3 vol. Paris, Cabany & Courcier, 1807.

<sup>12</sup> L. J. P. Ballois, *Annales de statistique ou journal général d'économie politique, industrielle et commerciale* (9 vol.) Paris, 1802-5.

<sup>13</sup> Gille, Bertrand, *Les sources statistiques de l'histoire de France*, Paris and Geneva, Droz, 1964, p. 136.

national framework<sup>14</sup> or by 20<sup>th</sup> Century historians writing historical monographs, their results have never been brought together to build any kind of ‘global’ picture. It is, unexpectedly, in the outposts of the Napoleonic empire that experiments in this field of have been carried the farthest. In 1930, a Slovene scholar, Melitta Pivec-Stelè published her well-researched doctoral thesis on the economy of the Illyrian provinces during the Napoleonic period, complemented by a substantial inventory of the available sources<sup>15</sup>. More recently, in preparation to the bicentenary celebrations of the Illyrian provinces (2009), the National archives of Croatia have sponsored a multi-lingual inventory of available sources for the history of the provinces in that period<sup>16</sup>. As becomes clear upon even cursory inspection, the National Archive files in Paris doesn’t do justice to the wealth of documents in the various deposits of the area, today split between five state jurisdictions (Austria, Croatia, Italy, Montenegro, and Slovenia). Thus, UNIDIV1812 will foster collaboration between scholars, historians and economists, from Western and Central Europe on a common theme of enquiry<sup>17</sup> which will have the additional advantage of making it possible to recruit young researchers (either PhDs or post-docs) in their university of residence with access to local resources to supplement the information collected at the aggregate level (published material or enquiry returns in the Paris National Archive<sup>18</sup>).

The transnational team so far assembled includes:

- in Austria: Dr. Christine Tropper (Landesarchiv Klagenfurt) for the department of Carinthia
- in Belgium: Prof. Erik Buyst (University of Leuven) for the 9 departments of Belgium which, because of the duration of French occupation (1793-1814) have already been well researched<sup>19</sup>.
- in Croatia: Prof. Drago Roksandić (University of Zagreb), an expert of Croatia in the Napoleonic period<sup>20</sup>.
- in Germany: Prof. Ulrich Pfister (University of Münster) and Prof. Mark Spoerer (University of Regensburg) for the four departments of the Left bank of the Rhine, and five departments of the Ems, Weser and Elbe in present-day Lower Saxony. Prof. Spoerer, a keen French speaker will handle with the PI the two departments which lie today in part of Switzerland.
- in Italy: Prof. Emanuele Felice (University of Barcelona), an expert in Italian 19<sup>th</sup> Century historical national accounts will supervise work on Northern Italy ((39 departments); Prof. Michelangelo Vasta (University of Siena) and Dott.ssa Chiara Coletti (University of Perugia) the Central Italian departments.
- in the Netherlands: Prof. H. J. de Jong (University of Groningen) with whom the PI originally conceived this project, as well as Dr. Jan-Pieter Smits<sup>21</sup> (CBS-Statistics Netherlands) and Dr. Martin van der Burg (University of Amsterdam).
- in Slovenia: Prof. Rok Stergar (University of Ljubljana) for the districts of Carniola and Istria
- in Spain: Prof. Daniel Tirado-Ferragat and Prof. Julio *Martínez-Galarraga* (Universitat de Valencia) to take charge of the four Catalan departments created on 26 January 1812 after the French defeat in Spain.
- in France, two colleagues previously involved with the PI on 19<sup>th</sup> century France have agreed to join him: Jean-Pascal Bassino (ENS Lyon) and L. Heyberger (UT Belfort-Montbéliard) along with two experts of the social and economic history of the First Empire Aurélien Lignereux (IEP Grenoble) and Igor Moullier (ENS Lyon).

The PI, in addition to supervising everyone else, will be in charge of the departments of the pre- and post-revolutionary French territory (87 departments). He is already familiar with 19<sup>th</sup> Century French departmental statistics and has already surveyed some of the material; he plans to use contacts with

<sup>14</sup> Dutens, J., *Essai comparatif sur la formation et la distribution du revenu de la France en 1815 et 1835*, Paris, Guillaumin, 1842.

<sup>15</sup> Pivec-Stelè, Melitta, *La vie économique des provinces illyriennes 1809-13*, and *Sources de l’histoire économique des provinces illyriennes*, Paris, Bossard 1930.

<sup>16</sup> Ornata Tadin (ed.), *Napoléon et son administration en Adriatique orientale et dans les Alpes de l’Est 1806-1814. Guide des sources (Napoleon i njegova uprava na istočnoj obali Jadrana i na području istočnih Alpa 1806-1814)*, Zagreb, Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2005.

<sup>17</sup> As the 2009 exhibition in Ljubljana “*Sous les aigles de Napoléon*” (»*Pod Napoleonovim orlom. 200 let ustanovitve Ilirskih Provinc*«) bears witness, there is renewed interest in the history of this episode of European history.

<sup>18</sup> The inventory of sources (provisional) is split in two lists: General sources (printed and manuscript) and Sources by department. See <http://dormois-jp.net/unidiv1812/List%20of%20sources-general.pdf> and [http://dormois-jp.net/unidiv1812/sources\\_department.pdf](http://dormois-jp.net/unidiv1812/sources_department.pdf).

<sup>19</sup> For instance, the returns of the agricultural enquiry of 1812 have been used by Martine Goossens, *The Economic Development of Belgian Agriculture: a regional perspective 1812-1846*, Leuven, Leuven University Press, 1993.

<sup>20</sup> *Vojna Hrvatska - La Croatie militaire. Krajiško društvo u Francuskom Carstvu (1809.-1813.)*, Zagreb, 1988.

<sup>21</sup> Smits, Jan-Pieter et al., *Dutch GNP and its components 1800-1913*, Groningen Growth and Development Centre 2001 (<http://nationalaccounts.niwi.knaw.nl/pdf/newgnp1.pdf>)

historians of the areas and period concerned to check on the reliability of the collected data. Contacts have already been made with the *Landesarchiv* in Klagenfurt (Austria), which holds substantial records relating to the district of Villach (Carinthia). A short visit there (August 2014) has resulted in identifying the prefect's report in its German version published after the end of French occupation<sup>22</sup>.

Some of this material has attracted, as has been hinted, the attention of scholars, economists, political scientists and practitioners of statistical science all along the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, but was never exploited in a systematic way. Recently, however, there has been renewed interest on the part of Italian historians for these sources as a way to revisit the economic situation of the peninsula before its unification<sup>23</sup>.

As the GGDC project on Dutch historical accounts testifies, the statistical information contained in these sources can help reconstruct constituent parts of GDP– indicators, which can then be linked to later series, and much of the exploratory work already completed will stand the present project in good stead<sup>24</sup>. However, reconstructing monetary GDP indicators (by department) consistent with later estimates will constitute only one part of the project. It will aim at producing alternative and non-monetary indicators as well, such as food consumption per head, literacy and infant mortality, 'welfare ratios' and biological standard of living likewise conceived to ensure cross-region comparability. As numerous monographs illustrate, the data are sufficiently abundant to warrant a very detailed economic profile of the districts and departments concerned.

The enquiry will proceed on two fronts (combining, as it were, a top-down and a bottom-up approach): in a first stage, it will compile from the (overwhelmingly handwritten) summary surveys drawn up by ministry officials the relevant data; in a second, the prefects' reports for individual departments will be combed to retrieve from them the same data in order to build up a consistent and standardised database for the whole empire. This will include: demographic data (including working population by sector and sex), agricultural data on production, consumption, acreage and animals, data on industrial production and trade, tax receipts by type. In order to carry out this operation, a list of available sources has already been drawn up as well as a template questionnaire<sup>25</sup>. The operations will proceed as follows:

- Stage 1: Retrieving statistics from general surveys and similar comprehensive documents

The first months of the project will be employed in compiling the data contained in the general surveys, some printed, most in the manuscript sources of the F series in the Paris National Archive. Of particular interest in the National Archive are the summary tables in the F10 (*Agriculture*), F11 (*Food provision*), F12 (*Commerce and industry*) and F20 series (*Statistics*) starting with the detailed returns of the 1811 population census (F20/407). Other notable sources include the Coquebert de Montbret collection in the Municipal library in Rouen as well the Du Villard<sup>26</sup> papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (n.a.f. 20.589 et 20.591).

- Stage 2: Completing the database with data from tax returns and conscription records

The mandatory annual registration of all 18 to 20 year-old males at the district level in view of their future enlisting in the Napoleonic army, offers the possibility of completing the database with additional information on the occupational structure as well as the biological welfare of populations. For this purpose Dr. L. Heyberger who knows the conscription records well, is to serve as a consultant and guide. These records typically provide information on the age, height, residence and profession of the draftee. We plan to start with the summary tables, which were compiled by the military authorities and collected in the F series of the National Archive in Paris<sup>27</sup>. Relevant information for some missing departments (estimated at under

<sup>22</sup> Johann Jenull, „Kurze Statistik des Villacher Kreises aus der französischen Handschrift seines vormaligen Intendenten Ludwig de la Moussaye übersetzt mit Anmerkungen begleitet“, *Kärntnerische Zeitschrift* vol. 1, Klagenfurt, 1818, pp. 49-76. See the inventory of Austrian sources by Christine Tropper, „Österreich“, in Tadin (ed.), *Napoléon et son administration en Adriatique orientale ...*, op. cit., pp. 623-67.

<sup>23</sup> See Domenico Demarco (a cura di), *La "statistica" del regno di Napoli nel 1811*, Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 4 vol. 1988 and Melchiorre Gioia (1767-1829), *Statistica del dipartimento dell'Adda*, (a cura di F. Sofia), Roma ISTAT, 2000 and *Statistica del dipartimento del Mella*, (a cura di T. Maccabelli), Brescia, E. Morato, 2007.

<sup>24</sup> Smits, Jan-Pieter et al., *Dutch GNP and its components 1800-1913*, Groningen Growth and Development Centre, 2001 (<http://nationalaccounts.niwi.knaw.nl/pdf/newgnp1.pdf>).

<sup>25</sup> See [http://dormois-jp.net/unidiv1812/Template\\_Id\\_Sheet.pdf](http://dormois-jp.net/unidiv1812/Template_Id_Sheet.pdf)

<sup>26</sup> Coquebert succeeded Du Villard as head of the statistics bureau (Ministry of the Interior) in 1806; he was after his tenure Minister of Manufactures. Gille, *Les sources statistiques*, p. 123.

<sup>27</sup> F20 437-440: *Renseignements relatifs à la conscription* and *Tableaux des diverses tailles des conscrits* (An XIII-1812) and F9 150–261 : *Departmental returns 1791-1837*.

10%) will have to be searched in local archives, an operation which can be conducted simultaneously with the collection of tax statistics.

Summary information on tax schedules and receipts were lost in the fire, which destroyed the central government archives in 1871 (apart from what was published--see note 9). The rolls and the summary tables (requested by the Ministry) have generally been kept in draft form in local/departmental deposits as a short visit to the *Archivio di stato* in Siena in May 2015 showed<sup>28</sup>. We plan to use the returns of the *patente* business tax to estimate trade turnover by district. Due to the destruction of the finance ministry archives, this operation promises to bring about the most novel and promising type of information.

- Stage 3: Supplementary indicators; prices and wages; welfare ratios.

The third approach will consist in reviewing the prefects' reports and draw a "statistical profile" of all departments. All the available sources have been identified but those concerning about a dozen of all departments<sup>29</sup>. For the missing reports we plan further investigations in local/departmental archives. A standard identification sheet will serve as a standard questionnaire for each department and district. The data will then either complement or serve as controls for those included in the comprehensive database.

One important contribution we plan to make is the computing of 'welfare ratios' by departments and possibly, districts. These will be constructed on the basis of the wage rates and the prices of common commodities regularly reported by the prefects (the authorities viewed these as key elements of the local population's loyalty to the regime). So far this calculation has been made primarily for the larger cities of Europe<sup>30</sup>. Even in the absence of adequate documentation for all districts, there should be enough of them in the sample to give a picture of what happened in the countryside (where the majority of the population still lived in most cases).

- Stage 4: Key indicators: food production and consumption; GDP and components; income per capita

At this stage, the harvest of data should be sufficient to start some calculations and comparisons. We plan to produce standardized measures of food consumption (vegetable and animal), and industrial production as well as trade and transport. These will provide indicators of living standards and form the basis of our GDP reconstruction. The data will be recorded for one typical benchmark-year; agricultural output, for instance, will be obtained typically from three or five year averages (depending on the documentation) the end of the Empire having notoriously been years of scarcity. Although prices were measured in various currencies, they were all convertible in Francs according to their silver/gold content, making conversion straightforward<sup>31</sup>. In addition to publishing the first summary tables of our findings and calculations, we plan to produce a number of maps using the most representative indicators. In the meanwhile a number of exploratory papers will be submitted to appropriate journals.

Note: Stage 3 and 4 are likely to overlap.

- Stage 5: Processing and exploitation of the database

As soon as the database will near completion, we'll be in a position to organise round-tables and a major conference to examine the project's findings and invite 'external' experts in the field to join us to discuss or shed some new light on our results. In addition to some technical articles and regional monographs, our objective is to publish the database (online), an atlas of maps and a directory of all departments on the basis of the afore-mentioned identification sheets.

The careful and systematic exploitation of the copious databank accumulated by Napoleon's administrators can help us ascertain the level of development attained by various regions of Western Europe before industrialization. This process, as has been conclusively shown, proceeded along regional rather than national patterns. This enquiry should therefore shed light in a comparative framework on the issue of the 'pre-requisites' to the subsequent economic development of European regions.

<sup>28</sup> Examination of the *patente* rolls in bundle 110. See Giuliano Catoni (a cura di), *Archivi del governo francese nel dipartimento dell'Ombrone*, Roma, Ministero dell'Interno, 1971.

<sup>29</sup> For a directory of all departments and districts (*arrondissements*) of the Empire and 'Kingdom of Italy'. see: <http://dormois-jp.net/unidiv1812/Directory%20of%20departments%20and%20arrondissements.pdf>.

<sup>30</sup> Robert C. Allen, *Consumer price indices, nominal / real wages and welfare ratios of building craftsmen and labourers, 1260-1913*. University of Oxford, Dept. of Economics website.

<sup>31</sup> See the prevailing exchange rates in: [dormois-jp.net/unidiv1812/Exchange%20rate%20of%20currencies%201811.pdf](http://dormois-jp.net/unidiv1812/Exchange%20rate%20of%20currencies%201811.pdf)

## Section b: Curriculum vitæ

**Jean-Pierre Dormois, Professor of modern economic history,**

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### IMPACT

ResearchGate	9.52
Citations (GoogleScholar)	133
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### RESEARCH TRAJECTORY

#### Comparative and transnational European history

I was first trained as a French historian of traditional make and was very much impressed, as an undergraduate, by Pierre Chaunu's lectures and books. At this time the social and economic orientation of the Annales school was being fast eroded by, in my view, less palatable topics and I escaped to the US in search of something different. At Harvard my mentor, David Landes broadened my horizons hugely by introducing me to what has become known as 'global' economic history. But I also encountered there representatives of the 'new school' of 'cliometrics': Jeff Williamson, Barry Eichengreen, Bill Lazonick (and later Donald McCloskey). It would take some time, however, before I could master some of the standard tools of analysis of this new discipline. My first research endeavours were related to the then popular subject of 'proto-industrialization' in a regional case study, which brought together German and Swiss entrepreneurs and French workers before the French revolution<sup>32</sup>. My forays into other case studies, relying on more traditional forms of history writing have remained isolated.<sup>33</sup>

#### Quantitative economic history: measuring output and productivity

My work took on a distinctively more quantitative turn when I embraced the task of applying national accounting techniques and the construction of productivity indicators to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century – on the advice of Maurice Lévy-Leboyer who had just published his magnum opus<sup>34</sup>. My work in database reconstruction and processing of key variables has spanned the "century of industrialization" between the French 'take-off' in the 1840s to the depression of the 1930s<sup>35</sup>. The reconstruction of variables has involved systematic comparisons with equivalents in other European countries and examination and discussion of the problems associated with this type of exercise (PPP converters etc.). In the latest version of a cross-country comparison of labour productivity in various industrial sectors before World War One<sup>36</sup>, the sample extended to 15 countries and has made me familiar with the documentary material and existing work being carried out in these countries.

#### Scope and impact of late 19<sup>th</sup> Century trade protectionism in comparative perspective

In search of a link between the trade barriers erected at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and productivity performance as it could be measured retrospectively, I joined the debate, which was taking place on the issue of protectionism and ways to assess it (effective protection, restrictiveness indices...). While 'doing the numbers' on French trade and protection, I became interested in parallel experiences in other European

<sup>32</sup> This research was the subject of an unpublished monograph which focused on marriage patterns in 'protoindustrial' villages: "L'expérience proto-industrielle dans le pays de Montbéliard" (1984) and percolated into a lone article: "Entwicklungsmuster der Protoindustrialisierung im Mömpelgarder Lande während des 18. Jh.", *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* vol. 53 (1994), p. 179-204.

<sup>33</sup> « L'immigration montbéliardaise à New-York au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle » in J.M. Debard et al., *Montbéliard Sans Frontières*, 1994, p. 173-190 and « Une "French connection" au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle : Le rôle de Lalance & Grosjean Manufacturing. Co. à Woodhaven, New York », *Diasporas* vol. 9 (2006), p. 56–78.

<sup>34</sup> (with François Bourguignon), *The French economy in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, Cambridge University Press, 1990 (French edition 1985).

<sup>35</sup> "La statistique industrielle de 1841-45 revisitée", in Katia de Queiros Mattoso, (ed.), *L'Angleterre et le Monde. Mélanges François Crouzet*, Paris, Presses de la Sorbonne, 1998, p. 205-45; "Episodes in Catching-Up: Anglo-French productivity differentials in industry in 1930," *European Review of Economic History* vol. 8 (2004), pp. 1-37.

<sup>36</sup> "La productivité du travail dans l'industrie de divers pays d'Europe avant 1914" (with Carlo Bardini) *Economies & Sociétés* vol. AF 21, 1995 No. 12, p. 77-103.

countries attempting with similar agendas in order to examine trade policies in a comparative perspective<sup>37</sup>. This has excited my curiosity for the economic history of other parts of the European continent, especially its periphery. UNIDIV1812 presents me with the opportunity to put my linguistic skills to good use, pursue my efforts at diversification and the challenge to push back the frontier of historical national accounts into only partially chartered territory

#### DEGREES AND POSTGRADUATE QUALIFICATIONS

- *Habilitation à diriger les recherches* (HDR), Université de Paris-Nanterre : « *Mesurer la productivité au cours de l'industrialisation, 1840-1940* » Sponsor : Alain Plessis (06/2001)
- PhD in history and civilization, European University Institute, Florence : “Of Machines and Men. The productivity of labour in industry in France and Britain, 1870-1914.” Supervisors: Richard T. Griffiths and Albert Carreras (03/1994)
- Doctorate in history, Université de Paris-Sorbonne : « *La productivité dans les économies françaises et britanniques à la veille de la première guerre mondiale* » Supervisor: François Crouzet (11/1992)
- M.A. (A.M.) in Economics, Harvard University, ‘*cum laude*’ 1986.
- *Agrégation d'histoire* (session de 1983)

#### ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Since 2014	Professor of Modern Economic History, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Bordeaux
October 2006	Visiting professor, Department of History, Purdue University, West Lafayette (USA)
2005-10	Senior fellow of the French University Institute
2003-14	Professor of Modern Economic History, Université de Strasbourg
1998/S2	Visiting professor, Department of Economics, University of Iowa (USA)
1997/S1	Visiting professor, Historisches Seminar, University of Tübingen (Germany)
1994-2003	<i>Maître-de-conférence</i> (Lecturer), Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier-III
1991-93	Knox fellow and supervisor of studies, University of Cambridge (GB)
1990-94	Researcher, European University Institute, Florence (Italy)
1988-89	Bursary at the Maison Française, University of Oxford (GB)
1988	T.A. Department of Economics, University of Paris-I.
1984-87	Teaching fellow, Department of Economics, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA).

#### OTHER APPOINTMENTS

##### Organisations

1987-88	Assistant to the Vice-President for VA subsidized mortgages, Chemical Bank, New York.
1989-90	Chargé de mission at the Mission du Bicentenaire de la Révolution Française, Paris.

##### Editorial

- Editor of a special issue of *Cahiers Victoriens et Edouardiens* : “The Victorian Achievement”, vol. 48 (October, 1998)
- Editor of a special issue of *Revue d'Allemagne* : “Le *wirtschaftlicher Sonderweg* en question”, vol. 40:1 (January 2008)

Reviewer for the *Economic History Review*, the *Journal of Economic History* and eh.net.

#### 'FUNDING ID' AND RESEARCH PROGRAMMES

2005-08	Head of the French team in a Franco-Japanese Chorus project on ‘Regional inequalities in France and Japan, 1870-1970’ (see: <a href="http://recherche.univ-montp3.fr/RegInFJ/index.htm">http://recherche.univ-montp3.fr/RegInFJ/index.htm</a> )
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<sup>37</sup> “Real effective protection rates for 15 European countries before 1914” and (with Pedro Lains), *Classical Trade Protectionism 1815-1914*, London, Routledge, 2006.

**PUBLICATIONS RECORD**

7 books (3 single authored, 1 joint-authored, 3 edited or co-edited)  
 20 peer-reviewed journal articles  
 10 book chapters

**DISTINCTIONS****Section c: 10-year track-record**

The pace of my publications has markedly slowed in the past five years. The main reason for this was that I have been subjected during the last years to constant harassment by my superiors at the university of Strasbourg who wanted me to leave and spent consequently a great deal of time looking for another job – which I eventually found. Furthermore, I fell ill in 2012 and 2013 and had to spend time in hospital. The more recent conference papers listed below are in the process of being published.

- [1] (with James Foreman-Peck) “What drove (or choked) French entrepreneurship under Napoleon III? A department-level analysis” (submitted to *Research in Economic History*).
- [2] “Tit for Tat? The French 1892 and the German 1879 tariffs compared,” (submitted to *Journal of European Economic History*).
- [3] “Did industrialization seriously damage their health? Regional variations in Infant mortality France 1870-1939” (with Jean-Pascal Bassino)

**KEY CONTRIBUTIONS (most cited)**

- [1] *The French Economy in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- [2] “Episodes in Catching-Up: Anglo-French productivity differentials in industry in 1930,” *European Review of Economic History* vol. 8 (2004), pp. 1-37.
- [3] "France: The idiosyncrasies of ‘*Volontarisme*’" in Giovanni Federico & James Foreman-Peck (eds.), *European Industrial Policy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 58-97.
- [4] " The impact of late-nineteenth century tariffs on the productivity of European industries 1870-1930" in J.P. Dormois & P. Lains, (eds.), *Classical Trade Protectionism 1815-1914*, Londres, Routledge, 2006, p. 160–192. <http://dormois-jp.net/publications/ImpactTariffs.pdf>
- [5] "La productivité du travail dans l'industrie de divers pays d'Europe avant 1914" (with Carlo Bardini) *Economies & Sociétés* vol. AF 21, 1995 No. 12, p. 77-103.
- [6] “Tracking the elusive French productivity gap in industry 1840-1973”, Hitotsubashi University, Institute of Economic Research Working Paper No. 152 (mars 2006)
- [7] *La Défense du travail national ? L'incidence du protectionnisme sur l'industrie en Europe (1870-1914)*, Paris, Presses de Paris-Sorbonne. 2008.
- [8] "The significance of the French colonial empire for French economic development (1815-1960)," *Revista de Historia Económica* vol. 18/2 (1998), p. 323-49.

**OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS***1. Other publications in referenced journals*

- [9] “Rainfall, the Méline tariff, and wheat production in Mediterranean France, 1880-1914,” *Australian Economic History Review* vol. 50 No 1 (2010), pp. 23–38.
- [10] (with Jean-Pascal Bassino) “Comment tenir compte des erreurs de mesure dans l’estimation de la stature des conscrits français ?” *Histoire, Economie, Société* vol. 2 (2009), pp. 97-122.

[11] “Socialisme municipal contre Socialisme d’Etat : Ressorts et effets du développement de la fonction publique en France et en Grande-Bretagne avant 1914”, *Histoire, Economie, Société* vol. 4 (2006), pp. 127-156.

[12] “Protectionnisme et productivité du travail en Europe avant 1914”, *Revue de l’OFCE* vol. 82 (2002), pp. 11-47.

## 2. Monographs

[13] *La Défense du travail national ? L’incidence du protectionnisme sur l’industrie en Europe (1870-1914)* Paris, Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne. 2008.

[14] *L’économie française face à la concurrence britannique à la veille de 1914*, Paris, L’Harmattan, 1997.

## 3. Presentations at international conferences

- (with Jean-Pascal Bassino), “How serious were French republicans about equality? Regional variations in the standard of living across France 1870-1914,” III<sup>rd</sup> Congress of *Economics and Human Biology*, Strasbourg, 22-25 June 2006.
- “The Art of simulation; or, did the Third republic pretend to have a protectionist policy while it actually didn’t?” Hitotsubashi University, Institute of Economic Research Working Paper No. 173 (March 2007)
- “Measuring height, literacy and numeracy in France under the Third Republic,” VII<sup>th</sup> Congress of the *European Historical Economics Society*, Lund (Sweden) 29 June, 2007.
- “The changing structure of the non-agricultural sector in France 1840-1940” Institute of Economic Research, Hitotsubashi University, Kunitachi (Tokyo), 30 March, 2008.
- (with Jean-Pascal Bassino), “Rainfall, the Méline tariff, and wheat production in Mediterranean France, 1887-1914”, Pre-conference of the 15<sup>th</sup> World Economic History Congress, Aix-en-Provence, 23-25 January, 2009.
- “How protectionist was the French tariff before World War One”, Annual conference of the *Economic History Society*, University of Warwick (GB), 3-5 April, 2009.
- “How bad was the French economy on the eve of World War Two, or, has Angus Maddison been too optimistic about French interwar GNP?” XV<sup>th</sup> World Economic History Congress, Utrecht, 3-8 August, 2009.
- "Did industrialization seriously damage their health? Regional variations in Infant mortality in 19<sup>th</sup> Century France", Annual conference of the *Economic History Society*, University of Cambridge, 1-3 April, 2011. <http://www.ehs.org.uk/ehs/conference2011/confpapers2011.asp>
- “The best of intentions? Determinants of members’ vote in the adoption of the Méline tariff (1892),” Annual conference of the *Economic History Society*, University of Oxford, 30 March-2 April, 2012 <http://www.ehs.org.uk/ehs/conference2012/Assets/DormoisFullPaper.pdf>.
- “Tit for Tat? The French 1892 and the German 1879 tariffs compared,” Conference on “European Trade policies 1850-1913,” Université de Bordeaux, 21-22 March, 2013.
- (with James Foreman-Peck) “French entrepreneurship in the long-view 1866-1966: determinants and consequences” Annual conference of the *European Historical Economics Society*, University of Pisa, 4-6 September, 2015.

## 4. Organization of conferences

While at Montpellier I organized two English-speaking venues:

- a two-day conference on the “British industrial decline” (the collected papers of which were later published by Routledge), September 1995;
- a three-day ‘Summer school’ for young researchers on behalf of the European Historical Economics Society, Montpellier, 18-20 May 2002.

As participant and director of the Institute of Economic and Social History at the University of Strasbourg I co-organized the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of *Economics and Human Biology*, Strasbourg, 22-25 June 2006.

As joint head of the France-Japan Chorus project (with Prof. Kyoji Fukao), I co-organized the following seminars and conferences:

- Maison Française, Ebisu (Tokyo), 1-4 December, 2005.
- Université de Nice-Sophia Antipolis, 26-30 November, 2006.
- Université d’Aix-Marseille, 25-26 February, 2008.
- Hitotsubashi University, Kunitachi (Tokyo), 27-30 March, 2008.
- Hitotsubashi University, Kunitachi (Tokyo), 25-27 May, 2009 (Preconference to the XV<sup>th</sup> World Economic History Congress).

#### 5. *Prizes, awards and academy memberships*

Fulbright scholarship (1984), Adams House fellowship (1986), Bourse Lavoisier (1988), Knox fellowship (1991).

#### 6. *Contributions to early careers of excellent researchers*

As PhD co-supervisor: 1 PhD (Strasbourg);

as PhD examiner: 7 PhDs (Nice, Aix-Marseille, Strasbourg (2), Paris-III (2), Paris-IV).