

Ó Gráda, Cormac

Working Paper

Notes on guilds on the eve of the French Revolution

UCD Centre for Economic Research Working Paper Series, No. WP18/04

Provided in Cooperation with:

UCD School of Economics, University College Dublin (UCD)

Suggested Citation: Ó Gráda, Cormac (2018) : Notes on guilds on the eve of the French Revolution, UCD Centre for Economic Research Working Paper Series, No. WP18/04, University College Dublin, UCD School of Economics, Dublin

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/184833>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.

UCD CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH

WORKING PAPER SERIES

2018

Notes on Guilds on the Eve of the French Revolution

Cormac Ó Gráda, University College, Dublin

WP18/04

February 2018

**UCD SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN
BELFIELD DUBLIN 4**

NOTES ON GUILDS ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION¹

Cormac Ó Gráda

University College Dublin

ABSTRACT:

This short paper reviews the economic-historical literature on *ancien régime* French guilds and suggests some paths for future research.

Keywords: guilds, apprenticeship, economic history, France

JEL codes: N33

¹ These notes were drafted during the summer of 2015 as a tentative research agenda. The current interest in the economic history of apprenticeship and of guild regimes in England and France prompts their circulation in this form. My thanks to Morgan Kelly, Joel Mokyr, and to Natacha Postel-Vinay for comments. The usual disclaimers apply.

Introduction

The traditional historiography of the guilds echoed the Enlightenment critique of their monopoly status and associated inefficiencies and injustices. Robert Darnton's famous characterisation of eighteenth-century Montpellier—that it relied on the same methods to produce the same goods on the same scale as in the Middle Ages (1984: 114; cited in Fitzsimmons 2010: 10)—is a striking example of this supposedly *histoire immobile* quality of guild-based regimes. But were the guilds as powerful in the 1780s as they were in the 1680s? Did the practices that de Gournay *et al.* accused them of in the 1750s²—inhibiting trade, keeping prices high, and discouraging risk-taking—still matter to the same extent in the 1780s? Again, how closely linked was the abolition of the guilds in 1791 to the decline of apprenticeship in the nineteenth century? Did that decline entail economic costs—as sometimes claimed—or was it simply a case of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, the healthy product of industrialization and the spread of the factory system?

Enlightenment rhetoric excoriated the guilds, much as the likes of Arthur Young did the open fields in England. In recent years, the Enlightenment's rabid anti-guild stance account has prompted a revisionist reaction from some historians, who hold that there was a gap between the rhetoric in print and the reality on the ground (e.g. Minard 2006). Fauché's review of the situation in *ancien régime* Bordeaux led him to muse that '*après*

² In his celebrated *Mémoire adressé à la Chambre de commerce de Lyon* in 1753 (Tsuda 1993: 21; Théré *et al.* 2011) de Gournay had famously accused the guilds of '*de renchérir considérablement nos étoffes, de leur donner une valeur fictive qu'elles n'auraient pas eu si on avait laissé à chacun la liberté d'avoir autant d'apprentis qu'il eût voulu, de fabriquer et de vendre*'.

l'étude des règlements corporatifs, on pouvait s'attendre a un résultat différent (1913: 36).³ Scholars such as Burstin (1985) and Fitzsimmons (2010) highlight the increasing pressures on guilds during the eighteenth century, and not least the tendency for rogue masters to violate guild regulations; Fauché (1913: 36) describes the situation in many of the trades of mid-eighteenth century Bordeaux as 'lamentable', with very little formal regulation: no limits on the number of apprentices per master, and no significant differences in the time served between fully qualified craftsmen and others. Tables A1 and A2, derived from Fauché, describe the situation in Bordeaux in 1762, distinguishing controlled from non-controlled occupations. To be sure, Fauché also emphasized a century ago that conditions varied considerably by location. But all this was a far cry from what a study of guild regulations would have led one to expect.

Was the Enlightenment critique banging on an open door? According to Burstin (1985: 101), the increasingly meddlesome actions of the Parisian guilds on the eve of their abolition reflected their desperation rather than their power. For some time, he claims, the guilds had been fighting a losing battle against 'free' workers who were much better placed to cope with changes and challenges. On the eve of the revolution 'the mesh of corporate tissue proved increasingly loose and free labour which focused initially on quietly evading regulations, spread out and began to dominate in several sectors'. So much so

³ For a sample of economic historians' contrasting perspectives on the contribution of guilds in France and further afield see Lequin 1986; Epstein 1998; Kaplan 2001, 2002; Kaplan and Minard 2004; Minard 2006, 2007a-2007d; Crowston 2008; Epstein and Prak 2008; Minns and Wallis 2013; Ogilvie 2011, 2014; Ben Zeev, Mokyr, and van der Beek 2015; de la Croix, Doepke, and Mokyr 2018.

that on the eve of the guilds' demise, what might be seen as increasingly vexatious interference was in reality a sign of weakness; far from gaining ground, the guilds' clumsy efforts at holding on to their privileges were their response to increasing pressure from free labour and from the state. Adam Smith (1977: 177) claimed that the guilds had 'banished arts and manufactures from the greater part of towns-corporate', but Coffin (1996: 31) describes a thriving informal sector of drapers and tailors in the eighteenth-century French capital which grew as fast as, or faster than, the formal guild sector; indeed, the clandestine workers were often employed by guild members. However, Coffin (1996: 32fn47) also mentions in a footnote that none of those scholars who highlight the importance of the informal sector ventures a guess at its relative size.

Contracts

A key element in the power of guild masters was their bargaining power vis-à-vis potential apprentices. Critics like Vincent de Gournay and Adam Smith argued that the former over-trained the latter by insisting on onerous, over-long contracts. The relative bargaining power of both sides determined the terms of the contract, as reflected—one presumes—in the length of the contract, the fee paid by the apprentice's guardians, his age, whether he was literate, inclusion of bed and board, and other aspects. If the guilds were under pressure, this should be reflected in the terms they managed to negotiate with apprentices. It would be of great interest therefore to find out how

apprenticeship contracts in France varied in practice over time and across space, and indeed how they varied across guilds (compare Genard 1994; Crowston 2005).

In theory, the length of apprenticeships varied according by *métier* (trade). Thus in Bordeaux it was supposed to be two years for roofers, plumbers, weavers; three years for stevedores, gunsmiths, buttoners, coppersmiths, hat makers, glove makers, wig makers, saddlers, tailors, turners, basket weavers; four years for wheelwrights, blacksmiths, printers, locksmiths, dyers; five years for pewterers; six years for upholsterers; eight years for goldsmiths. Some guilds seem to have been more flexible about the length of time served than others, however. Martin Saint-Léon (1922: 597) noted that after 1776 *'L'apprentissage avait été maintenu en principe; mais on accordait facilement des dispenses, pourvu que le candidat parût avoir la capacité requise.'* In Bordeaux, the tailors accepted two years on the payment of a fee of one hundred *livres*, while the coopers reduced the term from four to two and a half years for apprentices who paid thirty *livres* up front (Fauché 1913; compare Thillay 2002: 218). But it would seem that—in the mid-eighteenth century at least—most of Bordeaux's artisans acquired their skills outside the city's guild system (see below).

A preliminary canvas suggests that notarial apprenticeship contracts are plentiful. They are discussed quite extensively in the literature (e.g. Pelligrin-Postel 1987; Gallinato 1992; Kaplan and Postel-Vinay 2000; Kaplan 2002; Ricalens 2007). Fauché (1913: 31-33) presented some data based on a sample of

forty-six contracts in Bordeaux, Kaplan assembled a database of 316 Parisian contracts, Belmont's study of rural apprenticeship in the Bas-Dauphiné is based on a sample of 510 contracts, while Gallinato's study of Bordeaux is based on 2,538 contracts (Kaplan 1993; Belmont 1998; Gallinato 1992). However, apprenticeship contracts in France have hitherto not been submitted to systematic econometric analysis. One suspects that an analysis based on a large sample of contracts, in which the variations over time and between different locations in the terms set out in contracts are controlled for variables such as the skill in question, the age of the apprentice, the fee paid, parental background, and so on, might be an improvement on the weak correlations which 'prohibit all generalisations' in Kaplan's sample (1993: 449). If so, it could tell us much about the evolving economics of the guild system. Kaplan (2002: 450fn37) elsewhere reports that the average amount of time served in 107 *métiers* in *Tableau universel et raisonné* (1760) was 4 years, 7 months and 3 weeks, while in *Dictionnaire raisonné universel des arts et des métiers* (1793) the average for 67 trades was 4 years and 11 months.⁴

The situation in Paris is clearly fundamental, but considerable variation in the power of the guilds across the hexagon is likely. A foretaste of what is available in the provincial archives is provided by Ricalens (2007), who describes trades in two towns in an area not far from Toulouse, Castelnaudary and Revel. Castelnaudary had a population of 7,871 in 1793, Revel 3,743. Ricalens' analysis of what is set out in the contracts implies quite a range in

⁴ Martin Saint-Léon (1922 552-556) provides data on the terms for apprenticeship and *compagnonnage* in 113 *métiers* in 1766.

both fees paid and duration, both within and across occupations, and also over time. However, his number of observations is always very small. Ricalens suggests that the fees were mainly compensation for the apprentice's food (rather than a payment for instruction). He does not focus on how common it was for apprentices to escape, a central theme in Minns and Wallis (2013) for England, but clearly the fear that apprentices might leave was implicit in French contracts (Kaplan 1993: 443-45).

The 'Faux ouvriers'

The industry of manufacturing villages has remedied in part the inconveniences of the monopolies established by towns-corporate had occasioned.

Adam Smith, *Correspondence*, p. 177.

'All of Paris will become one Faubourg St. Antoine: no talent, no strength, plenty of intrigue, fortunes based on nothing, none of the trust that is associated with a solid institution.'

Paris master buttonmakers, 1776 (Thillay)

The guilds were monopolies. The presence next to many of the bigger cities of enclaves beyond their control constrained their market power. The most famous of these enclaves was the *faubourg* St. Antoine, a major suburb immediately to the east of eighteenth-century Paris. It was granted freedom to

produce and trade without regulation in most sectors⁵ by Colbert in 1657 and maintained that privilege, though not uncontested, until the abolition of the guilds in 1791. For a century or so this vibrant and occasionally violent area of 30,000-45,000 inhabitants, most of them immigrants from the north and the east, and most of them dependent on employment in small workshops, coexisted and competed with the guild economy of the city.

From the early eighteenth century the *faubourg* St Antoine became synonymous with cabinetmaking, an industry that revolved around dozens of small, specialized workshops. Carriage-makers were numerous too, as were metalworkers such as locksmiths, nail-makers, toolmakers, founders, and tin- and coppersmiths (Thillay 2009: 130-155; Weisbach 1982; Leonard 2009). The *faubourg* also became noted for its venetian-style windows, mirrors, hosiery, porcelain, and ceramics. All these products were produced in workshops by a combination of artisans and unskilled workers. Producers in the *faubourg* were barred from selling their wares in the city, but there was nothing to prevent Parisians from coming to buy from them. Perhaps the most famous employer in the *faubourg* was Jean-Baptiste Revellion who in 1759 began producing painted wallpaper, with shops on the rue de Charonne and later near the Tuileries, and a factory with a labour force of 350 at Titonville (Rosenband 1997; Velut 2002).

To the southwest of the city, the *faubourg* Saint Marcel enjoyed similar privileges. Daniel Roche has described its world as fundamentally one of small-time artisans and free workers. Burstin's analysis of notarial contracts and

⁵ The concession did not extend to drapers, dry goods merchants, goldsmiths and jewellers, silk merchants and spice merchants (Leonard 2009: 57).

identity cards reveals Saint Marcel's heavily proletarian character, with 6,500 salaried workers and 12,700 wage earners in 1791 (Roche 1986). There were other small 'free trade' enclaves too: the precincts of the Temple, of the priory of Saint-Denis-de-la-Chartre, of the abbey of St-Germain-des-Prés, and of the rue de l'Oursine (Tarbé 1841: 215-16).

These two suburbs and their unregulated labour must have impacted on the power of the city guilds, though how much is impossible to say (or remains to be seen?). Their presence increased the employment options available to potential apprentices; it undermined the monopoly of Parisian producers through supplying goods more cheaply to city consumers; it encouraged entrepreneurs to set up there; it attracted migrants barred from the city guilds (Protestants, foreigners); and it prompted guild masters to connive with clandestine workers in the city and 'false' workers in the *faubourg* (Thillay 2009). The economic importance of the *faubourgs* is thus fundamental: '*Tout Paris n'est peut-être pas le faubourg Saint-Antoine, mais le faubourg Saint-Antoine et ses 'faux ouvriers' reflètent une grande partie du monde artisanal parisien*' (Thillay 2002). And again: '*Quelques sondages opérés dans d'autres quartiers de la capital, sur le territoire contrôlé par les jurandes, montrent également que la diversité l'emporte. La durée réglementaire des contrats n'est guère plus respectée et les apprentissages ne sont pas toujours approuvés par les jurés. Le Faubourg Saint-Antoine et la ville partagent en la matière les mêmes défauts et répondent, a fortiori, aux mêmes réalités*' (Thillay 2002: 218). Seizures by merchandise by the guilds were rare (Thillay 2002: 220). The guilds repeatedly protested against and contested the *faubourg's* privileges, but to

little effect. Their reaction to Turgot's proposals in 1776 was that they would reduce the whole city to one big *faubourg* St. Antoine.

Outside of Paris, the role of guilds in eighteenth-century Bordeaux has been the focus of considerable research (Fauché 1913: 20-21; Gallinato 1992, 1992b; Heimermann 1998, 2014; Horn n.d.). In mid-century guild regulation reached only a small part of the city's economy (Gallinato 1992: 245). Important occupations free of guild restrictions included coopers, butchers, cutlers, card makers, shipbuilders, bell-founders, watchmakers, and carpenters (Fauché 1913: 21). And when the carpenters of Bordeaux sought the privileges of incorporation in 1768 the president of the local *parlement* rebuffed them, being 'utterly convinced that all exclusive privileges and the creation of communities of craftsmen was very prejudicial to competition and to the public' (Fauché 1913: 37). The city guilds had no jurisdiction over workers in the busy manufacturing *sauvetats* (i.e. districts) of St Seurin (with a population of 18,500 c. 1790, compared to Bordeaux's 110,000) and St André. An inquiry into the city's trades in 1762 revealed that most craftsmen were either masters or *compagnons*, with very few apprentices. It seems that most new workers arrived already fully trained from the countryside, the noteworthy exceptions being in shipbuilding and sailmaking (Fauché 1913: 37; see also Appendix below).

Johnson has highlighted the weakness of guild regulation in Toulouse and Grenoble. In the former, guild representatives complained in the *cahier des doléances* that 'the estates of Languedoc... composed mostly of citizens

foreign to all kinds of arts and métiers have ignored our most legitimate reclamations’ and complained that the city authorities were ignoring ‘these sage and old regulations, on which depend the perfection of the arts and métiers and the public interest.’ In the former, the guilds were also in decline, as reflected in the fall in their number from 62 in 1750 to 48 in 1767. The local intendant was no friend of the clothiers’ guild (Johnson2014: 63).

It was likewise in Rouen (St. Sever) and Troyes (Croncels), and even in Lyon (Vaise), but in Marseille and Aix the guilds were seemingly much more powerful (Johnson 2014: 63) (see Table 1). According to Sonenscher (1989: 64): ‘In addition to the scores of tiny localities in which corporations had not been established (and there were some 800 towns with populations of 2,000 or more inhabitants in late eighteenth-century France) almost every major city contained a suburb or liberty which had its own privileges and rights..’

Table 1. Some Cities and their ‘Free’ Faubourgs				
<i>City</i>	<i>Population c. 1790</i>	<i>Faubourg</i>	<i>Population c. 1790</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Paris	630,000	St. Antoine	40,000	Monnier 1979
		St. Marcel	60-65,000	Roche, review of Burstin
Rouen	29,000	St. Sever		Perrenoud 1990: 243
Bordeaux	110,000	St. Seurin	18,500	Gallinato 1992b: 244
		St. André		Horn, 32
Troyes	28,000	Croncels		Horn, 32
Lyon	150,000	Vaise	1,800	Wiki

After the Revolution

Il y a une tendance marquée dans l'industrie... à ne plus faire d'apprentis... le travail devient automatique: on place la l'enfant et on lui donne une petite remuneration. Il apprend de qu'il a à faire en deux jours, en deux heures peut-être...

Anthime Corbon [1878; cited in Perrard 1987: 71]

The Allarde and Le Chapelier laws of May 1791 put an end to the guilds (for context see Fournier and Boutillier 2012; Beauvisage 2011). But did they also put an end to formal on-the-job training? The survival of some master-apprentice notarial contracts suggests 'not entirely'. But McPhee (456-57), citing Subreville (1982) notes that there were 123 contracts recorded in Bourgen-Bresse, capital of the Ain *département*, in 1789-99, but that the annual average fell 16 in 1789-93 to only 6 in 1794-99, and a dominant theme in the literature on skill formation in the nineteenth century is the decadence of the French apprenticeship system (Lequin 1989). If apprenticeship endured, to what extent and under what conditions did it do so? One might have thought that the number of such contracts and the conditions laid out in them after 1791 would offer one way of measuring the rents earned by the guilds before their demise. If the legislation increased competition, then one would predict shorter contracts. According to Levasseur (cited in Fauché 1913: 43) the term served by a goldsmith's apprentice in Paris, for example, was five to eight years before 1791; this was cut to five years in cases where the master fed the apprentice, to

four years without food, and to three when the apprentice agreed to pay for his board.

Lequin (1986, 1989) implies that the eradication of the guilds left a gap in the transmission of knowledge. He cites a chamber of commerce study in 1848 which found only one apprentice per seventeen qualified workers in the capital. A short time later, at the beginning of the Second Empire they were reckoned to number only 20,000 out of 420,000 industrial workers, of whom 120,000 might be reckoned adolescents. In 1865 yet another, more general, inquiry found that apprenticeship, defined as learning on the job, hardly featured at all in professional training. Nor was it just quantity: the quality of apprenticeships had also declined, and the practice of written notarial contracts had all but disappeared. So that of 19,000 apprentices identified by the chamber of commerce in 1848, nearly 14,000 had only verbal agreements; by 1903 written contracts constituted only 3 per cent of the total.

Did this transformation result in an under-trained labour force (compare Minard 2007a)? The impact of industrialization and the growth of the factory system on the demand for the kind of skills associated with the workshop and on-the-job training would complicate any such a before-and-after experiment. One might argue that the apprenticeship system run its course—as it virtually had in England (see e.g. Lane 1996: 210-17). However, a tight focus on apprenticeship contracts in the immediate pre- and post-1791 periods—say the 1780s and 1790s—might be interesting in this regard. Changes both in the number and content of contracts would be worth examining.

Finally:

[1] The trends discussed above suggest collecting and analyzing contracts around three or four dates in the century before the Revolution might pay dividends: one or two before 1776 (e.g. 1720 and 1750); one about 1780; and the 1790s (post Le Chapelier).

[2] Given its size, Paris is paramount, but getting a sense of guild power outside Paris and the role of the *faubourgs* as a check on monopoly power elsewhere would also be clearly important.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Anon. 1751. *Statuts, privilèges, ordonnances, et règlements de la communauté des maîtres menuisiers et ébenistes de la ville, fauxbourgs et banlieus de Paris*. Paris.

Beauvisage, Jérôme. 2011. 'La Loi Le Chapelier du 14 juin 1791, fruit amer de la Révolution', *Les Cahiers d'Histoire Sociale de l'Institut CGT*, 6-11 [http://www.ihs.cgt.fr/IMG/pdf_CIHS117_002-023-BD.pdf].

Ben Zeev, Nadav, Joel Mokyr, and Karine van der Beek. 2015. 'Flexible Supply of Apprenticeship in the British Industrial Revolution', under review.

Bège-Seurin, Denise. 1994. Review of Gallinato, *Les corporations à Bordeaux* *Annales du Midi* : 106[N°207]: 383-385.

Belmont, Alain. 1998. *Des ateliers au village: Les artisans ruraux en Dauphiné sous l'Ancien Régime*. Grenoble: PUG.

Berlin, M., 2008. 'Guilds in decline? London livery companies and the rise of a

- liberal economy, 1600–1800’, in S. R. Epstein and Martin Prak, eds. *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 316-42.
- Bimbenet-Privat, M. 1995. ‘Goldsmiths’ apprenticeships in the first half of the seventeenth century: the situation in Paris’, in D. Mitchell, ed. *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers: Innovation and the Transfer of Skills, 1550 to 1750*. Centre for Metropolitan History.
- Bodé, Gérard and Philippe Marchand, eds. 2003. ‘Formation professionnelle et apprentissage XVIIIe -XXe siècle’, *Revue du Nord*, n° 17 hors série, collection ‘Histoire’.
- Burstin, Haim. 1985. *Le faubourg Saint-Marcel à l’époque révolutionnaire. Structure économique et composition sociale*. Paris.
- Cauchy, Sabrina. 2007. *Les bouquetières-chapelières en fleurs à Paris sous l’Ancien Régime* Master 1 - Université Paris XII
[<http://genrehistoire.revues.org/335>]
- Coffin, Judith G. 1996. *The Politics of Women's Work: The Paris Garment Trades, 1750-1915* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Crowston, Clare H. 2001. *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675-1791*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Crowston, Clare H. 2005. ‘L’apprentissage hors des corporations’, *Annales E.S.C.* 60-20: 409-41.
- Crowston, Clare H. 2008. ‘From School to Workshop Pre-Training and Apprenticeship in Old Regime France’, in de Munck *et al.* *Learning on the Shop Floor*.
- Darnton, Robert. 1984. *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Essays in French Cultural History*.
- de la Croix, David, Matthias Doepke, and Joel Mokyr. 2018. ‘Clans, Guilds, and Markets: Apprenticeship Institutions and Growth in the Preindustrial Economy’, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 133[1]: 1–70.
- de Munck, Bert, Steven L. Kaplan and Hugo Soly, eds. 2007. *Learning on the Shop Floor: Historical Perspectives on Apprenticeship*. Berghahn Books.
- Epstein, Stephan R. 1998. ‘Craft Guilds, apprenticeship, and technological change in preindustrial Europe’, *Journal of Economic History*, 58[3]: 684-713.
- Epstein, S. R. and Maarten. Prak, eds. 2008. *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy, 1400-1800*. Cambridge University Press.
- Faron, Olivier and Cyril Grange. 1999. ‘Un recensement parisien sous la

Révolution. L'exemple des cartes de sûreté de 1793', in *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 111[2]: 795-826.

Fauché, E. 1913. *L'apprentissage, principalement à Bordeaux du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours: suivi d'un appendice sur l'apprentissage des enfants assistés*. Bordeaux: Cadoret
[https://archive.org/stream/lapprentissageproofaucuoft/lapprentissageproofaucuoft_djvu.txt].

Fitzsimmons, Michael. 2010. *From Artisan to Worker: Guilds, the French State, and the Organization of Labor, 1776-1821*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fournier, Claude and Sophie Boutillier. 2012. 'Histoire parlementaire de l'artisanat et des petites entreprises. Act 1: la loi de La Chapelier' [<http://rrifr.univ-littoral.fr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/doc26.pdf>].

Gallinato, Bernard, 1992a. *Les corporations à Bordeaux à la fin de l'Ancien Régime: vie et mort d'un mode d'organisation du travail*. Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux.

Gallinato, Bernard. 1992b. 'Explication d'un silence: Montesquieu et les corporations', in Gerard Aubin, ed. *Etudes offertes à Pierre Jaubert*, Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 236-88.

Genard, Jean-Marie. 1994. 'L'industrie du bas à Dourdan aux 17e et 18e siècles', in Michel Balard, Jean-Claude Hervé, Nicole Lemaître, eds. *Paris et ses campagnes sous l'Ancien Régime: mélanges offerts à Jean Jacquart*, pp. 211-20, contains a useful bit about apprenticeship contracts
[<https://books.google.ie/books?id=FjwFJ541g4MC&pg=PA214&lpg=PA214&dq=apprentissage+ancien+regime&source=bl&ots=22VzUfb936&sig=HMw6n65IKUFulwESozRwtDB4goY&hl=ga&sa=X&ei=F050VdyqMuHe7Aaa8oDICQ&ved=oCCgQ6AEwBDgU#v=onepage&q=apprentissage%20ancien%20regime&f=false>]. Genard implies that contract terms were pretty flexible in the eighteenth century.

Hamilton, Gillian. 1996. 'The Market for Montreal Apprentices: Contract Length and Information'. *Explorations in Economic History* 33[4]: 496-523

Hammon, Thierry. 1999. 'Corporations et compagnonnage en Bretagne d'Ancien Régime', *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*. 77: 165-221.

Heimmermann, Daniel. 1998. 'The guilds of Bordeaux, les métiers libres and the sauvetats of Saint-Seurin and Saint-André', in Barry Rothaus, ed. *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History: Selected Papers of the Annual Meeting* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado).

- Heimmermann, Daniel. 2014. *Work, Regulation, and Identity in Provincial France: The Bordeaux Leather Trades, 1740-1815* London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Heywood, Colin. 2002. *Childhood in Nineteenth-Century France: Work, Health and Education among the 'Classes Populaires'*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Horn, Jeff. 2015. *Economic Development in Early Modern France: the Privilege of Liberty, 1650-1820*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Horn, Jeff. 2004. 'Privileged enclaves: entrepreneurial opportunities in eighteenth-century France', *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 32 [<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/w/ws fh/0642292.0032.003/--privileged-enclaves-entrepreneurial-opportunities?rgn=main;view=fulltext>]
- Horn, Jeff. 2004. 'Coalitions, *compagnonnages*, and competition: Bordeaux's labor market (1775-1825),' unpublished paper.
- Humphries, Jane. 2003. 'English Apprenticeship: A Neglected Factor in the First Industrial Revolution', in Paul A. David and Mark Thomas, eds. *The Economic Future in Historical Perspective*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 73-102.
- Johnson, Hubert C. 2014. *The Midi in Revolution: A Study of Regional Political Diversity, 1789-1793*. Princeton: PUP.
- Justman, Moshe and Karine van der Beek. 2015. 'Shaping human capital in eighteenth-century London', *Economic History Review*, early view.
- Kaplan, Steven. 1988. 'Les corporations, les 'faux-ouvriers' et le faubourg Saint-Antoine au XVIIIe siècle'. *Annales E.S.C.* 43[2]: 353-78.
- Kaplan, S. L. 2002. 'Les corporations parisiennes au 18e siècle'. *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine.* 49: 5-55.
- Kaplan, Steven L. 2001. *La fin des corporations*. Paris: Fayard.
- Kaplan, Steven L. Jeannine Routier Pucci, and Philippe Minard. 2002. 'Idéologie, conflits et pratiques politiques dans les corporations parisiennes au XVIIIe siècle' *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 49[1]: 5-55.
- Kaplan, Steven L. and Philippe Minard, 2004. *La France, malade du corporatisme ? XVIII^e-XX^e siècles*, Paris : Belin.
- Kaplan, Steven L. and Gilles Postel-Vinay. 2000. 'L'apprentissage : un destin ?', *Le Gnomon*, n ° 126, 23-24.
- Leonard, Julie E. 2009. 'A window on their lives: the women of the Faubourg Saint Antoine, 1725-1765'. Unpublished thesis, Marquette University

[http://epublications.marquette.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=dissertations_mu].

Lequin, Yves. 1986. 'Apprenticeship in nineteenth-century France: a continuing tradition or a break with the past?' in Steven L. Kaplan and Cynthia J. Koepp eds. *Work in France*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 457-474 [available in translation as 'L'apprentissage en France au XIX^e siècle: rupture ou continuité?' *Formation Emploi* Nos. 27-28 (1989): 91-100].

Loan, Jane. 1996. *Apprenticeship in England, 1600-1914*. London: UCL Press.

McPhee, Peter. 2012. 'The economy, society, and the environment', in Peter McPhee, ed. *Companion to French Revolution* London: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 454-469.

Marraud, Mathieu. 2010. 'Permanences et déplacements corporatifs dans la ville: Le corps de l'épicerie parisienne aux XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles' *Histoire et Mesure* XXV[1] [<https://histoiremesure.revues.org/3925>].

Martin Saint-Léon, Étienne. 1922. *Histoire des corporations de métiers depuis leurs origines jusqu'à leur suppression en 1791 ; suivie d'une Étude sur l'évolution de l'idée corporative au XIX^e siècle et sur les syndicats professionnels*, 3rd edition Paris: F. Alcan.

Mathelin, Nadia. 1986. 'L'apprentissage à La Rochelle dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, 1750-1789' (TER, Université de Bordeaux III).

Minard, Philippe. 2006. 'Les formes de régulation du travail en France et en Angleterre au XVIII^e siècle : une enquête en cours', *Les Cahiers de Framespa* [online, accessed 24 August 2015: URL : <http://framespa.revues.org/59>].

Minard, Philippe. 2007a. 'Trade without institution? French debates about restoring guilds at the start of the Nineteenth Century', in Ian Gadd and Patrick Wallis. eds. *Guilds and Association in Europe, 1200-1900*. London, Institute of Historical Research, pp. 83-100.

Minard, Philippe. 2007b. 'Corporations', in Alessandro Stanziani, éd. *Dictionnaire historique de l'économie-droit, XVIII^e-XX^e siècles*, Paris, LGDJ, pp. 103-114.

Minard, Philippe. 2007c. 'France 'colbertiste' versus Angleterre 'libérale' ? Un mythe du XVIII^e siècle', in Jean-Philippe Genet, François-Joseph Ruggiu, éd., *Les idées passent-elles la Manche ? Savoirs, représentations, pratiques, France-Angleterre, Xe-XX^e siècles*, Paris, Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 197-210.

- Minard, Philippe. 2007d. 'Travail et société, XVI^e-XIX^e siècles. Angleterre-France-Belgique', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne & Contemporaine*, 54[1], janvier-mars.
- Minns, Chris and Patrick Wallis. 2013. 'The price of human capital in a pre-industrial economy: premiums and apprenticeship contracts in 18th century England'. *Explorations in Economic History* 50: 335-50.
- Monnier, Raymonde. 1979. 'Les classes laborieuses du Faubourg Saint-Antoine sous la Révolution et l'Empire', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*. 1979. 235: 119-124.
- Monnier, Raymonde. 1981. *Le Faubourg Saint-Antoine (1789-1815)*. Paris: Société des Etudes Robespierriennes.
- Ogilvie, Sheilagh. 2011. *Institutions and European Trade: Merchant Guilds, 1000-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ogilvie, Sheilagh. 2014. 'The Economics of Guilds', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 28[4]: 169-192.
- Pelligrin-Postel, Nicole. 1987. 'Contrats d'apprentissage en Haut-Poitou au XVIII^e siècle [les artisans et leur formations]', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 1[4]: 259-310.
- Pellegrin, Nicole. 1993a. 'Apprendre le métier' et 'L'apprentissage ou l'écriture de l'oralité': quelques remarques introductives', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 40[3]: 353-386.
- Pellegrin, Nicole. 1993b. 'Les vertus de l'ouvrage; recherches sur la féminisation des travaux d'aiguille (XVI^e -XVIII^e siècles)', in *Apprentissages (XVI^e -XX^e siècles)*, numéro monographique de la *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, t. 40[3]: 747-769.
- Perrard, Pierre. 1987. *Enfants et Jeunes Ouvriers en France (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)* Paris: Les Editions ouvrières.
- Piwnica, Fabrice. 'Les résistances à l'introduction du libéralisme en France: Le témoignage des mémoires des corporations en 1776', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 40[1]: 30-48.
- Ricalens, Henri. 2007. *Les gens de métier de la vie quotidienne du Lauragais* Toulouse.
- Roche, Daniel. 1986. Review of Burstin, *Le faubourg Saint-Marcel*. *Annales ESC*, 41[5]: 1081-4.
- Rosenband, Leonard N. 1997. 'Jean-Baptiste Réveillon: A Man on the Make in Old Regime France', *French Historical Studies*, 20: 481-510.

- Rosenband, Leonard N. 2000. 'The Competitive Cosmopolitanism of an Old Regime Craft', *French Historical Studies* 23[3]: 455-476
- Rothschild, Emma. 2001. *Economic Sentiments: Adam Smith, Condorcet and the Enlightenment*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Sonenscher, Michael. 1989. *Work and Wages: Natural Law, Politics and the Eighteenth-Century French Trades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Subreville, George. 1987. 'L'apprentissage a Bourg-en-Bresse sous la Revolution, 1789-1799', *Les Nouvelles annals de l'Ain* (Bourg-en-Bresse), 1: 126-62.
- Subreville, Georges. 1987. 'L'apprentissage à Bellay sous le Consulat et l'Empire (1800-1814)'. *Le Bugey* (Bellay) a. 79, fasc. 74: 399-415.
- Tarbé, Prosper. *Travail et salaire*. Paris.
- Théré, Christine, Loïc Charles, and Frédéric Lefebvre. 2011. *Le cercle de Vincent de Gournay*. Paris: INED.
- Thillay, Alain. 1992. 'Le faubourg Saint-Antoine et la liberté du travail sous l'ancien régime', *Histoire, économie, et société*, 11[11-2]: 217-36.
- Thillay, A. 1997. 'La liberté du travail au faubourg Saint-Antoine a l'épreuve des saisies des jurandes parisiennes (1642-1778)', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*. 44: 34-49.
- Thillay, Alain. 2002. *Le faubourg Saint-Antoine et ses 'faux ouvriers': la liberté de travail a Paris aux xviiie et xviiiie siecles*. Paris: Champ Vallon.
- Toujas, René. 1984. 'Les conditions de vie des apprentis dans l'industrie drapière de Montauban au XVIIIe siècle'. *Actes du 106e Congrès National des Sciences Savantes, Perpignan 1981: Section d'histoire moderne et contemporain. T. 2: Histoire du Roussillon et questions diverses*. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, pp.35-345.
- Tsuda, Takumi, ed. 1993. *Mémoires et lettres de Vincent de Gournay*. Tokyo: Kinokuniya.
- Velut, Christine. 2002. 'L'industrie dans la ville: les fabriques de papiers peints du faubourg Saint-Antoine (1750-1820)', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 49: 115-137.
- Weissbach, Lee S. 1982. 'Artisanal responses to artistic decline: the cabinetmakers of Paris in the era of industrialization', *Journal of Social History*, 16: 67-81.
- Weissbach, Lee S. 1983. 'Entrepreneurial traditionalism in nineteenth-century France: a study of the Patronage industriel des enfants del l'ébenisterie', *Business History Review* 57: 548-65.

Weissbach, Lee S. 1989. *Child Labor Reform in Nineteenth Century France: Assuring the Future Harvest*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

TABLE A1. Status by Trade, Bordeaux in 1762: controlled occupations			
<i>Trade</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Apprentices</i>	<i>'Compagnons'</i>
Apothecaries	17	1	16
Stevedores	10	0	10
Gunsmiths	8	0	54
Bakers of holy bread	17	5	22
Buttoners	28	1	20
Milliners	9	0	3
Wheelwrights	15	3	5
Coppersmiths	12	2	7
Roofers and <i>plombeurs</i>	35	6	46
Scriveners	17	0	0
Pinmakers	8	0	10
Stocking makers	5	0	4
Blacksmiths	20	3	36
Polishers (<i>fourbisseurs</i>)	3	0	2
Glovers	17	0	7
Goldsmiths	20	3	3
Tinsmiths	20	5	7
Wigmakers	86	9	160 to 170
Potters (tin)	7	0	1
Pulley-ers and marine turners	13	6	21
<i>Sacquiers</i> [dockers?]	66	0	0
Saddlers	10	3	10
Locksmiths	50	11	.
<i>Symphonistes</i> [musicians?]	20	0	0
Measurers	200	4	130
Upholsterers	18	5	4
Dyers	12	1	4
Weavers	11	0	0
Turners	32	4	8

TABLE A2. Status by Trade, Bordeaux in 1762: non-controlled occupations			
<i>Trade</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Apprentices</i>	<i>'Compagnons'</i>
Butchers	50	0	valets only
Carters	9	3	10
Shipbuilders	38	46	10
Cutlers	10	0	3
Bellfounders	7	0	2
Clockmakers	19	1	2
Carpenters	80	3	20
Farriers	7	0	12
Confectioners and hoteliers	15	0	0
Furriers	12	0	0
Dressers	26	0	0
Cobblers of Saint-Seurin	62	4	9 to 10
Tailors of Saint-André	109	0	0
Tailors of Saint-Seurin	39	0	4
Coopers of Bordeaux	317	0	0
Coopers of Les Chartrons	438	.	.
Coopers of Saint-Seurin	102	6	30
Sailmakers	12	14	18
Source: Fauché 1913: 34-35			

UCD CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH – RECENT WORKING PAPERS

- [WP17/10](#) Morgan Kelly and Cormac Ó Gráda: 'Speed under Sail, 1750–1830' June 2017
- [WP17/11](#) Morgan Kelly and Cormac Ó Gráda: 'Technological Dynamism in a Stagnant Sector: Safety at Sea during the Early Industrial Revolution' June 2017
- [WP17/12](#) Kate Hynes, Yum K Kwan and Anthony Foley: 'Local linkages: The interdependence of foreign and domestic firms' June 2017
- [WP17/13](#) Cormac Ó Gráda: 'Notes on the Demography of the Famine in Ulster' June 2017
- [WP17/14](#) Sarah Parlane and Yingyi Tsai: 'Optimal Management of Supply Disruptions when Contracting with Unreliable, Risk-averse, Suppliers' June 2017
- [WP17/15](#) Orla Doyle: 'The First 2,000 Days and Child Skills: Evidence from a Randomized Experiment of Home Visiting' July 2017
- [WP17/16](#) Christopher Dixon-O'Mara and Lisa Ryan: 'Energy efficiency in the food retail sector: Barriers, drivers, and acceptable policies' July 2017
- [WP17/17](#) Andrew E Clark, Orla Doyle, and Elena Stancanelli: 'The Impact of Terrorism on Well-being: Evidence from the Boston Marathon Bombing' September 2017
- [WP17/18](#) Kate Hynes, Jie Ma and Cheng Yuan: 'Transport Infrastructure Investments and Competition for FDI' September 2017
- [WP17/19](#) Kate Hynes, Eric Evans Osei Opoku and Isabel KM Yan: 'Reaching Up and Reaching Out: The Impact of Competition on Firms' Productivity and Export Decisions' September 2017
- [WP17/20](#) Tamanna Adhikari, Michael Breen and Robert Gillanders: 'Are New States More Corrupt? Expert Opinions vs. Firms' Experiences' October 2017
- [WP17/21](#) Michael Spagat, Neil Johnson and Stijn van Weezel: 'David Versus Goliath: Fundamental Patterns and Predictions in Modern Wars and Terrorist Campaigns' October 2017
- [WP17/22](#) David Madden: 'Mind the Gap: Revisiting the Concentration Index for Overweight' October 2017
- [WP17/23](#) Judith M Delaney and Paul Devereux: 'More Education, Less Volatility? The Effect of Education on Earnings Volatility over the Life Cycle' October 2017
- [WP17/24](#) Clemens C Struck: 'On the Interaction of Growth, Trade and International Macroeconomics' November 2017
- [WP17/25](#) Stijn van Weezel: 'The Effect of Civil War Violence on Aid Allocations in Uganda' November 2017
- [WP17/26](#) Lisa Ryan, Karen Turner and Nina Campbell: 'Energy Efficiency and Economy-wide Rebound: Realising a Net Gain to Society?' November 2017
- [WP17/27](#) Oana Peia: 'Banking Crises and Investments in Innovation' December 2017
- [WP17/28](#) Stijn van Weezel: 'Mostly Harmless? A Subnational Analysis of the Aid-Conflict Nexus' December 2017
- [WP17/29](#) Clemens C Struck: 'Labor Market Frictions, Investment and Capital Flows' December 2017
- [WP18/01](#) Catalina Martínez and Sarah Parlane: 'On the Firms' Decision to Hire Academic Scientists' January 2018
- [WP18/02](#) David Madden: 'Changes in BMI in a Cohort of Irish Children: Some Decompositions and Counterfactuals' January 2018
- [WP18/03](#) Guido Alfani and Cormac Ó Gráda: 'Famine and Disease in Economic History: A Summary Introduction' February 2018