

Social groups and urban location along Industrialisation. Barcelona, 1787-1861.

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Extended abstract

The demolition of the walls around Barcelona started as late as 1854. In the enclosed space of what is today the old city, Industrialisation took place. Barcelona was transformed from an important commercial and administrative centre into one of the densest manufacturing conglomerates in Europe. Along with some smaller Catalan towns, Barcelona became what has been named "the factory of Spain". In 1858, not less than 563 industrial establishments devoted to the different textile activities were located *intramuros*, mainly in the western and eastern parts of the city. Attracted by a flourishing labour market, successive migration waves caused the doubling of the population between 1787 (*Censo de Floridablanca*) and 1860 (first Census of the statistical era). This increase, from roughly 100.000 to almost 200.000 inhabitants, corresponds to a sustained annual average growth of around 1 per cent over 73 years, which is quite extraordinary considering the negative sign of the natural increase, conditioned by very high mortality rates and by a fertility which started its decline among the first in Europe, before 1850 in all probability.

Our present contribution focuses on the changes in spatial distribution experimented by the social groups along the process of industrialisation and population growth, observed through the comparison of two cross-sectional images of 1787 and 1860.

Our data come from a source that is being used for the first time for statistical purposes: the "*Llibres d'Esposalles*" (Marriage accounting books) of the Archive of the Cathedral of Barcelona, a fiscal register covering the Diocese of Barcelona from 1451 to 1906. These data have started to be collected at the *Barcelona Historical Marriage Database*, recently created at the Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics - Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and built by the authors.

Taxes on marriages were raised since the 15th century in order to contribute to the building and maintenance of the Cathedral of Barcelona. A central register, gathering the information sent by over 200 parishes belonging to the Diocese, was kept until 1906, when a new system of prepaid stamps glued to the marriage certificates put an end to a source of data which has miraculously survived to the many episodes of destruction that affected so many of the parish archives in the area and which is specially attractive by its simplicity and homogeneity. Along all of the 456 years, the same gradient of taxes has been maintained, though slight changes have been operated into the classification of categories and professions belonging to each level (7-8 levels of taxes paid by the couple, depending on the socio-economic status of the husband). Therefore, the taxes paid can be used as indicators of social structure.

The scope of the present contribution is limited to the inner space of the city, the 7 parishes of 1787 (2582 marriages in 3 years), which had divided into 15

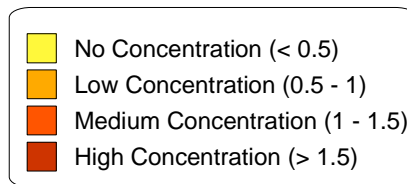
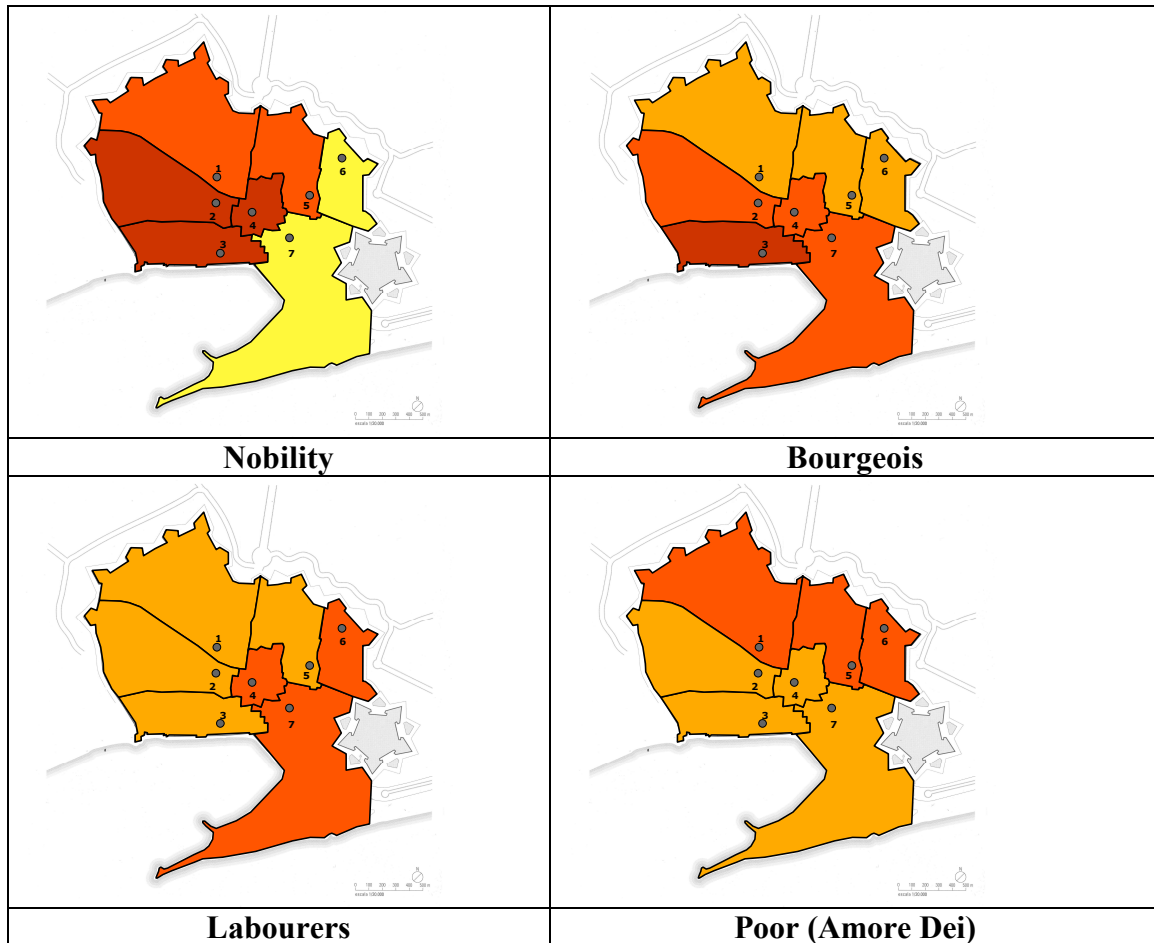
parishes by 1860 (3402 marriages in 2 years). For our purposes, we have reduced the 8 tax levels to only four social categories: nobility (levels 1,2,3 4), bourgeois (levels 5,6), labourers (7) and poor (8). The poor did not pay any tax, they were married *amore dei*; they represented 23% of the marriages in 1787 and 29% in 1860. The lowest paying category, which we call labourers (paying 8 *sous*), represented 67% in 1787 and 60,4% in 1860. The bourgeois represented 7,4% in 1787 and 8,7% in 8,7% in 1860. Finally, the nobility accounted for 2,7% of the marriages in 1787 and 1,7% in 1860.

The maps included in this abstract show the relative distribution of the four categories at both moments. The comparison, somehow hindered by the different number of parishes, shows the strong polarization of the urban space: the nobles moved from the western side of the city, the least dense, where some possessed farms and states, to the urban centre and seafront; their lands become industrial areas, attracting the new poor, the lower strata of industrial workers. At the same time, the bourgeois shift less obviously their location from the seafront, linked to the commercial and shipping activities, to the centre. The mass of the *paying* labourers, which in 1787 still counted a number of peasants, became also more centrally located, because of their loss of relative weight in the old and new industrial areas (east and west), where the poor were sometimes the majority. In all of 7 the parishes covering these areas, the marriages *amore dei* represented at least one third of the total amount, and in two of these parishes they were more than 50%. In 1787, none of the parishes had attained 27% of poor.

As this is a work in progress, we expect to present some more results at the EPC2010 and in one article prepared for publication. In particular, we intend to dig further into the social adscription, using the information on the profession of the husband, available from the source. In fact, the assignation of a tax level seems to have taken into account factors other than the profession, since for the same profession some individuals pay taxes and others do not. Therefore, the internal changes of each taxing category in terms of profession could help to understand some of the changes in their spatial distribution. The relationship between profession and poverty could also be usefully explored.

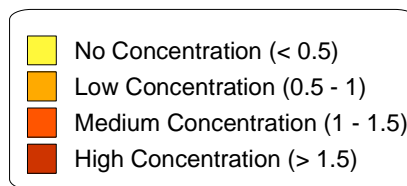
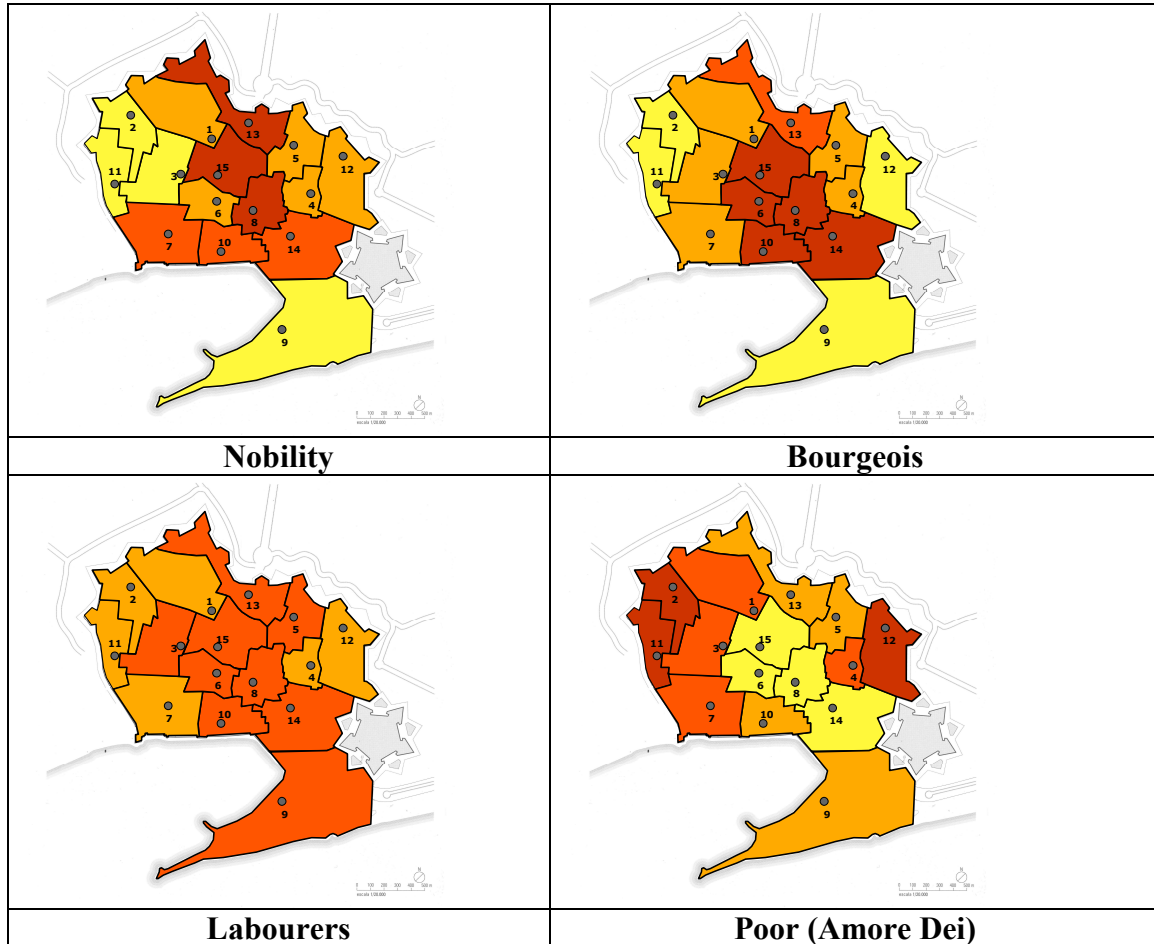
The enclosed maps deal only with concentration of social groups. We are also working on indicators of other dimensions of residential segregation: evenness, exposure, clustering and centralization. Some of the results might be shown at the EPC2010 depending on their relevance and on the time assigned to us, should the communication be selected for presentation, as we dare to expect.

Map 1. Indicator of concentration of social groups. Barcelona, 1786-1788.



| | | |
|-------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| 1 Pi, Santa Maria | 4 Just, Sant | 6 Pere, Sant |
| 2 Jaume, Sant | 5 Cugat, Sant | 7 Mar, Santa Maria del |
| 3 Miquel, Sant | | |

Map 2. Indicator of concentration of social groups. Barcelona, 1860-1861.



| | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Betlem | 6 Jaume, Sant | 11 Pau, Sant |
| 2 Carme | 7 Josep, Sant | 12 Pere, Sant |
| 3 Agustí, Sant | 8 Just, Sant | 13 Anna, Santa |
| 4 Cugat, Sant | 9 Miquel del Port, Sant | 14 Mar, Santa Maria del |
| 5 Francesc, Sant | 10 Miquel, Sant | 15 Pi, Santa Maria del |