

Thesis

**Population and Landownership
in the *Bailliage Commun* of
Grandson
in the Early Eighteenth Century**

**By
Ariane Mirabdolbaghi**

London School of Economics and Political Science

Spring 1994

**Thesis submitted to the University of London for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Economic History**

UMI Number: U062414

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI U062414

Published by ProQuest LLC 2014. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346



THESES

F

7127

x211109427

To:
Eliane & Amin
Jeanne & Paul-Louis Pelet
E.A. Wrigley
Emmy & Louis Bovey

with my deepest gratitude and respect.

***Behind each thesis lies a modest story of joy and misery.
Thanks to who helped me out of misfortune and shared my
happiness.***

In memory of
Saïd & Allahyar

اسرار ازل را نه تو دانی و نه من دین صرف ستمی نه تو خوانی نه من
بهست از پس پرده گفتگوی من تو چون پرده بر افکند نه تو مانی نه من

*There was a Door to which I found no Key,
There was a Veil past which I might not see;
Some little Talk awhile of Me and Thee;
There seem'd - and then no more of Thee and Me.*

Khayyam & Fitzgerald

ABSTRACT

Grandson is a district in the French speaking canton of Vaud with no particular feature. Prosaic, it resembles many other regions of Switzerland. Such an uneventful area, with smooth social changes taking place over the course of centuries, seemed tailor-made to conduct a combined study of population and landownership. By bringing two vastly different domains of social sciences, demography and rural economy into harmony within a single study, issues of encompassing both methods, theoretically and practically, are discussed. However, the essence of this type of study is the availability of documentation. The registers of land and parish are to be structured for an automatic data processing. The analysis of databases for both the population and the landowners points to unsuspected movements of inhabitants under study, casting doubts on some received ideas on the past population of rural areas in Swiss communities.

Proposing to observe eight small neighbouring villages within a limited span of time would privilege empirical aspects. This monograph attempts to picture landownership and population in the 18th century Grandson area. In doing so, some issues were clarified. Nonetheless some others could only be raised.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgement	3
Memorative	4
Abstract	5
List Of Figures	11
List Of Tables	13

1. Grandson, Now And Then (17-39)

1.1. Excentric Topics	17
1.2. Familiar Faces	20
1.3. History, Demography, Economy	23
1.4. A Compound Path	26
1.5. Family Reconstitution, Economic Entity	27
1.6. Town And Village	28
1.7. A Prosaic Area	31
1.8. A Passive Past	33
1.9. An Obsolete System	36
1.10. <i>Pay, Bailliage, Canton.</i>	38

2. From Chaos To Structure (40-77)

2.1. Approaching Chaos	40
2.2. Archives	46
2.3. Registers Of Land	49
2.3.1. The Last <i>Rénovation</i>	49
2.3.2. <i>Communal</i> Surfaces, A Survey	54
2.3.3. <i>Censes</i> And Tithes	56
2.3.4. Borders And Exchanges	58
2.3.5. The Structure Of A Land Register	60
2.3.6. The Structure Of A <i>Reconnaissance</i>	61
2.3.7. Maps (<i>Plans Cadastraux</i>)	66
2.4. Parish Registers	67
2.4.1. St. Maurice	72
2.4.2. Concise	73
2.4.3. Onnens - Bonvillars	74
2.5. Other Documents	75
2.6. A Remark	77

3. From Structure To Information (78-96)

3.1.	Approaching Information	78
3.2.	Frames Of Structure	80
3.3.	Data Collection	82
3.4.	The Choice Of A DBMS	84
3.5.	Data Entry	87
3.6.	Design & Analysis	89
	3.6.1. A Baptism Record	90
	3.6.2. Land Data Set	93
3.7.	Queries, Programming And Data-analysis	95

4. Birth Of A Population (97-123)

4.1.	Erratic Families	97
4.2.	Baptism And Birth	108
4.3.	Natural Children	112
4.4.	Estimates Of Population Size	114
4.5.	Male/Female Ratios	117
4.6.	Seasonality Of Conceptions	118
4.7.	Godparents	120
4.8.	Confirmations	120
4.9.	Surveys	121

5. Shaping Couples, Fading Faces (124-153)

5.1.	Engagements	124
5.2.	Shaping Couples	126
	5.2.1. Natural Parish	126
	5.2.2. When To Marry	129
	5.2.3. Any Day For A Wedding	133
	5.2.4. Whom To Marry	135
	5.2.5. Widowhood, Remarriage	140
5.3.	Building Villages	142
	5.3.1. Occupations, Activities	142
	5.3.2. Population On The Move	146
	5.3.3. Surnames In The Parish Of St. Maurice	149
5.4.	Fading Faces	151
	5.4.1. Baptism, Wedding And Burial	152
	5.4.2. Seasonality Of Death	153

6. Sweet Champagne (154-196)

6.1.	In A Broken Cup	154
6.2.	Circular Matters	159
6.3.	Building Economic Entities	164
6.4.	Champagne's Peer	166
	6.4.1. Holdings Scattered	168
	6.4.2. Marital Status	170
6.5.	Types Of Ownership	172
	6.5.1. <i>Exclusive</i> Ownership	173
	6.5.1.1. The Tharin Family	174
	6.5.2. <i>Undivided</i> Ownership	177
	6.5.2.1. The Duvoisin Sisters	178
	6.5.3. <i>Common</i> Ownership	181
	6.5.3.1. The Tharin Family (<i>bis</i>)	183
6.6.	Inheritance System	188
	6.6.1. <i>Hoiries</i>	190
	6.6.2. Devising Inheritance	193
	6.6.3. Women's Ownership	195

7. Unconventional Landowners (197-224)

7.1.	Disclosed Communities	197
7.2.	Landowners' Portrait	203
	7.2.1. By Sex	203
	7.2.2. By Land Type	208
	7.2.3. By Age	209
7.3.	Collective Ownership	210
7.4.	'Us' And 'Them'	213
	7.4.1. Number Of Owners	214
	7.4.2. Surface-Area Held	215
7.5.	Owners Of Different Plots	216
	7.5.1. Houses	217
	7.5.2. Gardens And Hemp-fields	218
	7.5.3. Enclosures	219
	7.5.4. Meadows	220
	7.5.5. Arable lands	221
	7.5.6. Vineyards	222
7.6.	Hiring: A Market Beyond Our Reach	223

8. Bread, Cheese And Wine (225-266)

8.1.	A Potpourri	225
8.2.	Distribution Of Surface Areas	228
8.3.	Classifying Plot Descriptions	230
8.4.	Surface Area And Types Of Land	232
8.5.	Buildings	233
8.6.	Types Of Land	235
8.7.	Fields, Small Ownership	238
	8.7.1. Arable Lands	240
	8.7.2. Meadows	243
	8.7.3. Vineyards	245
	8.7.4. Enclosures	247
	8.7.5. Gardens & Hemp-Fields	251
	8.7.6. Miscellaneous	254
8.8.	The Old Scale	255
8.9.	The Toponymy In Grandson	257
	8.9.1. Classifying <i>Lieux-dits</i>	259
8.10.	<i>Assolement</i>	262

9. Holes In The Purse (267-293)

9.1.	State Proceeds	267
9.2.	<i>Cense</i> , Reminder Of A Lost <i>Féodal</i> System	270
	9.2.1. <i>Free Cense</i> Plots	274
	9.2.2. Types Of <i>Cense</i>	276
	9.2.2.1. Cash	276
	9.2.2.2. Kind	278
	9.2.3. Types Of Land And Types Of <i>Cense</i>	279
	9.2.4. Rift: <i>Cense</i> & Plots Of Land	280
9.3.	Tithe	282
	9.3.1. Owners Of Tithes	283
	9.3.2. Exemptions From The Tithe	285
	9.3.3. Tithes And Economic Entity	287
9.4.	<i>Corvées</i> , General Tax	291

10. A Magic Shadow Show (294-320)

10.1. Phantom Figures	294
10.2. Frail Treasures	296
10.3. The Magic Of Electronics	298
10.4. Mobility	299
10.5. A Consistent Demography	303
10.6. Small Owners And Economic Entities	306
10.7. Equal Inheritance	309
10.8. Village Layout	312
10.9. Irrelevant Taxes	315
10.10. Disclosed Communities	316

Appendices (321-363)

A. Locations Cited In The Registers	322
B. Types Of Plot	326
C. Surnames	329
D. Database Grandson	335
E. <i>Lieux-Dits</i>	340
F. Estimating Population Size	348
G. Types Of Land Per <i>Commune</i>	349
H. Distribution Of Lands By Sex	352
I. Types Of Land Held By Each Sex	354
J. Distribution Of Houses, Gardens And Hemp-Fields	355
K. Distribution Of Arable Lands	356
L. Distribution Of Meadows	358
M. Distribution Of Enclosures	360
N. Distribution Of Vineyards	362

Archival Documents (364-369)

Bibliography (370-384)

FIGURES

1.

Fig. 1.1 Switzerland, main roads. (33)

Fig. 1.2 The Grandson area. (34)

2.

Fig. 2.1 A *reconnaissance*, A.C.V., Corcelles, Fq-106. (63)

3.

Fig. 3.1 Land-register, data structure. (82)

Fig. 3.2 Baptism, record structure. (83)

Fig. 3.3 Wedding, record structure. (83)

Fig. 3.4 A sample table. (85)

Fig. 3.5 Baptism: data flow. (90)

Fig. 3.6 Baptism: a table design, test-1. (91)

Fig. 3.7 Baptism: a table design, test-2. (91)

Fig. 3.8 A sample table for baptism's records. (92)

Fig. 3.9 A sample file for godparents' data. (92)

Fig. 3.10 Land data set. (93)

Fig. 3.11 Parish & land-register's relationship. (94)

4.

Fig. 4.1 Seasonality of conceptions, index:100, Vaud, C18th. (119)

Fig. 4.2 Confirmations versus baptisms, St. Maurice, C18th. (121)

5.

Fig. 5.1 The slump of May, marriages, Grandson area, 1680-1729. (132)

Fig. 5.2 Ten yearly movement of baptisms, weddings, deaths, St. Maurice, 1730-1769 (152)

6.

Fig. 6.1 Owners, sex, domicile, Champagne. (167)

Fig. 6.2 Dispersion of properties, Champagne. (169)

Fig. 6.3 Claude Tharin and his kin, circa 1712. (175)

Fig. 6.4 Undivided house of Duvoisin. (179)

Fig. 6.5 An undivided meadow, *cense*: 2.5 litres of oats & 2 *deniers*. (180)

Fig. 6.6 The Family of Theodore-Nicolas Tharin. (184)

Fig. 6.7 Tharin's undivided room. (186)

Fig. 6.8 Undivided relationships. (186)

7.

Fig. 7.1 Landowners, class, p.c. (205)

Fig. 7.2 Landowners, sex, area held, p.c. (206)

Fig. 7.3 Owners, area held, p.c., natural parish. (206)

Fig. 7.4 Landowners, domicile, frequency, p.c. (215)

Fig. 7.5 Landowners, domicile, area held, p.c. (216)

Fig. 7.6 Houses, domicile of owners, p.c. (217)

Fig. 7.7 Gardens and hemp-fields, domicile, area, p.c. (218)

Fig. 7.8 Houses vs gardens and hemp-fields, domicile, frequency, p.c. (219)

Fig. 7.9 Enclosures, domicile, area, p.c. (220)

Fig. 7.10 Meadows, domicile, area, p.c. (221)

Fig. 7.11 Arable-lands, domicile, area, p.c. (221)

Fig. 7.12 Vineyards, domicile, area, p.c. (222)

8.

Fig. 8.1 Distribution of land plots, p.c., surface, number of plots. (229)

Fig. 8.2 Distribution of plot descriptions. (231)

Fig. 8.3 Arable-lands, number of plots v/ surface-areas, p.c. (242)

Fig. 8.4 Meadows, number of plots v/ surface-areas, p.c. (244)

Fig. 8.5 Vineyards, number of plots v/surface-areas, p.c. (246)

Fig. 8.6 Enclosures, number of plots v/ surface-areas, p.c. (250)

Fig. 8.7 Gardens, no. of plots v/surface-areas, p.c. (253)

Fig. 8.8 Hemp-fields, no of plots v/ surface-areas, p.c. (254)

9.

Fig. 9.1 Distribution of *censes* per type of land. (280)

TABLES

1.

Table 2.1 Grandson, documents available from the 18th century survey of land. (53)

Table 2.2 *Communal* areas, 1712 and 1914. (55)

Table 2.3. First registrations in Grandson. (69)

Table 2.4 Data of baptismal records, early 18th century. (72)

2.

Table 4.1 Delay: Bth/Bp, by Junod. (109)

Table 4.2 Delay:Bth/Bp, Concise, 1692-1718. (110)

Table 4.3 Delay:Bth/Bp, Bonvillars & St. Maurice, 1790-1799. (110)

Table 4.4 Delay Bth/Bp, origin, Concise, 1692-1719, p.c. (111)

Table 4.5 Delay:Bth/Bp, Concise, 1692-1719, p.c. (112)

Table 4.6 Delay: Bth/Bp, twins & illegitimate, Concise, 1692-1719. (112)

Table 4.7 Illegitimacy, all parishes, 1680-1729. (113)

Table 4.8 CBR (%), St. Maurice, Onnens-Bonvillars, 1798. (115)

Table 4.9 CBR (%), Geneva, Vallorbe, *Pays d'Enhaut*, C18th. (115)

Table 4.10 Estimates of population's size. (116)

Table 4.11 Sex-ratios, all parishes, 1633-1799. (117)

Table 4.12 Seasonality of conceptions, all parishes, 1632-1810. (119)

Table 4.13 Household size, 1798, Grandson area. (122)

Table 4.14 Minority groups, Grandson area, 1798. (123)

5.

Table 5.1 Seasonality of marriages, all parishes, 1680-1729. (130)

Table 5.2 Seasonality of marriages, St. Maurice, 1634-1789. (130)

Table 5.3 Seasonality of marriages, *Suisse-Romande*, C18th. (131)

Table 5.4 Weekly cycles of weddings, 1680-1789, index: 100. (134)

Table 5.5 Origin of couples, official parish, p.c. (138)

Table 5.6 Origin of couples, baptisms, p.c. (139)

Table 5.7 Origin of couples, weddings, natural parish, p.c. (139)

Table 5.8 Widowhood, N, 1680-1729. (141)

Table 5.9 Occupations, activities, 1798. (145)

Table 5.10 Migration, Grandson area, 1680-1729, p.c. (147)

Table 5.11 Surnames' trend in St. Maurice, 1630-1810. (149)

Table 5.12 Surnames' rotation, St. Maurice, 1630-1810. (150)

Table 5.13 Baptisms, weddings, deaths, St.Maurice, N, 1730-1769. (152)

Table 5.14 Seasonality of death, St. Maurice, 1730-1769. (153)

6.

Table 6.1 Owners in Champagne. (166)

Table 6.2 Owners, sex, domicile, Champagne. (167)

Table 6.3 Owners from Champagne, holdings in neighbourhood. (168)

Table 6.4 Dispersion of properties, owners domiciled in Champagne. (169)

Table 6.5 Dispersion of properties, owners domiciled in Bonvillars. (170)

Table 6.6 Marital status, women, Champagne. (171)

Table 6.7 Marital status, men, Champagne. (171)

Table 6.8 Exclusive ownership, p.c. (173)

Table 6.9 Vital events, Claude Tharin. (174)

Table 6.10 Holdings of Claude Tharin and his kin, circa 1712. (176)

Table 6.11 Undivided possessions, p.c. (177)

Table 6.12 Undivided lands, N cases. (177)

Table 6.13 Undivided ownership by sex. (178)

Table 6.14 *Common* ownership, p.c. (181)

Table 6.15 *Common* ownership, N of owners per holding. (182)

Table 6.16 Owners, sex, *common* ownership. (182)

Table 6.17 *Common* ownerships in Champagne, holdings dispersed . (182)

Table 6.18 *Common* ownership dispersed in *communes*. (183)

Table 6.19 An economic entity. (185)

Table 6.20 Undivided plots of Tharin. (186)

Table 6.21 Economic entities in Champagne. (187)

Table 6.22 Properties of some *hoiries*. (192)

7.

Table 7.1 Landowners, class, N. (205)

Table 7.2 Distribution of lands, sex, area held, p.c. (205)

Table 7.3 Owners, area held, p.c., natural parish. (206)

Table 7.4 Sex and area of holding. (208)

Table 7.5 Land-types, sex, surfaces, p.c. (209)

Table 7.6 Name combinations. (210)

Table 7.7 Properties of *communes*. (211)

Table 7.8 Possessions of children. (211)

Table 7.9 Properties of selected children. (212)

Table 7.10 Properties of societies. (213)

Table 7.11 Abandoned lands. (213)

Table 7.12 Landowners, domicile, frequency, p.c. (214)
Table 7.13 Landowners, domicile, area held, p.c. (215)
Table 7.14 Houses, domicile of owners, p.c. (217)
Table 7.15 Gardens & hemp-fields, domicile, area, p.c. (218)
Table 7.16 Enclosures, domicile, area, p.c. (219)
Table 7.17 Meadows, domicile, area, p.c. (220)
Table 7.18 Arable-lands, domicile, area, p.c. (221)
Table 7.19 Vineyards, domicile, area, p.c. (222)

8.

Table 8.1 Distribution of plots per range/ha. (229)
Table 8.2 Inventory of buildings and means of productions. (233)
Table 8.3 Types of field, p.c. of pure and mixed types. (235)
Table 8.4 Arable-lands, pure and mixed types. (241)
Table 8.5 Arable-lands, distribution by <i>communes</i> . (242)
Table 8.6 Arable-lands, distribution by range. (242)
Table 8.7 Meadows, pure and mixed types. (243)
Table 8.8 Meadows, distribution by <i>communes</i> . (244)
Table 8.9 Meadows, distribution by range. (244)
Table 8.10 Vineyards, pure and mixed types. (245)
Table 8.11 Vineyards, distribution by <i>communes</i> . (246)
Table 8.12 Vineyards, distribution by range. (246)
Table 8.13 Enclosures, pure and mixed types. (249)
Table 8.14 Enclosures, distribution by <i>communes</i> . (250)
Table 8.15 Enclosures, distribution by range. (250)
Table 8.16 Gardens, distribution by range. (252)
Table 8.17 Gardens, pure and mixed types. (252)
Table 8.18 Gardens, distribution by <i>communes</i> . (252)
Table 8.19 Hemp-fields, distribution by <i>communes</i> . (253)
Table 8.20 Hemp-fields, pure and mixed types. (253)
Table 8.21 Hemp-fields, distribution by range. (254)
Table 8.22 Sundry fields, hectare. (255)
Table 8.23 Conversion of the scale of Grandson. (256)
Table 8.24 Signification of lieux-dits. (261)

9.

Table 9.1 Distribution of <i>cense</i> exemptions. (274)
Table 9.2 Distribution. of free <i>cense</i> plots in <i>communes</i> . (275)
Table 9.3 Distribution of free <i>cense</i> plots, types & owners. (275)

- Table 9.4 Types of *censes* per *commune*. (276)
- Table 9.5 Money in the bishopric of Lausanne. (277)
- Table 9.6 Types of land and types of *cense*, p.c., N. (279)
- Table 9.7 Correlation, types of *cense*/land. (280)
- Table 9.8 Ratio, min/max, of types *cense* and land (281)
- Table 9.9 Some tithes in the Bailliage of Grandson, circa 1764. (285)
- Table 9.10 Full or partly relief of tithes. (285)
- Table 9.11 Plots exempted from tithe. (286)
- Table 9.12 Types of land exempted from tithe. (286)
- Table 9.13 Lands exempted from tithe, social position of landowners. (286)
- Table 9.14 Auctioned tithes, hl per *commune*. (290)

GRANDSON, NOW AND THEN

1. 1. EXCENTRIC TOPICS

Introducing a research topic in which only one theory has been tested and one issue investigated is a simple matter of routine. In introducing a portrait of population and landownership in the past many issues are involved which are far more complex. There is not just one theory but several and each issue has many aspects to observe. In about 300 pages we shall attempt to construct a portrait of population and landownership in the *bailliage commun* of Grandson in the early 18th century.

A portrait of population is a synchronized description of a situation. In historical terms, it amounts to a horizontal study, in which trends have little room. The past or future evolution of the various items contained in the portrait will not be investigated. The attention is centred on the presence of an issue, its relationship with others and its *raison d'être*. Therefore, we shall be faced with several issues for which there can be not just one theory of investigation but many. The best example of such an issue is the system of inheritance, for which theories abound and approaches differ.

Population study is a simplified name for demography, a domain of social sciences born into a multi-disciplinary family but claiming its own independence. Demography is a mechanical domain, in which models and patterns are available and the relationships between subjects are logical even if the explanatory theories can differ. However, in historical demography there is enough room to invent new methods of investigation whenever a set of data

requires it. Historical demography is very much inclined to the study of trends, and the method of family reconstitution has allowed to squeeze out information from parish registers. The cumulated monographs has pointed to patterns used as yard sticks to fill the gaps in some investigation in which poor data is an impediment.

Grandson presented itself as such a case. Logically, it fitted the demographic pattern of *Suisse-Romande* and Western Europe. Nevertheless, its extent or particularities were yet to be investigated. The method of family reconstitution was intended to be used to portray the population in the earlier part of the 18th century. However, data did not stand up to it. In chapters four and five, we shall trace the lines of investigation and reflect upon *frail* data. We have faithfully followed individuals from birth to death, presented whatever information we could gather. The demographic pattern of the population in the Grandson area was very similar to those observed in other monographs published in *Suisse-Romande*¹, except the fact that the attempts to reconstruct families' stories were unsuccessful. Without land-registers and limited as we were to the realm of historical demography, we should have abandoned the project on the account of the paucity of data and overcharged the clergy with negligence.

However, land-registers' information was to be confronted with parish registers'. If, clerics were not meticulous civil servants, the commissioners of the land survey ($\approx 1712-25$) had been painstakingly precise in their task. Therefore, while parish registers could not be used for a family reconstitution, they could supply vital event data to most, if not all, landowners. A most sophisticated data-linkage computer programme produced a meagre positive result. At this stage of the research we faced the paradoxes of two realms: population and landowners. Both were living in the same area and at the same time, how then was it possible to have no link between these two? How was that we *knew* the population in observation but could not identify them? In French, there is a delightful idiom to the effect of "only a bad worker has inadequate tools". Therefore, if the tools, data, were not to

1

See: chapters four and five.

accomplish the task we hoped for, we had to adapt the task to the tools, the idea by which we have attempted to get a positive results from data-linkage in parish and land-registers. We have been prejudiced by supposing the immobility of the population, keeping much to themselves and *closed* communities, overlooking the fact that mankind by nature has no roots in his feet. Man could move and responded to his environment and socio-economic constrains of his time by individual initiatives. Limited means of transportation in the early the 18th century would have prevented him of evolving in a large radius, nevertheless, he was not hooked to village or a parish.

Landownership is a sedentary concept. Lands are hardly commodities to carry in a bag. Moreover, the rigidities of the *féodal* system as described in history manuals do not leave much room to imagine it as a market commodity. Without the observations made from parish-registers and the mobility of population, a set of land-registers alone portrays the landowners as hooked to the area. The movement of population forced us to have a different view of the communities. That is where the ownership of land can be perceived to be as fluid as the population's movement.

In chapters six to nine many aspects of the mobility of the landownership are investigated. Issues raised are different in nature and even if many have an established historiography behind them, in the light of the mobility of population, we had to *re-question* some received ideas. The theories to test have to fit into the portrait of the population. Along the way, some issues sprout from data. We have presented them as well. They present a background in the portrait and emphasize the contours of objects in it. In future investigations we have retained three concepts to focus on: population's movement within an area, small ownership, the nature of the communities.

As we shall stress whenever the opportunity is presented, the population moved in a radius which did not fit the administration's definition of parish or *commune*. Either to find a spouse or to own land, the most favourable area to search in was neighbourhood be it in the same parish or not. Each village's territory was divided in a myriad of small fields, resulting from the equal sharing of the bequest by the next generation. Ownership was small, that is, each holding was a puzzle of many scattered plots of land. That is

where the nature of the communities take up full significance. For reasons investigated throughout the main body of this essay, rural areas tend to be qualified as closed and self-sustained. Grandson area could not qualify for either definition, geographically and functionally, since each village was entangled in a web of roads and in interdependence with others. Furthermore, we shall not disguise our suspicion toward the terms self-subsistence, self-sufficiency and alike. They represent spirits and the vision of the writer rather than conditions in which communities lived.

The *bailliage commun* of Grandson was an area with two features. First, it is an uninspiring area to which scholars have not been attracted. Its passive and common past has even driven many to assimilate its history with that of *Pays de Vaud*. As we shall see, this was not so and the *bailliage* had distinct and subtle characteristics of its own. Second, it was ruled by alternate governments: Protestant Berne and Catholic Fribourg. How could the everyday lives of the commoners be affected by such alternates every five years? To answer this question we shall not draft an essay in political science but whenever an opportunity is offered we shall discuss it.

A reader might wonder about the *historic* importance of some issues. Compared to the impact of Galileo's statement or Darwin's theories, it is infinitesimal. Nonetheless, this study is concerned with some out of millions of human beings that populated the earth, lived and died anonymous with the least possible traces of their passage. Their sheer existence was necessary to animate civilizations. In a forest, there are some trees with impressive beauty, but without the ordinary smaller ones, a forest has no soul.

1.2. FAMILIAR FACES

The entire thesis of this study will show the permeability of demography and economy by observations made from both registers of land and parish. Published materials in both fields are enormous and suggest the variety and richness of human societies. That is to say, there are not many

models or patterns that will accommodate them all. Similarities are to be found among societies; comparisons are difficult in general and impossible in particular, however.

Population study *and* landownership address complex debates. Any given issue mentioned in this study is a hard core of some discussion. Taken as a single issue, one can hardly ignore the importance of it by looking at the literature. For example, birth, wedding or death have each produced a heavy bulk of literature. Therefore, a systematic approach to publications is as important as the collection of data from original documents. The methods of presenting published materials are not only dependent to the subject of study but also highly particular to the views of the writer.

We shall keep the discussions of the published materials limited to *Suisse-Romande*, in particular the canton of Vaud since the portrait of the population and landownership has to be as clear as possible with missing bits and faded pieces. Introducing too much of comparison materials would have blurred the issue.

Distinct common features of peasant European society in the past are not sustainable. There was not one model with some variances. Each community could only be described and analyzed according to its geographical situation, culture and jurisdiction. As we shall see, Törbel¹ is not Champagne². In several chapters of "*Land, Kinship and Life-cycle*³", a collection of essays in the transmission of property, the debates were centred on a specific case study in which particular elements of the community studied could not be presented *in vacuo* of their physical settings. In other words, unless exceptionally, in this study we shall refrain from making comparison to studies in which cultural, legal, religious and geographical bases were different to the canton of Vaud, for example, English, French or German. To mention an aspect, one may consider the size of ownership, small versus large. Even the mere descriptive analysis would have taken us far from the

¹ Refer: R. Netting, (1981).

² See: chapter six.

³ R. M. Smith, *edit.* (1984).

main focus of this study since all leading factors had to be accounted for. In being so specific, we definitely renounced the possibility of considering published materials on subjects related to the German part of Switzerland.

In Switzerland, there are three (German, French, Italian) or perhaps four (Romanche) cultures differentiated by language and tradition. The nation, though it seeks a *modus vivendi* between the societies that have united to create it, is never identical to any of them. Switzerland is not a collective projection of these cultures, since it exists as a unity only to adapt to their diversity. The *state* is an abstraction, a political arrangement. The composing societies are realities, however, each reality is different in its culture, legal frames and traditions. Moreover, Switzerland is a federal country, that is, 26 bits of counties with their own law, customs and cultures. All these communities have one characteristic in common: they feel different from one another. There is an 'us' and the rest of the world exists as a 'them'. Federalism has its roots in such an idea. We could devote an entire chapter to this notion, however, we shall restrict ourselves to one example relevant to the Grandson area (more examples are included in future sections). Swiss-German communities in *Ancien Régime* had favoured the development of corporations and bodies of trade in which strict rules of membership gave them economic and political power. In *Suisse-Romande*, corporations were scarce and even then they were a shadow of what might have been in *Suisse-Allemande*. In the Grandson area, a cobblers' society (*Confrérie de St. Crépin, cordonniers*) existed from before the Reformation. However, this grouped many craftsman dealing with leather (butchers, publicans, traders in leather and cobblers)¹. The society was liberal in its membership and had no power be it economic or political.

A horizontal study should be absolutely synchronic. Not only original documents should refer to the period under observation, in the this case 1700-1730, but also published materials used for widening the debate. To consider the 18th century as comparable from its earlier period to its end, implies no change in the society, therefore, unconsciously, the immobile

¹

Ch. Gillard, (1945), p.42-3.

characteristic of the community is admitted before any debate. Relevant publications will be discussed in related sections.

Up to now a horizontal study that will investigate both the population and the landownership in a synchronized fashion has not been undertaken. The confrontation of parish and land-registers of the Grandson area emphasizes several issues which will reveal the characteristics of some villages under *Ancien Régime*. Much more research is necessary to reveal the multiple faces of its *communes*.

1.3. HISTORY, DEMOGRAPHY, ECONOMY

Any study starts with a plain curiosity to understand and to describe. Then science lends its material and intellectual tools to elaborate theories and organize the research. Any science in its present form has its past or past application: history. Demography can be *historical* and economic, *history*.

History offers two temporal dimensions for a study, either vertical or horizontal. By vertical we mean any study that crosses centuries¹. In duration, the length of the period to study, lessens the importance of short term variations. When a study encompasses decades, the trend of change accounts for and attempts to explain only certain elements and factors. Sometimes there is a need to pause and study a society in its most subtle elements of change or continuity. A horizontal study is based upon a few years, outlining a short period. It scans a community and produces a snapshot picture. Such a picture grasps details which a vertical study, occupied with decades, has no room for. Nonetheless, the repetition of these details brings profound changes.

In this project, a horizontal study is aimed at. We propose to observe a microcosm in a limited span of time. In some respects, this is tantamount to putting a leaf under a microscope to learn not only about the tree but the forest as well. It reflects the same reality in a miniature scale and dimension,

¹ Refer for example: D. Bron, (1982).

even where the similarities between the micro-element and the larger object of which it is a part are not immediately apparent¹.

In history changes cannot be measured or explained *in vacuo*. The factors of explanation vary from one civilization to another, from one society to another. A community exists because it has a population and a driving force behind it, an economic system. Both components survive in a given physical environment and are entangled in a web of social, religious and cultural behaviour which shape the individual's behaviour and distinguish the community from another. In any snap-shot picture of societies in the past, a horizontal study, many details rushed into the scene blur the vision. Therefore, objects to consider are focused on, even if the background elements play a major role in the definition of contours. If in a horizontal study the description of the objects is a smooth enterprise, the explanation of their mere existence and evolution is complex and limited to the observations made only during the period of study.

From now on, we have focused on the bases of all societies²: population and economy. Each of them has its own scientific domains and methods of investigation that will strain the study. However, both stream of methods can coexist if the artificial boundaries between the two are brushed off to give emphasis to the links between them. A horizontal study provides a suitable frame in conducting the simultaneous and interrelated study of population and landownership, in blending economics and demography, two facets of the same subject. Simply defined, a population is the inhabitants of a given area and the landowners a subset of the same population.

However, simple assumptions are most difficult to admit. Past research in either demography or rural economics had borrowed facts from the other in explanatory argumentation, developed their own specialties and analytical methods. Bringing these two different domains into harmony within a single study by breaking the artificial strains of boundaries will be no easy task.

¹ In mathematics such a problem is called '*Objects fractals*'. Refer: B. Mandelbrot, (1975).

² Since we are not privileged in being a sociologist, the definition of the *society* throughout this study is the layman's: "*sum of human conditions and activity regarded as a whole functioning interdependently*", Oxford, Shorter Dictionary, (1993).

Difficulties in encompassing the two methods are both theoretical and practical since demographic and economic studies have two different tempos.

The tempo of demography, specifically that of historical demography, is made of fast short 'notes'. Historical demography begins with the registration of vital events (birth, baptism, possible marriage and eventual death) and looks for patterns. Individuals cede their identity to a science that is not interested so much in aggregates of single events but in trends. In demographic research, it is hard demographic data that gives birth to the theoretical supposition. Or, put another way, demography is born within an empirical frame in as much as sophisticated theories on population are only possible when this main stage is completed.

The tempo of the economic research, in stark contrast, is one of long slow 'notes', echoing over long periods of time. Here, one begins with a theoretical frame, and while the frame may be modified according to the information gathered during research, one's research follows from it, in an absolute reversal of demographic methods. Moreover, the scope of the study in economy should be carefully defined at an early stage. Within the bounds of this study, the economic dimension is limited to landownership, the basis of the economy in the area we shall study.

Beyond the difference in 'tempo', demographic analysis involves all strata of the society in which birth and death are inescapable. Any data concerning these events will encompass both the landowner and the landless alike. An economic study, one based on the ownership of land, however, functions differently: a landowner, how poor he might be, cannot be lumped together in a set with the landless. Consequently, demography defines a population at large: economy, based on landownership, targets a specific subset, mainly the wealthy, however relative the notion of wealth is.

Still, the root of the relationship between demography and economy is plain: simply put, people create economic circumstances by trying to make a living from the land they hold, which in return shapes the trend of the same population. Therefore, despite methodological difficulties, in elaborating any meaningful socio-historic theories, one has to encompass both

subjects in the same study to induce useful propositions. In producing the snap-shot picture of a society all the elements must be coming from it and be scrupulously synchronic. If either land-registers or parish registers are used, they have to be from the same period. In a horizontal study, there is no room for transposing similar indications from elsewhere in lieu of the actual evidences from the area.

1.4. A COMPOUND PATH

In the 1970's, P.-L. Pelet, a historian, undertook an expansive study of craftsmanship/industry in the past canton of Vaud, following the first volume of Iron, Coal and Steel, (*Fer, Charbon, Acier*) entirely dedicated to industrial archeology¹. The next two volumes, dedicated to the evolution of steel industry in the canton of Vaud, revealed many aspects of industrialization of the canton under the *Ancien Régime*. An area studied was Vallorbe. Large amounts of archive materials were handled by himself and his students in seminars held in the *Institut de Recherches Régionales Interdisciplinaires*². Data gathered and issues raised by the students triggered the publication of many multi-disciplinary articles and books written by those who had at some stage of their academic life come to attend these seminars. L. Hubler published a remarkable essay on the population of Vallorbe³. A. Radeff⁴ described carefully Lausanne, bringing new dimensions to the rural economy and historical geography. In the seminars, students were asked to familiarize themselves with the flimsy signs of the past by a practical work on original documentation of the *Ancien Régime*. Issues raised by the study of small villages would serve to comprehend broader approach to economy and population in the past. For many students so trained in multi-disciplinary research, there were no boundaries between different domains of social

¹ P.-L. Pelet, (1973), a new edition updated is due in 1994.

² Now renamed *Institut de Recherches Interdisciplinaires*.

³ Refer: L. Hubler, (1984).

⁴ Refer: A. Radeff, (1979).

sciences even if each issue could have multiple aspects. In the early 1980's, with some other students we worked on the land-registers of the Grandson area¹. At the time, the main objective was to collect data and write a short essay, which were limited to the presentation of data items. Later, when undertaking this study, we resumed the collection of data from land-registers and added a full study of parish registers and other documents.

1.5. FAMILY RECONSTITUTION, ECONOMIC ENTITY

Demographic analysis based on family reconstitution method confines the study to a subset of population in which the dates of vital events can be linked together. This subset is by definition sedentary since individuals had to register all vital events in the same parish. Therefore, the personal stories were geographically bound to the village or the parish under study. Lacking any other serial documents beyond the parish registers, the extent of other subsets of population remains unknown. However, in a demographic study, which is by definition vertical and in it population's characteristics are in focus, the unobserved subsets of population do not act much differently from those for whom a family history could be reconstructed. This subset is a comprehensive sample of the population.

Derived from the method of family reconstitution, we devised an *economic entity*. By studying land-registers which were the sole official source of the free-holder's claim of ultimate ownership of land, the ownership of various pieces of properties was determined. Since men, women and children alike were land-holders and their names were recurrent in each register of land for additional properties, a concept was needed to pool all the scattered records under one roof. An economic entity is the sum of the holdings of individual family members, used as common resources for subsistence.

The concept of economic entity applied to the registers of land had the same draw-back as with family reconstitution. That is, a set of landowners

¹ Refer: bibliography, unsigned or collective works, 1980-82.

for which we possess all the holdings details had to be sampled. However, there is no warranty to the accuracy of this sample. By doing so, any landowner not living in the village precinct is disqualified in the same way as one discards any individual with a missing date of vital event. Therefore, one easily could build a sedentary picture. The main body of data, however, was in contradiction with such a sedentary concept. Mankind was (is) mobile even if as a landowner he was by definition limited to the area in which his lands were located.

Without the confrontation of reconstructed families and economic entities, we would have had two sedentary realms. However, the confrontation of the two sets of registers, parish and land, reveals a far more subtle setting and raises a new array of approach to issues of landownership. This confrontation consists of linking the population of the parish registers with those of landowners. The results will give enough information as to analyze the degrees of immobility or mobility rural communities in which land was the base of economy. The higher the number of successful linkage between those who held land and recorded vital events, the more community was immobile and *closed*. The lower was the rate of linkage, and the more the population was mobile.

1.6. TOWN AND VILLAGE

We shall be using the words *village* and *rural* area in describing the type of communities we study. Both words are quite adequate, however, their definitions need to be put into perspective. Any populated built-up area is animated by its soul, the sum of activities undertaken. In the mind of readers any area with high chimneys and warehouses is industrial and when green fields and orchards run into the horizon, rural seems the right word for. If we had a ruler setting rural at one end and industrial at the other, ranged from 0 to 100, many area would rank in between. The same ruler can be used to define the size of population, say, 0 for a village and 100 for a metropole. Thus London would rank 100 as a metropole and industrial whilst Dompierre

in the canton of Vaud would be at the bottom end and rural. Ranking any community in between those ends is spurious because different points of view are shaped by a country's size, culture and the mentality of its population. For a Swiss, Zürich is an industrial city, for an American St. Louis is merely a town, even if it can accommodate three times all the *Zürichoïs* and still have some room left. The other way round, an American would qualify Zürich as a beautiful small town in the fields. The view of the Swiss from St. Louis remains to be seen.

In Swiss historiography, there is occasionally an attempt to find a classification for towns and villages (*ville et village*) and thus describe and analyze the possible contrasts between activities undertaken for earning a living by either population. The latest of such attempts coming to our attention was an article by A.-L. Head¹, in which she surveyed the different criteria used to distinguish between town and village. She found none of them quite satisfactory, be it by the distinctions in economy, size, or legal status which under *Ancien Régime* would endow some privileges to a 'borough'. Earlier studies were not so scrupulous in their definition. G.-A. Chevallaz, did not bother defining either town or rural area, even if he asserted 13% of the population of the canton of Vaud lived in towns and 87% in rural areas under the *Ancien Régime*². Using some data from the 1798 survey of population, he concluded that villages were populated essentially by farmers³, except for some skilled workers necessary to the village's economy⁴. Further, G.-A. Chevallaz portrayed the *Pays de Vaud* as essentially rural: "*After listing, printing shops, .. weaving, ... and ... porcelain workshops..., .. steel furnaces ..., ... watchmaking..., ... drapery..., we are done with industrial production which would hardly go beyond local*

¹ A.-L. Head, (1989), p.126.

² G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p.37.

³ Farmer is a direct translation of the French word *agriculteur*, without its English connotation.

⁴ G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p.39.

*interests*¹". These were hasty statements which reflected some state of research in the post World War II. Ch. Biermann, in 1946, wrote: "*Vaud is a rural canton*²", six years later, he repeated the very same sentence³ in another book. Biermann, however, did not bother questioning the bases upon which such statements were made, say, the concepts of rural, industrial, village and town. The idea of having a rural canton was so deeply implanted in the minds of the *Vaudois*, that any other regard seemed ludicrous, and most studies with this paradigm simply ignored or waved aside other types of activities. Today, even if many little ones believe in milk being produced by the supermarket and many adults would be afraid to face a cow in a meadow, for many *Vaudois* peasantry is still the roots of their activity and mentality.

Another line of study was taken up since 1940's. First timid in their affirmation and carefully avoiding the debate on agriculture, many scholars studied special branches of industrial activities. In 1959, R. Jaccard published "*La révolution industrielle dans le canton de Vaud*⁴". Nonetheless, for many the notion of industry involved a high chimney in the background that did not fit the facts from their research. Under the general heading of industrial archeology and the history of techniques, P.-L. Pelet, not only surveyed the industrial activities of the forthcoming canton of Vaud, but also its complex relationship with agriculture⁵. In 1974, he categorically refuted the canton of Vaud as rural⁶. Further he wrote:

"Theorists of the a new economic history have been startled, if not blinded by the short term views of economists. Having lost the sense of

¹ G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p.39, "...lorsqu'on a cité les imprimeries, les tissages et les cotons d'Yverdon, les porcelaines de Nyon, quelques papeteries, dont celle de Bière, occupant 16 ouvriers en 1798, les forges de Vallorbe, comptant 69 forgerons à la Révolution, les horlogers et les lapidaires de la Vallée de Joux ou de Sainte-Croix, la manufacture de tabac à Payerne, la poterie de Romainmôtier, les salines et quelque horlogerie à Bex, les tricotages du Pays d'Enhaut, une demi-douzaine de fabriques de draps, on a fait le tour d'une production industrielle dépassant de très peu l'intérêt local".

² Ch. Biermann, (1946), p.13.

³ Ch. Biermann, (1952), p.18.

⁴ Refer: R. Jaccard, (1959).

⁵ Refer: bibliography: Pelet, P.-L.

⁶ P.-L. Pelet, (1974), p.789.

relativity, these theorists have narrowed the definition of industry, reserving it for the era after the Industrial Revolution. Mass production and marketing have existed since Antiquity. They cannot be compared, in absolute numbers, with modern period, but in relative terms, they can be compared with craftsmanship production that satisfied the need of an estate or a village¹".

The industrial setting and productions in the forthcoming canton of Vaud were nowhere near of those in large countries such as Germany, France or England, nonetheless, manufacturing enjoyed a status of some strength and productivity. One should bear in mind that the country was small, restricted in population and space, thus, both industry and agriculture were shaped to cater for their needs and means. It would not only cater for locals but also for beyond the borders of neighbouring cantons at an international level.

The Grandson area of the 18th century, was considered by many as rural. In this study we shall demonstrate that despite the utter muteness of documentation in revealing the occupations of individuals, the possibilities having activities apart from agriculture were open to all. The small size of lands, their trade and their exchange fitted more to the views of P.-L. Pelet, than to a pure picture of rural canton. In the villages of the Grandson area, there was room to accommodate more activities than just farming.

1.7. A PROSAIC AREA

Any monograph in social research has to be specified and anchored in a given area. Neither demography nor economy bear to be cut from the setting in which they evolve. By a succeeding chains of encounters, thoughts and unanswered questions we took a particular interest in the area of Grandson; an area of rural feature which had not experienced traumatic changes in either war or revolution. Such an uneventful area, with smooth social changes taking place over the course of centuries, seemed tailor-made to our intention to conduct a combined study of population and landownership.

¹ P.-L. Pelet, (1993), p.2.

Nowadays Grandson¹ is a district in the French speaking canton of Vaud (Switzerland) with no particular feature. Foreign tourists, taking in the sites in Switzerland, are rare. Neither large scale industry nor wild nature attracts onlookers. It is a stable area populated by a few wine-makers, farmers and many suburban commuters. Far from the alpine highways that link northern and southern Europe, it lies unobtrusively next to the lake of Neuchâtel² (figs 1.1 & 1.2). Even its quite pleasant wine and beautiful views do not earn the area the respect of its neighbours.

There are a few streams crossing the land, the most important of which is Arnon, but they do not play a role in the economy. It is, in short, an area in which very little happens, and, as such, had not attracted any social scientists for its modern period (1478 onwards) though it occasionally merited a passing reference in an essay here and there.

The Grandson area, located in *Pied du Jura* in the margin of *plaine*, is made up of a town and a dozen or so tiny villages with a maximum population of 400, squeezed between the lake (440m alt.) and the mountains (1500m alt.). Villages in this district are divided into two distinct categories: those lying in the lower altitudes, in benefit of a mild climate, and those in higher altitudes, with long winters. While higher altitude villages mostly provide space for meadows and the growing of a limited variation of grains, the villages in lower altitudes are microcosms of diversified production: wine, fruits, cereals and dairy products.

This study is focused on seven villages of the lower area of Grandson: Bonvillars, Champagne, Fiez, Fontaines, Corcelles, Giez, Onnens, and three hamlets of Grandson-town: Corcelettes, Fiez-Pittet and Les Tuileries. We omitted to consider Grandson-town. It neither fits the definition of an urban area, nor can be treated as a village. In the 1980's its population was less than 1800³. Under the *Ancien Régime*, Grandson was considered a town.

¹ To avoid confusion it has to be remembered that Grandson can refer to a town, a district, or a *bailliage*.

² Although the district has potential geographical advantages for road building and thus linking Switzerland more easily to France, it has hardly attracted attention.

³ SCRIS, Office of Statistics for the canton of Vaud.

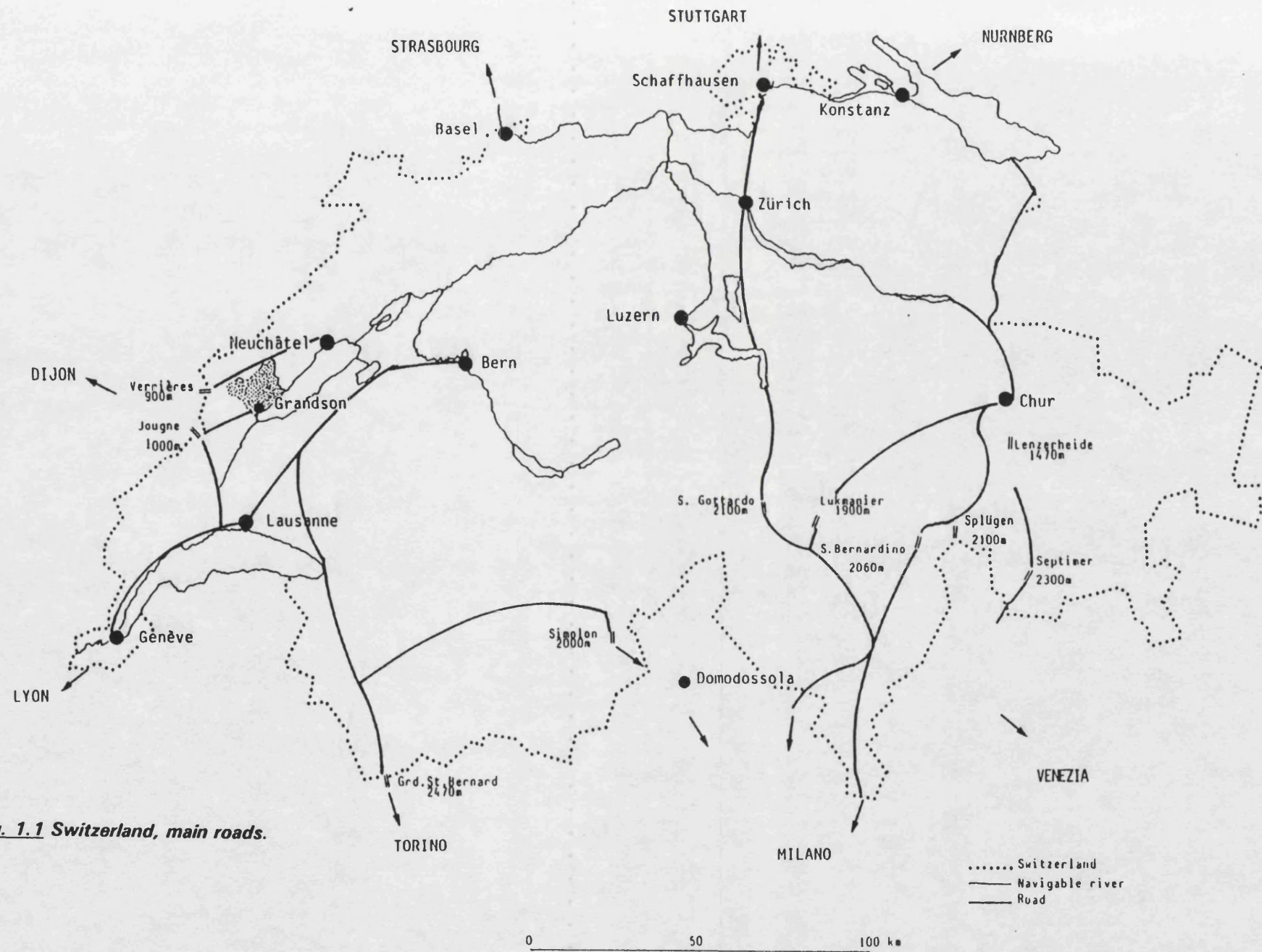


Fig. 1.1 Switzerland, main roads.

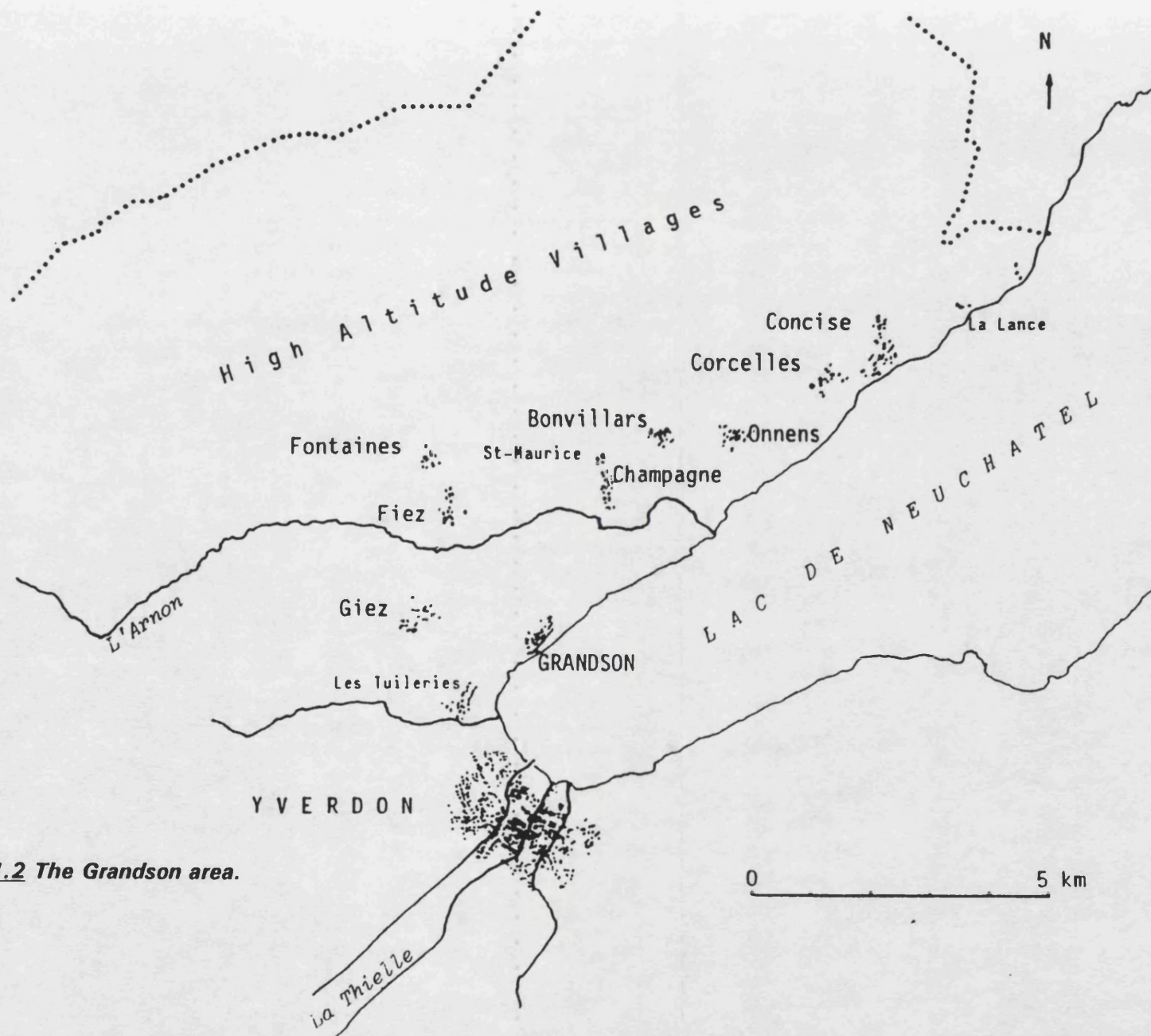


Fig. 1.2 The Grandson area.

It benefited from special rights and had its own written customary laws (*Coutumier*). Such minuscule towns were numerous in the *Pays de Vaud*. In the past Grandson-town was a borough of secondary importance, today, it is the capital of the district with a modest but charming 13th century castle¹.

1.8. A PASSIVE PAST

The district of Grandson is an anomaly within the general history of the canton of Vaud. While most of the canton was a part of Dukedom of Savoie before the 16th century², Grandson had its own *seigneur*, the House of Grandson, followed by the Earls of Châlon³. The history of this House is that of brave noblemen, cavalcades and medieval battles. Othon I of Grandson (circa 1245), in the second crusade of St. Louis, was a companion to the Crown Prince of England, later Edward the First⁴. More than two hundred years later, the Earls of Châlon, successors to the House of Grandson, lost their rights on the *seigneurie* to the Swiss confederates during the *Guerres de Bourgogne*, in the battle of 1476⁵. In 1484, Berne and Fribourg, after some negotiations with their allies⁶, created the *bailliage commun de Grandson*, an indirect member⁷, so to speak, of the *Confédération Helvétique*. This led to a joint government system, which was usual in Switzerland, but exceptional in Europe's systems of supremacy.

Every five years Their Excellencies of Berne would exchange their administrative rights and duties with Their Excellencies of Fribourg and nominate a *bailli* from among their high-ranking officers. The *bailli* was an

¹ Refer: E. Mottaz, *DHV*, (1914).

² This part of the canton of Vaud under Berne's domination was called *Pays de Vaud*.

³ The Earls of Châlon paid homage both to the Dukes of Bourgogne and the Dukes of Savoie.

⁴ Grandson area still remembers this epoch: on the 9th of August 1988, the castle of Grandson hoisted the Union Jack in honour to the new born baby of Duchess of York. Entry to the Castle was free for British citizens.

⁵ Refer: J. E. Genequand & *all.*, (1976).

⁶ E. Dupraz, (1904), p.1-2.

⁷ In the vocabulary of *Suisse-Romande*: "*pays sujet*".

executive with judicial powers. Although both Berne and Fribourg tried to adhere to the local customs, seeking continuity in administration, problems were readily apparent. Many decisions were long in the making, or would never be made at all. Their divergence of view is best illustrated by the Reformation period (16th century) during which the Protestant Berne tried to impose Reformation during its five-years-rule. After which, Catholic Fribourg bullied the Protestants for the following five years.

Once the fervour of Reformation settled in favour of Berne, Grandson became an area with no major historical significance. Every five years a new *bailli* would take over the administration and implement reforms wanted by his master (either Berne or Fribourg). It should be noted that in all refinements undertaken in the *bailliage*, Berne acted as the instigator and Fribourg followed. In fact Berne's activities for 'modernising' the *seigneurial* system spread through the *Pays de Vaud*¹. Grandson submitted too, with modifications to the taste of Fribourg.

1.9. AN OBSOLETE SYSTEM

The *bailliage commun de Grandson* existed under the administrative rule of Their Excellencies of Berne and Fribourg until the French Revolution. In 1798 the *bailliage* disappeared, becoming a district of the upcoming canton of Vaud. In the ensuing chaos, what was left of the *féodal* system faded as well².

By the 18th century, *féodalisme* had lost much of its practical application. Of course in the *seigneurie* of Grandson, *fiefs nobles* and *ruraux* still existed; taxes were called *censes*³ and tithes, and special honours continued to be due to the *seigneurs*. However, all these terms existed only on paper, within a judicial system and its wordings. In reality, the practices were more

¹ Vaud was under the rule of Berne until 1798. Among the Swiss confederates, Berne was the influential member in comparison to Fribourg who had a lesser importance.

² We shall keep the term *féodal* in French, because like the term 'democracy', it suggests a global institution with many variants.

³ See: section 9.2.

modern than *féodal*. The bourgeois bought and sold *fiefs* (properties) rather than inheriting them¹. The practices of *féodal* system were already that of the land-capitalism with the existence of a land market and property speculation.

The more land changed hands, the more Berne (or Fribourg) benefited from taxes (*lods*) collected on these exchanges. This system of land-capitalism existed not only for the noblemen² but also for the commoners, whatever their social status. Serfdom had been eradicated many centuries ago. However, it was only in the early 19th century that the emancipation of citizens is observed. On paper, the inhabitants of Grandson were still 'subjects' and had limited political liberties as devised later. They were said to be 'free' and 'clear [of bonds]³' from Berne and Fribourg, however, the political liberties they held in their communities ended at the *commune's* border⁴.

As for administrative boundaries, the old system of division, inherited from the Earls of Châlon, still existed. There were five *métralies*⁵, one *mayorie*⁶, and a *terre*⁷ besides the town of Grandson. Within each of these boundaries were one or more villages, *communes*. Despite all the *féodal* wordings used in the 18th century papers regarding the *communes*, frequently the *communes* organised their daily doings internally. While officially they had to pay homage to the *seigneur*, the *communiers*, inhabitants of these villages, elected their mayor and the local authorities from among their own ranks, managed their *communal*⁸ land and forests and admitted newcomers, *nouveaux bourgeois*, for establishment.

¹ Such as Jonas Jeanneret and François-Pierre Python. The latter, a high ranking official from Fribourg bought the *seigneurie* of Corcelles from the state of Fribourg in the early 18th century.

² The commoner wanting to buy a noble-fief had to pay a tax (*droit de cape*).

³ A.C.V., Fq-144. Any other land-register would also state it.

⁴ *Commune* is a social and political entity specific to Switzerland. Any agglomeration and its area are a *commune*.

⁵ Laic administration for taxes and justice. *Métral* reported directly to the *seigneur*.

⁶ Ecclesiastic area for taxes and justice. Onnens was a *mayorie*.

⁷ A *seigneurie*. In this case Montagny.

⁸ The property of a *commune*.

The fading *féodal* system also emphasised the death of laic and ecclesiastic distinction in properties. Both Berne and Fribourg were, in a sense, oligarchic republics. Both were interested in their income, and needed resourceful administrators to secure it from various territories, hence a logical trend towards modern institutions with economic gains rather than enforcement of judicial and wordings of a *féodal* system. If, traditionally in the Middle Ages, some holdings and rights were granted to clergy and some others to laic *seigneurs*, the administration of Berne and Fribourg regarded, in practice, all their possessions as laic¹.

1.10. *PAYS, BAILLAGE, CANTON*

At this stage, it is essential to bear in mind some variations in the use of area definitions. We shall call canton of Vaud, the present county of Vaud. *Pays de Vaud* refers to those areas of the canton which were under the sole administration of Berne, excluding all the *bailliages communs*. The *Bailliage commun of Grandson* was the territory ruled by both Berne and Fribourg. The *Grandson area* includes the villages studied in here.

As a matter of fact, there is confusion in the mind of the *Vaudois* as the areas which are included in *Pays de Vaud* and canton of Vaud. Many would not distinguish between these two. L. Junod, a *Vaudois* historian, titled an article "*Le Pays de Vaud a-t-il connu le Kiltgang?*"² despite discussing issues related to the *bailliage commun* of Grandson. G.-A. Chevallaz also failed to distinguish between *Pays* and *canton* of Vaud³. Recent studies, however, cautiously tend to keep *Pays de Vaud* and the *bailliage* of Grandson as separate⁴ items.

¹ Thanks to Berne, during the Reformation the clergy's properties were secularised. The Catholic Fribourg could not prevent Berne. The story of the abbey of Lance (in the *commune* of Concise) is quite revealing. Fribourg tried for many years to keep this last island of Catholicism alive. It gave in to Berne after many years of intrigue in the early 18th century.

² Refer: L. Junod, (1946).

³ Refer: G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949).

⁴ Ducommun and Quadroni, (1991), p. 16.

Reading through our documentation we observed the extent to which prudence is critical. Whatever Berne decided for the *Pays de Vaud* did not apply necessarily and fully to the *bailliages communs*. Even if in many administrative domains Fribourg was subordinate to Berne, that did not mean that it agreed to all decisions made by Berne, eyes closed. A far more comprehensive research in the political and administrative implication of Berne's decisions in the canton of Vaud is necessary to establish a better view.

FROM CHAOS TO STRUCTURE

2.1. APPROACHING CHAOS

One begins a research project with a theory, or at least, an idea. Thus armed, one then confronts the amount of data that can be garnered to test one's theory. Some original questions are destined to go unanswered, while new, previously unexamined queries are sure to spring to mind. And in the process of extrapolating relevant information, the researcher will unearth vast amounts of unwanted, and for the purposes of his or her study, irrelevant data. At its essence, research is an exercise in structuring chaos. Besides, if the 18th century Swiss-French is not far from today's ways of expression, however, the connotation of many words differ from French. This is a chaos from which one has to make sense and build up an information system which will stand queries. Chaos must be structured. This is where the methods are defined and means of study chosen. This chapter is concerned with the research materials, the physical documents on which empirical research is so dependent.

In Switzerland the federalism is not only a political institution, but also an ingredient of everyday life. Archiving of historical materials follows the three levels of federalism: *communal*, cantonal and federal. Besides, past history has left material in the care of towns which were heavily involved in its ruling. That is why, some archive materials are to be found in Berne, or as it is in the case of the Grandson area, in Fribourg.

After the French Revolution and the emergence of the new cantons, Vaud tended to separate issues and to get hold of specific papers from their past ruler and new neighbours. However, and even if many noteworthy historians of the canton of Vaud were either users or directors of the A.C.V., apart from O. Dessemondet, none has bothered writing a paper which will give a neophyte the necessary, introductory information for the preliminaries. Moreover, the A.C.V. has not, as yet, published a bulletin or a newsletter as one may expect.

O. Dessemondet, a former director of the A.C.V., wrote in 1956 an essay on the history of the archives. We shall narrate aspects of this story by Dessemondet with regard to particulars of Grandson area. The physical documents, as it will be shown by the history of archiving, have been a story of squabbles between different regional authorities as to their location. Furthermore, E. Mottaz, a historian, has described the movement of Paper-Burners in the early 19th century. Some damages were done by their action in the Grandson area, the extent of which cannot be separated from other causes in explaining the defects in data series.

The materials we used were held by A.C.V.. However, we believe that some supporting documents could still be found in other archives, Berne, Fribourg or *communal* archives. The quantity of the documents one handles in the archives is very impressive. This is, however, not the sign of handling solely relevant ones. Poor indexing and some confusion in the terms of designing the Grandson area are the impediments of the archive research stage. The existing crude categories and headings in searching materials needed for a specific project drives one in fishing expeditions through files and carton boxes. A comprehensive and extended indexing of materials is much needed. Besides, there exists a general confusion as the headings of "*Pays de Vaud*", and "*Bailliage de Grandson*". Although both in the latter part of 18th century merged in canton of Vaud, some materials concerning Grandson area are, however, to be found under the heading of *Pays de Vaud* thus lengthening the amount of time spent in searching documents.

Source materials are the roots of any monograph. Nonetheless, the assessment of their quality, quantity and a description of individual items of

data used has not been a matter of concern to many *Vaudois* scholars. None of the heavy users of the archives, scholars who published at least a book in the *Bibliothèque Historique Vaudoise* series, had bothered discussing the source materials *in extenso* to clarify recurrent and obscure points by putting in writing the basic knowledge, necessary to a neophyte of the *Vaudois* archival materials. Anyone starting a research needs coaching by senior users to gather a cumulative unwritten knowledge of the archiving, the materials and the meanings of the most common ideas.

O. Dessemondet, however, wrote a few memos and articles about the materials stocked. These remain the sole pieces of information on limited aspects of the archives¹. Most need revising, completing and updating. In our opinion, some unexpressed shyness is conveyed by the monographers and local historians in their understanding of quality, quantity and substance of archive materials that eventually have become a style, whereby discussing archive materials is thought as irrelevant and immaterial. Ph. Tanner, a jurist, who published a study of the Grandson's Book of Laws, when using solicitors' minutes and registers of the 18th century, did not bother assessing them². G. A. Chevallaz was not troubled to give them any consideration³. P.-L. Pelet⁴ gives some insight to the material used, *en passant*, while A. Radeff has a remarkable section in her study of Lausanne⁵.

We chose to describe and discuss the materials we studied. In doing so, we have become committed to convey an understanding of the state of source materials and some hindrance we met. We believe that such discussion will clarify the reasons of choosing the methods we used. Furthermore it will stress the strength or otherwise of materials relevant to some issues in relation to the 18th century Grandson area.

¹ Refer: bibliography, Dessemondet, O.

² Refer: Ph. Tanner, (1992).

³ Refer: G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949).

⁴ Refer: bibliography.

⁵ A. Radeff, (1979), chapters 2-3.

The main body of the documents used were two sets of data: Parish and land-registers. However, any other documents which would be of use in enlightening the issues at hand were also considered.

Registers of land, best called registers of taxes, were the sole source of written contracts of ownership. They were ledgers produced by a tax survey. These surveys which were to be carried out once in a while by the *seigneur*, were called *rénovation*. Usually they depict a snap-shot of ownership in a limited period in one village. L. Hegg¹ gave a broad historical back-ground to the registers of *Ancien Régime* in the canton of Vaud. However, a modern and synthetic approach to these materials which will highlight the amount of data and its use has not yet been undertaken. In fact, up to 1970's these materials were not in much favour with historians. G.-A. Chevallaz was even satisfied that Paper-Burners "took care" of some of them². However, simple card-indexing at first and then computerized use of data collected in registers of land attracted and attracts more and more scholars to use these materials. Although some of these have been published, the latest a rural economic study of Geneva³, there are many *mémoires de licence* which are devoted in analyzing or at least describing some land registers. Most are to be found in the faculties of *Lettres* or Political Sciences. These materials could be used to update the old fashioned theoretical approach to the land-registers by a practical view of those who used them.

In this chapter we shall describe and assess land registers at great length. The 18th century *rénovation* in Grandson area, the last before the French Revolution was a remarkable piece of work since it was extended to a number of neighbouring villages in a given area that in due time would show their existing interdependence⁴. Moreover, the story of the last *rénovation* in the Grandson area will highlight the impediments faced by Berne and

¹ Refer: L. Hegg, (1923).

² G. A. Chevallaz, (1949), p. 46: "*Il n'y a pas lieu de trop regretter que le feu vengeur des Bourla-Papey ait associé bon nombre de ces documents des temps nouveaux aux vestiges écrits des droits féodaux*".

³ Refer: D. Zumkeller, (1992).

⁴ See: chapters 6 and 7.

Fribourg, both independent states, in such undertaking. In the *Pays de Vaud*, Berne ruled and took decisions without any interruption. In a *bailliage commun*, such as Grandson, Berne had to consider Fribourg's rulings every five years. The materials we shall present although specific to the area, will highlight the complicated situation in which Berne and Fribourg were engaged. Apart from delays in and squabbles over the protocol, the commissioners in charge had to untangle an unintelligible web of taxes due to petty *seigneurs*. The outcome of this *rénovation* draws the geographical limits of this study and conveys the existence, *de facto*, of two distinct geographical areas: high altitude and low altitude villages. For the latter, however documented, some land-registers were missing since discrepancies in the surface areas of the villages in the 18th and the 20th centuries were observed. Moreover, a 10% of underestimation of surface areas was sustainable, as suggested by G. Nicolas-Obadia, a geographer who has devoted a large part of his studies to the problems of area definition in agriculture¹.

The last *rénovation* in Grandson involved some measures of simplifying the taxes and taxation areas. These induced changes in the registrations which were an utter rupture from the previous and incomplete *rénovations*. The agreements reached between the petty *seigneurs* and the commissioners although highly detailed on the global amount of taxes exchanged, were poor as far as taxation areas were concerned. These documents could not help in a better understanding of taxation and landownership. We have been careful to describe problems raised since these show to what extent it is cumbersome, if not impossible to trace landownership vertically in time from one *rénovation* to the next.

Any land-register of the last *rénovation* was a model of structure and consistency. A clear and restricted vocabulary is used in suggesting issues of inheritance and types of land in following chapters². In passing, we shall

¹ Refer: G.Nicolas-Obadia, (1974).

² See sections: 6.5, 6.6, 8.3, 8.6.

mention the cadastral maps to which land-registers referred. They were discarded as a source of data.

Parish registers compared to the neatness of the land-registers are a bundle of poor records. On the one hand, the registration of vital events was a source of friction between the "honest subordinate flock of *Romands*" and "uncaring *Alémanique* invaders". On the other hand, some dubious methods of registrations used by the clerics further impoverished the records. After a survey into the state of parish registers in the *Bailliage* of Grandson, we shall bring detailed description of the state of registers in the parishes of Concise, Onnens-Bonvillars and St. Maurice. However, the poor quality of parish registers could only be fully realized in analysis¹.

Individual documents, such as testaments, contracts, letters of credit and civil court cases, gathered in several boxes are an impediment in the pace of the research due to poor indexing. These encompassed administrative and individual papers. Any memorandum, letter or protocol issued by the administration regarding landownership and the registration of vital events was analyzed to throw some lights on the procedures undertaken and the understanding of pieces of data recorded. Individual papers, of the type produced by individual initiatives, such as testaments, contracts, letters of credit and civil court cases were to be considered as the main provider of practices in the communities. Those picked out of cluttered boxes regarding the time span and landownership were void of details necessary for quantitative analysis. Jurists, tackling issues of customary laws in the canton of Vaud had made an extensive use of notarial papers. F. Michon² hinted that the analysis of marriage contracts could be of value to economist historians. Specifically for the Grandson area, Ph. Tanner, explained the customary laws and illustrated some issues with notarial papers, dispensing, however, with a critical review of documents. We have been critical of the sources in this economic analysis, since we believe that the practice and the application of law to be much different from that of written articles. Now

¹ See: chapters 4 and 5.

² F. Michon, (1960), p.65-ff.

and then, some documents bore detailed qualitative data on a case. Within this study, we discarded some after an analysis, since many recorded curiosities and anecdotes. Others we used in completing data from the land-registers or as indications of issues we raised.

2.2. ARCHIVES

At the archives our aims were twofold:

1. to collect and transcribe data from registers of land and parish;
2. to look for any documents that may aid in the understanding of the registers.

In the case of the *bailliage commun de Grandson*, three *cantonaux* archives were visited: Vaud, Berne and Fribourg.

In 1798¹, Berne handed over to Lausanne all materials it possessed, as did Fribourg in 1803². The state archivists of both cantons assured us, in 1982, that they were not in possession of any important material on either population or land. Therefore we concentrated on any documents that could be found within the frame of the *Archives Cantonales Vaudoises* (hereafter *A.C.V.*). Alas, only today's Swiss has turned out so concerned with preserving archives. The history of *A.C.V.* is a remarkable story of mis-handling important historical documents.

In the early 1798³, a few days after the *Révolution Vaudoise*, the new-born assembly of *canton du Léman* (later canton of Vaud) requested Berne to hand over all archive materials of interest to *Pays de Vaud* and its administration. This request concerned also the *bailliages communs*, since Fribourg was asked to hand over the papers concerning the latter as well⁴. Berne, Fribourg and Lausanne named delegations to sort out the requested materials. The question was settled without incident between Fribourg and

¹ O. Dessementet, (1956), p.18.

² O. Dessementet, (1956), p.25.

³ This is a summary-adaptation of O. Dessementet, (1956), "*Histoire des Archives Cantonales Vaudoises*".

⁴ O. Dessementet, (1956), p.7.

Lausanne in 1803. A small dispute followed between Lausanne and Berne concerning the nature of the documents. Berne was quite reluctant to release documents it considered of interest not only to Lausanne but also to the "Swiss Nation" as a whole. The French *Directoire*, having the upper hand, firmly invited Berne to hand over all papers anyway.

In autumn 1798, Alexandre-François-Louis Wagnon, the *Vaudois* emissary, finished dispatching the archive materials from Berne to Lausanne. These included the papers concerning the *bailliages communs*¹. For Lausanne, however, it was not simply a matter of having the materials in hand; suitable housing must also be found. The *République Helvétique* was short of money and Lausanne short of patience. Lausanne needed to consult some *féodal* papers stocked away in boxes. In 1799, the tower of Lausanne's cathedral became home to these materials. They remained there until the Second World War.

Documents pertaining to the Grandson area left in the *communes* came under attack of a group called *Bourla-Papey*² very active in May 1802³. Their objective was to burn all the papers containing *seigneurial* rights wherever they could find them. While the archives in Grandson and Champvent were almost destroyed, fortunately Concise managed to save its own. In other *communes* of the *bailliage*, documents were badly damaged.

One of the primary problems in the archives concerned the indexes of the materials at the *A.C.V.*. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, with scarce means at their disposal, archivists inadequately, albeit bravely, attempted to index the materials. Today, however, no detailed indexes of the materials survive, only divisions into general categories. Hence if one wants to research, say, wills, one has to read all the papers of contemporary solicitors or court actions. It constitutes weeks or months of sorting out unclassified papers held in tens of boxes. In our opinion, quantitative history has taken archivists by surprise. The quantitative historian is far more

¹ O. Dessemontet, (1956), p.19.

² Bourla-Papey: *brûle-papiers*, (paper-burners).

³ E. Mottaz, (1903), p.144-ff.

concerned with having series and samples representing a society; for this type of historian, work in the archives constitutes a brief but essential period of research. On the other hand, the qualitative historian looks for small indications about one event, one person. Consequently, most of her/his time is spent in the archives.

The *A.C.V.*'s approach to the archive material has been geared with the qualitative historian in mind. Moreover, there is a confusion in materials classified under the headings '*Pays de Vaud*' and '*Bailliage commun de Grandson*'. Occasionally, records for the *Pays de Vaud* will encompass a few documents of the *bailliage* as well, despite the fact it was under the sole rule of Berne. Indexes of extensive and coherent quantitative materials are badly needed for feasible quantitative research. One could only hope that, under the supervision of an experienced archivist and with the help of students in the history seminars, the archives will become a systematic tool for all historical disciplines.

To be exhaustive, we also visited the local archives of the villages under study. These turned out to be most disappointing. The amount of data useful for our purposes was negligible. While *communes* such as Concise and Corcelles were aware of their historical value, in Bonvillars and Onnens historical documents were abandoned in cardboard boxes in back rooms. A small yet significant store of historical material had been left to deteriorate. However, it should be noted that as of a few years ago, the *A.C.V.* have been trying to negotiate the transfer and re-housing of these archive materials to more suitable buildings.

With few exceptions, the documents are written in French, since the administration of Berne had the delicacy to communicate with her dependencies in their own language.

2.3. REGISTERS OF LAND

In the canton of Vaud, under the *Ancien Régime*, land-registers (*cadastre*)¹ listed the landowners and their belongings in each *commune* as well as descriptions of lands and whatever *féodal* charges lay over them. These were the sole source of written contracts of ownership designed for the collection of taxes. Their rigid structures would only accommodate records of holdings over a short period. In the years to come, changes in holdings and ownership would be recorded in a way that reflected new owners.

In the 19th century the structure of the land-register changed². It became flexible, and, thanks to the *Révolution*, got rid of *féodal* system rules and vocabulary. However, the *cadastre* remained the original written contract of landownership.

2.3.1. THE LAST *RENOVATION*

By the end of the 17th century Berne and Fribourg worried about the fall in their income from Grandson. The yield of the annual levied taxes had dropped sharply during the second part of the 17th century, due to much confusion within the taxation system³. At some point in the history of the land-registers, the records of the changing of hands of scores of plots became so many and so complex as to confuse both the landowners and tax collectors alike. It was time for a *rénovation*, i.e., a new survey of lands and landowners.

While it would occur at great expense to the *seigneur*, the *rénovation* would create a new picture of landownership essential to the accurate collection of taxes in the region. In the light of our readings of documents, it appears that, prior to the *rénovation* it was virtually impossible to know exactly what should be collected from whom.

¹ *Cadastre, cottet, grosse*, etc..

² Refer: T. Moniton, (1989).

³ "*Vu la confusion extrême dans les réceptions de leurs rentes et revenus ordinaires et casuels...*" A.C.V., BI-10, and also refer: Bb-2/12 and Fq-107.

At a meeting held on February 27th, 1697, the delegates from both Berne and Fribourg agreed on the absolute necessity of reforming the entire system of taxation¹. Two years later, on July 7th, 1699, the agenda of the entire project was worked out. A copy of the license sent to the commissioners, a *patente*, dated 1705² gives some detailed information about the process carried out.

There were two main aims:

- a) reorganising the rights of Berne and Fribourg and other *seigneurs* over the county³;
- b) outlining of the cost of such *rénovation* and the simplification of the process⁴.

Therefore, a total survey of reorganisation of taxes (*censes*, tithes) and taxation borders was to be attempted. This *rénovation* was also the first attempt to simplify the procedures in coming years and, if results were to prove successful, would abolish the need for further *rénovation* altogether.

However, alternate methods to *rénovation*, (that is to say new methods of registration of rights and duties of landownership), were not discussed. The commissioners⁵ for this survey were Jean-Abram Grenier and Antoine-Michel Gignillat, both originally from the town of Vevey⁶, under the authority of Berne. No commissioner from Fribourg was named. They had eight years from St. Michael 1705⁷ to complete the project. Unfortunately, the initial

¹ "Entière liquidation, rénovation et description de tous les dits droits [...]". A.C.V., BI-10.

² A.C.V., BI-10.

³ "Renouveler les droits et extentes de tous les lieux qui composent l'entier dudit Bailliage de Grandson, tant des fiefs nobles que ruraux, et aussi de faire les liquidations, descriptions et délimitations des dîmes générales et spécifiques qui, dans le dit bailliage, appartiennent à LL.EE. des deux [...] Etats et nommément en particulier." A.C.V., BI-10, p.5.

⁴ ".... d'établir en ce bailliage la méthode des reconnaissances abrégées, depuis peu introduite et pratiquée en divers endroits du Pays de Vaud; ou bien si suivant la disposition des choses, il serait faisable de convertir les censes en augmentation des dîmes, moyennant aussi les échanges et cantonnements des dîmes [...]. par cette voie et moyen d'abolir entièrement les rénovations à l'avenir, que si alors telle leur proposition pouvait être jugée utile et praticable par les dits seigneurs commissaires généraux...."
A. C. V., BI-10, p.6.

⁵ Commissioners could be considered as tax collectors of land. Often, they updated registers of land according to exchange and trading. Refer: E. Buttica, (1927).

⁶ A. E. F., Grandson, *Actes et Correspondances*, 1641-1798; A.C.V., Fq-107.

⁷ A.C.V., BI-10, p.9.

plan was not successful. In all likelihood, the failure was the result of Berne and Fribourg's inability to agree upon a protocol.

In 1708¹, new commissioners were nominated: Jean-Frederich Steck of Berne, François-Pierre Vonderweidt of Fribourg, Jean-Abram Grenier of Vevey, Pierre Rod of Mézières, François-Claudy Duvoisin of Bonvillars, and Jean de la Harpe of Tartegnin². In 1710 the work began anew with the geometric drawings of maps. The commissioners then worked out a status for the taxation and determined the jurisdiction of each piece of land within the whole of the *bailliage*³. Multilateral accords between Berne, Fribourg and the local *seigneurs* were necessary to exchange and to update different taxes, and to redistribute rights⁴. The bulk of the actual work was carried out between 1711 and 1723, although a few registrations were made before 1711 and some after 1723.

The initial eight years foreseen for the *rénovation* proved a gross under-estimation. At least fourteen years were necessary, from the second attempt, to carry out the full *rénovation*. In a report in 1723 a commissioner wrote about the difficulties stemming from all sides⁵. The exact nature of the complications is unknown to us, but it would be fair to assume that most of these complications were due to confusion in the taxation of properties and the length of negotiations needed in the clarification and exchange of various rights.

In 1723, the commissioners were satisfied with the outcome of the survey. According to their report the objectives of the license, *patente*, had

¹ A.E.F., Grandson, *Actes et Correspondances*, 1641-1798.

² A.C.V., Corcelles, Fq-107. (Note the composition of the working-committee: 1, Berne; 1, Fribourg; 1, Grandson; 2, Vaud. Berne's influence is clear.)

³ "Les dits commissaires ayant levé les plans réguliers géométriques de tout ledit bailliage de Grandson, vérifié tous les droits de fiefs, [...], ont fait taxer chaque pièce par des prud'hommes assermentés en chaque lieu; ils ont dressé des états spécifiques et distincts de tous les dits fiefs pièce après pièce, avec leur valeur fondée sur les dites taxes...." A.C.V., Fq-107, fl 2 v.

⁴ A.C.V., Corcelles, Fq-107.

⁵ "... l'ouvrage ayant porté plus loin que l'on ne l'avait prévu dans les commencements, tant à cause de la diversité et multiplicité des opérations, qu'à cause des difficultés survenues de tous côtés.." A.E.F., Grandson, *Actes et Correspondances*, 1641-1798.

been met and the registers were now simple and highly accurate¹.

The commissioners, however, noted that these new land-registers bore little resemblance to the old registers²; rendering the latter useless. Their claim was valid; in order to answer a few questions of our own, we tried to link previous land surveys to those in hand; the results were discouraging. No links could be established, confirming the assertion of commissioners: "[Therefore] *all the previous land-registers . . . must be regarded as cancelled and void; they cannot be used from now on . . . , their contents have been changed, converted and redistributed*³".

The outcome of the early 18th century *rénovation* was an unspecified number of volumes of registers to which corresponded a number of maps, (*plans cadastraux*).

Each village was to have at least one register. While some of these registers have gone astray, it should be noted that the surviving registers are those concerning low altitude villages. The system of collecting taxes made a clear distinction between *communes* located in high and low altitude areas. The latter being *communes* that paid taxes by *article* (i.e., each landowner pays the tax owed on each piece of land directly to the *seigneurs*)⁴ and had wine and cereal production. The former had an annual and global taxation paid by the *commune* to the tax collectors⁵; only cheap cereals such as barley could be produced and vineyards were an impossibility. For the low altitude villages, a number of registers remained. For the high altitude ones, there are none (*tab.2.1*).

¹ A.E.F., Grandson, *Actes et Correspondances*, 1641-1798.

² "... que la présente rénovation a été mise sur un pied tout nouveau qui n'a aucun rapport aux titres précédents, cet ouvrage devant être regardé comme original pour l'avenir; [...] et afin d'éviter toutes les difficultés, l'on a omis les montants des vieilles censes [...]", A.C.V., Fq-107, fl 5.

³ "... au moyen desquelles reconnaissances toutes les grosses précédentes [...] rièrent le dit bailliage de Grandson doivent être regardées comme cancellées et annulées, ne pouvant être dorénavant d'aucun usage [...], puisque, comme sus est dit la plupart de leur contenu a été échangé, cantonné et reparti [...]", A.C.V., Corcelles, Fq-107, fl 6.

⁴ These *communes* were: Grandson, Bonvillars, Champagne, Fiez, Fontaines, Villars, Concise, Yvonand, Giez, Vuiteboeuf & Peney, Montagny et Onnens. A.C.V., Bl-10, second part of 18th century.

⁵ I.e., those in the mountains: Provence, Mauborget, Grandvent, Villars-Burquin, Vaugondry, Fontanezier and Romairon. A.C.V., Bl-10, second part of the 18th century.

LOW ALTITUDE VILLAGES			
	Consulted	Cadastre (ACV ref.)	Maps (ACV ref.)
Bonvillars (BNV)	Yes	Fq-155	GB-107/a
Champagne (CMP)	Yes	Fq-144	GB-109/a
Concise (CNS)			GB-110/a
Corcelles (CRL)	Yes	Fq-106	GB-111/a
Fiez (FIE)	Yes	Fq-145	GB-112/a
Fontaines (FNT)	Yes	Fq-146	GB-113/a
Giez (GIZ)	Yes	Fq-147	GB-115/a
Grandson-town (GRD)			GB-117/a
Grandson's Hamlet (HAM)	Yes	Fq-143	
Montagny			
Onnens (ONS)	Yes	Fq-77	GB-121/a
Villars			
Vuiteboeuf & Peney			
Yvonand			
HIGH ALTITUDE VILLAGES			
Bullet			
Fontanezier			GB-114/a
Grandvent			GB-116/a
Mauborget			GB-118/a
Mutrux			GB-119/a
Novalles			
Provence			GB-122/a
Romairon			
Ste. Croix			
Vaugondry			GB-116/a
Villars-Burquin			GB-116/a
ELSE			
<i>Fiefs nobles</i>	Yes	Fq-50	

Table 2.1 *Grandson, documents available from the 18th century survey of land.*

Despite some maps for the area, since these *communes* paid globally the taxes owed, there was no need for detailed land-registers as far as Berne and Fribourg were concerned. As long as Their Excellencies had a right to a fixed amount paid annually by the *commune*, they would not bother about the details of who paid what. It would have been up to the *commune* to keep its own registers, if there were a need for them.

2.3.2. COMMUNAL SURFACES, A SURVEY

As stated above, each low altitude village would have had a land-register dedicated to the rights of a *seigneur* to the *cense* owed by the inhabitants. Often, for each village under observation we had one land-register and one *seigneur*, namely Berne and Fribourg. However, Corcelles had three additionnal registers dedicated to different *seigneurs*; while some plots were recorded only once, others were recorded up to four times in different registers. The total surface area of Corcelles was then the total surface of plots recorded once. Therefore, the paramount question concerned the possibility of the existence of other land-registers for different villages. In other words, to what extent did a register list the lands of the given *commune*? The register in favour of F.-P. Python, *seigneur de* Corcelles was the most detailed. The two other registers recorded lands in favour of other *seigneurs*. One was a summary of other registers, the purpose of which we could not discern. Many lands from these two volumes had already been recorded in the first. Few were new and unknown to us.

Since we were unable to trace the exact number of registers from historical documents, we attempted to estimate surface areas for the *communes* in the 18th century. Any discrepancies between the expected surface areas and those worked out from land-registers would then require an explanation.

The total surface of a given *commune* is dependant on administrative definition. Surprisingly, no marked changes concerning the boundaries of the *communes* took place in Grandson during the 18th and 19th centuries. By mid-20th century *communes* have gone through a process of changing boundaries that made the comparison of contemporary data with historic land-registers invalid for the purposes of this research.

Therefore, it was of paramount importance to know whether the land-registers provided plausible surface areas for *communes*. By adding up the surface areas of every plot a total surface area for each village was worked out. In comparing these figures¹ with those provided by E. Mottaz² for 1914,

¹ The year 1712 is taken as anchorage for land registers.

² E. Mottaz, *DHV*, (1914).

remarkable discrepancies were revealed (tab. 2.2).

The ideal result is one in which the ratio (surface 1712/surface 1914) lies close to one: the smaller the ratio, the greater the problem. If the ratio for Champagne is adequate and those for Corcelles, Giez and Onnens fairly adequate, the discrepancies for Bonvillars, Fiez and Fontaines need some clarification¹.

	1720 (ha)	1914 (ha)	Ratio
BNV	299	756	0.3
CMP	355	382	0.9
CRL	289	383	0.8
FIE	232	677	0.3
FNT	225	778	0.3
GIZ	373	465	0.8
HAM	273	NA	NA
ONS	342	486	0.7

Table 2.2 Communal areas, 1712 and 1914.

Five hypotheses can be put forward to explain the deviation of ratios from one:

1. missing land-registers;
2. under-estimated land area;
3. changes of communal boundaries;
4. wrong selection of units used for converting the old scale of the surface to the metric system;
5. omission of under-surfaces of buildings.

First, we are not in the possession of all land-registers. This is particularly evident as far as Bonvillars, Fiez and Fontaines are concerned.

The second hypothesis is not so much a theory as it is a proven fact. Studies by A. Radeff² and G. Nicolas-Obadia³ for the 19th century showed clearly that the peasants' testimony and rudimentary geometric procedures led to a 10% under-estimate of plot areas. This percentage could also hold true for the 18th century. It is understood that it would be impossible to find out a plausible percentage based on sound calculation when data, i.e., land-registers, are missing. Nonetheless in Champagne, if we consider that there is only one land-register which sets the ratio at 0.9, then we can safely argue that 10% underestimation of the *communal* area is legitimate.

¹ Grandson-town's hamlets are not *communes* by themselves, but part of Grandson-town.

² A. Radeff, (1977), "Les erreurs des géomètres lausannois au fil des siècles: onze grands domaines de 1670 à 1809", communication présentée lors d'un colloque de doctorants aux Archives Cantonales Vaudoises.", Quoted in: V. Nicod, (1979).

³ G. Nicolas-Obadia, (1974), p.17-18.

Thirdly, the boundaries of the *communes* could have changed in a later period. Whereas these changes help to define the present boundaries of *communes*¹, they cannot be so great as to help to explain, say, a rate of 0.3, a shortage of 500ha. for Bonvillars.

Fourth, it can be argued that the conversion of ancient surface measure has been misjudged. If we assume that using 3185m² for a *pose* - Grandson scale - is erroneous, it is possible that another scale, such as *pose* of Berne² or *pose* of Vaud³ greater than of Grandson's, was used. In our opinion, this is an inadequate hypothesis. All scales used in the land-registers and other archive materials for volume, weight and so on are always that of Grandson. So why would the geometers for the measure of surface area have switched, for no discernable reason, to some other system? Of course if we were to use a greater *pose* then we would be much nearer the 1914 figures but this would be a deceptive method and has to be rejected.

Finally, in none of land-registers the under-surface of buildings is supplied. Although it is very tempting to devise a method by which it may be possible to work out an estimate for the under-surfaces of buildings, such as using *plans-cadastraux* (maps), we abstained from doing the exercise. The basis for such a method is too speculative.

If, in any given *commune*, a few of these hypotheses are at work, in others, different balances are operating. Certainly we are not in possession of all land-registers for all villages. And surfaces are under-estimated in those that we do have. Moreover, no under-surface for buildings is provided in any land-register.

2.3.3. *CENSES AND TITHES*

The two pillars of taxation in Grandson were *censes* and tithes, for which the *seigneur* would do a *rénovation*.

¹ By mid-20th century, some *communes* next to the Lake of Neuchâtel gained few acres over it.

² *Pose* of Berne \approx 3440m².

³ *Pose* of Vaud \approx 4300m².

Cense was a fixed amount of tax to be paid annually on a given piece of land, payable either in cash or in kind (wheat, capons, barley, oil-nuts and so on). *Féodal* system theorists attribute the origin of this tax to a rent paid by the subject to the *seigneur* for a field¹ from times immemorial. From one *rénovation* to the next, the division of lands by trade and inheritance and consequently the partition of *censes* into smaller amounts, generated a great deal of detailed paperwork that was seldom carried out properly and has not survived to this century.

Unlike *censes*, tithes were a mere 9% of the production paid as tax. Berne adopted a simple system of bidding before the harvest for collecting the tithes². This system would guarantee income without the inconvenience of collecting the tithes individually. Some fields were exempted, partially or fully, from the payment of tithes. This was carefully recorded in the land-register.

For the commissioners, simplification meant the feasibility of converting the *censes* to tithes. One is inclined to observe that tithe or *cense* had lost their primary signification in the *féodal* system and what Berne and Fribourg were actually interested in was a steady annual income, better calculated as tithe. After all, the rate of the tithe was 9% of the harvest, the real amount increasing in good years, while *cense* remained fixed.

When launching the process of *rénovation*, Berne had firmly in mind the conversion of *censes* to tithes³, but this idea was not pursued. There is no mention of it in reports⁴ and a glance at any register will show that the idea was discarded during the *rénovation*. Still, Berne wanted reform and eventually sought it within the *cense* itself.

1 Refer: Ph. Champoud, (1963).

2 See section: 9.3.3.

3 "... d'établir en ce bailliage la méthode des reconnaissances abrégées, depuis peu introduite et pratiquée en divers endroits du Pays de Vaud; ou bien si suivant la disposition des choses, il serait faisable de convertir les censes en augmentation des dîmes, moyennant aussi les échanges et cantonnements des dîmes [...] par cette voie et moyen d'abolir entièrement les rénovations à l'avenir, que si alors telle leur proposition pouvait être jugée utile et praticable par les dits seigneurs commissaires généraux..."
A. C. V., BI-10, p.6.

4 A.E.F., Grandson, *Actes et Correspondances*, 1641-1798.

The 17th century *censes* were fragmented into smaller amounts which often would have been impossible to collect:

example A. $\frac{3}{4}$ of a *quarteron* of wheat¹ plus $\frac{1}{4}$ th and $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a capon plus 12 *deniers* and $\frac{2}{3}$ of another *denier* and 2 *pittes*²

example B. 8 *deniers* and $\frac{1}{12}$ th of a capon³

example C. 6 *deniers* minus $\frac{1}{4}$ th *pitte* and $\frac{1}{6}$ th of a capon⁴

To collect a whole capon and not merely a piece of a leg, commissioners had to wait quite a few years. Therefore, Berne wished to convert the different varieties of *censes* as much as possible to two kinds, wheat & oats, and cash, *florins*, avoiding smallest fractions⁵. Their Excellencies were well aware of the depreciation of money: *censes* paid in cash were bound to lose value in the future, but those collected in kind would follow the market-price of goods. The commissioners' attempt was successful. The incomes of Their Excellencies of Berne and Fribourg soared to 157 hectolitres of wheat, 15 hectolitres of oats and more than 591 *florins*⁶.

2.3.4. BORDERS AND EXCHANGES

The problems of taxation boundaries were extreme. In fact *communes* were made up of a myriad of small pieces of land with different varieties of taxation (wheat, oats, etc.) paid to different *seigneurs*. Between the landowner and the highest *seigneurs* scores of petty *seigneurs* existed who held the rights to a few extra *censes* here and there. To simplify (or rather clarify) the process of taxation, it was necessary to set out boundaries in which Berne and Fribourg, and later other *seigneurs*, could collect the taxes

¹ One *quarteron*, scale of Grandson: 10.435 litres.

² *Pitte* = *picte* (?) $\frac{1}{12}$ of a *denier*. A.C.V., St. Maurice et Champagne, 1633, Fq-141, fl 361.

³ A.C.V., St. Maurice et Champagne, 1633, Fq-141, fl 358v.

⁴ A.C.V., St. Maurice et Champagne, 1633, Fq-141, fl 359v.

⁵ "...commutant toutes espèces différentes de *censes* en trois, à savoir: en froment, avoine et *deniers*, observant de commuter le plus possible en graines, évitant autant qu'il se pourrait les fractions, dressant les reconnaissances tant en faveur de leurs LL.EE que de leurs vassaux, en style net et abrégé et de la manière que l'on travaille depuis quelque temps dans le Pays de Vaud...", A.C.V., Corcelles, Fq-107, fl1.

⁶ "... le revenu de LL.EE augmenté de 26 muids, 8 coups, 2 *quarterons* de froment, de 6 coups d'avoine à comble, et d'argent 591 *florins*, 6 sols et 9 *deniers* ...", A.E.F., Grandson, Actes et Correspondances, 1641-1798.

with ease. Therefore, it was essential to exchange the rights over taxes whenever the situation was hopelessly intermingled and entangled.

A landowner could pay tax on one field not only to Berne and Fribourg, but also to other *seigneurs*. For example, taxes in Corcelles were collected not only by Berne and Fribourg and the *seigneur* of Corcelles (F.-P. Python) but also by Marie de Treytorrens and Jonas Jeanneret. Besides, the *seigneur* of Corcelles had rights in other *communes* as well.

A fairly simple case in 1715 involves Berne and Fribourg reaching an agreement with François-Pierre Python¹: Their Excellencies exchanged a few taxation rights in Corcelles and others *communes* with him. They let him have tax rights for a value of 461.63 litres of wheat (i.e 44 *quarterons* and $\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{9} + \frac{1}{96} + \frac{1}{144}$ *quarterons*, [sic]), and 8.35 litres of nut-oil (4 *pots* & $\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{48} + \frac{1}{64} + (\frac{1}{6} \text{ of } \frac{1}{12})$ of another, [sic]), one capon and $\frac{3}{4}$ of another [sic], 23 *florins*, 10 *sols* and 8 *deniers* and 68.12 litres of wine.

In exchange, the *seigneur* of Corcelles handed to Their Excellencies: 441.75 litres of wheat (e.i. 42 *quarterons* and $\frac{1}{3}$ of another), 11 capons and $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{18}$ of $\frac{1}{12}$ of another [sic], 7 *florins* and 8 *sols* and 7 *deniers*².

These accounts are terribly precise.... we do not know how they managed to exact from the *seigneur* of Corcelles $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{18}$ of $\frac{1}{12}$ of a capon (one capon every 300 years?!). This was an easy example, although the exact location of lands, the taxes of which are so exchanged, are unknown. Other examples we came across showed hard and lengthy negotiations over minute taxes which were for us impossible to retrace and/or simply to comprehend.

It is very difficult to form an opinion over the success or failure of the simplification of taxation boundaries. Land-registers of the early 18th centuries were clear and legible, the content easily understood. Those of the 17th century made difficult reading since the handwriting was almost

¹ A.C.V., Bb-2/12 and Fq-107.

² A.C.V., Bb-2/12 and Fq-107.

illegible¹. There was no way to make a comparison between the registers of two *rénovations*, since the structure of the registers differ wildly. Half a century later, the clarified and simplified registers of the 1711-1720 survey seemed to have run into complication and disarray. A commissioner in 1784 wrote to Their Excellencies, complaining: in his opinion a tax-payer would be unable to recognize his holdings on the maps and even less so in the registers, if he was unable to name the previous owners². According to this official, there was no space to indicate in the registers themselves the changes of ownership.

Over the years, the small pieces of paper on which these notes were made were lost. He also complained that the maps were inaccurate³. The letter, however, did not move Berne. Repercussions of these complaints are unknown. At any rate, fifteen years later the *Révolution* changed all the administrative practices, did away with the *féodal* system and brought the hope that the system of critical bits of paper which had a bad habit of going astray was to be abandoned in the coming century . . . Would it?

2.3.5. THE STRUCTURE OF A LAND-REGISTER

Twelve land-registers set up for eight villages between 1710 and 1723, are the foundation of this study of landownership. The documents were quite legible and in very good condition except for Giez, in which some pages were torn out. Each volume was designed for the benefit of one *seigneur*. For example, the land-register of Corcelles begins: "*Register in favour of most magnificent and honoured François-Pierre Python*"⁴. As we

¹ It is interesting to note that although much research have been carried out for the 18th century, a handful of scholars have been bothered with the 17th century. The handwritings of this period puts many off.

² "... Le soussigné qui a examiné les rentiers et plans du Château de Grandson, a remarqué qu'un censitaire ne peut presque plus reconnaître ses fonds sur les plans et encore moins sur les rentiers lorsqu'il n'en sait pas l'exacte filiation dès l'époque de la reconnaissance ...", A.C.V., BI-10, 1784.

³ A.C.V., BI_10, 1784.

⁴ "Grosse en faveur du Magnifique et très Honoré Seigneur François-Pierre Python du Grand Conseil de la Ville et République de Fribourg, Ancien Seigneur Bailli de Grandson et Moderne Seigneur de Corcelles rière le territoire dudit Corcelles." A.C.V., Corcelles, Fq-107.

go through the registers, however, other *censes* for different masters appear. Even F.-P. Python himself owed *censes* to his peers.

The register begins with some preliminaries. These concern the *indominures*, and all general rights and obligations of the *communiers*. The *indominures* refer to the texts of different agreements and conferences concerning *féodal* charges between Berne and Fribourg and the local *seigneur*. Yet the exact content of the agreements is not recorded.

Then come the general taxes due by individuals or hearth, that is, the *corvées*¹. In earlier centuries, *corvées* used to be paid in labour-days as workforce to the *seigneur*. Their Excellencies of Berne and Fribourg, however, converted these to cash and an individual or hearth could be free from labour by paying a fee. Exceptionally, a landowner was exempted from these taxes and the matter was recorded in his/her *reconnaissance*.

The general body of the register is divided into chapters (*reconnaissance*). The chapter title is the name and details of the landowner; then in each paragraph the particulars of each field or building as well as the *cense* to be paid are recorded.

2.3.6. THE STRUCTURE OF A *RECONNAISSANCE*

The *reconnaissances* comprise the major body of the register. A *reconnaissance* is an affirmation of freehold rights and the *censes* due over a plot of land by a landowner. Each *reconnaissance* has a simple and precise model: X affirms (*reconnaît*) to hold freely (*de tenir et posséder*) certain assets. Details of surface-area, type and location are provided.

The *reconnaissant* owes (*devait*) for each asset a specific charge (*cense foncière*). It has to be said that each *reconnaissance* is not necessarily a comprehensive list of the properties of the head of family. Fathers, wives, daughters and sons, if landowners, had separate records. The *reconnaissant(s)* was (were) the legal owner(s) of the assets regardless the position within the family.

¹

In English: "duty". In our opinion, in modern English, the usage of this word does not quite reflect the meaning of *corvée*.

A copy of a *reconnaissance* is provided in the following pages. For our purposes it has been practical to re-write the data collected. Index-cards were used to transcribe manually data on individuals and their holdings.

Reconnaissance de spectable et savant. Each landowner had a title. This one refers to a clergyman. For a solicitor it would have been *egrège*. As we may expect, not all the landowners were clergymen or solicitors. Most recorded titles are honest (*honnête*), or honourable. It seemed that the latter had a higher social status than the former.

Jaques-François Payot (the owner's name). Homonyms did not cause problems. There is always a way of distinguishing between them, usually by providing father's and grand-father's names such as *François fils de feu Jean fils de feu David*. Here there is no doubt that there has been only one Jaques-François Payot.

De Corcelles. i.e., he is a *communier* of Corcelles.

Ministre du St. Evangile en Allemagne. Only high ranking and exceptional functions are mentioned. Other professions such as craftsmen, farmers, etc. are omitted. *Allemagne* could stand for either *Suisse-allemande* or Germany.

L'An 1717, 10 janvier. The date of the *reconnaissance*.

Se sont personnellement constitués, les honorables Jean-Isaac Payot assesseur Consistorial et David Payot lieutenant du dit Corcelles agissant au nom du dit spectable Jaques-François Payot leur frère absent du pays.

It is always mentioned how and why exactly, one is recorded in the *reconnaissance*. The landowner being absent, his brothers are mandated to represent him.

Plan 8, no 68. On the map (*plan cadastral*) folio (or sketch) no 8, field number 68. Checking these references against the maps, we found that samples correctly matched.

A l'Epenaz. The name of the part of the village where the land is to be found, *lieu-dit*. A *lieu-dit* has its own meaning and history. This one refers to a land where prickly plants grow. *Lieux-dits* were important to locate a land before the 18th century, before the *plans cadastraux* became widely used.

38.

Reconnaissance
 du Spectable & Savant Jacques
 Francois Bayot de Corcelles,
 Ministre du St. Evangile en
 Allemagne.

Lan mille sept cent dix
 Sept, et le dix septieme jour du mois de
 Janvier, A l'instance de Nous Commisaires
 soussignés, & en presence des temoins sou-
 nommes, se sont personnellement consti-
 tués les honorables Jean Isaac Bayot
 Abseneur Consistorial, et David Bayot
 Lieutenant dudit Corcelles, agissant au
 nom dudit Spectable, Jacques Francois
 Bayot leur frere absent du Bay pour
 lequel ils se sont faits forts, lesquels
 étant devers droits bien informés pour
 leur tel desir.

Ont confessé & déclaré de tenir
 et posséder de Leurs Excellences des
 deux Illustres Etats de Berne, & de

Tribourg, et de leurs perpétuels héritiers
 cause de leur Chateau de Grandson en
 fief & direct Seigneurie comme devant
 la piece suivante située sur le territoire
 dudit Coruelles.

Pl 8 n° 68.

AS Epernar quart de pose
 de terre, jouate la terre d'Abram Bollens
 devers vent, celle de Jean. Isaac Bayot
 un peu celle de Daniel ~~de~~ Claude
 Apotheloz devers ~~de~~ la terre de
 hoirs de Guillaume Bandon devers
 joran, & une autre terre dudit Daniel
 Apotheloz devers auberre.

Sous la cense annuelle & perpetuelle
 des deux tiers d'un quarteron de froment
 bon, beau, & recevable mesure de
 Grandson & d'un sol & huit deniers
 bonne monnoye, le tout payable &
 rendable au Chateau dudit Grandson
 sur chaque jour de St. Andre Apotre.

Confessant; Promettant;
 Renonçant comme devant.

39
Taitu Lasse à Grandson en
presence des honnetes Jean Jaques Court
et Jean marthe dudit Corvelles temoins &
J. H. R. n. i. e. r.

Cense

Froment - - - 2/3 doug.
Argent: - - - 1/3 8 g - -

Quart de pose de terre. Often, (but not always), *pose* (3185m²), measures fields while *seytorée* (3185m²), is used for meadows and *ouvriers* (398m²) for vineyards. The type of land is always mentioned. There were more than two hundred different types altogether.

Jouxte la terre d'Abram Bollens devers vent, celle de Jean-Isaac Payot et un peu celle de Daniel ffe Claude Apotheloz devers bize, les terres des hoirs de Guillaume Baridon devers joran et une autre terre du dit Daniel Apotheloz devers auberre. In the land-registers great effort has been made to describe the position of a given piece of land in relation to its neighbourhood. This is a remainder from past land registration when local maps were not commonly used. For this *rénovation*, a local map was drawn for each land-register rendering this description redundant.

Sous la cense annuelle de deux tiers d'un quarteron de froment,... mesure de Grandson et d'un sol et huit deniers bonne monnaie. The taxes were paid in kind, mostly wheat, and measured in Grandson scale (*quarteron* = 10.435 litres), or in cash. Some lands were untaxed (*sans cense*). Some taxes were paid in a combination of cash and kind.

This example is a simple one. The charges were paid to one *seigneur*. Some landowners paid up to 3 different charges to 3 different *seigneurs* of the same rank for the same piece of land. Even the *seigneur* of Corcelles himself, direct nobleman of Berne and Fribourg, paid charges on some of his lands to another *seigneur*¹. These irregular cases stem from the confusion over ownership that prompted the survey. However, all cases could not be settled.

2.3.7. MAPS (PLANS CADASTRAUX)

Maps (*plans cadastraux*), provided visual information to parallel narrative data. A land-register contains the description of the land, its owner and the charges. A map situates the land within the *commune*'s territory².

¹ A.C.V., Corcelles, Fq-107, fl. 26.

² Refer: L. Hegg, (1923).

Each land-register is supposed to refer to a specific map associated with it. For the early part of the 18th century there are fourteen¹ maps for the *bailliage* of Grandson. Fortunately, only a few are badly damaged. The maps were originally created by drawing rough sketches. Then elementary geometric methods were used to reduce marginal errors.

These maps are not topographical, but represent a flat bird's eye perspective of each piece of land including the type of land and the landowner's name. Buildings are noted and there are occasional naive sketches of them. The maps, perhaps, could be an effective tool for cross-checking the data of the land-registers. They are yardsticks for testing whether all the lands of the *commune* are registered or not. Further, as a single map may be associated with one or more registers, one probably can find out which registers are missing from A.C.V. inventories. We declined to do this exercise. It is a lengthy one and required means which we lacked in terms of resources. At the time this research begun, the scanner for digitalization of maps was a new-born baby in the computer industry. The digitalization of maps required a great deal of time and resources. Maps would had to have been very accurate. Any attempt to try to digitalize rough sketches of the highly inaccurate (for the purposes of the computer) 18th century maps was vain. Today it is quite possible to scan maps and reproduce them on a personal computer at minimum cost. Since our research is completed, we hope that future studies on land-registers will benefit from this technology.

2.4. PARISH REGISTERS

The parish registers of the canton of Vaud, in the form of microfilms of the originals, are housed in the *Archives Cantonales Vaudoise*. While tracing

¹

Inventaires des A.C.V., série GB, district de Grandson.

their genealogies, the Mormons¹ made microfilms of most parish registers. Instead of consulting the original copies², one can buy copies for personal use.

Major problems of poor registrations appeared during the automatic data processing, mainly due to the shabby physical state of the registers and an utter negligence in record keeping. Lacking demographic studies on the rural areas of Switzerland in which the geographical and/or economic structure would be similar to that of the Grandson area, we had to have a close look at the state of parish registers for the *communes* for which we intended to portray the landownership, i.e.: Bonvillars, Champagne, Corcelles, Fiez, Fontaines, Giez, Onnens.

The *bailliage* of Grandson was made up of seven parishes, each covering at least two villages. From all of the parishes, we sampled three: Concise, St. Maurice, and Onnens. The parishes of Grandson, Provence and Yvonand covered villages with which we did not concern ourselves (except the *commune* of Giez from the parish of Grandson). Fiez registers were poor in quality during the early 18th century. Since it was understood that the poor quality of registration would be a major problem in all registers, it would have been a waste of resources to try to cover all the *communes*.

The sampled registers give demographic data on eleven *communes*: Bonvillars, Champagne, Concise, Corcelles, Fontanezier, Mutrux, Onnens, Romairon, Vaugondry, Vaumarcus and Verneaz. The latter two villages, Vaumarcus and Verneaz were within the principality of Neuchâtel (canton of Neuchâtel, 19th century) which was neither part of the *bailliage* nor, at the time, of Switzerland. This example is a good illustration of the dangers of administrative (national?) boundaries in a population's study, where a frame will never be a fence to enclose the population in. Moreover, the boundaries used for different administrative purposes may not coincide.

As for this study, only four of the eight *communes* with land-registers, have their parochial records under observation. The populations registered

¹ Members of the Church of Latter-Day Saints, (commonly known as Mormons).

² A.C.V., *inventaires*, série Eb.

were entirely Protestant, so the problem of neglecting to include a large population of other faiths did not exist. The Reformation took place in the mid-16th century and by the mid-17th century religious fervour had calmed.

Parish registers were not easily legible and most of them were badly damaged. While the starting dates of registration (the 16th and 17th centuries) were alluring, the data suitable for qualitative purposes begins only *circa* 1680 (*tab.2.3*). Prior to this date, there were gaps in the registra-

tion which render the study of the population quite impossible. The paucity of the parish registers was not due to any religious conflict. In fact, the history of the parish registers is a fascinating example of socio-political wrestling between the refractory *Vaudois* and the Berne administration. Although Protestant Berne and Catholic Fribourg were both involved in ruling the *bailliage*, all orders con-

Parish	Baptism	Marriage	Death
Champvent	1640	1687	1728
Concise	1582	1582	1729
Fiez	1613	1660	1728
Giez	1608 ^{*3}	*1	1728
Grandson	1591	1629	1729
Montagny	1608	*1	1728
Onnens	1715 ^{*2}	1715	1749
Provence	1670	1739	1728
St. Maurice	1647	*1	1728
Yvonand	1618	1623	1742
N.B. *1 mixed with baptisms *2 mixed with St. Maurice *3 mixed with Montagny			

Table 2.3 First registrations in Grandson.

cerning the keeping of the parish registers came from Berne while Fribourg kept a low-profile. Berne was very anxious to keep parish registers in order. Fribourg did not share Berne's concerns. There is almost no evidence of Fribourg willing to be involved in such matters. It did not even care about its own parishes¹. Fribourg thus removed from the picture, in the mind of a *Vaudois*, Berne was THE invader (a German-speaking ruler in the Dukedom of Savoie). Anything coming from Berne was assumed to be inadequate by definition, and should have been rejected. Even today, after many years of federalism, most decisions made by the national parliament in the capital of Switzerland, (i.e., Berne), are regarded with suspicion by the people of Vaud².

¹ N. Morard, (1964), p.17, suggests that the registers of the canton of Fribourg are in no better shape.

² *Ces Messieurs de Berne font ce qu'ils veulent!*

The introduction of each piece of data on the records shows a history of the struggle between Berne and the rural pastors. Berne was most anxious to have the registers in good order, complete with necessary data, but few if any of the pastors actually complied with the rules.

By 1528, in a small book, entitled *Taufbüchli*, Berne gave some instruction to pastors conversant in German. Some of these instructions concerned the conservation of registers of weddings and baptisms¹. It does not seem that the guidelines applied to registers of Grandson though Berne and Fribourg already had Grandson as their dependency. Fifty years later, in 1570, Berne, by sovereign order, again instructed the pastors to maintain well-kept registers of marriages and baptisms². In 1719, Berne and Fribourg gave orders to pastors to include mothers' names³. However, it was only in 1728⁴, after many failed attempts, by issuing yet another sovereign order that Berne succeeded in getting clerics to register death dates. Apart from a few cases, two years later, in 1730, many parishes kept at least some form of death register, a considerable achievement for Berne, as it took at least a century to establish the habit of keeping registers of baptisms and marriages in canton de Vaud and this despite many sovereign orders. Dessementet, a Swiss-French archivist noted: "*Even sovereign orders are, alas, orders and their application usually deficient. The clergy were romand⁵ and discipline has never been a fundamental characteristic of our nature⁶*".

All would have been well had those pastors who conformed to Berne's orders kept a proper register and not merely a skeleton of one. Of course, while one may not expect from pastors the meticulousness of civil-servants or solicitors, their efforts were disappointing. The ecclesiastic machinery was

¹ O. Dessementet, (1974), p.340.

² O. Dessementet, (1974), p.340.

³ A.C.V., Eb-93/2-3.

⁴ A.C.V., Eb-14/b, fl 208.

⁵ *Suisse-Romande* (French speaking population of Switzerland).

⁶ "*Même souverains, les ordres ne sont hélas que des ordres et leur application souvent très relative! Les pasteurs étaient romands et le sens de la discipline n'a jamais été une caractéristique fondamentale de notre tempérament*". O. Dessementet, (1974), p.340-1, Dr Dessementet is a theologian as well as an archivist.

depressingly ineffective. Perhaps the state of mind of the clergy is best illustrated by these verses clumsily composed by a pastor of Concise:

*"Crois-moi, ne cherche point au rôle de Concise
Le nombre de tes Ans, qui ne sont que papier
Mais cherche dans Jésus, sans jamais te lasser
L'éternité du Ciel, sur son mérite assise¹".*

Parish registers and other archive materials suggest an error-prone system of registration, particularly where baptism was concerned. Parents would provide the pastor with a piece of paper (a *billet*²), on which important data such as the parents' names and origins, god-parents' names, etc. were noted. Then, at his leisure, the pastor would transcribe this information into the register. As suggested by Junod, all sorts of misfortunes were likely to befall these pieces of paper³; they could have been partly or entirely illegible, lacking vital information or have altogether gone astray after being handed over. The amount of data provided for each record varied from one pastor to another and from one family to another. It was curious to observe that if a marriage registration was satisfactory, thereafter the children's baptism records would also be well kept.

As expected, many registrations were incomplete. For example, in baptismal registers, a few fathers' names are missing and most mothers' names are recorded with extreme negligence or not at all (*tab. 2.4*). Our readings of parish registers suggested that the better educated the families, the better the registration of vital events. Paradoxically, the poorest registrations were not those of the poorest people. Highly-esteemed and powerful families also had poor registrations. Why bother recording the doings of A Very Important Person when they are already so well known!

As a rule, most of the registers lacked significant data and, in all parishes, the records of baptisms and marriages were lumped together. The best (best

¹ A.C.V., Eb-31/5, 1700, David Bourgeois, pastor of Concise.
"Believe me, do not search in the roll of Concise,
The numbers of your years, which are mere papers,
But look to Jesus, without ceasing,
The eternity of Heaven, upon its fundamental merit".

² L. Junod, (1946), p.165.

³ L. Junod, (1946), p.165.

Parishes			
	Bonvillars	St. Maurice	Concise
Birth	N	N	Y1
Baptism	Y	Y	Y
Father's			
Name	Y	Y	Y
Origin	Y	Y	Y
Father's	N	N	R
Mother's			
Name	Y2	R	Y
Origin	Y2	R	Y
Father's	R	R	R

N.B. Data: Y: Provided, N: Not provided, R: Randomly Provided,
Y1: only 1692-1718, Y2: only 1719-1729

Table 2.4 Data of baptismal records, early 18th C.

being a relative term) set of registers in hand were those of the baptisms. As one can observe from table 2.4., much data were randomly provided, or not provided at all. Some records could be updated from better-registered baptisms of the same family.

2.4.1. ST. MAURICE

The registers of St. Maurice¹ (including the villages of Champagne, Fontanezier, Romairon, Vaugondry and Corcelettes) proved to be the most promising set of data. Records of baptisms and weddings, mixed in the same registers, run from 1634 to 1809. The baptisms' records for the period 1634-1704 were difficult to read and were obviously under-registered up to 1691.

A list of surnames, names, baptism/birth heads the actual individual registrations of baptism. These lists were probably compiled in the 19th century. For certain years the number of baptisms from the list exceeds the number of individual records. Since the parish register is a poor copy, we relied on the list to provide us with an estimate of the number of baptisms. Unfortunately, the data supplied are not sufficient for nominal data manipulation, even with the lists updated from 1691 by individual records. The list provides the date of either birth or baptism, but never both for the same individual. In registers of 1704-1809², 13 cases of baptised children were said to be *à Anne* or *à Jaques*, etc. These were illegitimate children.

¹ A.C.V., Eb-123/1-4.

² A.C.V., Eb-123/2.

Whereas 11 children were 'of' a woman, only 2 were 'of' a man.

There have been significant changes in the spelling of surnames, e.g., *Du Voisin* = *Duvoisin* or *Verraires* = *Vereires* = *Verreyres*. Most surnames were rendered phonetically and could have been recorded differently for each child baptised within the same family.

Some compilations, made in the 19th century, of lists of weddings for selected years have survived. These inventories only provide the name of the spouses and date of the wedding. Occasionally there were some indications of widows remarrying. Usually there are two alphabetical lists, one for men, the other for women. The lists cross checked. However ten years (1680-1690) of recordings for weddings were missing.

Burial records substitute for the actual death certificates for only the years between 1729 and 1788. Random dates of deaths and burials given for the same individuals show that burial took place some two days after death. However, the early years of the registrations are of no use. The names of the deceased are truncated or abbreviated, and often it is impossible to link it to other records. For example, where we found a burial record for, say, the Widow Payot, there was no way to distinguish her between as many as five Widow Payots residing in the area.

Often, the pastor kept his personal accounts mixed with register. It seems that the quality of the writing and the age of the priest bore some relation, as the Father grew old his ink became paler and paler, resulting in poor registration and illegibility.

2.4.2. CONCISE

Parish Registers of Concise under our scrutiny ran from 1682 to 1730¹ (including the villages of Concise, Corcelles, Mutrux, Verneaz, Vaumarcus). Pastor David Bourgeois (1677-1718)² had provided the most informative set of data of baptisms. Although he did not think much of these registrations,

¹ A.C.V. Eb-31/4-6. The amount of data in microfilm rolls of the registers is highly variable. Their high price prevents one from investing unreasonably.

² A.C.V., Eb-31/5, Year 1700 is the 23rd year of his pastoral.

he worked scrupulously on them, even going as far as to note that the Catholic mass was abrogated on 25 January 1537 in Concise¹.

Baptisms were recorded alongside dates of birth (when provided) and the parents' names. It should be noted that birth's dates were considered extraneous information for baptism. In other words, a baby who died before being baptised would systematically go unrecorded. Occasionally, grandparents' names were provided. However, the poor state of the registers made for a very difficult reading of godparents' names. Therefore we abstained from recording and analyzing them. Marriages were carefully recorded though it was not customary to provide the couples' ages. The spouses' parents' names were seldom recorded. As for death registers, a few were recorded in 1720's but they remain unusable due to serious under-registration.

2.4.3. ONNENS - BONVILLARS

The registers of baptisms and marriages in the villages of Onnens and Bonvillars run from 1650 to 1821², with few important gaps. The copy is poor and badly damaged. It begins with registration no 68. All registrations are individual records, and there are no lists such as those in St. Maurice. The records were digitalised from 1680 when it was hardly legible but usable. The pattern of the records of baptisms is consistent: date of baptism, father's name and origin. Until 1719 there existed no data on mothers, when Berne ordered the registration of mother's names and origin's³. By the end of the year 1684 the pastor could count 210 souls for Bonvillars and 193 for Onnens.

The registration of godparents' names show a close link between parents of different parishes. Two commissioners in charge of the land survey, *rénovation*, de la Harpe and Rod had their children in Bonvillars.

Marriages also had a consistent pattern. From 1710's onward the name

¹ A.C.V., Eb-31/5.

² A.C.V., Eb-93/1-3.

³ A.C.V., Eb-93/2 and Eb-93/3.

and origin of both spouses, but randomly their fathers' names, were recorded. Unfortunately, the ages of the couple continued to be considered as irrelevant by the clerics, and was left unrecorded.

As for the death registers of 1748-1848¹, the pastor makes a point of saying that in 1727 Berne ordered the recording of deaths. The data for selective years up to 1748 were deceptively under-registered. We did not enter any data for the deaths as those years were outside the observation.

2.5. OTHER DOCUMENTS

The subtleties which bring past societies to life require documentation which neither registers of land nor parish provide. The necessary data are records of a more personal nature, i.e., private papers of individuals; events that bore recording for the future generation. But then, only the remarkable are remarked upon, shedding little light on the ways of the common man.

Generally, only two categories of people leave records behind: those possessing assets requiring written personal contracts and those involved in legal proceedings. The names of the poor or those of modest means, leading routine lives, will rarely if ever appear in any documents.

P.-L. Pelet, in pursuing the history of *Iron, Coal and Steel*, wrote: "... *noting down the traces of the steel makers, is tracking many superficial paths, sometimes converging, sometimes diverging, but always incomplete*²". What can we say then about landowners who were even less conspicuous than Pelet's blacksmiths?

In the scope of this research we attempted to trace the entire population of the villages under observation but we were only (and even then, just barely) able to trace the rich. If one has something to leave after death to one's kin then one would perhaps make a will. If one is rich, then one buys and sells. Solicitors and their registers are most needed by affluent people.

¹ A.C.V., Eb-93/4-5.

² P.-L. Pelet, (1983), p.11, "*relever les traces des sidérurgistes, c'est se lancer sur des pistes multiples, fragiles, tantôt convergentes, tantôt divergentes, toujours incomplètes.*"

Any attempt to incorporate solicitors' records, all types of written contracts, courts of justice's minutes, local administration's papers and so on, is like trying to draw water from an ocean with a teaspoon. Even the most elementary indexing of these various papers at the A.C.V. makes a reading of all papers, not only those of interest, the sole way of proceeding. Therefore, one has to determine standards for the selection of documents to use. One must find a balance between the scope of the research and the amount of archives consulted. We based our selection on two criteria :

1. time: documents between 1700 and 1750
2. subject: land and population

Even then we were playing with providence. We started by studying the minutes of solicitors, dated over 1700-30. It took a great deal time to sample a few individual cases. The outcome was disappointing. Homonyms were distinguished with difficulty, and plots of land could not be identified at all.

Documents relating to the sale or exchange of lands (over which a 10% capital gain tax (*lod*) was due by the vendors to the *seigneur*), were abundant. Yet the information provided in these papers is far from specific: X sells a field to Y. Neither the surface area nor the exact location of the field is known. Whether a method could be devised to assess the use of *lod* papers is an open question best left to the patience of benedictines.

Most testaments were dishearteningly void of detail. Phrases along the line of: "*I bequeath all my possessions to my beloved children*", recur frequently. While in some, pages were necessary to record who was to receive particular items of linen, furniture or bibelots, one's house and lands would very economically and concisely be left to the 'beloved children'¹.

Digging through masses of unclassified papers in the archives was the most frustrating, least fruitful research technique possible, entirely dependent as it is on fate or accidental discovery.

¹

A.C.V., Df-7, Abram Boudry *curial de Concise*, 1705-1755.

2.6. A REMARK

Historical research is not a simple correlation between archives and the analysis of the data collected. Printed materials and the results of other research are also of paramount importance. We have been hampered in our research by two distinct factors, which need particular attention.

First, dictionaries and atlases specific to Switzerland are sorely needed in many domains. E. Mottaz's *Dictionnaire historique, géographique et statistique du canton de Vaud (DHV)* is a much appreciated tool but needs an update. It was published in 1914....

Second, for graduation, in many faculties of Switzerland, a student produces a '*mémoire de licence*', which is an important piece of research though sometimes undeveloped. Most, if not all, of the *mémoires*, are kept locked away within the faculties in which they were produced. Access to them is permitted only to a privileged number within the faculty. The reason invoked for such secrecy is a fear of plagiarism; since the *mémoire* is not published, it is feared that anyone can pinch the ideas for personal writings. By locking away these materials, many new and interesting issues go undiscovered. As yet it is financially impossible to publish the *mémoires*, therefore, we propose a controlled access to them for researchers. Those wishing to read these materials are not professional plagiarists, *en puissance*.

FROM STRUCTURE TO INFORMATION

3.1. APPROACHING INFORMATION

Once one leaves behind the bundles of dusty, smelly registers and enters a computer room, one viscerally feels the sharp contrast. Structure and speed replace the inept disarray and slow pace of archival research. Then, not only the methods, but also the ways of thinking change.

The mass of collected data from the archives were to be structured, atomised and standardized¹. Questions and theories become programmes, step-by-step functions composed in a language a computer will obey blind-folded. Automatic processing of historical data is a complex task requiring some specific knowledge of database management systems.

Database management system came in a variety of methods. Born in the business world, they do not fill the needs of academic research. Basic problems stem from the evolution of data. Historical data sets are limited and data items do not suffer alterations. Additional data sets are conceivable, but one data set does not interfere or "update" other sets. Thus a historical database is passive while a business database in which data alter (customers changing address) is active. Literature and programming manuals advise mostly on the best methods in designing business databases and data capture. However, due to the fast-moving technologies in computer science

¹

R.A. Davenport, (1978), p.122-ff.

many issues become obsolete as soon as any given method cedes to a new idea.

Nonetheless, a historian faces several dilemmas that business databases do not solve. Data collection, data capture and data integrity are some major ones. Undoubtedly, the data collection stage for each database is the most important of all. This stage introduces each piece of data to the designer. The more time spent in collecting data, the less time is later wasted on checking data-error analysis. Data from land registers were collected manually on card-indexes. Parish-registers' data from microfilms could be directly digitalized.

Nowadays the choice of a database management system is restricted to the brand name of the package: different concepts of networking, sequential, etc. are swept away by relational database management. The relational concept solves many problems of coding, data duplication and data relationship. However data capture needs some problem solving strategies in regard to the nature of data in hand. Methods followed to overcome the problems of data capture are discussed in section 3.5.

Database design is bound to the structure of data and upcoming data analysis. Parish registers data structures were straight forward. Most manuals of historical demography would lay the foundation of the nature of data which, with some omission and additions, follow a similar pattern (a child is born to a set of parents in a given date). Land-registers provided a much more intricate data set for which there were not complex digitalized experiences. Within this data-set three subsets were distinguished: the objects (plots of land), the subjects (owners) and the relationship between these two (ownership).

Most publications on the computing aspects of demography or economics are outdated¹. For L. Henry, *"[the] variety of methods [in historical demography and data verification] is not the result of fantasy²"*. We could expand this observation to the studies of rural economy. Computer problem

¹ Refer for example: Dupaquier & *all.*, (1972); F. Flood, (1979), etc.

² L. Henry, (1968), p.78.

solving and subsequent data analysis in both domains are highly technological dependant. There is no final handbook for structuring and analyzing data-sets.

3.2. FRAMES OF STRUCTURE

To process raw data, one must begin by building a database, from which specific data are selected for different manipulations, statistics for example. Setting up a database from scratch, no matter what kind of data one wishes to manipulate, will never be an easy task. Each datum has to be defined and its relationship to other data fully expressed. Database management systems (DBMS) are programming packages that facilitate the task, providing the user with tools for structuring and selecting data.

In practice, one can generally distinguish between two different types of database: active or passive. Active databases are those to which data are added to and whose structure will evolve such as those required in business. In contrast, a passive database, more accurately called historical, is one to which no data are added to the original set and whose structure once designed, remains static.

DBMS are primarily designed with active data management in mind. Business databases are built upon a definition of the specific needs by observing users' practices. Then, a compromise between objectives and the means of achieving them is found. In such databases, data are already defined prior to their collection and use¹. For example, a business may require data on its clientele. All particulars one needs to know, i.e., the customer's details, name, address and so forth, are worked out before any forms for collecting data are produced. Moreover, the applications will evolve as the business expands, the users' demands change and the database grows.

Since the objectives are so different, many methods suitable in the business world are not adequate to the historian. In building a passive

¹

In databases conceived for surveys, e.g., population, the same rules apply.

database, that is, a database managing historical data, a DBMS becomes a tool to master a mass of unstructured and unqualified information. Thus, the steps of designing such databases do not follow the rules so neatly worked out by computer analysts¹ for managing the data flow of an enterprise.

In a historical database, the set of data is already provided. Its structure does not depend on an answer to 'what do I need?' but a reply to 'what do I have?'. The scope of this type of database is restricted to the analysis of data. Such an analysis will satisfy some of the theories for which the empirical research was designed, but also will produce some new information, the existence of which could not be foreseen. The size of the data set is definitive and stable: the maximum amount of data collected from the archives in a set of registers is the maximum size of the data set. However, the volume of the database can still grow: additional data sets could be added and linked to existing data sets.

A historical, passive database is far more complex to design than an active one. Historical knowledge must be combined with elements of computer science, two domains with no common ground. For a computer scientist, data are simply data; there is no room for the historical consideration and interpretation.

A historian is very anxious to assess not only the quantity of data but also the quality, bearing always in mind the historical dimension and the interpretation of links between the various items of data. In essence, the links a historian makes between data items are the roots of the research.

In the light of differences between these two types of database, the design of a historical database must obey rules of its own and cannot follow in the footsteps of a business database². The process one follows in designing a historical database could be:

1. data collection;
2. choice of a DBMS;
3. data entry;

¹ Refer: S. Holloway, (1988).

² Refer: H.D. Clifton, (1978).

4. design-analysis;
5. programming and queries.

In every step of building a historical DBMS, considerable analysis of the data takes place simultaneously, since no data item should lose its qualitative value to the benefit of quantitative manipulation.

3.3. DATA COLLECTION

For this research, two large and distinct sets of data were collected from the archives:

1. land data set, from the land-registers;
2. population data set, from parish registers.

The land data set is built up of a myriad of pieces of land, and their description, grouped in different holdings. Data collected for the research came from each section (*reconnaissance*), of land-registers. The structure of data collected is sketched as shown in figure 3.1.

Each *reconnaissance* was concerned first with the particulars of the landowner and then the details of each holding. The

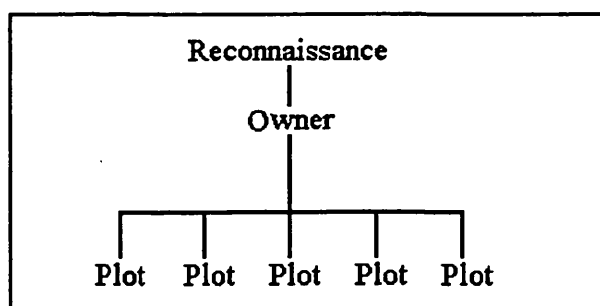


Fig. 3.1 Land-register, data structure.

number of *reconnaissances* within a register could be anywhere between one and five hundred.

In the early 1980's when the data were collected, the ownership of a personal computer was a remote possibility, and a portable one still science-fiction. At the archives, essential data from each *reconnaissance* were manually collected on index cards. By 'essential', we concede that choices were made as to the amount and type of data transcribed. It was necessary to edit long passages and descriptions from the 18th century which were of no value to this research.

Manual transcription of data, however tedious, had one considerable benefit: one became well acquainted with the data, which was good preparation for designing the database.

Collecting data from parish registers was less time-consuming. The Mormons' microfilms were of excellent quality. By setting up a microfilm reader next to a terminal, the data could be captured directly¹. The structures of records as presented in the registers of weddings and baptisms are shown in figures 3.2 & 3.3.

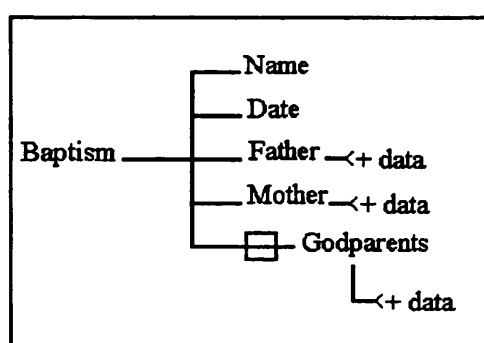


Fig. 3.2 Baptism, record structure.

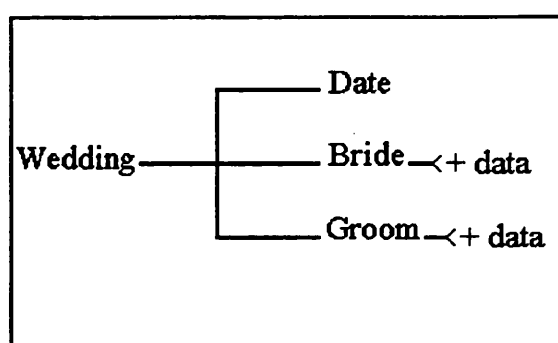


Fig. 3.3 Wedding, record structure.

These structures were much easier to manage than those of land-registers. Moreover, we could benefit from the experience of scholars in historical demography. Many relationships between data items were one-to-one, a datum having one and only one item of a specific nature attached to it. For example, a child has one and only one date of birth, and, is born, of course, to one mother only.

However, with regard to the land data set, there was not much experience from which we could benefit. In Switzerland, studies using the *cadastre* are scarce and those existing, either have a totally different data structure or have been carried out using manual systems². Moreover, a large part of data was in a one-to-many relationship. A field could potentially be owned by a number of people and many landowners possessed several plots of land, scattered throughout various villages. Since both data sets, different in

¹ Simultaneous work on a visual display unit and a microfilm-reader is an unpleasant experience.

² Refer, for example, to: A. Radeff, (1979).

structure, refer to the same population, they have to be structured with a maximum built-in flexibility. This flexibility makes queries possible, not only within each data set, but also between them. Therefore the possible links between these two sets of data, so different in structure needed particular consideration. The structure and programmes had to be powerful and flexible. In other words, data processing could not be allowed to suffer from the limits of the DBMS.

3.4. THE CHOICE OF A DBMS

DBMSs are products of computer application in business. They differ in theory, capacity and flexibility. It is necessary to know the concept behind each DBMS before choosing the suitable programming needed for the processing of data in hand. Distinct methods affect the ways the design is undertaken. Some DBMS have a sequential approach: one traverses in order from the first piece of data to the last, browsing all items in between. High in capacity (the amount data that can be processed at any given time), they are rigid in data structure. The logical data linkage between data sets is severely limited. Others, using a networking concept, can manage one-to-many relationship by skipping irrelevant data items. However, here the file design is strict and uncompromising and a great deal of effort is necessary for coding data items. In both cases, building a database requires following the steps necessary for business databases where design is made prior to the collection and the existence of data. In many of these types of DBMS, a hierarchy is established between data items in a file where some data are masters and some servants.

As already discussed, the steps used in designing a business DBMS are of little help for a historical database. Hence, for our purposes the choice of a DBMS had to aid in the design and data analysis of data structure and, equally important, be absolutely code-free.

The most suitable DBMS for our purposes was a new programming package called 'relational'¹ using Standard Query Language (SQL). SQL is based on the rules of set theory. To design and structure data, the relational database management system (RDBMS) provides the most flexible file structure, so inaccuracies can be easily corrected and new data items added to the structure. Equally significant, the database is code-free. Practically, that meant that one works with the actual data and not with proxies borrowed from computer sciences, fictional data expressing links between data items. As anyone familiar with early computing science will know, coding can be a nightmare. Of course, coding and design have a direct relationship. Thus, a rigid design has often resulted in erroneous coding, leading to fatal factual errors. The RDBMS provides a system in which the

	Field 1	Field2	Field3	FieldX
Record 1	datum	datum	datum	datum
Record 2	datum	datum	datum	datum
Record 3	datum	datum	datum	datum
Record X	datum	datum	datum	datum

Fig. 3.4 A sample table.

data input is the same as data output.

Data files have a tabular format, each table being a two dimensional array of constants. The columns of the table are the fields of the file, and, the rows are the records within the file (fig. 3.4).

Any data item (cell) in the table can be accessed either randomly or sequentially since there is no hierarchy (or coded links) between data items: last fields and records are accessed directly without the need of scanning irrelevant data.

In many databases in which a hierarchical structure is imposed accessing any data in a 'servant' is indirectly done by browsing 'masters'. Often two data items in a 'servant' position cannot be processed simultaneously, thereby causing complications in the scanning of data and in linkage. In an RDBMS however, all tables (from a retrieval point of view) have the same value. Therefore simultaneously linking and processing different data items is limited only to the imagination of the user.

¹

Refer: C.J. Date, (1981).

A relational database is made up of a multitude of tables since one table could not possibly hold all the data taken from a data set. Any data set is divided into as many tables as necessary, each table being a record of specific type of data. In setting up data-tables, there are inevitably few basic concepts to which one must adhere:

- a. Data should be normalised: i.e., each data item must be in an atomic form and cannot be divided into subsets¹.
- b. Any row or record within the table should be unique. No duplication of records is permissible.

In this fashion, any data item in a given table can be linked to any data item from any other table. The results of the logical queries are true or false depending on whether the set of data demanded exists or not. As a matter of fact, an RDBMS can be defined as a pool of data where independent data-tables can be added to, redefined or deleted if necessary. This flexibility protects the data from subjective research methods by giving equal importance to variables, i.e., neither the research nor the database reflect the other. If, during the research, an initial assumption about a data-field proves to be inaccurate, then redesigning the field is not particularly complicated, the problematic table being independent from all others. Therefore, data items, freed from a rigid and hierarchical structure, can be processed as needed. However, in using an RDBMS there is an absolute need for discipline to prevent the data from duplicating and eventually corrupting the whole database.

In any RDBMS used for historical data there is inevitably a good deal of simultaneous database design and data assessment. Such a process involves building a database, examining the data and redesigning the files when necessary, in light of the examination. Such an interactive process is initially the only realistic approach when dealing with historical data using different structures.

¹

For a comprehensive discussion on 'normalization', refer: C.J. Date, (1981), p.86.

3.5. DATA ENTRY

In building the database of Grandson, contrary to the routine design, instead of designing the files and providing a structure for data at first place, we created large, linear relational tables for data entry. These tables could not be used for data processing since most if not all of the disciplines imperative in a relational DBMS were overlooked: due to many-to-many relationship among data items, several records were duplicates with slight differences. We needed a tool for structuring data and we used the capacities of the relational technology as a tool. Digitalized data were then shifted to suitable tables for processing and analysis. Data-entry had its own aims:

1. reducing the time for data-entry to a minimum,
2. detecting data errors,
3. providing space for exceptional data.

Although a relational DBMS is a powerful data processing tool, it suffers from an Achilles' heel: unstructured data have to be scattered among many tables, one file at a time. How much time is one prepared to spend in front a display calling files in turn and adding data to records? Using linear tables in which each datum of manual index-card falls in a cell was the least time-consuming method of data entry. Moreover, recursive methods permitted us to check data over in data-entry. This saved time: the programme could detect similar data already captured and proved to be a useful feature for land-registers data sets: owners may appear in different registers only with additional data. In using this structure, an over-multiplication of records was avoided. Any individual would potentially appear in at least one register. Would the data concerning *Monsieur X* in register A match those in register B? If one can answer this question before automatic data analysis, one has done most of the analysis already. But ideal situations are seldom found during research, and data, far more often than not, have to be fed in recursive fashion.

Detecting data errors was one of our most important tasks. Errors can occur at any of the following three stages: first, when the scribe of the 18th century registered the information, second, when we sat down at the archives to re-transcribe them on index-cards, and last, when data are captured into the computer. Error-checking can be divided into two separate domains: syntactic and semantic checks. For both types of error one can have devices for preventing corrupted data being added into the database. A well-designed data capture subsystem of a relational DBMS can prevent syntactic errors and reduce semantic errors.

By syntactic error, data-type¹ errors are meant. These can be detected on the spot and data rejected from the database. For instance, if a field is defined as an integer, any alphabetic character will be automatically rejected as a syntax error. Semantic errors, however, deal with the actual data to be input no matter what the type. Instant checking and sampling of data reduce the risks of semantic errors but cannot eliminate them. Although gross errors that are not within an acceptable range can be recognized, there is no systematic way of detecting subtle semantic errors (entering 78 instead of 87).

Exceptional data enhance the quality of historical data. They cannot always be quantified but are nonetheless very useful in cluster analysis. For instance, in the case of homonyms, the methods used in each set of data for distinguishing between two names varied. Those variations were recorded using specific tables.

Historical data are expressed in scales and measures unfamiliar to our ways of interpretation. Very often we needed to translate them into our system of standards. Lands' surface area and taxes used scales based on 12 or fractions of one. They could create intricate problems for computers based on the decimal system. The best place to tackle these problems was in data entry stage where the database itself could handle the conversion of the old scales to the metric using a few lines of programming.

¹ Numeric (integer, floating-point), alpha-numeric or characters.

As said earlier, the data-entry file was a relational table, but designed exactly to the fashion of simple index-cards. In fact all the disciplines necessary for a good relational DBMS were completely disregarded. It was a large table with duplicate rows, no primary-key or index. Since this table was not to be used in sophisticated queries, there was no need to worry about problems resulting from a chaotic design. This table allowed data to be captured in the shortest possible amount of time using sophisticated methods of a relational DBMS.

3.6. DESIGN & ANALYSIS

Once the raw data were entered onto a couple of relational tables, we were in the possession of a pool of digitalized and atomised data. As yet the database was not suitable for processing and analysis since no formal and logical relationships between data items were expressed. The strong point so far was that we had atomised data without losing the original relationship as represented in the registers. Itemised data had to be shifted into tables capable of bearing analysis using query language (SQL). By the time the data-entry phase was over, we had a fairly good idea of data structure. The amount of data captured was impressively large. Data sets from parish registers were not really problematic: as we pointed out earlier, many studies in population had already mapped the way. However, data sets from land-registers needed careful examination. Moreover, when one deals with both parish registers and land-registers, it is impossible to construct a unique data model for both. They differ in structure and type of data items. Therefore one must have help with design and data analysis and this help comes from the features of the database and the power of the programming language. By the end of data-entry, most of the research methods had been implemented.

For a historical database, any wrong assumption about the relationship between data can be fatal for the entire research, since what one looks for is precisely the relationship between data items and the analysis. Let us take

an example: David is said to be from Champagne. One can assume that D is living in C, therefore, being the head of a family, has his wife and family living with him. These two assumptions can lead one to reconstruct families. Nonetheless, 'being from C could have more than one interpretation: D may live there; D may have been born in C but not live there; D may have both been born and live in C; it may be that only D's father was born there, and so on. Any logical assumption is valid, thus, the only way of recording 'David is from Champagne' would only be as an indication of a location for David. Therefore the database should reflect this fact rather than any other assumption.

In a relational DBMS there is a good deal of simultaneous database design and data assessment. The redesign of each table can be done easily and in a matter of seconds. Hence one can imagine designing a database without an initial data model. Such a process involves building a database, examining the data and redesigning the database in light of the examination.

3.6.1. A BAPTISM RECORD

By taking a baptism recorded in the parish of Concise, as an example, we shall illustrate the mechanism behind a relational database and its tables:

19/août/1683: Jean-Pierre fils de Jaques Pointet de Corcelles et de Madelaine Bouillet de Mutrux. Parrains, Claude Payot le Vieux, Jaques Bouillet et Pierre Payot le Rousseau. Marraines, Marie fille de François Pointet, Marguerite fille de Jean-Laurent Payot et Madelaine femme de Pierre Ecuey de Verneaz.

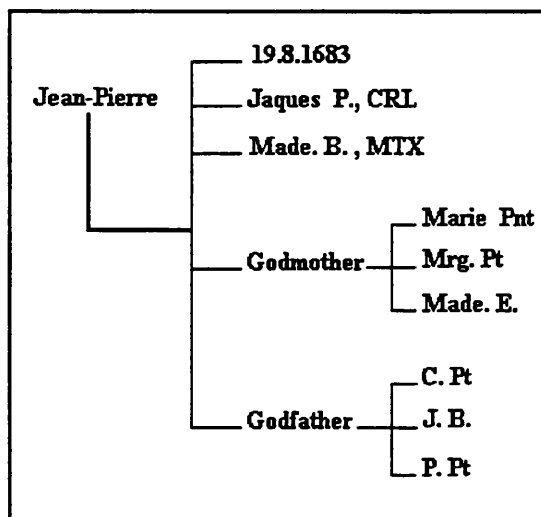


Fig. 3.5 Baptism data flow.

Data could be sketched as in figure 3.5. In designing the file for a relational DBMS, we could create one row per person, recorded directly from parish register (fig. 3.6).

Obviously all data have not been recorded. We have omitted noting that there have been two types of

Child	Date	Father	Mother	God F.	God M.
J-P P.	19.8.1683	Jq P.	M.B.	C. Pt	M. Pt

Fig. 3.6 Baptism: a table design, test-1.

relationship of data within the record: one-to-one and one-to-many.

One-to-one is where the child has only one date of baptism, one mother and one father. One-to-many is where the child has more than one set of godparents.

We could add as many columns as necessary to have all the data included in the table. Then we would end with a large table that may have several empty cells since the number of godparents may vary. The greatest difficulty remains in data manipulation. Such a large table is an overhead for computer means and a source of error in defining the data sets.

Child	Date	Father	Mother	God F.	God M.
J-P P.	19.8.1683	Jq P.	M.B.	C. Pt	M. Pt
J-P P.	19.8.1683	Jq P.	M.B.	P. Pt	M. Pnt
J-P P.	19.8.1683	Jq P.	M.B.	J. B.	M. E.

Fig. 3.7 Baptism: a table design, test-2.

However, we could suggest another solution which would add as many rows as necessary until all godparents are recorded (fig. 3.7).

A close look shows the poor structure of the table. We have CHILD, FATHER, MOTHER and DATE with three occurrences while only godparents change. Nine cells are therefore wasted. Moreover in the event that any data item was found to be corrupted, updating would require at least three scans. Therefore, data-capture time is at least doubled, for one has to enter duplicate rows as well as new data in the corresponding cells. Yet the inefficiency of the structure would not be considered a problem if all data were recorded. This is not the case. We have additional data about godparents; one is *le Vieux* and the other *le Rousseau*. These nicknames distinguish between homonyms of the same generation, therefore, they should be recorded if data quality is to be preserved. The same argument is valid for the godmother's data (Madelaine is the wife of Pierre Ecuey) which have been left unrecorded. She is married while the two other godmothers are not. This information needs recording if we want to do some research on the godparents at a later stage.

A relational database obeys some simple rules. Each table should have the least possible data duplication if any at all. Data may be divided as often

as necessary into different tables (files) as long as their relationship stays meaningful and from each table one column is unique (primary key).

Pursuing our example we could design several tables for recording data. First a table with the one-to-one data items relationship (*fig. 3.8*).

CHILD				FATHER		MOTHER	
Code	Date	Name	Surname	Name	Org.	Name	Org.
0001	19.8.1683	J-P	Pointet	Jq	crl	M.B.	mtx
0002

Fig. 3.8 A sample table for baptism's records.

Any *CHILD* has one and only one mother and father; surname and origin of the father and the child are the same and we do not need to duplicate them. In designing this table we have only provided space for data given by the parish register but we may think of all information needed for a personal file. e.g., date of marriage or death, as long as data items remain in one-to-one relationship.

We have insisted upon the code-free design, however, herein we have made up a code: "0001". As matter of fact, this is not a code *per se*, a proxy for some meaningful data. It is just a primary-key, which we contrived and we shall use in linking subsequent tables together.

The second table is designed for recording data on godparents (*fig 3.9*). There is no difference in data structure between god- mothers and fathers except the gender.

We have refrained from recording indirect data, e.g., Madelaine is the wife of Pierre Ecuey de Verneaz, that is, Pierre Ecuey has a wife. We could have

Code	GPName	GPSurname	Origine	Nickname	Sex
0001	Claude	Payot	CRL	Vieux	M
0001	Pierre	Payot	CRL	Rousse	M
0001	Jaques	Bouillet			M
0001	Madelaine				F
0001	Marguerite	Payot			F
0001	Marie	Pointet			F

Fig. 3.9 A sample file for godparents' data.

two assumptions about this piece of information: either we consider the husband's name and origin as direct data for a woman's surname and *commune* and then record them in the above table, or, we design another table where we could record them. The first alternative is based upon assumption that may turn out to be false eventually. Otherwise, we could have situations in which both father and husband's name and origin are given. Then we have to make a choice between data items to be omitted or recorded in additional tables.

A point should be underlined: both tables bear an identical code number column. In any retrieval, given code number 0001 from table 1, will join all rows in table 2 for 0001. In this fashion no data are duplicated unnecessarily. This datum is the primary key.

3.6.2. LAND DATA SET

We have already seen the original data-model from land-registers (*fig.3.1*). The data set is build from two distinct subsets:

- 1) owners' personal details; 2) plots of land's details.

However, we could think of a structure whereby data could be logically divided into three sets:

1. tables on owners: details on each owner;
2. tables on plots: details of each piece of land;
3. ownership tables: owners are linked to their holdings.

Sketched as figure 3.10.

First, tables concerning the landholders should be designed to avoid duplicating data and rows. A primary-key is also needed to link it into the ownership table. We devised "\$codenum". Any record identified by a "\$codenum" would hold all information gathered in all land registers about a particular landholder.

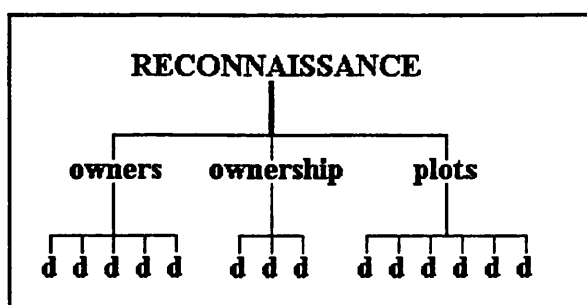


Fig. 3.10 Land data set.

Second, tables holding data on plots of land were designed in which each piece of land has its own record identified with a "£codenum" as the primary key.

Third, both "\$codenum" and "£codenum" were recorded in appropriate tables so as to make ownership data available. Each owner (\$codenum) owned several plots (£codenum), i.e., one-to-many relationship. Each piece of land was potentially owned by several holders, again a one-to-many relationship.

Data in most of the tables of the database¹ were in either "one-to-one" or "one-to-many" relationships, where conditions of multiple relationship could be easily identified. The problem of the ownership tables was a major one: many holders could own many lands (many-to-many relationship), leading to the dilemma of a cartesian product where the wrong land was associated with the wrong owner, since the ownership itself had three categories: *exclusive*, *common*, *undivided*. We had to solve this problem by defining foreign (alternate) keys where each data proxy would express the degree of relationship between the land and its owner.

Some data tables were designed to help keep track of abbreviations, those that anyone can make in handwriting to avoid tedious work, such as references to the registers. For the sake of conciseness, we avoid sketching tables related to parish registers. However, the relationship between these tables and those of land-registers is simplified in figure 3.11.

The links between parish and land registers were the matching of personal details, using alternate keys.

Substantial effort was therefore necessary to standardize first and last names.

One can imagine having a pool of data where the structure is designed so that data sets can be protected from

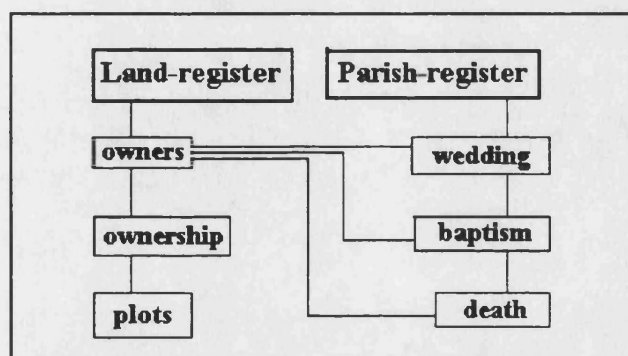


Fig. 3.11 Parish & land-register's relationship.

¹

See: appendix D.

any subjective research method. The whole point is to build an objective database, also useful to other researchers¹. We did not spare any effort on this.

3.7. QUERIES, PROGRAMMING AND DATA-ANALYSIS

The data collected from archives and captured for automatic manipulation could be regarded as raw data. This data, except for being structured, has not yet been processed.

A large part of the data analysis and processing is simple. It consists of queries put to these raw data which satisfy simple conditions such as classifying population by their origin or by their type of ownership.

Other queries are much more sophisticated and need complicated programmes to join various tables together. The results of such queries can be called elaborate data, i.e., data produced as results of queries. Elaborate data are generated by a combination and logical manipulation of data. They have no previous and explicit existence. Elaborate data can be stored and retrieved as can any other variables or constants.

Retrievals require programming. For clarity, the programmes should be readable and properly structured². Some of them were simple: a few lines to define the data set and variables to output. Others, those retrieving elaborated data, were large programmes, the results of which are discussed in the following chapters.

We leave out all discussions on the technical aspects of the computing done. Many considerations are out of date. This research project followed the waves of computing technique in the 1980's. In 1982, when the idea of a study on population and landownership was born, the hardware consisted of card-readers (programmes punched onto cardboard cards). At a flick of the eye brand new systems sent those mastodons to scrap, and new concepts in software made life with computers easy. Gone are those

¹ R.J. Morris, (1988), p.6.

² Refer: D. Gries (1978); and R.L. Clark, (1973).

unfriendly, intimidating black displays with a blinking cursor; gone are also those nasty, unwanted typing mistakes which would jeopardise hours of programming. Before mid 1980's, possessing a personal computer was still a dream, although their limited power and failures could turn sweet dreams of the users to nightmares. The fast-moving technology was at such a speed that memory, processors and new concepts of software seemed to know no limits in development. Today, anyone without a personal computer nearby is living in a bygone world. Programmes are chatty and most of the time, the average user will never stretch them to their limits. Moreover, users need not know the concepts behind databases. Most personal computer's DBMSs are powerful enough to handle large data sets.

The only matter that would not change, at this speed at least, is the idea of the researcher behind the tool, and how best to use it for his/her purposes. There is no prescription as how to solve best a problem of computing. It is very much dependant on the technologies available at the initial stages of research. The experience gained at a later stage is highly specific to both the means of computing and data at hand. From one research project to another, both will be adapted to the object of the study.

BIRTH OF A POPULATION

4.1. ERRATIC FAMILIES

This study was designed to test one basic assumption: whether the communities under observation had a stable social structure. That is, in the rural economy of the *Ancien Régime*, in the way that it is taught in schools, one could assume almost a system with zero degree of evolution as far as the agricultural activities were concerned. Lands were inherited by a succeeding generation and then only the vicissitudes of life, illness or premature death, would have broken the cycle and brought small changes, sometimes necessary, in the balance of the village's life. What was produced, had to be consumed *in situ*, and the surplus, if any, would not have gone very far from where it was produced. Industrial activity, that is any craftsmanship which would turn raw materials into an object for the sole purpose of selling would be of very slight value. No worker would have dreamed of moving in, hoping for a wage. Therefore, assuming a population's growth rate of replacement level, this community was bound to have a stable social structure.

These assumptions are limited in their geographical scope, as if these communities were not part and parcel of a larger society that tended to evolve. As we have already pointed out in chapter one, the reading of recent literature does not help to go beyond this image. Over a span of

forty years, with different objects of study, methods and settings, G.-A. Chevallaz¹, in 1949, and R. Netting² in 1981, had conveyed the same ideas of closed communities. This is maintained despite studies carried out in the domains of commerce, trade and manufactures on the national level which implied an interdependence between all communities. The monographs done in historical demography, the setting of which has been a village³ or a town of small size⁴ have not helped to visualize the external life beyond the borders. This, we believe is due to the method of family reconstitution.

Historical demography is a curious kind of history. One begins with the study of records and names, grouping them, and ends by substituting names with figures. Numbers are the stuff of equations and in equations, some elements are known and some can be worked out. The lack of data in historical demography has led, however, to impressive methods of analysis: family reconstitution⁵ and back-projection⁶, where proxies replace missing data with equal strength and significance. However, there is no unique prescription for data analysis. The methods used depend on the theories to be tested and the quality of data. L. Henry points out very concisely:

"This variety of methods is not the result of fantasy. Historical demography present research workers with a large number of data verification in extremely varied term. Each time it is necessary to search for a new solution or to make an effort to adapt a known solution to an apparently novel problem⁷".

The method best suited to this study of Grandson area could have been family reconstitution, based on the observation of a subset of a population from birth to death. This subset is a sedentary group by which one may

¹ Refer: G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949).

² Refer: R. Netting, (1981).

³ Refer: B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992).

⁴ Refer: L. Hubler, (1984).

⁵ Refer: Fleury & Henry, (1956), (1965); Gautier & Henry, (1958).

⁶ Refer: Wrigley & Schofield, (1981).

⁷ L. Henry, (1968), p.78.

measure fertility, nuptiality and mortality in that community. Often, societies where migration was not significant were studied. This technique, devised by L. Henry and M. Fleury¹ and widely used by demographic historians², has its own rules. Sets of rich and promising registers are necessary. For Vallorbe, L. Hubler³ substituted missing data with other official papers (wills and registers of confirmation, etc.). R. Finlay studied Londons' population by doing a partial reconstitution⁴. This method gains in insight to the population's characteristics and demographic variables, for which is primarily designed, but it is often hard to relate such data to economic variables, especially when it comes down to the monograph of a village. The historian becomes so familiar with the sedentary subset of population that most of the economic analysis, if any, is carried into this realm, from which signs of mobility, unless obvious, are overlooked. (Many historical demographers, myself being among them at the early stages of this study, would privately admit knowing intimately the families on which they worked.)

There are, however, always residual births, weddings and deaths which would not fit into a reconstructed family file. In undertaking a family reconstitution for the Grandson area, we aimed at not only the family stories of a sedentary population, but paradoxically, to those residual records, that is, individuals with at most two dates of vital events: those who were only born and those who seemed only to come and wed. Residual records, would be observed in regard to landowners for which we did not have a family history. The families thus reconstructed, would be nuclear, as defined by Laslett and Wall⁵, and, at a later stage would be associated with data from land registers forming economic entities. As

¹ Refer: Fleury & Henry, (1956) & (1965).

² ESRC Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure; A. Perrenoud, (1979); L. Hubler, (1984).

³ Refer: L. Hubler, (1984).

⁴ Refer: R. Finlay, (1981).

⁵ Refer: Laslett, P. & Wall, R., (1972).

already suggested, we believed that the concept of economic entity could untangle the disarray of holdings in different land-registers.

For family reconstitution, parochial register entries were to be linked together. Despite a great effort, however, data provided for the parishes we studied prohibited a family reconstitution in the best traditions of historical demography. We have already presented the shortcomings of data in section 2.4. in great detail. It should be borne in mind that many records were so void of necessary particulars on the individual's vital events that data-linkage between parochial registers was a matter of hit-and-miss, intuition and interpretation. These ways of problem solving are fine as far as one or two cases were concerned but become spuriously conjectural if applied on a large scale.

Thereafter we attempted to analyze the parish registers by two methods. First, by nominal data-linkage between parish registers and land-registers which would provide landowners with a baptism or a wedding, that is, the registers of land were to be associated to those of the parish. Second, by analyzing the aggregates provided and by garnering as much information as possibly those aggregates would allow. To our knowledge, although parish registers have been used for biographic purposes, there has been no attempt to extend it with the registers of land in a large setting.

Parochial registers are an asset for the study of landownership. In doing a nominal data-linkage, subsets of the population could be distinguished: there would be landless population who married and had babies and landowners for whom no date of vital event could be found. Here, we step to the grey area in between demography and rural economy where land holding and inheritance are reflected in weddings, number of surviving children and death.

In nominal data-linkage, names were a major problem. First, it was imperative to eliminate all initials or diminutives and replace them with correct names. Then all possible alternatives that the pastor had for spelling the same surname had to be chased out, keeping to a unique spelling. Having done so, another issue was raised for which, however, there was no quantitative solution. A child was often baptised with two or three first

names, occasionally pretentious combinations reflecting the hopes of the parents for his/her future. Years later he/she was married under a name most often used. At death, he/she would be listed by initials (that is, if registers of death existed). For example, Jean-David-Sebastian was born to a family Tharin. He wedded as Jean-David. He could be cited in contracts as either Jean or David. Needless to stress that both Jean and David were quite fashionable given names. We shall discuss the problems of vital events and economic entities by way of examples in section 6.5.

Either by family reconstitution or by nominal data-linkage, the results of matches were depressingly meagre. A few of the baptism and wedding records were linked together; and less than 3% of landowners had a date for their baptism.

This observation is an illustration of the limits for a historian: two data sets on a well-defined population could not be linked. The explanations lie more in the structure and behaviour patterns of the society than the mere difficulties met in data analysis. Issues of etymology, distinctions between fields of demography and economic history are irrelevant.

The paucity of data was an impediment but not the only factor of low relationship between the population of parish and those of land registers. Demography and landownership in data-linkage reached their breaking point and were dissociated. It was only possible to discuss characteristics of the population without measuring their impact on the landownership. Landowners were to be observed in relation to their wealth without an adequate demographic background in which the dates of vital events, number of children and death of parents (hypothetical date of inheritance) would be known.

There was an underlying mobility of population. A subtle mobility which, by no means, was a migratory movement. When it came to registration of the happy events of life, people behaved like spring birds, flying around different parishes. They would marry outside their own parishes, even if they were to return. They would baptise their children in the neighbouring parishes as they pleased. And, a major difficulty for anyone doing a family reconstitution, they could not care less about registration of death. This

mobility makes it difficult to follow, to some extent, a family's story, let alone in full. This is a confirmation of comments made by L. Junod, a historian, of the parish registers of Fiez, in an article written in 1946. He mentioned, in a matter-of-fact manner, the mobility of population¹.

In this chapter we shall analyze aggregate data from the baptismal registers. Some of our findings matched those found elsewhere in *Suisse-Romande*, others require a new interpretation. At any rate, in any empirical research some issues are thrown in which are at the fringe of the study. Moreover, in this research we faced a paradox. That is, the disparity of data was such that not only was it impossible to use proven methods as described in literature, but also the data were limited to aggregates. There was not enough information to justify an elaborate analysis. Therefore, we kept the presentation of data to the simplest form.

The creation of an accurate portrayal of a rural society without a glimpse of its population, even fragmented, would have been incomplete. Even if some issues discussed here bear no direct relationship to landownership. Since the setting of this study was to portray a small population within the pre-alpine area, facts were needed for the actual population; those of the early 18th century in the Grandson area and not a mere study of trends in Switzerland.

In an unpretentious article published in 1946 and since then forgotten, L. Junod applied some rules of thumb to the registers of the parish of Fiez². In there, he laid down some issues of demography which since 1960's have become majors in the domain: prenuptial conceptions, illegitimacy, delays in birth and baptism. In this chapter, certainly but undeliberately, we bring in some of these issues. Despite our modern computing systems, the rules of thumb used by Junod produced much the same results.

There is always a delay between birth and baptism. In Protestant communities the choice of baptismal date was more a matter of parental decision, whereas in Catholic societies, France for example, the Church

¹ L. Junod, (1946), p.169.

² Refer: L. Junod, (1946).

imposed stricter rules. The importance of such delay resides in the number of baptised children versus those born in any given period. Since unbaptised children due to an early death would not be registered, the longer the delay between birth and baptism, the greater the discrepancies between the number of children born and those who survived to be baptised. However, child mortality rate was not the driving force behind the observation we made from the delays between birth and baptism. We tested, quantitatively, different factors which we believed could lengthen or shorten this delay, in particular the population's movement¹. In literature, this delay is taken into account as far as the estimate of child mortality rates is concerned. The behaviour pattern behind such delays is hardly investigated². Only in a footnote L. Hubler³ wonders about the significance of such delays. We aimed to observe whether there is a discrepancy between the delay observed in Grandson and other Protestant areas of *Suisse-Romande*. Moreover, if such delay could bear some specific patterns to this population on the move. A. Perrenoud in his study of Geneva⁴ and L. Hubler for Vallorbe⁵, in broad terms, provided data which were similar to those found in Grandson area. That is, a shorter delay in the earlier 18th century tended to lengthen in a later period. This observation also fits the pattern observed by Vender Wad and Mentis for Rotterdam⁶, or more elaborately, by Wrigley and Schofield in English parish registers⁷. The patterns of delays for children baptised in different areas were similar to the general pattern of the Grandson's villages. In other words, even if people moved around in baptising their children, the baptism did not suffer undue delays in this respect.

¹ As we shall discuss in the forthcoming chapter, population's movement has to be distinguished from migration.

² Refer, for example: B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992), p.229.

³ L. Hubler, (1984), p.186, note 6.

⁴ Refer: A. Perrenoud,(1979).

⁵ Refer: L. Hubler, (1984).

⁶ Vender Wad & Mentis, (1966), p.1170.

⁷ Wrigley and Schofield, (1981), p. 96.

Illegitimacy was an issue for which there were very few records in the parish registers. However, most families which we followed for building economic entities had a 'premature' first child. Prenuptial conceptions did not bother the contemporaries, even if they lived under the church laws and in small communities. It seems as though in *Suisse-Romande* the prospect of a wedding was enough to allow behaviour which, in earlier 20th century Switzerland, no one would even read about it, let alone practice it. In years 1700-1709, the rate of prenuptial conceptions was almost 30% for Vallorbe and it soared in the following decades¹. Fleurier, a large village by Swiss standards in the canton of Neuchâtel, showed a similar pattern². Such high rates, however, were not matched by a large number of illegitimate births, whether in *Pays d'Enhaut*, as illustrated by M. Schoch³, Vallorbe⁴ or Fleurier⁵, in all of which illegitimate births were only about 1% of total baptisms.

Thus, a very high percentage of all 'premature' babies were born to married parents. At this stage of observation, the literature is very eager to discuss pagan customs of 'spending the night in company'. The names and the rituals of such customs have perhaps varied but they ended in similar results. In *Suisse-Romande*, scholars have commonly and invariably mentioned *kiltgang*. A Swiss-German word for a much practiced nightly rendez-vous in *Suisse-Romande*. In the modern literature, L. Junod, in 1946, asked the question first: "*Had the Pays de Vaud Known Kiltgang?*".

Following the same lines of reasoning for prenuptial conceptions, P. Caspard⁶, L. Hubler⁷ and many other demographers have discussed this matter. However, and in fact, Swiss-German findings of prenuptial

¹ L. Hubler, (1984), p. 194.

² B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992), p. 236.

³ M. Schoch, (1980), p.80.

⁴ L. Hubler, (1984), p. 204.

⁵ B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992), p.241.

⁶ Refer: P. Caspard, (1974).

⁷ L. Hubler, (1984), p. 204.

conceptions, be it S. Bucher¹ for Entlebuch or H.-R. Burri² for Lucerne were far less common (about 10%) than in *Suisse-Romande*. That is why, L. Hubler³ first and then B. Sorgesa Miéville⁴, discuss at some length the possibilities of 'trying engagements' (the stress is ours). We shall not be surprised if future research would show for certain that most of the would-be-wives had to be 'tried out' for fecundity before the wedding. We hardly believe that *all* nightly rendez-vous were approved and institutionalized. Faux pas and unapproved passions are permitted in human nature. However, a child, whether legitimate or not, takes the same time to gestate and eight months (allowing time for positive signs of child bearing) were long enough to straighten matters up. That is why, there were so few illegitimate cases. We tend to agree with Junod that prenuptial conceptions would not trigger a wave of reprobation and blame⁵, *a priori*, except in those cases in which the normal gestation was insufficient to settle the case. For example, in May 1705, the *bailli* gives orders to the authorities of the *commune* of Concise to take into charge the bastard child of Jeanne Basset of Goumoëns given to Jaques Thibaud. In July, the authorities refused and asked the *bailli* to give it to the mother of Jaques Thibaud⁶. These facts were not accompanied by circumstantial explanation.

The observations made in this and the next chapter clearly show that the Grandson area's demographic pattern was similar to those found elsewhere in the *Suisse-Romande* and had no particular features to distinguish it, except for the population on the move. However, in the absence of facts, there was an exercise to be done in order to find out, as close as possible, an estimation of population size. Registers of baptisms were the single source of data we had for such an exercise. For an analysis of landownership, it was imperative to have an estimation of population's

¹ S. Bucher, (1974), p.72-ff.

² H.-R. Burri, (1975), p. 119-ff.

³ L. Hubler, (1984), p. 204.

⁴ B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992), p.241.

⁵ L. Junod, (1946), p.172.

⁶ A. Dupasquier, (1976), p. 42.

size to compare it with the number of landholders, as a yard stick against the number of landless people. In estimating population size, where the crudest and simplest equation is $P = (N/CBR)100$, no one will argue the necessity of having, that is, as much as possible, an accurate crude birth rate. In doing so, we compared data gathered in the registers with those proposed in the relevant literature for the other areas of *Suisse-Romande*. In section 4.4. the laborious details of such an exercise are worked out. As it will be shown, there were no indications of any particular feature in the Grandson area and a crude birth rate of 36 per thousand could safely be applied in the formula in order to obtain an estimate of population size in each parish.

The small villages we had under observation displayed, in the long run, male/female ratios which were close to the normal. However, in the short run and in small populations, male/female ratios tend to yo-yo. That is, in any given period, there is a surplus of either males or females. In the years 1680-99, females exceeded the number of male children. This would account for a higher number of exogenous weddings as shown in chapter five, and a greater involvement of females as owners of land discussed in chapter seven. This point usually escapes from the notice of either demographers or economic historians since only the simultaneous approach to both subjects in a monograph has enabled us to discuss it.

In table 4.12, the seasonality of conceptions is indexed on 100. Here again, the patterns fitted to those found in other areas of Switzerland, whether Protestant or Catholic. Late spring is the most fecund period of the year. By late summer, the period of peak involvement in the harvest and the vintage, the conception rates fell¹. In fact, social behaviour and biological factors were both at work, that is, an excess of work in the fields left not much time and energy for anything else, and the tired bodies of women refused the overload of child bearing. In other words, the data provided by the registers of baptism only give information on successful conceptions and children surviving birth long enough to be baptised. This

¹

L. Hubler, (1984), p.187. & B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992), p.232.

point is generally overlooked by demographers. As a matter of fact what is broadly known as conception, is simply the lag of successful baptisms by nine months. The number of wasted foetuses, for which there is no data to our knowledge, might well flatten the fluctuation of seasonal patterns of conceptions.

There are two final points that deserve to be noticed in regard to the registers of baptism. The first concerns the registration of godparents and the second the records of confirmations. Demographers have hardly been interested in the issue of godparents in *Suisse-Romande*, the latest publication, a study of Fleurier¹. As for Vallorbe, L. Hubler, however, points to the socio-economic implications of such undertaking². We believe that an analysis of godparents data would be an important piece of research, showing the web of social interdependence among various groups. This, however, would need a large amount of data that we lacked. We have discussed this issue in section 4.7. in order to attract attention to it. A question can always be asked, even if one cannot answer it. The records of confirmations, as it will be shown in section 4.8., were of no use whatsoever, except in confirming the mobility of the population which would unduly inflate the number of teenagers in one parish. In *Suisse-Romande* these registrations have been ignored.

The last section of this chapter, 4.9., is devoted to the surveys of population. In the forthcoming canton of Vaud, two were carried out. That of the 1764 was less extensive than that of 1798. Both have been largely discussed and quoted in many studies of the canton. In the 1764 survey, the *bailliage* of Grandson was excluded and will not concern us here. The 1798 survey, however, covered all the areas of the forthcoming canton of Vaud, including Grandson.

From a technical point of view, the 1798 survey was not demographic. It listed the number of individuals having a common lodging. Even though this was a simple tabulation, the quality of data was uneven. L Hubler did

¹ Refer: B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992).

² Refer: L. Hubler, (1992).

not make much use of it¹. In an article, A.-M. Amoos carefully established the limits of this survey and corrected many data by cross-checking². Later, in a study of Morges - a town by the lake of Geneva- the same survey was used³. Using the original documents, we tried to squeeze out all information that can be possibly be compiled for the Grandson area. There was not much. An estimated average household size of 3.85 was too usual as to trigger any discussion on the issue of household size. Stretching this survey to its limits by using the flimsy data on the origin of individuals, we could point out the composition of the population. Even though 80% of the population was from the natural parishes, the remaining 20% consisted of 'outsiders'. We shall discuss the concept of natural parish in the next chapter, where the significance of the 'outsiders' will be shown. The inappropriateness of the image of a closed community, as suggested by some authors, will then be made clear.

4.2. BAPTISM AND BIRTH

Baptismal records are not registers of birth. The time span between birth and baptism varied according to different Christian communities: Protestant practice would allow for a longer delay than Catholic practice. Moreover, from period to period, within the same community, the delay tended to lengthen. However, the longer the delay between birth and baptism, the larger is the number of unrecorded births due to early death. This number affects many variants of population analysis and in particular the estimation of population size.

The delay between birth and baptism in a Protestant community where religious practices were not so rigorous as those of the Catholics, represented a deliberate choice on the part of parents. One could easily imagine the preference of parents to baptise their children in a parish where most

¹ L. Hubler, (1984), p.117.

² Refer: A.-M. Amoos, (1981).

³ Refer: Lasser & all, (1987).

members of their mutual families lived and not their actual home parish. In the Grandson area, where many found spouses outside their parish of living, this practice was logical. However, baptism of children in neighbouring parishes would, perhaps, lengthen the delay between birth and baptism.

By the late 17th century and during the 18th century, the delay between birth and baptism lengthened in different parts of Western Europe. In the late 17th century, nearly 92% of children in Geneva¹ were baptised within the first week of life. A century later this proportion had fallen to 64%. In Rotterdam, in 1700, only 6.7% of children were baptised after their first week of life². In the 1780's this number had risen to 32.8%. Wrigley and Schofield found similar indications in English parish registers³.

In the canton of Vaud, L. Junod also observed a shift (*tab.4.1*). However, reviewing his observations, he appears to have been in error in supposing that a baptism would occur much later in a child's life in Fiez than in Commugny⁴. The periods of observations were different. In *Pays d'Enhaut*, a child would be baptised within the first two weeks of life in the 18th century⁵. However, for Vallorbe, L. Hubler suggests a time span of about six weeks between birth and baptism during the late 18th and early 19th century⁶. This phenomenon seems to be particular to Vallorbe, since indicators point to a two weeks gap in most of the *Suisse-Romande*.

Place	Date	Delay
Commugny	1629-1630	5.7
"	1647	8.2
"	1670	11.1
"	1687	8.6
"	1707	9.7
"	1728	9.8
Lausanne	1742-1743	13.3
Fiez	1756-1757	14.9

N.B. Delay: days, simple averages

Table 4.1 Delay: Bth/Bp, by Junod.

¹ A. Perrenoud, (1979), p.393.

² Vender Wad & Mentis, (1966), p.1170.

³ Wrigley & Schofield, (1981), p.96.

⁴ L. Junod, (1946), p.167.

⁵ M. Schoch, (1980), p.28.

⁶ L. Hubler, (1984), p.186.

In the canton of Vaud it was not before the mid-18th century that birth became commonly registered alongside baptism¹. Occasionally a pastor would record both events before the mid-18th century but this was only due to the individual pastor's sense of duty. It should be noted that the data on birth was provided at the infant's baptism as additional information. It is not an indicator of the actual number of children born. This observation should be born in mind for most parish registers, even those of the second half of the 18th century when the registration of births became more widely practiced. In the parish of Concise, pastor David Bourgeois² registered births alongside baptisms from 1692 to 1718. His successor abandoned the practice after only a few registrations in 1719.

The pattern of the delay between birth and baptism is similar to what is pictured for Geneva or Rotterdam.

Days	0-6	7-13	14-20	21 +	Tot.
N	147	446	82	5	680
p.c.	22	66	12	<1	100

Table 4.2 *Delay:Bth/Bp, Concise, 1692-1718.*

Between 1692 and 1718, 88% of children in Concise were baptised within two weeks of their birth (*tab.4.2*).

By the end of the 18th century, the time between birth and baptism in the area lengthened. More than 90% of children were baptised within three weeks of their birth (*tab.4.3*). Moreover, there was a steep drop in the number of children baptised in the first week of life. This phenomenon can be attributed to either changes in religious practice or/and a decline in infant mortality.

Days	0-6	7-13	14-20	21 +	Tot.
N	11	216	139	29	395
p.c.	3	55	35	7	100

Table 4.3 *Delay:Bth/Bp, Bnv&St.M., 1790-99.*

However, the point of interest lies in the mobility of parents with the baptism of children. Would parents baptise their children in the neighbourhood and in doing so lengthen the delay between birth and baptism? In the absence of detailed data on the parent's origin and home, it was impossible to work out useful quantitative information. In the early 18th century, origin

¹ L. Junod, (1946), p.166.

² A.C.V., Eb-31/4-5.

and home can be confused¹. Registers of various kinds and official papers were supposed to record someone's home when different from his origin. However, to believe that parish registers actually applied the above rule would be to delude oneself, since careful transcription of records was not a virtue that could be ascribed to pastors in the 18th century Grandson.

The parish of Concise included the *commune* of Concise (where the church and rectory were located) and the *communes* of Corcelles, Mutrux, Vaumarcus and Verneaz. Hypothetically one may suggest that children born in Concise would be baptised earlier than those born in other *communes*, as the distance from home

to church and rectory would be shorter. The data did not bear this hypothesis out (*tab.4.4*).

Days	0-6	7-13	14-20	20 +	Tot.
Concise	7	21	5	<1	33
Parish	6	25	3	0	34
Outsiders	9	20	4	<1	33
Total	22	66	12	<1	100

The same time span between birth and bap-

Table 4.4 *Delay Bth/Bp, origin, Cns, 1692-1719, p.c.*

tism was observed among children from Concise and other villages in the parish. Nevertheless the origin of 33% of all children baptised between 1692 and 1718 was not the parish of Concise but from the neighbourhood. Being an outsider to the parish did not alter the delay between birth and baptism. Most baptisms took place in the second week of life whatever the parents' origin.

Can behaviour patterns be deduced from the time span between birth and baptism? In the parish of Concise, between 1692 and 1718, most children were baptised within two weeks of birth. A break down of data by the sex of infants did not point to a distinction between male and female children (*tab. 4.5*).

1

The concept of *bourgeoisie*, or *communier*, is one of the oddities of Swiss social life. Anyone born to a Swiss father (and/or Swiss mother only from 1985) is granted the father's name and his origin as birth appendage. All Swiss are a *bourgeois* of a *commune*. This can be a large urban area (Zurich) or a tiny village of a few dozen inhabitants (Dompiere).

Nowadays many *bourgeois* live outside their *commune* of origin. They may have never been there and would be hard pressed to find it on a map. The status of *bourgeoisie* has nothing to do where with a man's place of birth and frequently confuses the immigration officers of other countries. In all Swiss passports the place of origin is recorded. As a matter of fact, any Swiss is in capacity of having four locations: origin (appendage to his name), place of birth, domicile and work.

Days	0-6	7-13	14-20	20+	Tot.
Females	10	33	5	<1	48
Males	12	33	7	<1	52
Totals	22	66	12	<1	100

Table 4.5 *Delay:Bth/Bp,Cns,1692-1719, p.c.*

The baptisms of twins and illegitimate children were also of some interest. One could raise the question that twins, due to the fragility of their health at birth may be

likely to be baptised earlier than the average. Illegitimate children may be subject to some delay because of some legal procedures before being baptised. However, in both cases the average time span between birth and baptism was about a week (*tab.*

4.6). Twins were baptised with no outstanding hurry, and illegitimate with no marked delay. After all Protestants do not believe in a lost soul if death occurs before the baptism. Since the 17th century¹ pastors baptised the illegitimate child with no fuss.

	$\Sigma(\text{delay} \cdot N) / \Sigma N$	N
Twin	6.1	15
Illegitimate	6.7	17
Parish	9.7	380

Table 4.6 *Delay: Bth/Bp, tws & ilg, Cns,1692-1719.*

The delay between birth and baptism is a predicament in demography² since the number of baptisms is always less than births. The longer the delay, the more significant is the discrepancy. However, most if not all children were baptised within three weeks after birth whatever their origin.

4.3. NATURAL CHILDREN

In the canton of Vaud, the number of illegitimate births was very low. In the *Pays d'Enhaut* it did not exceed 0.5% of total births between 1609 and 1750³. In Vallorbe the rate is also less than 1%⁴. Illegitimate children were rare, though this can be attributed partly to under-registration.

¹ M. Schoch, (1980), p.27.

² A detailed account of this issue in a complex setting is to be found in Wrigley & Schofield, (1981), p.96-fl.; Also refer: E.A. Wrigley, (1977).

³ M. Schoch, (1980), p.80.

⁴ L. Hubler, (1984), p.204.

Low illegitimacy rates is a common factor to rural areas. For example, in the rural *Bassin Parisien*, the rate of illegitimacy for the early 18th century is around 0.5%¹.

In the parishes we have studied there were thirty-three illegitimate cases out of 2823 total baptisms. In Concise, where the parish is larger than the

Period	Parish	illeg. (N)	legit. (N)	p.c.
1684-1729	Cns	28	1335	0.2%
1713-1727	Bnv	3	668	0.04%
1694-1705	St.M	2	820	0.007%

Table 4.7 Illegitimacy, all parishes, 1680-1729.

two others, illegitimate births were higher. St. Maurice accounted for only two visible cases. The years referred to in

the table 4.7 are those within which records were sufficiently detailed as to detect an illegitimate birth².

Often, a solution to settle the problem posed by an illegitimate birth was found. The child was *donné* (given) to a family or to his father. The *Lois Consistoriales*³ permitted the baptism of illegitimate children. However, the cases recorded were already settled. Therefore, we may assume that some if not all unsettled cases went unrecorded. It must be noted, nevertheless, that 18th century pastoral Switzerland was a society where most actions were closely monitored. Unmarried servants were rare and the immigrants mostly families. Therefore, a high rate of illegitimacy is out of question since there were not many occasions to 'sin'. The cases of illegitimacy are too few to draw any proper statistics of social stratification. However, many women who had children out of wedlock, belonged to families long and well established in the *commune*. Some were even from a high strata. One illegitimate child was born to a widow. Another was called *Aimée* (love), the fruit of a forbidden love. A slip was always possible, nature being the same in all human societies.

¹ J.L. Flandrin, (1975), p.233-234.

² A century later, 1803-15 the rate of illegitimate were in the range of 2.6%; A. Rengger, (1812), p.6, 15 births out of 576.

³ Laws of church.

4.4. ESTIMATES OF POPULATION SIZE

The size of the population in the villages under observation was a priority to our research. In a rural area with many petty owners it would have been of great interest to know the proportion of landless people to that of owners. In Grandson anyone could have settled in the area, therefore a newcomer did not need to be a landowner to be admitted in the community¹. Estimating population size can be done by many sophisticated methods. However, frail data left us with the worst possible choice: estimating population size from baptism registers, a hazardous process. The method is simple enough but the numbers used in the calculations were unreliable. Besides, there was no way of checking out the results. The method consists of applying crude birth rates figures to the number of children born. Mathematically the formula is simple:

$$\text{Crude Birth Rate (CBR)} = (\text{Number of Births/Population}) * 100$$

Ironically, except for the "100", all elements in the formula were unknown. As a substitute for births we had the number of baptisms. Moreover, crude birth rates had to be selected within a credible range. Small variations on either side of the formula lead to different results. In other words, data drawn from these kinds of operations are only credible within a proposed range.

The total number of baptisms is less than births. Consequently, the greater the time between birth and baptism, the more substantial the difference between the total number of baptisms and total number of births. Unless death registers provide data for neonatal/post-natal deaths, any guess is as good as another to estimate their numbers. For the parishes under study, the lack of death registers was a major handicap. However, the delay between birth and baptism measurable, albeit not ideally short (10-15 days) was reassuring. In the absence of reliable number of births, the number of baptisms was used.

¹

Things, however, were not so democratic.... Officials required financial guarantee from the applicants. *Communes* warmly welcomed wealthy and dissuaded others. (A.C. Concise, Fiez). Some traditions are everlasting.

An estimate of the range of crude birth rates without actual data needed careful consideration. The first survey done for Grandson in the 18th century was in 1798¹. Calculated from a

yearly average of baptisms for the decade 1790-1799, the crude birth rate came within a range of 35-38

Parish	Tot. pop.	Baptisms (N)	CBR
St.M	569	21.7	38
Ons-Bnv	662	23.2	35

N.B. Baptism: yearly averages for 1790-1799

per thousand (*tab.4.8*). However, in

Table 4.8 CBR (%), St. M., Ons-Bnv, 1798.

1684, the pastor of Onnens-Bonvillars counted a population of 193 persons for Onnens and 210 for Bonvillars. The average number of baptisms per year during the mid 1680's was 10.3, i.e., a CBR at twenty-five per thousand. This is within a credible range, though data could not be adjusted, as it was impossible to work out precise numbers of births. Briefly, for the area of Grandson we had crude birth rates of twenty-five per thousand by 1680's and thirty-five per thousand by 1790's as indicators. Compared with studies in other areas of Switzerland both indicators looked almost suspect.

The comparison between crude birth rates by the late 17th century and that of the late 18th century

(*tab. 4.9*) points to the fact that there had been a drop in crude birth rates during the 18th century. This observation is accurate for many parts of *Suisse-Romande* and Europe.

The drop was substantial in Geneva and in Vallorbe (around 10‰). The *Pays d'Enhaut* had a marginal decrease in rates². The downward trend of crude birth rates in Vallorbe and Geneva

Period	Geneva	Vallorbe	Pays d'Enhaut
1690-1699	36.7		
1700-1709	38.0	37.8	29.9
1710-1719	34.7		
1720-1729	31.2		29.7
1730-1739	33.0		
1740-1749	30.9		
1750-1759	33.0		
1760-1769	33.3	34.5	27.4
1770-1779	31.7		
1780-1789	28.3		
1790-1799	26.3	32.9	28.7
1800-1809		32.2	26.9
1810-1819		26.7	21.8

Table 4.9 CBR (%), GE, Vall., P.d'En., C18th.

¹ A.C.V., Ea-14.

² L. Hubler, (1984), p.189; A. Perrenoud, (1979), p.397; M. Schoch, (1980), p. 68.

could be characteristic of the 18th century. In France and Sweden there is also downward¹ trend, while in England crude birth rates are seen to be stable in the first part of the 18th century and then rise². In either Geneva, Vallorbe or the *Pays d'Enhaut*, crude birth rates had dropped in the 18th century. Why should it then increase in the Grandson area?

E. Olivier proposed a rate of twenty-eight per thousand by the late 18th century³. For Vallorbe, a semi-industrial town in the north-west part of the canton of Vaud, the rate was thirty-two per thousand⁴. For the *Pays d'Enhaut*, a pastoral area in the north-eastern part of the canton of Vaud, the rate was twenty-eight per thousand⁵. In Geneva, an urban centre, a rate of twenty-eight per thousand⁶ was proposed (*tab.4.9*).

Could all these numbers be compared? Clearly, the answer is no, since these areas differ not only in geographical structure, but in their economic activities and social organisations as well. A crude birth rate cannot be studied as an isolated characteristic of the population, since the rate depends on many features, e.g., proportion of never marrying, elderly people, etc..

As in the Grandson area, in the absence of direct evidence about crude birth rates, we applied the simple average of thirty-six per thousand in estimating population size. It is certain that the population size had a consistent,

Parish	Population 1710-1720
St. Maurice	440
Concise	690
Onnens & Bonvillars	340

Table 4.10 Estim. of pop. size.

and stable trend⁷. By averaging the results for 1710-1720, we arrive at the figures shown in table 4.10 for the population of these parishes.

¹ O. Blanc, (1981), p.149.

² Wrigley & Schofield, (1981), p.317.

³ E. Olivier, (1961), p.1195.

⁴ L. Hubler, (1984), p.189.

⁵ M. Schoch, (1980), p.86.

⁶ A. Perrenoud, (1979), p.396.

⁷ See: Appendix F.

It should be borne in mind that these figures are purely indicative of the population's range. They are far from precise. These numbers, once split between the villages of each parish, point to tiny villages. This exercise, however, is pure speculation.

4.5. MALE/FEMALE RATIOS

It has been established that the male/female ratio at birth averages at 105 without regard to time and place¹. Deviations from a range of 100 and 110 over a long time should bear explanation. A sex ratio of 104 resulted for parishes of St. Maurice, Onnens-Bonvillars and Concise for 1633-1799. This is a reassuring result as it hints at an equitable recording of baptism for both sexes (*tab. 4.11*).

Years	St. Maurice			Concise			Onnens-Bonvillars		
	M	F	Ratio	M	F	Ratio	M	F	Ratio
1633-1679	643	598	108	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	
1680-1699	164	167	98	243	257	95	144	141	102
1700-1729	248	241	103	430	403	107	199	185	108
1730-1789	372	341	109	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	
1790-1799	77	87	89	N/A	N/A		112	120	93
Total	1504	1434	105	673	660	102	455	446	102

Table 4.11 Sex-ratios , all parishes, 1633-1799.

The division of data into smaller periods, however, was of more interest to us. However, male/female ratios in short periods may vary from 105 since the conception of sexes is random. This is determinant in the composition of landownership within the next generation. If the number of females exceed that of man, everything being equal, in the next generation many women would be accounted as landowners and *vice versa*. In the table above, the periods seem fanciful. They are not equal in length due to the irregular recordings of baptisms in different parishes. The period of interest

¹ L. Henry, (1976), p.10.

was that of 1680-1699. Females slightly outnumbered males at birth in Champagne and Concise.

4.6. SEASONALITY OF CONCEPTIONS

The seasonality of conception is a reflection of seasonality of birth lagged by nine months. In the parish registers from pastor to pastor, we had a mixture of actual dates of birth or baptism, therefore calculating the conception needed careful consideration.

As already pointed out, the time between birth and baptism averaged about nine days in the early 18th century and fourteen days by the end of the century. For a date of conception, we back dated nine months and ten days from baptism and nine month from birth. A calculation of nine months for projecting birth from conception is clearly simplification¹, since only 66% of the conceptions in a calendar month result in a birth nine months later². It has been suggested that foetal mortality would not affect the seasonality of birth³ and hence conception.

To have a balanced distribution of conceptions, the number of events was indexed over 100, as if 1200 birth/conceptions were evenly distributed in the twelve months of a year. The calculation of monthly index figure makes an allowance for the varying number of days in the months. The seasonality of conceptions, small variations excepted, showed a consistent trend. It was over 100 from January to June with a peak in the period of January-May. Then it fell during the July-September period and picked up again from November onward.

The seasonal pattern of conception in the Grandson area is not original and follows the same trend in other parts of the canton of Vaud⁴ (*tab.4.12*), be it Catholic or Protestant (*fig.4.1*), reflecting social behaviours and/or

¹ Human gestation is actually 40 weeks.

² Wrigley & Schofield, (1981), p.291; H. Leridon, (1973), p.18.

³ Wrigley & Schofield, (1981), p.291.

⁴ L. Hubler, (1984), p.187.

biological factors. The variation and intensity of agricultural work during the year had some influence, although, in an urban population like Geneva the same pattern is found¹.

Births	OC	NO	DC	JA	FE	MA	AP	MY	JU	JL	AU	SP
Conceptions	JA	FE	MA	AP	MY	JU	JL	AU	SP	OC	NO	DC
1632-1679	91	94	124	112	132	145	116	87	84	82	83	79
1680-1729	123	102	100	104	131	118	100	96	73	76	80	94
1730-1779	103	96	98	115	101	142	104	89	67	85	87	115
1780-1810	112	106	97	127	122	101	99	97	80	74	81	100

N.B. 1632-1679 only St.Maurice, 1680-1729: all parishes, 1730-1810: only St.Maurice

Table 4.12 Seasonality of conceptions, index 100, all parishes, 1632-1810.

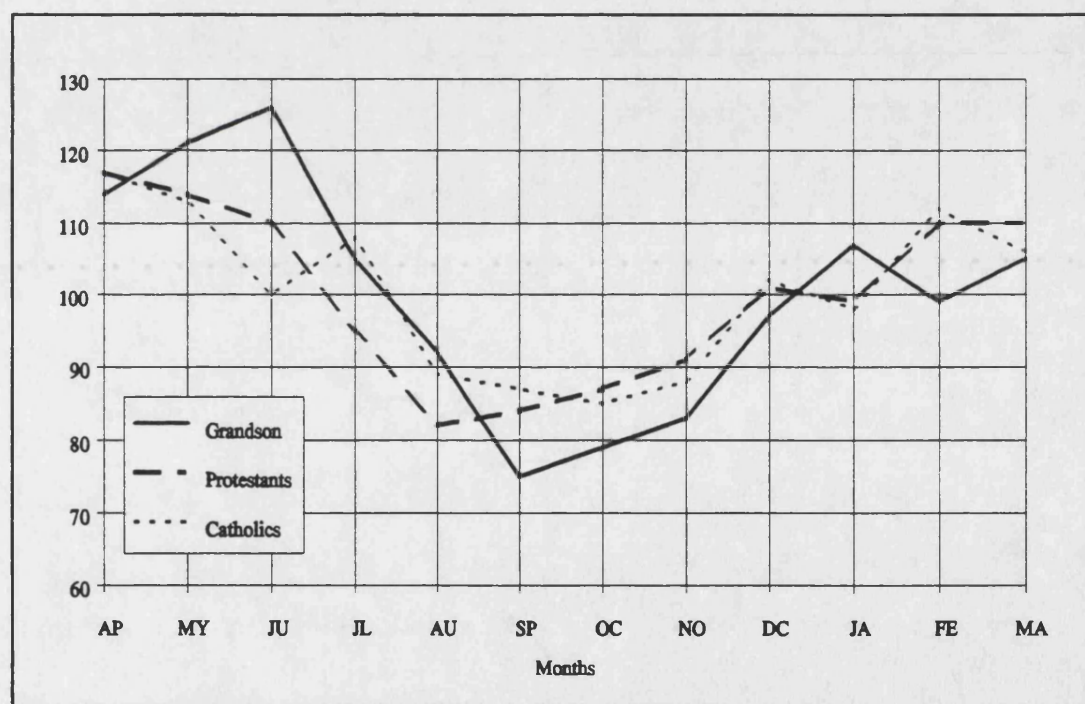


Fig. 4.1 Seasonality of conceptions, index:100, Vaud, C18th.

¹ A. Perrenoud, (1979), p.409.

4.7. GODPARENTS

It was a pity that the registers of baptism were in such a poor state. One of our primary ideas over landownership was based on possible observations of godparents' data analysis. These would point to a web of socio-economic implications. L. Hubler follows the same path for Vallorbe¹. However, the reconstitution of such a web needed not only good parish registers but also land registers from which wealth can be measured and compared. Working with godparents' data is a large project itself. Items defined and sought for differ from those used for demography. Any research on godparents is on the edge of genealogy not demography. Models of extended families should be constructed.

The state of the registers would not allow for the proper identification of godparents. Names were frequently simplified and homonyms could not be distinguished. As already stated, the better the family's education, the more accurate were the baptismal records. Therefore, for a gross 20% of precise registration, we would have ended with only 5% of population, usually socially high-ranking, for which we could prejudge the social web. However, the analysis of data on godparents was an unproductive exercise and would not yield much information. It could only confirm the idea that wealthy people choose their children's godparents from among their own social order. Perhaps, better-quality registers would be more rewarding and would shed light on the question surrounding the choice of god-parents in various social strata.

4.8. CONFIRMATION

The use of the registers of children confirmed sixteen years after their baptism opens some perspectives in historical demography. Confirmation registers are an echo of baptismal registers. Allowing for migration, these

¹

Refer: L. Hubler, (1992).

records can reflect the rates of child mortality. Besides, one could, perhaps, measure the extent of literacy.

Alas, the difficulties encountered in under-registration and data linkage left no room for analysis. Here again a mobility in population could be detected. The total numbers of confirmations per year for St. Maurice where data seemed slightly promising produced the following graph (*fig.4.2*) just as an indication of data in hand. Except to underline the inconstancy of data, it has no value.

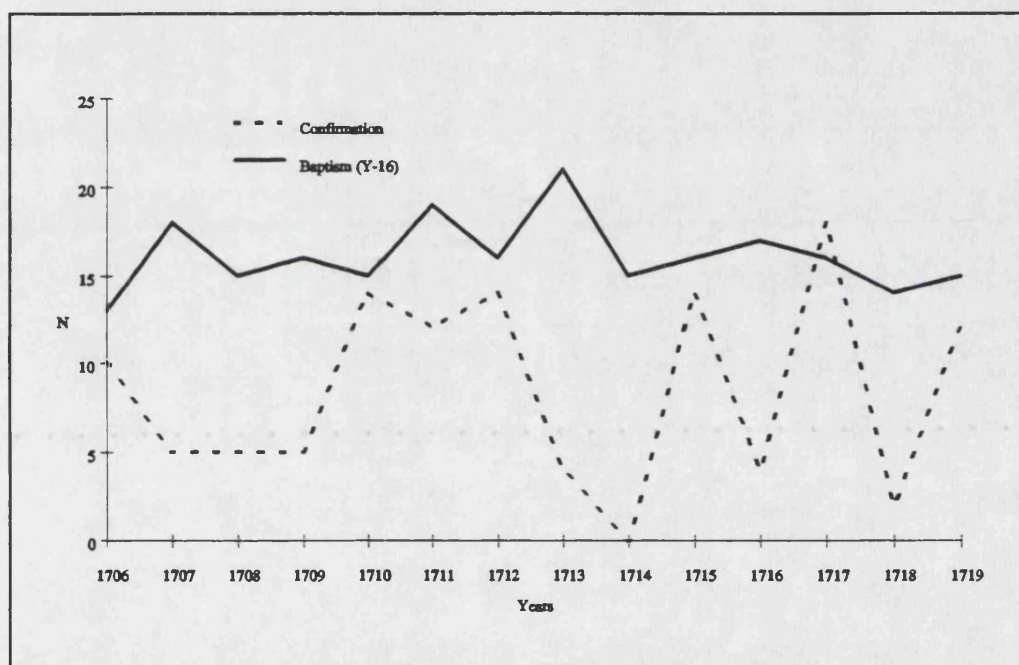


Fig. 4.2 Confirmations vs baptisms, St. Maurice, C18th.

4.9. SURVEYS

Two population surveys were carried out in the canton of Vaud in years 1764 and 1798. The 1764¹ survey included all counties but the two *bailliages communs* of Echallens-Orbe and Grandson². Probably, Berne and Fribourg could not agree upon a protocol.

¹ Refer: E. Olivier, (1938).

² A.C.V., Ea-1: *Tableaux et mémoires relatifs à la population du Pays de Vaud 1764, Ea-2/1-4 Cahiers de la population pour les paroisses de Pays de Vaud, 1764, 4 vols., vol. 4, classe d'Yverdon.*

Switzerland came to turmoil after the French Revolution. In 1798, the forthcoming canton of Vaud¹ was proclaimed independent from Berne. To have an understanding of population's characteristics for electoral purposes, the new assembly of the canton ordered pastors to carry out a survey.

Many analysis has been done on the 1798 survey² for different parts of the canton of Vaud. The data quality varies from one parish to another despite the obligation for pastors to fill in a form. (Vaud had acquired the independence it longed for from Berne but for pastors business was as usual). However, the 1798 survey does not provide demographic data. It is a listing of households. The form provided room for the name of the head of household, his spouse, his profession and the number of children and other

people likely to live with them. No other data such as age and sex of the children was to be collected. This survey could be used only in estimating household size in Grandson for the late 18th century. We did not expect to have an exceptional outcome which will trigger a debate on household in the past. However, the urge to be exhaustive implies to mention it here.

Household was defined as including parents (widowed or single) and children, omitting servants and pensioners, on whom data was not conclusive. The average household size in the *bailliage* was 3.85³ (*tab.4.13*), similar to Morges 3.7⁴. This average can be credible and discussed only if many other demographic variables (age, sex, etc.) of the same population are known. That is not so in this case.

H.S.	N	NxH.S.	p.c.
1	83	83	13.5
2	119	238	19.3
3	103	309	16.7
4	101	404	16.4
5	74	370	12.0
6	57	342	9.2
7	41	287	6.6
8	22	176	3.5
9	8	72	1.3
10	7	70	1.1
11	1	11	0.2
12	1	12	0.2
Tot.	617	2374	100
Average household size = 3.85			
N.B. H.S. = Household Size N. = Number of Household			

Table 4.13 Household size, 1798, Grandson area.

¹ Called in 1798: *canton de Léman*.

² Refer: A.-M. Amoos, (1981); Lassere and *all.*, (1987).

³ The *communes* on which the study is based are: Bonvillars, Champagne, Concise, Corcelles, Fiez, Fontaines, Fontanezier, Giez, Onnens, Romairon. These *communes* are part of a geographical entity.

⁴ Lassere and *all.*, (1987), p.97.

Natural Parish	Vaud	Swiss- Germans	<i>Pays d'Enhaut</i>	Others
79.6%	8.8%	5.1%	1.4%	5.1%
Others: Geneva, Neuchâtel, France, Italy				

Table 4.14 *Minority groups, Grandson area, 1798.*

Stretching the survey to its limits, the composition of the population pointed to various groups. More than 20% of the entire

population had its origin not only outside the parishes of domicile but altogether beyond the boundaries of the canton of Vaud (*tab.4.14*). These were significant minorities of Swiss-Germans (5.1%) and of immigrants from the *Pays d'Enhaut* (1.4%). Other 'foreigners' (5.1%) came from Geneva, Neuchâtel, France and Italy¹.

¹

A.C.V., Ea-14.

SHAPING COUPLES, FADING FACES

5.1. ENGAGEMENTS

In the previous chapter we discussed, at some length, the limits of applying the family reconstitution methods to the parish registers of the Grandson area, that is, parishes of St. Maurice, Concise and Onnens-Bonvillars. These parishes covered eleven tiny villages with an average population of 150-300 individuals. As it was perceived from the registers of baptism, the population was not stationary and did not have the characteristics of a definite sedentary population that would satisfy a family reconstitution.

In this chapter, we shall discuss the issues raised by the registers of weddings and deaths. As we have already seen, aggregated data were, and will be in here, the providers of indications on the demographic structure specific to the Grandson area. Communities with little variation in names provide too many candidates for any possible and credible data-linkage. In section 5.4., we present a basic analysis of registers of deaths only for the sake of completeness. The population under observation could not care less about the registration of deaths, a common feature of *Vaudois* standards. Besides, we did not handle any type of document which could be used as substitute to registers of death. Therefore, we shall centre our attention and observations on the issues bearing a direct relationship to the formation of couples and the activities in the villages. On the one hand the demographic

indicators (seasonality of weddings, and so on) of the Grandson area fitted to the general patterns of *Suisse-Romande*. On the other hand, the mobility of the population was further confirmed. Therefore, it was imperative to discuss some issues with new and unorthodox approaches, although, as we shall see in particular sections, the literature remains somewhat classical in its outlook.

In section 5.3.2., we shall discuss the importance of distinction we make between population's movement and migration. Population's movement could be only defined in regard to, either, sedentary people who spend their whole lives in a specific village, or, migratory people who leave one place and settle permanently in another. Between these two extremities, there existed a grey area in which people were more likely to experience the flux of life: temporarily leaving the place of birth, trading in the neighbourhood or further afield, marrying strangers to the *commune* and holding lands in other villages. These movements of population were unpredictable and hard to measure. Notwithstanding, the areas in which these took place were known territories around an anchorage point, say, the place of birth. Having said so, the official parish boundaries became a straight jacket to the analysis and did not correspond to the area of population's movement. In section 5.2.1., we shall introduce the concept of 'natural' parish, an area in which many married, held lands and traded. For methodological purposes, a 'natural parish' is any given village and its surrounding *communes*. In doing so, we are faced with a multitude of Venn diagrams having a village in centre and stretched to the outmost borders of the next neighbouring *commune*. As we shall see in section 5.2.4., the notions of exogenous and endogenous weddings, in regard to the natural parish take up a new dimension. That is, even if these notions are mutually exclusive, they operated in an area with grey shadings, in where the population moved and not a strict frame of official boundaries, a disputable factor in the comprehension of the population's movement.

Any movement implies activity and the driving force behind any community is what the population does for a living. As we shall demonstrate in section 5.3.1., documents could not be interpreted at their face value, in

which, except for land holding, and by inference, farming, there were no other activities recorded. However, a close look at the dedicated buildings registered, showed signs of industrial activities which needed the presence of a skilled worker. Many such activities would have complemented agriculture. On the one hand, they would provide goods and services that land did not produce, say, crafting a plough; on the other hand those in need of these goods and services had to pay for them, thus producing an income not driven from the direct production of land. These activities catered for the population and produced an extra wage for those whose holdings were not enough to keep them busy and/or feed them all the year round.

5.2. SHAPING COUPLES

5.2.1. NATURAL PARISH

A parish is an administrative abstraction, even if ecclesiastic. It conveys the image of a church, its priest and the worshippers¹, and often it coincides with a geographical area, such as a village. In Switzerland, however, the existence of the *commune* with its historical and political implications renders the notion of the parish complex. In essence, the *commune* was a political entity, the village was understood as the area of the *commune* where most of the buildings, including the church, were grouped. However, if the worshippers in the *commune* were small in number, one priest was to serve several *communes* within a parish. The formation of parishes did not follow the political divisions, be it a *féodal* subdivision as with Grandson, *seigneurie*, *mayorie*, etc.. In section 2.4. we have already defined the *communes* included in each parish under this study.

A major problem in observing any given population is its definition. Does one view a population within the frame of official, administrative boundaries? Or does one consider how the population actually moves and how far its activities spread despite any administrative frame?

¹ New Shorter Oxford Dictionary, (1993), *Parish*.

Studies published in historical demography, invariably to our knowledge, have matched the boundaries of the research to those of the parish. Vallorbe¹, Fleurier² and Törbel³ were confined to one parish, *commune*. The population of Geneva was a mosaic of several parishes but the official boundaries were not subject to questioning⁴. The addition of land-registers to those of parish registers, as for our study of the Grandson area, showed the contrived aspect of any boundaries, be it parish or *commune*. As we shall see in section 5.2.4., the official parish limits of Onnens -Bonvillars revealed only 21% of all weddings as endogenous, further, in section 6.4.1., we will show how the holdings of about 20% of the landowners were scattered in at least two *communes* not necessarily in the same parish. Thus, the parish boundaries became unsatisfactory frames of analysis. Population moved within an area and that area did not coincide with any official boundary. Upon this observation, we had to modify our approach to the rigid framework of the parish.

Official or administrative boundaries may remain unaltered for centuries, but not so populations, which are made of individuals with particular needs, ideas and economic situations. In short, official boundaries are, for the purposes of historical consideration, static, while populations are essentially fluid. Obviously, to define a population based on official parish boundaries would be artificial, but an attempt to define what a population's area of movement might be is a task of immense complexity.

The creation of a frame of 'what' a population's movements are, begs the question, 'why?'. It is not sufficient to declare that Village A has more economic ties to Village B than to Village C, although A and C fall within the same official parish and B does not. To create a meaningful frame, one needs to know, as nearly as is possible, why this is so. Clearly the official parish boundaries are the worst possible frames for defining the population,

¹ L. Hubler, (1984), p.23-fl.

² B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992), p.15.

³ Refer: R. Netting, (1981).

⁴ Refer: A. Perrenoud, (1979).

however, other choices, if any, are hard to come by. Here lies the difficulty; before attempting to define any set of the population in relation to others, the *raison d'être* of the relationship must be well understood.

Only rarely could a physical cause and effect determining relationships between sets of population be figured out. Perhaps a geographical obstacle, such as a river or a steep crevice, would prevent two villages, however close, from communicating. Often social or economic factors are at play. A particular activity in a village, for example a seasonal market, would attract people from neighbouring areas, thereby creating opportunities for trade, the formation of marriage contracts, and so forth. One's mobility and activity in life are shaped by socio-economic constraints in addition to family habits and personal abilities. In considering these factors, a multitude of frames, each having its own *raison d'être* such as economic activity, marital practices, etc., become possible. Each possible frame is made up of sets and subsets of the population.

In the Grandson area, the population married, baptised their children and owned land outside the official parish boundaries, without clear patterns of behaviour. It was therefore necessary to create a frame to define a practical reality and not merely to accept the artificial administrative lines. After two centuries, in the absence of a geographical obstacle, a historian is faced with severe problems in describing boundaries of an area in which the movement of population is risk-free, economically productive and natural. The studies we have mentioned had taken as a paradigm official parish limits, but there is a need to define a 'natural' parish for our purposes.

In the past, people's mobility was restricted to the strength of their legs: a return journey to a neighbouring village. Within this radius, a 'natural' parish could be defined as a community and its surrounding villages, where the larger proportion of socially and geographically related people married, traded and owned properties. In this fashion, official parishes are widened to include villages from nearby parishes. For example, the official parish boundaries cover Champagne and the hamlet of St. Maurice, but the 'natural' parish will also include Bonvillars and the hamlet of Corcelette from

two different parishes. This 'unofficial' parish became a 'natural' geographical area within which many married and traded.

However, even by using the frame of 'natural' parish, the population of the area was far from being stationary. A proportion of the population did not easily fit inside any frames we could create. Many, 15% of the total population, were 'foreigners', those with origins outside the parishes under study but living inside. Although a large part of population movement could be attributed to the restricted definition of official parish boundary, the figure is surprisingly high for Swiss communities of the 18th century. At every turn, our efforts to define the residents of the three parishes were complex. Here, we begin to see circles within circles within circles and, we are faced with a multitude of Venn diagrams having a village in centre and stretched to the outmost borders of the next neighbouring *commune*.

5.2.2. WHEN TO MARRY

Among the major events of one's life (birth, marriage and death), marriage is the only event where the individual has any choice. One decides who one is to marry, and when. In this section, we shall consider what significance this choice has in the study of the population.

Even in deciding when to marry, an individual is still subject to some external controls. Religious and social convention or economic constraints dictate appropriate dates. Some of these conventions are perceptible to us after centuries, for example the Catholic prohibition as to weddings during Advent and Lent. Some others are part of collective subconscious, a mixture of pagan, superstitious beliefs and socio-religious practices. Whether due to official regulations or self-imposed practices, a pattern of behaviour can be sketched from the seasonal tables of marriages.

In the Grandson area, calculated over a ratio of 100¹ and allowing for an uneven number of days in a month, two periods are distinct within the year: May-September and October-April (*tab.5.1*). The May-September period is that of summer weddings. They were never large in number but remained

¹ $\text{Index} = K * \text{months}(N/\Sigma yN).$

Parish	JA	FE	MA	AP	MY	JU	JL	AU	SP	OC	NO	DC
Cns	161	124	99	70	29	110	117	91	55	59	143	143
Bnv-Ons	146	137	163	137	17	51	60	51	43	77	180	137
St.M.	133	182	133	140	35	49	84	49	49	70	84	189
Total	150	143	122	103	28	81	96	71	51	66	135	154

Table 5.1 *Seasonality of marriages, all parishes, 1680-1729, Index: 100.*

fairly constant. October-April is the time for celebrations.

The graph-line rises in winter months, which had the largest recorded number of weddings, slumps in spring, slightly peaks up in summer, then declines again toward the harvest season, in autumn. This pattern is classical to most parts of *Suisse-Romande*. However, in the parish of St. Maurice where data was available for over a century, the patterns of marriages levelled out from the 17th century to the late 18th century (*tab. 5.2*).

Period	JA	FE	MA	AP	MY	JU	JL	AU	SP	OC	NO	DC
1634-1679	167	155	148	155	25	99	68	43	43	62	93	142
1680-1729	133	182	133	140	35	49	84	49	49	70	84	189
1730-1789	151	121	125	68	71	103	119	84	73	71	84	130
1634-1789	151	140	132	101	54	92	101	69	62	69	86	144

Table 5.2 *Seasonality of marriages, St. M., 1634-1789, index: 100.*

Between 1634 and 1679, the maximum and minimum deviation for summer wedding peaks and those of winter was of 142 points. It dropped to 80 points by 1730-1789¹.

The peaks and slumps were not the result of any religious prohibition. In Protestantism, prohibition of marriage during Advent or Lent is not observed as it is with Catholics. Weddings, being social events in agricultural areas, reflect the degree of agricultural occupation during the year (*tab. 5.3*). Summer weddings are fewer in number because labouring, planting and a myriad of other agricultural activities are on the agenda. In winter, however, time is there to be filled.

¹

January's points minus May's.

Region	JA	FE	MA	AP	MY	JU	JL	AU	SP	OC	NO	DC
Geneva 1700-1750	102	117	129	138	47	116	92	96	77	87	96	103
Vallorbe 1650-1749	115	94	156	187	17	97	90	83	62	108	123	67
Pays d'Enhaut 1701-1800	117	134	146	258	54	70	40	22	26	69	117	147
Grandson area 1680-1729	150	143	122	103	28	81	96	71	51	66	135	154

Table 5.3 Seasonality of marriages, Suisse-Romande, C18th, index:100.

A simplistic but practical observation can be made. Supposing, for the sake of argument, that the first child's conception took place just after a winter wedding, the child would then be born nine month later, in autumn, when most field-work ended. The bride will have remained an active participant in the farm work throughout most of her pregnancy. However, a couple married in autumn would have their first child in May or June, when there was much to do and the bride, needed in the field, would be unable to help.

The slump in September has received less attention since it can be simply explained. September, being the month of harvest, winter labour and vintage, does not leave much room for festivities.

However, the unpopularity of May as a 'wedding month' has been a subject of some research in *Suisse-Romande*¹. Since no religious ban for Protestants falls in this month the phenomenon is a mystery. In Vallorbe, only twenty-six weddings were recorded in May between 1570 and 1821². Other parts of the Protestant canton of Vaud (Lausanne, Chavornay, Bavois and Corcelles-sur-Chavornay) showed evidence of the unpopularity of May for wedding as well³.

In Catholic areas, e.g., Echallens-Assens⁴, constrained by religious bans, May did not suffer marked unpopularity even if it was not much favoured either. In Protestant Geneva, the slump during May is also characteristic of

¹ L. Hubler, (1984), p.163; A. Perrenoud, (1979), p.384; M. Schoch, (1980), p.74.

² L. Hubler, (1984), p.163.

³ D. de Raemy and B. Gex-Fabry, quoted in: L. Hubler, (1984), p.164.

⁴ D. de Raemy, quoted in: L. Hubler, (1984), p. 164-fl.

the seasonal variation of marriages. Hubler (Vallorbe)¹ and Perrenoud (Geneva)² explain the slump in May by popular traditions and the shadows of religious habits. The same observation and explanation is also offered for Fleurier³.

In the Grandson area, in early 18th century, May is positively an unpopular month for weddings (*fig. 5.1*), though not as pronounced as in Vallorbe.

During the 18th century May gained some favour. Seasonal variations of marriages have not yet been studied for the 19th century in the canton of Vaud. However, by the mid 1970's May was the most popular month for weddings⁴. Obviously, whatever the substance of mentality and collective subconsciousness in the 18th century, it drastically changed in the next two centuries.

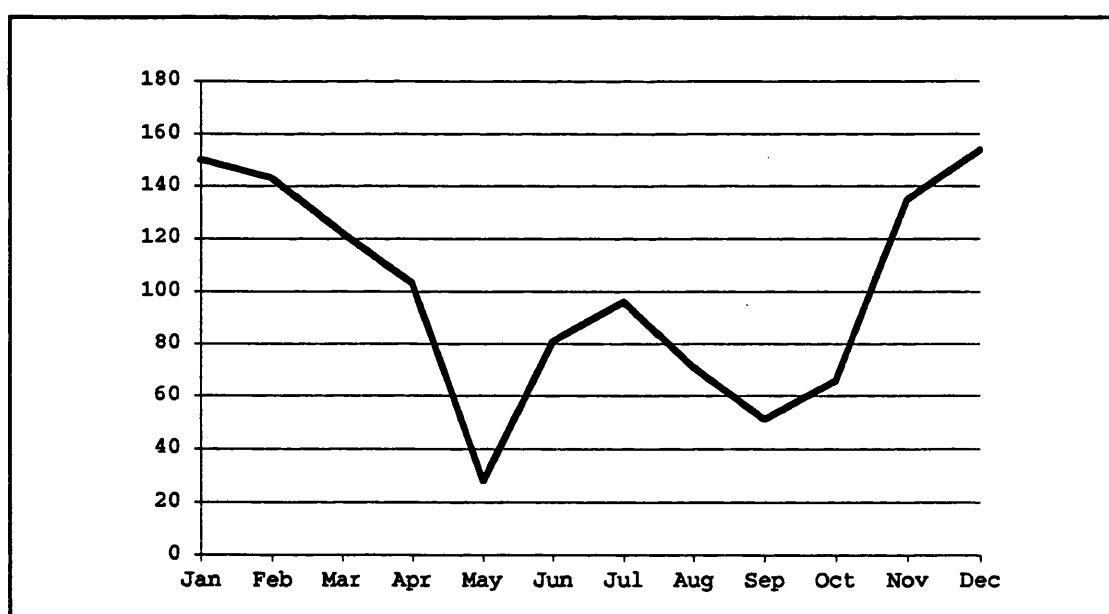


Fig. 5.1 The slump of May, marriages, Grandson area, 1680-1729.

¹ L. Hubler, (1984), p.167-fl.

² A. Perrenoud, (1979), p.386-fl; and, (1983), p.925-fl.

³ B. Sorges Miéville, (1992), p.172.

⁴ Federal Bureau of Statistics (OFS), quoted in: L. Hubler, (1984), p.169.

5.2.3. ANY DAY FOR A WEDDING

Weekly cycles of nuptiality has received some attention in France¹. As the date of the wedding is in the hands of the individuals involved, the weekly cycles bore some interest.

In dealing with parish registers of Grandson, two minor problems arise that should not be neglected, the publication of banns and the question of the Georgian Calendar.

The publication of banns was done in the parish of origin/residence while the marriage could take place anywhere. Couples were married between one and seven days after the third publication. However, these dates can be used for the actual date of marriage. Only about 7% of records were those of the banns. By 1587, Catholic cantons in Switzerland had adopted the Gregorian calendar. Protestant areas conformed 100 years later. It was only in 1701 that the Gregorian calendar² was finally implemented in the canton of Vaud. Catholic Fribourg and Protestant Berne were in serious disagreement about its adoption whenever a *bailliage commun* such as Grandson was concerned³. Nevertheless, the event went unrecorded in parish registers of Grandson. Pastors were not moved. We used 1701 as the date of its implementation. Thus, 31.12.1700 Julian becoming 12.01.1701 Gregorian.

To determine the days of the week for weddings, the year was calculated as having 365.24 days; the first day of the week and year being a Monday. In this way, the effect of leap years has been off-set. Occasionally a pastor would register the day of the week for such an event. For example 22.01.1722⁴ and 09.09.1686⁵ were both Thursdays. Luckily, days of the week calculated by computer and those recorded by pastors matched in Gregorian calendars. For weddings before 1701, a ten day shift produced correct results. If weddings had been distributed evenly during the week,

¹ Guillaume & Poussou, (1970), p.183-185.

² E. Mottaz, *DHV*, (1914), p.316.

³ According to A. Dupasquier, (1976), p.37, a document from the *commune* of Concise, mentioned 8th of April 1680 *new style* as 29th of March *old style*.

⁴ A.C.V., Eb_31/6-7.

⁵ A.C.V., Eb-31/b.

and averaged 100 daily, then 700 weddings would have taken place on the whole week.

The weekly cycles of weddings in our parishes were clear-cut. Thursday was the favourite (*tab. 5.4*). In Vallorbe, from 1570 to 1610¹, Sunday was favoured. A shift to Tuesdays and Fridays took place by the mid-17th century. From 1660 to the late 1770's Friday remained the most favoured day, closely followed by Tuesday. Berne, at various dates, had banned Saturdays and Sundays for weddings. The reasons are unclear to us. (The *Vaudois* and before them, the *Bernois*, enjoy making all sorts of minute rules for everyday life with no apparent reasons or long forgotten). Paul Hogger²

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
Concise							
1680-1699	26	5	47	537	21	11	53
1700-1729	57	57	54	413	39	29	50
Onnens-Bonvillars							
1680-1699	57	29	257	271	29	29	29
1700-1729	31	54	208	323	15	31	38
St-Maurice							
1634-1679	14	22	50	485	25	7	97
1680-1699	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1700-1729	57	14	19	520	24	47	19
1730-1759	96	79	99	206	71	51	99
1760-1789	79	32	30	79	96	22	362

Table 5.4 Weekly cycles of weddings, 1680-1789, index: 100.

suggested that Friday was the preferred wedding day in the canton of Berne.

Although it is established that different regions favoured one or two days in a week for weddings, the motivations behind the popularity of these days are unclear. We agree with an opinion widely shared in *Suisse-Romande*: each pastor would fix, at his convenience, his own day for the celebration of weddings.

¹ L. Hubler, (1984), p.171.

² *Encyclopédie illustrée du canton de Vaud*, (1973), vol.10, p.116-117.

5.2.4. WHOM TO MARRY

The seasonality of weddings pointed to favoured and unpopular times to marry. That is, many would have chosen to marry when field work was least intense. The query, whom to marry, is much more complex to answer and calls for data which in the 18th century were hardly, if ever, recorded; even today, with the help of dedicated surveys that include many variables, the results are frustrating¹. The criteria of finding a match are both subjective and rational. One may consider a circle in the centre of which the subjective grounds are grouped and, at the outmost limits, the rational reasons. Most weddings are scattered in the surface of the circle, that is, the match is the result of these factors' combination. Subjective ones, love and passion in seeking, hate and prejudice in rejecting a match, are best left to other studies. Only some measurable factors enter the domain of economist and demographer. These, however, reflect the data available in the particular circumstances of the study and could only be the signs of a much more complex family and social group's relationship. Anthropologists have coined the notion of endogamy (\neq exogamy) to differentiate unions within (between) groups. Demographers use them as a matter of routine in sections devoted to nuptiality in order to have a better understanding of family structure and formation. Whatever the etymology and the connotations of endogamy, exogamy, we shall use them as concepts defining marriages, which took place between couples of the same parish or marriages in which at least one spouse was an 'outsider'; spatial endogamy for short.

In literature many have gone beyond such a narrow and crude perception and had tried to analyze endogamy of finer social groups (class, profession, religious communities, etc..). Such attempts, in particular those under the *Ancien Régime* are handicapped by limited data. Very often they mirror a commonly acknowledged endogamy, that is, two of a kind were most likely

1

Refer: M. Bracher & all, (1993). Although this article is devoted to marriage dissolution, it has the merit of enumerating many variables which, in a sense, could be discussed in regard to the union of couples.

to marry. Neither Vallorbe¹ nor Fleurier² were exceptions to these observations.

In calculating the rates of spatial endogamy, that is the crude and primary conception described above, the definitions of weddings included or otherwise excluded from the exercise play a major role. So to speak, if a parish was to celebrate the wedding of only those worshippers who actually were from the parish, then any 'outsider' spouse would trigger a case of exogamy. In theory, couples could celebrate wherever they pleased. In practice, one married in a parish which one had some previous links. In Vallorbe, many married in the parish of the wife-to-be. L. Hubler in some detail described those weddings that she considered as significant to endogamy³. The method used for the study of Fleurier was originally devised by L. Henry⁴. Notwithstanding, both studies had previously applied the method of family reconstitution by which subgroups of all weddings were considered.

For the parishes of the Grandson area, we used the aggregates provided by *all* weddings celebrated in any of the three parishes. It could be argued that not *all* the weddings were significant; many who had come to marry in a parish we studied, were not necessarily domiciled there, thus, inflating the number of exogenous weddings. But then, the same argument is true for other couples which married outside the parishes under study, and for which we lost track of their wedding. The extent of this 'tourism' is unknown, however, it could be safely claimed that it was limited to an area within a reasonable distance from the domicile, in which, it was still possible to gather family and guests for celebration.

Henceforth, the notion of 'natural' parish, again, assumes great importance. In this section, we shall present three facets of the same story. First, we shall analyze data provided by the parish registers within the

¹ L. Hubler, (1984), p.156.

² B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992), p.200.

³ L. Hubler, (1984), p.157.

⁴ B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992), p. 201.

official parish boundaries, where endogamy happened to be between 21-44%, a low figure compared to those produced by L. Hubler for Vallorbe: 61% for 1639-1729¹. Second, within the same official parish boundaries, we shall consider, not the registers of wedding, but, the origin of parents from the baptism of the first child. The rates of endogamy, however, did not differ much from the first case. Third, we shall apply the concept of 'natural' parish as to define areas suitable to an analysis of endogamy. Eleven such diagrams had a village as its centre. We grouped them under the name of the parish to make any comparison possible. In doing so, the endogamy rates increased to 49-61% removing many cases of exogamy in which one spouse was 'outsider' if the official parish boundaries were used. Still between 10-18% of all weddings were among 'outsiders' to the area, close to the figure proposed for Vallorbe, 17% (1639-1729²). Fleurier had a slightly higher rate: 24% for 1727-1764³. As stressed below, we believe, the comparison of rates and the observations made from endogamy and exogamy, in spatial context, are hard to assess; it suffers from too many grey shadings in the classification and the interpretation of data. Both notions are specific to the village - or at most small town - studies. Larger agglomerations, say, Geneva in the past, tend to analyse migratory movement⁴.

Any marriage in which at least one spouse was a 'foreigner' (i.e., he or she had not been born in the parish under observation) can be considered an exogenous wedding. For each parish, there are then four possibilities for couples: 1) both the husband and the wife are from the parish (Mi/Fi) , 2) the wife is 'foreign', (Mi/Fo), 3) the husband is 'foreign' (Mo/Fi), or 4) both are 'foreign', (Mo/Fo).

In all three parishes under study, exogenous marriages were far more numerous than endogenous marriages (*tab. 5.5*). In Bonvillars, 79% of all

¹ L. Hubler, (1984), p.159.

² L. Hubler, (1984), p.159.

³ B. Sorges Miéville, (1992), p.201.

⁴ Refer: A. Perrenoud, (1979), p.258-ff.

marriages between 1680-1729 were exogenous; in St. Maurice 56%, but in Concise the figure was only 52%. These numbers point to one factor: the smaller the parish the more likely it is to have a high rate of exogenous marriages. (Bonvillars was the smallest parish and Concise the largest). Moreover, a higher proportion of men than women married outside the parish, excepting St. Maurice for which there is a logical explanation. Between 1680 and 1700 the male/female ratio dropped to 93:100, resulting in women in excess. Therefore, 22% of weddings were between women born in the parish of St. Maurice and 'foreigners'. However, the most striking figures are those of the marriages taking place between two 'foreigners'. Around one fifth of all weddings falls into this category¹.

The compilation of the table 5.5 is based on data of all weddings that

Period	Parish	Mi/Fi	Mi/Fo	Mo/Fi	Mo/Fo
1680-1729	Ons-Bnv	21	34	20	24
1682-1729	Cns	48	24	12	16
1691-1729	St. M.	44	16	22	18

M-F: Sex, i = in parish, o = out parish

Table 5.5 *Origins of couples, official parish, p.c.*

took place in the parish, in other words, it includes those who married in a parish but were not residents of that parish. Under the church laws (*consistoriales*),

it was not compulsory to marry in the place of abode. Therefore these results may be misleading through the potential inclusion of many marriages that would otherwise be recorded in the parish of residence. In other words, not all the weddings are significant in establishing exogenous weddings. It is interesting to compare them to the origin of the couple as recorded in the registers of baptism. It was presumed that anyone baptising at least one child in the parish after the wedding could be considered a resident of the parish; a couple could get married anywhere they wished, but they would settle in their residence and, perhaps, baptise their first child there. Therefore, the baptismal registers should show a more accurate picture of exogenous weddings.

¹

As for Vallorbe, L. Hubler, (1984), p. 157, claims that 47.2% of all weddings registered between 1639 and 1821 were among residents and 'foreigners'.

However, contemplating this test betrayed some wishful thinking on our part. As already stated in the previous chapter, some degree of mobility for the baptism of children could be observed. It was also possible that parents would choose to baptise their first child in the parish in which they had wed.

However, as it could be observed from table 5.6, the results of both tests are similar. In Bonvillars, 80% of couples had an exogenous wedding. In Concise the endogenous wedding rate drops by two points. The lack of data

	Mi/Fi	Mi/Fo	Mo/Fi	Mo/Fo
1680-1729 Ons-Bnv	19	48	9	24
1682-1729 Cns	46	28	9	17
1680-1729 St M.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

left no room for analysis in St. Maurice, for parents' names were seldom recorded.

Table 5.6 *Origin of couples, baptisms, p.c.*

Besides, in Bonvillars, the number of endogenous weddings also drops. Though insignificant, it shows a tendency confirmed by the results of Concise: a handful of couples left the parish after the wedding. The Mo/Fi ratio drops steeply, suggesting the tendency for many young women to wed in the parish in which they were born and then to emigrate after the wedding. The wedding was more likely to take place in the parish of the bride than that of the bridegroom. The most significant data is that of Mo/Fo: it remains almost the same for both parishes, with a slight upward trend on the curve in Concise. Many 'foreigners' married and settled in the *bailliage* of Grandson.

The official parish boundary, however, does not provide the best means of measuring exo- and endogenous weddings. Defined in terms of the administrative boundaries of the *bailliage* of Grandson, for example, the picture is distorted. We believe that a 'natural' parish boundary brings in new dimensions that encompass social aspects. In defining the boundaries as the 'natural' parish, the proportions of exogenous and endogenous weddings changed.

Period	Mi/Fi	Mi/Fo	Mo/Fi	Mo/Fo
1680-1729 Ons-Bnv	49	20	15	16
1682-1729 Cns	56	20	11	10
1691-1729 St. M.	61	10	11	18

Table 5.7 *Origin of couples, weddings, natural parish, p.c.*

The rate of endogenous (Mi/Fi) marriages in the 'natural' parish boundaries was much higher (*tab. 5.7*). Bonvillars scored 49% endoge-

nous marriages. Concise had a rate of 56% while the highest rate, 61%, is to be found in St. Maurice. It is worth noting that the size of the parish had no effect at all on the endogenous weddings. The largest parish, Concise, had even fewer endogenous weddings than St. Maurice. In St. Maurice exogenous (Mo/Fo) weddings was high within both the 'natural' and the official parish. As a matter of fact, it was fashionable to marry in St. Maurice, where there is a lovely church that provides a sheltered area in case of inclement weather.

Still, the picture drawn from these tables is simple: many couples preferred to wed in the neighbourhood. However, there is no definite pattern for the origin of couples. A match could be made between people of any origin, but the wedding would normally take place in the bride's parish. Small parishes are too close to one another. This makes the notion of exo-/endogenous marriages functionally nonsensical. The results needed to be shown as sets and subsets of a moving population. People were not sedentary within a parish or any other administrative boundaries.

5.2.5. WIDOWHOOD, REMARRIAGE

Widowhood and remarriage are problematic matters in demography. Their importance in rural economy has yet to be established. The death of a spouse brought radical changes in the family and had economical implications. How was the holding of the deceased bequeathed? On average, how long did it take before the grieving spouse wedded again? Who is he or she likely to wed, and from what social class would the second spouse come?

Questions are readier than answers. We could only trace a single case of widowhood through land-registers. However, a general picture is more informative than a particular case. This, however, proved to be quite a challenge.

Parish registers were discreet about noting remarriage. In the canton of Vaud the custom of *Charivari*¹ may have caused the remarried spouse to be even more discreet. *Charivari* was a public gathering during which young

¹

Refer: L. Junod, (1959b).

people mocked remarried couples¹. Therefore, many couples married outside their home parish to avoid mockery². In the absence of death registers, one cannot be certain about the death of the spouse, for our only indications would have been land-registers, and this assumes that there were holdings to be passed on. If we do assume, however, that an individual was widowed, it is difficult to discover whether he or she ever remarried, as no records would exist of marriages that took place outside our sphere of observation. Therefore the number of remarriages recorded is smaller than the actual number of remarriages that took place. If the spouses wished it and/or the pastor was willing, some indications of widowhood appeared in the recording of the event. In the fifty years between 1680-1729, St. Maurice recorded eight remarried widows, Concise 12 and Bonvillars 10 (*tab 5.8*). As for widowers, Concise registered two while Bonvillars and St. Maurice failed to register any. While it was good practice to record widowhood for women, men's remarriage was not mentioned at all.

A comparison and record-linkage of wedding records showed that pastors did not bother to record at least one sixth of the remarried widows. In all parishes, about 6-7% of all recorded weddings were those of the remarried widows. A few widows

Parish	Records	data-linkage
Bnv	10	11
Cns	12	18
St. M.	8	12

Table 5.8 Widowhood (N), 1680-1729.

married three times and one even married four times. We also compared records of weddings for widowers. By 1682-1729 Concise had eleven remarried widowers ($\approx 3\%$ of all weddings). St. Maurice and Bonvillars had no records of remarriages.

The cause of remarriage was mainly the death of the spouse, as divorce was rare. Many widowers remarried because they had small children to look after. The occasional cases where a man remarried one to three years after first wedding suggests the death of the first wife during childbirth. However, the complex question of remarriages could not be investigated in detail. The

¹ Refer: L. Junod, (1951) & (1959b); J.P. Chuard, (1959).

² A. Bideau, (1980), p.28.

aversion to having one's vital events registered properly seems even more pronounced in the event of a second marriage.

5.3. BUILDING VILLAGES

5.3.1. OCCUPATIONS, ACTIVITIES

A village is animated by its soul, the sum of activities undertaken. The villages under study in the 18th century were, basically, rural, that is, many made a living from the direct productions of the land. Having said so, the pitfalls of using the terms of village, rural, town and industry have been already discussed in chapter 1. While, a dominant stream of the literature has gone a long way to show that the canton of Vaud was rural¹, overlooking the craftsmanship/industrial aspect of economy, monographs of many economist-historians blurred such a romantic picture by investigating skilled workers². In short, many areas had both farming and craftsmanship activities. However, the problem facing a study of activities in most areas of the forthcoming canton of Vaud is a practical one. For a historical economist-demographer, documents should have recorded not only special buildings for production or transformation of goods but also the most important of all factors, the occupational data. Generally speaking, in *Suisse-Romande*, parish registers failed to record occupations. The surveys, mainly done in the 19th century, provide evidence of the range of occupations in Fleurier³. The parish registers of Vallorbe recorded some, but to build a broad picture, additional documentation (such as contracts) was necessary⁴. Nonetheless, both Fleurier and Vallorbe were enough important in size to demonstrate full time craftsmanship, trade or commerce. In the tiny villages of the 18th century Grandson area, there were not large enough markets to

¹ Refer: G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949). Ch. Biermann, (1946,1952).

² Refer: R. Jaccard, (1959); P.-L. Pelet, (1978) & (1983), both volumes contain comprehensive bibliographies.

³ B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992), p.88.

⁴ L. Hubler, (1984), p.370-ff.

appeal to craftsmen of large enterprises. Parish registers, unless exceptionally, failed to record occupations. Other types of document were also void of such details. Occasionally an individual's occupation would be recorded, if he were a high ranking judge or a doctor, but a skilled worker, a craftsman was rarely identified as such. Pedestrian information, ways in which people earned a living, were not worth recording. Besides, in the mind of the 18th century people what any petty property owner did for a living was evident: he was, of course, a farmer (*paysan*), even if the owner could hardly stretch in his piece of holding, or had enough land to have them farmed while he was away on business.

One can argue that most were in agricultural activities and thus there were no grounds to distinguish particulars. Nevertheless, the nature of the buildings surveyed in the land-registers point to some craftsmanship. We shall discuss them in section 8.5. Generally, there were buildings dedicated to some types of powerplant or power-drive (over a stream) equipment which needed skilled workers: millers, sawers, blacksmiths, tilers and paper-makers whom lived in the villages. Moreover, one could think of many other activities that would not be needing a dedicated building. A small workshop in the family's dwelling will suffice to be a cobbler, a locksmith. Many more skilled and semi-skilled needed to be hired for carpentry, building and stoneworking. Non-agricultural needs could thus be provided for by locals as part-timers, even if travelling skilled workers were also a possibility.

However, we believe that the attention should be diverted from the nomenclature of 'profession' and turned to 'activity' instead. Thus, we shall define 'profession' as a skill acquired by some years of training and practiced full-time to earn a living. An activity is defined as the same skill practiced in part time with some farming. Many farmers were part-time skilled workers. P.-L. Pelet, an economist-historian who has focused most of his studies on the industrial aspects of the canton of Vaud¹, in an article published in 1985 claimed that farming was not an occupation. For him, and evidence from the Grandson area confirmed this opinion, farming one's land was primordial, it

¹

Refer to bibliography: Pelet, P.-L., with special attention to *Fer, Charbon, Acier...*

was an individual's victual-earner (*gagne-vivre*). A skill earned him money (*gagne-sous*)¹. For a skilled worker, land owning was comparable to holding a saving account, a thrift. That is, land was bought and sold whenever necessary, an important factor of landownership. On the one hand it would account for the impressive volume of trade in land, on the other hand, land could be afforded when and where available, thus a scattered pattern of ownership in different *communes* of the Grandson area.

In the 1798 survey, the activities of the head of household were recorded as reproduced in table 5.9. Since no major socio-economic event had taken place in the 18th century that would have wrought any major changes, we believe that these patterns of activities in the *communes* in the late 18th century to be not much different from those of the beginning of the century. Farmers, wine growers were major landholders. Many cheesemakers were immigrants from the *Pays d'Enhaut*; earlier in the century, some were new comers while others had married locals and settled. Owners could hold anything from a garden to a number of fields while making a living from their skill or services: coopers, blacksmiths, doctors, millers, cobblers and so on. There were no large industrial activities in the *bailliage* of Grandson.

The lake of Neuchâtel would perhaps have provided a few full-time jobs for boatmen in Yverdon and Grandson-town but little more². Fishing did not account for much economic activity in those *communes* by the lake (Corcelles, Onnens), with the exception, perhaps, of Sunday fishing; we did not come across any documents suggesting the importance of the lake in the economy of *communes* under study. However it was of some economic value to Yverdon and Grandson-town, which would, now and then, drain some work force from the area.

Nonetheless the different activities in these rural *communes* show that the necessities of the community were covered. There were weavers for linen, cobblers for shoes, blacksmiths for basic tools. Bread was home-baked (there being only one baker to serve the entire area), and butchery was also

¹ P.-L. Pelet, (1985), p.162.

² Refer: P.-L. Pelet, (1946).

Activities	Tot.	BNV	CMP	CRL	FIE	FNT	GIZ	ONS
Baker	2	2						
Blacksmith	7	1	1	1			2	2
Butcher	1	1						
Carpenter	5	1	1			1		2
Cartwright	4	1					1	2
Cheesemaker	7	5	2					
Churchwarden	1					1		
Cobbler	7	2	1		2		2	
Cooper	8	2	1	3	1	1		
Day-Labourer	1		1					
Dentist	1	1						
Doctor	1							1
Dyer	1				1			
Farmer	253	43	51	21	46	35	34	23
Gardener	1							1
House-builder	2					1		1
House-keeper	2				2			
Inn-keeper	2				1			1
Joiner	4		1	3				
Judge	1							1
Labourer	8	1	1		1		2	3
Linen-maid	1				1			
Manufacturer	4				4			
Messenger (F)	1							1
Miller	5	1	1		3			
Priest	3		1		1			1
School Master	5	1	1		1		1	1
Servant	1		1					
Shepherd	5		2		1	1		1
Solicitor	1	1						
Tailor	6	3		1	2			
Trader	4				3	1		
Watchmaker	2			1		1		
Weaver	8	3		2			1	2
Wine grower	18	9	1					8

Table 5.9 Occupations, activities, 1798.

a private business. The 19th century watchmakers and manufactures were novelties compared to the earlier 18th century. However, in Fiez, a paper-mill and a dyeing workshop existed. Both were family enterprises and their

owners, the Pathey family, were comfortable landholders¹. On the whole, the economy in the area contained a host of useful activities covering the essentials of life. These activities would sustain a small market with a multitude of small profits for the practitioners, bringing some cash or supplies their lands would not provide. Farming and land holding was everybody's business. An industrious man (in general terms, it could have been a woman) topped it with a skill that not only earned him some more means of living but enabled him to pay some fellows as waged workers.

5.3.2. POPULATION ON THE MOVE

Migration is, undoubtedly, a complex issue. At the very least, there are the aforementioned problems of definition. Populations are not anchored to a specific geographical area. They move, though not all movement can be considered migration. For a movement to be migration, distance from one's place of origin and the length of stay must be considered. No one will challenge the fact that in 1848, the boat-loads of Irish who left for America were emigrating. However, movement between neighbouring villages is not generally held to qualify as migration. After all, a few years absence from the parish of birth does not make one an immigrant. When there is a natural barrier such as an ocean, defining migration is a simple task. However, in areas like Grandson where several roads link quite a few villages to each other and to the world beyond, population movements are not as clear-cut. Still, the analysis of parish registers suggested a mobile population. Yet mobility has to be defined.

The movement of population would be either:

1. Short distance: mostly among villages within half a day's walking-distance. This could not be spoken of as migration even if it led to a change of domicile and permanent settlement.
2. Long distance; the movement is permanent and the original home is at least a day's journey from the new residence. This is definable as migration.

¹

A.C.V., Fq-145, Fiez.

In the absence of direct data on migration, the information on this issue had to be deduced from parish registers: that is, the immigrants should have had a family (baptism, wedding). Unmarried and childless immigrants went unrecorded. There is no positive data on emigrants. In theory, any child baptised could only go out of observation either by death or migration. In the absence of death registers, everyone is bound to stay in the observation, *ad vitam aeternam*.

Herein, we defined an immigrant as a domiciled individual, exogenous to the parish, but having at least one child baptised in the *commune* of domicile. In this fashion we could distinguish seven different categories of the population's movement (*tab. 5.10*):

1. within 'natural' parish: the parishes of Concise, St. Maurice and Bonvillars due to their proximity constitute a 'natural' parish. There was a high ratio of intermarriages. About 85.8% of the population were born in and took a spouse from within this area.

Origin	Cns	Bnv	St.M.	All
Natural Parish	87.0	77.7	90.8	85.8
Vaud	1.7	6.3	5.0	3.7
<i>Pays d'Enhaut</i>	1.9	2.2	1.9	2.0
Neuchâtel	3.9	6.6	0.4	3.6
Berne	4.2	5.4	1.5	3.7
France	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.7
Others	0.5	1.2	0.0	0.5

Table 5.10 Migration, Grandson area, 1680-1729, p.c.

2. from the canton of Vaud (excluding the population coming from *Pays d'Enhaut*): 3.7% of resident population had their origins in Vaud. This is the same proportion as those from Berne or Neuchâtel.
3. from the *Pays d'Enhaut*: People from *Pays d'Enhaut* were the actual migrants. They had a much appreciated art of making hard cheese (*fruitiers*) which was an asset to cattle owners as hard-cheese could be preserved. Their migration to different parts of the *Suisse-Romande* area was already important in the 17th century¹. In 1648, after the fall in the price of cattle and cheese, many petty land/cattle owners sold out and left for more promising lands.

¹

A. Radeff and P.-L. Pelet, (1980), p.96.

Comprising 2% of the population in the Grandson area, they came in equal proportion from Château d'Oex, Gessenay, Rougemont and Rossinière. Often, they immigrated with their families and, frequently, children born to these families married within the 'natural' parish.

4. from France: after the revocation of the *Edit de Nantes* by Louis XIV, many Huguenots used Switzerland as an escape route from persecution. Some settled in the Grandson area: less than 1% of total population.

In a remarkable piece of study, Ducommun & Quadroni have analysed their flux in the *Pays de Vaud*¹. Some lived either from their personal income, or subsisted on charity (pension)², some acquired lands and settled in the area.

5. from Neuchâtel: 3.7% of residents were from neighbouring villages of the principality of Neuchâtel.
6. from Berne: effectively Berne ruled Grandson. Therefore it is not surprising that many *Bernois* (3.7%) settled in Grandson. In contrast, the number of immigrants from Fribourg was negligible (a few *seigneurs*). The *Bernois* population fell into two distinct social strata: either they were high-ranking officials of the administration or they came as labourers, shepherds and wine-growers, in the employ of officials and then settled.
7. others: some residents in the Grandson area came from places other than the six previous categories.

By the end of the century there was a drop of 6% in the native population of the 'natural' parish. This drop benefited the Swiss-Germans (mainly *Bernois*), *Vaudois*, and *Neuchâtelois* who settled in greater numbers in the area. Servants were not an issue in the area. The population was made of petty owners who could not have afforded to keep a servant. Often the wife of an immigrant would act as a part time day-servant to a local family. In

¹ Refer: M.-J. Ducommun & D. Quadroni, (1991). In page 18, they provide the number of Huguenots settled in Bonvillars (14), Corcelles (7), Concise (5) and Giez (2). It would be interesting to confront their names to those we surveyed for the area.

² Refer: E. Piguet, (1934).

contrast a few of the area's youngsters (male and female) would go into the service of affluent families of towns (Yverdon, Neuchâtel, and perhaps Grandson) and come back to marry.

5.3.3. SURNAMES IN THE PARISH OF ST. MAURICE

The study of migration has many aspects. Since we had no direct archive materials by which we could have a glimpse of the migration movement, in this section we shall try to measure the population movement through an analysis of surnames.

The baptismal records from the parish of St. Maurice provided the longest listing of surnames and their origin from 1630 to 1810. With this list in hand, we attempted to evaluate the frequency of newcomers to the area¹ (*tab. 5.11*).

Of course one cannot assume that every family baptising a child in St. Maurice was definitely settled in the parish. However, to offset any statistical inaccuracy, we offer the fact that there were couples settled in the parish who did not have a child to baptise. Nevertheless, new surnames in the parish are a strong indication of population movement. However, the disappearance of a surname cannot be attributed to emigration alone. It is always possible that a family had no children or only female descendants; no one carried the name into the next generation.

Period	Tot.	C.N.	Net B.	Ratio
1631-1650	36			
1651-1670	44	27	9	.25
1671-1690	41	25	19	.43
1691-1710	52	29	12	.29
1711-1730	46	27	25	.48
1731-1750	60	26	20	.43
1751-1770	61	38	22	.36
1771-1790	62	34	27	.44
1791-1810	69	34	28	.45

Tot. = total number of surnames in the period.

C.N. = common surnames to a list and the previous.

Net B. = net balance, new surnames to the parish.

Ratio = net balance over pervious period's total.

Table 5.11 Surnames' trend in St. Maurice, 1630-1810

It is important to remember that the surnames do not mean households. Names may be repetitively similar but large in number, while the number of surnames may be large and yet the population very small. Despite this over-

¹

A list of all surnames from parish and land-registers is produced in appendix C.

simplified approach, the evolution of the trend of surnames and their origin over twenty-year-period was the only method possible to frame some aspect of population movement. A twenty-year-interval seemed a plausible period for a household to flourish and produce children. Less than twenty years seemed too short a time for duration of a household. More than twenty years too long as a member was likely to have quit the family and set up household elsewhere. The total number of surnames in the period was compared to the number of names in the following period. The net balance of surnames was then calculated. Newcomers to the parish would show a positive balance while any surname not repeated would point to a family who may have left the parish or have had no male descendants to carry the name. The ratio is a weighted gain from the previous period. The closer to one, the greater the inward trend to the parish. Table 5.11 shows the gains but does not include families who moved out of observation. Data were too limited to allow objective scoring of 'out-of-observation' surnames (death, migration). We deliberately abstained from this calculation.

It is no revelation to observe (*tab. 5.12*) three categories of surnames: a hard body of names surviving throughout the 1633-1810 period, a medium body of names surviving a significant part of the period and another body that did not survive more than one generation. In Törbel, where the movement of population was minor, the same exercise would have pointed to a larger body of surviving surnames in the parish, that is to a less mobile population¹. The number of 'foreigners' grew as the population increased. Only thirty-three surnames lasted at least half the period while, 114 new surnames had at least one baptism in the parish. Therefore, the movement of population is high enough to make it difficult to sustain the idea of closed communities.

Years	Surnames (N)
1	^A 114
< 10	^B 52
10-20	10
20-30	11
30-40	8
40-50	13
50-60	7
60-70	3
> 70	26
Total	244

^A only one baptism

^B at least two baptisms

Table 5.12 Surnames' rotation,
St. M., 1630-1810.

¹

Refer: R. Netting, (1981).

Many had at least one baptism in the parish and some outside it. They included Swiss-Germans, French refugees or families living in the 'natural' parish who were not from the *bourgeoisie* of the villages.

5.4. FADING FACES

In 1728 Berne ordered pastors to keep registers of deaths. Although here and there a few deaths were reported (in Concise, from 1722 onward), it was not until 1730 that death registers were worth considering in the parishes of St. Maurice, Concise and Onnens-Bonvillars. We omitted analyzing the data from the two parishes of Concise and Onnens-Bonvillars since until 1750 the data were very poor. We took the Parish of St. Maurice as a specimen, the data being more promising. Even then we could hardly distinguish between children and adults since only surnames were recorded. A common example concerns a *veuve* Pointet. At the time, several widows were named Pointet. Data linkage was futile. Age at death is only exceptionally recorded. Very few cases captured the imagination of the pastor: a baby who died at three-and-a-half months, or an elderly man of 92 years¹. The most fruitful record was that of "David Tharin of Champagne who died on the fourth of July 1728". In data linkage, we found six possible dates of baptism for him among all those named "David Tharin": Pierre-David (2), David (2), Etienne-David and David-Samuel.

The causes of deaths were seldom registered. Most registration followed along lines such as: "an old man/woman on the second of February 1729"². Therefore, for St. Maurice we based our analysis on the death totals for years 1730-1769. Since burial was presumed to take place two to three days after the death, no adjustment was necessary.

¹ A.C.V., Eb-123/4, St. Maurice.

² A.C.V., Eb-123/4, St. Maurice.

5.4.1. BAPTISM, WEDDING AND BURIAL

The graph (fig. 5.2), however poor in data points displays classic features. The movements of births and deaths share the same pattern. Any surge in baptism is followed by an escalation in the number of deaths, pointing to the fact that child mortality is a constant factor in number of deaths.

From table 5.13 an abnormality could be detected. In the winter of 1746-1747, some unknown epidemic broke out in many parts of *Suisse-Romande*. In the *Pays d'Enhaut*, M.Schoch describe it as 'flu'¹. N. Morard for *Gruyère* and

Period	Baptisms	Weddings	Deaths
1730-1734	71	29	54
1735-1739	67	41	58
1740-1744	65	41	33
1745-1749	67	38	66
1750-1754	77	43	53
1755-1759	70	45	67
1760-1764	78	58	51
1765-1769	75	45	60

Table 5.13 B, W, D, St.Maurice, (N), 1730-1769.

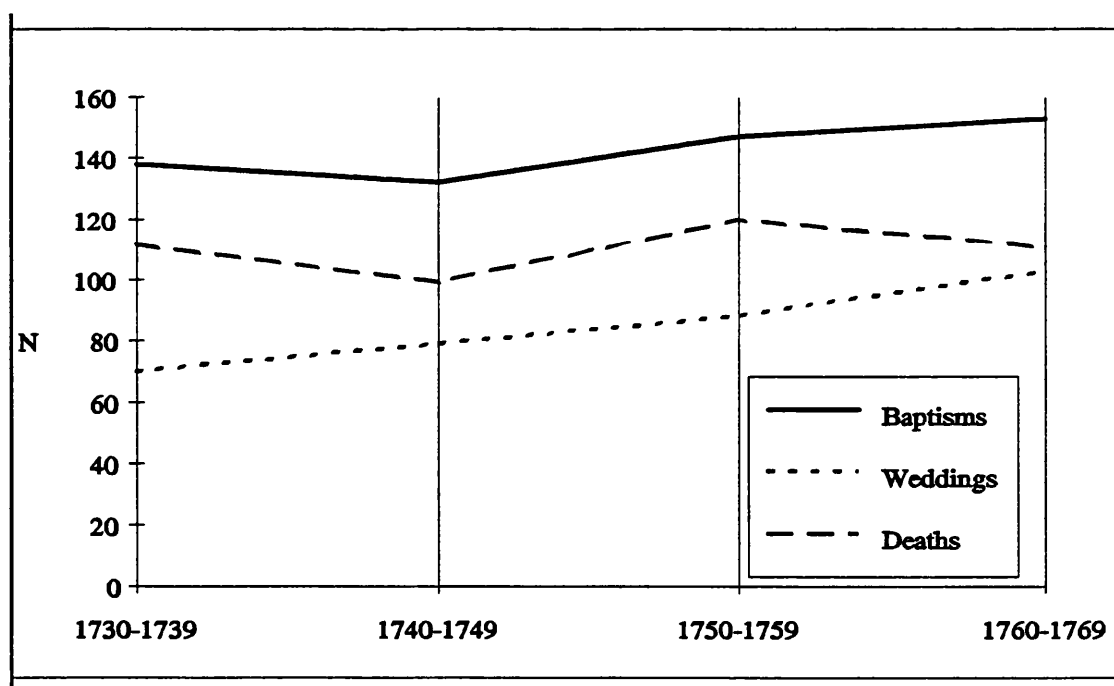


Fig. 5.2 Ten yearly movement of B, W, D, St. Maurice, 1730-1769.

¹ M. Schoch, (1980), p.52 & 62.

Pays d'Enhaut suggests cholera¹. Since the cause of death was not recorded in St. Maurice until the late 1750's, a useful theory about the epidemic cannot be offered.

5.4.2. SEASONALITY OF DEATH

As we had a season for weddings we also found a pattern for deaths. As data was modest it was only possible to provide a one-line table (5.14) for 1730-1769 in St. Maurice. The indexes provided two seasons for deaths: summer (May to September) and the winter period (October to March). March has a high mortality rate, the change of seasons seemed unlucky.

JA	FE	MA	AP	MY	JU	JL	AU	SE	OC	NO	DC
108	122	166	124	83	88	69	85	77	105	66	102

Table 5.14 Seasonality of death, St. Maurice, 1730-1769, index: 100.

¹

N. Morard, (1964), p.22.

SWEET CHAMPAGNE

6.1. IN A BROKEN CUP

In the course of history, there are tiny towns, villages or hamlets that become very famous despite their size or might. Waterloo, Maastricht, . . . Törbel and Vernamiège are such examples. The latter are anthropological case studies of Alpine area villages of Switzerland, and much read by rural economists and demographers. English speaking scholars interested in central-European studies are well acquainted with Törbel: a village of canton of Valais with a harsh climate and a community that kept very much to themselves. The village, isolated in the mountains, a cul-de-sac, is served by only one road to its built-up area. Vernamiège is not much different and presents the same characteristics. Both studies have become show-cases of Swiss rural economy in the mind of foreign readers of Swiss historiography. For many, unfamiliar with the little-known studies of Swiss bred scholars, Törbel first, and then Vernamiège, are examples of what rural life might have been in '*Switzerland*'. This, however, is a much distorted image since Switzerland has not only mountains, but also comparatively flat areas, *plaines*. And life is not the same in places where the built-up area of the town or village can be reached by many roads.

Törbel and Vernamiège, because of their geographical peculiarities, were well suited to anthropology's methods and scopes. In defining the subject of his study, G. Berthoud had three criteria: geography (above 1000 m alt.),

rural community and the equal inheritance system¹. The period studied was *modern*, i.e., ≈ 1850-1960. Economic unity, homogenous economic behaviour and a high rate of endogamy², led to an understanding of Vernamiège as a closed community whereby the ties and relationships with a larger society were very much restricted. Törbel's case of study is similar. In the introduction, P. Laslett wrote: "*This book is about a closed corporate community*³ . . . ". Despite Laslett's warning "*Törbel can hardly be universalized*" and R. Netting's reminders through the text to the same effect, many rural communities get their descriptive adjective by inference: closed and perhaps corporate.

Many Swiss rural economists have either added directly or hinted to another descriptive adjective which is either an effect of a restricted community or a cause of it, self-sufficiency (autarky). This idea was in the mind of G. A. Chevallaz, when he wrote his study on *Vaudois* rural economy under the *Ancien Régime*. Although, he sparingly used the term autarky⁴, he never bothered defining it. Further, Ch. Biermann described Vaud as: " a self-sufficient county⁵". In a later study, D. Zumkeller, stipulated the same stream of thought, while studying Geneva in late the 18th century. He used the terms of autarky and self-sufficiency⁶ without defining either, and married them with integral production whereby the units of production and consumption were the farms.

Autarky is a catch-all term. Often, we have often wondered precisely what writers meant by it. Oxford Concise Dictionary define it as: "*self-sufficiency, esp. as an economic system, a state etc. run according to such a system.*" A broad definition . . . Further, self-sufficiency is portrayed as: "*Able to supply one's needs oneself, . . ., able to provide enough of a commodity (as food, oil, etc.) from one's own resources without the need*

¹ G. Berthoud, (1967), p. 27.

² G. Berthoud, (1967), p. 211.

³ P. Laslett in introduction to R. Netting, (1981), p.VII.

⁴ G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), pp. 39, 66.

⁵ Ch. Biermann, (1952), p.7.: "*[Vaud]... un pays qui se suffit à lui-même.*"

⁶ D. Zumkeller, (1992), *autarcie* (p.11, 320), *autosuffisance* (cover page).

*to obtain goods from elsewhere*¹". Thus, self-sufficiency joins autarky in a holdall. Trying out the antonyms, one may find dependency, or market economy, which are also glory-holes.

In fact, the usage of such term causes the reader to form his own opinion as the relativity of it. Today, one office worker living in a flat is totally dependent on his wages, the next corner's supermarket and some car manufacturer. Total self-sufficiency is either a remote dream or a nightmare. Even Robinson Crusoe had to *recycle* a sunken ship (built by others) to help him with his solitary life.

Henceforth, we believe in the relative meaning of self-sufficiency which is intimately related to a definition of needs. Considering a farm as self-sufficient, in general, comes to stating that *all* the needs, be it food, clothing, tools or seeds were obtained within the holding. That is, the farmer was not only a farmer but also a weaver, a blacksmith, a builder, carpenter, . . . , and many more. No-one was born the Jack-of-all-trades with perfect skills in all domains. Occasionally, any farmer needed a skilled worker to hire or goods to purchase. Therefore, self-sufficiency is necessarily a relative concept.

Alternatively, one can consider the village as self-sufficient, whereby most of the agricultural products were internally consumed, most skilled workers were carried out within the village and the population presented a stability in turnover. Törbel and Vernamiège are best examples of such case, where the anthropological scope matched the peculiarities of living in a somehow geographically isolated region, the high mountains of Valais.

Moreover, one may consider self-sufficiency in *only some aspects* of the community life. In the rural economy of a poly-cultural village, this could be a proven factor. In the 1940's and 1950's, many villages of the canton of Vaud had a greengrocer that has now been replaced by area supermarkets, where farmers buy fresh food, including exotic products. This is, however, in some opposition to the 18th century ways of life. In a poly-cultural farm, with vineyard, meadow and arable lands, what was not consumed was

1

Oxford Shorter English Dictionary, (1993).

preserved for rainy days and the surplus was sold either on the market or to a tradesman, after the payments of taxes, of course. This might be an instance well-defined self-sufficiency in food, even if the poor might occasionally need an additional supply and the rich bought a better wine than they produced when necessary. However, even a poly-cultural farm could not avoid the need to buy tools and for the maintenance of buildings and storage had to rely on some skilled workers or tradesmen to satisfy these needs. The non-farmers would buy raw or crafted materials, ... and a simple market was born. Again, self-sufficiency and autarky are very relative terms and have to be discussed before being used.

Champagne would never be another Törbel. The villages in the Grandson area were not closed. The geographical situation of Champagne or any other village we studied, prevented them from being isolated. In the margin of the *plaine*, the *Bailliage* of Grandson enjoyed a rather flat landscape compared to mountains of Valais. Besides, each village was in the centre of a knot from where a network of paths, ways and roads stemmed. As we have already stressed in chapters four and five, people moved a great deal, even if it was not a formal migration. A rather flat country side, open to all with roads can hardly be called isolated. For instance, many Protestant refugees, flying the persecution of Louis the XIV, used the route Yverdon-Neuchâtel to reach safe lands¹. As we have seen² some of them stayed in the area.

In this chapter, the choice of Champagne as a show-case was intentional but it came naturally. On the one hand, the land-register of Champagne covered 90% of the surface-areas as recorded two centuries later in 1914³. Therefore, we could rely on observing the total surface area of 1712. On the other hand, parish registers were fairly comprehensive, providing a maximum of data on population. Besides, Champagne was a natural parish in which through the land survey, all neighbouring villages of Champagne were also under observation. Whatever the answers to the questions for Champagne

¹ Ducommun & Quadroni, (1991), p.21.

² See: section 5.3.2.

³ See: section 2.3.2.

might be, with different ratios and rates, the same configuration can be found elsewhere. Our aim is to project our understanding from the reading of land-registers and parish registers. In doing so we shall limit ourselves to Champagne. As it will become clear in further chapters, each village deviated in some way from any simple model. There were no simple and straight forward situations that could be considered a satisfactory proof for any hypothesis. The populations' evolution varied from village to village and the link existing between villages made it possible to see only bits and pieces of the actual situation.

The units of study, or *communes*, were adequate as far as the position of plots of land were concerned but unsatisfactory when approaching the problem of landownership. *Communes* did not exist inside limited, impermeable boundaries within which people were required to stay, hold lands and go about their daily lives. The radius of a population's life stretched beyond the borders of their village as the reading of both the parish and the land-registers confirmed. Although the *commune* provided an analytical basis, as a systematic frame of landownership it was proved unsatisfactory. Larger administrative areas were also unsuitable: any given official parish, despite enclosing several villages, as we have seen in the previous chapter, could not be seen as definitive radius for the population's vital events. *Féodal* boundaries, such as *métralie*, were even less helpful, for similar reasons. Moreover, with the relative small size of data sets, some of which were fragmented, building models that could analyze behaviour patterns (if any existed in first place) was inconceivable. Therefore, despite the imperfection of the *commune* as the unit of study, we were left with no better descriptive alternative. However, in many tables and graphs we have used the term of *neighbour* or *neighbourhood* in designing the holders of the next villages. These areas added to the commune form what in the previous chapter we called a natural parish.

6.2. CIRCULAR MATTERS

If historical demography books usually follow the same path and scholars argue over similar object with similar words and methods, readers of rural economy materials are sometimes taken by surprise by the exact nature of the topics discussed. Varieties in documents analyzed and theories, make room for many different approaches, each perfectly legitimate but with contradictory results. Under the heading of rural economy one may fill a room with bibliographies. There are myriad of topics that can be investigated: the production of crops, the economy of wheat, vine or cattle; the usage of soil, the village lay-out, the farmers, the technique of agriculture and many, many more.

A survey of literature in the rural economics is similar to the work of Penelope. Weaving in the day and unravelling each night. Any explanatory element in a situation has a contradicting effect in another situation. The relevance of literature is relative and unless the field has been narrowed there is no way of comparing and quoting similar studies. Besides, words used are heavy with historical notation and connotation. In demography, a widow has simply lost her husband; in rural economy a farmer could have either rented the land or held it for cultivation. For English speakers, a land holder had a large estate and stewards to run it, a *Vaudois* would call him *seigneur* since anyone with the smallest possible piece of land in his possession was a land holder. Therefore, many terms used by the writers should be read in full awareness of connotation and implication. However, often, this basic consideration is not well taken. G.-A. Chevallaz, omitted to define town and village¹. D. Zumkeller used autarky and self-sufficiency² but without defining either; he married them with integral production whereby the unit of production and consumption was the farm. Compared with historical demography, in rural economy corners can be cut too easily.

¹ G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p.37. See also section 1.6.

² D. Zumkeller, (1992), *autarcie* (p.11, 320), *autosuffisance* (cover page).

In this chapter we limited the boundaries of the investigation to the topics which were either directly stated in the land-registers or would be a natural inference from them. Besides any topic has to imply population, landowners and ownership. In doing so we defined the concept of economic entity, which we shall discuss in the next section. The analysis we propose in this chapter is a new approach to known topics, that is when faced with an item of information gathered from the land-register we have discussed its implication with practical aspects of a population's life. To avoid cutting corners, we subsequently narrowed the relevant literature. There were few publications in *Suisse-Romande* which had used systematically the land-registers of *Ancien Régime* as the primary source of data. A. Radeff's, *Lausanne et ses campagnes*¹ was the first of such publications. Later, D. Zumkeller used also land-registers to observe Geneva's agriculture². Nonetheless, these publications are only the tip of an iceberg. Studies based on the land-registers are underway and since late 1980's, seminars are held in different universities. Besides, many undergraduates have worked on such materials for an unpublished *mémoire de licence*³, access to which is limited.

The methods used and the aspects emphasized produced quite different studies with the same type of data. For example, A. Radeff's study, Lausanne in the 17th century, is more concerned with a spatial definition of cultivation than of the owners. In D. Zumkeller's study of some parishes of the canton of Geneva by the end of the 18th century, only one section is devoted *in extenso* to the direct data from registers of land and even then the morphology of land is the chief focus of attention. Having said so, land registration concerned a definite area, period and particular needs of distinct government systems. Those of Geneva responded to the desire of an administration, a government independent of Swiss confederates, by the late 18th century, to clarify a mingled geopolitical state⁴. The registers and maps

¹ Refer: A. Radeff, (1980).

² Refer: D. Zumkeller, (1992).

³ Refer: Richards and Zamora (1978) & D. Bron, (1982), F. Porta, (1980) & etc..

⁴ D. Zumkeller, (1992), p.81.

of 1670's by Pierre Rebeur, Berne's commissioner, reflected not only Berne's worries about taxation but also the power struggle between Lausanne as a major town and the *Bernois* politics¹ in the *Pays de Vaud*, over which Berne was a unique master. In comparison, Grandson's case is a poor relation. The last *Rénovation* responded to plain materialism. A few civil servants bothered by a fall in the state's income undertook some steps to improve the situation. We have already discussed these matters in section 2.3.1. It should be remembered that the *Bailliage* of Grandson was not a part of *Pays de Vaud* and as such had its own past, which we strongly believe to be similar to that of Vaud but not identical. Berne and Fribourg had an alternate governmental power, and whatever Berne decided for the *Pays de Vaud* did not apply necessarily to the *Bailliage*.

The land-registers of Grandson were very much like a telephone directory, from which a meaningful pattern has to be built up. In the next two chapters we shall examine the nature of the data and how they could answer or not some questions, that is, we shall dissect data. In this chapter, however, we shall present a synthetic result, the morphology of a village, Champagne in the years 1710-1725. As we shall see, Champagne is an antithesis to a closed community. Many individuals from Champagne held lands beyond its borders and many *communiers* from neighbouring areas owned lands inside Champagne. In fact anyone's holding was bound to be scattered in different villages. As our examples of economic entities will show, an average family's properties were in no less than three villages. Any such entity was a patchwork of different inheritances from mother, father or a previous wife/husband. In each economic entity, it is possible to trace weddings that took place between the spouses of different origins.

In Geneva by the late 18th century, there were cases of scattered holdings², however, their significance was not investigated. The reading of a summary report on landownership in Vallorbe in the early 19th century³

¹ A. Radeff, (1979), ch. 2.

² D. Zumkeller, (1992), p.94.

³ Refer: Richards & Zamora, (1976). *Mémoire de licence*.

showed that there were not many outsiders holding lands in that small town even if it was not a closed community. The results of a land survey of 1784 in Pommaples, a village to the south of Grandson area, presented similar indications to those we have for Champagne: more than 55% of the land holders were outsiders to the village¹.

These observations call for an attempt at some interpretation. Speaking for the Grandson area only, we believe that the chance of whom one was to marry was the major cause of such mixtures². In a geographically small but rather populous villages, lands were to be held where they could be afforded. Moreover, in the forthcoming canton of Vaud, poly-culture was practiced by many farmers. In cases where a particular type of land was missing from the inherited holding, it had to be added later, even if it happened to be in the next village.

A landholder could be anyone: child, adult, single, widowed, male or female. In other words, the landowner was not the head of family *ipso facto*. Undoubtedly the father acted as chief in many areas of everyday life, but he had not a free hand with his wife's or children's properties. These were particularly visible within each *reconnaissance* and helped in the building of economic entities.

The precise vocabulary of each *reconnaissance* pointed to different types of ownership which have not been in the scope of many studies. The absence of discussion on this issue in the literature is bewildering. There were three distinct types of ownership in the Grandson area: *exclusive*, *undivided and common*. These governed the relationship between a piece of land and its holder, thus, in any holding more than one type of ownership could have subsisted.

Exclusive ownership is the most familiar type of all where one owner held a field. Invariably, those who have analyzed the size of properties have this concept in mind.

¹ F. Porta, (1980), p.91. *Mémoire de licence*. There were some inconsistencies in the figures.

² See: section 5.2.4.

Undivided ownership was a familiar practice in *Suisse-Romande*. A number of owners shared a field and each owner was guaranteed a precise share. Many jurists mentioned it as a part of civil contract in a matter of fact way. Ph. Tanner, in his study of the Book of Laws of Grandson (*coutumier*) did not pay any attention to the subject¹, even if many articles of the Book referred to it. When considering the size of holdings, rural economists have mostly been bothered by undivided plots: methodologically how to manage them? F. Walter, concerned with the size of parcels, united them into one parcel². D. Zumkeller shared them among the owners. In the countryside of Geneva undivided properties were either unproductive (woodland, bushy and rocky) or buildings³.

Common ownership, in which the holding was one but the owners were many, seemed to be a particular arrangement for Grandson area whereby owners had no precise share (in contrast to *undivided* ownership) but were *reconnus* as holders. *Common* ownership has not been mentioned in any previous studies.

We believe that the different types of ownership were mechanisms that satisfied random conditions of the inheritance process. That is whenever the properties were to change hands by the death of the owner, the outcome had to please all parties concerned without wasting the resources with infinitesimal shares. Therefore, the different types of ownership would have allowed flexibility in the contractual system of equal inheritance.

The inheritance system is a classical issue to many domains: anthropologists have considered its impact on the community⁴. *Vaudois* jurists have discussed its forms and legal implications⁵. Multi-disciplinary scholars, J. Goody, E. Le Roy Ladurie, P. Bourdieu, and G. Augustins⁶ have published

¹ Refer: Ph. Tanner, (1992).

² Refer: F. Walter, (1980).

³ D. Zumkeller, (1992), p.94.

⁴ Refer, G. Berthoud, (1967) & R. Netting, (1981), (1993).

⁵ Refer: Ph. Tanner (1992), J.-F. Poudret, (1955), F. Michon, (1960).

⁶ Refer: J. Goody, (1976), Goody & Thirsk (eds.), (1976), E. Le Roy Ladurie (1972 & 1976), P. Bourdieu, (1962 & 1972), G. Augustins, (1979 & 1982), *and many more*.

essays of synthesis. Many used terms such as strategies that we believe are best suited to large societies rather than a handful of tiny villages in the early 18th century. In section 6.6. we have discussed the implication of inheritance system, equality in shares among the heirs with regard to the types of ownership and holdings in the particular case of Grandson.

6.3. BUILDING ECONOMIC ENTITIES

In approaching the study of population from both the demographic and economic points of view, two methods were used to associate records of individuals into meaningful patterns. From demographic perspectives, we found the method of family reconstitution, even though only partially successful, useful. From economic perspectives, (i.e., a study of land-ownership) we devised 'economic entity'. It pools the individual holdings of the same hearth. Economic entity brings in aspects of inheritance and landownership in a single framework. Therefore, the investigation goes further than studying merely the formal application of inheritance laws within the *féodal* system. In the best scenario, demographic analysis would have provided us with data on the population at large: who were those with children, who married, who left the village or settled within its boundaries, landless or freeholder. Demographic data, dates of vital events, would be added to the economic entities. The whole data structure would provide information on the wealth of families and the policies they used for dividing the household's holdings through dowries, settlement or inheritance.

Unfortunately, the demographic material at hand fell short of achieving the primary objectives set. The fact that the data were fragmentary turned out to be a secondary complication in analysis. Far more baffling was the underlying mobility of the population, which made identification of subjects through the recording of vital events nearly impossible. While it would have simplified the research significantly, we were forced to acknowledge that the subjects were not bound to a village from birth to death.

Building economic entities proved a far more profitable endeavour: We created a simple frame to assemble all properties (dispersed not only throughout various *reconnaissances* within a land-register but throughout different villages as well) belonging to the same household. Admittedly, before an extensive analysis of land-registers, we were unaware of the breadth with which possessions were scattered throughout many villages, and so we had planned, naively, to build economic entities for *all* the landowners in the registers under observation.

With a consequent grasp of the dissemination of landownership, the disarray in the ownership over different types of land and the unproductive interpretation of taxes (though productive for tax-collectors), building economic entities for all landowners became a futile exercise. The fact that a particular landowner happens to look poor to us could be attributable to his or her owning land elsewhere, outside the sphere of this study, or through a spouse. The best illustration of such a case is Pierre Amiet who owned a loft and a few plots of land in hamlets of Grandson-town. Taken at face value, P. Amiet¹ appears to have been, while not indigent, certainly less than affluent. Nonetheless, he was a high-ranking official in Grandson and a wealthy landowner with holdings (elsewhere). Therefore, we shall restrict the examination to a few cases of landownership. It is important to bear in mind that we do not intend to draw general conclusions from these tenuous cases.

In our opinion, an individual's village of habitation was his or her point of anchorage: how far abroad he or she would go to find a spouse or plough lands was a personal (and, from our perspective, seemingly arbitrary) decision, making any quantitative analysis very complex. However, it was of paramount importance to depict landownership in one way or another with fragmented data. We could have devoted many pages to studying, at length, each holding in each *commune*, ending with far too many confusing answers for the different questions asked. We opted instead for a simple approach: we would portray a sample of landownership in Champagne by

1

S/o François RDBMS: £1605.

choosing a couple of landowners. In so doing, we shift the emphasis of the study from quantitative history to qualitative. The geographical area under observation is minuscule and the population limited compared to English or French counterparts. Statistically, therefore, the sample is marginal.

6.4. CHAMPAGNE'S PEER

Champagne and its hamlet, St. Maurice, had a population between 400-438 souls¹, of which 114 were domiciled landowners. We tried all possible means and ideas to expand our knowledge of the composition of population but were disappointed: parish registers failed to provide reliable data due to their incomplete state, and land-registers were understandably silent on landless population.

Therefore we had only the population listed in the land-registers on which to rely. Each land-register could potentially provide us with two subsets of population: landowners domiciled in the village and those who owned lands

in the *commune's* precinct but lived elsewhere. The

Owners	N	p.c.
<i>Communes</i>	2	0.6
Females	126	37.6
<i>Hoiries</i>	3	0.9
Males	204	60.9
Total	335	100

Table 6.1 Owners in Champagne.

total surface-area of Champagne was possessed by 335 landowners (*tab.6.1*). Except for the *Commune* of Champagne and Grandson-town's hamlet (Corcelettes), and three *hoiries*², all other landholders were individuals. Many landowners were women (38%), while 61% of landowners were men.

The chief interest was in the 114 owners who actually lived in the *commune*. The sex distribution of ownership was astonishingly even: 50% males and 50% females [N=57]. However, the surface area owned by each sex was unbalanced in the favour of the men (*tab.6.2*,

¹ See: appendix F.

² *Hoirie* was an inheritance not yet shared amongst the heirs (see: section 6.6.1.).

fig.6.1). Females domiciled in Champagne owned 20% of surface area while men 36%¹. (44% was owned by 'foreigners', to the *commune*).

	F	M	Else	Total
Frequency (N)				
<i>Commune</i>	57	57	2	116
Neighbour	43	88	2	133
<i>Bailliage</i>	16	34		50
Else	10	25	1	36
Total	126	204	5	335
P.c. (N)				
<i>Commune</i>	17	17	0	34
Neighbour	14	26	0	40
<i>Bailliage</i>	5	10		15
Else	3	8	0	11
Total	39	61	0	100

Table 6.2 Owners, sex, domicile, CMP.

lived nearer to the holding to be passed on.

It has to be noted that 74% of all owners belonged to the natural parish (*commune* = 34%, neighbourhood = 40%, (tab.6.2)), which tends to confirm the validity of such a Venn diagram, that of a natural parish.

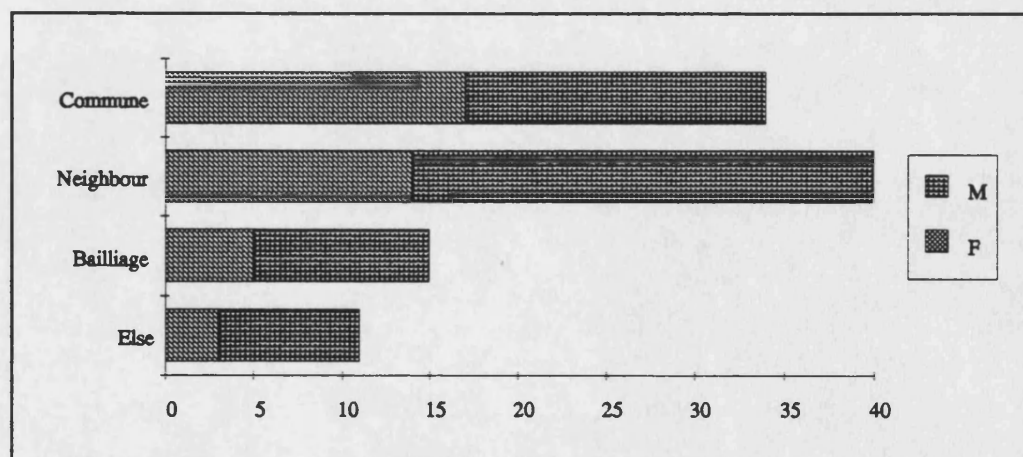


Fig. 6.1 Owners, sex, domicile, Champagne.

¹

See: appendix H.

6.4.1. HOLDINGS SCATTERED

If people from neighbouring villages could hold property in Champagne, landowners domiciled there could, of course, possess lands elsewhere. Clearly, we could carry out the survey of lands held by owners domiciled in Champagne only in the *communes* for which we collected data from the land-registers. All high altitude villages of the *bailliage* of Grandson are consequently excluded from observation. However, we can easily suggest and maintain that people from Champagne could have possessed lands in those areas, as people from high areas held land in Champagne. A few points are to be drawn from the table 6.3.

First and most important, one could be domiciled in a *commune* and be landless there, despite owning lands in other *communes*. Seven men and nine women were domiciled in Champagne but owned no property in the village; their lands were located elsewhere. For both the men and the women, the situation was identical: their spouses owned the house in Cham-

	Males		Females	
	NP	NO	NP	NO
CMP	651	50	592	48
HAM	293	47	260	156
BNV	35	15	31	24
FIE	21	16	17	12
ONS	9	7	18	3
CRL	6	1		
FNT	4	2	28	4
GIZ	3	2	6	5
N.B: NP: number of plots NO: number of owners				

Table 6.3 Owners from CMP, holdings in neighbourhood

pagne in which they lived. Why not live in a village where one could shelter one's family decently, even though it was not one's place of birth? While this slight mobility may seem inconsequential to any reader accustomed to areas with high mobility in population, we were mildly and pleasantly surprised.

The restricted attachment to *commune* lauded by today's politicians and cherished by the Swiss as a historical inheritance was not a matter of concern to their 18th century compatriots. Once again, natural parish takes up significance: except for Fontaines and Corcelles, all other *communes* were part of the natural parish of Champagne-St. Maurice.

Secondly, although Bonvillars and Hamlets are, give or take 0.5 km, equidistant from Champagne, there is an obvious tendency for people of

Champagne to possess more lands in Hamlets than in Bonvillars. Any explanation for this is highly speculative.

Third, in Onnens, Giez and Fontaines, female landowners were at an advantage. These groups had their origin in those *communes* and had married in Champagne.

Finally, the balanced average of number of plots held by men and women in Champagne is of some interest: 13 per man, 12.3 per woman (omitting the problem of total surface-area held). In any division of land for the pur-

Villages	Owners	
N	Males	Females
One	15	8
Two	21	33
Three	17	16
Four	4	0
Total	57	57
p.c.		
One	27	14
Two	36	57
Three	30	29
Four	7	0
Total	100	100

Table 6.4 Dispersion of properties, owners domiciled in Champagne, N of villages.

poses of inheritance, a search for equal distribution in value could, perhaps, be perceived. Clearly, landowners had their properties dispersed in many *communes*. Of course the centres of these villages are at most 10-12 km away from one another. Therefore, journeys are conceivable for each holder in labouring his multitude of dispersed holdings. Between 60-70% of holdings of owners living in Champagne were scattered over two or three villages (tab. 6.4 & fig. 6.2). The proportion of dispersion of holdings by sex is not very different: men's and women's holdings were equally dispersed

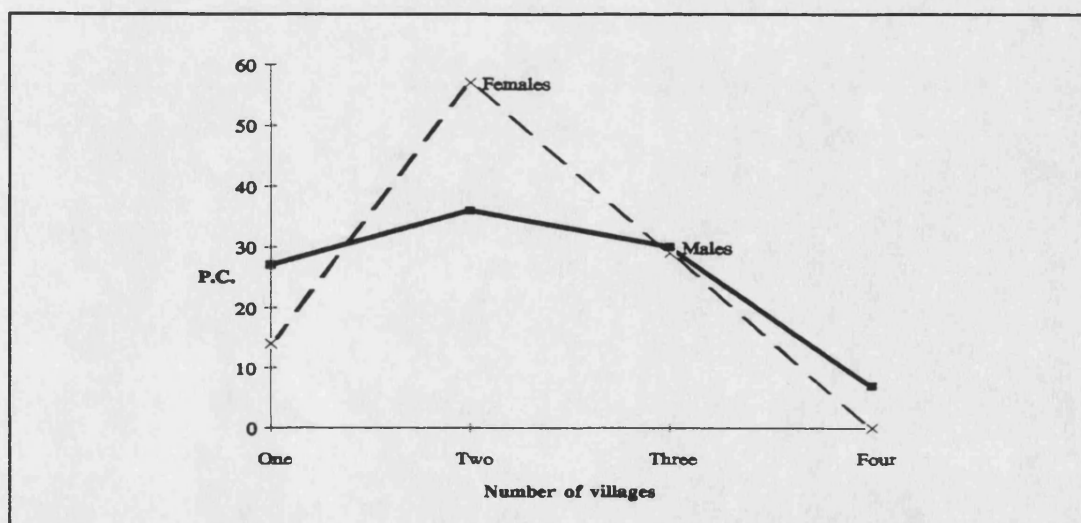


Fig. 6.2 Dispersion of properties, CMP.

Villages	Owners	
	Males	Females
N		
One	8	5
Two	17	9
Three	21	11
Four	15	6
Five	1	1
Total	62	32
p.c.		
One	13	16
Two	27	28
Three	34	34
Four	24	19
Five	2	3
Total	100	100

Table 6.5 *Dispersion of properties, owners domiciled in Bonvillars, N of villages.*

over two or more villages. Undoubtedly the situation was much the same in all the villages in the area.

In Bonvillars, for example, 75% of all holdings were dispersed throughout 2 to 4 villages with inconsequential differences between men and women (*tab. 6.5*). Altogether, such dispersion is logical. If spouses are from different *communes*, their holdings, inherited, are bound to be located in different *communes*. The management and fieldwork to be carried out in holdings so scattered could have been difficult, since the mobility of an individual was largely limited by the strength of his legs. However, there could be a

solution to avoid too many journeys: hiring lands nearer to the domicile and renting out further flung plots. However, did such a market exist? While there is no written evidence of it, this in itself is not conclusive either. Among neighbours, there was no need for written contracts¹.

6.4.2. MARITAL STATUS

The last point we could examine in the general setting of Champagne is the marital status of the landowners by linking data from parish and land--registers. Each data set was partially completed by the other set of registers. From parish registers, many couples who had married outside their parishes of domicile, were outside observation. In land-registers, for women the situation was straightforward: a woman was either some man's daughter or, having married, someone's wife or widow. However, men were recorded as their father's son without any reference to their marital status. This status would have been recorded if, and only if, their wives were also landowners.

By employing a technique of multiple record linkage, tables 6.6 & 6.7 could be produced on the marital status of landowners. Marriage was not a

¹

See: section 7.6.

Status	Com- mune	Neigh- bour	Bail- liage	Else	Total
frequency (N)					
Married	17	16	4	7	44
Widowed	10	1	7	1	19
Single	30	26	5	2	63
Total	57	43	16	10	126
p.c.					
Married	13	13	3	6	35
Widowed	8	1	6	1	15
Single	24	21	4	2	50
Total	45	34	13	8	100

Table 6.6 *Marital status, women, Champagne.*

in life and had come into property through means of inheritance. The table for men is produced more for the sake of thoroughness than because it provides meaningful information. We could know if a man was married if his wife (alive or deceased) had holdings of her own. Therefore, replacing the category of 'singles' by 'loners' is more appropriate. 'Loners' not only encompass single landowners but also children, married men or widowers with a 'landless' wife. (Here it must be noted that the category of 'landless' is hypothetical, as individuals may own land in an area that escapes the observation.)

Widows outnumbered widowers. One might conclude, rather ironically that widowers, burdened with small children and a house that required atten-

condition for landownership; Many 'single' women can be noted although their number is not particularly significant in a thorough social analysis. In this category all ages are included. We suspect these figures to reflect a high proportion of females not yet of an age to be married who had lost one of their parents early

Males	Com- mune	Neigh- bour	Bail- liage	Else	Total
frequency (N)					
Married	15	14	9	6	44
Widowers	3		1		4
'Loners'	39	74	24	6	156
Total	57	88	34	25	204
p.c.					
Married	7	7	4	3	22
Widowers	1		0		2
'Loners'	19	36	12	3	76
Total	28	43	17	12	100

Table 6.7 *Marital status, men, Champagne.*

tion, rushed into second nuptials. Women, however, could better compensate for the loss of the husband. The number of widows produced in the table is close to the actual number, that of widowers is largely understated. Many men who could not be definitely identified as widowers

swelled the numbers of 'loners'. Landowners had the profile of the general population: males, females, single and married, young children and elderly all were recognisable through reading of land-registers. However, a quantitative analysis was based on conjecture. Children would appear if a deceased parent had left them a few properties. This is true for any other subset of the population.

6.5. TYPES OF OWNERSHIP

One of the preoccupations of science is to force objects under observation into categories and types. A classification that presented itself naturally was that of ownership. In land-registers, each *reconnaissance* was a record of individual contracts of ownership. Ownership, however, was by no means a one-to-one relationship of freehold: a plot of land could belong to one owner or to several. Each *reconnaissance* was worded in such a way as to identify the owner(s), the rights and duties over holdings. Based on the wordings of the records, we could distinguish three categories of ownership. The designations of categories are devised to reflect the limitations of ownership rights and duties within a system of freehold. We shall not discuss their implication in the *féodal* system jurisdiction which was out of practice. The categories were:

1. *Exclusive ownership*: The sole owner of the plot had all the rights and paid the taxes. Any given landholder could have any number of lands exclusively.
2. *Undivided ownership*: At least two owners held a single plot. The owners and their precise rights over the holding were known and carefully recorded. Each owner would pay his/her allotment of taxes according to his/her share of ownership.
3. *Common ownership*: The plot was held commonly by at least two owners. There was no share specific to each. Taxes were paid as a single sum.

The categories of ownership were not restrictive. Any given landowner could possess a few *exclusive* and/or *undivided* plots and/or own property in *common* with others. We shall illustrate ownership types with a few economic entities as case studies. Data collected from both parish and land--registers were cumulative: it was impossible to build a family history by using data from either parish or land registers. Often the clues upon which we built an economic entity were frail and there were far too many inductive ways to build a case. These ways and methods are proper to a human mind but quite indigestible for a computer's processor. That is where we gave up quantitative analysis and used the database as a mighty provider of single data items, which, through their absence or presence, could help the mind to draw its own conclusions.

6.5.1. EXCLUSIVE OWNERSHIP

The largest proportion of plots of land were held 'exclusively' (*tab. 6.8*), i.e., the owner had full benefit over the whole piece. As a freeholder, he paid the taxes and could dispose of the

	Exclusive	Total	p.c.
N of items	5884	9106	65
Surface (ha)	1628.3	2343.4	69

Table 6.8 *Exclusive ownership, p.c.*

land at will. The exclusive owner could be a man, a woman, a child or even an institution such as a shooting society, a hospital or a *commune*.

A man, considered in the legal sense to be in full possession of his faculties, would have made the *reconnaissance* himself. A woman was supposed to have either a husband or some (male) member of her family (usually an uncle or a first cousin) to act on her behalf.

Children were represented by a guardian, generally either the surviving parent or some member of the family. The child's property were monitored by the family from which it was inherited. In the mother's case, an uncle or a first cousin from her family would be present at the *reconnaissance*.

Legal entities would delegate a member of the executive body as *reconnaissant*.

6.5.1.1. THE THARIN FAMILY

Claude Tharin, son of François, was an honoured¹ member of the local authority in Champagne. He lived there with his wife Anne-Marguerite Duvoisin of Fontanezier². According to the parish registers, two Claude Tharin were born in Champagne in the years under study: one in 1651 and the other in 1667.

Either could have fathered any of the children born in 1690's to a Claude Tharin. Since one of the two C. Tharin appeared, under this study, to hold no lands in the area, it was the landed C. Tharin in whom we were interested. From the children listed in table 6.9, we believe Sara-Suzanne and Jeanne-Marguerite were the daughters of Claude Tharin the landowner; that is, if we could satisfy ourselves that the mother, Anne-Marie Duvoisin could have also been called Anne-Marguerite. (The confusion between Marie and Marguerite was quite plausible, especially when they are the second Christian names). Claude Tharin had 56 plots of lands scattered throughout Champagne, Corcelettes³ (HAM) and Bonvillars. His children held no land of their own.

Name:	<i>Tharin, Claude s/o François s/o Pierre s/o Jaques</i>	
DoB:	<i>Nov. 1651 or March 1667</i>	
Wife:	<i>Duvoisin, Anne-Marguerite of Fontanezier</i>	
DoW:	<i>Unknown.</i>	
Children baptised to a Claude Tharin:		
<i>Isaac-Elise:</i>	<i>Apr. 1691</i>	<i>mother: No data</i>
<i>Claude:</i>	<i>Jan. 1695</i>	<i>mother: No data</i>
<i>Abram:</i>	<i>Mar. 1702</i>	<i>mother: No data</i>
<i>Jeanne-Françoise:</i>	<i>Jul. 1706</i>	<i>mother: No data</i>
<i>Sara-Suzanne:</i>	<i>May 1708</i>	<i>mother: Anne-Marie Duvoisin</i>
<i>Jeanne-Marguerite</i>	<i>Oct. 1710</i>	<i>mother: Anne-Marie Duvoisin</i>

Table 6.9 Vital events, Claude Tharin.

-
- ¹ Each landowner was given a title according to his rank in the community. These appellations were very useful in qualitative analysis, since they could prevent errors of qualifying a Highly Magnificent owner of just one piece of land as a poor tramp.
 - ² Fontanezier: a high altitude village of the Grandson area to the north-west of Champagne.
 - ³ A hamlet of Grandson-town.

Anne-Marguerite Duvoisin (*fig. 6.3*), his wife, had a few plots in Champagne and Hamlets, including a house. This house was held undivided by herself and her brother and sisters. Jeanne-Marie Duvoisin, one of her sisters, was married, in some haste, to Charles Périllard of Novalles¹. They lived in this

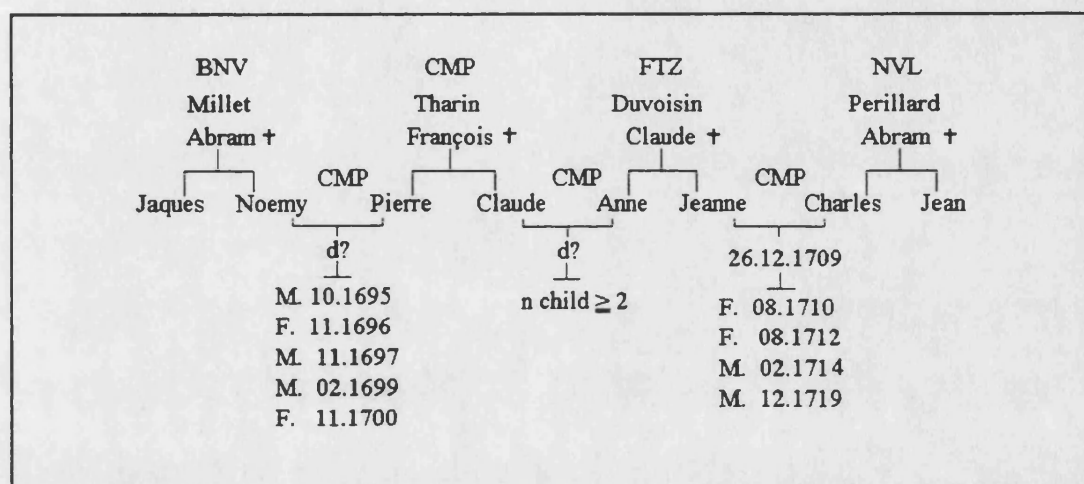


Fig. 6.3 Claude Tharin and his kin, circa 1712.

house, managing some of Jeanne's lands in Champagne. Charles apparently had no land in the villages under study, but he could well have held property in Novalles where he had his origin. His brother, Jean-Rodolphe P. owned a single piece of arable land in Fiez. If we are to trust the land-registers, Claude Tharin had a brother, Pierre, but no sister. Pierre Tharin wedded Noemy Millet from Bonvillars. Table 6.10 and figure 6.3 have two notable features: First it was only possible to set them up by totalling data from both parish registers and land-registers. Each register alone was incomplete. Secondly, they reflect the large number of inter-village links: the Tharin brothers married outside Champagne. The Duvoisin sisters' husbands' origins were different from their wives' as well. The table produced on the next page represents the holdings of the Tharin brothers (Claude and Pierre), their wives (Noemy and Anne-Marguerite) and the sister of Claude Tharin's wife, (Jeanne-Marie). It reflects the extent of exclusive ownership and the dispersion of lands held throughout several villages and land-registers.

¹

Rather a hasty wedding on 26 Dec. 1709. The first child was well on the way.

Plot types	N. Millet		P. Tharin		C. Tharin		A.-M. Duvoisin		J.-M. Duvoisin	
	N	S (m2)	N	S (m2)	N	S (m2)	N	S (m2)	N	S (m2)
Champagne										
Houses			2		1		1		1	
Barns			2		1					
Cow-sheds			2		1					
Wine-presses			1							
Arables			9	16037	8	13670			2	2124
Arable & Barrens					1	2654				
Barren					1	2920				
Enclosures			4	3451	2	1991	1	88	1	88
Gardens			1	199	1	265				
Hemp-fields			3	730	3	730				
Meadows			9	10784	10	14865				
Vineyards	1	332	6	4711	8	9124	1	299		
Bonvillars										
Arables			2	4181	1	1593				
Enclosures	1	199	1	265						
Hemp-fields	1	531	1	398						
Meadows			1	1327						
Vineyards	2	1161								
Hamlets										
Arables	2	1327	9	23668	18	54017				
Gardens					1	199				
Meadows							2	4512		
Fiez										
Arables			1	1858						
Total (each owner)	7	3550	54	67610	57	102028	5	4900	4	2212
Grand Total (econ. entity)			61	71160			62	106928	4	2212

Table 6.10 Holdings of Claude Tharin and his kin, circa 1712.

6.5.2. UNDIVIDED OWNERSHIP

Now and then, within a *reconnaissance* or heading one, we discovered records of plots of land that were held undivided¹. If the number of undivided holdings was large or the owners happened to be siblings, a full *reconnaissance* was devoted to listing the details of the properties; on a smaller scale, or in cases where the co-owners were unrelated, the details of the property were recorded in their

specific *reconnaissance* among other articles of exclusive ownership. In each case, the precise shares of the owner's holdings and

	<i>Undivided</i>	Total	p.c.
N of items	930	9016	10
Surface (ha)	94.7	2343.4	4

Table 6.11 *Undivided possessions, p.c.*

the charges due were carefully recorded.

Of 9,016 rights possessed over lands or buildings, 10% were held undivided (about 4% of all surface-areas) (*tab. 6.11*). Most of these (95%) had up to four owners (*tab. 6.12*). Occasionally, the undivided holding was something of a peculiarity, stressing the importance of the smallest piece of holding in an area of petty ownership and limited wealth. In Corcelles, a large barren plot (*planche*) of 7166m² was owned by eight Payot cousins and was taxed for 21 *deniers*. A forge in Fiez-Pittet (HAM) was owned by

N of Owners	N	p.c.
Two	198	60
Three	39	12
Four	77	23
Five	2	1
Six	1	0
Seven	10	3
Eight	1	0
....		
Eleven	1	0
....		
Fourteen	1	0
Total	330	100
N.B. 0: <1		

Table 6.12 *Undivided lands, N cases.*

five Amiet, one Thiévent and five Périllard, free of *cense*. One holding of 10 plots of arable lands and meadows, totalling 2.5 hectares, was held in Fontaines by five brothers and sisters and their nephew and niece from Novalles. The original owner of these holdings was the siblings' grand-father.

Undivided lands were held predominantly by siblings or cousins, suggesting certain issues of dividing inheritance. Landowners holding an undivided possession were mostly men; however, we believe that no conclusion can be drawn from

¹ The land would be held "*en indivision*" or "*par indivis*".

this (*tab. 6.13*). Of course one is tempted to view the situation as favouring family ties: in as much as a woman was bound to marry and be under her husband's dominion in due course, why make life complicated

Ownership	N of Owners	p.c.
Females	66	36
Males	115	64
Total	181	100

Table 6.13 Undiv'd.ownership, sex.

by sharing an undivided holding with a sister? It was easier to settle ownership matters with a brother. Discussion would stay within the family, free from the interference of in-laws. Nonetheless, we believe that the sex ratio in undivided ownership is nonsensical. It would be determined by the number of children of either sex, the holdings to be inherited and the degree of consensus in making the shares of inheritance. In other words, demographic incidence and economic capacities dictate the terms of inheritance in each generation and not a long established family policy. However, undivided lands, according to the *Book of Laws of Grandson*, need not to be family affairs. Undivided lands enjoyed a privileged status, such as exemption from taxes (*lod*) when sold to another member of the holding¹. Undivided holding was not a perpetual institution, any two or more people could enter or depart from it at will, while obeying the rules of ownership.

6.5.2.1. THE DUVOISIN SISTERS

Anne-M. Duvoisin, the wife of Claude Tharin, and Jeanne-M. Duvoisin her sister (wife of Charles Périllard), with a brother and another sister owned a two-story house in Champagne, even if they were from Fontanezier. On the upper floor, Jeanne and her brother, Jean-François had a room and half a kitchen each. On the lower floor, Anne-M. and her other sister, Barbille, owned a room and half a stove² each (*fig. 6.4*).

The number of undivided houses was a mere 27 out of 339 surveyed (8%). However, practically, undivided homes were quite feasible as living arrangements. In this case, the existence of kitchen and stove makes it

¹ Book of Laws of Grandson, (1779), p.75, law 168. There were not many rules for undivided ownership.

² Small room with a stove, to be used as kitchen and a warm room in winter.

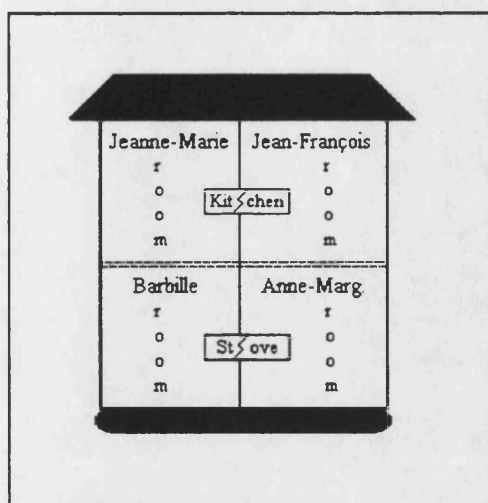


Fig. 6.4 *Undivided house of Duvoisin.*

possible to consider the house as having two separate flats (possibly with independent entrances). These were two separate households: Jeanne-Marie and her husband (upper floor), Barbille and Jean-François both unmarried (lower floor). Barbille apparently never married and remained in her sister's household. Jean-François married in 1713 and settled in another house of which he had a share. In 1717, Jeanne-

Marie bought some additional shares from her brother and sisters, although the house remained undivided between herself, her sister Barbille and a Sebastien-Nicolas Duvoisin of Bonvillars (of whom we know little). We believe in any arrangement made for accommodation, the existence of heating facilities (kitchen or stove) decided the number of households possible in it. Though there was a marked preference for couples to settle in private houses, it was possible that dwellings would be occupied by two couples if separate heating arrangement were provided. Nevertheless we believe that these agreements were to stay within the family circle: usually shared among married siblings, and occasionally among first cousins. It has to be stressed that hearths were not undivided.

Undivided lands were also kept within the family, being held strictly among siblings and/or first cousins. There existed only one exception to this rule: Pierre Tharin owned half a garden in Hamlets with David Giroud: apparently these two men had no family ties, but by going back into the parish registers we found that in 1640's a Tharin had married a Giroud.

We shall illustrate the love of detail evident in the 18th century for the records of ownership by a final example of undivided lands; that of a Duvoisin family in Onnens, for which fourteen owners could be counted

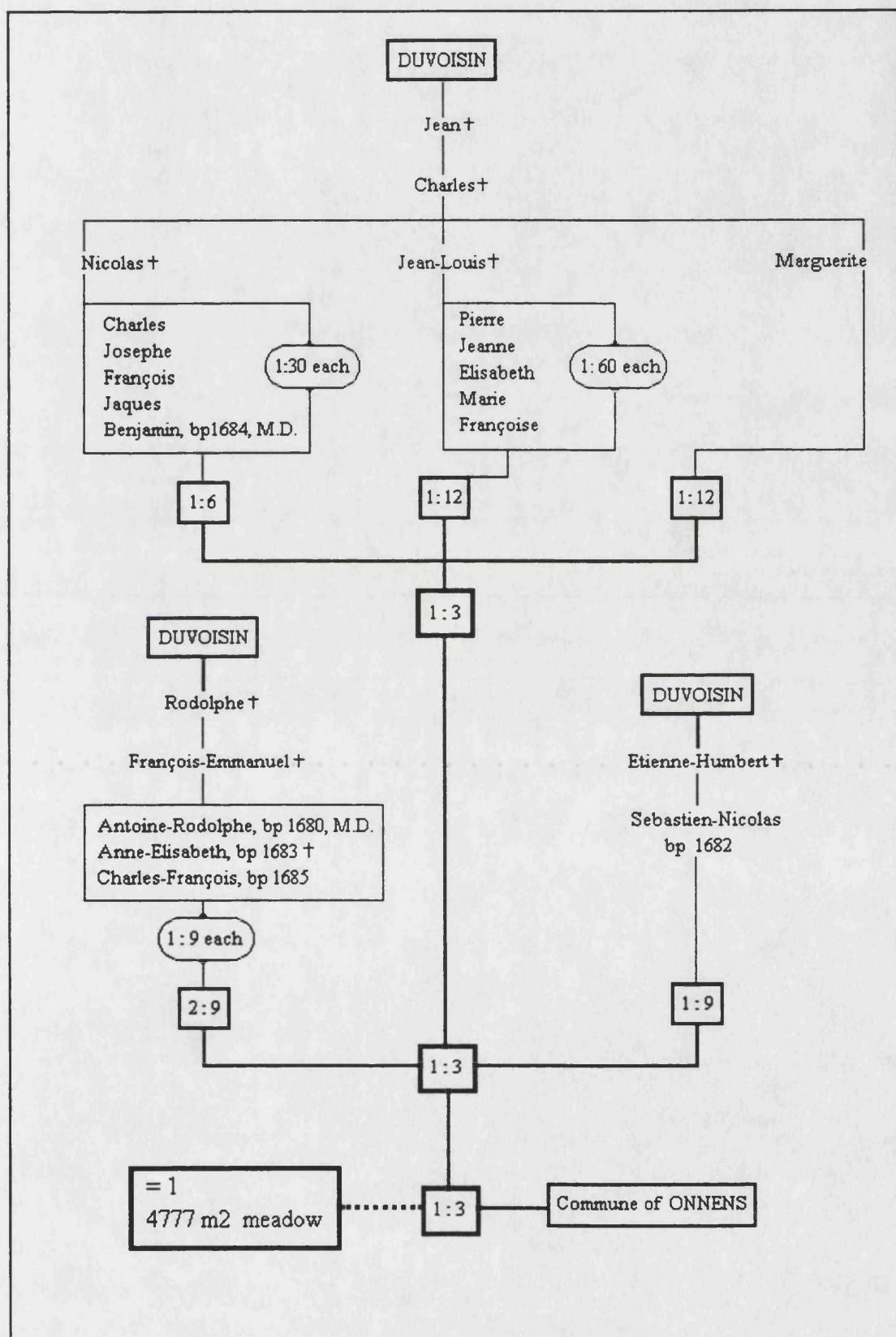


Fig. 6.5 An undivided meadow, cense: 2.5 litres of oats & 2 deniers.

(fig.6.5). This branch of Duvoisin family was affluent¹. Marguerite was a widow of high-ranking authority in Grandson². In addition, each family member held quite a few lands scattered over different *communes*³. We understand that they kept this meadow undivided, since no agreement over its partition could be reached. The ownership of the third of the plot by the *commune* of Onnens was puzzling and any attempt to explain it highly speculative.

6.5.3. COMMON OWNERSHIP

In land-registers, we frequently came across a *reconnaissance* in which more than one owner was quoted. A written indication of an undivided system or even *hoirie* was missing. Because no division of the parcel of land was indicated, it was assumed that the land was held, in common, by the two (or more) owners quoted.

Therefore, we opted to classify them separately and call them common ownership (tab. 6.14). This type of ownership was not unusual between siblings and cousins. Undoubtedly, their shared rights were part of an inheritance bequeathed by a parent, but no definite partition had taken place or perhaps was likely to take place. The owners probably found some benefit in holding these plots in common.

	Common	Total	p.c.
N of items	2202	9016	24
Surface (ha)	620.4	2343.4	26

Table 6.14 Common ownership, p.c.

between siblings and cousins. Undoubtedly, their shared rights were part of an inheritance bequeathed by a parent, but no definite partition had taken place or perhaps was likely to take place. The owners probably found some benefit in holding these plots in common.

In the *Book of Laws of Grandson*, no section was devoted to this type of ownership. However, in an article, a short reference is made. A common holding (*en communion*), was free of *lod*, if effectively it became shared

¹ We compiled the table for the Duvoisin family with data both parish and land registers. It is interesting to note that although, theoretically, we should have had all the baptism dates provided for in the parish registers, we could only produce some of them (and with difficulties, manoeuvring among homonyms). We believe many of these people were baptised in different parishes.

² Benjamin Dumeurier, counsellor of Grandson, A.C.V., Fq-77, fl-459.

³ Duvoisin, Antoine, was an M.D. He never married and studied in Basel and Paris. Domiciled in Neuchâtel (1708) and Yverdon (1731), he died between July and December 1759. Duvoisin, Benjamin, M.D. married in 1718 Marguerite Duvoisin. (Refer: E. Olivier, (1961), p.926).

N of Lands held by X owners:	N	p.c.
Two	991	45
Three	504	23
Four	272	12
Five	131	6
Six	194	9
Seven	100	4
Eight	7	0
Nine	1	0
Ten	1	0
Eleven	1	0
Total	2202	100
N.B. 0: <1		

Table 6.15 *Common ownership, N of owners per holding.*

among the owners¹. Therefore, this type of ownership was not a legal institution but did exist in practice.

About 26% of all surface area was held in common ownership by 185 parties. Some landowners were members of one such association, some others of two or more (*tab. 6.15*). I.e., they could hold a few plots with siblings in one holding and a few others with their uncle and aunts in others. Although many common holdings were the property of two individuals, it was equally likely to have

been three or more holders of a given piece of land.

It was possible to be associated with any number of common holdings. Hypothetically, Jean-François Tharin could hold property in common with his brothers (considered one party), with his in-laws through his wife (another party) and with more distant kin, say, cousins (yet a third party).

The sex ratio of this kind of holding was non-sequential as with undivided ownership (*tab. 6.16*). In other words there were no rules as such to restrict common ownership either in number or in membership.

Seventy percent of commonly held lands were dispersed over two or more different *communes* (*tab. 6.17*). The general picture of the dispersion of common ownership holdings in all the villages

Common	N of Owners	p.c.
Females	235	46
Males	272	54
Total	507	100

Table 6.16 *Owners, sex, common ownership.*

N of Commune:	N of ownership	p.c.
One	12	30
Two	11	28
Three	10	25
Four	7	17
Total	40	100

Table 6.17 *Common ownerships in Champagne, holdings dispersed in N of communes.*

¹

Book of Laws of Grandson, (1779), p.75, law 168.

Dispersed in N Commune:	N	insignificant*	significant*	p.c.
One	125	75	50	45
Two	37		37	34
Three	15		15	14
Four	8		8	7
Total	185	75	110	100

Table 6.18 Common ownership dispersed in communes.

under observation was not significantly different. As table 6.18 shows, the 185 parties of holdings were scattered throughout different *communes*, with a large number held in one *commune*.

This was highly suspect. Many of these 'one-*commune*' holdings were in the outermost villages of the area under observation. In other words, owners may have possessed lands in villages outside the units of this study. Seventy-five 'one-*commune*' ownerships were isolated; we believe them to be insignificant in the calculations; these parties had lands elsewhere.

6.5.3.1. THE THARIN FAMILY (*Bis*)

Theodore-Nicolas Tharin and his large family from Champagne could have been very useful to us had it not been for the difficulties we met in recovering records of their vital events.

Theodore-Nicolas was also called Nicolas, Theodore, and Nicolas-Theodore indiscriminately. Two of his brothers had Jean as their first name. It should be noted that at least two-third of Christian names were devised with 'Jean' in some combination and nearly half the population of Champagne was named Tharin. A small clue in each record (parish or land-register), and a great deal of hit-and-miss tests were critical in building up the following tables¹. Theodore Tharin and his family had many advantages for us: they were from Champagne for which we had 'good quality' parish registers. Although we do not know his position in his family, we do know that Theodore-Nicolas was not the eldest son of Daniel Tharin. At 28, he married Suzanne Giroud from his village and had four children. His second child, a

¹

This case was a hard test on the qualitative data recorded in the database.

girl, died at an early age¹. In December 1713, a widower, he undertook to survey his holdings and those of his children.

Suzanne had died sometime before, (after the birth of the last child but before the land survey), leaving a handsome (on the scale value of the Grandson area) inheritance for her children. This holding, held commonly, would have remained under Theodore's power of attorney until the children came of age. Shortly after Suzanne's death, Theodore married Catherine Robellaz from Fontaines. He had three children who needed a

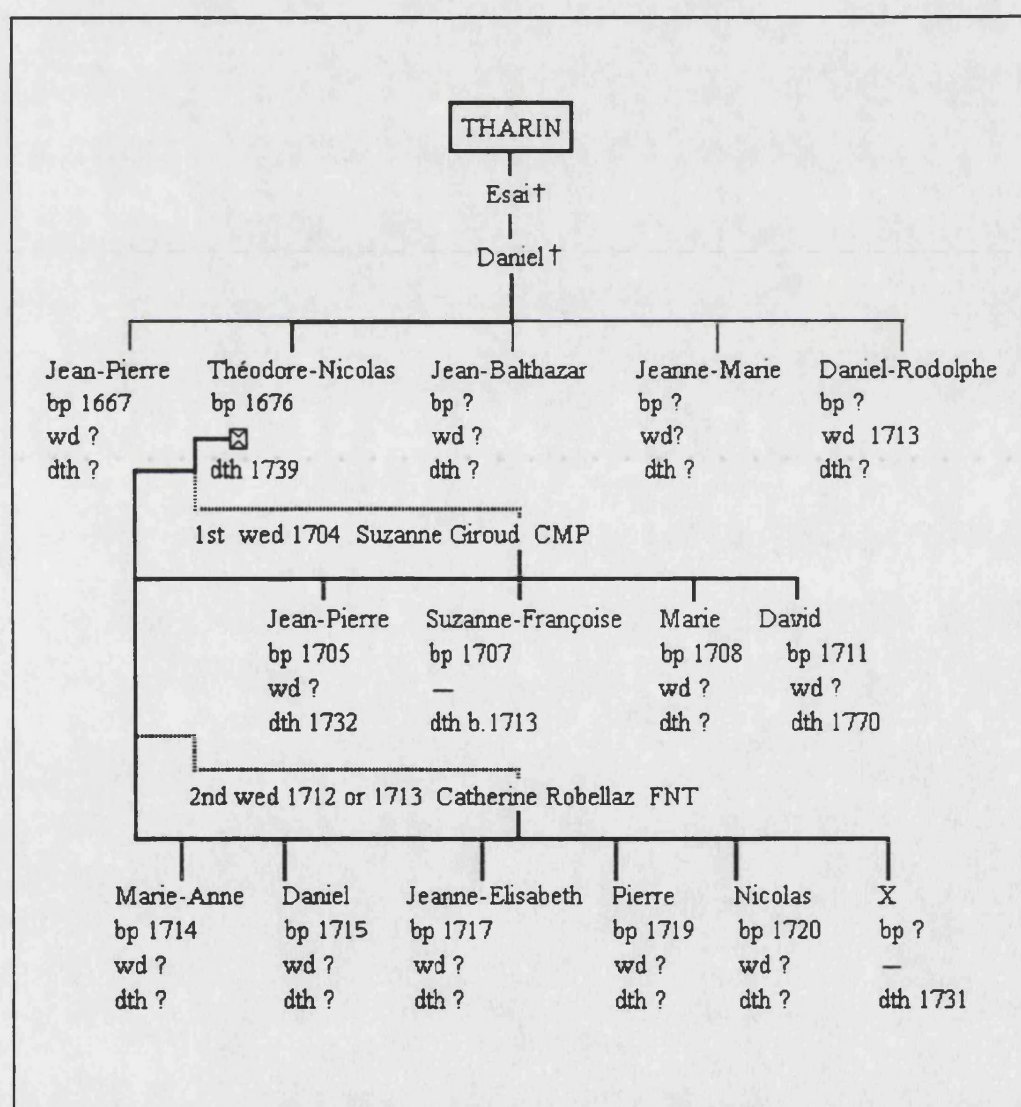


Fig. 6.6 The family of Theodore-Nicolas Tharin.

¹ We had the date of her baptism but not of her death. Since she was not included as inheriting from her mother in 1713, she must have died in infancy.

mother urgently. When Catherine Robellaz surveyed her lands in Fontaines and Fiez in 1712¹, she was still single. Catherine brought Theodore's household an interesting holding as dowry and gave him at least six children (*fig. 6.6*).

Theodore, and his family, if we were to judge from their landholdings, could live comfortably. Nonetheless, Theodore had to work on lands scattered in no fewer than five villages (*tab. 6.19*). Perhaps his brothers and sister (with whom he had one of the most precise but complex cases of undivided lands (*fig. 6.8*)), gave him a hand. Daniel-Rodolphe (Theodore's brother) and his wife had a large holding together (*tab. 6.21*). He was the exclusive holder of about half his holdings. The other half was held undivided with his brothers and sister. His sister had a few plots exclusively and about ten plots undivided with her brothers. Jean-Pierre and Jean-Balthazar were not favoured much in their holdings. Theirs were made up of few plots, most of them held undivided² (*tabs. 6.20&6.21*). While the Tharin's holdings were complex, they were not exceptional. Theodore and Jean-Pierre, as well as Jean-Balthazar and Jean-Rodolphe had no land undivided.

	N	S (m2)	Communes
Theodore-Nicolas			
Arables	8	13805	CMP, HAM
Garden	1	100	CMP
Hemp-fields	2	398	CMP
House, barn, cow-shed	0.5		CMP
Meadows	4	9954	BNV, CMP, HAM
Vineyards	2	664	CMP
Children of his first wife			
Arables	7	13537	CMP, HAM, BNV
Meadows	2	3583	CMP, HAM
Vineyards	2	796	CMP
Catherine Robellaz, his 2ed wife			
Arables		6503	FNT, FIE
Enclosures	4	1125	
Garden	1	1593	FNT
House	0.5	5	FNT
House, barn, cow-shed	0.5	2	
Meadows	1	796	
Vineyards	2	1891	
Economic entity	40.5	54747	CMP, HAM, BNV, FNT, FIE
N.B. A. mixed type			

Table 6.19 An economic entity.

¹ Her sister Elisabeth, was already married to an immigrant from *Pays d'Enhaut*, Adam Pellet.

² Many authors (e.g., F. Walter, (1980)) tend to consider undivided holdings as one, neglecting the shares of the owners. We would divide lands between the members of the undivided holding since the income of such holdings would have been undoubtedly shared.

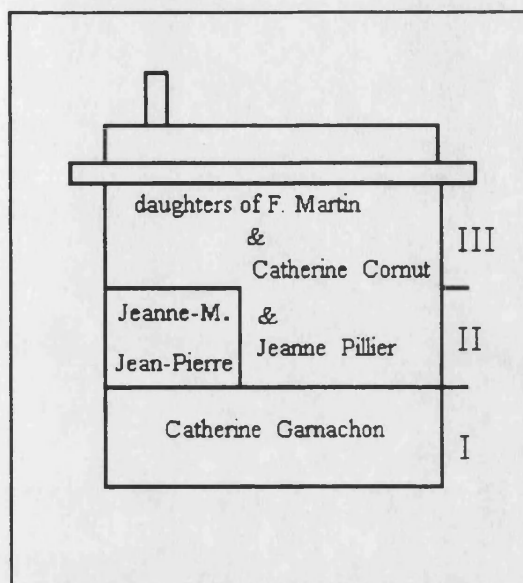


Fig. 6.7 Tharin's undivided room.

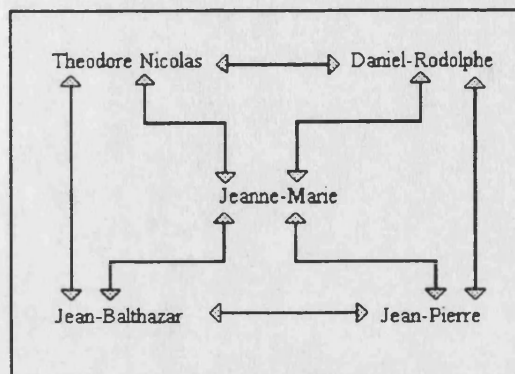


Fig. 6.8 Undivided relationships.

Owners		Com-mune	Type of plot	S (m2)	share	sub-tot.	N
Jean-Pierre	Daniel-Rodolphe	FTC	meadow	1858	1/2		
Jean-Pierre	Daniel-Rodolphe	FTC	meadow	2389	1/2	4247	2
Jean-Pierre	Jean-Balthazar	FTC	vineyard	1294	1/2	1294	1
Jean-Pierre	Jeanne-Marie	FTC	room	0	1/2		
Jean-Pierre	Jeanne-Marie	FTC	house, garden	0	1/2		2
Jean-Rodolphe	Jeanne-Marie	FTC	vineyard	1194	1/2		
Jean-Rodolphe	Jeanne-Marie	CMP	arable	1327	1/2		
Jean-Rodolphe	Jeanne-Marie	CMP	vineyard	597	1/2		
Jean-Rodolphe	Jeanne-Marie	CMP	vineyard	398	1/2		
Jean-Rodolphe	Jeanne-Marie	FTC	arable	1858	1/2		
Jean-Rodolphe	Jeanne-Marie	FTC	arable	1858	1/2	7233	6
Theodore	Jean-Balthazar	FTC	meadow	4778	3/4 & 1/4		
Theodore	Jean-Balthazar	CMP	vineyard	796	3/4 & 1/4	5574	2
Theodore	Jean-Rodolphe	CMP	house, barn, cow-shed	0	1/2		
Theodore	Jean-Rodolphe	CMP	hemp-field	265	1/2		
Theodore	Jean-Rodolphe	BNV	meadow	1327	1/2		
Theodore	Jean-Rodolphe	CMP	garden	199	1/2	1792	4
Theodore	Jeanne-Marie	CMP	Arable	2787	1/2		
Theodore	Jeanne-Marie	FTC	Arable	4247	1/2	7034	2
Total						27174	19

Table 6.20 Undivided plots of Tharin.

	N	S (m2)	Communes
DANIEL-RODOLPHE			
Arable	9	16260	CMP, HAM
Garden	1	100	CMP
Hemp-field	1	133	CMP
House, barn, cow-shed	0.5		CMP
Meadow	3	2788	BNV, HAM
Vineyard	4	1892	FIE, HAM, CMP
SALOMEE, HIS WIFE			
Arable	3	4645	CMP, HAM
Meadow	2	2849	CMP, HAM
Vineyard	3	1150	CMP
Total	27	29816	
JEAN-BALTHAZAR			
Meadow	1	1194	CMP
Vineyard	2	1045	CMP, HAM
Total	3	2239	
JEANNE-MARIE			
Arable	8	10817	CMP, HAM
Hemp-field	1	199	CMP
House, Garden	0.5		HAM
Room	0.5		HAM
Vineyard	3	1095	FIE, CMP, HAM
Total	13	12111	
JEAN-PIERRE			
Arable	4	8095	HAM
House, Garden	0.5		HAM
Meadow	4	3984	GIZ, HAM
Room	0.5		HAM
Vineyard	2	3169	BNV, FTC
Total	11	15249	

Table 6.21 *Economic entities in Champagne.*

Their sister, Jeanne-Marie held many of her lands undivided with all her brothers. This situation could either be fortuitous or intended to avoid breaking up plots of land in minuscule pieces. Jeanne-Marie and Jean-Pierre held an undivided house with a number of other owners in the Hamlets. The brother and sister each owned half a room (the same room!) in that house (*fig. 6.7*).

6.6. INHERITANCE SYSTEM

As bread is to a meal, so is a study of an inheritance system to many domains of social sciences, from economy to anthropology. The rules are set, however, by law (written or unwritten). Often, scholars discuss inheritance customs or strategies¹ in large societies where some pattern of behaviour can be drawn from individual cases. In such debates two issues are predominant: birthrights (or partible bequests) and women's properties².

In an article published in 1982, G. Augustins presented a theory of classifying inheritance systems. He argued, even if there are only two diametrically opposed systems, birth right and equal inheritance, many combinations are possible³. In other words, inheritance customs or systems are very much dependent on the societies in which they are practiced. That is, theories give the general guidelines, but in practice discrepancies and particular cases predominate. R. Netting, when analyzing the system of equal inheritance in Törbel observed that the heirs scrupulously divided the bequest in equal shares⁴. However, the final implications within a closed community with high rates of endogamy influenced the composition of the hearth and the timing of weddings⁵, as though the community overstepped on individual aspiration.

¹ Refer: E. Le Roy Ladurie, (1972); P. Bourdieu, (1972).

² Refer: G. Augustins, (1979) and (1982).

³ G. Augustins, (1982), p.46.

⁴ R. Netting, (1981), p.173.

⁵ R. Netting, (1981), p. 226.

In 'open' communities of the *plaine*, say, those of the Grandson area, the same mechanism of equal shares of inheritance was practiced, however, the combination of the three types of ownership could have provided opportunities for individual aspiration within that community. In proposing this idea, we have been influenced by the data provided in registers of land. In order to carry a full investigation, a full array of many types of documents are necessary, most important of all being the wedding contracts and wills¹. Nevertheless, before drawing any conclusion it should be established whether these documents are a representative sample of population in general or were only drafted in cases where troubles within the family was foreseeable. Having said so, we have already discussed the problems involving the research for these documents in section 2.5. In this section we were restricted to the facet of inheritance system as it could be perceived from land-registers.

In the Grandson area, as in other parts of the canton, the system of inheritance was partible and theoretically favoured neither sex nor rank of the children². This, however, was the legal frame within which families would make their own decisions, coping as they could with the strains of members' wishes and the means of the bequest.

Any family could take up options and privileges; the outcome would be different from that of strictly equal shares. In our opinion there was no definitive, individual, family or community *strategy* to preserve patrimony ('matrimony'³), simply because there was not much room for battle. Each family obeyed the haphazard laws of life and the limited resources available. The struggle in life and for life is not particular to Grandson, Europe or 'civilised' societies, it is a part of human experience. Many societies have contrived devices for enhancing the chances of survival, such as birthright,

¹ In a recent book (1992), Ph. Tanner studied some aspects of testaments and wedding contracts. However, particular aspects in which we were most interested were not covered.

² Refer: Book of Laws, Grandson, (1779). Birthright was an unknown concept to the area.

³ It is interesting to note that, if we still use the term *patrimony* from Latin for inheritance coming from the father, there is no term to convey the idea of inheritance from the mother.

when it was paramount to hold together the patrimonial properties for the benefit of households, discriminating against junior or female members.

However, small communities like those in the Grandson area, modest in their ambitions, had conscientiously or haphazardly invented policies that would aid them in dealing with unpredictability of life and demographic incidence (marriage, death). Giving the geographic, demographic and economic circumstances of their time, a maximum flexibility in the running of family affairs protected their community from dislocation. We cannot detect grandiose strategies in the setting of the tiny communities under observation. In fact, this perspective is too broad for such tiny communities: strategies could be detected and analyzed in larger societies, at best at the level of civilisation¹.

Keeping in focus a small population is like putting a leaf under a microscope in the hope of learning something about the entire forest. The smaller the unit of study, the more individuals' practices are varied. Where inheritance is concerned, mankind is inclined to obey family, village and regional custom before applying the letter of the law, e.g., equal shares divided among all children. However, in harmony with individuals' wishes, shares could be divided in a way as to keep resulting losses to a minimum. Omitting the customs of dowry and pre-mortem endowment, often the inheritance is discussed only when the benefactor is dead. From the readings of land-registers, we could discern several methods of dividing any given bequest in the Grandson area, beginning with *hoirie*, and ending in exclusive, common or undivided ownership.

6.6.1. *HOIRIE*

Immediately after death, the bequest was held in a trust, *hoirie*, a formal legal state under the name of the deceased. The holding would not suffer any partition until all the legal procedures were completed and all the heirs made themselves known. Essentially, *hoirie* can be defined as a bequeathed

¹

We shall take the layman's definition of civilisation, avoiding discussion on this highly philosophical matter.

estate which has yet to be divided among the inheritors. We estimate the useful life of a *hoirie* to be up to three years, during which agreements were reached among the heirs as to their shares. We exempted from the study any will that was less than straightforward. Theoretically, a *hoirie* should apply to inheritances coming down either through the mother or the father. In practice, and this point was made clear from the readings of land--registers, it applied only to the father's belongings. We did not come across any *hoirie* left by a woman. Whatever a woman had to pass down to her family was simply 'left to' her children.

Throughout land-registers, one could distinguish 3 categories of *hoiries*; the criteria of distinction being the time of death of the father:

1. Recent death of the father, the heirs not yet known (in legal terms) by the time of land survey; their names are missing from the *reconnaissance*, such as *hoirie* de Gillard, as shown in the table 6.22.
2. Earlier death of the father, many lands of the bequest being already divided, only lands over which an agreement between heirs had not been reached were left in the *hoirie*. In this case, as in the previous one, the names of the heirs were missing. The holdings were often of minor importance.
3. *Hoiries* settled but not yet quite divided. Here the names of heirs were carefully recorded. However, their share of the bequest is never mentioned since the heirs preferred to exercise some liberty before a very formal registration of the holdings.

Further investigation into *hoiries* using registers of burials was needed. However, these registers did not exist. The relationship between *hoirie* and different types of ownership that existed in the Grandson area was to be figured out.

Devising shares from the bequest would mean, in many occasions, a division of the actual pieces of land. Lands so divided had to be registered under the name of the new owner and his share of taxes (*cense*) detailed. Generally speaking, this was a lengthy process since it depended not simply on an agreement being reached among the various heirs, but also on the fact that the partition of the *cense* needed Berne's or Fribourg's consent. Hence,

<i>Hoirie</i>		Tardy	Payot	Gillard	Duvoisin	Roguin	Kuenly	Saladin	Bosset	Poyet	Jeanneret
Home		ESY	CRL	FIE	BNV	YVR	AAG	BAL	CMP	OGE	VXM
Lands' location		CRL	CRL	FIE, FNT, CMP, HAM	ONS, HAM	FNT	ONS	CMP	CMP	GIZ	GIZ
Holdings											
Houses	N			3							
Arables	S			141878						2389	
	N			58						2	
Enclosures	S			27473		6503		7698			
	N			14		3		1			
Meadows	s	2101		25150	796						6371
	N	4		18	1						1
Vineyards	S	9257		16888	4911				1991		
	N	8		17	3				1		
Sundry	S	2124	7167	5773			103				
	N	1	1	4			1				
N.B.: Gillard's houses: Included 3 barns, 3 cow-sheds, 1 winepress											

Table 6.22 *Properties of some hoiries.*

the existence of common ownership, the benefit of which would be known to the owners of the property, would simplify the matter. The means of production, fields, and the *cense* due, would have remained in a pool within which it was possible to work out each individual's share of effort.

Undivided and *common* ownerships were a consequence of the inheritance system. Although, in theory, *common* and more so *undivided* ownership were legal institutions open to all, their members were hardly strangers: brothers, sisters or close kin. Exclusive ownership was the simplest of situations, in which owners had the liberty of putting land to whatever use they chose without the necessity of consulting partners. Exclusive ownership being logically the preferred situation with 65% of surface-areas.

6.6.2. DEVISING INHERITANCE

The most direct investigation of any inheritance system would be a straightforward study of wills. This we discarded, as those we came across were devoid of details on actual properties. Therefore, in building a few cases of economic entities for Champagne, we tested variables needed for the reconstitution of the original bequest from both mother and father. In such an exercise, questions asked are more solicitous than improbable conjectural answers. We selected mature families, couples with children, having no expectation of direct inheritance (both sets of the couple's parents were already dead)¹. From the reconstitution of wealth belonging to Claude Tharin and his siblings, our aim was to compare the holdings of the two brothers (Tharin) and the two sisters (Duvoisin). The brothers were their parents' sole heirs which would be the simplest case of testing the system of equal inheritance among children. In addition, there were no daughters to consider, therefore, no problem of dowry to be solved in sharing the bequest. In 1712, both brothers had been married for at least fifteen years, and were heads of 'mature' families. We have no information on the deceased parents: the dates of vital events, most notably the dates of their deaths, went unrecorded. Therefore, we do not know how much of the actual wealth of either brother was inherited through their mother, although in this case it would not matter much since there was no sister who might be more likely to inherit a preferred share. The holdings of both Tharin brothers were straightforward: with a total of 111 plots of land held in exclusive ownership, they were independent from each other. All things being equal, their holdings should have been balanced, if the inheritance of their parents were shared equally.

However, what are the means to determine the existence of this balance objectively? The two possible means at our disposal are the comparisons of the surface area and the number of plots. Neither comparison took into consideration the quality of individual plots, the most approximate possible means of measuring the value of a piece of land. Claude Tharin had 3 plots

¹

A study of *hoiries* recorded as such was fruitless, they were usually a part of a larger bequest.

more than his brother and the total surface area of his holdings was greater than that of his brother, but then Pierre had an additional house, barn, cowshed and winepress¹. Moreover, it was impossible to work out the lands sold, bought or exchanged, in extension of the original bequest. Pierre owned additional properties in Bonvillars, his wife's home. Is it possible to detect a deliberate policy, considering this information, or is this simple coincidence?

In the Duvoisin family, we know of one brother and three sisters, although there may have been siblings who escaped our view. Jean-François was by a slight margin, the wealthiest among the children, and Barbille the poorest based on information provided in the land survey. However, any sibling could have possessed lands in Fontanezier, their *commune* of origin. In the holdings surveyed for Anne-M. and Jeanne, however, a striking similarity can be detected: both hold a house undivided, both held adjacent enclosures of 88 m² (what had once been a larger enclosure, halved, presumably in the bequeathing). Anne-M. owned a vineyard and two meadows (4812 m²) which were possibly considered of equal value to the two plots of arable lands belonging to Jeanne (2124 m²).

Theodore-Nicolas and his four brothers and one sister divided the bequest scrupulously. Each enjoyed some exclusive ownership while being a partner to only one brother or sister in any piece of land. Thus, each ended having a shelter and a sample of all types of land (arable, vineyards, enclosures, etc.) a necessity in a poly-agricultural area. There was a tendency for households to try to obtain all types of land and thus ensure a diversified effort and production (cattle, wine-making, cereal production, etc.). The balance could be sought with the share's bequest, bridal dowries or exchange of land for the missing activity.

¹

The problem of mixed types of land did not raise problems of surface areas. The difference in calculations was less than a 100 m².

6.6.3. WOMEN'S OWNERSHIP

In isolating women's ownership we followed the tradition in studies of inheritance rather than the observation we made. In fact women were equal to men in all areas of our study of landownership, with one exception and some different patterns of behaviour. The exception was the existence of a dowry. A dowry¹, usually given at the time of the wedding, in many occasions can be analogous to a down-payment on the inheritance share. In the Grandson area, however, dowries were not *de rigueur* and in many families, when cash could be afforded, some linen or a lump sum of money was offered. In other cases of affluent families, the dowry consisted perhaps of a few plots of land², or a combination of land and money. At the time of inheritance women could claim their remaining rights. In the Grandson area, promises made by the father at the time of wedding held more legal weight than any will drafted afterward. F. Michon³ retraced the case of a father who promised equal shares of inheritance for his daughters when one of them married. At his death, his will favoured the others. The case was brought to justice and the will was declared void.

Women were free to enjoy their properties and usually no ties were attached⁴: in the land-registers, women's properties were carefully separated and recorded apart from those of brothers or husbands. A husband could not sell his wife's properties without her consent and required the consent of a male member of her family even after her death⁵.

¹ A large number of articles in the Book of Laws of Grandson, (1779), concerns the problems of dowry in various domains.

² We believe that lands parted with as dowry from the family's holding were of modest quality. Land-registers neither confirmed nor contradicted this point. Nonetheless many women over 90 years old believe in this hypothesis as a hard fact. Mrs Octavie Bonard-Cochet, 95, claims to have received poor quality lands when she married and this was a "practice from old-ages". (Conversations with Mr Buxcel her grand-son, 1993).

³ F. Michon, (1960), p.75.

⁴ *Coutumier de Grandson, (1779), T.XVIII, L.299, " la femme mariée peut faire testament et ordonner ses biens sans l'autorité et consentement de son mari, ni d'autres; et la veuve aussi, sans l'autorité et consentement d'aucune personne".*

⁵ *Coutumier de Grandson, (1779), T.XVIII, L.296:" toutes venditions, aliénation, obligation et hypothécations que le mari fera des biens de sa femme en fond et en propriété, ne pourront être valides si elles ne sont faites du consentement et ratification d'icelle et par autorisation de deux parents ou de deux justiciers; et après la mort d'icelle, il ne pourra non plus vendre de ses bien sans le consentement des parents ou de la justice."*

However free women were in their rights of ownership, in any legal contract, such as a land survey, one can still plainly make out the shadows of a patriarchal system. Men, whether fathers, brothers or bailiffs, were present as *advisors*. Husbands did seem to be untrustworthy and wives were to be protected from their deeds by a family member. This concept, however interesting, falls within the domain of the anthropologist. Still, one can observe that a policy of this kind reflects antiquated ideas of the Middle--Ages, wherein the land belonged to the *family clan*.

Children, at their mother's death, would immediately benefit from her bequest, and the surviving father would act as a guardian of the estate until they came of age. In the Grandson area the family's house would usually be inherited by a son residing with the last surviving parent, if not a daughter and her husband (Jeanne Duvoisin).

Briefly, few wide generalisations should be made: after almost every death, lands, means of production, changed hands in a large scale; the number of children determined the size of the next generation's holdings. Although distinct indications of a *family clan* mentality are to be perceived from some policies of women's ownership, the notion of patriarchal system did not have an overwhelming influence in division of property.

UNCONVENTIONAL LANDOWNERS

7.1. DISCLOSED COMMUNITIES

Prevailing wisdom had it that we would find the population under this study to be immutable, closed, existing almost *in vacuo*, without relation to surrounding population. However, as we have already stressed, the population of the Grandson area moved, even if this movement was largely taking place in a natural parish. In this section we shall emphasize the same idea through a new approach; the distribution of lands among landowners of different origin. Studies of the land distribution in the *plaine* (low areas of the Alps) are scarce. For this type of study the basic material is the registers of land, and as we have already pointed out in the previous chapter, even then various approaches are possible. A. Radeff focused on the distribution of different cultures in the landscape of Lausanne in the 17th century¹, in other words a study in spatial analysis. D. Zumkeller aimed at the "*morphology of holdings*", in which attention was centred on the distribution of types of land within *communal* or parish boundaries², a point we shall examine in the next chapter. The *mémoires de licence*³ were limited in their approach and their analysis included only broad issues. As we have already discussed in chapter 6, if one were to anticipate results similar to those

¹ Refer: A. Radeff, (1979).

² D. Zumkeller, (1992), chapter 5, "*La Morphologie de la propriété*".

³ Refer: Richards & Zamora, (1976) & F. Porta, (1980) & D. Bron, (1982).

achieved in previous studies done on populations in the Swiss alpine areas¹, prevailing wisdom would have continued to prevail. Being maverick in our approach and unwilling to take anything for granted, we did not heed the prevailing wisdom.

We opted to portray the distribution of lands with regard to the land-owners, and draw our own conclusions as to whether this isolationism, a manifestation of self-sufficiency and a self-portrait so dear to the Swiss heart, had any basis in reality. Federalism, a system of government made out of small autonomous institutions is a reflection of mental disposition. Today, in the mind of the Swiss, one belongs first to a *commune*. For some, - a minority we believe-, the *commune* is altogether their origin, place of birth and residence. For the others, those who can hardly find their *commune* of origin on a map of Switzerland, - a majority -, the *commune* is either where they were born or have taken residence. Nonetheless and whatever the *commune* means in the mind of many Swiss, their primary attachment to a place is so expressed. It is an assurance against foreigners, 'them', those who do not act or have the same rites. Initially, 'them' could be anyone, a fellow from the next *commune* or some rancher in Texas. However, the canton is the second stage of differentiation, in which a *Vaudois* distinguishes himself from a *Genevois* and more to the point from a *Zürichois*. The first of August each year, this state of mind is recalled to those who might have a short memory: the National Day of Switzerland is a *communal* matter. Each *commune* has its own fireworks, its own officials' speeches. No-one seems to bother or even think of larger festivities implying several communities. Having said so, once the romance of pertaining to a *commune* is confronted with the realities and practicalities of life, a *Vaudois* is not troubled by working in Geneva or being domiciled in any low taxed *commune*. The practicalities of life are different from mental disposition. We have wondered about the origins of this conservatism which seems deep rooted. The 18th century folks in the Grandson area were liberal about it whenever it suited their economical interests. As odd papers from *communal*

¹ Refer: G. Berthoud, (1967) & R. Netting, (1981).

archives showed, whenever it was necessary, the *communiers* of many villages would act together, as a large family, to obtain privileges from other *communes* or the *Bailliage*¹ such as the right of pasture over commonly held meadows². Having said so, they treated the husband, - from a distant *commune* -, of a girl from Concise, as a *stranger*, since he wanted to use the rights of his wife to graze cattle in *communal* meadows of Concise³. However, every now and then, some honorable head of a household would be admitted as a new *communier* by the payment of a satisfactory fee⁴. Many villages by the end of the 17th century had adopted some written statute as how to run the everyday business of the *commune*, who was a *communier* and what his rights and obligations were. That of Concise, adopted in 1660, was a hotchpotch of written statements to "... *prevent confusion within and disfunction of the community... [sic]*"⁵. Trivial issues were given a particular attention (those who insulted the mayor or disobey him would pay 2 pints of wine), however, major political issues with economical implications were left to be done as "*was required by usage [sic]*"⁶. Having said so, the *communes* functioned as local governments highly limited by the customs of the *bailliage*, the rulings and orders of either Berne's or Fribourg's administration or some oral usages of immemorial times. As the readings of *communal* documents suggested, undoubtedly many *communiers* of the Grandson area belonged to one *commune* and complied to its rights and obligations. Their individual initiatives, however, were to take shape in a flexible community. This is a marked contrast to Törbel or Vernamiège, closed corporate communities in which the wish to keep out foreigners, perpetuating *communal* and family customs combined

¹ We refrain from giving details, which would involve the exposition of particular cases. Moreover, much of *communal* archives were in bundels and we could hardly find a proper indication to refer to. However, in order to have a broad view of these matters, refer to a valuable booklet published in 1976 by A. Dupasquier where many *communal* documents were summarized and presented uncommented in a chronological order.

² A. Dupasquier, (1976), p. 26, *exposé de la question des paturages communs*.

³ A. Dupasquier, (1976), p.26.

⁴ A. Dupasquier, (1976), p.29 & A.C. Fiez, Bovillars, Corcelles, etc..

⁵ See the complete text in A. Dupasquier, (1976), p. 33.

⁶ *Selon usage*.

with a geographical isolationism urged its members to *Familienpolitik*¹ as R. Netting decided to call the phenomenon.

The villages of the Grandson area were not closed. On average two-third of the landowners were foreign to the *commune*². The surface-area held by 'them' was typically, however, one third. One may see signs of holding properties only in *communiers* hands. But then four villages fell short of 66% and in Grandson-town's Hamlets (HAM) the *communiers* held only 13% of the surface-area³. To our knowledge, there has not yet been any study, in similar conditions, which we could use for discussing these points. G. Berthoud's case-study of landownership in Vernamiège is set in a modern period⁴. And two hundred years is too long a period for comparison. In our opinion, in the 18th century Grandson area landowners were very pragmatic: they would live close to their properties. In other words, individual's choices and economic conditions, the result of the lottery of inheritance, would prevail over the spirit of corporate community, if any existed at the first place, in contrast to what was observed by R. Netting⁵. The *communiers* of Grandson in the 18th century were altogether liberals compared to Törbjers. Many surnames were common to quite a few villages of the Grandson area. In the registration of vital events, either the father or the pastor did not record the origin of the child (same as the father), even though they certainly knew better than that. The building of each economic entity witnessed this claim; if it was not for the land-registers, we would have made at least two families from the baptismal records of Theodore-Nicolas Tharin: one from Bonvillars baptizing a baby girl named Marie (wife S. Giroud) and the other from Champagne. Only land-registers permitted to unite Marie with her sister and brothers from Champagne. This example was not an isolated case.

¹ R. Netting, (1981), p.186-ff.

² See: section 7.4.

³ See: section 7.4.2.

⁴ G. Berthoud, (1967), chapter 2.

⁵ R. Netting, (1981), two of the chapters were worded: Family-line continuity in a closed corporate community (4), *Familienpolitik*: alliance in a closed corporate community (9). Many more references were to be found throughout the text.

More to the point, corporate community is an area for anthropological investigation. The Grandson area in the 18th century, due to its geographical openness and its moving population can hardly be a suitable case for discussing family-lines or corporate matters. The strength of these statements however has to be moderated. None of the *communes* of the Grandson area was a caravanserai in which many unrelated people could rest as they pleased. Most of the families in the area were related in one way or other, and in many documents of *communal* archives, the familiar names of landowners reoccurred.

However, we believe that the frame, in some ways, distorts the picture. It is plain that working with only one village is bound to project only one fact. Nevertheless, reality is made up of innumerable facts and facets which often, even with the help of statistics, one cannot portray comprehensively. When a study is restricted to a village, a community, and the community is by definition the frame of the study, the presentation of facts will reflect what appears to be an *intra muros* relationship. Even D. Zumkeller, in studying several *communes* and parishes worked within rigid frame¹. As we have suggested in previous chapters, and it will be shown in the next section, *communes* under this study existed in interdependence, within a natural parish; the *muros* that other studies have taken for granted, were surprisingly permeable. In section 7.5. we have discussed in detail the owners of different types of land. There were no particular patterns, only random examples of different types owned by *communiers*, neighbours, holders from the *Bailliage* in general or from elsewhere. It should be recalled that *communiers* and neighbours made up the population of the natural parish and on average they outnumbered holders from *Bailliage* or elsewhere. Having said so, the discrepancies in standard deviations resulting of the calculation of averages do not give much support to such generalisations.

In the previous chapter we portrayed several economic entities, and discussed some inheritance issues in Champagne. In this chapter, we intend to draw a broader picture of the general characteristics of the landowners

¹

Refer: D. Zumkeller, (1992).

of different villages. An understanding of the composition of the landowners and the distribution of the lands among them would again serve as an indication of the mobility of men and their holdings. Further it would emphasise the absence of a strategy devised to conserve a population's hold on an area. Viewed in a microcosm, a population with scarce means of production will develop an inheritance system that is bound to invite change into the community, by the way of division and redistribution of property. Fortune and misfortune among individuals would prompt one to buy and another to sell.

Considering the dispersion of holdings within each economic entity and the number of foreign landowners of different types of land in each *commune*, the practicality of farming was questionable. In other words, about 70% of landowners held fields in at least two *communes*. How could they manage to cultivate them in an era where strength was limited to human factor? A human being is limited in the amount of work he can carry out during a day. Tools and animals eased the burden by carting and ploughing. Nonetheless, the daily output of a 18th century farmer is nowhere near a late 20th century counterpart working with machinery. Holdings so scattered in the Grandson area were an impediment to the farmers: a significant amount of energy and resources were necessary to make journeys possible from dispersed fields in different villages to the farmhouse. Economic history has many facets; it can require the researcher a walk. Using a combination of a cadastral-map indications and a modern map, we pin-pointed the holdings of Theodore-Nicolas Tharin and walked from one field to the other. The walking distances between fields were enough to point out the impracticality of such a holding. In other words, Theodore Tharin had to limit his journey to and from the fields by either hiring, exchanging or buying closer fields.

The need to increase, as much as was possible, one's daily productivity is a powerful incentive for people to exchange lands that lie too far afield, beyond their productive reach as it were, for others closer to home. *Communal* archives and solicitors' minutes bore witness to a large volume of lands being traded or exchanged. In his study of *Iron, Coal & Steel*,

P.-L. Pelet observes that in Vallorbe, 86% of contracts were related to the settlement of holdings between 1749-1810, a higher proportion than in France¹. In relation to an area of poly-agricultural economy and petty ownership such as the Grandson area, it is of interest to raise the issue of turnover of land plots: what was the average span in years of an individual's ownership of a piece of land? On average, how long would a piece of land stay within the same family? It is our view that the turnover would be short; however, this question requires undertaking vertical studies, in which several generations of landowners are observed. The picture drafted in the course of this study is more of a snap shot of 1710-1715 landowners.

However, even a snap-shot can suggest the existence of hiring practices. As we shall point out in section 7.6., the documentation is scarce and the literature in *Suisse-Romande* has paid no attention to it. The ownership portrayed in the registers of land was factual ownership, that is, the precise state of each owner's possessions. The functional ownership, that is, the fields any economic entity eventually farmed were totally unknown to us. In buying and exchanging fields the ownership of land was transferred and thus the act was to be recorded, in hiring a piece of land oral promises would suffice and unwritten words did not survive centuries. In any functional ownership, some lands closer to the farmhouse could have been hired and to some one else's benefit more distant fields were to be rented. The possibilities of a market for rents cannot be ruled out. Consequently, the facts suggest many exceptions to any simple proposed scenario, varying from one generation to the next within any given village.

7.2. LANDOWNERS' PORTRAIT

7.2.1. BY SEX

In most European rural societies of the modern period, the population of landowners was (and perhaps, is still) predominantly made up of men². Of

¹ P.-L. Pelet, (1983), p. 358.

² Refer: G. Berthoud, (1967) & R. M. Netting (1981).

course the proportion of male/female ratios change, but it is fair to suggest that often more than three-quarters of the landowners are male, due to various systems of inheritance, usually privileging sons. Interestingly enough, in studies done on rural Switzerland, researchers have tended to diverge, based on the focus of their study, into two distinct paths of inquiry: those with backgrounds in sociology or anthropology have been interested in portraying ownership in terms of sex ratios¹, but those with economics experience have overlooked the issue². However, we believe the composition of landownership by sex is an issue of primary significance in building economic entities, the units of production, since the share brought in by each member can be distinguished and the ramifications on the next generation observed.

The children of Theodore-Nicolas Tharin owned lands inherited from their mother, Suzanne Giroud. Catherine Robellaz, his second wife brought into the marriage some lands of her own. The inheritance received by all the eight children of Theodore-Nicolas would be of two sources: the children of Suzanne Giroud received each a 1/3 share of their mother's inheritance plus a 1/8 share of their father's. Catherine Robellaz's bequest would be shared among her five children who had also a 1/8 share from their father. While the children seemed to inherit a fairly large legacy, as it came from two sources, the property they actually received was terrifically fragmented.

One example of how lands might be regrouped in the succeeding generation can be drawn from Barbille Duvoisin, who remained unmarried and lived in her sister's household. Both she and her sister would then pass their property down to the sister's children, making Mlle Duvoisin the *tante à héritage par excellence* for her nieces and nephews, and resulting in the regrouping of some lands inherited from her father. In other words, the ownership of lands by sex is an important issue in economics as well.

There is a dual aspect to an economic analysis approached by sex ratios. We were interested in the percentage women made up of landowners, as

¹ Refer: G. Berthoud, (1967) & R. M. Netting (1981).

² Refer: A. Radeff, (1979) & D. Zumkeller, (1992).

well as a comparison of total surface areas held by either sex. Women, represented a surprising percentage of landowners: a full 40%, where men formed 57% and 3% of the land was held by 'others', either legal entities or unspecified children (*tab. & fig. 7.1*).

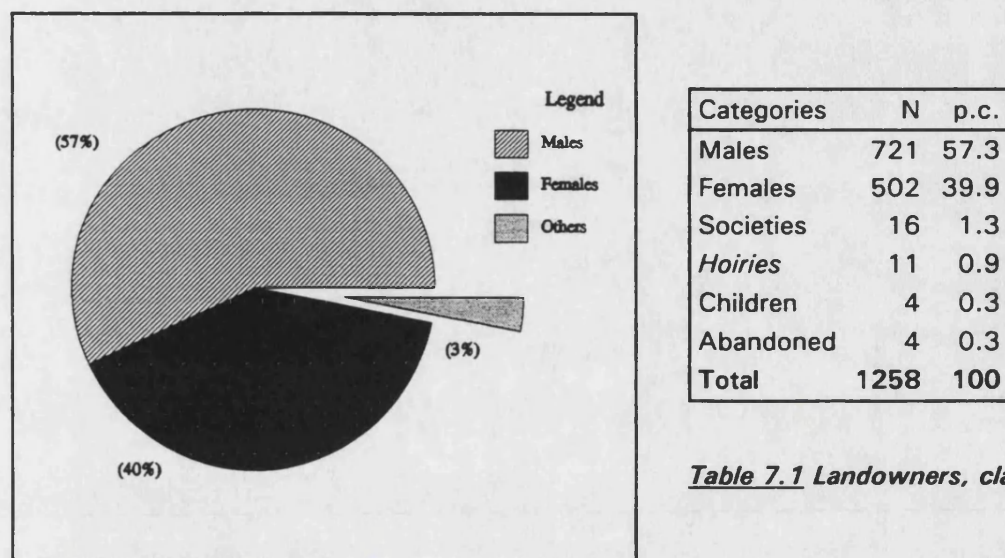


Fig. 7.1 Landowners, class, p.c.

Table 7.1 Landowners, class, N.

The breakdown of ownership in the *communes* under study was much less male-dominated than expected. However, as we have stated, these statistics, when taken alone, were deceptive. While women made up 40% of the landowners, they held only a fraction of the total surface area.

The actual amount of land women held varied from village to village: in Corcelles, women owned a mere 20% of land while in Fontaines more than 40% were in their hands (*tab. & fig. 7.2*).

	Females		Males		Total
	Commune	Else	Commune	Else	
BNV	10	8	54	28	100
CMP	20	10	36	34	100
CRL	7	12	33	48	100
FIE	23	11	44	22	100
FNT	15	26	30	29	100
GIZ	18	3	68	11	100
HAM	4	23	14	59	100
ONS	27	8	51	14	100
Avrg	16	13	41	31	100

Else: not living in the *commune*.

Table 7.2 Distribution of lands, sex, area held, p.c.

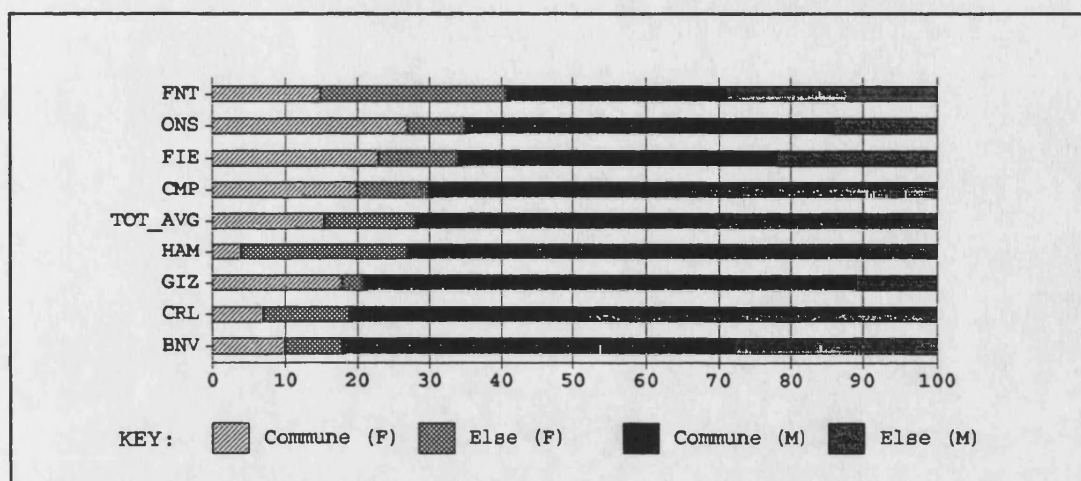


Fig. 7.2 Landowners, sex, area held, p.c.

In appendix H, the details of land distribution by sex are fully set out. As table 7.3 show, those who owned land in places other than the *commune* were mostly from the natural parish.

In figure 7.3, the natural parish, commune and neighbourhood is further detailed. All these figures and tables present the same reality, that is, the existence of a natural parish.

	Female		Males		Total	
	NP	E.	NP	E.	NP	E.
BNV	16	2	58	24	74	26
CMP	25	5	49	21	74	26
CRL	11	8	52	29	63	37
FIE	32	2	62	4	94	6
FNT	33	8	55	4	88	12
HAM	21	6	50	23	71	29
GIZ	20	1	76	3	96	4
ONS	30	5	56	9	86	14
Avg	24	5	57	15	81	19

NP: natural parish. (*commune* & neighbours).

E.: elsewhere (exclud. neighbours).

Table 7.3 Owners, area held, p.c., natural parish.

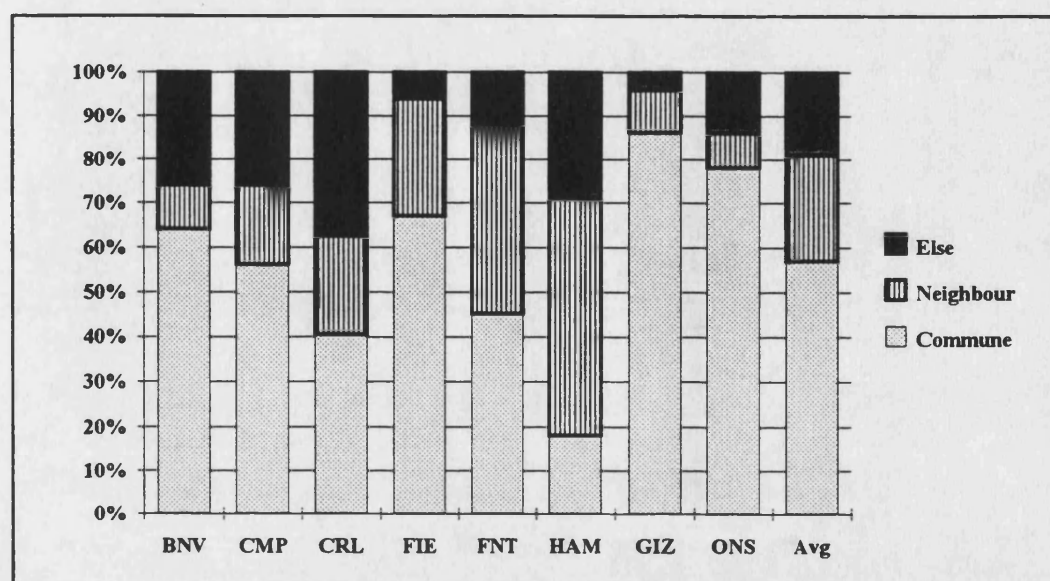


Fig. 7.3 Owners, area held, p.c., natural parish.

As we could not detect any sex-biased inheritance procedures or customs within these communities, it is our opinion that the discrepancies were due also due to the sex ratios of the population. In any small community where the population is under 500, sex ratios are likely to vary widely from one generation to the next. Moreover, within the bounds of this study, sex ratios were calculated based on the population of the parish, rather than individual villages, and included children baptised inside the parish who actually resided outside.

The sex ratios of landowners, however, were based upon the population of individual villages, and encompassed only those members who could receive a bequest. Unfortunately, due to incomplete data in the parish registers, we were unable to investigate this matter thoroughly. Nonetheless, it is conceivable that any imbalance in male/female ratios at birth in such a small community would trigger a search for a spouse in other *communes* some years hence.

Between 1690 and 1715, Fontaines provided many young men from several villages with wives. In contrast, Corcelles suffered a marked shortage of eligible young women for the same period: 72% of males domiciled in Corcelles had a 'foreign' wife. An imbalance in male/female ratios in small communities had practical consequences in terms of land holdings. Absentee land-holders, namely women who had emigrated upon marriage to a different village, greatly affected the production of the land. One possible solution would have been the further division of property, i.e., the woman could have bequeathed her holdings to family members living close to the lands. However in an area of petty ownership, with a finite number of holdings being divided and divided again with each successive generation, further division of the plots would ruin the means of production: the plots would simply become too small to be worth cultivating.

Bequeathing properties entire, resulting in the undivided and common ownership of all lands held by all inheritors in the family, is one practical solution to the problem of over-dividing lands. Notwithstanding, buying out sisters' shares of bequest was also possible, and perhaps more practical. Moreover, it had the added benefit of keeping the lands within the family,

effectively preventing a husband from interfering in his wife's holdings. Solicitors' minutes and *communal* archives registered a panoply of different means of buying out sisters' shares: lump sum, limited or life annuity, letters of credit, etc.¹.

Perhaps in consequence, men were more likely to own land than women. Seventy-two percent of all lands belonged to them². Though females are not positively set outside the prospect of ownership, their effective holdings are clearly smaller than those of men.

To test this hypothesis, it was necessary to have a simplified and clear

Area	Females	Males
In <i>Bailliage</i>	88	78
Out <i>Bailliage</i>	12	22
Total	100	100

Table 7.4 *Sex and area of holding.*

picture of landowners under study. We broke down the total number of landowners into two groups: owners living within the *bailliage* where the lands were held (in), and those living outside it (out). As table 7.4 shows, although the difference

between these categories by sex is not very large, women were more likely to own property closer to their domicile than were men.

Undoubtedly, the distance between hearth and the holdings, while based on the individual situations among families, was one of the factors, in the division of inheritance. In short, it is safe to say that, generally, if a daughter married and lived in a *commune* different from that of her father, she was more likely to be bequeathed lands nearer to her domicile.

7.2.2. BY LAND-TYPE

To investigate fully the distribution of lands among landowners, we hypothesized possible patterns in the types of land held by each sex. There could be a pattern, say, by which females would favour owning a certain type of property. This hypothesis was at odds with data (*tab. 7.5*). While there is some preference shown toward men in terms of what was bequeathed, the data bore no evidence of preference of this type being given

¹ See: A.C.V. DF-7; A.C. Fiez, A.C. Fontaines.

² See: appendix I.

Type	Males	Females	Total
Arable	72	28	100
Enclosure	75	25	100
Garden	81	19	100
Hemp-field	73	27	100
House	84	16	100
Meadow	74	26	100
Barren	77	23	100
Vineyard	72	28	100
Woodland	80	20	100

Table 7.5 *Land-types, sex, surfaces, p.c.*

to women. In each category the surface area of the land held by women was 20-30%, while men held the remainder. Houses and gardens were overwhelmingly male-owned. It is common knowledge that in many area of the forthcoming canton of Vaud, the parental house often went to the sons, usually to the younger since as a general rule the elder

sons possessed their own houses by the time of the father's death. We could not, however, verify these statements in the absence of data on the previous owners of the houses.

7.2.3. BY AGE

To form as complete as possible a profile of the landowners in our study, we originally intended to include research on the age of individual landowners, based on data provided by the parish registers. However, the fragmentary data did not allow any meaningful structure to be built. The individuals under study were simply too mobile to be effectively tracked. We were dealing with a population who made use of different villages for the registration of each of their vital events. To collect the necessary data, a researcher has to go beyond the sphere of the study. The question then becomes 'How far beyond?'.

Using what registers we had, we attempted to link landowners with baptismal records. Results of record linkage, automatic or manual were inconclusive. If one persisted, perhaps a handful of records could have been linked between landowners' names and baptismal records. We successfully linked ninety-six records from a total of 12,000 (0.8%), too meagre to be of any interest. In the parish registers, the possibilities of having any event go unrecorded were diverse, but the problem of homonyms proved fatal. This point is best illustrated by an example produced in table 7.6.

Jean-David-François¹ is the son of Abram-François. Anytime he is quoted in any register, he takes up a different combination of these possibilities. Without additional data, it becomes almost impossible to trace him from one event to another. All in all, the age structure of landowners was inade-

Son	Father
Jean-David-François	Abram-François
Jean-David	François
Jean-François	Abram
David-François	
David	
François	
Jean	

Table 7.6 *Name combinations.*

quately documented. Therefore, in the absence of formal data we had to satisfy ourselves with the observations we made from land-registers. We believe that landowners were of all ages: the early death of a mother would make her children young land-holders. A young man would receive his share of inheritance before his father's death (a common practice in the case of the eldest son). In the land-registers we came across many cases where father and sons had different *reconnaisances*. A *reconnaissance* was not a privilege for the men or the senior members of the community.

7.3. COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP

Not all the landowners were individuals. Three percent of all land-holders were institutions or legal entities: children's holdings, societies (shooting clubs, hospitals) or *hoiries*. Many *communes* were land-holders of modest importance. They acted like any individual in buying, selling and renting their properties. Usually these properties were inside the *commune's* boundaries, but it was not exceptional for them to possess neighbouring lands (*tab. 7.7*). For example, Novalles owned 20 hectares of woodlands in Giez. Grandson-town's hamlet, Corcelettes owned few plots in Champagne. The use of a *commune's* properties did not fall into a category distinct from that of an individual's. The incomes of such holdings were recorded in the *commune's* accounts and spent on routine expenses of the *commune* such as helping

¹ This example is invented purely to illustrate our point, although we did not much use our imagination. Real cases from the archive materials were often more complicated.

	CRL		FIE		ONS		BNV		FNT		CMP		NVL	
	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N
Buildings														
House		1		1		2		1		1		1		
Oven		1				1		1		1		1		
Smith		1				1						1		
Land-types														
Arable- land	4.3	8			2.4	2	6.05	1						
Enclosure	0.36	1	0.77	4			1.21	3	0.12	2	0.12	1		
Garden		1		1		2						1		
Meadow	2.67	9	5.7	6	6.9	4	0.5	2	1.20	3	0.21	1		
Vineyard	0.16	4	2.7	2	0.41	1			1.56	2				
Sundry														
Bush	.7	1	26.1	3										
Marsh	1.9	2			7.8	2								
Pasture	1.8	4			1.8	4								
Barren					0.37	1								
Wood- land	65.6	1			93.8	2	89.9	5			104.8	3	20.1	2
N.B.: S: surface area (hectare) N: frequency					Remark: Woodlands owned by Novalles are situated on Giez. Other <i>communes</i> had their holdings in their own area.									

Table 7.7 Properties of communes.

the poor¹, road maintenance and paying justice fees to settle quarrels between neighbours².

Children's (*enfants*) holdings, were recorded separately from those of their parents within the same *reconnaissance*, if parents held lands as well, or in a proper *reconnaissance* if the children were the sole representatives of the family in that register (*tab. 7.8*).

Often the children's names were fully provided, thus enabling us to treat them with the general population. Nonetheless, four *reconnaissances* of

Children of:	Commune	Arable-land		Vineyard	
		S (m2)	N	S (m2)	N
Giroud (GNV)	FNT	2389	1	3583	1
Amiet (TLR)	HAM	10618	5		
Rossier (GIZ)	HAM			929	1
Tharin (STM)	HAM	6857	3		

children's properties were unusual in that the names of the children were missing.

Table 7.8 Possessions of children.

¹ The Book of Laws of Grandson (1779) does not mention specific duties for the *communes*.

² See: A.C. Fontaines, Giez, etc..

Having become used to the meticulous detail in the land-registers, we found these omissions curious. A thorough check of their files offered no satisfactory conclusions. The children of Giroud, Amiet and Tharin, were born to the first wives and the father had remarried after their death. Rossier had not yet remarried. Moreover his children's properties were a *reconnaissance* of their own in a village in which he himself held no property. However, there could be a simple explanation: the children's holdings were too small and perhaps too many to make the ink, paper and effort to register them all, worth it. Nonetheless, children's ownership offers yet another occasion to underline the existing population's high mobility¹.

The mix of the population and their holdings within the same area is clearly displayed (*tab 7.9*). It is common knowledge that the properties of the children, so recorded, were inherited from their mother. We never found any documentary evidence clearly showing that the children's properties of the deceased wife belong to the mother in the first place. However, thorough readings of the materials in hand does not leave any doubt.

Name	Father		Mother		Children	
	Origin & Domicile	Holdings	Origin, either:	Holdings	Domicile	Holding
Giroud	GNV	FNT	GNV, CRL, Couvet (NE) or Schwarzenbourg (BE)	FNT	GNV	GNV
Rossier	GIZ	GIZ	Cuarny (VD), Valeyres (VD), Vaumarcus (NE), Yverdon (VD)	HAM	GIZ	GIZ
Amiet	HAM	HAM, GIZ	Grandson-town, Novallles	HAM	HAM	HAM
Tharin	STM	HAM	GIZ, Grandson-town	HAM	STM	STM

Table 7.9 Properties of selected children.

¹ Giroud, Jaques-François s/o Georges from Grandvent had as first spouse Jeanne Tissot deceased, *reconnaissance* 15 Feb.1712, A.C.V., Fq-146, fl 357.
 Amiet, Jean-Léger s/o Jean-François s/o Jean from Les Tuileries, had as first spouse, Ursule Amiet deceased, *reconnaissance* 6 Jan 1714, A.C.V., Fq-143, fl 8.
 Tharin, Daniel s/o Daniel from St. Maurice had as first spouse Dorothée Rossier deceased, *reconnaissance* 1 March 1713, A.C.V., Fq-143 fl 272.
 Rossier, Etienne from Giez had his children from Marie Christen deceased, *reconnaissance* 6 Dec. 1712, A.C.V., Fq-147, fl 138.

Several societies owned land listed in the registers as well (*tab 7.10*). The *bourgeoisie* of Grandson-town had fourteen hectares of land in Giez. The musketeer's societies of Fiez and Bonvillars had a few plots within the village area. The hospital of Yverdon owned a vineyard in its neighbouring hamlet, Les Tuileries.

	Land-type	S (m2)	N
Bourgeoisie of Grandson	Woodland	149708	2
Musketeers of FIE	Meadow	7299	2
Musketeers of BNV	Enclosure	5574	1
Hospital of YVR	Vineyard	3085	1

Table 7.10 *Properties of societies.*

A few plots of lands were left vacant by their owners (*tab.7.11*). Although the land-registers offer no explanation, most probably the income of such lands was not sufficient to support the charges (*censes*).

Abandoned in:	type	S (m2)	N
GIZ	woods	2123	1
FIE HAM CRL	barren	18580	7
	arable	15528	8

Table 7.11 *Abandoned lands.*

7.4. 'US' & 'THEM'

It is interesting to note that the smaller the county, the more likely the inhabitants are to differentiate themselves from their neighbours. In many parts of the canton of Vaud, one is almost immediately identifiable, with the exchange of a few pleasantries, as belonging to 'us' (living in the same village) or to 'them' (referring to the people of the next village, perhaps only 2 km. away). Where one comes from is still quite significant in the Swiss countryside in determining a number of factors about one's character. While investigating the origin of landowners in the 18th century, it was important for us to detect whether the land-owners were locals ('us') and lived in the *commune* where they held lands, or 'them', people from other *communes*. This matter should be examined in two ways: in light of the number of landowners involved (frequency), and the surface-area held by locals or others.

For an analysis of the landowners' domicile and the location of their lands, it was important to define boundaries within which distinct categories could

be found. Administrative boundaries of the *bailliage commun* of Grandson, such as *métralie* or *mayorie* were of no help. The *communal* limits were more rewarding in that they provided us with a centre (village) and the surrounding area.

Outsiders ('them') were complex to classify. Could the parish be a logical boundary for a larger area? After a thorough examination of the data, it was obvious that we could make only rudimentary classifications:

1. from the neighbourhood, i.e., the population of contiguous *communes* of the village under observation;
2. from the *bailliage* (excluding neighbours);
3. from anywhere else, outside the *bailliage*.

The determining factor to classification of the landowners lay in the distance between hearth and property. The domicile is thought to be the centre of a bull's-eye, with three outer rings representing each step further removed from the hearth: neighbourhood, *bailliage* and 'elsewhere' ('else' in the tables). It should be reminded that the rates of *communes* added to those of neighbours provide the rates of natural parish.

7.4.1. NUMBER OF OWNERS

As table 7.12 shows, on average just one-third of the landowners were living *intra muros* and more than a third were from the neighbourhood. Many lands were possessed by locals, but the community was not closed. The patterns of landownership were highly mixed. There is, in fact, no clear pattern at all. While in each *commune*, the ratios of 'us' to 'them' differ, in

	BNV	CMP	CRL	FIE	FNT	GIZ	HAM	ONS	All
<i>Commune</i>	43	33	29	24	20	26	9	39	31
Neighbour	27	19	46	23	40	42	32	36	34
<i>Bailliage</i>	18	35	10	36	26	14	50	14	20
Else	12	13	15	17	14	18	9	11	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N.B. Column "all" excludes Grandson's Hamlets where the situation is exceptional									

Table 7.12 Landowners, domicile, frequency, p.c.

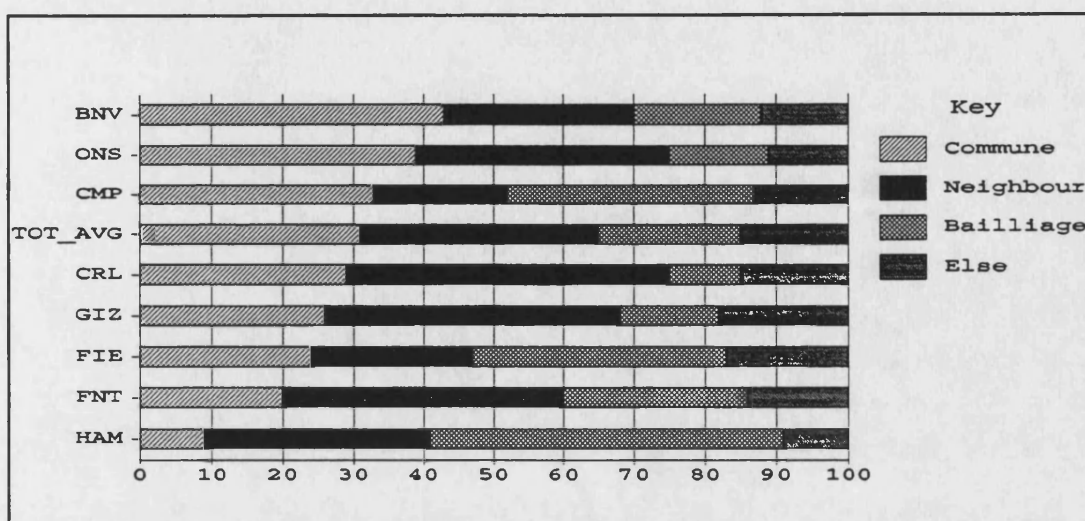


Fig. 7.4 Landowners, domicile, frequency, p.c.

many *communes*, land-holding neighbours are more numerous than the *communiers* (fig. 7.4).

7.4.2. SURFACE-AREA HELD

It is important to note that in producing table 7.12 the surface-areas of lands held by the owners have not been considered. When surface-areas are taken into account, the picture differs considerably (as was to be expected). Most lands of a given *commune* were owned by those living in the *commune* ('us') (tab. 7.13 & fig. 7.5).

The figures, however, embrace a wide range. Bonvillars is the only *commune* where most of the surface-area was still held by the *communiers*.

	Commune	Neighbours	Bailliage	Else	Total	Remark
BNV	84	4	6	6	100	VG D YVR ONS FTZ
ONS	77	17	3	3	100	BNV STM TRV CNS
CMP	73	8	5	14	100	YVR BRN FIE BNV
FIE	60	33	5	2	100	FNT GRD MNY STM
GIZ	55	43	1	1	100	GRD NVL FIE OGE
CRL	50	22	10	18	100	BRN ONS GRD FRG
FNT	48	44	1	7	100	FIE NVL VLQ GNV
HAM	13	45	28	14	100	CMP FIE BNV STM YVR
*Avg	*64	*21	*4	*7	100	* excluding Hamlets

Table 7.13 Landowners, domicile, area held, p.c.

Corcelles and Fontaines struggle for 50% of the surface-area of the *commune*¹.

Again these figures point to the same fact: there is no pattern for landownership as far as the distribution of surface-areas is concerned. Of course, many people owned land in the village in which they lived but this cannot be taken as a rule. Moreover, important owners, second to the *communiers*, could come from anywhere and not only neighbouring *communes* as one might have thought (6th. column in table 13). The importance of high-ranking officials from Yverdon, Berne and Fribourg in the administration, is not to be underrated.

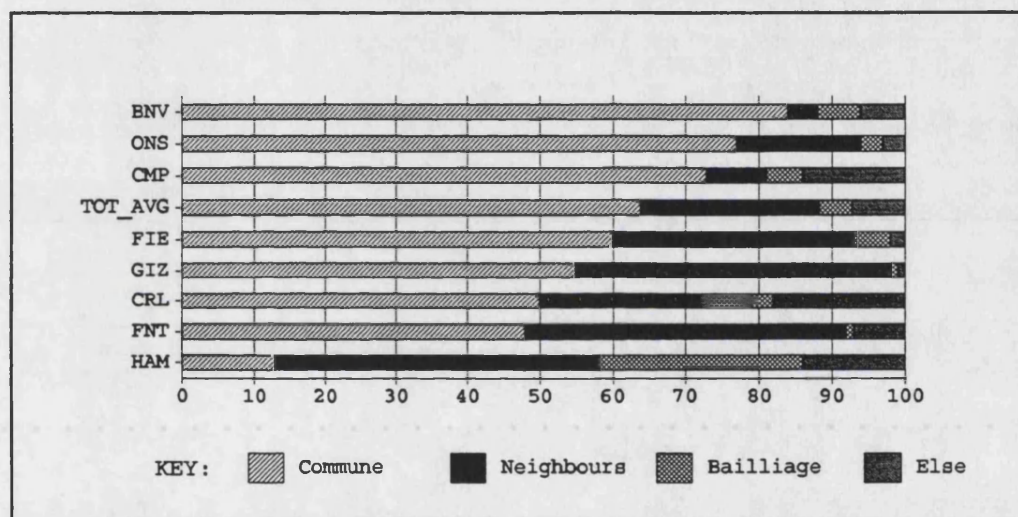


Fig. 7.5 Landowners, domicile, area held, p.c.

7.5. OWNERS OF DIFFERENT PLOTS

Our search for patterns among these jumbles of humanity was vain, like one sitting in the middle of an open market watching all types and shapes of people pass by. We attempted the analysis of the relationship between each type of land and the domicile of the holder. Perhaps, some specific type of land were held by a specific sub-set of population. For example, it might have been possible to find that arable lands and meadows were more likely to be owned by 'us' rather than people not living in the given *commune*.

¹

See: appendix J, K, L, M, N.

We produce a summary of the results of this investigation in the appendixes J-N. In short, there was no such pattern. There was no visible evidence that the communities operated under any kind of strategy. No attempt was made to hold and pass lands to the future generations, to assure a constancy in ownership among members of a specific *commune*. Lands were held where the individual could afford them.

7.5.1. HOUSES

Neither was there a discernible pattern concerning the ownership of houses. More than 70% belonged to the *communiers*; however, many dwellings belonged to 'them', holders living outside the *commune* (tab. 7.14 & fig. 7.6). As these houses were occupied by *communiers*, evidently they were 'hired' by the owners in the modern sense to an otherwise houseless population. However, because hired plots were of no interest to the commissioners of the 18th century land survey, tenure is an issue that escapes our observation, even with the use of other types of document.

	Com- mune	Neigh- bour	Bail- liage	Else
BNV	71	4	9	16
CMP	70	7	9	14
CRL	81	0	8	11
FIE	93	3	3	3
FNT	76	9	4	11
GIZ	76	15	3	6
HAM	75	10	5	10
ONS	85	3	7	5
Avrg	78	6	6	10

Table 7.14 Houses, domicile of owners, p.c.

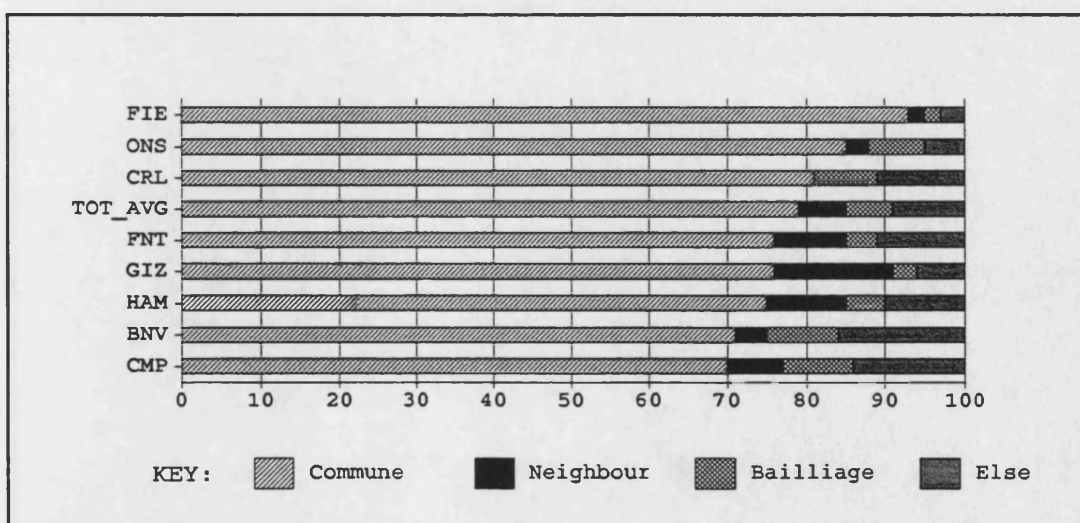


Fig. 7.6 Houses, domicile of owners, p.c.

7.5.2. GARDENS AND HEMP-FIELDS

Gardens and hemp-fields, although considered as properties indivisible from the household, were not entirely in the hands of locals either (tab. 7.15 & fig. 7.7). Excepting Fiez, where most gardens and hemp-fields were held by the local population, the percentage of local holders in other *communes* falls sharply.

Corcelles is the village with most gardens and hemp-fields in the hands of 'them' (46%).

We expected to find houses and gardens/hemp-fields distributions to be very similar. A household needed a garden as a source of seasonal food that could be kept from pilfering. We expected to find, based on this presumed necessity, an automatic relationship between the two. As figure 7.8 shows, there is no positive relationship. Houses were independent entities from gardens and hemp-fields. Thus we presume there to have been many situations in which an individual, while a house-owner, was forced to hire a garden.

	Com- mune	Neigh- bour	Bail- liage	Else
BNV	73	2	7	18
CMP	68	15	0	17
CRL	53	0	5	41
FIE	96	2	0	2
FNT	72	15	6	6
GIZ	70	20	1	9
HAM	67	12	19	2
ONS	79	10	4	8
Avrg	72	10	5	13

Table 7.15 Grds & H.-f., domicile, area, p.c.

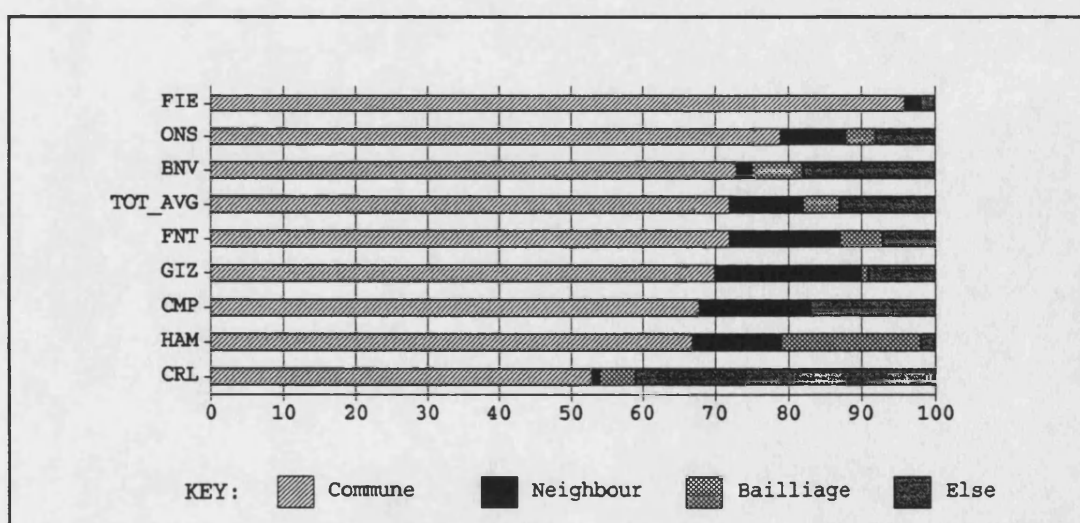


Fig. 7.7 Gardens and hemp-fields, domicile, area, p.c.

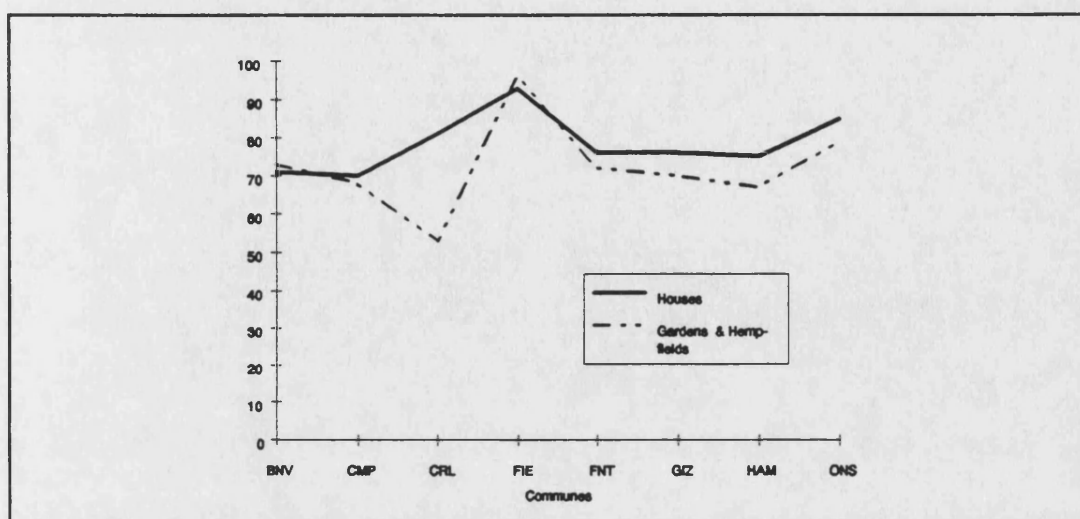


Fig. 7.8 Houses vs gardens and hemp-fields, domicile, frequency, p.c.

7.5.3. ENCLOSURES

In Champagne, 64% of enclosures belonged to people living outside the *bailliage*; in Fiez, the figure falls to 1% (*tab. 7.16 & fig.7.9*). In our opinion the important share of enclosures belonging to 'them' is a sign of a large

	Commune	Neighbour	Bailliage	Else
BNV	79	2	0	19
CMP	33	1	2	64
CRL	40	10	10	40
FIE	95	3	1	1
FNT	56	31	5	8
GIZ	56	39	2	3
HAM	44	5	21	30
ONS	87	0	6	7
Avrg	59	13	7	22

Usually, a **Table 7.16** Enclosures, domicile, area, p.c.

landowner would enclose properties in his domicile. The certificates of enclosures we came across, without exception, concerned plots in the domicile village of the owner. However, many owners of the enclosures surveyed were not living in the same area as the enclosures were. Hence, they had not enclosed it themselves. In the years following the enclosure, the plot was sold to or exchanged with others. As we shall see¹, enclosing one's land was a long standing practice in the area.

¹

See: section 8.7.4.

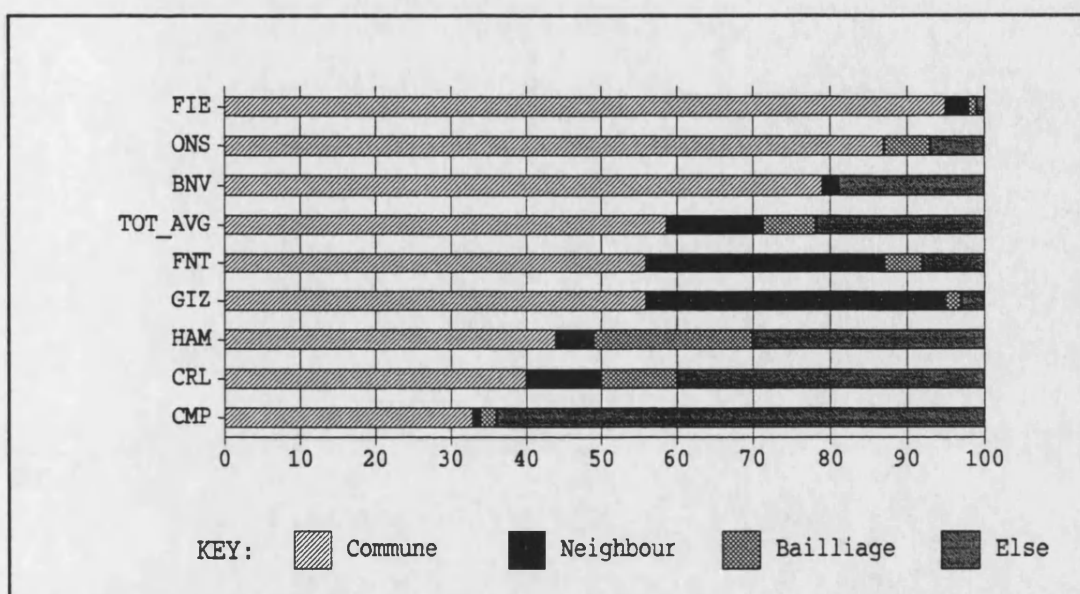


Fig. 7.9 Enclosures, domicile, area, p.c.

7.5.4. MEADOWS

The distribution of meadows by the domicile of the landowners was of particular interest to us. We expected to find the wealthiest landowners in the area most likely to own meadows adjacent to or very near their homes. Cattle graze in meadows and having them next door, makes life much easier either to herd the animals or collect manure from them. Such a supposition was unfounded (*tab. 7.17 & fig.7.10*). Like other types of land, meadows had no distribution pattern by the domicile of landowners.

	Commune	Neighbour	Bailliage	Else
BNV	50	10	34	6
CMP	51	10	6	33
CRL	51	10	5	34
FIE	76	14	4	6
FNT	33	47	10	10
GIZ	38	56	2	4
HAM	5	62	14	19
ONS	84	7	3	6
Avrg	55	22	9	14

Table 7.17 Meadows, domicile, area, p.c.

There is, however, a point worth mentioning: some of those owners in possession of large herds were either Berne's or Fribourg's high-ranking officers who had to hire a cheese-maker.

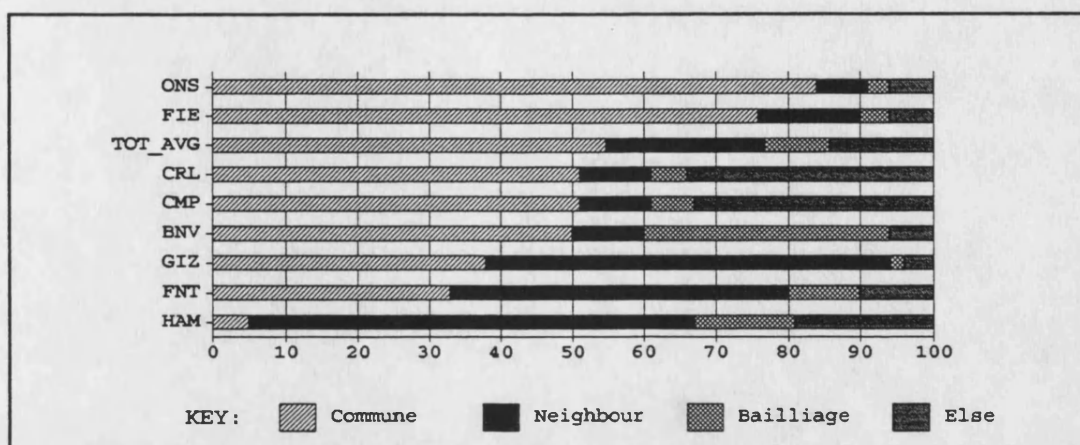


Fig. 7.10 Meadows, domicile, area, p.c.

7.5.5. ARABLE LANDS

Arable lands lived up to our expectations. We imagined them to be free of any pattern of ownership. And we were not deceived. In some villages, arable lands were owned mostly by those domiciled in the *commune*, in others the opposite was true (tab 7.18 & fig 7.11).

	Commune	Neighbour	Bailliage	Else
BNV	69	12	14	5
CMP	67	21	8	4
CRL	49	26	10	15
FIE	63	30	3	4
FNT	44	44	1	11
GIZ	53	39	4	4
HAM	19	42	34	5
ONS	76	8	10	6
Avrg	55	28	11	7

Table 7.18 Arable-lands, domicile, area, p.c.

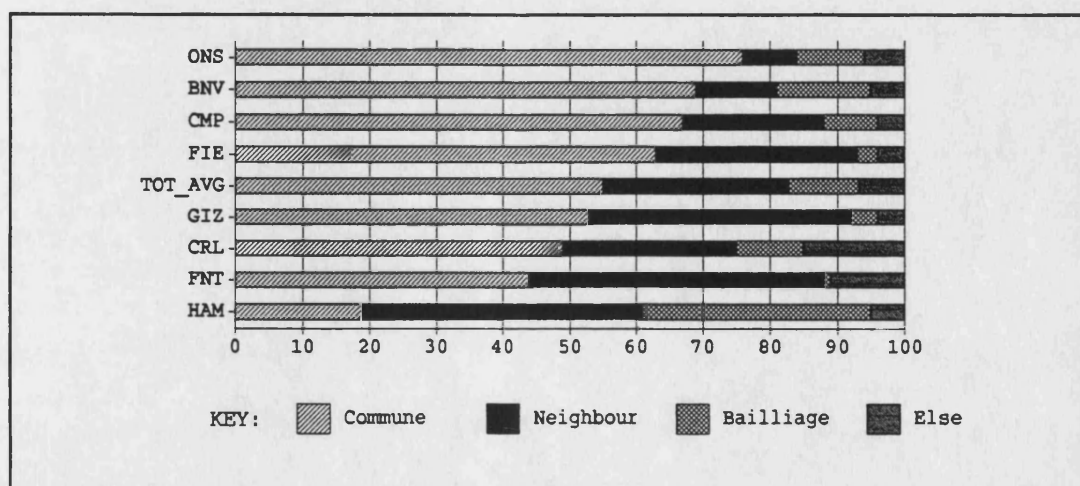


Fig. 7.11 Arable-lands, domicile, area, p.c.

7.5.6. VINEYARDS

To say that vineyards were lucrative and valuable assets is a pleonasm. Vine cultivation and wine production required a certain amount of skill and a twice-yearly burst of intense activity, but the results were an almost guaranteed income for the vineyard holder, also a source of potables for himself. As table 7.19 shows, vineyards were owned by a cross-section of the population and encompassed locals and wine-grower from other counties as well (*fig. 7.12*). The exception is apparently Giez, but here the pattern may well be meaningless; there were fewer than ten parcels of vineyards.

	<i>Commune</i>	<i>Neighbour</i>	<i>Bailliage</i>	<i>Else</i>
BNV	35	15	10	40
CMP	35	13	13	39
CRL	23	21	26	30
FIE	65	24	4	7
FNT	27	42	8	23
GIZ	91	9	0	0
HAM	7	9	6	78
ONS	77	12	6	5
<i>Avrg</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>28</i>

Table 7.19 Vineyards, domicile, area, p.c.

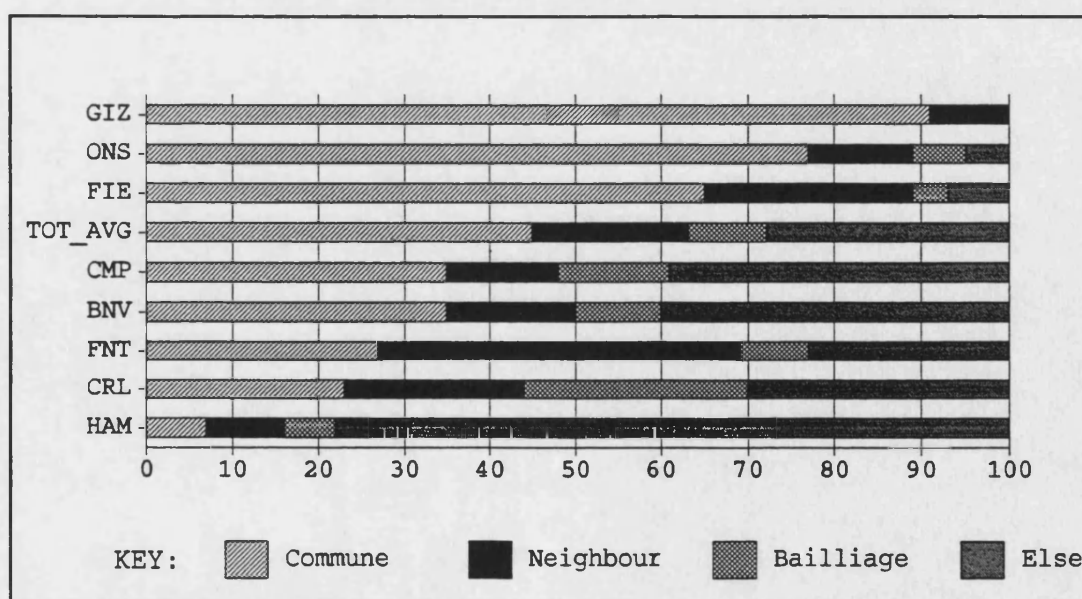


Fig. 7.12 Vineyards, domicile, area, p.c.

7.6. HIRING: A MARKET BEYOND OUR REACH

While we could find no documentation to substantiate the practice of hiring lands among neighbours, it seems to have been nothing short of a practical necessity for landowners whose properties lay too far afield to make working them possible.

This practice is certainly not a modern one, and we could find precedents in history of lands for hire. Essentially, the *féodal* system was based on hire: the *seigneur* let his lands to his subjects in return for a fee (*cense*). However, when the system was fading as in the early 18th century, those who had been the tenants of royalty became landholders in their own right. Proving that the formal business of renting existed becomes a complex issue, since it can only be suggested but not documented.

There was enough evidence to demonstrate the existence of renting practices: in the Grandson area, high ranking officials of Berne and Fribourg and rich traders from Vaud and Geneva had farmers and stewards. In 1595, the *bailli* of Romainmôtier (a *bailliage* to the West of the canton of Vaud) hired out a piece of alpine field and a chalet to Pierre Valloton. To seal the pact, before a few witnesses, Pierre received a *buchille*, a piece of timber torn from the door of the chalet, and a lump of earth. In 1655, Louis Breton took on the management of a forge in Le Brassus (canton of Vaud) with a verbal contract¹. In Concise hiring was in practice, at least, since the 16th century. In 1545 the children of Jean Collon rented two vineyards to a builder from Yverdon; in 1553 the mayor of Concise rented a *place* [sic]; in 1566, Paris brothers rented 12 *poses* of woodlands from J. Tribolet, etc.². Many years later, in 1660, Concise adopted a *communal* regulation. It was then stated in that any one renting a house to a stranger would have been fined 34 lit. of wine³. Compared with taxes, this penalty was heavy. (Nonetheless, the definition of the *stranger* was lenient: a poor fellow from

¹ P.-L. Pelet, (1978), p. 233 & 263.

² A. Dupasquier, (1976), p. 22-23.

³ *Ordonnance de la Commune de Concise*, 1966, quoted in: A. Dupasquier, (1976), p. 34.

neighbourhood was more of a stranger than a wealthy bourgeois from Yverdon). Many more such evidences can be found in other *communal* archives.

As we have already mentioned, holdings were so scattered that the journeys to and from the fields would have been costly to the farmer. Therefore, he could have rented some fields closer to his home. Land-registers portrayed factual ownership, who *owned* what. Functional ownership, who *exploited* what, due to lack of data, escapes observation. Any rental was either written or oral. Since the scribes in the Grandson area rarely suffered writer's cramp, there is enough evidence to suspect that these deals which we presume to have been often functionally unavoidable, were verbally taken. Among neighbours, people who knew one another well, a handshake would suffice, and no one felt the need to formalize the deal in writing. Today, in the rural area of the canton of Vaud, many lands are hired verbally among the farmers; a handshake over a bottle of wine seals the deal. In the Book of Laws of Grandson, there is a full chapter dedicated to *subhastations*, i.e., credits, failure in payments and so on, further suggesting the widespread and long-established practice of hiring lands.

While it is supportable to presume that the practice existed in the areas, its extent cannot be assessed. Functional ownership is a novel approach to the rural study of Switzerland under the *Ancien Régime* and much more research is necessary. The literature has ignored its possibility. We understand that the demand for hiring fields and houses must have existed alongside exchange or trade of them, however, such a market unfortunately did not produce many written contracts.

BREAD, CHEESE AND WINE

8.1. A POTPOURRI

In any study based on the registers of land and focused on the relationship of landowners with their possession, there is at some stage the necessity of simplifying and classifying various pieces of data found in each *reconnaissance*. The land-registers provide us with a great deal of detailed information - from the descriptions of plots to the cadastral maps and the toponymy of individual plots of land. Some classifications have already been made: for example types of land, metric system in replacement of the old scale of Grandson. Other aspects were a by-product of registers of land and although they did not bear a direct relationship to landholding, they clarified some points, for example, the toponymy in the Grandson area. In this chapter, therefore, we shall present a collection of issues which either concern the methods we used to classify the data of the land-register, or introduce aspects of landownership that can be better studied in long term, by a vertical research in time such as enclosures and *assolement*, the periodic rotation of crops.

Section 8.3. is devoted to all aspects of classifying plots of lands and their descriptions. In the land-registers, each piece of property was carefully described and could fall in a particular category: field, building, field and building and sundry rights. Fields, by far the largest category of the possessions, were described in a variety of ways. Nonetheless, five types could be clearly distinguished: arable land (*terre*), meadow (*pré*), vineyard (*vigne*),

enclosure (*clos*), garden and hemp-field (*jardin et chenevière*), and miscellany such as bushy or rocky fields or woodlands.

The existence of such a variety of descriptions clearly pointed to the existence of a poly-cultural agriculture. Nonetheless, we are not satisfied to consider, as the literature usually does, the description of the land-register as a perfect indication of the actual production¹. Therefore, we shall insist upon using the term *types of land* instead of *types of cultivation*, as used by many scholars². The distinction bears a relative importance when the economic weight of the economic entity is considered and the possible shifts from one cultivation to the other bring a flexibility into the holding.

In section 7.5., we reflected upon the owners of each type of land. In section 8.7., we shall be concerned with the distribution and size of these types in each *commune*, as to observe any possible pattern for lands allotted to different types within the *commune*. Besides, any imbalance in the types of land might indicate some form of agricultural specialisation. The details of these investigations are produced in section 8.7.1-6. There was no pattern in the distribution of the types of land in each *commune*.

The average size of each type of land pointed to a system of small holdings. Any landowner could possess a number of small plots of land. In his study of the *Vaudois* rural economy, G.-A. Chevallaz estimated that any holding taxed and valued at less than 1000 *livres* (1 hectare) was not viable and he disposed of them in his analysis of properties³.

Applied to Grandson, his method would have pointed to a wretched and ruined population which could not survive any winter in total contradiction to what we have established for the economic entities we have identified. The small size of Theodore-Nicolas Tharin's holding did not prevent him of marrying twice. He had means to feed his family.

As the dictionary of E. Mottaz⁴ points out, each area of the forthcoming

¹ See: section 8.3.

² Refer: A. Radeff, (1979), p. 131, (*cultures*) & D. Zumkeller, (1992), p.112, (*emploi du sol*).

³ G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p. 52-57.

⁴ Refer: E. Mottaz, *DHV*, (1914), *Poids et Mesures*.

canton of Vaud had its own scale of measurement. Grandson was no exception. Although the comparative scales of old measures to metric system for weight and volume were known by E. Mottaz and other studies¹, the measurements for length were assumed to be similar to those of *Pays de Vaud*, since no study had as yet investigated the question. By examining the cadastral maps, we were able to come up with a scale of length for the Grandson area, as will be shown in section 8.8.. In doing so, we realized that the Grandson scale for length was different from other parts of canton of Vaud.

Toponymy, or the study of place-names, *lieux-dits*, was to weight the importance of such a research in an economic context and whether they bore any signification to the type of land so named. The results were negative. That is, from a rural economist's standpoint, there is not much to be gained by their study. Moreover, unreconcilable discrepancies in the types of land and their *lieux-dits* were to be observed. *Lieux-dits* were not a logical sign of cultivation or quality of soil. They reflected a simple device for pin-pointing a field on the surface-area of any given *commune*. Occasionally, they were reminders of a 'has-been' issue of some interest².

In the collection of disparate topics we present in this chapter, two are of particular importance: enclosures and *assolement*. Both are of limited interest to a horizontal study of landownership, even if their impact in agriculture should not be overlooked. In a horizontal study, only the extent of enclosures can be observed. Its progress, -or otherwise regress-, in a given community and its long run repercussions on the economic and social structures are matters for a vertical study. The same approach is valid for *assolement*.

A direct relationship between enclosures and *assolement* was suggested by G.-A. Chevallaz³, by which enclosures were to limit the practice of *assolement*. In our opinion, this relationship could only be observed if there

¹ Refer for example: A.-M. Dubler, (1975).

² See: Appendix E.

³ G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p. 66-ff.

were a corporate community in which *communal assolement* was the practice. In such a system, farmers agreed to a division of surface area of the *commune* according to a specific method of *assolement*, with a two or three yearly rotation of crops. Enclosing a field in such a system effectively limited its application since the owner has a free hand and was not bound by any local custom anymore.

However, *assolement* was an agricultural technique that permitted an intensified usage of land without ruining it. An enclosure gave the farmer freedom from local customs, but *assolement* was a technique he still could use. Therefore, it can be admitted that *assolement* was practiced on an *individual* basis, away from restrictive corporate mechanism. In the Grandson area, there was no evidence of *communal assolement*, as we shall see in section 8.10.. Nonetheless, an individual practice of *assolement*, by which any farmer was to decide upon the method and its timing cannot be ruled out. This hypothesis can be suggested by the observations we made for the Grandson area in a snapshot of population and landowner analysis. More research, particularly vertical studies, are needed to illuminate not only the issue of enclosures but also the practice of *assolement* in *Suisse-Romande*.

8.2. DISTRIBUTION OF SURFACE AREAS

Despite the fact that we were not accustomed to ancient scale of measurement, our first readings of the 18th century land-registers suggested an incredible number of small plots of land. The initial impressions were accurate: most plot of lands were less than one fifth of a hectare. In order to verify this perception we grouped plots in classes per hectare regardless of the quality or the use of the land; a piece of vineyard can hardly be put in the same category with a barren field. Yet this crude method was used to define the degree of partition of fields¹. All the *communes* are similar in this respect; 98% of all plots were less than a hectare, covering 56% of the total

¹ We abstained from the calculation of an average, which, considering the type of land, either productive or barren, could lead to spurious details.

surface (*tab. 8.1 & fig.8.1*). Large plots (anything larger than one hectare) were small in number, but totalled 44% of the surface. Only three out of 14 plots greater than 10 ha. were large plots: houses with yards and arable lands (all located in Bonvillars). The remaining 11 plots were either barren (bushy, rocky) or mountainous (Corcelles) or forested. Thousands of small plots of land constitute the large body of each *commune*.

Range (ha)	N	Surf. (ha)	N p.c.	Surf. p.c.
0 - 0.5	7988	1176	92.98	50.19
0.5 - 1	402	271	4.68	11.57
1 - 2	123	162	1.43	6.91
2 - 3	28	70	0.33	2.99
3 - 4	14	50	0.16	2.13
4 - 5	10	54	0.12	2.30
5 - 6	4	21	0.05	0.90
6 - 7	5	32	0.06	1.37
7 - 8	1	8	0.01	0.34
8 - 9	0	0	0.00	0.00
9 - 10	2	18	0.02	0.77
10 - Over	14	481	0.16	20.53
Total	8591	2343	100	100

N.B.
a.) Surfaces have been rounded to the nearest integer;
b.) 421 plots where surface = 0 m² have not been included.

Table 8.1 Distribution of plots per range/ha.

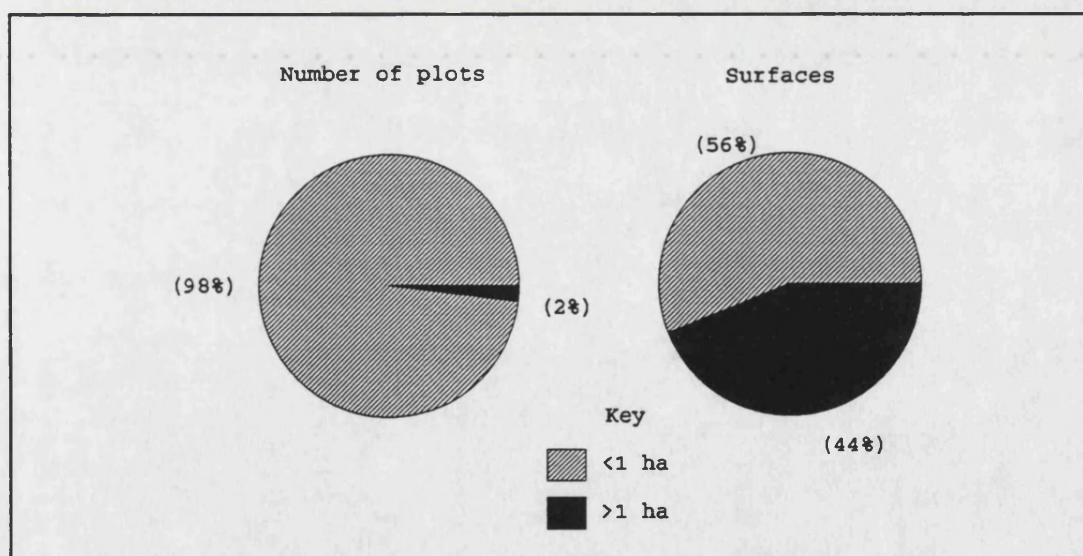


Fig. 8.1 Distribution of land plots, p.c., surface, number of plots.

8.3. CLASSIFYING PLOT DESCRIPTIONS

Petty ownership was the predominant characteristic of the Grandson area: each village's territory was divided into a myriad of small pieces of land, like tiny bits of an enormous puzzle. Each individual landowner held a few pieces, and each piece was carefully described in the land survey, giving rise to hundreds of description of buildings, fields and sundry rights. In appendix B we shall reproduce a list of all descriptions. Despite all the minute details, we often wondered about the generalities of such descriptions. Many buildings were *house, barn and cowshed*, that is, the right of ownership was upon a building and not a field. However, we lacked information on the size and the facilities of the premises. A house could have been of any shape: large, more than one floor, easy access to the cowshed, etc.. Therefore, there is no objective way of distinguishing between the large house or a small hut. The same observation can be made of types of field recorded. Each field had a description: *terre, vigne, clos, pré, etc.*. The important question was whether these descriptions designed the type of cultivation at the time of survey, *renovation*, or a simple type for the land? Neither the study of G.-A. Chevallaz, nor that of D. Zumkeller paid attention to the question and both would identify the type of land with the type of cultivation¹. Contemporary documents of the Grandson area could not provide a satisfactory answer. There was, however, some practical issues to be noted. A meadow, *pré*, cannot be converted overnight to a vineyard, but could be to an arable land. A vineyard needs a good, sunny soil and it would be a pity to grow oats on it. An arable land, *terre*, could be used for growing crops but also as meadow, if necessary. And any type of land can be enclosed in a *clos*. In our opinion, these descriptions were a mere indication of the type of land rather than of what its use and exact cultivations might have been. We were satisfied that the agriculture was poly-cultural since many specialized types of land were recorded, however,

¹ Refer: G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949) & D. Zumkeller, (1992).

the extent to which these matched the actual cultivation still remains to be satisfactorily answered.

The descriptions of fields, of which an interesting list is also to be found for Lausanne in the 17th century¹, point to a variety of designations which need some classification. Of course, there were many similarities between the descriptions of the land survey. After reviewing more than nine thousand plots, precisely, a total of 263 different descriptions were noted in nine registers. In the appendix B all descriptions and their frequencies are listed.

In classifying plot description we followed the natural flow of data provided. There were four distinct categories:

1. buildings 2. fields 3. fields and buildings 4. sundry.

The commissioners of land survey went into lengthy detail to depict plots with buildings on them, especially dwellings. The next figure (8.2) will show the relative scale of plot descriptions.

Twenty-two percent of all descriptions with an insignificant total number of plots, i.e. less than two percent - concerned buildings, chiefly houses. Only 41% of all descriptions were straightforward descriptions of fields, and in an agricultural area, it came as no surprise to learn that 95% of total number of plots were fields. Thirty-seven percent described plots containing

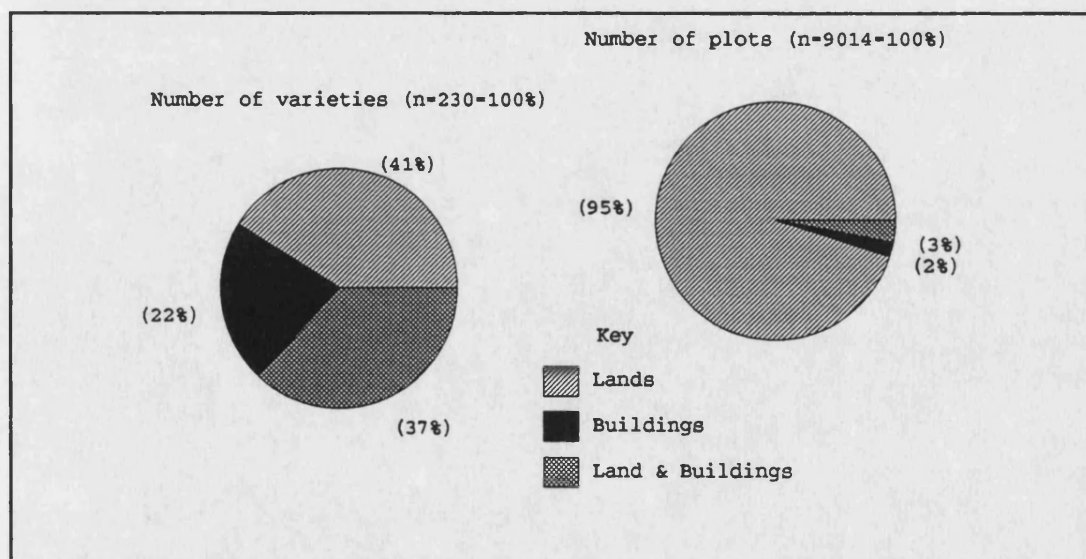


Fig. 8.2 *Distribution of plot description.*

¹

A. Radeff, (1979), chap. 5, and p. 130.

both a building and a field. These, analogous to building items, occurred in a scant three percent of the total number of plots. Less than 0.5% of all descriptions (neglected in the figure) were sundry items like tithe or some rights over a stream.

8.4. SURFACE AREA AND TYPES OF LAND

One would presume that, given the effort put into an accurate description of a piece of land, surface areas would have been included for each and every entry in the land-registers. This was not the case. While a surface area is provided for fields¹, none was given for any holding depicted solely as a dwelling or building. Therefore, depicting the rank of plots including both fields and structures proved troublesome. Did the surface area provided indicate the whole plot, or the field alone? In the light of what was observed from the two previous categories, i.e. buildings and fields, we restricted ourselves to a simple inference: as a surface area is given for fields but not for buildings alone, any area associated with a building and field could logically be attributed only to the field. Statistically speaking the flow of data remained untouched and fields thus defined fitted almost perfectly into the general picture. A couple of plot details were irksome; e.g., a garden over a *pose* (too large) or a meadow of 25 m² (too small although possible). Comparing these two lots to the hundreds allotted, we chose to disregard them.

Fields and buildings described together could be divided into two distinct categories; large holdings with buildings necessary for a substantial farming activity comprising meadow, vineyard, garden and so on; and miscellaneous structures with a garden or hemp-field. Needless to say, the latter was a hundred times more numerous than the former. With 98% of the plots yielding a surface-area, we were in a position to further investigate the distribution of surface areas and types of land.

¹

Exceptions to these rules are admissible; rare were fields without surface-area and buildings with a surface-area provided. All things being equal, a close look at the copy of the register at hand showed negligence by the scribe.

8.5. BUILDINGS

Plots including a dwelling or building of some sort were described at length in the land-registers. We ended up with 157 descriptions¹. As stated earlier, buildings yielded no under-surface area. Why were under-surface areas of dwellings and buildings omitted? Was it beyond the capabilities of the contemporary surveyors? Was it a deliberate policy to avoid squabbles

Type	BNV	CMP	CRL	FIE	FNT	GIZ	HAM	ONS	Total
Barn	28	46	31	32	40	30	15	49	271
Bread oven	2	3	2	5	3	3	1	1	20
Building	2								2
Cellar	3	2	6			3	2	4	20
Certour (fruit cellar)			1						1
Chesal (ruined house or space for building)							1	1	2
Cow-shed	31	41	34	36	38	32	15	47	274
Crops loft							1	2	3
Garret							1		1
House	45	57	37	40	46	33	20	61	339
Hovel	1			1	3		1	2	8
Hut, lodge						3	1	2	6
Kitchen		3				2		1	6
Manor			1						1
Manure	1						1		2
Mill		2		2	1		2		7
Millstone				1					1
Neveau (sheltered-area in a vaudois house)		1	2						3
Piggery	1	6	5	4		4	3	2	25
Rebatte (fulling-mill)				1			1		2
Room		3	1		1		2	1	8
Saw		1		3					4
Smith		2	1	1	1	1	1		7
Stove						2			2
Tile furnace							1		1
Tiler							7		7
Tilt-hammer				1					1
Wine press	6	4	2	3	3	3		2	23

Table 8.2 Inventory of buildings and means of productions.

¹ See: appendix B.

over what could be considered as a basic human need (i.e., a shelter)? The precision of surveyors is debatable. A judgement against the statement of the holders could undoubtedly lead to bitter rows and justice cases (if, of course, the owner could meet the pecuniary cost). Besides, the administrations of Fribourg and even more Berne were always cautious of their subjects' sensibility and scrupulously avoided being the cause of discord.

Figures in the previous table (8.2) list the variety of buildings that existed in the rural area of the 18th-century Grandson. We believe that in most areas of the canton of Vaud the picture is more or less the same, save for winepresses which are mostly to be found near the lake of Geneva¹.

As pictured in the table, two points are notable. The first concerns the number of houses and their relationship to barns and cow-sheds. We supposed that each dwelling would have one or the other connected with it, with the exception of the houses of the poor. A farm needed a building to store the crops produced and to shed its animals. Some registers listed all structures on a plot together: many dwellings were depicted as 'a house, cow-shed and barn'. In some others each building was separately listed.

The second point to note is the presence of crafts typical of rural areas. Except for Bonvillars and Onnens², each village had a blacksmith and seven mills were to be found. Wine was produced and there were at least two wine-presses per village. Only Grandson's Hamlets had none, but then they were close to Grandson-town and could use those available there. In Grandson's Hamlets there was a tile production plant and four sawmills.

However, the small number of specialized buildings can be misleading as the nature of all occupations in the area; many activities in craft and perhaps industry do not need a specialized building³.

¹ *Lac Léman* for the *Vaudois*. (Considering federal sensitivity, *Genevois* being 'them').

² These two *communes* have some land-registers missing.

³ See: chapter one.

8.6. TYPES OF LAND

In the land-registers, fields were measured and carefully recorded which resulted in 106 descriptions - far too many to be encompassed as a unified picture by the human mind, even if it was a graspable concept for the computer. Hence it was essential to classify them. But would it be possible to create a simplified picture for all types of land? The task of classification

Types of field	Frequency (N)		
	Pure	Mixed	p.c. of mixed to pure
Arables	4032	185	5
Enclosures	738	150	20
Gardens	104	92	88
Hemp-fields	184	72	39
Meadows	1324	153	12
Vineyards	1511	129	9
Sundry	67	397	NA
Total (except sundry)	7893	781	10

Table 8.3 *Types of field, p.c. of pure and mixed types.*

seemed enormous: The plots with one simple description, vineyard, meadow and so on, were straightforward enough, but others had up to five characteristics, such as a plot of vineyard-arable-woodland or arable-meadow.

In table 8.3 the number of 'simple' types of land ('pure') is compared to those lands with many characteristics ('mixed').

Arable lands were most often of the 'pure' type, and when of 'mixed' description, it was usually with meadows. Gardens and hemp-fields were those most often in a 'mixed' description with buildings, as both were holdings that an owner would need to keep a close watch on (in order to deter pilfering). Vineyards and enclosures were 'mixed' with a whole range of other types of plot. Meadows were mostly intermingled with what we called 'sundry'. In these we placed anything which occurred rarely, such as woodlands, mountainous areas, or those areas which occurred frequently but were barren, like banks.

The ratio of the total of 'mixed' plots to 'pure' was one to ten. This is a small and encouraging figure: the less the lands were mixed, the better the

picture of the holdings. From 106 types of land only five constitute the large body of land-types, making up 90% of all lots. (*Ipso facto*, 95% of the descriptions are relevant to only 10% of lands).

We could have isolated this 10% 'mixed' category in the statistics without any major harm being done to the overall picture were it not for gardens and hemp-fields. Presumably being allotted a corner of a field, these plots were almost always of 'mixed' description. Therefore, qualitatively isolating 'mixed' types of land would have eliminated many hemp-fields and gardens from study. It was not possible to ignore the plots in such a meagre agricultural economy; gardens would have provided seasonal food, and hemp was the source of much of the clothing produced in the area.

Therefore we had to devise a method to break complex and 'mixed' plots into small units which we could qualify as 'pure'. Dividing up accurately the surfaces ourselves, when the land-registers and any other archive material failed to provide a clue, would have been, to say the least, extremely difficult. For example if a field is depicted as being made up of vineyard and arable land, it would have been left to us to determine what percentage of the plot was taken up by the vineyard.

In order to do so, we devised a simple rule of thumb: if a plot was depicted by two words, e.g., arable-meadow, the first would have 2/3 of the surface and the second the other third. A description of more than two words would divide the land in equal parts, each having $1/n$ of the n th description. The idea was based on a simple observation: if we had a plot depicted as arable and vineyard, another plot would be vineyard and arable. The precise method of land registration by the administration provided consistent and unique descriptions of the same plots. For example, if holders A and B hold a piece of land in common or undivided and the land was called vineyard & arable for A, B would have the lot depicted in exactly the same fashion. The deduction made was that the first term must have a larger area than the second. Otherwise, the careful registration of the plot descriptions

would become meaningless. This would suggest that a larger part of the plot 'Vineyard/arable' is vineyard and the remainder arable. For example:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Vineyard \& arable} &= 9000 \text{ m}^2 \\ \text{vineyard} &= 6000 \text{ m}^2 \\ \text{arable} &= 3000 \text{ m}^2\end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Arable and vineyard} &= 9000 \text{ m}^2 \\ \text{arable} &= 6000 \text{ m}^2 \\ \text{vineyard} &= 3000 \text{ m}^2\end{aligned}$$

At the end of the day we still have a total surface area of 9000 m² for each type. The off-set mechanism is then in effect if we are looking at the surface area of the community at large, without regard to individual holdings. However, in individual cases, where the number of plots is much smaller, there is not sufficient statistical range for the off-set mechanism to continue to be effective.

With some computer programming, the two models based on variable partitions were easily tested. In the first, we applied the rule of thumb expressed above. In the second, we divided the plots equally based on the number of words used to describe them.

In this second test, the surface of a lot described as vineyard-arable would be halved. On a *communal* scale, the results did not differ between method one and two; the distribution of lands within each type remained the same, the offset mechanism being at work¹. In individual cases the two methods resulted in differing figures: the first method would privilege the first description of the plot; the second method would share the surface evenly.

Regardless of the method used, on the *communal* scale, the statistical risk of getting the whole picture wrong was negligible. And this is the best insurance against miscalculation².

¹ We abstained from reproducing the tables yielding these results. They would occupy pages without interest.

² See: appendix G.

8.7. FIELDS, SMALL OWNERSHIP

The eventual presentation of the types of land and their size needs many pages of tables and graphics that seems to be disproportionate to the observations made. Still, small ownership must be treated seriously. In section 8.2, we briefly pointed to the small sizes of the plots of lands in general. In this section we shall present detailed information on each type of land. As we shall see, in each category, an impressive proportion of land surveyed were less than one *pose de Grandson*, that is, less than 3185 m². The Grandson area is no exception to observations made elsewhere. As early as 1530, Vallorbe had its surface-area divided in small parcels. A. Radeff estimated an average of 1.54 *pose*¹, i.e., 6622 m², for a field². Pommaples, in 1784, could not point to many large parcels of land³, even if the average size of fields were slightly higher than those we indicate for the Grandson area. In Geneva, a field was on average, between 3578 and 10'576 m²⁴. Undoubtedly, *Suisse-Romande* was a region of small fields, if we were to add results from Fribourg⁵ and Valais⁶. Consequently, any holding was made of a number of small plots. Theodore-Nicolas Tharin had faced a complex problem while keeping track of 41 pieces of his economic entity, totaling 5.5 hectares and scattered in no less than five villages⁷. In 1530, a master blacksmith in Vallorbe owned 62 hectares, divided in 87 plots of meadow and arable-lands⁸.

Ownership, however, is to be differentiated from the size of fields. A wealthy owner can have a myriad of plots. But a poor relative had to make do with only a couple. Having said so, there is a great temptation to add the

¹ *Pose Vaudoise de 4300m2.*

² A. Radeff, (1977), p.129.

³ F. Porta, (1980), p.82-ff.

⁴ D. Zumkeller, (1992), p.127.

⁵ Refer: D. Bron, (1982).

⁶ Refer: R. Netting, (1981).

⁷ See: section 6.5.3.1.

⁸ A. Radeff, (1977), p. 126.

surface areas held by each owner and then classify them in quartiles to observe the general tendency, wealthy, average or poor, of the population and thus measure the strength or otherwise of small ownership. We refrained from such a simplistic approach since we were not satisfied either with the data or with the method.

Data had to be the complete set of each owner's properties. Besides, in a community where the landowners were from all categories of the population, - adult, child, wife, husband, etc. - the holding of each member of the family has to be positively identified and accounted for. In other words, a large number of economic entities had to be constructed. This point has been discussed in section 6.3., however, we shall highlight some major aspects. Landowners have wildly spread holdings, scattered in several villages. Only those villages surveyed in the *Rénovation* were the object of this study. Any landowner from a village within the study could hold land outside it. Besides, many married outsiders.; Therefore, there was a strong possibility that the spouse owned some fields elsewhere. The examples of economic entities in chapter 6 are witnesses to these statements. Thus, many holdings, as surveyed in 1712, were incomplete as far as their extent was concerned. Lacking complete data, any magnificent *seigneur* who happened to have one piece of barren land in any *commune* surveyed is bound to fall in the wrong quartile.

Methodologically, we had to overcome the issue of different types of land and their relative importance to each other and within each type. One square meter of vineyard outweighs a barren land of the same size in value. Besides, a south facing arable-land had a better value than one that was north facing, in a damp area. Thus, adding up surfaces, the sole objective element within our reach, would have been a flawed method, similar to adding up apples and oranges in an elementary calculus problem. Further, even if we could overcome or minimize this obstacle, still the size of a small holding in square meters is not enough to measure wealth. Buildings, animals, stock of grain, letters of credit, and many more assets are necessary to evaluate best the capital against debts, liabilities and obligations.

Therefore, in this section we limit ourselves to the production of tables and graphs on each type of field with notes and remarks as they occur¹. As understanding the tables, the same method is used for all types of land:

1. the frequency (N), surface area (S), and average size of each type of field is produced for both 'pure' and 'mixed' categories²;
2. the frequency distribution (p.c.) of the above integers per hundred are worked out;
3. for the same land-type, 'pure' and 'mixed' are summed up in order to examine:
 - a: the frequency, surface area, average and frequency distribution (p.c.) per *commune*, as well as the percentage of the given type of land per total surface area of the *commune* according to the land-registers.
 - b: the frequency, surface area, average as well as the frequency of distribution per metric range. Data in all tables were rounded to the nearest significant figure. This may result in discrepancies in the totals.

8.7.1. ARABLE-LANDS

Arable lands were by far the most frequent types of plot registered and the most complex type of land as far as their productive activity went. Crops such as wheat, barley and so on, were cultivated at random and grains did not have a constant price and productivity. Moreover the quality of the arable land could differ from location to location in the same village. More than 95% of all arable lands were qualified as 'pure', with only about 5% mingled with vineyards or some barren types (*tab.8.4*). The point to be stressed is the very large number of small plots. More than 94% of all arable plots are less than a hectare; 60% are less than 2000 m², even if the

¹ A test on representing plot-areas graphically (by means of maps) could have been informative, (S. Bonin, (1962), p. 138), but such methods privilege the number and the surface-area of the field, neglecting the types of field.

² Pure: only one word description for the plot. Mixed: those surface areas we found by dividing area plots of several descriptions.

average plot is a modest 2400 m². In Champagne, Fiez, Fontaines and Hamlets the averages are close to this figure. Corcelles and Onnens fall short of it, particularly the latter. Bonvillars and Giez are outstanding: both have a figure well above average (twice as large) (*tab. 8.5*). The ground for this discrepancy is certainly not to be found in the lack of land-registers. The average size of a lot in Champagne, for which we have all registers, is close to that of Fiez with missing land-registers. Therefore one must search for the reasons for these discrepancies elsewhere and the random effect of population's evolution and inheritance shares could not be disregarded. The table illustrates the point we wish to make: there are a large numbers of small plots and very few large ones (*tab. 8.6*). The higher the number of cases (N) over surface area (S), the smaller are the plots of land (*fig 8.3*). When N drops significantly under S then the parcels become quite large; this occurs rarely.

Frequency (N)						
	Pure		Mixed		Total	
All	4032		185		4217	
= < 1 ha	3975		157		4132	
> 1 ha	57		28		85	
Surface area (m ²)	Avg		Avg		Avg	
all	9241050	2292	1170152	6325	10411202	2469
= < 1 ha	8291969	2086	387635	2469	8679604	2101
> 1 ha	949081	16651	782517	27947	1731598	20372
Frequency distribution (N), p.c.						
All	95.6		4.4		100.0	
= < 1 ha	94.3		3.7		98.0	
> 1 ha	1.4		0.7		2.0	
Frequency distribution (Surface area), p.c.						
All	88.8		11.2		100.0	
= < 1 ha	79.6		3.7		83.4	
> 1 ha	9.1		7.5		16.6	

Table 8.4 Arable-lands, pure and mixed types.

Commune	Freq. (N)	Surf. (m ²)	Avg (m ²)	N (p.c.)	S (p.c.)	Rate 1*
BNV	136	651058	4787	3.2	6.3	25.4
CMP	417	989317	2372	9.9	9.5	27.9
CRL	618	1188213	1923	14.7	11.4	41.2
FIE	610	1382998	2267	14.5	13.3	59.5
FNT	523	1254591	2399	12.4	12.1	55.6
GIZ	381	1796653	4716	9.0	17.3	48.2
HAM	733	1809161	2468	17.4	17.4	66.4
ONS	799	1339211	1676	18.9	12.9	39.2
Tot.	4217	10411202	2469	100.0	100.0	--

N.B. 1*) rate per total surface of the commune = 100%

Table 8.5 Arable-lands, distribution by communes.

Range (m ²)	Freq.(N)	S(m ²)	Avg (m ²)	N (p.c.)	S (p.c.)
0 - 1000	838	599464	715	19.9	5.8
1001 - 2000	1702	2499538	1469	40.4	24.0
2001 - 3000	805	1991345	2474	19.1	19.1
3001 - 4000	404	1401125	3468	9.6	13.5
4001 - 5000	162	732437	4521	3.8	7.0
5001 - 6000	99	540237	5457	2.3	5.2
6001 - 7000	55	357681	6503	1.3	3.4
7001 - 8000	29	220094	7589	0.7	2.1
8001 - 9000	21	178154	8484	0.5	1.7
9001 - 10000	17	159529	9384	0.4	1.5
10001 - Over	85	1731598	20372	2.0	16.6
Totals	4217	10411202	2469	100	100

Table 8.6 Arable-lands, distribution by range.

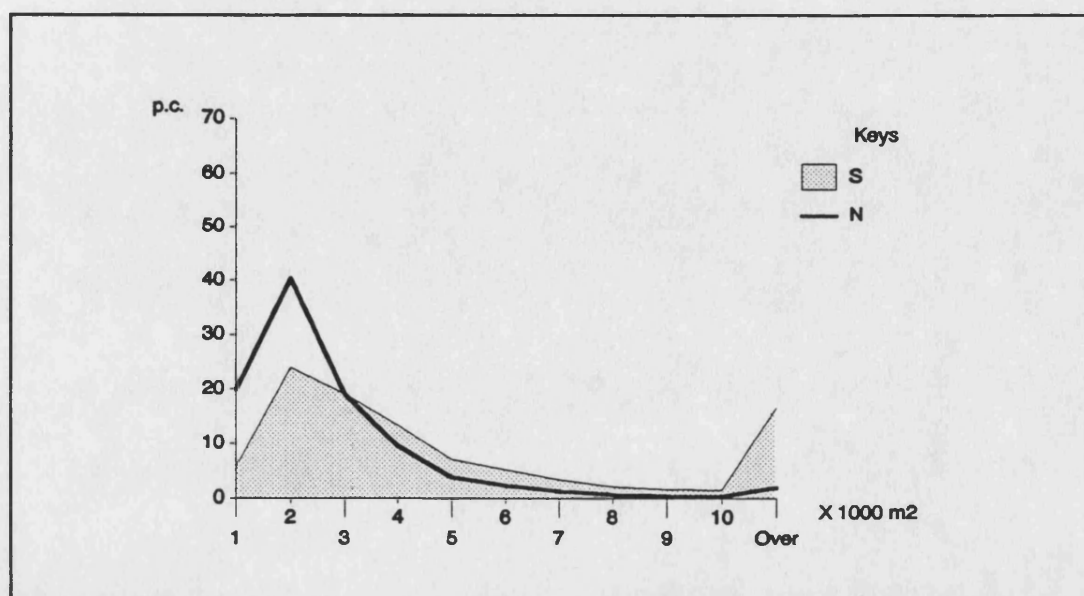


Fig. 8.3 Arable-lands, number of plots v/ surface-areas, p.c.

8.7.2. MEADOWS

Meadows, any grassy field on which cattle graze, were even smaller than arable lands. More than 97% of them were less than a hectare, 75% even less than 2000m². With a general average of around 1900 m², villages showed substantial discrepancies (*tabs 8.7-9& fig. 8.4*): Fiez is the only one with an average near to the general. Corcelles' and Fontaines' averages struggle for a mere 1000m². Champagne's and Hamlets' averages deviate to more than 2300m². Bonvillars and Giez have amazing figures: meadows are virtually twice the size of the general average. The importance of meadows (averaging 12%-13% of *communal* surfaces) justifies the immigration of a substantial number of '*fruitiers*', (hard-cheese-makers) from the *Pays d'Enhaut*. The art of these immigrants was highly appreciated since milk was used to produce a long keeping and hence a valuable good on any market.

Frequency (N)						
	Pure		Mixed		Total	
All	1342		153		1495	
= < 1 ha	1323		135		1458	
> 1 ha	19		18		37	
Surface area (m ²)	Avg		Avg		Avg	
All	227842	1660	659205	4309	2888707	1932
= < 1 ha	1921391	1452	284847	2110	2207690	1514
> 1 ha	306450	16129	374359	20798	696938	18836
Frequency distribution (N) p.c.						
All	89.8		10.2		100.0	
= < 1 ha	88.5		9.0		97.5	
> 1 ha	1.3		1.2		2.5	
Frequency distribution (surface) p.c.						
All	77.2		22.8		100.0	
= < 1 ha	66.6		9.9		76.4	
> 1 ha	10.6		13.0		23.6	

Table 8.7 Meadows, pure and mixed types.

<i>Commune</i>	Freq.(N)	Surf. (m ²)	Avg (m ²)	N (p.c.)	S (p.c.)	Rate 1 *
BNV	63	283700	4503	4.2	9.8	11.1
CMP	250	633285	2533	16.7	21.9	17.9
CRL	250	264463	1058	16.7	9.2	9.2
FIE	147	287980	1959	9.8	10.0	12.4
FNT	297	325515	1096	19.9	11.3	14.4
GIZ	115	410171	3567	7.7	14.2	11.0
HAM	117	275866	2358	7.8	9.6	10.1
ONS	256	406067	1586	17.1	14.1	11.9
Tot.	1495	2888707	1932	100	100	--

N.B. 1*) rate per total surface of the *commune* = 100%

Table 8.8 Meadows, distribution by communes.

Range (m ²)	Freq. (N)	S (m ²)	Avg (m ²)	N (p.c.)	S (p.c.)
0 - 1000	743	409545	551	49.7	14.2
1001 - 2000	399	573347	1437	26.7	19.9
2001 - 3000	139	344851	2481	9.3	11.9
3001 - 4000	83	292758	3527	5.6	10.1
4001 - 5000	30	134467	4482	2.0	4.7
5001 - 6000	20	109206	5460	1.3	3.8
6001 - 7000	16	104937	6559	1.1	3.6
7001 - 8000	11	83083	7553	0.7	2.9
8001 - 9000	7	59680	8526	0.5	2.1
9001 - 10000	10	94364	9436	0.7	3.3
10001 - Over	37	680809	18400	2.5	23.6
Totals	1495	2888707	1932	100	100

Table 8.9 Meadows, distribution by range.

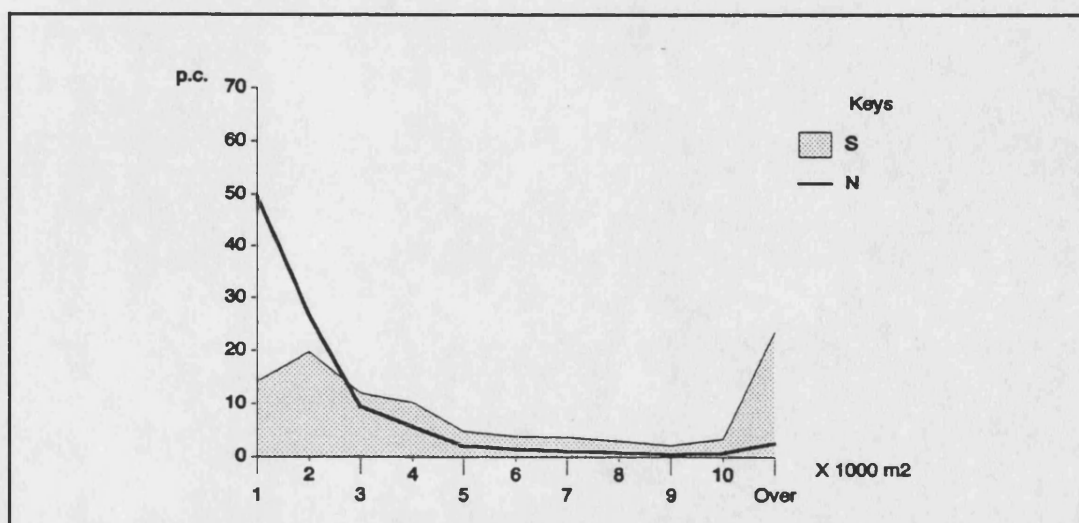


Fig. 8.4 Meadows, number of plots v/ surface-areas, p.c.

8.7.3. VINEYARDS

The average size of vineyards came as a surprise; at 1360m², they were quite a bit larger than expected (*tabs. 8. 10-12 & fig. 8.5*). In Giez, the average size is unusually high: as a matter of fact vineyards in Giez consisted of a dozen, large plots held by a few owners. In other *communes*, many landowners tended to have at least a plot. Vineyards were valued lands needing more specialized labour than the arable. The significant number of winepresses in the area proves the existence of wine making.

Paradoxically, *censes* paid in wine were negligible. Probably, the local wine was not much appreciated. It was for household consumption and sold only on the local market.

Frequency (N)						
	Pure		Mixed		Total	
All	1511		129		1640	
= < 1 ha	1498		123		1621	
> 1 ha	13		6		19	
Surface area (m ²)	Avg		Avg		Avg	
All	1930274	1277	300684	2331	2230958	1360
= < 1 ha	1689387	1128	206895	1682	1896282	1170
> 1 ha	240887	18530	93789	15632	334676	17615
Frequency distribution (N), p.c.						
All	92.1		7.9		100.0	
= < 1 ha	91.3		7.5		98.8	
> 1 ha	0.8		0.4		1.2	
Frequency distribution (surface), p.c.						
All	86.5		13.5		100.0	
= < 1 ha	75.7		9.3		85.0	
> 1 ha	10.8		4.2		15.0	

Table 8.10 Vineyards, pure and mixed types.

<i>Commune</i>	Freq. (N)	Surf. (m ²)	Avg (m ²)	N (p.c.)	S (p.c.)	Rate 1*
BNV	281	306 001	1 089	17.1	13.7	12.0
CMP	286	447 747	1 566	17.4	20.1	12.6
CRL	225	304 224	1 352	13.7	13.6	10.5
FIE	310	348 772	1 125	18.9	15.6	15.0
FNT	146	205 260	1 406	8.9	9.2	9.1
GIZ	12	61 471	5 123	0.7	2.8	1.7
HAM	142	378 807	2 668	8.7	17.0	13.9
ONS	238	178 676	751	14.5	8.0	5.2
Tot.	1640	2 230 958	1 360	100.0	100.0	--

N.B. 1*) rate per total surface of the *commune* = 100%

Table 8.11 Vineyards, distribution by communes.

Range (m ²)	Freq. (N)	S (m ²)	Avg (m ²)	N (p.c.)	S (p.c.)
0 - 1000	1070	537111	502	65.2	24.1
1001 - 2000	303	429270	1417	18.5	19.2
2001 - 3000	112	276782	2471	6.8	12.4
3001 - 4000	64	220644	3448	3.9	9.9
4001 - 5000	19	84198	4431	1.2	3.8
5001 - 6000	25	139089	5564	1.5	6.2
6001 - 7000	10	65563	6556	0.6	2.9
7001 - 8000	12	92019	7668	0.7	4.1
8001 - 9000	5	42249	8450	0.3	1.9
9001 - 10000	1	9357	9357	0.1	0.4
10001 - Over	19	334676	17615	1.2	15.0
Totals	1 640	2230958	1360	100	100

Table 8.12 Vineyards, distribution by range.

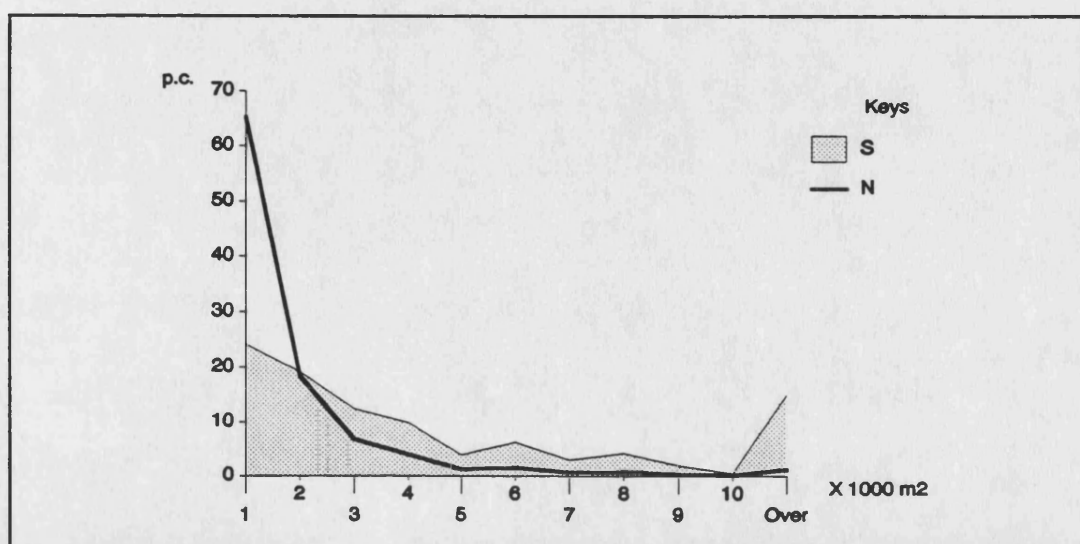


Fig. 8.5 Vineyards, number of plots v/surface-areas, p.c.

8.7.4. ENCLOSURES

The average size of an enclosure fell short of 2000m², smaller even than arable lands and meadows (*tabs 8.13-15 & fig. 8.6*). Enclosures were lands the owner would fence, under some regulation and by paying fees, to prevent other members of the community from using them, either as passage-way or free folder in due time. Fencing the land gave the owner control over the use of the field. Thereafter, enclosures were not bound to community customs which ruled the organization of land use. In this section we shall limit the observations to the data provided by the registers of land in the Grandson area and a brief comparison of the enclosed surface areas of various *communes* of the canton of Vaud.

Berne urged its subjects to fence their lands from 1590's onward. The phenomenon of *passassion à clos*, however, began in the early 16th century in the Grandson area. In 1512, Marguerite Morellon¹ had an enclosed meadow in Fiez; her husband, the paper-maker, Jaquet Compondu alias Pathey, enclosed a property in 1519². In 1548, the Mayor family possessed an enclosure in Onnens³. A number of documents, single sheets of parchments, in the *communal* archives bore witness to individual lands so enclosed. Often they were void of details on the size of the property or the exact nature of the land, i.e., arable, meadow or else.

Compared with other regional studies, the early passion for fences in the Grandson area was unusual, although, the rates of enclosed fields, averaging 8-9% of the *communal* surface-areas, were not exceedingly high. In Belmont s/Lutry, by late 17th century only 1.3% of *communal* surface area was enclosed⁴. In Chavornay, Suchy⁵ or Geneva⁶, by the 18th century, no enclosure was to be found. In Lausanne, only 1.8% of land plots were

¹ A.C.V., Fiez, Fq-118.

² A.C.V., Fiez, Fq-12.

³ A.C. Onnens, prch. 7.

⁴ R. Pictet, (1973), p. 33.

⁵ Refer: R. Cuagniez, (1984).

⁶ Refer: D. Zumkeller, (1992).

enclosed as of the late 17th century¹. In the Grandson area, anything between 4% and 14% of total *communal* surfaces was enclosed by the early 18th century, a percentage which has yet to be matched by any other area in the *Pays de Vaud*. In Pompaples, it was only by 1784 that 11.5% of lands were enclosed².

Enclosures escaped the rules of yearly rotation of crops, *assolement*, though it must be stressed that it is unclear which type of land was deemed worthy of 'enclosing'. In our view, enclosures represented many types of land. In Concise, even hemp-fields were enclosed³. In Lausanne, they were essentially meadows or a mix of meadow and arable lands, even if large estates, *mas*, were also enclosed⁴. In his study of the canton of Vaud under *Ancien Régime*, G.-A. Chevallaz regarded meadows as the primary object of enclosures⁵.

The question of *what* was enclosed can be identified with *why* there were such disparities between rates found for the Grandson area and other *communes*. Both questions, however, at this stage of research and knowledge have no definite answers. The issue of enclosures has to undergo a thorough investigation. We believe that agriculture in the forthcoming areas of the canton of Vaud had many faces and does not sustain generalisations.

In 1949, G.-A. Chevallaz concluded that the existence of small parcels of land, entangled, resulting from the equal inheritance system, rendered the process of enclosures particularly difficult⁶. Lacking further explanation, we could not subscribe to this statement. In the Grandson area, the inheritance system had also produced many small fields which, nevertheless, had not prevented in Corcelles the enclosure of a hefty 6% of all lands surveyed. Many more monographs are indispensable to have a better view.

¹ A. Radeff, (1979), p.128,176.

² F. Porta, (1980), p.30.

³ A. Dupasquier, (1976), p.38. *1684: Liste des communiers ... pour leurs chenevières clôturées...*

⁴ A. Radeff, (1979), p.176.

⁵ G.-A. Chevallaz, 1949, p.68-72.

⁶ G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p.57-58.

Enclosing one's field was not only a measure in efficiency in agriculture. It had also long-term implications for the social structures by limiting the access to free folder for cattle owners. In *Suisse-Romande*, the process of enclosures was slow, - it took Fiez two hundred years to have 121 plots of land enclosed-, and the changes brought about in the community were smooth, even imperceptible. Nonetheless, vertical studies of landownership are necessary to measure the progress -or otherwise the decline- of enclosures and its impact on the local economy. Horizontal studies like this research, can only pinpoint the state of enclosures in the general picture of landownership.

Frequency (N)						
	Pure		Mixed		Total	
All	738		150		888	
= < 1 ha	722		141		863	
> 1 ha	16		9		25	
Surface area (m ²)	Avg		Avg		Avg	
All	1282396	1738	435989	2907	1718385	1935
= < 1 ha	988288	1369	230936	1638	1219224	1412
> 1 ha	294108	18382	205053	22784	499161	19966
Frequency distribution (N), p.c.						
All	83.1		16.9		100.0	
= < 1 ha	81.3		15.9		97.2	
> 1 ha	1.8		1.0		2.8	
Frequency distribution (surface), p.c.						
All	74.6		25.4		100.0	
= < 1 ha	57.5		13.4		71.0	
> 1 ha	17.1		11.9		29.0	

Table 8.13 Enclosures, pure and mixed types.

<i>Commune</i>	Freq. (N)	Surf. (m ²)	Avg (m ²)	N (p.c.)	S (p.c.)	Rate 1 *
BNV	91	166607	1831	10.2	9.7	6.5
CMP	65	144750	2227	7.3	8.4	4.1
CRL	109	180068	1652	12.3	10.5	6.2
FIE	121	179008	1479	13.6	10.4	7.7
FNT	216	220601	1021	24.3	12.8	9.8
GIZ	109	548289	5030	12.3	31.9	14.7
HAM	54	144024	2667	6.1	8.4	5.3
ONS	123	135038	1098	13.9	7.9	4.0
Tot.	888	1718385	1935	100.0	100.0	

N.B. 1 *) rate per total surface of the *commune* = 100%

Table 8.14 Enclosures, distribution by communes.

Range (m ²)	Freq.(N)	Surf. (m ²)	Avg (m ²)	N (p.c.)	S (p.c.)
0 - 1000	516	250782	486	58.1	14.6
1001 - 2000	171	240562	1407	19.3	14.0
2001 - 3000	71	169461	2387	8.0	9.9
3001 - 4000	39	135463	3473	4.4	7.9
4001 - 5000	16	73129	4571	1.8	4.3
5001 - 6000	14	75783	5413	1.6	4.4
6001 - 7000	12	78747	6562	1.4	4.6
7001 - 8000	14	104716	7480	1.6	6.1
8001 - 9000	4	33976	8494	0.5	2.0
9001 - 10000	6	56605	9434	0.7	3.3
10001 - Over	25	499161	19966	2.8	29.0
Totals	888	1718385	1935	100	100

Table 8.15 Enclosures, distribution by range.

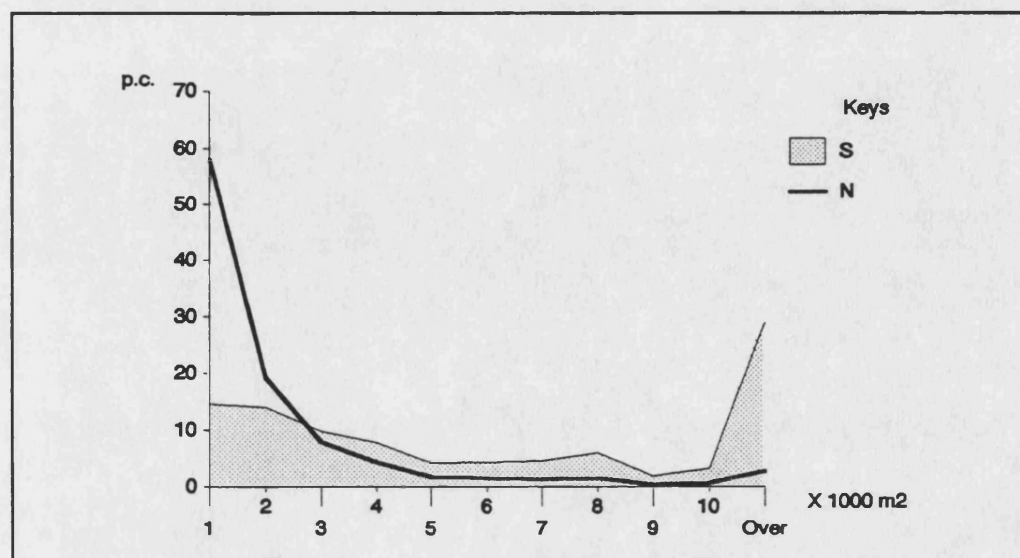


Fig. 8.6 Enclosures, number of plots v/ surface-areas, p.c.

8.7.5. GARDENS & HEMP-FIELDS

Gardens were lands that neither the surface-area nor the number were impressive. In Switzerland today, in the era of shopping centres and imported vegetables from all over Europe and beyond, having a vegetable garden is an expensive hobby when one compares the capital invested for seeds, pesticides, tools, work hours, etc. with the return on the investment. Often vegetables in the neighbourhood grocery are very much cheaper. The modern-day benefit of having a garden lies only in personal satisfaction.

This, of course, was not so with the 18th century's gardens. They were essential providers of the household's seasonal food. Most gardens were to be found next to the dwellings and were, apparently, often the subject of rows between neighbours¹.

By using gardening books and the experience of professional gardeners and historians, the following list of vegetables for an eighteenth century garden can be drawn: beets, broad beans, carrots, celery, endive², leek, lettuce, onions, peas, radishes, spinach, turnips and cabbage.

If gardens were the providers of seasonal food, hemp-fields provided the clothing, in rough linen, which, while not the finest material around, was solid and durable³. Many elderly people in the countryside still remember the particular stink of rotting hemp roots.

For the most part, hemp-fields and gardens were lumped together in the same class of land in economic-historical research: essential for the households in an agricultural area but with a nil value in the community's economy. The impact of producing food in a garden on household revenue was far from being negligible but what was produced was consumed without creating a market. The exchange of few cabbages for some onions is (unfortunately) not in the domain and interest of economics. Therefore, the impact of such productions totally escapes quantitative approach (*tabs 8.16-21 & fig. 8.7-8*).

¹ A.C. Fiez, 1704.

² Chicorée.

³ I am in possession of a linen shirt made in the 19th century. It still keeps up and is hard to fold.

Range (m ²)	Freq. (N)	S (m ²)	Avg (m ²)	N (p.c.)	S (p.c.)
0 - 500	146	27 484	188	74.5	21.4
501 - 1000	28	19 879	710	14.3	15.5
1001 - Over	22	81 269	3 694	11.2	63.2
Totals	196	128 632	656	100	100

Table 8.16 Gardens, distribution by range.

Frequency (N)						
	Pure		Mixed		Total	
All	104		92		196	
= < 0.1 ha	103		71		174	
> 0.1 ha	1		21		22	
Surface (m ²)	Avg		Avg		Avg	
All	20104	193	108528	1180	128632	656
= < 0.1 ha	18511	180	28852	406	47363	272
> 0.1 ha	1593	1593	79676	3794	81269	3694
Frequency distribution (N), p.c.						
All	53.1		46.9		100.0	
= < 0.1 ha	52.6		36.2		88.8	
> 0.1 ha	0.5		10.7		11.2	
Frequency distribution (surface), p.c.						
All	15.6		84.4		100.0	
= < 0.1 ha	14.4		22.4		36.8	
> 0.1 ha	1.2		61.9		63.2	

Table 8.17 Gardens, pure and mixed types.

Commune	Freq. (N)	S (m ²)	Avg (m ²)	N (p.c.)	S (p.c.)	Rate 1*
BNV	17	11 583	681	8.7	9.0	0.5
CMP	43	21 359	497	21.9	16.6	0.6
CRL	18	11 669	648	9.2	9.1	0.4
FIE	15	10 511	701	7.7	8.2	0.5
FNT	44	17 243	392	22.4	13.4	0.8
GIZ	23	41 202	1791	11.7	32.0	1.1
HAM	15	6 216	414	7.7	4.8	0.2
ONS	21	8 849	421	10.7	6.9	0.3
Totals	196	128 632	656	100	100	100

N.B. 1*) rate per total surface of the commune = 100%

Table 8.18 Gardens, distribution by communes.

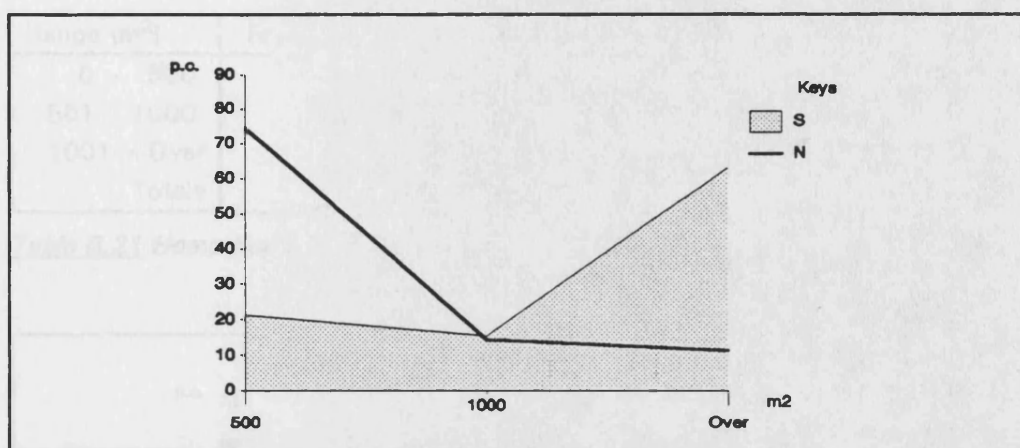


Fig. 8.7 Gardens, no. of plots v/surface-areas, p.c.

Commune	Freq. (N)	S (m ²)	Avg (m ²)	N (p.c.)	S (p.c.)	Rate 1*
BNV	21	12 976	618	8.2	7.6	0.5
CMP	58	29 685	512	22.7	17.4	0.8
CRL	31	20 329	656	12.1	11.9	0.7
FIE	27	18 722	693	10.5	11.0	0.8
FNT	41	21 965	536	16.0	12.9	1.0
GIZ	20	36 476	1824	7.8	21.4	1.0
HAM	11	7 388	672	4.3	4.3	0.3
ONS	47	23 295	496	18.4	13.6	0.7
Totals	256	170 836	667	100	100	--

N.B. 1*) rate per total surface of the commune = 100%

Table 8.19 Hemp-fields. distribution by communes.

Frequency (N)						
	Pure		Mixed		Total	
All	184		72		256	
= < 0.1 ha	159		53		212	
> 0.1 ha	25		19		44	
Surface (m ²)	Avg		Avg		Avg	
All	95462	519	75374	1047	170836	667
= < 0.1 ha	60491	380	22861	431	83352	393
> 0.1 ha	34972	1399	52513	2764	87485	1988
Frequency distribution (N), p.c.						
All	71.9		28.1		100.0	
= < 0.1 ha	62.1		20.7		82.8	
> 0.1 ha	9.8		7.4		17.2	
Frequency distribution (S), p.c.						
All	55.9		44.1		100.0	
= < 0.1 ha	35.4		13.4		48.8	
> 0.1 ha	20.5		30.7		51.2	

Table 8.20 Hemp-fields, pure and mixed types.

Range (m ²)	Freq. (N)	S (m ²)	Avg (m ²)	N (p.c.)	S (p.c.)
0 - 500	142	37231	262	55.5	21.8
501 - 1000	70	46120	659	27.3	27.0
1001 - Over	44	87485	1988	17.2	51.2
Totals	256	170836	667	100	100

Table 8.21 Hemp-fields, distribution by range.

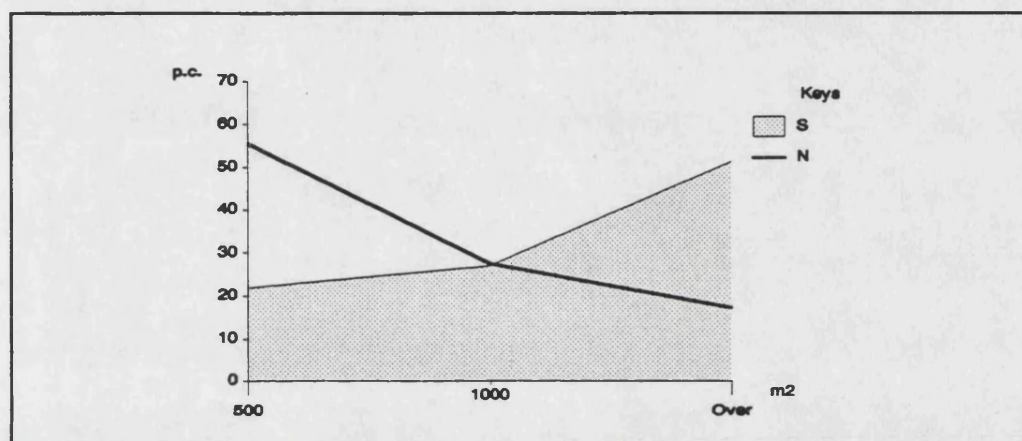


Fig. 8.8 Hemp-fields, no of plots v/ surface-areas, p.c.

8.7.6. MISCELLANEOUS

Table 8.22 is a checklist for any other types of land registered during the land survey. Many were barren while others, such as orchards, were productive. Woodlands were important, providing wood for the household's fire and pasture for the livestock of the poor. A multitude of small plots of woodlands were owned by individual landowners, though larger ones belong to the *commune* (common properties).

The use of *communal* properties was restricted to the inhabitants of the village, who could have rented plots and buy the wood from the *commune* and let their herds graze. The income was used in the upkeep of roads or churches or any sundry expenses¹ of public utility.

¹

Refer: *Archives communales, comptes.*

	BNV	CMP	CRL	FIE	FNT	HAM	GIZ	ONS	TOT.
Bank	1.2						13.9	0.5	15.6
Barren	1.1	2.6	6.6	2.4	14.4	4.8	1.0	5.0	38.0
Buildings	0.5								0.5
Bush	0.7	2.9	1.8	2.6	6.5	4.6	6.0	1.0	26.1
Gravel								0.2	0.2
Marsh			1.9					7.8	9.7
Mountain			13.8						13.8
Oche						0.1			0.1
Orchard	0.8					0.0			0.8
Pasture	18.7		1.8			0.7		1.8	23.0
Ruined Vineyard			0.1						0.1
Scrub				0.3					0.3
Woodland	89.9	122.4	65.6	4.2	0.1		62.3	116.0	460.5
Totals	112.8	127.9	91.7	9.5	21.0	10.2	83.1	132.3	588.6

Table 8.22 Sundry fields, hectare.

8.8. THE OLD SCALE

An important issue to consider is the use of the old scale of Grandson and its conversion to the metric system (*tab. 8.23*). Until the federal regulation of the metric system in the 19th century, each part of Switzerland had its own scale of measures, specific to that area. One changed scale every 30 Km or less.

Data provided in the land-registers used the ancient scale system in the *bailliage* of Grandson. It was different from those used in other parts of the canton of Vaud, Berne or Fribourg¹.

While the Grandson scales for volumes can be found in most reference books², these ignore the existence of the Grandson scale for surface and length³. Through this study, we calculated the scale for length using some clues given in the *plan-cadastral* (map) of Fiez (1712)⁴. This finding proved

¹ E. Mottaz, *DHV*, (1914) ; A.-M. Dubler, (1975), and A.E.F., Grandson, *comptes*.

² Refer to: E. Mottaz, *DHV*, (1914) and A.-M. Dubler, (1975).

³ O. Dessemontet, (1967), did not mention the scale of Grandson for length.

⁴ A.C.V., Gb112/b, 1712, introduction.

	Grandson Scale	Metric Scale	Notes
Volume (dry)	<i>quarteron</i>	10435 cc.	48 <i>quarterons</i> = 24 <i>bichets</i> = 12 <i>coups</i> = 6 <i>sacs</i> = 1 <i>muid</i>
Volume (liquides)	<i>pot</i>	2129 cc.	576 <i>pots</i> = 72 <i>coups</i> = 18 <i>setiers</i> = 1 <i>char</i>
Length	<i>pied</i>	28.22 cm.	
Surface	<i>pose</i>	3185 m ²	1 <i>pose</i> = 8 <i>ouvriers</i> = 400 <i>toises</i>
	<i>seytorée</i>	3185 m ²	
	<i>ouvrier</i>	398 m ²	
	<i>toise</i>	7.96 m ²	

Table 8.23 *Conversions of the scale of Grandson.*

to be extremely helpful in understanding and accurately portraying the holdings. What follows is the presentation of facts leading to the scale of Grandson for length:

1. *neuf pieds de/du Rhin, divisés en 10 composent la toise de Grandson;*
2. *la toise [carrée] de Grandson a 100 pieds-carrés, mesure de Grandson;*
3. *la pose et la seytorée de Grandson ont chacune 400 toises carrées;*
4. *400 toises de Grandson sont égales à 370 et 4/10 de toise de 10 pieds de Berne.*

Based on this evidence, what remains is just an exercise in calculus. We shall produce them in full for the sake of clarity¹:

1 *pied* of Berne = 0.29325 m

10 *pieds* of Berne = 2.9325 m

square *toise* of Berne = 8.5995562 m² = 8.6 m²

pose of 400 square *toises* of Berne = 3440 m²

Pose /Seytorée of Grandson 370 + 4/10 square *toises* of Berne =

((370x8.5995562) + ((8.5995562*4)/10)) = 3185.27564 = **3185 m²**

Moreover: 1 *pose* of 400 *toises* of Grandson = 3185 m²

1 square *toise* of Grandson = 3185/400 = 7.96 m²

1 *toise* of Grandson = Sqrt 7.96 = 2.82 m

1 *pied* of Grandson = 2.82/10 m = **28.2 cm**

Hence: 9 *pieds* of Rhin = 10 *pieds* of Grandson = 282 cm

1 *pied* of Rhin = 282/9 = 31.33 cm

In fact 1 *pied* of Rhin equals 31.35 cm. **Q.E.D.**

¹

The calculations were carried out in 1980, University of Lausanne, *Institut de Recherches Régionales Interdisciplinaires*, under the supervision of P.-L. Pelet.

In all the tables in this study the metric system was used. It could be argued that all the old scales should have been left as such without converting to metric system. First, however, even the *pose* of Grandson is too large to express the multitude of small plots. There is a need to have a smaller unit of measure to produce meaningful statistics. Second, fields' details were surveyed in the old scale of Grandson and were made in multiples of 12, for example: a meadow, 1/4 of a *pose*. Today, the decimal system is a reflex to us. Calculus on base 12 requires 'translation'. Moreover, if the data from Grandson is to be compared to other cantons', and even to different areas of the canton of Vaud, it is necessary to employ a uniform scale.

8.9. THE TOPONYMY IN GRANDSON

In the registers, to clarify which plot was which, indication of the location of a plot was given by means of a *lieu-dit*¹, (place-name). Often, there were several *lieux-dits* offered for a single piece of land.

It is our feeling that names are never without significance or connotation. A London Road in Brighton or High Gate in London are self-explanatory in the 20th century. However, how significant are those names used in the 18th century for a group of neighbouring fields in a village? Can one discern their significance, if indeed there is a significance to be discerned? If studying *lieux-dits* is of interest to linguists, what about historians? Would *lieux-dits* be of some importance for socio-economic conditions? Simple questions requiring elaborate answers....

The signification of toponymy of *Suisse-Romande* has been a matter of interest and study ever since the 18th century. Charles-Guillaume Loys de Bochat², in the mid 18th century, systematically (and erroneously) explained the name of places by some Celtic origins of his own invention.

It was not until the 20th century that serious studies based on archival documents took place. Earlier this century, a professor of botany, Henri

¹ We shall continue to call these place-names by the French word *lieu-dit* (pl. *lieux-dits*).

² Ch.-G. Loys de Bochat, (1747-49). He was a Professor of Law (1695-1754) at the *Académie de Lausanne* (later University of Lausanne).

Jaccard¹, published a study based on his own preconceived ideas, and overlooked the evolution of phonetics with regard to *lieux-dits*. Exaggerating the values of surnames, he proliferated German etymologies. Jules Guex² in his *Montagne et ses Noms*, proposes subtle etymologies, which, unfortunately for us, are limited to alpine *lieux-dits*. Paul Aebischer's essay, *Le nom des lieux du canton de Fribourg* deals with those in the canton of Fribourg³. In 1986, Bossard and Chavan published an essay on the toponymy⁴ *Romande*.

A. Radeff⁵ based most of her study of the 17th century land distribution on the indications of *lieux-dits*. As yet the *plans-cadastraux* (maps) in use during the 17th century were naive drawings devoid of scale, however, the existence of maps for the 18th century removes the interest of *lieux-dits* as a proxy.

For the purposes of our research, the primary significance of *lieux-dits* were to be socio-economic, rather than linguistic or literary. Therefore it was critical to group more than 5000 different *lieux-dits* in a simplified picture.

First the spellings were to be standardised. At the data capture stage of this research, we took great care in reproducing the exact 18th century spelling of each *lieu-dit*. At the data analysis stage we opted for a consistent rendering of a given *lieu-dit*, as we determined the variations in the spelling to be irrelevant and attributable to the fancy of the copyist. The spelling most recurrent in the archival materials is produced in appendix E.

Second, it was necessary to determine the significance of the frequent prepositions we found in the cadastre, such as: *à, au, aux, au bas de, derrière, dessous, dessus, de, en, ès=en, les, sus*. Albeit many literal-minded researchers would have given these considerable weight in locating a given land, e.g., *en Chantamerloz, es Rochettaz*, etc., we chose to drop them altogether. After close examination, it became clear that many of these

¹ Refer: H. Jaccard, (1906).

² Refer: J. Guex, (1946).

³ Refer: P. Aebischer, (1976).

⁴ Refer: Bossard & Chavan, (1986).

⁵ Refer: A. Radeff, (1977b).

prepositions were used indiscriminately in the registers to suggest the same field. This conclusion reduced the number of *lieux-dits* to be considered for analysis to 631¹.

8.9.1. CLASSIFYING *LIEUX-DITS*

To classify *lieux-dits*, their significance had to be understood. In essence each *lieu-dit* had to be 'decoded.' In appendix E, some interpretations of quite a few *lieux-dits* in Bonvillars, Champagne, Corcelles, Fiez, Fontaines, Giez, Grandson's Hamlets (Les Tuileries, Fiez-Pittet and Corcelettes) and Onnens are proposed². Some remained obscure and even a satisfactory translation from patois could not be found³. Dictionaries of local dialects such as *Glossaire des Patois de la Suisse Romande*⁴, *Dictionnaire Historique du Parler Neuchâtelois et Suisse Romand*⁵ and *Le Patois Vaudois, Grammaire et Vocabulaire*⁶, were appropriate.

A small classification of *lieux-dits* according to their significance is relevant although the proposed definitions are deliberately vague. There is no clear-cut method to classify these 'names' without either having a long list with many exceptions or falling into an unyielding and arbitrary frame.

Defined as recounting flora, surname, human activity, and so on, ten classes were depicted⁷:

1. natural flora and fauna, such as: *Epinettes*, i.e., where prickly plants grow; *Chantamerloz*, i.e., where blackbirds sing.
2. man-made constructions, such as: *Vellaz*, i.e., main built up area of the village or remains of a Roman estate (villa).
3. fields, such as: Champs, *Champs du Seigneur*.

¹ An anecdotal remark: some prepositions have become proper *lieux-dits* by themselves such as *Leydefourt* = *Là dehors*. *Leyjuz* = *Là bas*, etc..

² With the precious experience of M. Bossart and P.-L. Pelet.

³ Dialect of common people in a region, differing materially from the literary language; jargon [F, = rough speech ...], (Concise Oxford Dic., 1982).

⁴ Neuchâtel and Paris, being published regularly since 1924.

⁵ W. Pierre-Humbert, (1926).

⁶ Reymond & Bossard, (1979).

⁷ See: appendix E.

4. **type of agricultural activity**, such as: *Vignes*, i.e., vineyards. On close inspection, this activity often proved to be 'former', in the sense of being finished, discontinued. In the 18th century it did not necessarily correspond to a reality.
5. **natural detail and indication**, such as: *Gottalaz*, i.e., a small spring.
6. **natural shape or quality of the area**, such as: *Rochettaz*, i.e., small rock. *Nioland*, i.e., foggy area. *Longeray*, i.e., long and narrow fields.
7. **patronymics**, such as: Lambert, Lancelloz, - very common in the canton of Vaud. A rough quarter of *lieux-dits* we encountered were names. Some of these patronymics were still in use for fields that had changed hands often, the *lieu-dit* being all that has remained of the man whom the field was named after.
8. **clos**, in other words enclosures. This reflects the slow process of encompassing the fields for private usage.
9. **ambivalent**, for few *lieux-dits* we propose some signification that could be both believable and fictional, alike *Charlatanes* which may recall a local memory of some event. *Vy de Rietta* is another example, literally meaning 'Way of Road'.
10. **?**, any *lieu-dit* for which no relevance whatsoever were to be suggested.

Thus 631 *lieux-dits* were surveyed and classified. For 20% of these we had either a dubious definition, or none at all. A substantial 25% were simple patronymics. This group was comprised chiefly of enclosures (*clos*), vineyards and fields (*champs*). It is attributable to the phenomenon of *passassion à clos*. Therefore, the name of the owner would pin-point the field enclosed.

After that we were left with 350 *lieux-dits* (55%) from which to extract some socio-economic significance. By way of example, we present these *lieux-dits*: '*Communailles*,' which means 'lands belonging to community,' and *Gollie de Pasquier*: i.e. marsh of *communal* meadows. Naively, we expected to see fields open to community use. But all that glitters is not gold. In reality, these fields were held privately by individuals, and were not

open to the community.

Lieux-dits were graded according to their degree of significance using only one criterion: the actual type of land as recorded in the land-register. Was there any relationship between the *lieu-dit* and the type of agricultural activity recorded? A simplistic method, perhaps, but one that proved a useful observational tool for economic purposes. Henceforth two questions were asked and answers graded:

- a) does the *lieu-dit* tell us something about the type of land?
- b) does it provide us with information on its value (barren, productive, etc.)?

Of course, various types of land were reflected in any given *lieu-dit*. However one or two types were most common and those we decided upon as typical. Hereafter the exercise was prosaic. Each of the 350 *lieux-dits* retained was graded as follows (tab. 8.24):

✪✪ : significant ✪ : some signification @ : no signification at all¹.

Only two *lieux-dits* happily bore their name: a couple of area of woodlands: called simply 'woodland'. In sum, a *lieu-dit* in 18th century is something for

	Number	p.c.
Significant	2	0.5
Some signification	19	5.5
No signification	329	94.0

Table 8.24 Signification of *lieux-dits*.

locals alone to comprehend, something of a private code. It had no socio-economic significance at all, though perhaps it bears some romantic significance for those involved in local-history.

The toponymy changes over time². Some names are very old but their surfaces become smaller as the lands are divided or grouped as the population evolves³. *Lieux-dits* are a pale reflection of a bygone society's practices and mentality.

¹ See: appendix E.

² In the 16th century, many *lieux-dits* in Fiez had two names (insignificant number related to those of 18th century.) Refer: A.C.V., Fq-12 and Fq-118. We checked-out the significance of *lieux-dits* in various communes while chatting with old people. Though most of them would use a *lieu-dit* to pinpoint a field or a group of fields, none could recall a signification. Besides often some would not quite agree with others to the extent of the area pointed to by a given *lieu-dit*.

³ If *lieux-dits* bore some signification we would have tested the surfaces proposed for each of them. In our case this exercise is quite worthless.

8.10. *ASSOLEMENT*

In rural economy, one of the most manifest features of the agricultural system in the *Ancien Régime* was the system of the yearly rotation of crops, *assolement*. A method which allowed an intensive usage of land while avoiding the depletion of essential minerals in the soil. Generally, *assolement* existed as a two- or three-year rotation of crops. *Assolement* was an unavoidable debate before 1960's¹ and had gone out of fashion since. Often, the methods and/or the efficiency of the system in regard to the output attracted many scholars in Switzerland², France and Scotland³.

The literature, however abundant and varied in approaches, usually portrayed *assolement* as an antiquated and rather inefficient method of cultivation. G.-A. Chevallaz, described a fictional village in which the surface was divided in concentric rings having the village as centre. Each ring was to be cultivated differently according to the year of rotation⁴. In such a description not much room was left for a poly-cultural agriculture since meadows and vineyards were excluded from *assolement*. Moreover, many writers in general, and G.-A. Chevallaz in particular, integrated *assolement* with various *féodal* charges and obligations, that is, part and parcel of *Ancien Régime*. Effectively, practicing *assolement* required the cooperation of all landowners in a given area. To our knowledge, there has been no attempt to approach the issue from a practical point of view, how a landowner organised its labour according to the lands owned and the way the rotations of crops were organised within the village. On the one hand holdings were scattered in many villages and on the other a large number of small plots constitute each holding. If *assolement* was practiced at a *communal* level with well defined areas of yearly cultivation, how could a landowner maximize the variations in production and minimize the area left

¹ Refer: Bibliography.

² Refer: works by G. Nicolas-Obadia, (1974), & R. Cuagniez, (1984) & D. Zumkeller, (1992).

³ Refer: D. Vaucher, (1961) & F. Sigaut, (1975).

⁴ G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p.66.

in fallow in any given year? The ownership of small plots of land widely scattered could be thought of an insurance policy against the risks of owning the lands in the wrong area of *assolement* with the wrong timing. In other words, plots were not only scattered because one inherited them as such in the first place, but for a fairly constant yearly production, any economic entity had to diversify its possessions in different zones of *assolement* in a number of villages.

To verify this hypothesis, we needed a map of *assolement* in the villages under study. In the canton of Vaud, the practice of *assolement* seemed to be three-yearly and organized on a *communal* level. Most of the evidence to support the existence of this practice was found within cadastral maps and administrative accounts of cereals. Crop ledgers recorded the various designations according to their seasonality of plough and harvest. Many of these studies were carried out in the 17th and 18th centuries where it was possible to base research on documentation such as the detailed descriptions of plots¹ or cadastral maps². However, the organization of the *assolement* from a landowner's standing point, has not yet been studied yet.

We expected to find indications of the practice of *assolement* in the Grandson area by means of administrative or *communal* record indicating its application in each community. Assuming that *assolement* existed, we were interested in observing its practical applications, in a poly-agricultural system, with vineyards, meadows and so on. No such records existed. That in itself was not problematic, as it was conceivable that the practice, centuries old, was so universally accepted as part of the agricultural system that no one thought to record it. A careful examination of the physical nature of the land should have provided us with sufficient proof. Again, we found no such indication for the area under study, there were no well defined 'zones' for meadows, arable lands or vineyards. As a last resort, evidence of the *assolement*'s practices were in the *lieux-dits*. We looked out for *lieux-dits* that referred directly to the practice of *assolement*, such as '*Pie*', (zone),

¹ Refer: R. Pictet, (1981).

² Refer: G. Nicolas-Obadia, (1974) & R. Cuagniez, (1984).

the most common *lieu-dit* showing an area of *assolement*. There was not one '*pie*' in the entire list of 5,000 *lieux-dits*. The closest we could come to a direct indication was '*Petite Fin*'. It is amusing to note that the only fields surveyed in this *lieu-dit* were a couple of enclosures, fields quite implausible to be part of *assolement*.

In short, not only did we find no indication whatever of the practice of *assolement* at the *communal* level, but we found indications, in the form of the numerous enclosures in the area, that *communal assolement* was practically impossible. Enclosing one's land would effectively remove it from the system of *communal assolement*, by closing off access to the property for other *communiers*. In the canton of Vaud, some *communes* had not yet a single enclosure as in 1727¹. As already stated, by contrast, the high number of enclosures in the Grandson area was surprising. Many *lieux-dits*, "*clos de . . .*" bore the name of previous owners, although they had passed into other hands. This indicated to us that enclosing lands was a long-standing practice. In the Grandson area, one could find reference to the practice of enclosing property as early as in 1512², and it probably existed even before that. The operation was smooth: a couple of plot of lands enclosed here and there over 250 years, implying only minor changes in the communities.

The existence of different types of land also puts a strain on the survival of the *communal assolement*. Vineyards, gardens and meadows escaped it, as did enclosures. Only arable-lands, anything in the range of 25-50% of *communal* surface-areas, would have qualified. The argument in favour of the survival of the *communal assolement* would still be sustained, if arable lands were grouped in some pattern within *commune*. These were, however, scattered over the surface-areas and mingled with other types of land.

Thus, *assolement* was practically impossible at *communal* level in the Grandson area. Therefore, landowners had no need to diversify their holdings with this problem on mind.

¹ R. Cuagniez, (1984), p.15.

² See: section 8.7.4.

Nonetheless *assolement* was a technique which underwent evolution and the changing of methods, but remained a suitable system of regenerating minerals in the soil. If all the trimmings and vocabulary of *féodal* system is to be omitted, *assolement* becomes a technique of intensive cultivation, whereby the variety of crops grown and a timely grazing of animals in the fields prevented the soil from losing all its mineral and becoming barren. *Assolement*, therefore, obeys the rules of the history of techniques¹. As such the history of techniques is not chronological. P.-L. Pelet showed in great detail that blacksmiths used various methods in producing, coal, steel and tools. Each method of production, was adapted to the raw materials and facilities at hand², antiquated and modern techniques were employed whenever suitable.

As another example, the same is true for mills. The power of some was supplied by wind, some other by water or animals. Each technique was adapted to a particular environment. Some co-existed in the same area and there is no way of determining which system was chronologically better suited to the needs or which mechanism has been used first. In some areas, the technique would have been completely abandoned, in another, it would flourish. We believe *assolement* to be a technique which would evolve and be adapted to the geographical environment, the knowledge and availability of seeds.

Therefore, as a technique, away from corporate usages of the *commune*, any economic entity could apply a rotation of crops in its arable-lands and enclosures as best suited its interests. For G.-A. Chevallaz, the unsuccessful efforts of Berne in the Pays de Vaud to encourage the process of enclosures was the sign of failure in disposing of *assolement*³. Moreover, "*large properties, with only one holder, could facilitate innovations* [sic]⁴", the antithesis to the Vaudois system, ...[where] .. "*the extraordinary division of*

¹ Refer: P.-L. Pelet, (1982).

² Refer: P.-L. Pelet, *Fer, Charbon, Acier,...*

³ G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p.66-ff.

⁴ G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p.69. "*Le régime de la grande propriété, d'un seul tenant, facilite les innovations*".

*land ... rendered it difficult to enclose one's land*¹". In our opinion, there is no evidence of the relationship between enclosures and the fading of *assolement* in general. *Assolement* was a technique which could be practiced either as a corporate *communal* level or individually within each holding. At a *communal* level, enclosures were an impediment to a corporate practice of *assolement*. Individually practiced, *assolement*, the technique of rotation of crops, was to be used to the convenience of the holder, in which case an enclosed land was not part of a wider system. Having reached this point, however, a vertical study is the best suited method.

¹

G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p.69. " *L'extrême morcellement, conséquence du régime successoral, rendait fort difficile la passation à clos.* "

HOLES IN THE PURSE

9.1. STATE PROCEEDS

Since men have gathered in any society, small or large, they have paid tribute for the common need. As some would say, only two things are inevitable in this life - death and taxes. Though neither are appropriate topics of drawing room conversation, the latter is the main concern of any government.

Understandably, in the 18th century, Berne and Fribourg's principal motivation in undertaking the survey of lands was to have a definitive inventory of taxes owed. It is something of an understatement to say that the system of taxation before the land survey was chaotic. While high-altitude villages paid a global tax, in the low altitude area of Grandson, charges (*cense*) were paid by landowners for each plot in their possession. The purpose of the land-registers was to have a record of who owned what, who paid what *cense* and who collected it.

In section 2.3., we have presented the motives of undertaking the last *rénovation* in the Grandson area and their implications. Berne and Fribourg went into lengthy negotiations with the local *seigneur* to untangle tax areas and determine charges due. Therefore, each register of land can be read as an accounting ledger of Their Excellencies' income. The analyses done in previous chapters were based on the 'by-product' of the land survey: size of the fields, holdings and their dissemination within the villages. The income of Berne, Fribourg or any low-ranking *seigneur* of Grandson was of no direct

interest. Since the subject matter of this study was landownership, the taxation system was to be approached from this angle. The weight of the individual's charges and the potentialities of taxation data to investigate the economic entity form the object of this chapter. We are limited to pin pointing issues which need further research since land-registers were insufficient as primary documents. If an economic entity had to pay taxes (a hole in the purse), its income (the purse), was to be measured. This latter, the income of farmers, we leave to other studies¹ where documentation permits further research. As we shall see in sections 9.2. to 9.4., there are many methodological problems to overcome in the analysis of taxation data, most important of all being the total absence of relationship between the taxes and the object upon which they were levied. In other words, neither the *cense* reflected the value of land nor the tithe its production. The fact that this was so did not cause widespread dissatisfaction, let alone an uprising in the Grandson area. Landowners did not object to pay the relatively light taxes and the administration collected them according to the custom.

Within the *féodal* system there were various taxes out of which we limit the study to three major types:

1. general taxes (*corvées*);
2. tithe (*dimes*);
3. particular taxes (*censes*).

Originally, the *corvées* were compulsory labour-days owed by each inhabitant of a village, landowner or landless, to the *seigneur*. In a general introduction to each land-register, they were mostly converted to a fixed amount paid yearly. In literature, the *corvée* is a poor relation to any other type of tax and it has not even been mentioned in recent studies². Earlier studies, however, mentioned them as a typical manifestation of *féodal* system which was to be finally scrapped by the French Revolution³.

¹ D. Zumkeller, (1992), p. 297-ff.

² Refer: D. Zumkeller, (1992).

³ G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p. 185.

Cense and tithe, the major bulk of taxation, were levied over means of production (*censes*) and the actual produce (tithes). In theory each should bear a relationship to all fields and items over which they were collected. However, as we shall show in section 9.2. *censes* bore no such relationship and tithes reflected a practice of bidding and not a mere 9% of the actual production of the area.

When in the late 17th century, Berne and Fribourg undertook the land survey, they particularly aimed at rationalizing *censes*. In this we imagined there to be a relationship between the tax and the object on which it was levied. Thus, the larger or more valuable the plot, the more one paid in charges. In this manner, we imagined the charge paid to be an indication of the value of the land and thus an element in deciding how to settle shares of inheritance.

Studies on the economical implications of *cense* are scarce. Usually, *cense* is discussed in the frame of *féodal* incomes¹ and jurisdiction². none of which was a matter for debate in the frame of landownership. Anne Radeff undertook to enlarge the discussion of charges and their relationship to the plots over which they were collected, however, lacking the surface area of plots, many aspects could not be investigated³. As for the Grandson area's data, the database built would permit many hypotheses to be tested, the results of some being reproduced in section 9.2. Nonetheless, quantitatively the data were unresponsive and could not be taken as an element in discussing landownership. *Cense* was simply a composing factor in the value of land once traded or inherited.

The system of tithing is a different issue since the amount to be paid was variable from year to year: It was Berne and Fribourg's practice to relieve a landowner of 9 percent of the land's production. Tithes have been the subject of many studies in the field of rural production, mainly in macro

¹ D. Zumkeller, (1992), p. 287.

² G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p. 165.

³ A. Radeff, (1979) p. 157.

economics. In France, E. Le Roy Ladurie¹ paved the way. In Switzerland tithes have also become a feature of research in rural economy². However, the stress of such publications has been on the global production³. In a study of landownership, the possibilities of tracing back tithe accounts to the landowners, those who paid them, should have been investigated. The point of interest was the strength of the economic entities' production. An utter lack of data left our investigations as they were, that is, as intention. Nonetheless, we have noted few points which are produced in section 9.3.

The approach proposed in this chapter works its way contrary to the macro economic method. While scholars add up incomes of *féodal* system⁴, we have attempted to trace them back to the landowners. In doing so, we were limited to the data of land registers which would only point to a system in which taxes were not indicators of wealth or income. They were only holes in the purse.

9.2. *CENSE*, REMINDER OF A LOST *FÉODAL* SYSTEM

Spelled with an e, *cense* does not exist in French dictionaries; it is a *Suisse-Romande* idiom. In Robert⁵ and Robert & Collins⁶ the word is defined primarily as about census. Indirectly, and only as *féodal* term, it evokes the idea of fixed taxation over a piece of land. The term proposed in English as the feudal tax is the word 'rent'. As 'rent' is analogous to 'hire', it is an inaccurate idea for *cens*, let alone *cense*. Therefore, the choice to continue to use the French term '*cense*' is a natural one. There exists no word in the English language that adequately expresses the concept as it was practiced in 18th century Switzerland.

¹ Refer: E. Le Roy Ladurie, (1966).

² Refer: Ch. Pfister, (1975).

³ D. Zumkeller, (1992), p. 236.

⁴ Refer: G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), D. Zumkeller, (1992).

⁵ Petit-Robert, (1978).

⁶ Robert-Collins, (1990).

In *Suisse-Romande*, *cense* was a "*fixed and perpetual*"[sic]" amount paid annually on a plot as tax to the *seigneur* by the landholder. Whoever paid the *cense* on a piece of land, established a claim of ownership. The judicial language suggests that this amount be agreed upon between the *seigneur* and the holder of the property, once the land was let for the first time. Thereafter it could be revised under two circumstances: either, when the tenancy is broken, i.e., the death of the holder without heir, or the drawing up of a new tenancy by mutual agreement.

In the 18th century the concept of tenancy was a subject of debate only to jurists. It is only necessary to read a handful of *reconnaissances* from any land-register to be convinced that the concept does not refer to a tenant-landlord relationship.

Essentially, the one who paid the *cense* was a free man and the owner of the plot; the one who collected it had no right of ownership of the plot. *Cense* was an intrinsic part of the land: the owner paid the excise attached to the land. If he bought a piece of land, the *cense* was a part and parcel of the deal, an element of its market value. If the land was split, the *cense* was also divided accordingly. Two adjacent lands grouped into a new unit would theoretically combine their *censes*.

The *féodal* system has made a distinction between two types of tax:

1. ecclesiastical tax: those going to the church and permitting the maintenance of the clergy;
2. secular tax: those due to the master, an individual or a state.

The secular taxes were a reflection of the complexity of society's hierarchy, with individuals paying tax to whomever was immediately above him. The tax system of the 18th century Grandson was a secular tax system, since in the 15th century the clergy, often ruined, conceded their rights (chiefly tithe) to secular masters. Later, as a matter of course, Berne and Fribourg, by acquiring different rights over their dependencies, became both the spiritual and earthly guardians of Grandson. After the 16th century, more and more, the taxes were concentrated in the hands of state. Berne

1

Refer to any land-register, e.g., A.C.V., Fq-107.

and to a lesser extent Fribourg, tended to rationalize the finances. Both needed to simplify the awkward network of taxes that produced absurdities beyond an administration's bearing¹. For them, the 18th century land-registers of Grandson were landmarks in the process of rationalization of all taxes.

As underlined earlier, despite the terminology employed, the 18th century practices were more signs of the future than reflections of past and in 'modernising²' the state mechanism, Berne took the initiative and Fribourg followed. To satisfy its economic ambitions, Berne had to rationalize. Reforms in tax collection were long-term and laborious tasks. The 18th century wording of taxation decrees is an impressive example of this: behind a vocabulary conceived for the Middle-Ages with dense juridical implications, such as those of subjects, tithe, *cense*, there was an effort to simplify the system and bring it up to date to coincide with actual practices.

However, Berne had experienced bitter resistance to reforms in *Suisse-Romande*. Their Excellencies' subjects were suspicious and feared any change³ in their routines however inadequate. Berne, unwilling to irritate and to provoke a rebellion tried hard to modernize the antiquated concept of finances while keeping the archaic wording. It was needless to alarm the population unnecessarily. In Grandson, the results probably fell short of what Berne had hoped for. And, for anything unequivocally new in the system, Berne had to wait till the French Revolution: in the turmoil that followed, Berne (and Fribourg) lost the *Romand* counties, but their former subject-citizens had to bow to the changes, including tax reforms, the very same revolution imposed upon them⁴.

All the same, in the 18th century, Berne and Fribourg recorded the properties and taxes of their 'subjects' as a modern government would speak

¹ Even if, past or present, administrations have a great ability to create and perpetuate absurdities.

² In the 18th century, French texts issued by Berne administration, were very keen on using the word "modern" for all purposes.

³ The *Romand* spirit is best illustrated in the idiom: "*un "tiens" vaut mieux que deux "tu l'auras"*".

⁴ We cannot help but find an astonishing similitude of the situation between the *Pays Romands* in the 18th century and the attitude of Switzerland in 1990's towards the issue of European Union: any change is to be dreaded.

of its 'citizens'. Before the land survey, what an individual paid in *cense* was always a fixed amount, no matter what the type or the surface area of his or her holdings. In shifting the relationship between the government and the individual from one of the serf and sovereign to one of the freeholder and administrators, we hypothesized that the burden of the duties owed fell on the value of the land, rather than the relationship of tenancy.

With *cense* we touch on the chief purpose of surveying lands in any series of registers. Much of what nowadays can be derived from data in a land-register was secondary in the eyes of the commissioners. The point of paramount importance was the clarification of taxes paid by individuals to enhance the incomes of Berne and Fribourg.

In the land-registers, whenever opportune, the commissioners of Berne and Fribourg insisted upon the 'simplification and redistribution' of *censes*¹. Two centuries later, we read the statements of the commissioners and have to admit the equivocal terms of 'simplification and redistribution'.

In one *reconnaissance* in Corcelles, it was recorded that all the taxes due by a given holder were totalled, fractions eliminated and/or converted to other items, and that the total amount of taxes was redistributed over each plot with consideration of its value². If the nature of taxes were alike, it would have been simple to picture what the commissioners did. However, people paid their taxes with different items: wheat, barley, capon, nut-oil, cash and so forth. How in the world did the commissioners add them up together? Did they convert each item to its corresponding monetary value?

The cryptic archive documents did not provide any clue at all. To illustrate what was done in practice, we referred to previous land-registers in order to compare the earlier *censes* to later records for the same plot of land.

¹ At the beginning of any land-register these statements are to be found; for example see: A.C.V., Fq-155, fl.1, Bonvillars.

² A.C.V., Fq-106, fl. 205 v., Corcelles: "*En conséquence de l'union qui a été faite des censes dues pour chaque particulier dont les minimes fractions ont été retranchées et commutées en d'autres espèces, et le tout a été réparti sur chaque pièce à proportion de leur valeur en évitant la multitude de différentes espèces....*"

However, the land-registers of the mid 17th century were rough, and surface-areas of plots were missing¹. Worse yet, the owner's name was of little help in identifying plots of land, since the land had changed hands too often, making it impossible to trace. It seemed as though we were observing two unrelated areas with no conceivable ties. Within 50-60 years, it was hardly possible to recognise properties.

Through inheritance, a landowner's death would break up his or her holdings, divide lands or redistribute them. Moreover, the trade and exchange of land would further hamper our attempts to identify plots from one generation to the next. Since, how the *censes* were 'simplified and redistributed' in practice was not defined, we had to content ourselves with the results; we had to try to comprehend the taxes as reported in the land-registers. The remainder of this section is devoted to observing, understanding and analyzing *censes* concerning the plots of land. What is the significance of *cense* and how is it could be used in economic evaluation? Undoubtedly a more systematic research in a larger area is necessary before elaborating any theory.

9.2.1. *FREE-CENSE PLOTS*

Some parcels were exempt from *cense*. Probably, the exemptions were the result of the 'simplification and redistribution' of taxes during the process

Exemption	Freq. (N)	Surf. (ha)	p.c. to all N.	p.c. to all surf.
Full	157	28	1.8	1.2
Partial	13	3	0.1	0.1
Total	170	31	1.9	1.3

Table 9.1 Distribution of cense exemption.

of the land survey. As table 9.1 shows, the proportions of these exemptions to the whole data, both in number and surface area, are less than 2 percent. In other words, it is insignificant. In the second half the 17th century, in

¹ Refer: A.C.V., Fq-103, Corcelles, 1641-1650.

Com-mune	Freq. (N)	Surf. (ha)	p.c. S. commune
BNV	24	6.5	2.0
CMP	14	1	0.4
CRL	38	6.5	2.1
FIE	13	2	0.9
FNT	19	3	1.4
HAM	28	5	1.9
GIZ	23	6	1.5
ONS	11	1	0.3
Tot.	170	31	N/A

Table 9.2 *Distrib. of free cense plots in communes.*

Lausanne, more than 30% of all lands surveyed were exempt from *cense*¹. The origin of these exemptions remained obscure. There were many owners coming from all social strata. Therefore, the exemptions were unlikely to have been the result of a privileged relationship between land-owner and government.

In contrast, a rate of 2% for lands exempted of *cense* in Grandson is pathetic. Each village has its fair share of free taxation, a flat distribution with no particular shape (*tab. 9.2*). The types of land exempted from *cense* and the social status of the owners were not significant either. As suggested in table 9.3, there is no apparent pattern in either situation. The

Type	NP	OC	N	Surf. (ha)
Arable	11	56	67	15.5
Arable mixed with barren	0	5	5	1.5
Barren	1	9	10	1.3
Enclosure	2	6	8	0.9
Garden	0	1	1	0.0
Hemp-field	0	1	1	0.2
House	2	2	4	
Meadow	9	10	19	3.9
Rights	3		3	
Sundry Building	3	7	10	
Vineyard	7	24	31	3.5
Vineyard mixed with barren	3	2	5	2.3
Woodland	2	4	6	1.9
Totals	43	127	170	31.0
Productive	29	101	130	25.3
Unproductive	14	26	40	5.7

N.B. : NP: wealthy, OC: commoner.

Table 9.3 *Distribution of free cense plots, types & owners.*

proportions of free *cense* plot type correspond roughly to that of all surveyed land-types. Even with so few cases to quantify, one has to observe the government's tendency to exempt unimportant plots from *cense*. It was most probably the case that these exemptions served to balance individual taxes, no matter what the social status of the owner. Explicitly, there was no attempt to favour privileged classes.

9.2.2. TYPES OF *CENSES*

Nowadays no one would fancy paying taxes in any other form than cash. In *Suisse-Romande*, under the *Ancien Régime*, taxes were paid in any goods that the land could produce, as well as in cash. The variety of *censes* are amazing: capons, nut-oil and all kinds of cereals combined or separate for each plot of land. This variety rendered the methods devised for analysis awkward. Each method was acceptable for a certain type of *cense* but combined results were incompatible and bewildering.

However, listing all the various kinds of *censes* collected in the villages displayed a pattern: *censes* paid in kind other than wheat were anachronic and the practice was fading from the general picture (*tab. 9.4*). Wheat and cash were the favourites with tax collectors. As a matter of fact, the evolution of collecting taxes by rational means of an abstract state had already begun.

<i>Cense</i>	BNV	CMP	CRL	FIE	FNT	GIZ	HAM	ONS	Total
<i>Florins</i> ¹	56	74	47	75	63	64	85	46	510
Wheat	1087	2928	6467	2479	2684	1645	2624	5336	25250
Oats	10	2856	1002	263	21		361	1548	6060
Nut-oil	20	22	6	10		3	9	4	74
Capon ¹	13	13	10	4	8	10	5	4	67
Rye	21								21
Nut	131								131
<i>Messel</i> ²	104			10			21		136
Wine							122		122

N.B. 1. *Florins* and capons: units; all others: litre.
 2. *Messel* is mixture of wheat of rye sown in various proportion, used for bread.

Table 9.4 *Types of cense per commune.*

9.2.2.1. CASH

*Deniers*¹ were issued by the bishops of Lausanne from the mid-11th century. Table 9.5 summarises a few centuries of minting money in the

¹ Refer: C. Martin, (1939, 1973, 1978, 1983) and N. Morard & *all.*, (1969).

bishopric of Lausanne. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we assumed the evolution of money in Grandson to be similar to the historical trend in the *Pays de Vaud*.

Up to the 15th century, the bishops of Lausanne's *deniers* were in circulation in most parts of *Suisse-Romande* as well as some money issued in Savoie or German counties. In everyday use, *deniers* and their subdivisions were small coins in the purse. For large amounts, in any transaction, *sols* (12 *deniers*) and *florins* (144 *deniers*) were used. *Florins* and *sols* were not minted. They were only accounting money. Physically, *deniers* disappeared before the 16th century. Afterward, in the *Pays de Vaud*, *batz* (issued by Berne and Fribourg) and some minor foreign currencies were in circulation.

Nevertheless, in written contracts, for any business requiring an amount specifically expressed, *florins*, *sols* and *deniers* were used. In the 18th century, one would buy grocery on the market with *batz* and *kreuzer*¹ but sign contracts with *florins* and *sols*. One *florin* roughly fetched 4 *batz*².

However, since the money market was as volatile as those of other commodities (wheat, oats) we shall keep all the discussion involving specie to the *florins*, *sols* and *deniers*. In 1712-13, the amount of taxes paid in cash

DATE	UNIT	EQUIVALENCE	REMARK
11th c.	<i>deniers (d)</i>		1.5 gr. silver
13th c.	<i>oboles (o)</i>	1 d. = 2 o.	approx. 15 issues
14th c.	<i>mailles (m)</i>	1 d. = 2 m. 1 o. = 1 m.	one issue known by Berne. Fribourg in the 15th c. issued some too.
14th c. (?)	<i>pictes (p)</i>	1 d. = 2 m. = 12 p.	
14th c. (?)	<i>trésels</i>	3 d.	
14th c.	<i>demi-gros</i>	6 d.	
1457	<i>parpaiolles</i>		3.02-3.19 gr. silver
1475	<i>ducats</i>		3.15-3.48 gr. gold

Table 9.5 Money in the bishopric of Lausanne.

¹ E. Mottaz, *DHV*, (1914), vol.2, p.218, 1 batz = 4 kreuzer = 10 rappen.

² P.-L. Pelet, (1983), p.463. For currencies and money market in *Ancien Régime*, refer to works by C. Martin.

in the Grandson area would have bought just 12 hectolitres of wheat in the markets of Lausanne¹.

9.2.2.2. KIND

WHEAT: wheat, paid as tax, was the major source of income of Berne and Fribourg. It was often paid as a fraction or multiple of *quarteron* (10.435 lit.), Grandson scale, a dry measure for volume². All wheat paid added up to a gross 252 hectolitres fixed per year.

OATS (*avoine*): when taxes payable in either cash and wheat were common to all villages, oats were unevenly distributed. Giez paid no taxes in oats, while in Bonvillars and Fontaines the tax due was insignificant. All oats paid to Berne and Fribourg in 1712-1713, would have bought 2 hectolitres of wheat in Lausanne³.

NUT-OIL: except for Fontaines, situated at 563 m. alt., where nut trees do not grow, all other villages paid *censes* in oil. The price for a *pot* of nut-oil in 1710's in Lausanne, was 4 *florins*⁴. All taxes paid in oils would have bought 2 hecto-litres of wheat⁵.

CAPONS: capons, we believe, were an oddity of medieval hearth tax. In the 18th (and even in the 17th) century⁶, capons in Grandson were paid as *cense* over fields and houses evenly. It should be noted that, except for two, all landowners paid a whole capon. One plot of undivided field between two owners⁷ from Fontaines⁸ was taxed half a capon each. Therefore, the taxes paid in capon were fully rationalised by the commissioners. They had

¹ A. Radeff, (1979), p.98: In 1712-1713, 6 florins bought a *quarteron* of Lausanne (13.704 l.) of wheat.

² Dry measures are useful for cereals. The weight of grains differs with areas and years.

³ A. Radeff, (1979), p. 98. In 1712-1713, 1 *quarteron* (of Lausanne) of oats = 1.87 florin.

⁴ A. Mirabdolbaghi, IRRI, seminars on regional studies, (1981).

⁵ 1 *pot* of oil = 2.129 litres.

⁶ A.C.V., Fq-141, 1633-34, St. Maurice & Champagne.

⁷ A.C.V., Fq-146, fl.182, fl.191. BAULAZ, Jean & RAY, Jean from Fontaines.

⁸ *Ibid.* The situation is more complicated: Jean Ray for 2100 m² and Jean Boulaz for 2800 m² paid to Their Excellencies: 21 litres of wheat and 3 *deniers*, 21 litres of wheat and 1 *denier*. Each owed Marie de Treytorrens 1/2 capon. These lands are next to each other.

wonderfully succeeded in eradicating absurdities such as 1/12 or 15/48 of a capon, the way it was levied in 1633¹.

RYE, NUTS, MESSEL, WINE: the frequencies of these types of tax were insignificant. The tendency for the rationalisation of *cense* is well illustrated by these exceptions. Briefly, the many different types of *cense* amounted, in reality, to two main types: wheat and cash. The proportion of oats were eye catching but nonessential.

9.2.3. TYPES OF LAND AND TYPES OF *CENSE*

As seen previously, on the one hand, various types of land were classified as arable, meadows, enclosures, vineyards, gardens, hemp-fields, woodlands

	W	M	G	W&M	W&G	M&G	W&M&G	total
Arables	65	25	3	7	1	0	0	100
Buildings	18	71	6	4	1	1		100
Enclosures	54	37	5	3	2	0		100
Gardens	31	65	2	1				100
Hemp-fields	41	49	7	3				100
Houses	36	44	7	8	3	3		100
Meadows	46	41	5	6	1	1	0	100
Miscellany	45	43	4	7	2	0	0	100
Vineyards	48	38	4	8	1	1		100
Woodlands	7	85	6	1				100
Total	54	35	4	6	1	1	0	100

N.B.: W: Wheat, M: Money, G: Goods.

Table 9.6 *Types of land and types of cense, p.c., (N), (0:>0<1).*

and sundry. On the other hand taxes were paid in wheat, cash and kind (i.e., other types of *cense* were of minor importance).

Was there any relationship, any pattern between types of land and types of *cense*? What kind of land paid which kind of tax? As suggested, the idea commonly shared by scholars was that *censes* were or should have been related to the type of agricultural activity on the land. That is, arable land paid their censes in cereals, vineyards in wine and dwellings in capon. As

¹ A.C.V., Fq-141,1633-34, fl.355, St. Maurice & Champagne.

shown in table 9.6, this idea proved to be baseless. In fact there is no pattern at all. Vineyards paid a great deal of wheat as *cense*, and capons did not primarily come from dwellings. As long as the owner of a plot agreed to pay the *cense* fixed in the register of land, no one in the administration of the *bailliage* cared about its nature (fig. 9.1, for explanation of signs used in the figure, refer to table 9.6).

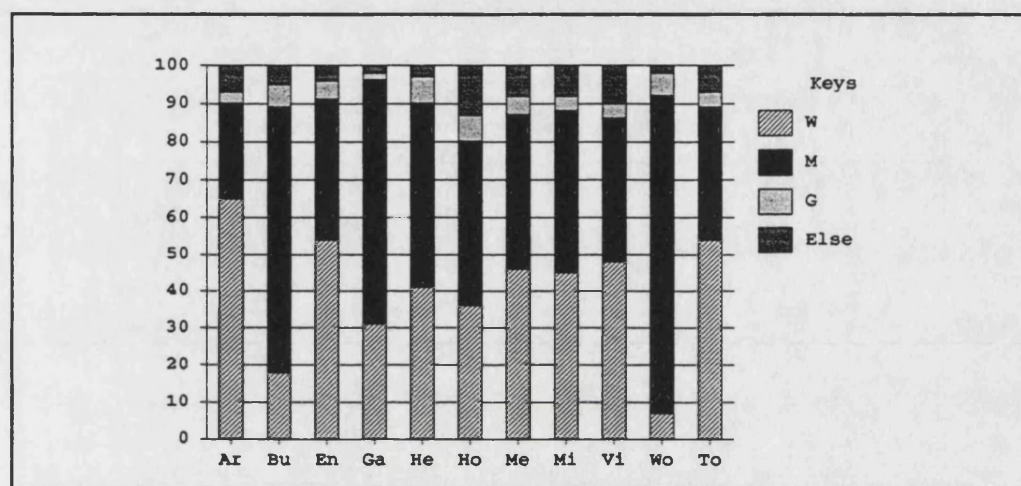


Fig. 9.1 Distribution of censes per type of land.

9.2.4. RIFT: *CENSES* & PLOTS OF LAND

Broadly speaking, and in a best of all possible worlds, we expected taxation to be directly related to the object on which it was levied. Methods for tax calculation vary but generally one might assume that taxes on land were based first on the surface-area and secondly on the market value of the plot.

In this study, the simplest and most realistic approach to the *cense* was to correlate the surface-area to the amount of tax paid either in wheat or cash. Logically, the larger the plot in a given category, the higher the *cense* should be. The results shown in table

	Wheat	Money	Corr.
Arable	0.240	0.381	Nil
Enclosure	0.595	0.133	Nil
Garden	-0.079	-0.020	Nil
Hemp-field	0.249	0.263	Nil
Meadow	0.487	0.159	Nil
Vineyard	0.392	0.295	Nil

Table 9.7 Correlation, types of cense/land.

9.7 obviously contradict this theory. There is as much relation between *cense* and surface-area of the plot as there is between clouds in Ireland and the sales of umbrellas in Kenya. *Censes* and the surfaces of land were totally unrelated. So we can only fall back on the jurist's explanation and state that, in the face of all economic logic, *cense* was a repayment of a mortgage contracted between the vassal and the *seigneur* in the high Middle-Ages. In other words, any economic entity, such as the Tharin family, paid the sum of *cense* due, because it had to be paid. The amount had nothing, in fact, to do with how much they owned.

Returning to the idea the commissioners had about 'simplification and re-distribution' of *censes*, it becomes obvious that *censes* were summed up for a given owner and then redistributed arbitrarily over all plots in his possession. For us, two centuries later, *censes* have no value in analysis. Table 9.8 again illustrates that no relationship existed between the amount of *censes* to be paid and the surface of a plot. The closer to one was the ratio

Type range	Surface	Wheat due (in litre)				
	Avg	Avg	St.d.	Min.	Max.	ratio Min.-Max.
0-1000 m2						
Arable	745.30	2.60	2.08	0.87	23.04	0.38
Enclosure	532.34	2.59	2.22	0.65	15.65	0.42
Meadow	581.55	1.91	1.66	0.65	17.39	0.37
Vineyard	531.94	2.84	2.34	0.65	20.87	0.31
1001-2000 m2						
Arable	1477.15	3.54	2.95	0.65	26.09	0.25
Enclosure	1407.68	4.89	5.24	0.87	38.26	0.23
Meadow	1457.47	3.17	2.47	0.33	18.26	0.18
Vineyard	1404.74	5.06	3.68	0.87	20.87	0.42
2001-3000 m2						
Arable	2487.61	4.54	4.47	0.87	48.91	0.18
Enclosure	2412.66	5.05	3.80	0.87	15.65	0.56
Meadow	2487.06	3.44	2.33	0.87	10.44	0.83
Vineyard	2464.31	7.48	6.83	0.87	44.35	0.20
3001-4000 m2						
Arable	3452.89	4.66	3.75	0.87	28.70	0.30
Enclosure	3548.51	8.10	5.37	1.74	20.87	0.83
Meadow	3570.43	4.65	3.43	0.87	13.04	0.67
Vineyard	3486.39	8.80	6.08	0.87	20.87	0.42

Table 9.8 Ratio, min/max, of types *cense* and land.

between minimum and maximum of the *censes* paid in wheat in a given range, the closer the relationship between the *cense* and the surface area in that range. The only type of land that came remotely close to a 1:1 ratio was a meadow of about a *pose* in size. The ratios of all other types fell utterly out of range.

9.3. TITHE

The tithe is a tax often associated with the church¹. The Oxford Concise Dictionary defines the tithe as: "*tax of one-tenth, especially tenth part of annual produce of land or labour, taken for support of clergy and church*²". As for the *bailliage* of Grandson, in the years under review, we shall define the tithe specifically as the eleventh unit (9%) of the production of the land to the benefit of secular rulers. In the early 18th century, and even during the 17th, the tithe was a secular tax, which could be analogous to today's income tax.

In 1540 Berne and Fribourg acquired the clergy's rights over the estates. Berne paid a wage to the Protestant priests and restructured the church within the scope and state activities. Tithes have been analyzed as a reflection of annual grain output of a given area in a macro-economic context³⁴. However, focusing on ownership and the actual population of the defined area of Grandson, and by tracing back the accounts, we limited the investigation to an understanding of data provided by land-registers.

The state of the tithe in the early 18th century in Grandson as a secular tax was two-fold: tithes were either due directly to Berne and Fribourg or to a local landowner who would, in turn, pay *cense* to the government himself. Tithes were either *grande* or *petite*; A *grande* tithe was levied over crops and vineyards and the *petite* over gardens, hemp-fields, etc.. In the land-

¹ Refer to a comprehensive article on tithe (*dîme*) in E. Mottaz, *DHV*, 1914, p.615.

² Oxford Concise Dictionary, (1982).

³ Refer: E. Le Roy Ladurie, (1966).

⁴ Refer: Ch. Pfister, (1975).

registers, any data provided concerned the *grande* tithe and were paid in full unless otherwise stated.

9.3.1. OWNERS OF TITHES

The tithe was considered a negotiable right: one could trade or inherit it. Frequently, like any other property, tithes not held by either or both Berne and Fribourg were held undivided by commoners. However, the land-registers did not specifically list the rights of commoners to tithes. Exceptionally, the existence of a commoner's right to a tithe is found in the listings of *cense* due. Half a dozen cases of *reconnaissances* (from over 9,000) were concerned with these rights, and the matters were minor¹. From those sampled, three cases are presented as illustration.

1. In Grandson-town's hamlets: Jean-Georges Ernst received the tithes over 0.7 hectare ($2 + 1/6 + 1/16$ of a *pose*), on a plot called *Champs du Creux*. It was free of *cense*².
2. In Fontaines: The same J.G. Ernst³ held part of a tithe. We shall first produce the replica of the land-register's statement as an illustration of the intricacy of some statements in land-registers, and then a translation:

replica: *J.G. Ernst a le 1/3 et le 2/5 d'un autre 1/3, par indivis avec I. et S. Pathey pour les autres 3/5 dudit 1/3 et avec les hoirs de Sr J.R. Bourgeois pour l'autre 1/3 de la moitié de la dîme, appelé Partionners, lequel se partage avec LL.EE pour l'autre moitié et se lève en toute espèce de graines et vin.....*

translation: Excellencies: 50%

Ernst: 23%

Bourgeois: 17%

Pathey: 10%

The area covered by this tithe is unknown to us but Ernst paid 1.5 *so/s* in tax. In Lausanne, this would perhaps have bought him a pint

¹ A.C.V. Fq-50, holds the main body of tithe registration.

² A.C.V., Fq-143, fl. 228.

³ Johann-Georg von Ernst, was a member of the Bernese oligarchy. An affluent and influential member of the "*Grand Conseil*" (parliament of canton de Berne), he was a *bailli* for Grandson in 1705-1710. Source: A.C.V., Fq-146, fl. 484. & E. Mottaz, *DHV*, (1914), p.793.

of wine in 1712-13¹. The legatees of Bourgeois paid 1.3 *sols* in tax². However, the Patheys, with only 10% of the ownership of the tithe, were ruined. They had 35 litres of wheat plus 3 capons, altogether 258 *sols* (21.5 *florins*) in 1712-13 to pay as tax³. Besides, over the years as the market prices of goods went up, Messrs. Ernst and Bourgeois continued to pay their modest sum while the Patheys had to follow the market prices for the goods they paid in taxes. Small wonder that by 1764 (*tab. 9.9*), the Patheys no longer held these tithes.

3. In Fiez the legatees of Theodore Bourgeois had two tithes undivided with Their Excellencies and a few other *seigneurs*. The text of the *reconnaissance*, though legible, was beyond our comprehension⁴. In 1764, the Bourgeois family still held some tithes in Fiez while other individuals got rid of them.

Documents on the owners of the tithes in the *bailliage* of Grandson in 1710-1720 were hard to come by. To illustrate the partition of the tithe in the area we used a document *circa* 1764⁵. It presented a catalogue of the tithes among various subjects. In mid 18th century, Berne and Fribourg possessed all the tithes in the *bailliage* of Grandson, with a few exceptions⁶. A summary of tithes regarding the *communes* under review is produced in table 9.9. Nonetheless the tithes-areas (area over which the tithes were levied) remained very vague. For example, we had no document on the extent of the lands covered under a tithe called 'Etenaz'. Was it a hectare? More? Less?

¹ A. Radeff, (1979), p. 98. In Lausanne, in 1712-13 a cart (576 *pots*, *pot*=1.16 litre) of unspecified wine was 137.5 *florins*. 1.5 *sols* would buy 0.6 litre of wine.

² A.C.V., Fq-146, fl. 510.

³ A.C.V., Fq-146, fl. 523. For price conversion see : A. Radeff, (1979).

⁴ A.C.V., Fq-145, fl. 534, Fiez.

⁵ A.C.V., Bb-44, "Topographie du Pays de Vaud, civile, judiciaire, féodale, ecclésiastique et communale; par bailliages, sièges de justice, seigneuries, paroisses et communes; dressée par l'ordre de LL.EE. de Berne vers 1764 avec répertoire. 1 vol de 275 pages". *N.B.* "Ce registre est une sorte de *Regionenbuch*, moins détaillé, cependant, que celui qui existe aux archives de l'Etat de Berne. Signé A. Baron, Lausanne, 12 juin 1852."

⁶ A.C.V., Bb-44, fl. 272v.

Area	Tithe	Holder
Bonvillars Champagnes St Maurice	Wine	Manor of Yverdon: 50% Manor of Grandson: parts of the remaining 50% Manor of St Aubin: <i>ditto</i> <i>Hoirs</i> Fatio: tithe over the vineyard of their manor.
Fiez Fontaines Grandvent	Crops	Manor of Grandson: 50% Manor of Yverdon: 28% <i>Hoirs</i> Ch. Bourgeois: 15% <i>Hoirs</i> A. Calame: 7%
Fiez Fontaines Grandvent	Wine	Manor of Grandson: 50% Manor of Yverdon: 28% <i>Hoirs</i> Ch. Bourgeois: 22%
Fiez Concise	Wine	From a tithe called " <i>Grandes Vignes</i> ": Ministry of Fiez: 50% Ministry of Concise: 50%
Corcelles	Wine & Crops	<i>Seigneur</i> of Corcelles: 100%
Corcelettes (HAM)	Crops	From a tithe called Etenaz: Sr. Jeanneret: 50% <i>Hoirs</i> Christin: 50%
Corcelettes (HAM)	Wine	Sr. Jeanneret: 100% (called Repuis).

Table 9.9 Some tithes in the Bailliage of Grandson, circa 1764.

9.3.2. EXEMPTIONS FROM THE TITHE

We have mentioned earlier in this chapter, that there were some lands exempted from paying tithes. The exemptions were a 'perpetual' [*sic*] right and clearly defined in the particular *reconnaissance* of each landowner. The reasons for these exemptions went unrecorded. Undoubtedly most were awarded before the 18th century, from time immemorial for unknown reasons, as a favour or a reward to a particular subject.

Tithe	Freq. (N)	Surface (ha)	p.c. Total Surface
Nil	251	62.2	2.6
1/3	15	1.8	0.1
1/2	5	1.6	0.1
3/4	4	1.6	0.1
Complete	8741	2318.8	97.2
Total	9016	2386.0	100.0

Table 9.10 Fully or partly relief of tithes.

Therefore, the state of tithes in the area can only be observed with no possibility of further investigation. As table 9.10 shows, plots, partially or fully exempted from the tithe, were small in number (3%), but their surface-areas varied from

one village to another. The exemptions occurred mostly in Bonvillars and Onnens (*tab 9.11*), which were close neighbours, and concerned mainly arable lands and vineyards in all villages. Enclosures were seldom exempted (*tab. 9.12*).

<i>Commune</i>	Total surface (ha)	p.c. per total surface of exemption	p.c. per total surface of <i>Commune</i>
BNV	23.8	35.4	7.9
CMP	8.7	13.0	2.7
CRL	1.1	1.6	0.3
HAM	12.5	18.5	4.5
ONS	21.1	31.4	6.1
Total	67.2	100.0	2.8

N.B. FIE, FNT, GIZ tithe = full

Table 9.11 *Plots exempted from tithe.*

Neither the distribution of exempted areas within the villages, nor the types of land exempted could help us comprehend such exemptions. Was it possible then for the social status of the owners to shed some light? Perhaps, high ranking members of the community would be more likely to possess tithe-free lands than their lowly neighbours and more frequently devised means of exempting lands from tithes.

Types of land	Freq. (N)	P.C. (N)
Arable	134	49
Miscell.	20	7
Vineyard	119	44
Total	273	100

Table 9.12 *Types of land exempted from tithe.*

Each landowner bore a title according to his social rank. The more land one possessed, the more adjectives were placed before one's name. A major landowner was 'magnificent,' 'honoured' and so on. A landowner with a tiny plot was a 'modest' fellow. Such titles were the products of a changing custom and had no institutional value. The more a scribe esteemed the individual and his/her family, the more gorgeous titles he would use. Some, however, were specific to a body: *egrège* was for solicitors, *savant* for clergymen. For the sake of simplicity, we grouped them into two classes: noble and powerful land holders (NP), and ordinary freeholders (*communiers*) (OC).

As shown in table 9.13, high ranking members of the community had not the exclusive privilege of owning tithe-exempted plots. In absolute number of plots, ordinary *communiers* owned more arable land exempted from tithes. However, the situation is

	NP	OC
Arable	20	80
Misc.	50	50
Vineyard	69	31
Total	44	56

Table 9.13 *Lands exempted from tithe, social position of landowners, p.c.*

reversed as far as vineyards go. This could be attributed to the fact that vineyards were a valued possession and the ownership of a couple of them would qualify any freeholder *a priori*, to lavish titles.

9.3.3. TITHES AND ECONOMIC ENTITY

Studies of tithes are often concerned with the regional production of crops that place them in a macro-economic context¹. Was it theoretically possible to trace the tithes collected to the actual holdings on which they were levied? In other words, was it feasible to measure an economic entity's income from tithes? If this was the case, then it would have been possible to observe in practice the burden of tithes, *censes* and *corvées* on an economic entity. Therefore, the picture of the people, their lands and their daily lives could be further refined.

The first obstacle encountered was the documentation, either direct, a blessing, or indirect. To be able to measure the production of, say, Jonas Payot, either the administration or the esquire himself would have had to have kept detailed ledgers year-in and year-out. To our knowledge individuals did not keep any personal accounts, with one exception. Marc de Treytorrens, from a noble and wealthy family, kept a diary in which there was a ledger of his accounts². The account is, at first glance, quite unintelligible. This book was kept for his personal use; the entries were utterly cryptic. The understanding of this book required some research which was beyond our scope³ since it would have taken us to another county, Yverdon.

Neither was the administration a source of data. In fact, the hard body of data on the tithe concerned the results of 'bidding' them and not the actual production.

In the early years of Berne and Fribourg's control over the *Pays de Vaud*,

¹ Refer: Ph. Heubi, (1976), & D. Zumkeller, (1992).

² *Livre de Marc de Treytorrens, Bibliothèque publique d'Yverdon-les-Bains, 1681-1726.*

³ For an interesting work done with a diary, refer to A. Macfarlan, (1970 & 1976).

the tithes were left for the *baillis*¹ to collect. This was a mistake. With a few exceptions, *baillis* were either too incompetent or too smart. In either case, Their Excellencies would be cheated out of their due: the ineffectual *bailli* could not collect the tithes properly and the shrewd one would hold back some income for himself.

By the late 16th century, Berne introduced a system of auction for the tithe². Just before the harvest, based on the previous year's results and the coming year's expected yield, tithes for each *dîmerie*³ would be auctioned to bidders. In this fashion the administration was assured of income without the inconvenience of collecting the tithes individually⁴. Therefore the sources of data left are the results of the bidding. Consequently, the chief question is this: is the bidding an accurate or a distorted reflection of the scale of production? The answer is neither a clear-cut yes nor a final no. Admittedly thorough quantitative research in this domain is necessary, however, we came to observe points which prevented us from using the tithe documents at their face value. In our opinion, based on the documents we examined, it was impossible to state that the bidding reflected the scale of production. The data gathered were fragmentary, but even in this small sample many anomalies were observed which prevented their forthright use. Too many handicaps existed for any tithe bid account to be a reflection of production.

We needed to have clear data on the surfaces of all tithing areas before any serious work was to be considered. Each tithe area (*dîmerie*) within a village had its own name. The problems with these areas were the same as those we saw with *lieux-dits*; they were bound to change over the century whenever the rights on tithes were sold, bought or swapped. They could shrink or expand without the event being recorded. None of the surface-areas of the *dîmeries* were known, in terms of square meters (or *pose*). For

¹ *Bailli*: administrator of a *bailliage*.

² Refer: E. Mottaz, *DHV*, (1914), and Ph. Heubi, (1976).

³ Area on which the tithes befall.

⁴ A small essay on the collection of tithe for wine (7%) by E. Mottaz, (1900a), shows that for Champagne Their Excellencies paid 125 francs (old money) for collecting tithes worth 320 francs (old money). The tithe collectors were expensive.

convenience, many tithes were not named after the area in which one found them, but after the *communes* on which they were levied. The villages' area, however, were divided into tithe areas of various sizes owned by Berne, Fribourg or commoners. Notwithstanding, in the high altitude *communes*, such as Romairon, Fontanezier and Mauborget, where cereals are hard to come by, Berne and Fribourg had almost total control over tithes. None of the *dîmeries* changed their boundaries over the centuries. In these harsh climate areas, only barley and rye, unvalued crops, were produced. From an economic point of view, high altitude villages were not profitable.

The troublesome areas, those that concern us more, are low altitude areas near the lake, where high-priced cereals and vine could be grown. Here, tithe holders abounded. Of course, these were the most profitable tithes. In the early 18th century, the tithes of Concise, Corcelles and Novalles belonged entirely to local *seigneurs*. In others Berne and Fribourg shared the *dîmeries*. Over the years, Berne and Fribourg acquired more rights. Therefore, the amount paid in bids went up.

Documents on tithe income contains only the bids of the tithe for Berne and Fribourg, with no reference to tithe areas, although both shared many tithe areas with local *seigneurs*. Tithes levied by these *seigneurs* were not included in the accounting. They perhaps kept their own accounts, but to our knowledge, no data of this nature exist.

A few other tithes, the rights of which belonged partially or fully to both Berne and Fribourg, were auctioned in Grandson but in fact the *dîmeries* concerned were not parts of the *bailliage* of Grandson, *stricto sensu*. Since they were levied in villages jointly governed by Berne and Fribourg in *Pays de Vaud*, near Grandson, it was practical to gather the tithes there. The results of these inflate the amount of tithes collected for Grandson.

The accounts of bids refer to the volume of cereals (*grains*) the bidder had to pay Berne and Fribourg¹. What were those cereals? Wheat? Oats? *Messe*? If mixed, in what proportion? If tithes are supposed to be a reflection of production, why in high-altitude *communes* where wheat is

¹ G. Chamorel, (1944), p.34-35.

difficult to produce, were bids expressed only in wheat? A few clues could be gathered from detailed accounting results for the years 1640, 1696-98, 1756 and 1784¹. The grains paid in to Berne and Fribourg were not collected in consistent proportions over the years. In 1640, parts paid in oats, wheat and *messe/* correspond, perhaps, to the cereals produced. From 1696-98, these proportions shifted towards large portions of wheat and oats. By the mid-18th century, the bidding was paid half in wheat and half in oats. All other kinds of cereals had disappeared from the accounts, although they were still produced and marketed². That is to underline the fact that the bids were paid half in wheat and half in oats no matter what the actual cereals produced.

One also has to observe the behaviour of the bidders. In the Book of Laws of Grandson³ severe punishments were defined for any 'plot & monopoly' by individual or *communes* as bidders, hereby emphasising a great worry over an 'understanding' among them. Referring to our readings of tithes materials, and notes made here and there by *baillis*, we have serious doubts as to the results of bidding being an honest reflection of crop production.

In sampling sporadic archival materials on tithes, we selected two documents indicative of points we made earlier. The data series were accounts of bids for the tithes in the Manor of Grandson 1751-1793, the nearest series to the years under⁴

observation. As table 9.14 shows, there were more and less productive decades but with similar variations in each village.

Years	BNV	CMP	FIE	GIZ	ONS
1750's	109	60	138	47	55
1760's	102	59	136	57	54
1770's	102	71	135	51	75
1780's	92	67	127	46	64
1790's	90	60	142	64	53

Table 9.14 *Auctioned tithes, hl per commune.*

In view of the reservations we had about the accounts

¹ A.C.V., BI-10 & A.E.F., *Grandson, Comptes*.

² Refer: A. Radeff, (1979) & P.-L. Pelet, (1970-1985).

³ *Coutumier nouveau de Grandson*, (1779), p.204.

⁴ A.C.V., BI-10, & A.E.F., *Grandson, Comptes*.

of bidding of the tithes, these data could be regarded as a series of numbers and not a reflection of production. Presumably, since tithes were bid for fixed shares of wheat and oats, the accounts were a reflection of the value of the tithe for the bidders but not an accurate image of the cereals produced.

Once the tithes were auctioned, it fell to the bidder to pay the amount, whatever the actual production. If the *dîmerie* was short of oats or wheat, he had to buy some elsewhere to meet his obligation.

9.4. *CORVÉES*, GENERAL TAX

Corvées had still *droit de cité* in studies from the 1940s. From there on, they are merely credited a line or two at best.

Despite an old connotation of duty and strenuous work, and despite its meagre contribution to the general income of both Berne and Fribourg, *corvées* existed as duty that had to be paid by any economic entity or its individual members. Notably, *corvées* still exist in the post World-War Two era in Switzerland, except that, today, the practice is rendered in the language of democracy. Fire or military services in Switzerland are the best illustrations of 'modern' *corvées*, that is, the labour an individual owes for the benefit of the community. In the *Ancien Régime*, what was defined as 'beneficial to the community' at large, was often, beneficial only to some powerful master, who was functionally replaced by the republics of Berne and Fribourg from the 15th century onwards.

Strictly speaking, *corvées* were due both to the church and to the sovereign. Berne and Fribourg, in inheriting ecclesiastic and secular taxes, made one tax of these two in a very practical way: individuals could buy them out. Almost at the beginning of each land-registers, where generalities affecting all the *communiens* were settled, *corvées* were listed. The *corvées* for the parishes¹ under their guardianship were straightforwardly transformed

¹ We have to note that the commissioners retained the notion of parish, even though they practically meant *commune*. The exception is Corcelles (parish of Concise) where the situation is more complex due to the existence of the abbey of Lance (Catholic).

from duties into a sum of money paid in the autumn¹. With insignificant variations from *commune* to *commune*, the *corvées* due to the church and collected by Their Excellencies amounted to 7 *so/s* per caput². The secular *corvées* were also carefully noted when appropriate. *Corvées* applicable to all citizens and inhabitants having hearth and domicile in a given village numbered three³:

1. "*Guardianship at the Manor of Grandson in times of fray*⁴". This is a duty in Bonvillars but a tax payable in wheat in Champagne⁵, where some landowners are even exempted;
2. "*To follow Their Excellencies banner*⁶" or "*to cavalcade*⁷" when required. The national defence was and is a *corvée*.
3. "*To accomplish the duties of carts*⁸". Three times yearly, adults would help with the heavy agricultural labour for the *seigneur*. That, in the early 18th century, meant helping the *bailli* with heavy agricultural work in due course.

There were occasional exceptions to these rules in individual *reconnaissance*. For example, Claude Court paid half of 42 litres due for the guardianship in his lifetime, to "*encourage him to rebuild his house*⁹". Besides these three sets of *corvées*, there could be some additional duties for subject-citizens. For instance, in Champagne as a *seigneurial* right, everyone had to grind their wheat and bake their bread in Their Excellencies

¹ The day of Saint André l'Apôtre.

² Bonvillars: Fq-155 fl. 4v., Hamlets: Fq-143 fl.103.; In Onnens the situation was more complex since there had been some complaints. Neighbouring villages complain to Berne about Onnens for not providing the necessary manpower. Onnens pretended to be free of these charges. The commissioners, in an open verdict, favoured Onnens's case since the accusing party could not provide sufficient documents. (A.C.V., Fq-77 fl.9.)

³ For example: A.C.V., Fq-155, Bonvillars, fl. 4: "*chaque communier et habitant de rière ledit Bonvillars faisant feu et résidence.....*". Other land registers are alike.

⁴ A.C.V., Fq-155, fl. 4, Bonvillars: "*le guet au Château de Grandson en temps de doute*".

⁵ A.C.V., Fq-144, fl. 1, Champagne: "*le guet...payable et rendable... 1 bichet de froment*".

⁶ A.C.V., Fq-155, fl. 4, Bonvillars: "*suivre l' Enseigne [de leur Excellences] toutes les fois qu'ils en seront requis*".

⁷ A.C.V., Fq-144, fl. 1, Champagne: "*... la Chevauchée... quand elle sera requise*".

⁸ Namely *corvées de la charrue* in *Suisse-Romande*.

⁹ A.C.V., Fq-107, fl.246, 1717.

mills and ovens¹. Interestingly, the spirit of some of these types of *féodal* duties have survived into the 20th century in many cantons and *communes* where some tacit or even written, 'gentlemen's agreement' exist to protect local companies.

In the 18th century, it was very likely that these *corvées* were used as a ballast against the *censes*. According to the commissioners, *censes* were 'simplified and redistributed' to avoid heavily taxing a plot of land which might then have been abandoned and vacated.

Although their relative importance to a limited agricultural area cannot be denied, broadly speaking they were not a massive and unbearable tax on the general population. No documents indicated any difficulties in payment.

How significant were the *censes*, *corvées* and tithes as a burden on the individual? They were simply holes in the purse, the size of which could not be measured. Moreover, they could not help in evaluation of the dimensions of the purse: the value of the plots of land.

¹ A.C.V., Fq-144, fl. 1, Champagne.

***For in and out, above, about, below,
Th're's nothing but a Magic Shadow Show¹***

10.1. PHANTOM FIGURES

Economic history, is similar to the Magic Shadow Show of Khayyam. Generations of a population live in a particular geographic setting under religious, cultural, social and economic customs and constraints. Each of these elements influences the others and presents a unique cause and effect relationship. Even in time of peace and stability, free from wars and unrest, a change in any one of these components of human activity forces others to mutate and adapt.

Many characteristics of a given population remain similar throughout centuries, but in the long run changes are perceptible and mutation obvious. In the high mountains of Valais, Catholicism and equal inheritance project a picture of closed corporate communities which is perceptible even today. Protestantism and equal inheritance in the comparatively flat area of Grandson are associated with open communities.

¹ *Play'd in a Box whose Candle is the Sun,
Round which we Phantom Figures come and go.*
Khayyam and Fitzgerald.

Populations in the past, - as in present time -, were made up of individuals with their own share of initiative, subjective moods and rational behaviours. They adapted to their environment, made a living out of it and perpetuated their domestic groups. Quantitative analysis measures and presents in tables and graphs the objective facts. Some items are mechanical, some others need finer analysis.

A historian is, by nature, a product of his time and a disciple of the intellectual and material means at his disposal. He can only observe, describe, attempt to explain and wonder at seemingly illogical elements of a society in the past. Any study of the past societies, whatever the subject, economic or demographic, will become a part of historiography. Since, on the one hand, the approaches and methods differ and, on the other, science is never innocent. Whenever a question is asked or a theory elaborated, a motivation drives the author. The original motive is sheer curiosity, curiosity to understand, even if there can seldom be a total understanding or a coherent picture of the community under observation.

Rural societies in Switzerland were phantom figures of a magic shadow show; a mosaic of different communities and organizations. Grandson was one of them. However, the differences in communities should not be overstated. We could have portrayed the villages in the Grandson area differently from what was presented in this study, if they were to be observed from one angle, either demographic or landownership.

Rural economists use demographic data to set the subject of their study, and demographers explain trends with economic factors. However, the purpose of this study has been to observe both domains as closely as possible in the same realm. Therefore, the driving force behind each observation has been the presence - or alternatively the absence- of nominal linkage between each element of a population study and its economic environment. Moreover, the focus of economic issues has been the landowners, a subset of the same population.

The particular linkage between demography and rural economy which could be identified made it possible to go beyond the received concepts of

closed communities and showed a high degree of interdependence between neighbourhoods.

10. 2. FRAIL TREASURES

The parish and land registers, combined with other materials processed for this study, were impressively bulky and heavy. In manual sampling they were consistent and coherent. However, in any historical research, the viability of the data cannot be determined by the number or amount of materials from which it is culled. Neither the number nor even the quality of the documents to hand can guarantee the accomplishment of the study as it was originally outlined.

Fragmentation and inconsistencies only appeared when the research was well under way, at the stage of automatic data processing and nominal data linkage. Parish registers were healthy, that is to say that the number of registrations matched the expectations for the area populated by small communities. The data provided in each registration seemed sufficient for sophisticated methods of analysis such as family reconstitution. Yet nominal records, data files, could not be linked together. When the data are so fragmented, the research is bound to come to a standstill.

Upon reflection, however, one realizes that having very consistent documentation from the past is, unfortunately, mostly a matter of luck. An entire series of fruitful data which can be analyzed with sophisticated methods is a gift from the past, as it were. One must wonder how such a gift survived the centuries intact? Social tranquillity will not suffice as an explanation, for there are thousands of geographical areas, uneventful and prosaic, with towns and villages that lack high quality documentation for comprehensive research. It is far easier to comprehend the existence of poor material; there are far too many reasons for such a situation. Most probable of all, documents were never kept, or kept cryptically so only contemporaries could comprehend. Today, in our households we file thousands of documents for many purposes, sometimes just in case . . . They are cheaply

and easily produced, and will be used any time we have to deal with an anonymous administration, miles away, who appreciates the written word more than the oral claim.

In the 18th century *Suisse-Romande*, documents were expensive items. One would have had to pay some scribe to write and register. However, in this period and because population were small, people were well known to each other; their word would suffice as a reliable promise, reliable enough on which to conduct business. Hence the dearth of documents we long for.

Many geographical areas are void of data that can support quantitative analysis: this being the case should prevailing wisdom continue to prevail and cause us to parallel the course taken by so many, those applying soundly proven research techniques to high-quality data to produce, as a result, a theory, argument and conclusion within neat boundaries?

The fact that data are scarce in an area does not mean that they should be treated as the 'arctic circle' of the research world and left unexplored. Frail documentation, fragmented data, need reflection. They open perspectives of different aspects of life in the past, even if the methods used have to be basic. Dealing with frail and fragmented data is far more complex, and requires more care by the researcher, than structuring impeccable documentation. Furthermore, if the presence of a piece of data is a fact in any debate, its absence is also a fact. Frail and fragmented data can also shed light on the practices of the past.

In chapter two we insisted upon a detailed presentation of both parish and land registers. In doing so we aimed not only at a detailed presentation of registers, but also a description of spirit of archival practice. Despite the use of the archival materials by scholars, in the canton of Vaud, the written and published papers on specific aspects of archives and archiving are hard to come by. A neophyte has to be coached by senior users to grasp elementary knowledge. Moreover, most scholars have omitted to assess the documents on which their studies were based. Jurists in particular, when presenting aspects of customary laws based on notary papers, had often overlooked the

balance of the frequency of documents¹. That is, only two categories of people were very likely to leave documents behind: those with assets needing written statements to avoid dispute, and those tried in court. The individual of modest means, at peace with his family, acquaintances and society, unless exceptionally, would not record most of his activities and oral contracts. Therefore, faced with each piece of documentation, the opportunity and frequency of it have to be questioned. In this fashion, we decided not to include some notarial documents which we believed to present exceptional circumstances. Others, including contracts, acts of trade or exchange of land and testaments were void of necessary details. Problems of homonyms and identification of holdings were impediments when related to registers of parish or land.

10.3. THE MAGIC OF ELECTRONICS

Any empirical study is very much dependent on data collected from archives, but, nowadays, it is also dependent on the methods of data processing. Complex databases and sophisticated computing programmes were necessary to structure data in the midst of chaos. The structure of the relational system designed allowed a maximum flexibility in data analysis and nominal record linkage. Moreover, it became possible to enhance the quantitative with qualitative data. Today's database management systems are *intelligent*. There is more to a DBMS than a book-keeper and list producer. It is a fast tool to answer specific queries on qualified data.

In chapter three, we outlined the database "*Grandson*". However, computer technique is developing rapidly and many hard and softwares that were novelties at the time of research became outdated when drafting this study. Therefore, a detailed presentation is unnecessary. Each study will adopt the technique best suited to the data according to the available material means. Nevertheless, a historical database differs from a business database for which most commercial packages are on the market. The

¹ Refer: Ph. Tanner, (1992) & Ph. Champoud, (1963).

power of such packages has to be used not only in structuring data but also in analyzing the relationship between data items.

10.4. MOBILITY

Mobility is not migration, but it creates the same problems of methodology in historical demography¹. A part of a given population escapes from observation, either altogether or for significant periods of time. Many attempts in nominal data linkage for the Grandson area produced a low rate of links and the method of family reconstitution could not be even applied partially. The reasons lay not only in a total absence of registers of death, but also in a low rate of linkage between registers of baptism and weddings, even if aggregate data pointed a balanced recording of events. In comparison to the studies of Vallorbe², Fleurier³ or Geneva⁴, where full family reconstitution was undertaken, the rates of demographic indicators were plausible. However, families in the Grandson area were erratic and often registered their vital events in several parishes rather than one.

This is where the significance of such frail and fragmented data is fully revealed: data were so fragmented because people resided in one parish, married in another, baptised their children in a third, and owned lands in all. It was through the holes in the continuity of data that the mobility of population could be observed. The unsuccessful attempts to do a family reconstitution could not wholly be blamed on clergy's carelessness in recording vital events. They recorded what was offered to them. Family reconstitution was not a method well adopted to a population which preferred to move frequently within an area beyond their own *communal* and parish borders.

¹ Refer: Fleury & Henry, (1956), (1965) ; Gautier & Henry, (1958).

² Refer. L. Hubler, (1984).

³ Refer: B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992).

⁴ Refer: A. Perrenoud, (1979).

The small size of the villages under study played a role in the population's movement. Anyone wishing to set up a household had to be prepared to look beyond the village limits. Over long periods of time the male/female ratios in each parish were balanced¹, but in short periods, say a decade, the imbalance in the rates forced the generation in question to look for a spouse elsewhere. Every wedding between the individuals of two different origins increased the possibilities of exogenous weddings in the next generations.

Researches carried out in other areas, Fleurier or Vallorbe² in *Suisse-Romande*, Entlebuch³ in *Suisse-Allemande*, have kept to the official definition of the parish which coincided with *commune's* boundaries. The abstract definition of the ecclesiastic boundaries did not seem to inhibit the research. In the Grandson area, however, each parish included some *communes*⁴, small in size which greatly limited the choice of a future spouse. There was no obligation to marry within a parish, so why not choose a spouse from a neighbouring village? The next village was not necessarily in the same parish.

Thus, a well-defined area, a parish for example, useful as it could be as a unit of study, was unsatisfactory for defining the population's movement. Populations were made up of individuals with particular needs, ideas and economic situations. Each of them would have to reach some compromise between external constraints (socio-economic), family habits and personal aspiration and abilities to survive. In doing so, any administrative boundaries became blurred in the observer's eyes, and a multitude of other frames were plausible, none of them, however, having a well-defined physical boundary: they were made of sets and sub-sets of population, each having its own '*raison d'être*', that is, a succession of Venn diagrams.

However, in the early 18th century the populations' movement was almost restricted to a natural parish. It encompassed an area within which

¹ See: section 4.5.

² Refer: L. Hubler, (1984); B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992).

³ Refer: S. Bucher, (1974).

⁴ See: section 2.4.1-3.

the population of any given village was more likely to move. The place of domicile was the centre of a bull's-eye pattern with three outer rings, each ring representing movement successively farther away from the hearth: neighbourhood, region (*bailliage*), and 'abroad or else'. The natural parish was the area covered by the two inner-most rings in which the vital events of one's life took place: the village of domicile and neighbouring *communes*. Observations made from the registers of land confirmed this point. As we showed in sections 6.4.1. and 6.5., holdings of many landowners were scattered. The case of Champagne clearly pointed to the existence of a natural parish¹. If one was a landowner, it was also the area within which most of one's holdings were likely to be located. Further, there is a point related to inheritance laws: since women and men were equally likely to inherit lands, the prevalence of exogenous weddings contributed to owning a scattered holding. Equally a bachelor or a spinster who happened to own lands outside his or her native parish was more likely to meet a partner there. Moreover, the natural parish strained the concept of parochial endogamy. If the degree of endogamy is an indicator of the interdependence of neighbouring villages, then the villages in the Grandson area were highly dependent on each other. Official parish boundaries showed a low level of endogamy, and it was only within the natural parish that a high rate could be found. This observation calls for a cautious use of spatial endogamy since the definition of the area influences the rates. In parishes where only one large *commune* was encompassed, such as Vallorbe², the problem was not so apparent. In the Grandson area, where several small *communes* were inclosed in an official parish, the question could not be overlooked. It explained, to some extent, the fragmentation of data. Many married outside their place of birth, and thus registered the marriage outside their native parish.

We believe that the movement of the population included temporary employment in other areas. The area itself was not sufficiently strong

¹ See also: section 7.2.1.

² Refer: L. Hubler, (1984).

economically to attract labour from elsewhere. However, the proliferation of small ownership suggests that some could have moved to nearby towns to supplement their income. Grandson-town, Yverdon and Neuchâtel were attractive to workers with or without skill. Understandably, these suggestions cannot be documented.

It must be understood that the mobility of population was not migration. It was very much contained within the natural parish, a radius that could be covered by one day's walk. Emigration from the Grandson area was not to capable of measurement. The absence of death registers and the uncertain registration of baptisms and weddings made it impossible to establish the presence or the absence of families or individuals. Land-registers were not more informative. Even if a few landowners were recorded as "*absent du Pays*", it could well have been a temporary absence for trade. On the other hand, some landowners who had settled elsewhere could have come back to the area when their lands were surveyed.

An immigrant was easier to spot. A significant part of the population in the area was made up of immigrants: Swiss-Germans were either high ranking officials of the Berne or Fribourg administration or husbandmen in their service. From *Pays d'Enhaut* came many hard cheese-makers with their families. Often, within the succeeding generation, these families had settled in the area and married locals.

In elaboration of database "*Grandson*", apart from additional information gathered in individual documents, two sets of data with utterly different structures were used: parish and land-registers. Each was a well-defined aspect of the same society, in the same period. In structuring parish registers data sets, previous studies¹ had paved the way and pitfalls were known. The digitalization of land-registers needed a cautious approach. There was no previous experience for guidance. Besides, the data items and their relationship represented a complex structure whereby the final design of the database should have traced each detail of any given landowner, his types of ownership and particulars of each field owned.

¹ Refer: L.Henry, (1968) & Dupaquier & *all.*, (1972).

Each set should have produced a coherent picture of either landownership or population and their combination should have defined a logical link between the two sets. The link proved to be insubstantial. The analysis of digitalized data, at first, seemed to indicate a certain nonchalance by the clergy in the recording of vital events, while the commissioners of the land survey had meticulously recorded every detail. At a later stage, both sets of data revealed an important issue: the movement of population, a movement that was further confirmed by the picture of landownership. The magic of electronics was not only in the power of organizing the data, it was also in the examination of possible links between data items of different sources and the testing of a variety of hypotheses.

10.5. A CONSISTENT DEMOGRAPHY

In handling the parish registers as the main source of data for demographic indicators, we had ambitions that extended beyond the tables and graphs produced from aggregates in chapters four and five. One of them was a comparison of landowners with the population at large, that is, a better understanding of the extent of ownership and landless population. We even hoped to study a possible difference in the demographic indicators of landowners as a subset of population and those of general population. Families in the area being so mobile, we had to be contented with aggregates of nominal records.

Broadly, the demographic characteristics of the population at large were consistent with the 18th century general trend found in other parts of *Suisse-Romande*. With slight differences in rates and ratios, and some nuances, the results could be compared to those of Geneva¹, Fleurier² and Vallorbe³.

¹ Refer: A. Perrenoud, (1979).

² Refer: B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992).

³ Refer: L. Hubler, (1984).

Additional data items provided in some registers of baptisms were the dates of birth. The delay between birth and baptism was less than two weeks in most cases in the early part of the 18th century. Later, it tended to lengthen and thus, it fitted the picture of *Suisse-Romande* (Vallorbe seemed to be a particular case¹), and also England² or Rotterdam³. There were no particular features in any subgroup of the population: twins, parents of different origin or natural children.

Illegitimacy was very low in the Grandson area. It barely reached the rates in *Pays d'Enhaut*⁴, 0.5%. Despite a high rate of prenuptial conceptions, in small communities where people were known to each other, the possibilities of birth out of wedlock were limited. In many areas of *Suisse-Romande*⁵ liberal manners were permitted to prospective spouses who had been promised. The folks of the Grandson area were no puritans in their convictions. Many households had a prematurely conceived first child, but illegitimate children were scarce and those recorded as such had already found a shelter. Of course, more complex situations were also to be observed in which the *bailli* had to intervene and rule on the case⁶.

The seasonality of conceptions, that is, baptisms lagged by nine months, was, without any surprise, comparable to other areas, particularly rural. When fieldwork was intense, from July to November, conceptions dropped. The rate of conceptions slowly picked up in January, remained steady for a while and reached the highest level by May-June.

May, if an auspicious month for conceiving within the wedlock, was not favourable to would-be-couples. The indexed number of weddings per month, except May, reflected the intensity of agricultural work. Between July and October, with harvest and vintage there was not much time left for celebration; from November to April, couples married. This pattern is similar

¹ L. Hubler, (1984), p. 186.

² Wrigley & Schofield, (1981), p.96.

³ Vender Wad & Mentis, (1966), p.1170.

⁴ M. Schoch, (1980), p.27.

⁵ See: section 4.1.

⁶ A. Dupasquier, (1976), p.42.

to that of other areas of *Suisse-Romande*¹. As for the slump of May, popular traditions and shadows of religious habits were the reasons².

In order to squeeze out whatever information the parish registers would provide, we presented also a weekly cycle of weddings. Any day was fine for wedding.

In the rural Grandson, if one married when field-work was slowed or at halt, one was not so choosy in the origin of the spouse. The measure of spatial endogamy will vary according to the size of the unit of study. When a *commune*'s boundaries matched the parish's and when one village or parish was to be studied, the unit of study, the parish, went unquestioned. In closed corporate communities, such as Törbel³ or Vernamiège⁴, anthropological case studies, *par excellence*, the proportion of endogamy was at least three times as high as in Bonvillars. Vallorbe⁵ and Fleurier⁶ were modestly endogamic⁷. In villages of Grandson, the highest rate of endogamy was 48% in the official parish of Concise. In Bonvillars, the attraction of foreigners was irresistible: 79% of all weddings were exogenous. The villages of the Grandson area were therefore nowhere near being closed. Nonetheless, the change from official to natural parish as the unit of study substantially changes the rates of endogamy. Even if in Bonvillars the foreigners did not lose all their attraction (51% of exogamy), St. Maurice reached to 61% of endogamy.

Landownership reflected also patterns of exogamy. Holdings of economic entities, so scattered in many villages, were a reflection of it. The next village was not part of another world. It was in each landowner's realm.

1 See: section 5.2.2.

2 Refer: A. Perrenoud, (1979); L. Hubler, (1984); B. Sorges Miéville, (1992).

3 Refer: R. Netting, (1981).

4 Refer: G. Berthoud, (1967).

5 Refer: L. Hubler, (1984).

6 Refer: B. Sorges Miéville, (1992).

7 See: section 5.2.4.

10.6. SMALL OWNERS AND ECONOMIC ENTITIES

Within the population at large, landowners were well represented. The ultimate owners of their holding, they worked their land and practiced land capitalism, a system familiar to the 19th century's scholars, but one that did not appear plausible within a *féodal* system¹. Each owner could inherit, buy, sell or exchange his fields. The system of land capitalism existed not only within the noble class, but also among commoners, whatever their social status. Being a farmer, an *agriculteur*, was the basic activity of all, if a single piece of property was held. Not only in Grandson area, but also in other parts of *Suisse-Romande*², occupations usually went unrecorded. Nevertheless, the existence of specialized buildings and the results of the survey of population pointed to many activities that were not only essential to the communities but could be practiced part-time. The ownership and the cultivation of fields gave the population the victuals they needed. A skill earned them money³. Plots of land were bits and pieces of a saving account. They were to be saved for a rainy day. The average size of fields, less than a *pose* (3185 m²), and the fixed amount of *censes* conveniently fitted into such a system.

Landowners were not predominantly male, senior and heads of household. Their profile was consistent with that of the general population with young, elderly, female and male members⁴. The inheritance being equally shared between brothers and sisters, each child inherited from his or her parents. The published economic historiography has ignored the morphology of

¹ Establishing the existence of a market for land need not sophisticated methods of investigation: at the archives one may find hundreds of notes, loose papers and documents regarding the trade of pieces of land. However, the volume of such transactions is hard to establish due to the imprecision of documents on the details of the field.

² Refer: L. Hubler, (1984); B. Sorgesa Miéville, (1992).

³ See: section 5.3.1.

⁴ See: section 7.2.

landownership¹. However, the unpublished *mémoires de licence*² have referred to the issue, but have not discussed it.

The commissioners of the last *rénovation* in the Grandson area devoted each *reconnaissance* to the actual owner of the fields listed in any given *commune*. In doing so, the wife, the husband and the children were likely to have different *reconnaissances*. It was imperative to reconstruct holdings scattered in many registers.

Within each family the resources, the fields, were pooled. Inspired by the model of family reconstitution, we coined the concept of economic entity to characterise the scattered holdings of each family from every land-register. We have presented a handful of economic entities in chapter six. The operation was not extended to all landowners. As we have seen, many owned land in the neighbouring villages, and even farther afield. The landowners domiciled in any village in the fringe, say Giez or Corcelles were bound to own lands in the next village for which the land-register of the last *rénovation* was missing from the collection in the cantonal archives. Champagne was fortunate in being in the centre of an area covered by land-registers. However, even this condition did not guarantee that it was possible to cover all the lands in the holding of an economic entity. The case of Claude Tharin³ was a good example. His wife was from Fontanezier, a high altitude village out of the scope of this study. She could have owned land there.

Each economic entity was built of many small plots. Those of Claude, Pierre and Theodore-Nicolas Tharin were made up of 61, 62 and 41 pieces. Petty ownership was the dominant characteristic of the area: each village's territory was divided into a myriad of small land plots. They were tiny bits of a puzzle, with landowners holding a few pieces here and there. He or she would own land where it was available, where it could be afforded. Thus, the picture of landownership also acts as a reflection of mobility. In this

¹ Refer: D. Zumkeller, (1992).

² Refer: Richards & Zamora, (1976); F. Porta, (1980); D. Bron, (1982); and many more.

³ See: section 6.5.1.1.

case, mobility was restricted by the limited capacity for movement imposed by the human physique: the farther flung the plots of land, the more resources were necessary to cultivate them. Holdings in the Grandson area were scattered in so many different villages that one is forced to doubt the possibility of everyone cultivating the fields one owned. There must have been some rational means to overcome this difficulty.

How far was one prepared to walk to work one's holdings? The journeys to and from a distant plot were demanding in energy terms. Thus a landowner may well have been tempted to hire out distant lands and rent some plots closer to home.

Thus, landownership has yet another aspect. Factual (formal) landownership, as outlined in the land-registers, is the picture we have portrayed. However, functional ownership, those lands an individual worked but did not hold a deed on, may well produce a different picture and reflect a more orderly grouping of lands. However, no data existed that would have enabled us to measure the pattern of functional ownership¹. We do not expect functional ownership to have much effect on profitability, since one would have received some kind of reimbursement for the use of one's lands, equivalent to what one would pay out for lands one used.

Each economic entity revealed the poly-cultural aspect of farming, not only in the area at large, but also within each family. Even if, in disagreement with the literature², we doubt that the type of land could match the actual cultivation³, one has to accept the poly-cultural characteristic of the farming. Many landowners owned a number of plots from each type in various proportions. An economic entity, on average, was likely to have all types of land among the owners. Out of ten landowners living in Champagne, seven held elsewhere the type of land they did not possess in Champagne. There appears to have been a deliberate policy of holding all types of land and thus varying the means of production.

¹ See: section 7.6. Historiography has paid no attention to the possibilities of a market for hire.

² Refer: G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949); D. Zumkeller, (1992).

³ See: sections 8.3., 8.6.

Suisse-Romande was a region of small fields¹. As Monsieur de Lapalisse² would have pointed out, the wealthier the economic entity the greater the number of fields owned. However, he would perhaps have also refrained from classifying economic entities by the surface areas owned and thus in measuring their wealth. The mere ownership of a field, of which only its type and surface are known, cannot suffice to estimate the strength or weakness of a particular smallholder. One needs to balance the assets and liabilities of the holding, as well as the market value of land.

The study of landownership is not sufficient to discuss poverty or wealth, that is, the economic strength of small ownership. G.-A. Chevallaz in 1949 built a positive image of family ownership by discarding any holding less than a hectare³. However, many economic entities would have owned less than one hectare. More extended studies are necessary to measure poverty and wealth under the *Ancien Régime*. Here, we have been able to do no more than identify some of the issues involved.

10.7. EQUAL INHERITANCE

The picture of small ownership and tiny plots of land, scattered over miles of territory, was a consequence of an equitable and partible inheritance system. With each successive generation, plots of land were either redistributed, divided, or, occasionally, regrouped.

By looking at small communities, modest in their ambitions, such as those of Grandson, we observe that the population developed practices (conscientiously or haphazardly) which would aid them in dealing with the unpredictability of life and the demographic incidents (marriage, death) and therefore protect the community in which they lived from dislocation. No pattern of landownership existed that would have suggested a policy for the

¹ See: section 8.7. for detailed reference of literature.

² He became famous, quite wrongly, for his trivial observations and overstatements in the line of: "*un quart d'heure avant sa mort, il était encore vivant....*"

³ G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p. 53-ff.

conservation of the family's inheritance. Strategies for perpetuating domestic groups and the preservation of patrimony, as historiography¹ suggests for large societies, are too ambitious for minor communities². In the Grandson area, the bequest was to be equally divided among children. Over the maps (*plans-cadastraux*), much of the area of the village territories consisted of strips of lands of the same size. Brothers, sisters and cousins held adjacent plots, suggesting a common ancestor, the original owner of the larger plot. However, this observation did not stand up under quantitative analysis since many lands were exchanged or traded over the years.

Nonetheless, it could safely be argued that with every new generation, much land had to be divided among heirs. However, it was not possible to divide endlessly a plot of land without effecting its productivity. There was (and is) a limit beyond which a small plot becomes worthless. Some mechanism for preventing a further division of lands and destroying productivity was at work.

To lessen the perverse effects of excessively equitable shares, the inheriting generation sought to improve matters by two means: the choosing of the best suited type of ownership for each piece of land, and the buying out of shares.

The buying out of other heirs was a costly operation. The one who bought out had to have enough money available to pay for other shares. The prime candidates for buying out would be the female members of the family³. The other mechanism, in the absence of cash, was to hold the properties either undivided or in common. How to best exercise ownership over any given plot of land was the outcome of an agreement between family members, in which each member's preferences were blended. As we have shown in section 6.6.1. a bequest was to stay as a *hoirie* immediately after the death of the father (a mother's bequest was rarely called a *hoirie*, even it was

¹ Refer: G. Augustins, (1979), (1982); E. Le Roy Ladurie, (1972); P. Bourdieu, (1972); J. Goody (1976).

² See: section 6.6.

³ This observation has many legal and social implications which goes beyond the scope of this study.

similar in nature). In a later stage, each property was held exclusively¹, undivided² or in common³.

Women were as likely as their brothers to share the bequest. Equal inheritance, however, was the legal frame within which families made their own decisions about coping with the strains of members' wishes and the means of the bequest. Any family could take up options and privileges. As the case of Champagne showed⁴, women equaled men in number but as inheritors were less favoured in the surface area held. Males' dominance, however, does not disprove the notion of an equitable system of inheritance, although the main source of ownership was inheritance. It merely brings to light some other aspects of ownership. In lieu of land, what was owned could have been letters of credit, annuities, and the like.

Within the general picture of landownership women could be distinguished from their male siblings by the ways their shares were to be divided and cared for. As future brides, they were to be provided with a dowry (even modest) which was to be subtracted from their share of the bequest. In addition, with their marriage, another factor, in the form of a husband, must be included in considering properties to be passed down. Thus women's holdings coming from the family would have been left directly to their children, bypassing the husband, and protecting the holdings from outside interference, either from the husband or from his family. In many domains, the law required two male members of a woman's family to act as 'advisors' on many transactions⁵. Here we can see the continued medieval notions of 'clan', where women were to be protected by their 'clan' even from their relatives by marriage. In our opinion, the protection of women, however, had a perverse effect. In many occasions the family preferred to allocate their daughters and sisters a lump sum or any other valuable part of the bequest

¹ See: section 6.5.1.

² See: section 6.5.2.

³ See: section 6.5.3.

⁴ See: section 6.4.

⁵ See: section 6.6.3.

other than land (cattle for example), to prevent further division and an eventual share with related families.

Unfortunately, quantitative analysis is an ineffective tool for investigating this domain: each case is unique and should be examined with the full understanding of a given family's conditions. Anthropologists¹ have observed the system in operation in closed communities of Valais where high rates of endogamy and the importance of corporate membership drastically affected the nature of discussion. However, *Vaudois* economic historians have not been interested in the issue of inheritance. The study of inheritance has stayed in the hand of jurists², where interpretation of law takes precedence over its practical application. In the registers of land we observed much more opportunity for the ownership of land by women than could have been concluded from the mere study of the Customary Laws of Grandson³.

10.8. VILLAGE LAYOUT

In some areas of Switzerland, geographers⁴, interested in the configuration of the space in village layouts, used a model by which a village itself is the centre of a bull's-eye, depicting relative productivity of lands, ranging from highly productive (orchards), to productive (arable) and to less productive (meadow, woodland). Furthermore, the village area was supposed to have three distinct zones of *assolement*⁵. While true and supportable elsewhere, such theories could not be sustained in the Grandson area. Most of the villages here were squeezed between the lake of Neuchâtel and the mountains of Jura: the mere physical constraints of the villages' position between the two preclude the possibility of any such layout. As a result, the territory of the lower-lying villages was a mixture of all types of land with

¹ Refer: G. Berthoud, (1967); R. Netting, (1981).

² Refer: Ph. Tanner, (1992).

³ Ph. Tanner, (1992), p. 425. For a discussion on jurists' point of view, refer to chapter one.

⁴ Refer: G. Nicolas-Obadia, (1974); R. Cuagniez, (1984).

⁵ G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), p.66.

vineyards next to meadows with an average size of fields less than a *pose*. The *pose* of Grandson being 3185m² which is smaller than those already known for the various areas of the forthcoming canton of Vaud¹.

From an extended study of place-names (*lieux-dits*) of fields², three major observations were made. First, they were of no value for economic analysis whatsoever. As Monsieur de Lapalisse would say, they were just names. Only about 0.5% of names could have a significance to the place they represented. In appendix E we have given an interpretative listing of all *lieux-dits* surveyed. Second, the absence of many standard *lieux-dits* indicating the practice of *assolement* was remarkable. Third, the presence of many *Clos de....* demonstrated a long practice of enclosures.

Enclosing one's land prevented other members of the community from using it, either as a right of way or a free grazing space after harvest or in the time of fallow. In the Grandson area the phenomena of *passassion à clos* began in the early 6th century and continued at a slow pace in the following decades. Compared to other areas of the forthcoming canton of Vaud³, or some parishes of Geneva⁴, villages of the Grandson area enjoyed a high rate of enclosures as a proportion of the surface area recorded in the registers of land. Enclosing a plot was not only an economic measure. It had also social implications by reducing the area available to cattle owners to use for free pasture. As we have discussed in section 8.7.4., horizontal studies could only observe the existence and the degree of lands enclosed. Vertical studies, whereby the evolution of the community is investigated over decades, are best suited to answer two basic questions. First, *what* was enclosed, an arable, a meadow, etc.. Second, *why* there were such discrepancies in the rates observed in the canton of Vaud.

According to a theory put forward by G.-A. Chevallaz⁵, enclosures were to be excluded from *assolement*, yearly rotation of crops. In other words, the

¹ See: section 8.8.

² See: section 8.9.

³ Refer: R. Pictet, (1973); A. Radeff, (1979); R. Cuagniez, (1984).

⁴ Refer: D. Zumkeller, (1992).

⁵ G. A. Chevallaz, (1949), p.57-ff., 68-ff.

more lands were enclosed, the less *assolement* was in use within any given village. To him, enclosures were signs of a modern practice of agriculture while *assolement* referred to an outdated and ineffectual routine. In our opinion, the mechanical relationship between enclosures and *assolement* has yet to be proved. Historiography has gone a long way to ascertain its existence in some villages of the canton of Vaud¹.

The evidence of the practice of *assolement* put forward by other studies could not be observed in Grandson. Judging by the silence of the documents, *assolement* seemed to be unheard of in the area. Whatever had come before, by the early 18th century, the agricultural practices of the farmers in the Grandson area were individually set. *Assolement* was a technique adaptable to the environment². To our knowledge, it is one of the most effectual means of intensive agriculture in which nature aided by the cattle's manure avoids the depletion of essential minerals from the soil.

The farmers in Grandson could not have abandoned the practice of *assolement* without having a substitute. We have found no evidence for a replacement method in intensive cultivation. *Assolement* was to be practiced either individually or at the *communal* level. It was the *communal assolement* which has attracted the attention of scholars, evidence of which was to be found in documents, particularly in cadastral maps and the survey of *lieux-dits*. A *communal* practice of *assolement* called for some corporate spirits by the population. Villages in the Grandson area enjoyed a high degree of interdependence between them which, combined with a many types of land, strained the possibilities of *assolement* at *communal* level. However, each economic entity was free to practice *assolement* and organized it to suit its labour and its fields in cultivation.

¹ See: section 8.10.

² Refer: Ch. Pictet de Rochemont, (1801).

10.9. IRRELEVANT TAXES

In inheriting land, one also inherited the *cense* due, in that the *cense* was attached to the plot of land. However, it bore no relation at all to the value. Nonetheless, as one might expect, in any transaction, the *cense* could affect the value of the plot to which it was attached in reverse proportion: the higher the *cense* the less valuable the plot became. This was also an element in considering how to share inheritance.

In picturing landownership, the *cense* was a dead weight and a cumbersome piece of data for which we could not find analytical use, except that its examination shed more light on the fading *féodal* system¹. A system heavily represented in words, but whose practical application showed the emergence of freeholders with modern characteristics.

Land registers were primarily designed to sort out the amount of taxes (*censes*) that the landholder was supposed to pay. By devising different methods, we tested data provided for the *censes* to try to obtain any useful information on the value of lands, an element in dividing bequests. *Censes* were the result of decades (if not centuries) of compromises for adjusting the dues between the necessities of the seigneur of the area and the holder of each field. Two centuries later, there was not much economic information to gain from their analysis.

The issue of tithes was not within the scope of this study. However, we touched upon the idea that tithes could have been an issue for investigating the production of lands and thus useful in evaluating the land. In contrast to the studies that consider the regional income², we tended toward a top-down approach, that is, for estimating the production of economic entities, if data permitted, and not the yield of crops in the regional economy³. Tithes, however, in the Grandson area were not a reflection of local production for three major reasons. First, accounts reflected the

¹ See: section 9.2.

² Refer: G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949) & E. Le Roy Ladurie, (1966).

³ See: section 9.3.

amount of cereals paid by the bidders to Berne and Fribourg administrators to allow the collecting of tithes. There is no real indication of how close these figures were to the real production. Second, Berne and Fribourg were not the sole owners of tithe areas (*dîmeries*). Many other *seigneurs* or commoners also owned some rights to collect tithes for their own benefit and they paid a cense to Berne and Fribourg for them. We seldom have their accounts. Third, tithe areas (*dîmeries*) were obscure in size. There was not much evidence as the extent of the area they covered. If and only if these objections are overcome might a study of tithes in the Grandson area be worth considering. The local production of cereals, wine and many other victuals is best left to vertical studies in which trends can be commented upon.

10.10. DISCLOSED COMMUNITIES

Middle-class Swiss notions of agriculture, landownership and population are associated with images of families surviving for centuries in the same *commune* with a high degree of self-sufficiency. Politicians, journalists and some scholars have entertained such a romantic picture. Moreover, in societies where conservatism is second nature to their populations, there is a discrepancy between realities of everyday life as it was (or it is) and the realms of the past in which hardship is banned and stereotyped coziness enhances mental pictures.

The freedom to own land of all types had propagated in today's Swiss sub-consciousness¹ the myth of the self-sufficient, rural family structure in past times (a legend with its own dynamism²). Self-sufficiency is a very ambiguous term that could be defined in many ways: a man employed in a factory and living on his wages is 'dependent' and the best example of the negation of self-sufficiency. However, a family living on the production of

¹ Refer: G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949), and debates in the papers over the value of agriculture in today's economy.

² The myth of happy, simple and self-contained historical rural society could be seen in stories such as *Heidi*, a popular fiction in Switzerland.

the land they laboured, even with no visible external dependance, could not be stamped *self-sufficient*¹. Self-sufficiency can only be related to need, and even then need cannot be defined in broad terms.

Lacking studies on the structure of landownership, many follow the path traced by G.-A. Chevallaz² and conceive historical family life as one in which craftsmanship and industries³ were almost nonexistent.

Many works by P.-L. Pelet⁴ and his team of researchers have brought to the light many '*entrepreneurs*', a mobile population by the nature of their trade; blacksmiths, millers or glass-workers recorded for posterity as '*agriculteurs*' and landowners. Therefore, the concept of a self-contained family structure in an immobile past society, where the centre of activities was limited to the local church, cannot be sustained.

Although the lack of quantitative data to back up our hypothesis is an impediment, we are confident that the population in the villages we studied were not able to be completely self-sufficient, for a variety of reasons.

Of course, there were members who needed to hire, for example a cheese-maker, but these people were affluent, and relied on sources of income other than the lands in their possession: high ranking officials in the administration or traders with strong links to urban populations (Yverdon, Geneva, Berne). Others, less affluent, had to eke a modest living from their sundry plots of land: a son out of the county would leave his lands in the care of others, a daughter marrying elsewhere would ease the burden. Here, we come to the critical point of each landownership analysis: how much was it possible to earn through farming alone and how much was needed in addition to cover the basic needs?

As a matter of course, there is no reply to such questions. We are in an area of economy for which there is no certainty, since, even if one overcomes the problem of obtaining data, many variables remain highly

¹ See: section 6.1.

² Refer: G.-A. Chevallaz, (1949).

³ Not a high-chimney factories. Simple work-shops with a couple of apprentices.

⁴ See: bibliography.

subjective! A few hectolitres of bread-cereals, a small garden producing seasonal food, a couple of fruit-trees, a goat or a cow and some chickens would be sufficient to prevent a family from starvation. However, there were other needs, those that may be called capital investment, such as tools and seed that needed to be covered by an income. Would the goods produced on such tiny plots of land be enough to cover the expenses of capital-investment, taxes, and still leave a few pennies for clothing and education?

Quantitatively it is impossible to answer such a question: suitable data are not to be found. Besides, the needs of each household and the means of satisfying them, highly subjective ingredients, vary radically even in modern societies suffocating in waves of data and information of all kinds, let alone in the 18th century's communities. In our opinion, on average, while landownership would undoubtedly prevent the family from starvation, it would not bring an income sufficient to cover essential purchases. A part-time job at the time of low activity in the fields was necessary to prevent the household from falling into abject poverty. Obviously, there were no industrial activities like those we have come to expect from the Industrial Revolution, i.e., factories with chimneys¹. However, industrial activity existed on a small scale and went unnoticed for many years by historians: blacksmiths, glassblowers, mill-workers and many other craftsmen who appear as trivia in a large-scale national or regional economy but nonetheless could produce an extra wage for the occasional workers, who were also part-time farmers². The multitude of useful activities in these rural *communes* showed that the basic needs of the community were covered. These activities would sustain a small market with small profits for those practicing them.

Such an economy was in essence very modest but not fragile and it was also dependent on the larger societies surrounding them. Basically, it produced means of survival not wealth. A multitude of minuscule benefits,

¹ See: section 1.6. & 5.3.1.

² P.-L. Pelet, (1985), p. 162, claims that farming was not a profession in the Ancien Régime. (*l'agriculture n'est pas un métier!*).

none with notable economical consequence, reliably filled the plate and left a few pennies in the purse. This is the critical factor in determining the strength of such a rural economy: a strong interdependence between neighbouring areas and craftsmen/landowners with their manifold aspects. If there is a mishap in one quarter, the damage could be contained.

Often the reading of materials on the organization of *rural* villages frames them in a halo of closed community¹, a sort of island to which few came and from which few left. Many of these studies were restricted to a single village and the presentation of facts emphasizes this perceived isolation². Working with only one village is bound to project only one fact; but reality is made up of several facts and has many facets that often, even with the help of statistics, one cannot portray comprehensively.

However, the study of eight neighbouring villages brought into perspective the ties that existed between them. The relationship between villages in terms of population's movements and landownership made it possible to observe the interdependence of villages.

We believe that the villages of the plain area of Grandson were samples of average villages that one might find throughout the canton of Vaud: prosaic, poly-agricultural with some craftsmanship/industry.

A monograph is achieved through empirical research and suffers from it: trees obscuring the forest at every step. Further, keeping in focus a small population is like putting a leaf under a microscope, in the hope of learning something about the entire forest. The smaller the unit of study, the more individual practices are varied. They obey family, village and regional customs.

Many fields of social sciences are of value to studies of the rural economy and any researcher confronted with data could make use of many suitable methods for his or her analysis. Very often, a monograph is built out of a patchwork of subjects: taxes, surface areas, types of land. The variation in methodology provides too much room for imagination not sufficiently

¹ Refer: R. Netting, (1981).

² See: section 7.1.

disciplined by information. Usually, the information and hypotheses contained in a series of monographs should be taken as indications of the various speeds of the evolution of the same phenomenon. Economic history in the canton of Vaud had different speeds and many faces.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

LOCATIONS CITED IN THE REGISTERS

Produced herein are the names of the hamlets, communes, towns and cantons quoted as the origin of the individuals from parish and land registers. Generally, the French-speaking pastors had difficulties spelling in French in addition to basic unfamiliarity with German. Very often, German names of places was recorded in phonetically with superb imagination. We recorded the place as given in the registers (the spelling is an enhanced and modern version). Some of these are marked "?", denoting illegibility in the registers and consequent uncertainties. A three capital-letter denotes the codes we used in the RDBMS. A few inconsistencies are the results of confusion in the 18th century records. A capital letter identifies the canton (two-letter) or the country (today's official signs):

Aarberg, AAG, BE
 Adliswil, d. Horgen, ATW, ZH
 Allemagne, ALL, (Suisse-allemand?)
 Alsace, ASZ, F
 Anet, Ins, ANE, BE
 Arissoules, ARS, VD
 Aubonne, AUB, VD
 Avenches, AVC, VD

Baden, BAD, AG
 Bâle, BAL, BS
 Ballaigues, BAG, VD
 Baulmes ?, BEA, VD?
 Belamon (Montbeliard), BLM, F
 Belmont-sur-Yverdon, BET, VD
 Berne, BRN, BE
 Bernex, BNT, GE
 Bevaix, BAS, NE

Bex, BEX, VD
 Bienne, BNN, BE
 Blonay, BLY, VD
 Bôle, BOL, NE
 Bonvillars, BNV, VD
 Bordeaux, BDX, F
 Bottens, BOT, VD
 Boudry, BDR, NE
 Boveresse, BSS, NE
 Brandis (Brienz?), BRX, BE
 Brevine, BRV, NE
 Brot, BRT, NE
 Bullet, BUT, VD
 Burgdorf, BTH, BE
 Bursins, BUS, VD
 Buttes, BTE, NE
 Chamblon, CBL, VD

Champagne, CMP, VD
 Champvent, CHV, VD
 Channau?, Bl. Frauenthal, CHN, LU?
 Château-d'Oex, CEX, VD
 Chaux-du-Milieu, CMX, NE
 Chavannes-le-Chêne, CVY, VD
 Chavornay, CAY, VD
 Chiètres (kerzers), CTR, FR
 Coffrane, CFF, NE
 Colombier, CLM, NE?
 Combremont-le-Grand, CBR, VD
 Concise, RSS, VD
 Concise, CNS, VD
 Constantine, CST, VD
 Coppet, COP, VD
 Corcelettes, CLT, VD
 Corcelles s/ Chavornay, COR, VD
 Corcelles-près-Concise, CRL, VD
 Cortaillod, CTD, NE
 Couvet, CVT, NE
 Croix-en-Dauphiné, DPH, F
 Cronay, CRY, VD
 Cuarny, CAN, VD
 Cully, CLY, VD

Démoret, DMR, VD
 Diessbach, DIY, BE
 Diesse, DIE, BE
 Dombresson, DSS, NE
 Dürrenroth, Trachselwald, SUR, BE

Echallens, ELL, VD
 Ecublens, ECU, VD?
 Eggenwil?, EQU, AG?
 Emmenthal, EMM, BE
 Engollon, AGL, NE
 Ependes, EPD, VD
 Ersingen, HER, BE
 Essert, EST, VD
 Essertines, ERT, VD
 Estavayer, ESY, FR
 Etoy, ETY, VD

Farvagny, FGY, FR
 Fey, FEY, VD
 Fiez, FIE, VD
 Fiez-Pittet, c. Grandson, FPT, VD

Fleurier, FLR, NE
 Fontaines, FNT, VD
 Fontaines (Franche-comté), FBG, F
 Fontanezier, FTZ, VD
 Forel, FOR, VD
 France, FRN, F
 Frasses, FRS, FR
 Fresens, FEN, NE
 Fressière en Dauphiné, FRD, F
 Fribourg, FRG, FR
 Froideville, FVL, VD
 Frütigen, FRT, BE

Genève, GEE, GE
 Gessenay, GSS, BE
 Gevaudan ?, GVD, F
 Giez, GIZ, VD
 Glaris, GLS, GL
 Gollion, GLN, VD
 Gomerkinden ?, GKN, BE
 Gorgier, GRG, NE
 Grandcour, GCT, VD
 Grandevent, GNV, VD
 Grandson, ville, GRD, VD
 Grandson-town's hamlets, HAM, VD
 Grenoble, GBL, F
 Gressy, GRY, VD
 Grosshöschtssetten, GRH, BE
 Guggisberg, GUG, BE

Hauterive, HTV, NE
 Hautmont, HAT, F
 Hoechstetten ?, HEU, BE
 Honau ?, ANA, LU?

Jongny, POI, VD

Kirchberg, KIK, BE
 Köniz, KNZ, BE
 Koualy ?, KLY, ?
 La Brévine, LBR, NE
 Langnau, LAG, BE
 Lausanne, LAU, VD
 Les Biolles, c. Concise, BLL, VD
 Les Charbonnières, CHB, VD
 Les Clées, CLE, VD
 Lignerolle, LVL, VD

Linières, LNR, NE
 Locle, le, LOC, NE
 Lonay, LNY, VD
 Longeville, LGV, F
 Lucens, LUC, VD
 Lutry, LUT, VD
 Lyon, LIO, F

Marnand, MRN, VD
 Mathod, MTT, VD
 Mauborget, MBG, VD
 Mauggettaz, MGT, VD
 Menziken, MZG, BE
 Mex, MEX, VD
 Mézières, MSR, VD?
 Mollondin, MLD, VD
 Mont, le ?, MNT, VD
 Montagny, MNY, VD
 Montalchez, MLZ, NE
 Montbéliard, MBT, F
 Morat, Murten, MRT, FR
 Morges, MGE, VD
 Môtiers-Travers, MTV, NE
 Moudon, MDN, VD
 Moulin-perroset, MLP, VD
 Münsingen, MSG, BE
 Muntelier, Montilier, MUT, FR
 Mutrux, MTX, VD

Nancy, NFR, F
 Neuchâtel, NEU, NE
 Nidau, NDO, BE
 Niederbipp, NPP, BE
 Nîmes, NIM, F
 Nods, NOD, BE
 Noiraigue, NGN, NE
 Novalles, NVL, VD
 Nyon, NYO, VD
 Nyon, baillage, NDX, VD

Onnens, ONS, VD
 Orange, ORA, F
 Orbe, ORB, VD
 Orges, OGE, VD
 Orpierre ?, ORP, F
 Pampigny, PGY, VD

Payerne, PAY, VD
 Pays-d'Enhaut, PET, VD
 Peney, PRN, VD
 Peney-le-Jorat ?, PEN, VD
 Penthéreaz, PAZ, VD
 Peseux, PSE, NE
 Piccardi, PIC, F
 Pommy, PMY, VD
 Ponts-de-Martel, PML, NE
 Provence, PVC, VD

Rances, RAN, VD
 Reichenbach, RCH, BE
 Rieden, (Baden), RDN, AG?
 Rivaz, RVZ, VD
 Rive, la, LRV, VD
 Rochefort, ROT, NE
 Rolle, ROL, VD
 Romainmôtier, RMR, VD
 Romairon, ROM, VD
 Romont, RMT, FR
 Rossinière, Pays d'Enhaut, RGN, VD
 Rötenbach, c. Henk , RTT, BE
 Rougemont, RGM, VD
 Rovray, RVY, VD
 Rüegsau près Hasle, RUX, BE

Sackingen ?, FKK, ?
 Sagne, La, SGN, NE
 Salles, SLL, F
 Salzburg, SLZ, AUT
 Sasse ? (lieu-dit?), CHZ, ?
 Sauge / St. Aubin, SAU, NE
 Schwanden ?, SWA, BE
 Schwarzenburg, SWG, BE
 Seedorf, Bl. Frienisberg, TZF, BE
 Seedorf, d. Aarberg, SEG, BE
 Signau, SIG, BE
 Simmenthal, SAL, BE
 Solothurn ?, RLT, SO?
 St. Aubin, SAB, NE
 St. Martin, MTN, NE
 St. Saphorin, (pr. Morges), SPH, VD
 St. Sulpice, SCE, NE?
 St. Valerien, SVL, F
 Ste. Croix, STX, VD
 Strasbourg , SBG, F

Suscévoz, SUC, VD

Tafers, Tavel, TAF, FR

Thoune, THU, BE

Tour-de-Peilz, TPZ, VD

Trachselwald, TRX, BE

Travers, TRV, NE

Treycovagnes, FRY, VD

Ursins, URS, VD

Val-de-Travers, VAT, NE

Valangin, VAG, NE

Valence en Dauphiné, VDP, F

Valeyres, VAL, VD

Valeyres-sous-Rances, VLR, VD

Valeyres s/Montagny, VSM, VD

Vallorbe, VLB, VD

Vaugondry, VGD, VD

Vaulion, VIO, VD

Vaumarcus, VXM, NE

Verneaz, c. Vaumarcus, VAZ, NE

Verrières, Les, VRS, NE

Vevey, VVY, VD

Villars s/ Champvent, VSC, VD

Villars-Burquin, VLQ, VD

Voëns, VLL, NE

Vugelles-la-Mothe, VGT, VD

Vuillerens, VLS, VD

Vuiteboeuf, VTF, VD

Walkeren ?, VLK, NL

Wil ?, WLL, ZH?

CANTONS IN SWITZERLAND

AG, Argovie

AI, Appenzell-Rhodes Interieurs

AR, Appenzell-Rhodes Extérieurs

BE, Berne

BL, Bâle-Campagne

BS, Bâle-Ville

FR, Fribourg

GE, Genève

GL, Glaris

GR, Grisons

JU, Jura

LU, Lucerne

NE, Neuchâtel

NW, Niedwald

OW, Obwald

SG, Saint-Galle

SH, Shaffouse

SO, Soleur

SZ, Schwize

TG, Turgovie

TI, Tessin

UR, Uri

VD, Vaud

VS, Valais

ZG, Zoug

ZH, Zürich

Appendix B

TYPES OF PLOT

Numbers refer to the occurrence of plot types as defined in the land-registers.

1	Aisance	1	Four, poêle, cuisine
1	Bâtiment, jardin, clos	1	Galetas
64	Bois	6	Grange, appartenances
4	Bois de chêne	28	Grange, étable, aisances
2	Bois de verne	3	Grange, étable, appartenances
2	Bois, buissons	2	Grange, étable, cave
2	Bois, pré	1	Grange, étable, cave, bouaton
1	Bois, râpe	1	Grange, étable, cave, grenier, rebatte
1	Bouaton, courtine, clos	1	Grange, étable, caves, aisances
2	Bouatons	1	Grange, étable, certour, appartenances, jardin
1	Broussailles	4	Grange, étable, clos, appartenances
10	Buissons	1	Grange, étable, clos, chenevière
3	Cave	1	Grange, étable, couvert, place, jardin, appartenances
1	Cave, bouaton	1	Grange, étable, pressoir, appartenances
1	Cave, jardin	1	Grange, étable, pressoir, clos, place, jardin
2	Cave, pressoir	1	Grange, étable, tuileries, appartenances
5	Chambre	2	Grange, étables (2), appartenances, clos
1	Château, maison seigneuriale, jardin, verger, clos, vigne	1	Grange, étables, courtine, place et aisances
173	Chenevière	2	Grange, étables, jardin
2	Chenevière, buissons	1	Granges (2), étables (2), maison, clos
2	Chenevière, chentre	1	Grenier, loge, clos
7	Chenevière, clos	1	Herbe
1	Chenevière, pré	3	Issue
7	Chentre	126	Jardin
1	Chentre, vigne	1	Jardin, bouaton
2	Chesal, clos	5	Jardin, chenevière
729	Clos	1	Jardin, chenevière, clos
1	Clos, broussailles	1	Jardin, chenevière, terre
2	Clos, buissons	12	Jardin, clos
1	Clos, cave, pressoir, grenier	3	Jardin, clos, cave
12	Clos, chenevier	1	Jardin, mesure
8	Clos, chenevier, vigne	7	Jardin, place
8	Clos, jardin	1	Loge, clos, jardin
2	Clos, jardin, chenevière	43	Maison
1	Clos, jardin, maison	2	Maison (une partie de l'étage dessus consistant en poêle, chambre, cuisine, cave et leur part d'aisance)
3	Clos, pré	1	Maison, cave, pressoir
2	Clos, pressoir	1	Maison, chenevière
1	Clos, terre, pré	4	Maison, clos, jardin, aisances
1	Cours d'eau, clos	3	Maison, cours, appartenances
3	Couvert	1	Maison, curtil, clos
1	Cuisine, chambre, jardin	2	Maison, étable, jardin, appartenances
2	Dîme	6	Maison, étables, granges, bouatons, cour, jardin, clos
2	Droit sur le cours d'eau	3	Maison, forge, jardin, aisances
3	Etable	1	Maison, forge, place
1	Etable, jardin	2	Maison, four
4	Etage d'une maison	1	Maison, four du village
2	Forge	2	Maison, four, aisances, 1 scie, 1 battoir, cours d'eau, émolument, appartenances, jardin, clos, buissons
1	Forge, jardin	6	Maison, grange, appartenances
1	Forge, martinet, scie, le droit de construire une meule (à aiguiser)	1	Maison, grange, cour, place, appartenances, clos, pré
3	Four		
1	Four à tuiles		
1	Four, bénéfice, droits en dépendant		
1	Four, clos		
1	Four, jardin		

6	Maison, grange, étable, aisances, clos	1	Maison, grange, forge, jardin, place, droit de construire un battoir
1	Maison, grange, étable, aisances, vigne, chentre	6	Maison, grange, jardin, appartenances
46	Maison, grange, étable, appartenances	1	Maison, grange, pressoir, cour, place, clos
1	Maison, grange, étable, appartenances, clos, vigne, chenevière	1	Maison, granges, étables, aisances, jardin, clos
1	Maison, grange, étable, bouaton, 1/2 cave, appartenances	2	Maison, granges, étables, cours, appartenances, jardin, verger
1	Maison, grange, étable, bouaton, aisance, jardin, clos	30	Maison, jardin, appartenances
1	Maison, grange, étable, bouaton, appartenances	1	Maison, jardin, bouaton, aisances
2	Maison, grange, étable, bouatons, place	1	Maison, jardin, chenevière
2	Maison, grange, étable, cave, aisances	6	Maison, jardin, clos
1	Maison, grange, étable, cave, bouaton	3	Maison, jardin, pressoir, appartenances
1	Maison, grange, étable, chenevière-a-clos	1	Maison, loge
6	Maison, grange, étable, clos, place	10	Maison, place, aisances
1	Maison, grange, étable, cours, appartenances	2	Maison, terre, pré
1	Maison, grange, étable, couvert, place, aisances	1	Maison, tuileries, jardin, appartenances
1	Maison, grange, étable, forge, jardin	4	Maisons (2), grange, étable, place, jardin, appartenances, clos
2	Maison, grange, étable, four, jardin, clos, appartenances	3	Maisons (2), grange, étables, cours, jardin, appartenances
1	Maison, grange, étable, grenier, appartenances, jardin	1	Maisons (2), granges (2), étables, appartenances, jardin, clos
36	Maison, grange, étable, jardin	2	Maisons (2), granges, étables, four, pressoir, jardin, clos
1	Maison, grange, étable, jardin, buissons, appartenances, un moulin, le cours d'eau, émolument, appartenances et dépendances	1	Maisons, jardins, chenevières, clos, prés, terres, bois, planche
1	Maison, grange, étable, jardin, chenevière	3	Masure
17	Maison, grange, étable, jardin, clos	2	Masure, jardin
1	Maison, grange, étable, jardin, pré, appartenances	2	Masure, jardin, clos, appartenances
1	Maison, grange, étable, jardin, pressoir, aisances	1	Montagne
1	Maison, grange, étable, place, chenevière	3	Moulin, cours d'eau, émolument, appartenances et clos
1	Maison, grange, étable, place, clos	1	Moulin, cours d'eau, émoluments, appartenances
1	Maison, grange, étable, place, jardins, aisances, clos, terre, vigne	1	Moulins (2), battoir, scie avec cour d'eau et droits, appartenances, jardin, chenevière, pré, buissons
1	Maison, grange, étable, pré, terre, vigne (tout à clos)	1	Neveau, grange, appartenances
1	Maison, grange, étable, pressoir, appartenances	1	Neveau, place
1	Maison, grange, étable, pressoir, appartenances, jardin, chenevière	9	Pasquier
1	Maison, grange, étable, pressoir, bouaton, place	3	Pasquier en marais
1	Maison, grange, étable, pressoir, cave, couvert, jardin, clos	2	Pasquier, buissons
1	Maison, grange, étable, ruelle, place, pressoir, jardin, clos	15	Place
2	Maison, grange, étable, terre	1	Place, droit de construire un moulin et une papeterie sur le ruisseau d'Orjux, droit d'exiger les profits, éminages, émoluements et autre
2	Maison, grange, étables (2), jardin, appartenances	1	Place, ruisseau, chemin public
1	Maison, grange, étables, bouaton, nouveau, jardin, clos	80	Planche
1	Maison, grange, étables, caves, pressoir, appartenances, un bâtiment, jardin, chenevière, clos	2	Planche, bois
1	Maison, grange, étables, cours, jardin	7	Planche, buissons
2	Maison, grange, étables, couvert, four, jardin, aisances	1	Planche, chenevière
1	Maison, grange, étables, four, aisances	1	Planche, terre
1	Maison, grange, étables, jardin, vigne, clos	1	Poêle, cuisine
1	Maison, grange, étables, loge, aisances, clos	1343	Pré
2	Maison, grange, étables, loge, appartenances	13	Pré, bois
1	Maison, grange, étables, pressoir, rebatte, four, aisances, clos, vigne	21	Pré, buissons
		8	Pré, chenevière
		4	Pré, jardin
		1	Pré, marais, terre
		1	Pré, pasquier
		2	Pré, planche
		8	Pré, terre
		6	Pressoir
		2	Pressoir, place
		3	Râpe
		1	Râpe, buissons
		2	Râpe, chenevière
		1	Rebatte, aisances, pressoir

1	Ruelle ou passage	1	Tuilerie, jardin
1	Soley	1	Tuileries
1	Source d'eau	1	Verger
4016	Terre	1301	Vigne
7	Terre à clos	24	Vigne, bois
6	Terre, bois	15	Vigne, buissons
1	Terre, bois, gravier	1	Vigne, chenevière, chentre
24	Terre, buissons	2	Vigne, chenevière, terre, chentre
11	Terre, chenevière	211	Vigne, chentre
2	Terre, chenevière, clos	1	Vigne, chentre, bois
21	Terre, chentre	4	Vigne, chentre, buissons
1	Terre, chentre, buissons	1	Vigne, chentre, clos
3	Terre, clos	1	Vigne, chentre, jardin
1	Terre, jardin, chenevière	16	Vigne, clos
3	Terre, maison	1	Vigne, clos, râpe
1	Terre, maisons (2)	1	Vigne, clos, terre
2	Terre, maisons (2), pré, pasquier	2	Vigne, jardin
1	Terre, oche	16	Vigne, planche
1	Terre, pasquier	1	Vigne, planche à clos
1	Terre, pasquier, buissons	6	Vigne, pré
17	Terre, planche	1	Vigne, pré, buissons
3	Terre, planche, buissons	1	Vigne, pré, terre
57	Terre, pré	13	Vigne, terre
2	Terre, pré, chenevière	1	Vigne, terre, buissons
1	Terre, pré, pasquier, maison	2	Vigne ruinée
1	Terre, pré, pasquier, maison, grange, étable, jardin, appartenances		
1	Terre, pré, râpe		
9	Terre, vigne		

Appendix C

SURNAMES

The following lists the origin of surnames. By origin, we mean the local with which a surname is associated. They are extracted from all parish and land registers we processed. A few points should be made:

- 1) The pastors sometimes did not distinguish very clearly between the villages within a parish and the parish itself.
- 2) Remote origins to Grandson were recorded grossly, i.e. the canton or the bailliage were considered sufficient. Whether it was the pastor or the individuals who omitted additional information is an open question.
- 3) The spelling of many surnames may not be to the taste of 20th century bearers. Most surnames, specially those uncommon in the bailliage of Grandson were often phonetically recorded; the distinction between P and B (or V and F) were rarely made. Some Germanic surnames were 'translated' after a few recordings. 'Loew' became 'Lion' and 'Kupfer' sometimes (not always!), is 'Barrillier'.
- 4) Most wives and noblemen had their origin badly recorded and for far different reasons. Noblemen were supposed to be 'known' to everyone in the parish during their time. Therefore it was unnecessary to record their name properly. Wives were the spouses of their husbands and known as such¹.

ADOR, Vuiteboeuf
 AGRAND, Mutrux
 AGUET, Lutry
 ALISSON, Mutrux, Provence
 ALTHAUS, Champagne
 AME, Vallorbe
 AMIET, Grandson-town, Novalles
 AMMAN, Fribourg
 ANCEL, Yverdon, Fontaines, Simmenthal
 ANCELET, Fontaines
 ANDRÉ, Novalles
 APOTHELOZ, Concise, Corcelles-près-Concise, Onnens
 ASSELI, Ballaigues
 AUBERJONNOIS, Yverdon

 BACHMANN, Berne
 BAILLY, Rochefort
 BANDERET, Champagne, Corcelettes, Corcelles-près-concise, Couvet, Mutrux, Provence
 BARBESAT, Verrieres
 BARBEY, Boudry, Cortaillod, Novalles
 BARBIER, Boudry
 BARIDON, Champagne, Corcelles-près-concise, Croix-en-dauphine, Fressiere en Dauphine
 BRILLIER, Anet/Ins, Bonvillars, Mutrux
 BARRELET, Boveresse, Val-de-Travers
 BART, Gorgier
 BAUME, Croix-en-Dauphine
 BAUMER, Reichenbach
 BAUSSAN, Bonvillars, Onnens
 BEAUSIRE, Grandson-town

BECHAIZ, Cuarny
 BECHERAT, ?
 BEGUIN, Rochefort
 BEL, Payerne
 BELLE-FRÈRE, Rougemont
 BELOT, Romairon
 BENOIT, Sauge/St-Aubin
 BERGERET, Concise
 BERGIER, Lausanne
 BERNARD, Bex
 BERTHIEZ, Grandson
 BERTHOLET, Onnens
 BERTHOUD, Couvet, Fleurier
 BESANCON, Gorgier
 BESSON, Engollon, Valangin, Verrieres
 BETEZ, Combremont-le-Grand
 BETRIX, Concise
 BIENTZ, Menziken, Corcelles s/ Chavornay
 BILLAT, France
 BILLIER, Essertines, Concise
 BILLON, Essertines
 BINET, Genève
 BIOLAY, Grandson-town
 BLANC, Provence, Travers
 BLASEMAN, Eggenwil (?)
 BLASER, bail.Trachselwald, Honau (?)
 BOCCARDIER, Corcelles-près-Concise
 BOCHET, Vuiteboeuf
 BOIT, Motiers-Travers
 BOITEUX, Travers
 BOLLE, Vaumarcus, Verrieres
 BOLLENS, Corcelles-près-Concise, Provence, Verrieres

¹ For more information on some of these surname, refer to Delevant H. & Henrioud M. (1979).

BOLLINET, Corcelles-près-Concise, Mutrux
 BONARD, Romainmotier
 BONHOTE, Neuchâtel
 BONNET, Bullet
 BONTEMS, Onnens
 BORNAND, Ste-Croix
 BORNOZ, Champagne, Lutry, Vaugondry
 BORREL, Couvet
 BOSSET, Champagne
 BOTMER, Lutry
 BOUDRY, Concise
 BOUILLET, Mutrux
 BOUILLON, Motiers-Travers, Neuchâtel
 BOUILLON, France
 BOULANGER, Chiâtre (Kerzers), Morat (Murten),
 St.Valerien
 BOULAZ, Fontaines, Orbe
 BOURGEOIS, Bonvillars, Champagne, Giez,
 Grandson-town, Yverdon
 BOURINEAUD, Lignerolle
 BOURQUIN, Coffrane, Gorgier, Mutrux,
 Sauge/St.Aubin
 BOURSET, France
 BOVEY, Rougemont
 BRAILLARD, Gorgier
 BRAND, Longeville
 BRAND, Valangin
 BRECHBULL, Gessenay
 BRINTZOZ, Valangin
 BRIOL, Chateau-d'Oex
 BRON, Orges, Vugelle-la-Mothe
 BRONNISE, Orbe
 BUISSON, Vugelle-la-Mothe
 BULLET, Vuiteboeuf
 BURDET, Le Mont (?), Vuiteboeuf
 BUSSET, Valangin

 CALAME, Chaux-du-Milieu, Grandson-town
 CATBELIN, Vaugondry
 CHABLOZ, Bonvillars, Vaugondry
 CHAFFROT, Ruegsau-près-Hasle
 CHAMPOUX, Bullet
 CHAPEL, Estavayer
 CHANSSON, Yverdon
 CHARLES, Valangin
 CHARLET, Verrieres
 CHAROTTON, Novalles
 CHARRIÈRE, Mex
 CHATELAIN, Diesse, Nods
 CHAVAN, Lutry
 CHENAUD, Corcelles-près-Concise, Frutigen,
 Kirchberg
 CHENEY, Linieres
 CHENTAU, Corcelles?
 CHERBULLIEZ, Novalles
 CHEVALIER, Orbe, Rivaz, St.Saphorin, Morges,
 Vaumarcus
 CHEVALLEY, Ependes, Gessenay, Rivaz
 CHION, Croix-en-Dauphine
 CHRISTIN, Cuarny, Valeyres, Vaumarcus, Yverdon
 CHUAT, Giez
 CLEMENT, Orpierre, Vugelles-la-Mothe(?)
 CLERC, Concise, Fleurier, Motiers-Travers
 COCHAND, Champagne, Novalles, Romairon,
 Villars-Burquin
 COLLOMB, Provence, Sauge/St.Aubin, Verrieres
 COMBE, Orbe
 COMPADOU, Giez

COMTE, Gressy
 COMPESSE, Ponts-de-Martel, La Sagne,
 Sauge/St.Aubin
 CONCLER, Berne
 CONRARD, Champagne, Motiers-Travers
 CORDEY, Lutry
 CORLET, Verrieres
 CORNU, Chamblon, Gorgier, Mutrux
 CORREVONT, Cuarny
 CORSAN, Romairon
 COSENDEY, Gessenay, Lutry
 COTTIER, Rougemont
 COULIN, Concise
 COURT, Corcelles-près-Concise
 COURVOISIER, Le Locle
 COURVOISIER-CLEMENT, Le Locle
 COUSIN, Concise, Corcelles-près-Concise,
 Vaumarcus
 CRETIN, Vaumarcus
 CRETINIER, Mutrux, Vaumarcus
 CRIBLET, Grandson-town
 CRUCHAUD, Fontaines
 CRUCHET, Essert
 CUAGNIEZ, Corcelles-près-Concise, Yvonnand
 CUCHE, Yverdon
 CUENDOZ, Grandson-town
 CURIT, Concise, Corcelles-près-Concise, Mutrux,
 Vaumarcus
 CURTET, Orges

 D'ALEVERGNE, Piccardi
 D'ASPERLIN, Lausanne
 DAGON, Onnens, Vaumarcus
 DANET, Estavayer
 DARD, Giez
 DAVID, Grandson-town
 DAY, Fiez
 DEBEAUFORT, Nancy
 DEBUREN, Vaumarcus
 DEDIESBACH, Berne
 DEGUY, Neuchâtel
 DENAVARRE, Orges
 DECCOPET, Novalles, Montagny, Novalles,
 Suscevaz, Yverdon
 DEGIEZ, Essert, Grandson-town, Estavayer
 DEHENNZEL, Yverdon
 DELACHAUX, Travers
 DELAMARQUE, Lausanne
 DELAPIERRE, Estavayer
 DELAY, Concise, Provence, Vaumarcus
 DELESDEY, Cully, La Ville (c.Ste. Croix?)
 DELUSE, Neuchâtel
 DEMOLLIN, Grandson-town
 DENAVARRE, Orge
 DEPONTEROZ, Estavayer
 DERIBEAUPIERRE, Grandson-town
 DERLANDE, Bourdeaux
 DESGRAZ, Berne
 DESSOUL, Valangin
 DETREYTORENS, Grandson-town, Yverdon
 DEVELEY, Bottens
 DONY, Yverdon
 DOXAT, Yverdon
 DOTTAUD, Boudry
 DRIARD, Concise
 DROUX, Vaumarcus
 DUBAT, Rougemont
 DUBIEZ, Boveresse

DUBLE, Neuchâtel
 DUBOIS, Concise, Le Locle, Travers, Valeyres
 DUCREST, Grandevent, Grandson-town
 DUDAN, Grandcour
 DUFOUR, Vevey
 DUGARD, Piccardi
 DUMAINE, Concise, Corcelles-près-Concise, Lausanne
 DUMEUNIER, Grandson-town
 DUPAQUIER, ?
 DUPENIN, Champagne
 DUPLAN, Rougemont
 DUPRAZ, Lonay
 DUPUGET, Yverdon
 DUPUIS, Orges
 DURUSSEL, Ecublens
 DURUZ, Bottens
 DUTHON, Yverdon
 DUTOIT, Moudon
 DUVANNEL, Brot
 DUVENOGE, Sauge/St.Aubin
 DUVOISIN, (Alias du Voisin, du Vesin, Richard) Bonvillars, Champagne, Essert, Fontaines, Fontanezier, Grandson-town, Neuchâtel, Onnens
 DYENS, Concise
 ECUEY, Corcelles-près-Concise, Vaumarcus
 EGGLI, Bail. Trachselwald, Channau ?(Bail. Frauenthal)
 ENTZEL, Neuchâtel
 EPARS, Gollion
 ERNST, Berne
 ESCURIEUX, Brevine
 ESTIBAUD, Bonvillars
 ESTOPEY, Avenches
 ETZINGER, Zurich
 FARDEL, Muttrux, Provence
 FATIO, Genève, Vevey
 FAVRE, Bonvillars, Champagne, Chateau-d'Oex, Concise, Couvet, Croix-en-Dauphine, Fontanezier, France, Grandevent, Motiers-travers, Onnens, Provence, Vallorbe, Yverdon
 FELBERT, Niederbipp
 FENU, Hautmont
 FILLIEUX, Corcelles-près-Concise, Onnens
 FIVAZ, Bole, Yverdon, Yvonnand
 FLAMENT, Vugelles-la-Mothe?
 FLAXION, Vugelle-la-Mothe, Yverdon
 FLEUTY, Gessenay
 FOEGUELY (Vögele), Fribourg
 FOLLIAZ, Froideville
 FONKENN, Reichenbach
 FORE, Orange
 FORCHELET, ?
 FOUSSANDIER, St.Aubin
 FRANCFORT, Valeyres
 FRANEL, Provence
 FRANKHOUSE, Honau?
 FREDERIC, Schwarzenburg
 FREST, Corcelles-près-Concise
 FREUDENRICH, Berne
 FREYDEBERGUER, Grandson-town
 FREZIN, Yverdon
 FURJOD, Valeyres
 FUZOU, France

GACCON, Fresens, Gorgier, Provence
 GACHET, Payerne
 GAILLE, Provence
 GANDER, Gessenay
 GARDET, Rolle
 GARNACHON, ?
 GAUDET, Arissoules
 GAULAZ, Concise
 GELIEU, Neuchâtel, St.Aubin
 GENEVELET, Vugelle-la-Mothe
 GENEYNE, Chateau-d'Oex
 GENOUX, Muttrux
 GENT, Corcelles-près-Concise
 GERBER, St.Saphorin, Morges
 GERBEX, Fontaines
 GILLARD, Fiez
 GIRARD, Corcelles-près-Concise, Ste. Croix
 GIRARDET, ?
 GIROUD, Belmont-sur-Yverdon, Champagne, Grandevent
 GLARDON, Corcelles-près-Concise
 GODET, Cortaillod
 GONIN, Koualy (?)
 GORGEAT, La Villete c. St.Croix?
 GOTERAUX, Chavannes-le-Chene
 GRANDGUILLAUMME, Corcelettes, Grandson-town
 GRANDJEAN, Butttes, Sauge/St.Aubin
 GRANDPIERRE, Concise
 GRISE, Villars-Burquin
 GRISET, Corcelles-près-Concise
 GROUX, Fiez, Giez, Payerne
 GUARDOZ, Champagne
 GUEDON, Bottens
 GUEX, Blonay, Lutry
 GUIAT, Concise
 GUIBAUD, Lausanne
 GUIGUER, Concise
 GUILLAUD, Lausanne
 GUILLOUD, Champagne
 GUISAN, Avenches
 HADORN, Tafers/Tavel
 HALDIMAND, Yverdon
 HELE, Thoune
 HENRI, Belamon(Montbeliard), Cortaillod, Signau, Valeyres
 HENRIOD, Couvet, Baulmes?
 HENRIOUD, Couvet, Orbe
 HERITIER, ?
 HERTZOG, Rossiniere, Pays d'Enhaut
 HOFSTETTER, Signau
 HOLY, Diessbach
 HOTZEL, Gessenay
 HUGI, Bienne
 HUGUENIN, Brevine, Fontaines, Le Locle
 HUMBERT, Corcelles-près-Concise, Muttrux, La Sagne
 ISNARD, ?
 IZOT, Boudry
 JACCOD, Gorgier, Le Locle
 JAQUES, Giez
 JAQUET, Concise, Couvet
 JAQUIER, Bonvillars, Corcelles-près-Concise, Fleurier, Gessenay
 JAQUILLARD, romairon, Rougemont
 JAYET, ?

JEANMONOD, Mutrux, Provence
 JEANNERET, Grandson-town, Vaumarcus
 JOLI, Pays-d'Enhaut
 JORDAN, Mezieres
 JOURNAUD, Noiraigue
 JUHAN, Yverdon
 JUNMER, Neuchâtel
 JUNOD, Bernex, Brevine, Concise, Mutrux, Ste.
 Croix, Valangin, Vaumarcus

KAESLER, ?
 KEHEC, Muntelier/Montilier
 KISSIN, Bâle
 KNUSLI, Adliswil/d.Horgen
 KRAIBUELL, Languenau
 KRONN, Morat, Murten
 KUBLET, Gessenay
 KUENLY, Aarberg
 KUENTZ, Grosshoechtatten, Guggisberg
 KUNZLER, Solothurn (?)

LABRAN, Mutrux
 LADOR, Bullet
 LAGIER, Croix-en-Dauphine
 LAMBERCY, Valeyres-sous-Rance
 LAMBERT, Bonvillars, Gorgier, Vaugondry
 LANCON, France
 LANDRY, St.Sulpice
 LAQUET, Chamblon
 LAURENT, Giez
 LECOUTRE, Echallens
 LENOIRE, Chateau-d'Oex
 LEQUINT, Fleurier, Treycovagnes
 LEUBA, Buttes
 LEYVRAZ, Bonvillars, St.Saphorin, Morges
 LIECHTI, Gomerkinden
 LINDER, Frutigen, Gessenay
 LION, (alias Loew) Kirchberg
 LOBIERE, Nîmes
 LOUP, Yverdon
 LOZERON, Gorgier
 LUBERT, Berne
 LUCAS, Neuchâtel
 LUGRIN, Vuiteboeuf
 LUTHAU, Schwarzenburg
 LUTTY, Walkeren

MACCAND, Penthereaz
 MAGNIN, Fontaines
 MAIDEN, Rieden/ pr.baden
 MANN, Signau
 MANDET, Neuchâtel
 MARAIS, Gorgier
 MARCAND, Concise, Echallens, Vugelle-la-Mothe
 MAREL, Bonvillars, Concise,
 Corcelles-près-Concise, Mauggettaz,
 Neuchâtel, St.Saphorin, Morges, Yvonnand
 MARET, St.Aubin
 MARIA, Emmental
 MARILLER, Provence
 MARINE, Nidau
 MARION, Yverdon
 MARTHE, Concise, Corcelles-près-Concise,
 Vaumarcus
 MARTIER, Dombresson
 MARTIN, Etoy, Morges, Valeyres, Yverdon
 MARTINET, ?
 MASSET, Yverdon

MATHEY, Le Locle, Yverdon
 MATHIS, Languenau Le Locle, Neuchâtel, La Sagne,
 Valangin
 MATTEY, La Sagne, Le Locle
 MATTHEY-PREVOT, La Sagne
 MAUBLANC, Couvet
 MAULAZ, Fiez, Fontaines, Villars-Burquin
 MAVENDAZ, Method
 MAXIMILLIAN, ?
 MAYOR, Bonvillars, Echallens, Onnens
 MAYRE, Montbeliard, Onnens
 MEDER, Grandson-town
 MEGEVEND, Giez
 MEGNIEZ, Bonvillars, Fontaines
 MEIGE, Fiez
 MENNET, Lausanne
 MENTHE, Cortaillod
 METRAL, ?
 MEUNIER, Giez, Grandson-town, Bullet
 MEYER, Signau
 MEYJOZ, Fiez
 MICHEL, Rochefort
 MIEVILLE, Belmont-sur-Yverdon
 MILLET, Bonvillars, Fresens
 MOLLIN, Bevaix, Valangin
 MOMMARY, Dombresson
 MONACHON, Lausanne, Moudon
 MONDY, Orbe
 MONNET, Grandson-town, Valeyres-sous-Rance,
 Vevey
 MONTANDON, Travers
 MORAND, Fontaines, Villars-Burquin
 MORTIER, Dombresson
 MORY, Concise
 MOSSER, Signau
 MUSY, Valeyres/s-Montagny
 MULLER, Berne
 NEUSCHWANDER, Languenau
 NICOD, Vaumarcus
 NICOLET, Bursins
 NICOLLIER, Yvonnand
 OREILLE, Gessenay
 OTTONIER, Valeyres/s-Montagny
 OURIS, France

PACCOSS, Bâle
 PACOTTON, Yverdon
 PAHUD, Yverdon
 PANCHAUD, Montagny
 PAREL, Le Locle
 PARIS, Concise
 PASSE, La Tour-de-Peilz
 PASSEL, Concise
 PATHEY, Fiez
 PATILLET, Valeyres
 PAVID, Yverdon
 PAVIEZ, Bole
 PAYOT, Concise, Corcelles-près-Concise
 PELAUD, Pommy
 PELLATON, Travers
 PELLET, chateau-d'Oex
 PENIN, Corcelles-près-Concise
 PERDRISAT, Grandson-town, Onnens
 PERDRIX, Champagne, Concise, Fontanezier, Onnens
 PERILLARD, Champagne, Fontaines, Mauborget,
 Novalles, Onnens, Vaugondry

PERISSE, Valence en Dauphine
 PERISSET, Coppet
 PERNET, Concise, Montalchez, St.Aubin
 PERRET, Noiraigue, La Sagne
 PERRET-GENTIL, Montalchez
 PERRIER, Estavayer
 PERRIN, Concise, Corcelles-près-Concise, Giez, Vuiteboeuf
 PERRIN-JAQUET, Travers
 PERROUD, Champagne, Verrieres
 PERRUDET, Provence, vaumarcus
 PETITMAITRE, ?
 PETITPIERRE, Couvet, Neuchâtel
 PETOUD, Travers
 PETTER, Concise
 PETTERMAN, ?
 PEYTREGNET, Mollondin
 PFISTER, chietre/kerzers, Morat/Murten
 PHILLIPIN, Neuchâtel
 PICCARD, Lausanne
 PIDOUX, Forel
 PIERRE-HUBERT, Gorgier, Mutrux, Sauge/St.Aubin
 PILLARD, Montagny, Valeyres
 PILLEVUIT, ?
 PINARD, Rances
 PITTET, Corcelles-près-Concise
 PLACER, Lausanne, Signau (?)
 PLANTIER, Gevaudan
 POCHON, Cortailod
 POIGNARD, Morges
 POINTET, Corcelles-près-Concise, Vaumarcus
 PONTHALES, Salles
 PORCHET, Concise, Corcelles-près-Concise
 PORRET, Fresens, Valeyres
 PORTEFAIX, Yverdon
 POTTERAT, Cronay
 POYET, Frutigen, orges
 PREVOT, Fontanezier
 PRINCE, Neuchâtel
 PUGIN, Vaugondry
 PURI, Schwanden (?)
 PUTHOD, Bonvillars, Giez
 PYTHON, Fribourg

 QUIBOULAZ, Vaugondry
 QUINCHE, Ste. Croix

 RAMSEYER, Signau
 RAPILLOD, Bex
 RAPPAZ, Glaris
 RAWYLER, Nidau
 RAY, Fontaines, Villars-Burquin
 RECORDON, Concise
 REGNIER, France
 RENAUD, Rochefort
 RESILON, Belmont-sur-Yverdon
 RESIN, Cronay
 REYMOND, Chietre/kerzers, St.Sulpice, Voens
 RHEMY, Fribourg
 RICHARD, Fontanezier, Sauge/St.Aubin
 RICHARDET, Valangin
 RICHENBACH, Gessenay
 RIEDER, Seedorf Bail.Frienisberg
 RIOND, Yverdon
 RITTON, Concise
 ROBELLAZ, Fontaines
 ROBERT, Le Locle
 ROCHE, Château-d'Oex

ROD, Château-d'Oex
 ROGNON, Concise, Montalchez
 ROGUIN, Yverdon
 ROLAND, Bonvillars, Le Locle
 ROLAZ, Rolle
 ROLLET, Peseux
 RONNER, Nidau
 ROPIN, Payerne
 ROSSAT, Bonvillars, Champagne
 ROSSEL, Colombier
 ROSSELET, Vaumarcus
 ROSSET, Bevaix
 ROSSIER, Giez, Grandson-town
 ROTTI, Guggisberg
 ROUGEMONT, Gorgier, St.Aubin
 ROULET, Concise, Corcelles-près-Concise, Fontaines, Grandevent, Mauborget, Peseux, Vaumarcus, Villars-Burquin, Yverdon
 ROULIN, Provence
 ROULIO, Grenoble
 ROUSSI, Gessenay
 ROUX, Concise, Durrenroth/Trachselwald
 ROY, Romainmotier, Villars-Burquin
 RUSCHTI, Guggisberg
 RUSILLON, Yverdon

 SALADIN, Bâle
 SANDOZ, Le Locle
 SCHERRER, Trachselwald
 SCHILD, Berne
 SCHMID, Berne
 SCHTIR, Köniz
 SCHUENDENE, Gessenay
 SCHUMPACH, Munsingen
 SCHWAND, Berne
 SEMES, Hauterive
 SIMON, Champagne, France, Mauborget
 SIRE, Bole
 STEK, Grosshochtetten, Valangin
 STOCKLI, Schwarzenburg
 STRAAM, Rotenbach/c.Lalenk
 STRUM, Berne
 STUKI, Munsingen
 SUNNIER, Nods

 TACHERON, Mollondin
 TAILLEFERT, Novalles
 TARDY, Estavayer
 TECHTERMAN, Fribourg
 TENIMBARD, Bevaix, Neuchâtel
 TETAZ, Corcelles-près-Concise
 TETUZ, Nyon
 THARIN, Bonvillars, Champagne, Fontaines, Novalles
 THEOUBIER, France
 THIEVENT, Bonvillars, Grandson-town
 THORMANN, Berne
 TIBAUD, Bole, Concise
 TINEMBART, Neuchâtel
 TISSOT, Corcelles-près-Concise, Couvet, Grandevent, Schwarzenburg
 TORRENT, Concise
 TOUCHON, Salzburg
 TRIBOLET, Berne
 TROSSAT, ?
 TRUFET, Aubonne
 TRUFFIN, Estavayer

TSCHER, Berne
 TULLER, Rotenbach, com. lalenk
 TURQOI, Sorpierre

VALOTTON, Orbe
 VAULET, Grandson-town, Vallorbe
 VAUCHER, Fleurier
 VAUTRAVERS, Bonvillars, Champagne,
 Fontanezier, Romairon

VERNET, Rolle
 VERREYRES, Champagne
 VERSY, Rovray
 VESIN, Champagne, Orges, Romairon, Vugelle-la-
 Mothe

VIARD, Fiez
 VIENNET, Bonvillars, Concise,
 Corcelles-près-Concise

VILLENEUVE, France
 VILMER, Burgdorf
 VIOLET, Grandson-town
 VIQUERAT, Combremont-le-Grand, Cronay
 VIQUET, Vugelle-la-Mothe
 VONDERWEIDT, Fribourg

VUARGNIEZ, Concise, Onnens
 VUILLE, La Sagne
 VUILLEFIN, Bonvillars
 VUILLEMAZ, Mutrux
 VUILLEMIN, Fontaines (Franche-comte)
 VUILLEUMIER, Mutrux, La Sagne

WAGNER, Berne
 WAGNY, Concise, Mutrux, Onnens
 WALTER, Rossiniere, Pays d'Enhaut, Rougemont
 WATTEL, Peseux
 WISS, Berne
 WITCHI, Sackingen?
 WONDIERE, Lyon

YANNI, Hoechstatten

ZABULON, Yverdon
 ZAUGG, Berne
 ZEHENDER, Berne
 ZIMMERMANN, Trachselwald

Appendix D

DATABASE GRANDSON

The Structure of tables in the database Grandson is hereafter produced. We hope, one day, this DB could be part of a large database system in history and related subjects.

Name: <u>agepop</u>	surface	float	8	payer	vchar/text	6
Row width: 94				gnom	float	4
Number of rows: 78				gden	float	4
Column information:	Name: <u>landnotes</u>			factor	float	4
column name type length	Row width: 71			result	float	4
codenum vchar/text 6	Number of rows: 197					
sex vchar/text 1	Column information:					
origine vchar/text 3	column name type length			Name: <u>lindivis</u>		
surname vchar/text 20	lcodenum vchar/text 7			Row width: 93		
othernames vchar/text 20	notes vchar/text 60			Number of rows: 1225		
ffau vchar/text 20				Column information:		
baptem vchar/text 10	Name: <u>landpartax</u>			column name type length		
	Row width: 31			ingrefer vchar/text 2		
Name: <u>landentry</u>	Number of rows: 17			folio vchar/text 3		
Row width: 192	Column information:			codenum vchar/text 6		
Number of rows: 0	column name type length			lcodenum vchar/text 7		
Column information:	lcodenum vchar/text 7			inde1 vchar/text 6		
column name type length	taker vchar/text 3			inde2 vchar/text 6		
ingrefer vchar/text 2	area vchar/text 7			surface float 8		
folio vchar/text 3	surface float 8			ownednom float 8		
commune vchar/text 3				ownedden float 8		
codenum vchar/text 6	Name: <u>ldimepart</u>			commune vchar/text 3		
lcodenum vchar/text 7	Row width: 75			comment vchar/text 20		
ownertype vchar/text 1	Number of rows: 8					
lieudit vchar/text 35	Column information:			Name: <u>lowners</u>		
piecetype vchar/text 1	column name type length			Row width: 55		
landtype vchar/text 12	ingrefer vchar/text 2			Number of rows: 14979		
oldmapno vchar/text 10	folio vchar/text 3			Column information:		
nom1 float 4	lcodenum vchar/text 7			column name type length		
denom1 float 4	commune vchar/text 3			ingrefer vchar/text 2		
oldmesure float 4	comment vchar/text 50			folio vchar/text 3		
dime float 4	Name: <u>lfroment</u>			codenum vchar/text 6		
sols float 4	Row width: 35			lcodenum vchar/text 7		
deniers float 4	Number of rows: 5594			inde1 vchar/text 6		
wheat1 float 4	Column information:			inde2 vchar/text 6		
wheat2 float 4	column name type length			inde3 vchar/text 6		
goods vchar/text 20	lcodenum vchar/text 7			commune vchar/text 3		
cense vchar/text 1	commune vchar/text 3					
taxtype vchar/text 1	wheatdue float 8			Name: <u>lpcomments</u>		
comment vchar/text 30	taker vchar/text 3			Row width: 129		
	payer vchar/text 6			Number of rows: 788		
Name: <u>landnew</u>	Name: <u>lgoods</u>			Column information:		
Row width: 81	Row width: 46			column name type length		
Number of rows: 9016	Number of rows: 474			codenum vchar/text 6		
Column information:	Column information:			ego vchar/text 5		
column name type length	column name type length			job vchar/text 5		
lcodenum vchar/text 7	lcodenum vchar/text 7			lieu vchar/text 3		
oldmapno vchar/text 10	commune vchar/text 3			info vchar/text 100		
commune vchar/text 3	gtype vchar/text 1					
dime float 8	taker vchar/text 3			Name: <u>lpdads</u>		
lieudit vchar/text 25				Row width: 128		
piecetype vchar/text 1				Number of rows: 321		
landtype vchar/text 4				Column information:		
taxtype vchar/text 1						

column name	type	length
codenum	vchar/text	6
surname	vchar/text	20
othernames	vchar/text	20
ffeu	vchar/text	20
ffeu_1	vchar/text	20
ingrefer	vchar/text	2
folio	vchar/text	4
datte	vchar/text	10
rem	vchar/text	8

Name: lphamsar

Row width: 79

Number of rows: 871

Column information:

column name	type	length
ingrefer	vchar/text	2
folio	vchar/text	4
codenum	vchar/text	6
conjsur	vchar/text	20
conjname	vchar/text	20
conjcode	vchar/text	6
gender	vchar/text	1
comm	vchar/text	4

Name: lphome

Row width: 41

Number of rows: 1464

Column information:

column name	type	length
codenum	vchar/text	6
origine	vchar/text	4
home	vchar/text	4
lieu	vchar/text	4
conj	vchar/text	4
comm	vchar/text	4
sex	vchar/text	1

Name: lpkinsip

Row width: 132

Number of rows: 978

Column information:

column name	type	length
ingrefer	vchar/text	2
folio	vchar/text	3
date	vchar/text	10
codenum	vchar/text	6
surname	vchar/text	20
othernames	vchar/text	20
code	vchar/text	6
relatsur	vchar/text	20
relatname	vchar/text	20
relationship	vchar/text	5

Name: lpmandat

Row width: 46

Number of rows: 2838

Column information:

column name	type	length
codenum	vchar/text	6
sex	vchar/text	1
procure	vchar/text	6
sex2	vchar/text	1
type	vchar/text	1
rec	vchar/text	3
ingrefer	vchar/text	2
folio	vchar/text	3

relationship	vchar/text	5
--------------	------------	---

Name: lpopules

Row width: 180

Number of rows: 1478

Column information:

column name	type	length
codenum	vchar/text	6
sex	vchar/text	1
surname	vchar/text	20
othernames	vchar/text	30
ffeu	vchar/text	30
ffeu_1	vchar/text	30
ffeu_2	vchar/text	30
origine	vchar/text	3
home	vchar/text	4
mother	vchar/text	6

Name: lprefer

Row width: 30

Number of rows: 3180

Column information:

column name	type	length
codenum	vchar/text	6
ingrefer	vchar/text	2
folio	vchar/text	4
datte	vchar/text	10

Name: lptitles

Row width: 18

Number of rows: 1650

Column information:

column name	type	length
codenum	vchar/text	6
title	vchar/text	3
dads	vchar/text	3

Name: liquid

Row width: 43

Number of rows: 3740

Column information:

column name	type	length
lcodenum	vchar/text	7
commune	vchar/text	3
sols	float	8
deniers	float	8
taker	vchar/text	3
payer	vchar/text	6

Name: ltaxes

Row width: 20

Number of rows: 15

Column information:

column name	type	length
code	vchar/text	1
meaning	vchar/text	15

Name: lzamin

Row width: 140

Number of rows: 273

Column information:

column name	type	length
piece	vchar/text	3
type	vchar/text	1

landtype	vchar/text	3
meaning	vchar/text	130

Name: pabreviat

Row width: 37

Number of rows: 146

Column information:

column name	type	length
word	vchar/text	25
code	vchar/text	5
rem	vchar/text	1

Name: pallego

Row width: 323

Number of rows: 2839

Column information:

column name	type	length
birth	vchar/text	10
baptem	vchar/text	10
name	vchar/text	30
sex	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	30
gfthr	vchar/text	30
sf	vchar/text	1
surname	vchar/text	20
origine	vchar/text	3
mthname	vchar/text	30
mthsur	vchar/text	20
mthfthr	vchar/text	30
ms	vchar/text	1
mthorig	vchar/text	3
death	vchar/text	10
refer	vchar/text	10
comments	vchar/text	50

Name: parchives

Row width: 78

Number of rows: 9

Column information:

column name	type	length
ingrefer	vchar/text	2
refer	vchar/text	30
commune	vchar/text	40

Name: pbn17ego

Row width: 323

Number of rows: 668

Column information:

column name	type	length
birth	vchar/text	10
baptem	vchar/text	10
name	vchar/text	30
sex	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	30
gfthr	vchar/text	30
sf	vchar/text	1
surname	vchar/text	20
origine	vchar/text	3
mthname	vchar/text	30
mthsur	vchar/text	20
mthfthr	vchar/text	30
ms	vchar/text	1
mthorig	vchar/text	3
death	vchar/text	10
refer	vchar/text	10
comments	vchar/text	50

Name: pbn17wed
Row width: 279
Number of rows: 140
Column information:

column name	type	length
surname	vchar/text	20
name	vchar/text	30
sex	vchar/text	1
stat	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	30
aliv	vchar/text	1
origine	vchar/text	3
what	vchar/text	1
datte	vchar/text	10
conjsur	vchar/text	20
conjname	vchar/text	30
gender	vchar/text	1
mar	vchar/text	1
kidof	vchar/text	30
how	vchar/text	1
de	vchar/text	3
refer	vchar/text	10
comment	vchar/text	50

Name: pbnvego
Row width: 323
Number of rows: 910
Storage structure: heap
Column information:

column name	type	length
birth	vchar/text	10
baptem	vchar/text	10
name	vchar/text	30
sex	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	30
gfthr	vchar/text	30
sf	vchar/text	1
surname	vchar/text	20
origine	vchar/text	3
mthname	vchar/text	30
mthsur	vchar/text	20
mthfthr	vchar/text	30
ms	vchar/text	1
mthorig	vchar/text	3
death	vchar/text	10
refer	vchar/text	10
comments	vchar/text	50

Name: pbnvwed
Row width: 279
Number of rows: 143
Column information:

column name	type	length
surname	vchar/text	20
name	vchar/text	30
sex	vchar/text	1
stat	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	30
aliv	vchar/text	1
origine	vchar/text	3
what	vchar/text	1
datte	vchar/text	10
conjsur	vchar/text	20
conjname	vchar/text	30
gender	vchar/text	1
mar	vchar/text	1
kidof	vchar/text	30

how vchar/text 1
 de vchar/text 3
 refer vchar/text 10
 comment vchar/text 50

Name: pcnsdeath
Row width: 286
Number of rows: 200
Column information:

column name	type	length
surname	vchar/text	20
name	vchar/text	30
sex	vchar/text	1
age	float	4
death	vchar/text	10
dleu	vchar/text	3
origine	vchar/text	3
chilof	vchar/text	30
fs	vchar/text	1
ms	vchar/text	2
conjsur	vchar/text	20
conjname	vchar/text	30
corg	vchar/text	3
cause	vchar/text	30
comment	vchar/text	50
refer	vchar/text	7
nee	vchar/text	10

Name: pcnsego
Row width: 323
Number of rows: 1352
Column information:

column name	type	length
birth	vchar/text	10
baptem	vchar/text	10
name	vchar/text	30
sex	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	30
gfthr	vchar/text	30
sf	vchar/text	1
surname	vchar/text	20
origine	vchar/text	3
mthname	vchar/text	30
mthsur	vchar/text	20
mthfthr	vchar/text	30
ms	vchar/text	1
mthorig	vchar/text	3
death	vchar/text	10
refer	vchar/text	10
comments	vchar/text	50

Name: pcnswed
Row width: 279
Number of rows: 334
Column information:

column name	type	length
surname	vchar/text	20
name	vchar/text	30
sex	vchar/text	1
stat	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	30
aliv	vchar/text	1
origine	vchar/text	3
what	vchar/text	1
datte	vchar/text	10
conjsur	vchar/text	20
conjname	vchar/text	30

gender vchar/text 1
 mar vchar/text 1
 kidof vchar/text 30
 how vchar/text 1
 de vchar/text 3
 refer vchar/text 10
 comment vchar/text 50

Name: pcomlist
Row width: 100
Number of rows: 260
Column information:

column name	type	length
commune	vchar/text	25
geo	vchar/text	2
code	vchar/text	3
space	vchar/text	3
okspell	vchar/text	25
comment	vchar/text	30

Name: psm17ego
Row width: 323
Number of rows: 822
Column information:

column name	type	length
birth	vchar/text	10
baptem	vchar/text	10
name	vchar/text	30
sex	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	30
gfthr	vchar/text	30
sf	vchar/text	1
surname	vchar/text	20
origine	vchar/text	3
mthname	vchar/text	30
mthsur	vchar/text	20
mthfthr	vchar/text	30
ms	vchar/text	1
mthorig	vchar/text	3
death	vchar/text	10
refer	vchar/text	10
comments	vchar/text	50

Name: psm17wed
Row width: 256
Number of rows: 165
Column information:

column name	type	length
surname	vchar/text	20
name	vchar/text	30
stat	vchar/text	1
sex	vchar/text	1
datte	vchar/text	10
what	vchar/text	1
refer	vchar/text	7
childof	vchar/text	30
aliv	vchar/text	1
origine	vchar/text	3
conjsur	vchar/text	20
conjname	vchar/text	30
gender	vchar/text	1
mar	vchar/text	1
kidof	vchar/text	30
how	vchar/text	1
de	vchar/text	3
comment	vchar/text	30

Name: pstmcat

Row width: 153

Number of rows: 123

Column information:

column name	type	length
surname	vchar/text	20
name	vchar/text	30
sex	vchar/text	1
origine	vchar/text	3
datte	vchar/text	10
refer	vchar/text	10
childof	vchar/text	30
alive	vchar/text	1
comment	vchar/text	30

Name: pstmdeath

Row width: 274

Number of rows: 913

Column information:

column name	type	length
surname	vchar/text	20
name	vchar/text	30
sex	vchar/text	1
age	float	4
death	vchar/text	10
dleu	vchar/text	3
origine	vchar/text	3
chilof	vchar/text	30
fs	vchar/text	1
ms	vchar/text	2
conjsur	vchar/text	20
conjname	vchar/text	30
corg	vchar/text	3
cause	vchar/text	30
comment	vchar/text	50
refer	vchar/text	7

Name: pstmego

Row width: 323

Number of rows: 2975

Column information:

column name	type	length
birth	vchar/text	10
baptem	vchar/text	10
name	vchar/text	30
sex	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	30
gfthr	vchar/text	30
sf	vchar/text	1
surname	vchar/text	20
origine	vchar/text	3
mthname	vchar/text	30
mthsur	vchar/text	20
mthfthr	vchar/text	30
ms	vchar/text	1
mthorig	vchar/text	3
death	vchar/text	10
refer	vchar/text	10
comments	vchar/text	50

Name: pwdrbnv

Row width: 54

Number of rows: 8

Column information:

column name	type	length
surname	vchar/text	25
name	vchar/text	25

Name: rbnvego

Row width: 273

Number of rows: 910

column name	type	length
birth	vchar/text	10
baptem	vchar/text	10
name	vchar/text	20
sex	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	20
gfthr	vchar/text	20
sf	vchar/text	1
surname	vchar/text	20
origine	vchar/text	3
mthname	vchar/text	20
mthsur	vchar/text	20
mthfthr	vchar/text	20
ms	vchar/text	1
mthorig	vchar/text	3
death	vchar/text	10
refer	vchar/text	10
comments	vchar/text	50

Name: rbnvwed

Row width: 239

Number of rows: 143

Column information:

column name	type	length
surname	vchar/text	20
name	vchar/text	20
sex	vchar/text	1
stat	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	20
aliv	vchar/text	1
origine	vchar/text	3
what	vchar/text	1
datte	vchar/text	10
conjsur	vchar/text	20
conjname	vchar/text	20
gender	vchar/text	1
mar	vchar/text	1
kidof	vchar/text	20
how	vchar/text	1
de	vchar/text	3
refer	vchar/text	10
comment	vchar/text	50

Name: rconsdeath

Row width: 256

Number of rows: 200

Column information:

column name	type	length
surname	vchar/text	20
name	vchar/text	20
sex	vchar/text	1
age	float	4
death	vchar/text	10
dleu	vchar/text	3
origine	vchar/text	3
chilof	vchar/text	20
fs	vchar/text	1
ms	vchar/text	2
conjsur	vchar/text	20
conjname	vchar/text	20
corg	vchar/text	3
cause	vchar/text	30
comment	vchar/text	50
refer	vchar/text	7

nee vchar/text 10

Name: rcnsego

Row width: 273

Number of rows: 1352

Column information:

column name	type	length
birth	vchar/text	10
baptem	vchar/text	10
name	vchar/text	20
sex	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	20
gfthr	vchar/text	20
sf	vchar/text	1
surname	vchar/text	20
origine	vchar/text	3
mthname	vchar/text	20
mthsur	vchar/text	20
mthfthr	vchar/text	20
ms	vchar/text	1
mthorig	vchar/text	3
death	vchar/text	10
refer	vchar/text	10
comments	vchar/text	50

Name: rcnswed

Row width: 239

Number of rows: 334

Column information:

column name	type	length
surname	vchar/text	20
name	vchar/text	20
sex	vchar/text	1
stat	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	20
aliv	vchar/text	1
origine	vchar/text	3
what	vchar/text	1
datte	vchar/text	10
conjsur	vchar/text	20
conjname	vchar/text	20
gender	vchar/text	1
mar	vchar/text	1
kidof	vchar/text	20
how	vchar/text	1
de	vchar/text	3
refer	vchar/text	10
comment	vchar/text	50

Name: rconcep

Row width: 24

Number of rows: 5234

Column information:

column name	type	length
baptem	date	12
concep	date	12

Name: rstmddeath

Row width: 244

Number of rows: 913

Column information:

column name	type	length
surname	vchar/text	20
name	vchar/text	20
sex	vchar/text	1
age	float	4

death vchar/text 10
 dleu vchar/text 3
 origine vchar/text 3
 chilof vchar/text 20
 fs vchar/text 1
 ms vchar/text 2
 conjsur vchar/text 20
 conjname vchar/text 20
 corg vchar/text 3
 cause vchar/text 30
 comment vchar/text 50
 refer vchar/text 7

Name: rstmego

Row width: 273

Number of rows: 2975

Column information:

column name	type	length
birth	vchar/text	10
baptem	vchar/text	10
name	vchar/text	20
sex	vchar/text	1
childof	vchar/text	20
gfthr	vchar/text	20
sf	vchar/text	1
surname	vchar/text	20
origine	vchar/text	3
mthname	vchar/text	20
mthsur	vchar/text	20
mthfthr	vchar/text	20
ms	vchar/text	1
mthorig	vchar/text	3
death	vchar/text	10
refer	vchar/text	10
comments	vchar/text	50

Name: rstmwed

Row width: 206

Number of rows: 900

Column information:

column name	type	length
surname	vchar/text	20
name	vchar/text	20
stat	vchar/text	1
sex	vchar/text	1
datte	vchar/text	10
what	vchar/text	1
refer	vchar/text	7
childof	vchar/text	15
aliv	vchar/text	1
origine	vchar/text	3
conjsur	vchar/text	20
conjname	vchar/text	20
gender	vchar/text	1
mar	vchar/text	1
kidof	vchar/text	15
how	vchar/text	1
de	vchar/text	3
comment	vchar/text	30

Name: xland

Row width: 192

Number of rows: 0

Column information:

column name	type	length
ingrefer	vchar/text	2
folio	vchar/text	3
commune	vchar/text	3
codenum	vchar/text	6

lcodenum vchar/text 7
 ownertype vchar/text 1
 lieudit vchar/text 35
 piecetype vchar/text 1
 landtype vchar/text 12
 oldmapno vchar/text 10
 nom1 float 4
 denom1 float 4
 oldmesure float 4
 dime float 4
 sols float 4
 deniers float 4
 wheat1 float 4
 wheat2 float 4
 goods vchar/text 20
 cense vchar/text 1
 taxtype vchar/text 1
 comment vchar/text 30

Name: xlandconv

Row width: 93

Number of rows: 0

Column information:

column name	type	length
lcodenum	vchar/text	7
oldmapno	vchar/text	10
commune	vchar/text	3
dime	float	8
lieudit	vchar/text	25
piecetype	vchar/text	1
landtype	vchar/text	4
taxtype	vchar/text	1
surface	float	8
nom1	float	4
denom1	float	4
oldmesure	float	4

Name: xbleconv

Row width: 48

Number of rows: 0

Column information:

column name	type	length
folio	vchar/text	3
lcodenum	vchar/text	7
commune	vchar/text	3
wheatdue	float	8
taker	vchar/text	3
payer	vchar/text	6
wheat1	float	4
wheat2	float	4

Name: xlfive

Row width: 48

Number of rows: 0

Column information:

column name	type	length
folio	vchar/text	3
lcodenum	vchar/text	7
commune	vchar/text	3
sols	float	8
deniers	float	8
taker	vchar/text	3
payer	vchar/text	6

Name: xlind

Row width: 103

Number of rows: 0

Column information:

column name	type	length
ingrefer	vchar/text	2
folio	vchar/text	3
codenum	vchar/text	6
lcodenum	vchar/text	7
inde1	vchar/text	6
inde2	vchar/text	6
surface	float	8
ownednom	float	8
ownedden	float	8
commune	vchar/text	3
comment	vchar/text	30

Name: xlvali

Row width: 55

Number of rows: 0

Column information:

column name	type	length
ingrefer	vchar/text	2
folio	vchar/text	3
codenum	vchar/text	6
lcodenum	vchar/text	7
inde1	vchar/text	6
inde2	vchar/text	6
inde3	vchar/text	6
commune	vchar/text	3

Appendix E

LIEUX-DITS

N.B. References to the books used are not provided in detail since many meanings are a reflection of the foremost adequate significations.

Type of lieux-dits:

- ? : a satisfactory definition could not be found; doubtful suggestion.
- C: enclosed fields (clos)
- D: doubtful explanation
- F: flora and fauna
- G: natural shape (e.g. hilly), or quality (e.g. stony, dump) of the area
- H: field (champ)
- M: any human monument or effect
- P: surname, name
- R: pasture, meadow, prairie
- T: natural detail and indication

Type of activity registered in cadastre

- b: buildings c: enclosed lands f: forest, woodland h: hemp-field j: garden
- l: mixed lands, barren p: pasture, meadow t: arable land v: vineyard

Communes

- BNV: Bonvillars CMP: Champagne CRL: Corcelles FIE: Fiez FNT: Fontaines
- GIZ: Giez HAM: Grandson-town's hamlets ONS: Onnens

Grade of significance

- ✧✧: significant ✧: some signification @: no signification at all

A

Adoux terrain en pente exposé au soleil, *sloping field exposed to sunshine* BNV, FIE, G/c,t ✧
Age, Ages, Hage haie, *hedgerow*, CMP, CRL, FIE, FNT, GIZ, ONS, HAM, F/t @
Age au Gendroz, [Gindroz, Gendre], .. patronyme, ... *surname*, HAM, F,P/t @
Age de la Lauv ... louve, ... *wolf*, FNT, F/t @
Age es Cornes... pointe rocheuse, champ se terminant en pointe, ... *rocky edge, field coming to a point at one end*, FIE, F,G/t @
Age Golliard ... poire Golliard = poire charnue, ... *a sort of pear for pie*, GIZ, F/t @
Age Perdriat ... patronyme, ... *surname*, CMP, F,P/v @
Amandriles amandriers, *almond trees*, FNT, F/v @
Amorel [à Morel], patronyme, *surname*, FNT, P/c @
Arenay, **Arenay** terrains sablonneux, *sandy fields*, ONS, G/l ✧

Arrables, **Arrablets**, érables, *maple-trees*, ONS, F/t @

B

Bailloudes, [Bailloud] patronyme, *surname*, FIE, P/v @
Baises, bassin de fontaine, *spring basin*, FNT, M/t @
Bally patronyme, *surname*, HAM, P/t @
Barbayres [Barbey] patronyme, *surname*, ONS, P/v @
Barelliet [Barrillier] patronyme, *surname*, HAM, P/t @
Baumaz grotte, abri sous roche, *cave*, HAM, M/v @
Bayard, Bayards, patronyme, *surname*, FIE, HAM, P/p,l @
Byses patronyme, ou, terrain exposé à la bise, *surname or Northely fields*, GIZ, P,G/t @
Beleche {?}, CRL, ?/c @
Befolliet be=beau, belle forêt de feuillus?, *fine leaves-forest?*, HAM, D/b @
Bernard patronyme, *surname*, CRL, P/t @

Bevex abreuvoir, *watering-place*, CRL, M/l @
Biolex, **Bioley**, **Biolez**, **Biollei** forêt de bouleaux, *birchwood*, CMP, FIE, F/v,t @
Blanchard, patronyme, *surname*, GIZ, P/t,p @
Blanchet patronyme, *surname*, CRL, P/t @
Blanchon patronyme, *surname*, HAM, P/t @
Bochet petit bois, *small wood*, FIE, F/t @
Bochet merieux, meriau (mer. =miroir), petit bois avec point -de-vue (mer. =mirror), *small wood land with view point*, GIZ, F/f ✧ ✧
Bois bois, *woods*
Bois de Seigneur Etienne prénom, *name*, CMP, F/f ✧ ✧
Bon Blesson bon poirier sauvage, *fine wild pear-tree*, CMP, F/t @
Bon Praz bonne prairie, *fine meadow*, FNT, R/t ✧
Bonasse {?}, HAM, ?/t,l @
Bonny patronyme, *surname*, ONS, P/t @
Bonvillars bon village, *fine village*, village, centre, *buildings*

Borbellion boubrier, fondrière, *morass*, GIZ, G/p ✱
 Bornalet petite fontaine, *small spring*, CRL, T/c @
 Bosson buisson, *bush, shrub*, HAM, ONS, F/t @
 Bosson Carroz terrain en coin, *corner piece of land*, ONS, F/t @
 Bougnet petite source?, *small spring?*, HAM, T/t @
 Boulaz bouleau, *birchtree*, GIZ, F/t @
 Bourquenaz, [Bourquin] patronyme, *surname*, ONS, P/t @
 Bovayres, Boveyres pâturages pour les boeufs (= vaches), ou domaine appartenant à la famille Bovey (Bovay), *meadows for cows, or property of family Bovey (or Bovay)*, BNV, P,R/v @
 Bramaffan terre peu fertile où les bêtes crient de faim., *barren land where animals die from hunger*, BNV, HAM, ?/t @
 Branchettes petites branches, *tiny branches*, FIE, F/v @
 Brise cou, chemin très raide, *steep path*, FNT, G/t @
 Broliat pré humide, *marshy field*, CRL, GIZ, G/p,c ✱
 Bruannes [Bruan] patronyme, *surname*, GIZ, P/t @
 Brut pré souvent humide et probablement clos, *meadow often damp and probably enclosed*, HAM, G/t ✱
 Bugnon source, *spring*, ONS, T/p @
 Bulletaz, Bulettes [Bullet] patronyme ou propriété du village de Bullet, *surname or property of the village of Bullet*, FNT, P/t @
 Bulloz patronyme, *surname*, CRL, GIZ, P/p @
 Bussey patronyme ou endroit où poussent les buis, *surname or where box-trees grow*, HAM, P,F/t @

C

Cache lau, Cachelau cache-loup, *where wolves hide*, ONS, T/t @
 Carral, Carrettes carré, champ carré {?}, *square field*, {?}CMP, ONST/t @
 Carroliquoé {?}, GIZ, ?/t @
 Carroz, Caruz champs en coin, *corner piece of land*, CMP, CRL, G/t,v @
 Carroz de la Croix ... croisée ou croix ... *of crossing or of cross*, ONS, G/t @
 Carroz derrey Vellaz ... agglomération principale de la commune, ou, souvenir d'une villa (grand domaine romaine, *built up area of the village or remains of a roman estate (villa)*, ONS, M/c @
 Carry {?}, HAM, ?/v @

Challet, chalet, *chalet*, CRL, M/v @
 Chamblex {?}, HAM, ?/v @
 Champagne ensemble de champs, campagne, *set of fields, countryside*
 Champs terres labourables, *arable lands*, ALL, H/-
 Champs a la Bornaz ... borne, ... *landmark*, CRL, H,M/t ✱
 Champs a la Mermaz ... patronyme {?}, .. *surname* {?}, HAM, H,D/t @
 Champs a la Ruge ... {?}, FIE, H,?/t @
 Champs Alexandre ... prénom, ... *name*, HAM, H,P/t @
 Champs Baly ... patronyme, ... *surname*, HAM, H,P/t @
 Champs Baussan ... patronyme ... *surname*, ONS, H,P/t @
 Champs Biollei [Biolet?] ... bouleaux, [patronyme?], ... *birch-trees, [surname?]*, FIE, H,F/t @
 Champs Blanchon ... patronyme, ... *surname*, HAM, H, P/t @
 Champs Bougnet ... {?}, HAM, H,?/t @
 Champs Callin ... patronyme ... *surname*, ONS, H, P/t @
 Champs Canard ... {?}HAM, H,?/t @
 Champs Caraz, Carraz [Carrard?] ... patronyme ... *surname*, FIE, GIZ, H, P/t @
 Champs Chanoz ... chêne pédonculé, ... *oak pedunculate*, FIE, H, F/t @
 Champs Chevy ... patronyme, ... *surname*, CMP, H,P/t @
 Champs Clements [Clément] ... patronyme, *surname*, GIZ, H,P/t @
 Champs Cochet ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FNT, H, P/t, @
 Champs Collin ... patronyme, ... *surname*, CMP, H, P/t, @
 Champs Corboz ... courbe, ... *bent*, CRL, H, P/t @
 Champs Court... (opposé aux champs longs), ... *short (as opposed to long fields)*, GIZ, H,T/p @
 Champs Croseran ... {?}, ONS, H,?/t @
 Champs Damont [d'amont] ... en dessus, ... *up on*, GIZ, H/c @
 Champs de l'Age ... haie, ... *hage*, CMP, FIE, H,F/t ✱
 Champs de l'Ecasse ... partie d'un champ qui s'enfonce dans un autre, ... *part of a field embeded to another*, FIE, H,T/t @
 Champs de l'Eglise ..., ... *of church*, HAM, H,M/t @
 Champs de l'Hépetaux ... de l'Hôpital, ... *of Hospital*, ONS, H,M/t @
 Champs de la Chaux ... terrain peu productif, ... *land with little production*, GIZ, H,G/t ✱

Champs de la Coutaz ... côte, ... *hill*, FIE, H,G/t,p @
 Champs de la Cure ... maison du ministre du St-Evangile, ... *of rectory*, CMP, H,M/t @
 Champs de la Jaunaz ... {?}, FIE, H,?/t @
 Champs de la Rioux ... {?}, FIE, H,?/t @
 Champs de Velaz ... agglomération principale de la commune, ou, souvenir d'une villa (grand domaine romain), ... *principal agglomeration of the village, or souvenirs of a roman estate (villa)*, ONS, H,M/b,t @
 Champs Depley ... haie, clôture, ou, famille Deplaict (pasteur à Giez 1617-18), ... *Hage, enclosed field, or family Deplaict (pastor of Giez (1617-18))*, GIZ, H,, F,P/t @
 Champs des Auges ... des bassins, ... , *of basins*, HAM, H,T/t @
 Champs des Beaumes ... cf baumaz, ... *see baumaz*, BNV, H,G/v @
 Champs des Chouettes ... des chouettes, ... *of owls*, FIE, H,F/t @
 Champs des Combes ... des petits vallons, ou patronyme [Descombaz], ... , *of vales, or surname [Descombaz]*, FIE, H,T/t @
 Champs des Courbes ... courbe, ... *bend*, FIE, H,T/t @
 Champs des Pierres ... pierreux, ... *stony*, FIE, H,G/t ✱
 Champs des Portes ... du manoir {?}, ... *of manor* {?}, ONS, H,M/t @
 Champs des Sept Poses ... *of seven acres, NB, all fields less than 7 p. l.*, HAM, H,-/t @
 Champs dessous les Vaux ... vallon, vallée, ... *vale*, FIE, H,T/t @
 Champs du Caroz en coin, ... *edgy*, CRL, H,T/t @
 Champs du Charrue, Charroz, Charruz ... {?}, CMP, H,?/t @
 Champs du Creux ... dans un creux, ... *in a hollow*, HAM, H,T/t @
 Champs du Marais ... *of swamp*, ONS, HAM, H,G/t ✱
 Champs du Mur ... souvent vestige antique, ... *often antic ruins*, ONS, H,M/v @
 Champs du Pont ... du pont, ... *of bridge*, CMP, H,M/c @
 Champs du Port ... passage, ... *path*, ONS, H,T/t @
 Champs Esteveyon, Etevenon ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FNT, H,P/t @
 Champs Gelin ... patronyme, ... *surname*, CRL, H,P/t @
 Champs Gerard ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FIE, H,P/t @
 Champs Gonin ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FIE, H,P/t @

Champs Magnenet ... patronyme, ... *surname*, GIZ, H,P/t @
 Champs Maigros ... patronyme, ... *surname*, HAM, H,P/t @
 Champs Megny ... patronyme, ... *surname*, CRL, H,P/t @
 Champs Mermoud ... patronyme, ... *surname*, GIZ, H,P/t @
 Champs Meyjoz ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FIE, H,P/t @
 Champs Montaney ... colline, ... *hillock*, GIZ, ONS, H,T/t @
 Champs Morel ... patronyme, ... *surname*, CMP, H,P/t @
 Champs Moudry ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FIE, H,P/t @
 Champs Pavillard ... patronyme, ... *surname*, HAM, H,P/t @
 Champs Poussin... {?}, en Valais: 'Champoussin', ... {?}, FIE, H,?/t @
 Champs Richard ... patronyme, ... *surname*, ONS, H,P/b,t @
 Champs Rosset ... patronyme, ... *surname*, ONS, H,P/t @
 Champs sous les Forches ... sous les fourches, sous le gibet, ... *under gibbet*, HAM, H,M/t @
 Champs St.Maurice ... ayant appartenu à l'église de St-Maurice, ... *ex-property of the Church of St-Maurice*, HAM, H,M/t @
 Chantaboz chante-crapaud, lieu humide, *where toads sing, dump field*, HAM, G/t ✱
 Chantaire {?}, HAM, ?/t @
 Chantamerloz chantemerle, verger ou bosquet où les merles chantent, *bushes, where blackbirds sing*, CMP, FIE, ONS, F/v,f(ONS) @
 Chantaz {?}, CMP, ?/t @
 Chantoux, Chantouz colline {chanton?}, *hillock*, CMP, T/t @
 Chapelle chapelle, chapel, FIE, M/v @
 Chappons boutures de vigne, cuttings of vine, FNT, F/v ✱
 Charbonnay, Charbonnière place où l'on carbonise le bois, *where wood is carbonised*, CRL, M/t @
 Charlatanes {?}, FIE, ?/v @
 Charru, Charruz, Cherruz {?}, CMP, ?/t @
 Chassagne forêt où domine le chêne pédonculé, *Forest of pedunculate oak*, BNV, CMP, F/t @
 Chateau Foillet {?}, GIZ, ?/b,t @
 Chauderon, Chau de ron excavation généralement circulaire, creusée par les eaux, *hollow*, FNT, T/t @
 Chaux terrain peu productif, *land with little production*, CRL, FIE, GIZ, ONS, HAM, G/t ✱
 Cheminet petit chemin, *path*, CRL, T/v @
 Chenevieres champ où l'on cultive le chanvre, *hemp-field*, FNT, F/c @
 Chentre espace séparant deux champs, vignes; peut-être aussi

une haie ou un mur, *field's borders between two plots of land (arable, vineyard, etc); it could be a wall or a hedge*, FIE, T/t @
 Chentre Vevey, Vevei ... de Vevey (patronyme?), ... *of Vevey (surname?)*, FNT, T,P/t @
 Chentre des Combes ... des vallons, ou patronyme, ... *of vales, or surname*, FIET, T/t @
 Chentre des Portes {?}, ONS, T,?/t @
 Cherre, Cherrex {?}, ONS, ?/t @
 Cheseaux maisons en ruines ou disparues, *wrecked houses*, CMP, FIE, M/c,t @
 Chevalenson {?}, HAM, ?/p @
 Chevalley patronyme, *surname*, HAM, P/t @
 Chez chez, *next to, at*
 Chez Berthy ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FIE, P/c @
 Chez Cochet ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FNT, P/c @
 Chez le Droux [Droz?] ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FNT, P/v @
 Chez Perrin ... patronyme, ... *surname*, CRL, P/t @
 Chez Rutilliat ... patronyme, ... *surname*, GIZ, P/c @
 Chollet patronyme, *surname*, ONS, P/t @
 Chuet chouette {?}, owls {?}, CRL, F/v @
 Clergie propriété du clergé, *clergy's property*, HAM, P/v @
 Clos terrain échappant à l'assolement triennal et au libre parcours, *lands exempted from Assolement Triennal and free usage*, ONS, C/p @
 Clos à Blaise ... prénom, ... *name*, GIZ, C,?/c @
 Clos à la Bela, Bellaz ... patronyme ou surnom (sobriquet), ... *surname, or nickname*, FNT, C,?/c @
 Clos Alix ... patronyme médiéval, ... *medieval surname*, CRL, C,P/c @
 Clos Allemand [Allamand] ... patronyme, ... *surname*, GIZ, C,P/c @
 Clos Barthelemy ... patronyme, ... *surname*, , CMP, C,P/c @
 Clos Berthy ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FIE, C,P/c,t @
 Clos Bore, [Bord?] ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FIE, C,P/p @
 Clos Breloron ... patronyme, ... *surname*, CRL, C,P/c @
 Clos Canton, [Cantini?] ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FIE, C,P/c @
 Clos Corbet ... courbe, ou patronyme, ... *bend, or surname*, FNT, C,T/c @
 Clos d'Echallens ... Echallens, ... *of Echallens, a town next to Grandson*, CRL, C,P/c @

Clos d'Isay, Isac ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FNT, C,P/c @
 Clos d'Orbe ... Orbe, ... *of Orbe, a town next to Grandson*, CRL, C,P/c @
 Clos de l'Egue, Leigue ... de l'eau, ... *of water*, FNT, C,G, /c @
 Clos de la Grange Neuve ... , ... *of 'new' barn*, GIZ, C,M/b,c @
 Clos de la Montagne ... montagne, ... *mountain*, CMP, C,T/c @
 Clos de Malliez, Maille ... {?}, FNT, C,?/c @
 Clos de Murailles ... vestiges de murs, ... *ruins of wall*, CRL, C,M/c @
 Clos de St Maurice ... de St Maurice, ... *St Maurice, Church of Champagne*, CMP, C,P/c @
 Clos Derrei, Derrey ... derrière, ... *back*, FIE, GIZ, C,D/c,b @
 Clos des Entoz ... arbres fruitiers greffés, ... *fruited trees, engrafted*, ONS, C,F/c @
 Clos des Villars ... patronyme, ... *surname*, CMP, C,P/c,p @
 Clos Devant ... devant, ... *front*, ONS, C,D/c @
 Clos du Four ... four à pain, ... *oven for bread*, FIE, C,M/c @
 Clos du Fourryafouz, Foryafou ... {?}, FNT, C,?/c @
 Clos du Greney, Grenei ... grenier, hangar à graine, ... *loft, garner*, FNT, C,M/c @
 Clos du Pontet ... petit pont, ... *small bridge*, FNT, C,M/c @
 Clos Duvoisin, du Vesin ... patronyme, ... *surname*, GIZ, C,P/c @
 Clos Jaquet ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FNT, C,P/p @
 Clos Jovy ... patronyme, ... *surname*, GIZ, C,P/c @
 Clos Lancelloz ... patronyme médiéval, ... *mediaeval surname*, FIE, C,P/c @
 Clos Laudaz ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FIE, C,P/c @
 Clos Luchemy ... patronyme {?}, ... *surname* {?}, GIZ, C,P/c @
 Clos Martigny [Martignier] ... patronyme, ... *surname*, GIZ, C,P/c @
 Clos Mayet ... patronyme, ... *surname*, ONS, C,P/c @
 Clos Michot ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FNT, C,P/t @
 Clos Montagny ... patronyme (M. de Montagny), Giez avait appartenu au Seigneur de Montagny, ... *surname, (sir of Montagny), Giez belonged to the seigneur of Montagny*, GIZ, C,P/c @
 Clos Mossotaz ... terrain moussu, humide, ... *mossy field, dump*, BNV, C,G/c,p @
 Clos Moulin ... moulin, ... *mill*, FIE, C,M/c @

Clos Piccot ... patronyme, ...
surname, FNT, C,P/c @
 Clos Pomme ... {?}, GIZ, C,7/c @
 Clos Renaud ... patronyme, ...
surname, FNT, C,P/c @
 Clos Rond ... forme du terrain {?},
 ... *field's shape* {?}, GIZ, C,7/t @
 Clos Rou [Roud] ... patronyme {?},
 ... *surname* {?}, GIZ, C,7/c @
 Clos Roulet ... patronyme, ...
surname, HAM, C,P/c @
 Clos St-Pierre ... à l'origine
 propriété d'une église ou chapelle
 dédiée à St-Pierre, ... *originally a*
church or chapel for St-Pierre,
 CRL, C,M/c @
 Clos sous la Chapelle ... chapelle,
 ... *chapel*, FIE, C,M/c @
 Clos sous la Croix ... croisée ou
 croix, ... *crossing or cross*, ONS,
 C,M/c @
 Clos Vuerchaz ... patronyme, ...
surname, HAM, C,P/c @
 Clos Zuelots, [Zulauf?] ...
 patronyme {?}, ... *surname* {?},
 BN, C,P/c @
 Closel, Closelet petit clos; cf. Clos,
small enclosed field, see Clos,
 CMP, CRL, GIZ, C,t,v,c @
 Coinche Epenaz {coinche?} où
 poussent des plantes épineuse,
where prickly plants grow, FIE, F/t
 ✱
 Collonges terre concédée au
 Moyen-Age à un colon, *land given*
to a colon in Middle-Ages, ONS,
 H/t @
 Combaz,Combe,Combes petit
 vallon, *small vale*, HAM, FNT,FIE,
 T/v,p,t @
 Combaz au Favre ... forgeron ou
 Favre patronyme, ... *blacksmith or*
Favre patronymic, FNT, T,P/t @
 Combaz Veyron ... patronyme, ...
surname, HAM, T,P/v @
 Combaz des Echatelards, Es
 Chatelard petite éminence
 surmontée d'un château (souvent
 disparu), *small hill topped by a*
manor (often vanished), ONS, G/t
 @
 Communailles terrains appartenant
 à la communauté, *lands belonging*
to the community, NB see text,
 FIE, H/c @
 Condemnaz, Condemnaz,
 Condemines terre faisant partie de
 la réserve du seigneur, *land*
reserved for the seigneur NB,
belong to individual owners, FNT,
 GIZ, HAM, H/t @
 Condeneusaz {?}, CRL, FNT, ONS,
 7/t @
 Corbet courbe, *bent*, CRL, FIE,FNT,
 T/p,c @
 Corcelles petite cour, au sens de
 domaine agric, *small court village*,
centre, buildings
 Corcellettes hameau de la ville de
 Grandson, petite cour, *a hamlet of*

the town of Grandson, small
courtyard Hamlet, buildings
 Cornars, Cornaz terrain en forme
 de pointe, *field in edge form*, GIZ,
 T/f @
 Coste côte, coste, ALL, T
 Coste Cottens ... patronyme, ...
surname, GIZ, T,P/t @
 Coste Vuilles ... patronyme, ...
surname, FNT, T,P/t @
 Coudoz tournant d'un chemin (ou
 du ruisseau), *bent of a road (of a*
stream), BNV, T/t @
 Coudraz, Coudre noisetier, *hazel-*
tree, BNV, ONS, F/t,p @
 Coudretaz, Coudrex lieu planté de
 noisetiers, *area of hazel-trees*,
 HAM, ONS, F/t @
 Courson probablement diminutif de
 "cour", domaine rural, *dims. of*
"cour", rural estate, FIE, M/t @
 Court Champs champ court, short
 arable land, FNT, H/, t @
 Courtaz Ray sillon court (champ
 labouré court), *short furrow*, ONS,
 H/t @
 Coutaz, Coutes [Coote] côte,
 côtes, *hill, hilly*, BNV, CMP, FNT,
 ONS, T/v,t,p @
 Coutaz Vuilles ... patronyme, ...
surname, FNT, T,P/t @
 Covailons {?}, FIE, 7/p @
 Crau au lau creux au loup, *hollow*
for wolf, ONS, F/c @
 Creponnet petit rocher, *small rock*,
 GIZ, T/t @
 Crest, Crête [crêt] crête, petit
 sommet, *monticule, crest*, CRL,
 ONS, T/t @
 Crest de la Pelletaz ... terrain plat,
 ... *flat field*, CMP, T,T/p @
 Crest de Praz ... prairie, ...
meadow, CMP, T,R/t @
 Crest de Vaudelin ... {?}
 (Actuellement Crêt Vendelain), ...
 {?}, FIE, T,7/t @
 Crest a la Sussaz ... {?}, GIZ, T,7//
 @
 Crest de Blanc ... patronyme, ...
surname, ONS, T,P// @
 Crest de Chaux ... terrain peu
 productif, ... *land with little*
production, CRL, ONS, T,G/v,t @
 Crest de Plan ... terrain plat, ... *flat*
fields, ONS, T,T/t @
 Crest de Sepy ... forêt de sapins,
 ... *forest of fir*, CRL, T,F/p @
 Crest de Valleyres ... vallonné?,
 ou, appartenant au seigneur de
 Valleyres?, ... *hilly field* {?} *or has*
been the property of seigneur of
Valleyres?, BNV, T,T/v @
 Crest du Buffaz ... {?}, HAM, T,7//
 @
 Crest du Tombex ... nécropole du
 haut Moyen-Age, ... *necropolis of*
high Middle Ages, FNT, T,M/p @
 Croix croisée ou croix (monument),
crossing or cross, CRL, GIZ, ONS,
 M/t @

Croix de Bochet ... petit bois, *small*
woods, HAM, M,F/v @
 Croseran {?}, ONS, 7/t @
 Crosset petit creux, *small hollow*,
 FNT, T/t @
 Cuaz de Praz Pittet Cuaz=queue,
 terrain allongé {?}, {la famille Pittet
 ne résiderait pas au nord du canton
 de Vaud avant 1819}, *Cuaz = tail*,
stretched land {?}, {there has been
 no Pittet family in the northern part
 of canton of Vaud before 1819},
 ONS, 7/t @
 Cul fin d'un terrain, sans issue,
land's end
 Cul de Biollei ... bouleaux, ...
birchtrees, FIE, T,F/p @
 Cul de Folieux ... des feuilles, ...
of leaves, FNT, T,F/t @
 Cul de la Nance ... {?}, GIZ, T,7/t
 @
 Cul de Praz Pittet ... petit pré {?}
 (Cf. Cuaz de), ... *small meadow*
 {?} (see supra cuaz), ONS, T,R,P/p
 @
 Cul de Rougemont ... patronyme,
 ... *surname*, FNT, T,P/p @
 Cul de Sac, FIE, T/t @
 Cure maison du ministre du St-
 Evangile, *rectory*, GIZ, M/p @
 Cuves [cf. cuaz] les queues,
 terrains allongés, *land's tail*,
stretched land, CRL, T/v @

D

Derdes voir Tiedroz, see Tiedroz
 Droules {?}, FIE, 7/v @
 Dérupaz pente escarpée, *cragged*
pitch, FIE, T/v @
 Desertes semble indiquer un terrain
 défriché et non un désert,
 toponyme fréquemment lié à une
 vigne, *seems to indicate a cleared*
field, most associated with vine,
 FIE, T/v ✱
 Deudaz, Dodaz, Dudaz {?}, HAM,
 7/t @
 Dossattes {?}, FIE, 7/v @
 Duc de Bourgogne colline où le duc
 de Bourgogne, Charles le
 Téméraire établit son camp avant
 la bataille de Grandson (1476),
Field where the Duc of Bourgogne,
Charles, set up camp before the
battle of Grandson (1476), HAM,
 P/t @

E

Echettes {?}, CMP, 7/v @
 Ecolache, {?}, CRL, 7/p @
 Entre Servy {?}, FNT, 7/t @
 Epenaz, Epine, Espinnettes,
 Epinettes où poussent des plantes
 épineuses, *where prickly plants*
grow, BNV, CRL, ONS, F/v,t @
 Epinamoz, Espinamoz, {?}, ONS,
 7/t @

Esserty terrain défriché, *cleared field*, HAM, R/c @
 Esses lfs (latin : taxus), *yew-trees*, ONS, F/t @
 Ettatet {?}, ONS, ?/t @
 Evuaz eau, *water*, CRL, F/t @

F

Facoyena {?}, FNT, ?/p @
 Favary champ de fèves {?}, *bean-field* {?}, FNT, F/t @
 Favre forgeron ou Favre patronyme, *blacksmith or Favre patronymic*, FNT, P/t @
 Fayel bois de hêtres, *beech-wood*, GIZ, F/f,t @
 Ferajoz terrain fertile, labouré chaque année, *fertil land, laboured each year*, HAM, F/t @
 Ferneyres {?}, GIZ, ?/t @
 Fervaz, Cf. Servaz, *see Servaz*, HAM, F/t @
 Fey bois de hêtres, *beech-wood*, ONS, F/t @
 Fiez en 888 p.c. Fiaco (gentilice Fidius?), 888 a.c.: *Fiaco village, centre, buildings*
 Fiez-pittet, village Fiez le petit, *hamlet of Grandson (town)hamelt, buildings*
 Flon ruisseau, *stream*, CRL, F/v,p @
 Fluzel probablement de flumicellum = ruisseau (en général flonzel), *probably of stream*, BNV, T/p,v @
 Folliex forêt de feuillus, *leaves-forest*, FNT, F/p,t,j @
 Fontaine, Fontanaz Fontaine, spring, CMP, CRL, M/t @
 Fontaine St Martin ... St Martin, ... St Martin, FNT, M,P/t @
 Fontaine des Auges ... bassin, ... *basin*, HAM, M,M/p @
 Fontaines, Fontanellaz, Fontanettaz, Fontannel, Fontannetes, Fontannettaz petite fontaine, *small spring*, FNT: village, centre, *buildings*, CMP, M/t @
 Forêt, *woods*, CRL, F/t,l @
 Forge forge, *smithy*, CRL, M/p @
 Fossaux fossé, tranchée, *ditch*, FIE, T/t @
 Fouaty {?}CMP, ?/v @
 Four, Fourny four à pain, *oven for bread*, GIZ, ONS, M/t,v @
 Froideville domaine, village exposé aux vents froids (du nord), *property, village exposed to cold winds (northerly)*, HAM, G/v @

G

Gallieses {?}, FIE, ?/v @
 Giez patronyme gallo-romain, *gallo-roman surname*, village, centre, *buildings*

Giroudes patronyme, Giroud, *surname*, Giroud, CRL, FIE, P/v @
 Golie du marechat étendue d'eau du marais (pléonasm), *expanse water of marsh (pleonasm)*, ONS, G/t @
 Golletaz couloir, passage étroit, *narrow path*, ONS, T/p @
 Gollettaz d'Etraz passage de la route romaine (Via Strata) entre les collines et le pied du Jura, *via strata*, ONS, T/t @
 Gollie de paquier marais du pâturage communal, *marsh of communal meadows*, HAM, G/t @
 Gollion flaque d'eau, puddle, *pool*, CMP, G/t @
 Gottalaz, Gottettaz petite source, *small spring*, BNV, FIE, G/t @
 Grand(es) large, *large*
 Grand Bayard ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FIE, P/p,l @
 Grand Chemin ... chemin, ... *road*, ONS, T/t @
 Grand Clos ... terrain échappant à l'assolement triennal et au libre parcours, ... *lands exempted from Assolement Triennal and free usage*, FIE, HAM, C/t @
 Grand Perroud ... patronyme, ... *surname*, BNV, P/t @
 Grand Praz ... prairie, ... *meadow*, FNT, GIZ, ONS, HAM, R/c,p @
 Grand Sagne ... tourbière, ... *turf-moor*, FNT, G/t @
 Grand Tombex ... nécropole du haut Moyen-Age, ... *necropolis of high Middle-Ages*, CRL, M/v,c,t @
 Grand Vernex ... forêts ou bosquets d'aunes, ... *grove, thicket or woods of adlers*, ONS, F/t @
 Grand Champs ... champs, ... *arable lands*, HAM, GIZ, H/t @
 Grand Vignes. .. vignes, ... *vine*, FIE, F/v @
 Grandson

Grandsonnet ruisseau se jetant dans le lac de Neuchâtel à Grandson, *the name of a local stream*, HAM, T/t @
 Grasseliaz terrain où poussent des genéviers {grassi}, *where juniper trees grow*, HAM, F/t @
 Graviiaz {?}, ONS, ?/t @
 Greffion cerisier à bigarreaux, *bigaroon*, CMP, F/t @
 Gremadaz {?}, FIE, ?/v @
 Grillet grillon ou patronyme, *cricket or surname*, ONS, P/t @
 Grillon, grillon, *cricket*, GIZ, P/t @
 Gros bois grands bois, *large woods*, CMP, F/t @
 Gros bois Tassoneyres repaires de blaireaux, *den of badgers*, GIZ, F/f @
 Grosse Anny {?}, ONS, ?/t @
 Guellion {?}, CMP, 2/

Guerrardaz [Gehrad], patronyme, *surname*, GIZ, P/c @
 Gumoens patronyme, *surname*, GIZ, P/c,t @

H

Hage cf Age, *see Age*
 Hauts Crets hauts sommets, *high crests*, CMP, T/t @
 Huibolannes {?}, FIE, ?/v @

I

Ille, Illes, Islaz île, isle (fig.) CMP, T/p @

J

Janiton [jeanneton?] [sobriquet?], [nickname?], ONS, ?/t @
 Jonchière endroit où abondent les joncs, *where rushes grow*, CRL, F/t @
 Journey surface cultivée d'un jour, *land laboured in a day*, ONS, G/t @

L

Lapiaz, Lapias dalle de calcaire, rongée par les eaux de surface, *clay flagstone, damaged by water*, BNV, G/v @
 Lariou emplacement où l'on traite les vaches {?}, *location to milk cows* {?}, ONS, ?/t @
 Lau loup, *wolf*, GIZ, F/t @
 Laydefour, Leidefour, Leydefourt en Là Dehors, *out of, see using prepositions in the text*, CMP, BNV, ?/v @
 Layjuz, Leyjuz, Leyjoz en La, en Bas, *Down there, see above*, ONS, ?/p, @
 Léchère, Lechière, Leschière, Lechire pré humide où poussent des laïches ou carex, *dump fields where sedge grow*, FIE, HAM, ONS, F/p,t,v @
 Léchère riondaz ... ronde, ... *round*, HAM, F/t @
 Lenfondraz, [Enfondraz?] {?}, CRL, ?/t @
 Lenviron, [Environ] aux environs, *about, next to*, CMP, ?/v @
 Lescheralles {?}, ONS, ?/t @
 Lesse [l'Esse], Cf. Esse, *see: Esse*, ONS, F/t @
 Liaudettaz, [Liaudet]patronyme, *surname*, FIE, P/v @
 Longe raye, Longeraye zone de champs longs et étroits, *area of long and narrow fields*, ONS,T/t @
 Longemalaz longue étendue boueuse, *long expansion of mud*, FIE, GIZ, HAM, G/v,t @
 Longe(s) Pierre(s), Pierra, Pierre, Pierrot menhirs à Corcelles mais à

Fiez?, *menhirs in Corcelles but there are no known menhirs in Fiez*, CRL, FIE, G/p,t @
 Longes Planches terrain en faible pente, plus long que large, *slope field longer than larger*, CRL, T/p @
 Longet allongé {?}, {?}, HAM, ?/v @
 Longues, [Long?] patronyme, *surname*, FIE, P/v @
 Lormoz, l'Ormoz orme, *elm*, CRL, F/t @
 Lovateyre lieu hanté par les loups, *place haunted by wolves*, GIZ, F/f @
 Loyettaz flaque d'eau, *puddle*, FNT, G/t @
 Luchettaz [l'ochettaz] petite oche{?}, *small oche*, {see oche}, HAM, ?/t @

M

Maily, Malliez {?}, FIE, FNT, ?/t @
 Maladaire, Maladère, Maladeyre, Maladière léproserie, *leproserie*, CMP, FNT, HAM, M/t,p @
 Males Vignes, mauvaise vigne, *bad vine*, HAM, F/v *
 Marais marais, *moor*, ONS, HAM, G/t @
 Marcherat {?} {Maréchat = marais?}, FIE, ?/t @
 Margottaz [Margot] patronyme, *surname*, HAM, P/t @
 Maupert {?}, GIZ, ?/t @
 Maury patronyme, *surname*, FNT, P/p @
 Mayettaz petite meule de foin, *small millstone for hay*, ONS, M/t,p @
 Mermaz {?}, HAM, ?/t @
 Millieres, [Milliet?], patronyme, (ou champ de mil), *surname*, FIE, P/v @
 Molliat, Molliès, Molliès terrain humide, marécageux, *dump lands*, swampy, CRL, FIE, G/t *
 Molliaz Froideville ... cf froideville, ..., *see froideville*, GIZ, G/c @
 Molliaz Longue ... long, FIE, G/p @
 Molliaz de la Chaux ... terrain peu productif, ... *land with little production*, HAM, G/p @
 Monneyre canal d'amenée d'eau au moulin, *water-canal for mill*, FNT, M/v @
 Mont, Montaz Mont, *Mount*, CRL, T/t @
 Montaubert [Mont au Bart] patronyme, [Bart: au m. age le bart est le représentant du chef de famille auprès du seigneur], *surname*, [Bart: in M.-Ages bart was the family's delegate to the seigneur], CRL, P/l @
 Montcery, Montsery, {?}, GIZ, HAM, ?/t @

Montelly petit mont, *small mount*, HAM, T/t @
 Montevaux {?}, FIE, FNT, ?/t,v @
 Montgrisson {?}, HAM, ?/t @
 Montserenaz {?}, FIE, ?/t @
 Moqueuses {?}, HAM, ?/p @
 Morand patronyme, *surname*, FNT, P/v @
 Mottaz, Mottex, Motte terre, petite élévation, *hillock*, BNV, FIE, ONS, HAM, G/t,p @
 Moulin des Arnoz (Arnon) *mill of Arnon (stream running in the area)*, CMP, HAM, M/p @

N

Narbonnaz, Nerbonnaz {?}, FNT, ?/t @
 Niaux à l'Age, {?} ... à haie, {?} .. hedge, CMP, ?/t @
 Nid de la sigogne nid de cigogne, *stork's nest*, GIZ, F/t @
 Nioland région sujette au brouillard, *foggy area*, CRL, G/t @
 Noncevy {?}, CRL, ?/t @
 Nonnes {?}, BNV, ?/v @
 Novet terres "nouvellement" défrichées, *"newly" cleared, exploited lands*, CMP, BNV, H/t @
 Noyerat, Noyerettes petit noyer, *small walnut-tree*, CMP, CRL, HAM, F/t,p,v @

O

Oche, Oches plantage, terrain cultivé chaque année, *land laboured every year*, GIZ, FNT, HAM, H/c *
 Oche des Clos ... terrain échappant à l'assolement triennal et au libre parcours, ... *land released from Assolement Triennal and free usage*, CRL, H/c,t @
 Oche sous le Four ... four à pain, ... *oven for bread*, CRL, M,H/c,p @
 Oche de Pravet {?}, FNT, ?/p @
 Ochettes petite oche, *small oche*, CMP, FIE, H/v,c @
 Onnens patronyme germanique Onno, *German surname Onno*, village, centre, *buildings*
 Orges champs d'orge, *barley fields*, FIE, H/t *
 Orjux {?}, FIE, ?/t @
 Ouclos au clos, HAM, C/t,p @
 Oyer [l'oyer?] {?}, FIE, ?/t @

P

Pagny {?}, FIE, ?/t @
 Palettaz, Pallaz terrain plat, *flat field*, CMP, ONS, HAM, G/p,t,v @
 Papeterie papeterie, *paper-mill*, FIE, M/c @
 Paquier, Paquis pâturage, *pasture*, FIE, HAM, R/t @
 Parc, enclos, *park*, FNT, G/t,j @

Pecheret {?}, CMP, ?/t,h,p @
 Perei Guyon, Perey Guyon, pré-poirier, *meadow-pear-tree*, FNT, F/v @
 Perlet {?}, FIE, ONS, HAM, ?/t,v,c @
 Perraudetaz [Perraudet] patronyme, *surname*, GIZ, P/v,t @
 Perreaz, Perreyaz, Perreys, Perreusaz, Perreusaz, Perreuses, Perrey, Perreux, Perroselle, Perroset, Perrozas, Perrozel, Perrozet terrain pierreux, *stony land*, BNV, CMP, CRL, FIE, FNT, GIZ, HAM, ONS, G/t,p,c,h @
 Perte de la fontannaz fuite d'eau, *water leak*, spring, CRL, T/p @
 Perte ès morand {?}, FIE, T/v @
 Pertuis passage, *passage*, CRL, T/t @
 Pertuit de la Fontaine cf supra, *see supra*, CRL, T/t @
 Petit, Petite, Petitzaz petite, *small*
 Petit Bayard ... patronyme, ... *surname*, FIE, P/p @
 Petit Lau ... loup, ... *wolf*, GIZ, F/t @
 Petit Praz ... pré, ... *meadow*, ONS, R/t @
 Petit Verchière ... terre donnée à l'origine en dot à une fille, ... *land given, originally, as dowery to a girl*, ONS, H/t @
 Petit Vernez ... forêt ou bosquet d'aunes, ... *grove, thicket or woods of adlers*, CRL, F/c @
 Petit Chaux ... terrain peu productif, ... *land with little production*, HAM, G/p @
 Petite fin ... fin: partie du territoire ensemencé la même année dans l'assolement triennal, ... *fin = area cultivated the same year in assolement triennal*, GIZ, G/c @, NB. see text
 Petit Planche ... petit terrain en faible pente, plus long que large, ... *small slope field longer than larger*, HAM, T/t @
 Petit Oches ... cf. oche, ... *see oche*, GIZ, H/c,p,j,h @
 Picheret {?}, CMP, ?/j @
 Pieces Brayer terrain, petit domaine de la famille Brayer, *lands, small estate of family Brayer*, CRL, P/t @
 Pierraz, Pierres ..., *stone, stony*, GIZ, G/t @
 Pierraz Celin, Selin {?}, GIZ, ?/t @
 Pierraz Lemont {?}, GIZ, ?/t @
 Pierre de mal conseil, {menhir où l'on apporte des offrandes ou fait des vœux? Superstitions populaires?}, {*menhir to which some offerings are brought and is used for making wishes? popular superstition?*}, HAM, G/t @
 Pierre grise ... , *grey stone*, CRL, G/t @

Plan terrain relativement plat,
relatively flat field, ONS, G/t @
Plan vuette, de vuette point de
vue, *sight*, ONS, G/v @
Planche(e) terrain en faible pente,
plus long que large, *slope field*
longer than larger, ONS, G/p @

Planche Maufert ... patronyme, ...
surname, CRL, G,P/p @
Planche au Favre ... forgeron ou
Favre patronyme, ... *blacksmith or*
Favre patronymic, BNV, ?/l @
Planche Berthoud ... patronyme, ...
surname, ONS, G,P/t @
Planche Lambert ... patronyme, ...
surname, FIE, G,P/t @
Plantaz, Plantez jeune vigne, ou,
en forêt, pépinière, *young vine, or,*
in forest nursery, CMP, FIE, FNT,
GIZ, HAM, F/v,t,c ✱
Plantaz de Romeyron [Romain] ...
..., ... *a village in dist. Grandson*,
CMP, BNV, F/v ✱
Plantaz Savorettes ... patronyme
{?}, ... *surname* {?}, FNT, G,P/v @
Plattaz, Plattes, Plattet, Plattet
terrain plat, *flat field*, FIE, FNT,
ONS, G/v,t @
Plattaz sus Bayard ... patronyme,
... *surname*, FIE, G,P/v @
Poissine vivier, *fish-pool*, HAM, M/t
@
Pommelaz {?}
[pomme + méla = pomme
sauvage?], GIZ, ?/c @
Pomme a la Vieille pommier à la
Vieille? (sobriquet), *apple-tree of*
the old woman? (nickname), GIZ,
?/t @
Port passage {?}, *path* {?}, ONS,
?/t @
praven [pravin? cf. provin] {?},
GIZ, ?/l @
pravet pré-vieux {?}, FNT, ?/p @
Praz, Pré, Prey prairies, *meadow*,
CMP, ONS, R/p @
Praz Basset ... patronyme, ...
surname, HAM, R,P/t @
Praz Baumen, Baume, Baumat ...
patronyme?, cf Baumaz, ...
surname ?, *see Baumaz*, GIZ, R,P/t
@
Praz Beroud ... patronyme, ...
surname, FIE, R,P/p @
Praz Berthoud ... patronyme, ...
surname, ONS, R,P/p @
Praz Bertin ... patronyme, ...
surname, CRL, R,P/p,t @
Praz Biollei [Biolay] [Biolet] ...
patronyme, Yverdon 16ème, ...
surname, Yverdon, 16thC., FIE,
R,P/t @
Praz Bonjour ... patronyme, ...
surname, ONS, R,P/p @
Praz Brayer ... patronyme, ...
surname, FNT, R,P/p,c @
Praz Bugnon [Bugnion] ... de la
source, [patronyme], ... *of spring*,
[*surname*], ONS, R,P/p,t @

Praz Celin {?}, GIZ, R,?/t @
Praz Daumenjoz ... patronyme, ...
surname, BNV, R,P/c @
Praz de la Chaux ... peu productif,
... *little production*, GIZ, HAM,
R,P/p @
Praz de la Marendaz, Marendoz
... lieu où l'on fait prendre au bétail
une dernière ration d'herbe avant
la traite du soir, ... *where cows are*
given the last feed before night
milking, ONS, R/p @
Praz de la Sauge ... du saules, ...
willow, ONS, R/p ✱
Praz de Picheret ... {?}, CMP, R,?/f
@
Praz des Joncs ... des joncs, ... *of*
rushes, GIZ, R,F/p @
Praz dessous les Vaux ... vallons,
vallées, ... *vales*, FIE, R,T/t @
Praz du Chanoz ... chêne
pédonculé, ... *pendunculate oak*,
CRL, ONS, R,F/p @
Praz du Voisin, du Vesin,
[Duvoisin] ... patronyme, ...
surname, GIZ, R,P/p,h @
Praz es Ouyes ... oies, ... *geese*,
ONS, R,F/p @
Praz Folieux ... aux arbres à
feuilles, ... *leaves-tree*, FNT, R,F/p
@
Praz Jean Magnin ... patronyme,
... *surname*, GIZ, R,P/t @
Praz Jeannine ... prénom féminin,
... *female name*, ONS, R,P/p,h @
Praz Martignier [Martigny] ...
patronyme, ... *surname*, GIZ, R,P/f
@
Praz Megni ... patronyme, ...
surname, ONS, R,P/p @
Praz Novy ... probablement
'nouvel', "nouvellement" défriché,
... *probably new, 'newly' cleared*,
CRL, ONS, R/t @
Praz Passaz, {?}, GIZ, R,?/t @
Praz Preveyre ... du prêtre, ... *of*
clergy, GIZ, R,P/p,t @
Praz Rappaz ... patronyme, [pré,
râpe ?], ... *surname*, CMP, R,P/f @
Praz Riondet... petit pré rond, ...
small circular meadow, GIZ, R,T/t
@
Praz Serat {?}, FIE, R,?/f @
Praz St Martin ... appartenant à
une chapelle ou église dédiée à St.
Martin, ... *belong to St. Martin*,
ONS, R,P/t @
Praz Vernaz... forêt ou bosquet
d'aunes [patronyme], ... *grove,*
thicket or woods of adlers
[*surname*], FNT, R,F/t @
Praz Vers le Borney ... vers la
fontaine, ... *next to the spring*,
ONS, R,M/p,c @
Prelaz, Perelet petit pré, *small*
meadow, FIE, HAM, ONS,
R,T/t,p,v @
Pren premier, jeune (on ne sait pas
par rapport à quoi!), *young, younger*
[*than what?*], FNT, ?/t @

Pringin patronyme {?}, *surname*
{?}, GIZ, HAM, P/p @
Prisaz, Prise(s) terrain occupé
contre redevance au seigneur, pour
être mis en culture, *land taken*
from the seigneur by paying taxes
for cultivation, BNV, CRL, HAM,
H/v,h @
Prisaz à (de) Jeannine ... prénom
féminin, ... *female name*, CMP,
H/t,b,j @
Prisaz Rouge ... patronyme, ...
surname, CRL, H/t,b @
Prolong à la famille Long, *family*
Long's property, FIE, P/t,p @
Proulin pré au lin?, *meadow for*
flax?, GIZ, R/c @
Provin, Pravin, Praven {?}, GIZ,
?/p,t @
Puthod patronyme, ... *surname*,
ONS, P/t @

R

Raisse scierie, *saw-mill*, FIE, M/h
@
Ranche {?}, ONS, ?/t @
Rappaz, Rapas terrain en pente,
buissonneux, *sloppy field, bushy*,
GIZ, G/t,l @
Rebete {?}, FNT, ?/t @
Recoury, Recovery {?}, HAM, ?/t
@
Recreux {?}, FNT, ?/v @
Remassat {?}, CRL, ?/t @
Reput {?}, HAM, ?/v @
Ressignet {?}, FIE, ?/t @
Revelin {?}, HAM, ?/v @
Reychettaz {?}, FNT, ?/l @
Riau a L'Ouie, Riaux a Louys, Ruz
a Louis ruisseau à l'oie, ruisseau de
famille Louis (prénom), *stream with*
geese, family Louis's stream
(*name*), FNT, P/t @
Riaz rue, *road*, CRL, T/p @
Rietaz, Rietta ruelle, *alley*, CMP,
BNV, T/c @
Riondon, Riondaz ronde, *circular*,
FNT, T/t @
Rioux a la longe {?}, CMP, ?/t @
Rochetaz, Rochettes petite roche,
small rock, BNV, G/t @
Rosoz, [rosex, rosy, rosey, rosiaz =
roseau en patois] roseaux {?}, reed
{?}, FIE, F/t @
Rosset patronyme, *surname*, GIZ,
P/t @
Rossier patronyme, *surname*, CMP,
P/v @
Rossignet {?}, FIE, ?/h,t @
Rouges Terres terrain
sidérolithique, ou ruine de villas
romaines {?}, *iron land, ruins of*
roman villas {?}, *NB. Today the*
best vine from Bonvillars is called
Rouge-Terre, BNV, ?/v ✱
Roulette [Roulet] patronyme,
surname, FNT, P/c @
Roverraz forêt de chênes rouvre,
forest of austrian oak, FNT, F/t @

Russelet ruisselet, *small stream*,
ONS, T/t @

S

Sagnettaz petite tourbière, *small turf-moor*, FNT, G/t @
Saint- Maurice hameau de
Champagne, *hamlet of Champagne*, CMP, b,t,j
Sassel, Sassil, Sassy rochers,
rocks, CMP, G/p,t @
Sau sureau, *edler*, HAM, F/t @
Saugeaz, Saugiaz saulaie, *willow-plantation*, HAM, F/t,p @
Sauges saules, *willow*, CRL, F/p @
Saugin {?}, FNT, ?/t @
Sautery patronyme de
Sautier?(garde-forestier),
surname?, ONS, ?/t @
Savary patronyme, *surname*, CMP,
P/v @
Savorettes [Savoret] patronyme,
surname, FNT, P/v @
Sechepraz, Secheraz pré sec, *dry meadow*, CMP, G/p ✱
Segnoz Louis saigne, marais
tourbeux de la famille Louis, *turf-moor of Louis's family*, BNV, G/v @
Senacloz {?}, CRL, ?/t @
Sepeaz forêt de sapins, *fir woods*,
CRL, F/t @
Serises cerises, *cherry*, HAM, F/t @
Servaz [silva] forêt, *forest*, HAM,
F/t @
Sezaux haies, *hedges*, HAM, F/t @
Sochiaz so chiaz = sous la crête?,
...?, GIZ, ?/p,c @
Suet {?}, GIZ, ?/t @
Sussaz {?}, GIZ, ?/b,c @

T

Taconyette de "taconnet",
tussilage (plante poussant sur les
éboulis)?, *calc's foot?*, FNT, ?/p @
Tamorel {?}, BNV, ?/v,l @
Tassonneyres repaire des
blaireaux, *den of badgers*, GIZ,
F/b,t @
Temevilles {?}, ONS, ?/b @
Tendronneyres pré infesté de
bugrane ou arrête-boeuf (herbacé),
rest harrow, cammack {?}, ONS,
HAM, F/p,t,v @
Terrabot, Terre a bot terres que
fréquentent les crapauds, terre
humide, *dump field where toads live*,
CRL, ONS, G/t @
Tetazneyres les têtes noires, *black-heads*, HAM, ? ✱
Tiedroz talus, *bank*, BNV, FIE, T/c @
Tillez tilleul, *linden-tree*, BNV, F/f ✱
Toffaz {?}, FNT, ?/t @
Tombaroux {?}, CRL, ?/t @

Tombex nécropole du haut Moyen-
Age, *necropolis of high Middle-Ages*,
CRL, FNT, M/t,v,c @
Tomorel {?}BNV, ?/v,l @
Toules terrain plat souvent en
terrasse, *flat-field often terrace*,
FNT, G/t @
Tracletaz {?}, BNV, ?/v @
Trecy [Tresy, Treizy] passage,
path, GIZ, T/t @
Trembley forêt de peupliers
tremblants, *aspen grove*, FNT, F/t @
Trolliers probablement pressoir,
prob. wine-press, HAM, M/t @
Truit pressoir, *wine-press*, BNV,
M/v @
Tuillerie fabrique de tuile, *hamlet in town of Grandson*, HAM, b,t,j,c ..

V

Valleyres vallonné? ou au Seigneur
de Valleyres?, *rolling field? or has been property of seigneur of Valleyres?*,
BNV, G/t,p,b,j,l @
Valorens {?}, CRL, ?/t,v @
Vaumasson {?}, CRL, ?/p @
Vaux vallons, vallées, *vales*, FNT,
FIE, T/v @
Velard, Vellard villars, hameau,
hamlet, HAM, G/t @
Velaz, Vellaz, agglomération
principale de la commune, ou
souvenir d'une villa (grand domaine
romain), *principal agglomeration of the village, or souvenir of a roman estate (villa)*, CMP, CRL, FIE,
M/p,v,t,c @
Verchieres terre donnée à l'origine
en dot à une fille, *land given originally as dowery to a girl*, ONS,
D/t @
Verdannes [Verdan] patronyme,
surname, FNT, P/c,j @
Verdet {?}, FNT, ?/t @
Verilliez, Vertillieux, Vertillières {?},
ONS, ?/v @
Vernaz, Vernetaz, Vernes, Vernex
forêt ou bosquet d'aunes, *grove, thicket or woods of adlers*, CRL,
FIE, ONS, F/t,v,p @
Vidonnessaz {?}, HAM, ?/t @
Vigne(s)... , *vine*, CMP, CRL, FIE,
FNT, GIZ, ONS, F /
Vignes Damon [d'Amont?] ...
d'enhaut {?}, ... *high up* {?}, GIZ,
F,?/c,v @
Vignes de l'Hôpital ... HAM, F,M/p @
Vignes de la Champallaz ... {?},
CMP, F,?/v ✱
Vignes de Rossier patronyme,
surname, CMP, F,P/t @
Vignes des Vaux... vallons, vallées,
... *vales*, FNT, F,G/v,t @
Vignes du Pont ..., ... *of bridge*,
FIE, F,M/v ✱

Vignes du Seigneur ... HAM,
F,P/v,c @
Vignes de Rioux ... {?}, FIE, F,?/v @
Vignes du Vesin, [Duvoisin] ...
patronyme, ... *surname*, GIZ,
F,P/j,v,c @
Vignes du Village ... ONS, F,M/t,v @
Vignes Murées ... entourées de
murs, ... *bordered by walls*, CRL,
F,M/v,p,c @
Vignes Neuvaz ... nouvelles, ...
new, FIE, F/t @
Ville agglomération principale de la
commune, *principale agglomeration of a village*, HAM,
M/v @
Vuabley clématite des haies,
clematis of hedge, HAM, F/t,p @
Vuete, Vuyete point de vue, *sight*,
CRL, ONS, T/t,v,p,b @
Vugy {?}, CRL, ?/v @
Vuide Grange, Vuidegrange grange
vide, *empty barn*, HAM, M/t @
Vuillandes patronyme, *surname*,
CMP, P/v @
Vuillerens patronyme, *surname*,
BNV, ONS, P/b,t @
Vy de Riettaz NB vy = voie, riettaaz
= rue: voie de la rue! (Riettaaz est
actuellement un quartier de
Bonvillars), NB vy = way, riettaaz =
road :way of road!, CMP, ?/t,j @

Appendix F

ESTIMATING POPULATION SIZE

Estimates of Population Size, Crude Birth Rates of 36.5 and 40 0/000, yearly averages.

Parish of St. Maurice

Year	N	CBR 36.5	CBR 40	Year	N	CBR 36.5	CBR 40
1633-1639	45	247	225	1725-1729	73	400	365
1640-1644	21	115	105	1730-1734	76	416	380
1645-1649	84	460	420	1735-1739	68	373	340
1650-1654	92	504	460	1740-1744	66	362	330
1655-1659	101	553	505	1745-1749	69	378	345
1660-1664	103	564	515	1750-1754	81	444	405
1665-1669	92	504	460	1755-1759	82	449	410
1670-1674	93	510	465	1760-1764	92	504	460
1675-1679	82	449	410	1765-1769	87	477	435
1680-1684	87	477	435	1770-1774	78	427	390
1685-1689	77	422	385	1775-1779	82	449	410
1690-1694	81	444	405	1780-1784	68	373	340
1695-1699	86	471	430	1785-1789	111	608	555
1700-1704	90	493	450	1790-1794	98	537	490
1705-1709	91	499	455	1795-1799	123	674	615
1710-1714	80	438	400	1800-1804	121	663	605
1715-1719	75	411	375	1805-1809	142	778	710
1720-1724	81	444	405				

Parish of Onnens- Bonvillars

Year	N	CBR 36.5	CBR 40
1680-1684	75	411	375
1685-1689	88	482	440
1690-1694	49	268	245
1695-1699	73	400	365
1700-1704	56	307	280
1705-1709	65	356	325
1710-1714	64	351	320
1715-1719	72	395	360
1720-1724	60	329	300
1725-1730	66	362	330
1790-1794	105	575	525
1795-1799	127	696	635

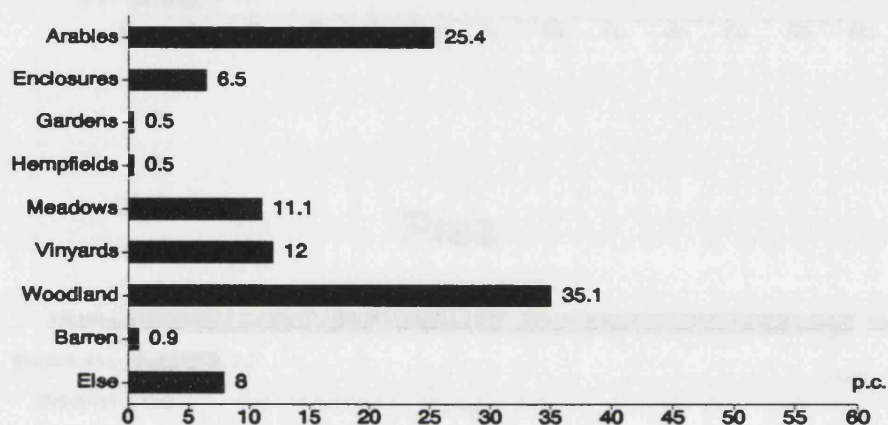
Parish of Concise

Year	N	CBR 36.5	CBR 40
1682-1684	111	1014	925
1685-1689	163	893	815
1690-1694	102	559	510
1695-1699	120	658	600
1700-1704	132	723	660
1705-1709	153	838	765
1710-1714	135	740	675
1715-1719	129	707	645
1720-1724	146	800	730
1725-1729	138	756	690

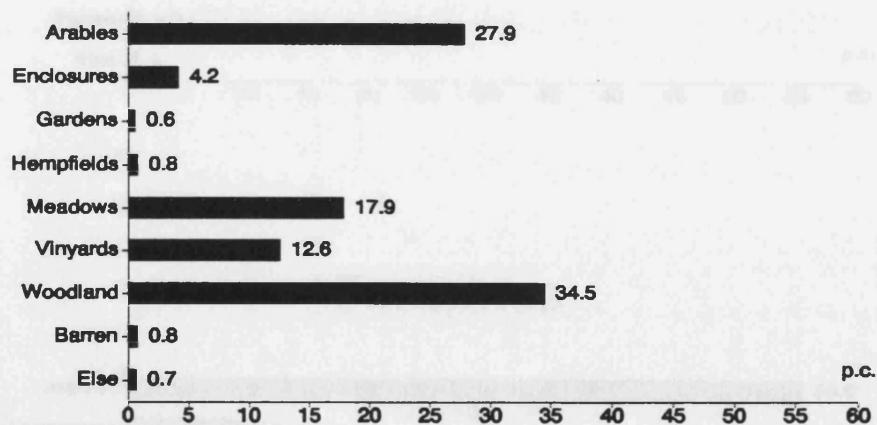
Appendix G

TYPES OF LAND PER COMMUNE

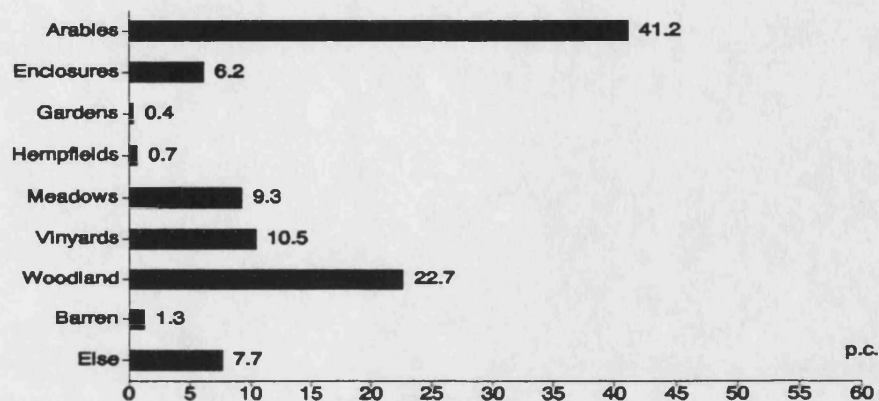
Bonvillars



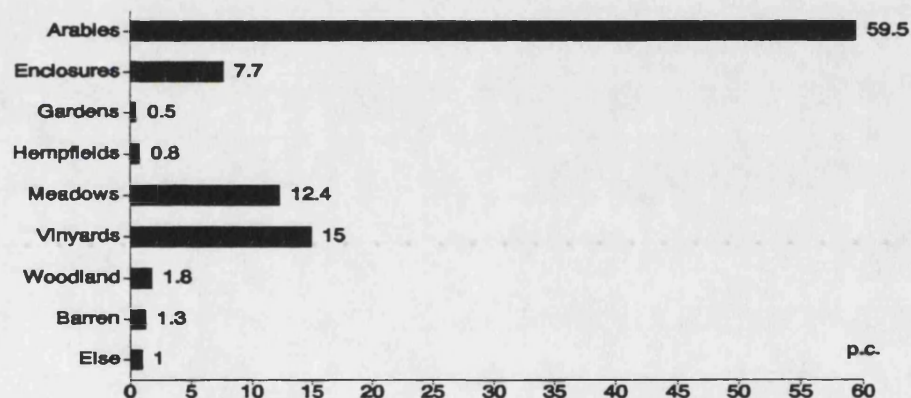
Champagne



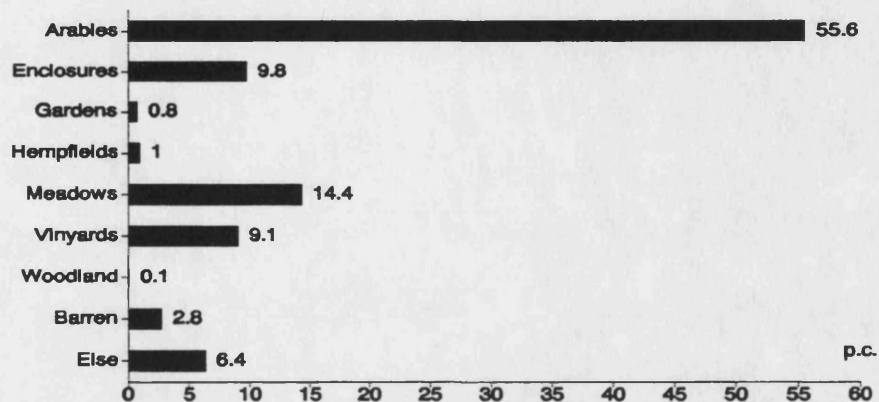
Corcelles



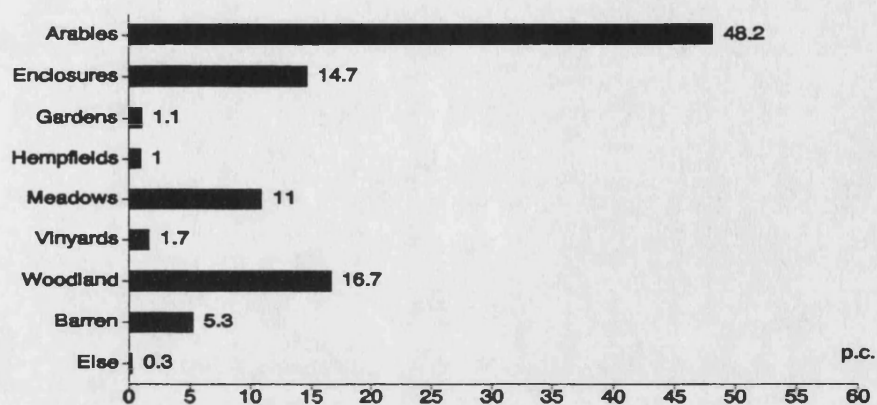
Fiez



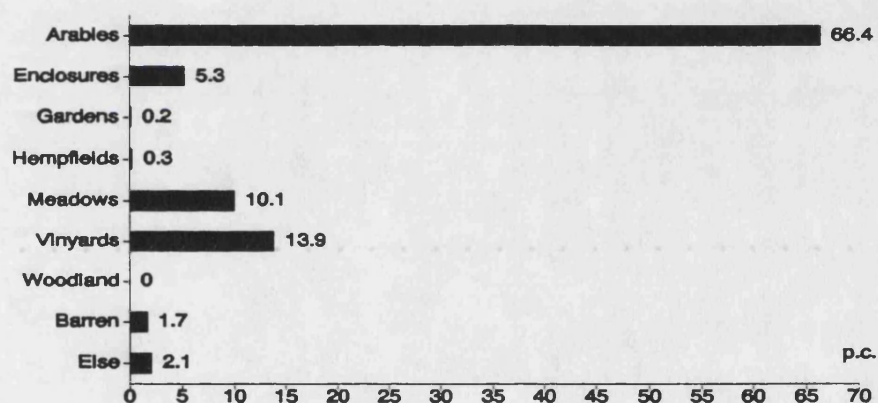
Fontaines



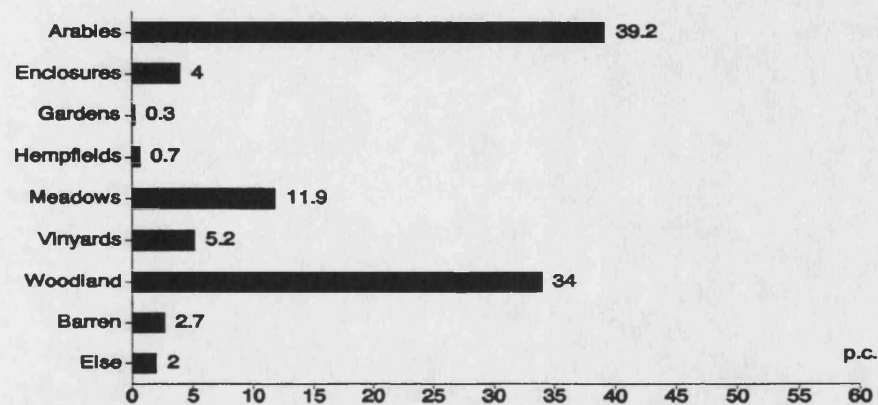
Giez



Hamlets



Onnens



Appendix H

DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS BY SEX

BONVILLARS

	Females	Males	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	55	313	368
Neighbour	49	43	92
<i>Bailliage</i>	3	55	58
Else	12	64	76
Total	119	475	594
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	156847	902046	1058893
Neighbour	94994	74737	169730
<i>Bailliage</i>	3318	187765	191083
Else	21633	214307	235940
Total	276791	1378855	1655647
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	10	54	64
Neighbour	6	4	10
<i>Bailliage</i>	1	11	12
Else	1	13	14
Total	18	82	100

CHAMPAGNE

	Females	Males	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	276	469	745
Neighbour	54	122	176
<i>Bailliage</i>	12	19	31
Else	30	99	129
Total	372	709	1081
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	446207	830287	1276494
Neighbour	106342	297554	403896
<i>Bailliage</i>	28203	32284	60487
Else	100280	452580	552860
Total	681033	1612704	2293737
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	20	36	56
Neighbour	5	13	18
<i>Bailliage</i>	1	1	2
Else	4	20	24
Total	30	70	100

CORCELLES

	Females	Males	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	122	449	571
Neighbour	73	244	317
<i>Bailliage</i>	46	54	100
Else	24	161	185
Total	265	908	1173
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	152203	678822	831026
Neighbour	82618	366745	449362
<i>Bailliage</i>	123120	75628	198748
Else	33246	564159	597405
Total	391187	1685354	2076541
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	7	33	40
Neighbour	4	18	22
<i>Bailliage</i>	6	4	10
Else	2	26	28
Total	19	81	100

FIEZ

	Females	Males	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	328	442	770
Neighbour	113	201	314
<i>Bailliage</i>	22	27	49
Else	17	31	48
Total	480	701	1181
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	497235	946246	1443481
Neighbour	187500	400371	587871
<i>Bailliage</i>	22828	18017	40844
Else	30714	64789	95503
Total	738276	1429422	2167698
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	23	44	67
Neighbour	9	18	27
<i>Bailliage</i>	1	1	2
Else	1	3	4
Total	34	66	100

FONTAINES

	Females	Males	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	193	412	605
Neighbour	232	250	482
<i>Bailliage</i>	7	13	20
Else	71	24	95
Total	503	699	1202
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	296751	604369	901120
Neighbour	342326	485655	827981
<i>Bailliage</i>	11679	21895	33574
Else	133092	59890	192982
Total	783848	1171808	1955657
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	15	30	45
Neighbour	18	25	43
<i>Bailliage</i>	1	1	2
Else	7	3	10
Total	41	59	100

HAMLETS

	Females	Males	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	35	138	173
Neighbour	186	353	539
<i>Bailliage</i>	79	171	250
Else	7	65	72
Total	307	727	1034
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	94706	381197	475903
Neighbour	440906	967139	1408046
<i>Bailliage</i>	142946	316736	459682
Else	13493	291432	304925
Total	692052	1956504	2648556
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	4	14	18
Neighbour	17	36	53
<i>Bailliage</i>	5	12	17
Else	1	11	12
Total	27	73	100

GIEZ

	Females	Males	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	125	359	484
Neighbour	19	87	106
<i>Bailliage</i>	12	24	36
Else	2	17	19
Total	158	487	645
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	572371	2193572	2765943
Neighbour	60918	259069	319988
<i>Bailliage</i>	26809	58264	85074
Else	4247	48729	52976
Total	664346	2559635	3223981
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	18	68	86
Neighbour	2	8	10
<i>Bailliage</i>	1	2	3
Else	0	1	1
Total	21	79	100

ONNENS

	Females	Males	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	443	757	1200
Neighbour	17	51	68
<i>Bailliage</i>	80	8	88
Else	10	99	109
Total	550	915	1465
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	553329	1076739	1630069
Neighbour	70739	100203	170943
<i>Bailliage</i>	93766	57351	151118
Else	7262	127936	135198
Total	725098	1362231	2087329
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	27	51	78
Neighbour	3	5	8
<i>Bailliage</i>	4	3	7
Else	1	6	7
Total	35	65	100

Appendix I

TYPES OF LAND HELD BY EACH SEX

	Males	Females	Total
Frequency (N)			
Arable	2141	937	3078
Enclosure	362	169	531
Garden	105	32	137
Hemp-field	93	44	137
House	279	54	333
Meadow	702	322	1024
Barren	41	15	56
Vineyard	763	384	1147
Woodland	37	7	44
Surface (m2)			
Arable	4814186	1866773	6680959
Enclosure	581609	197550	779159
Garden	19567	4690	24257
Hemp-field	49447	18481	67927
Meadow	1233367	426382	1659749
Barren	95470	29066	124535
Vineyard	1028894	399292	1428186
Woodland	258096	62865	320961

Appendix J

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSES, GARDENS AND HEMP-FIELDS

HOUSES

	<i>Communiens</i>	Neighbours	From <i>Bailliage</i>	Else	Total
Frequency (N)					
BNV	32	2	4	7	45
CMP	40	4	5	8	57
CRL	30	0	3	4	37
FIE	37	1	1	1	40
FNT	35	4	2	5	46
HAM	15	2	1	2	20
GIZ	25	5	1	2	33
ONS	52	2	4	3	61

GARDENS AND HEMP-FIELDS

	<i>Communiens</i>	Neighbours	From <i>Bailliage</i>	Else	Total
Frequency (N)					
BNV	30	2	2	4	38
CMP	79	12	0	10	101
CRL	38	0	4	7	49
FIE	39	1	0	2	42
FNT	58	15	4	8	85
HAM	16	3	4	3	26
GIZ	30	8	1	4	43
ONS	55	2	4	7	68
Surface (m2)					
BNV	18011	557	1622	4369	24559
CMP	30326	6733	0	7615	44674
CRL	17079	0	1659	13260	31998
FIE	28105	531	0	597	29233
FNT	28246	6017	2440	2505	39208
HAM	9051	1668	2606	280	13604
GIZ	54307	15661	1062	6648	77678
ONS	25246	3185	1206	2506	32144

Appendix K

DISTRIBUTION OF ARABLE-LANDS

BONVILLARS

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
Commune	68	16	84
Neighbour	19	4	23
Bailliage	15	9	24
Else	2	3	5
Total	104	32	136
Surfaces (m2)			
Commune	88325	358054	446379
Neighbour	27340	52911	80251
Bailliage	26057	67687	93745
Else	2787	27895	30683
Total	144510	506548	651058
Surfaces (P.C.)			
Commune	14	55	69
Neighbour	4	8	12
Bailliage	4	10	14
Else	0	5	5
Total	22	78	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

CHAMPAGNE

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
Commune	240	58	298
Neighbour	69	14	83
Bailliage	13	8	21
Else	9	6	15
Total	331	86	417
Surfaces (m2)			
Commune	401478	259667	661144
Neighbour	99407	107813	207220
Bailliage	23757	58861	82618
Else	13228	25106	38334
Total	537870	451447	989317
Surfaces (P.C.)			
Commune	41	26	67
Neighbour	10	11	21
Bailliage	2	6	8
Else	1	3	4
Total	54	46	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

CORCELLES

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
Commune	291	35	326
Neighbour	188	13	201
Bailliage	34	5	39
Else	41	11	52
Total	554	64	618
Surfaces (m2)			
Commune	393308	186295	579603
Neighbour	251615	61671	313286
Bailliage	56760	65298	122058
Else	58043	115223	173266
Total	759726	428487	1188213
Surfaces (P.C.)			
Commune	33	16	49
Neighbour	21	5	26
Bailliage	5	5	10
Else	5	10	15
Total	64	36	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

FIEZ

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
Commune	318	73	391
Neighbour	146	31	177
Bailliage	15	4	19
Else	18	5	23
Total	497	113	610
Surfaces (m2)			
Commune	515562	352018	867580
Neighbour	236352	183817	420169
Bailliage	28203	15396	43599
Else	29353	22297	51650
Total	809470	573527	1382998
Surfaces (P.C.)			
Commune	37	26	63
Neighbour	17	13	30
Bailliage	2	1	3
Else	2	2	4
Total	58	42	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

FONTAINES

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
Commune	189	55	244
Neighbour	159	60	219
Bailliage	1	4	5
Else	36	19	55
Total	385	138	523
Surfaces (m2)			
Commune	306108	243740	549848
Neighbour	267187	284817	552005
Bailliage	664	9556	10219
Else	59768	82751	142519
Total	633727	620864	1254591
Surfaces (P.C.)			
Commune	24	19	43
Neighbour	21	23	44
Bailliage	0	1	1
Else	5	7	12
Total	50	50	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

HAMLETS

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
Commune	72	38	110
Neighbour	233	77	310
Bailliage	227	52	279
Else	25	9	34
Total	557	176	733
Surfaces (m2)			
Commune	128827	215250	344077
Neighbour	411941	351730	763671
Bailliage	360213	244758	604971
Else	32339	64104	96443
Total	933320	875842	1809162
Surfaces (P.C.)			
Commune	7	12	19
Neighbour	23	19	42
Bailliage	20	14	34
Else	2	3	5
Total	52	48	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

GIEZ

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
Commune	101	114	215
Neighbour	56	70	126
Bailliage	15	8	23
Else	9	8	17
Total	181	200	381
Surfaces (m2)			
Commune	195497	774864	970360
Neighbour	116329	578416	694745
Bailliage	30526	35038	65564
Else	19996	45987	65984
Total	362348	1434305	1796653
Surfaces (P.C.)			
Commune	10	43	53
Neighbour	6	32	38
Bailliage	2	2	4
Else	2	3	5
Total	20	80	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

ONNENS

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
Commune	578	52	630
Neighbour	40	5	45
Bailliage	51	4	55
Else	66	3	69
Total	735	64	799
Surfaces (m2)			
Commune	719154	301363	1020517
Neighbour	50732	55941	106673
Bailliage	65829	62644	128473
Else	72001	11547	83548
Total	907716	431495	1339211
Surfaces (P.C.)			
Commune	54	23	77
Neighbour	4	4	8
Bailliage	5	4	9
Else	5	1	6
Total	68	32	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

Appendix L

DISTRIBUTION OF MEADOWS

BONVILLARS

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	33	7	40
Neighbour	8	4	12
<i>Bailliage</i>	4	2	6
Else	2	3	5
Total	47	16	63
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	35469	107308	142778
Neighbour	11325	15617	26942
<i>Bailliage</i>	9467	89914	99381
Else	1327	13272	14599
Total	57589	226111	283700
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	12	38	50
Neighbour	4	6	10
<i>Bailliage</i>	3	31	34
Else	1	5	6
Total	20	80	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

CHAMPAGNE

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	148	26	174
Neighbour	19	7	26
<i>Bailliage</i>	18	2	20
Else	13	17	30
Total	198	52	250
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	182501	142055	324556
Neighbour	23978	38356	62334
<i>Bailliage</i>	27938	7167	35104
Else	21766	189524	211290
Total	256183	377102	633285
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	29	22	51
Neighbour	4	6	10
<i>Bailliage</i>	5	1	6
Else	3	30	33
Total	41	59	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

CORCELLES

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	148	26	174
Neighbour	19	7	26
<i>Bailliage</i>	18	2	20
Else	13	17	30
Total	198	52	250
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	182501	142055	324556
Neighbour	23978	38356	62334
<i>Bailliage</i>	27938	7167	35104
Else	21766	189524	211290
Total	256183	377102	633285
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	29	22	51
Neighbour	4	6	10
<i>Bailliage</i>	4	1	5
Else	4	30	34
Total	41	59	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

FIEZ

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	97	14	111
Neighbour	22	2	24
<i>Bailliage</i>	5	1	6
Else	4	2	6
Total	128	19	147
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	104472	115245	219718
Neighbour	26588	12741	39329
<i>Bailliage</i>	6901	3982	10883
Else	5574	12476	18050
Total	143536	144444	287980
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	36	40	76
Neighbour	10	4	14
<i>Bailliage</i>	2	2	4
Else	2	4	6
Total	50	50	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

FONTAINES

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
Commune	105	4	109
Neighbour	129	6	135
Bailliage	25	2	27
Else	25	1	26
Total	284	13	297
Surfaces (m2)			
Commune	92594	16325	108919
Neighbour	128252	24885	153137
Bailliage	22294	8494	30788
Else	23646	9025	32671
Total	266787	58729	325515
Surfaces (P.C.)			
Commune	28	5	33
Neighbour	39	8	47
Bailliage	7	3	10
Else	7	3	10
Total	82	18	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

HAMLETS

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
Commune	8	1	9
Neighbour	72	12	84
Bailliage	11	5	16
Else	5	3	8
Total	96	21	117
Surfaces (m2)			
Commune	7329	4380	11709
Neighbour	109450	65962	175412
Bailliage	16325	20970	37294
Else	7123	44328	51452
Total	140227	135640	275866
Surfaces (P.C.)			
Commune	3	2	5
Neighbour	40	22	62
Bailliage	6	8	14
Else	3	16	19
Total	52	48	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

GIEZ

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
Commune	32	20	52
Neighbour	24	30	54
Bailliage	3	1	4
Else	1	4	5
Total	60	55	115
Surfaces (m2)			
Commune	47470	104937	152407
Neighbour	42271	188684	230955
Bailliage	3982	4247	8229
Else	796	17784	18581
Total	94519	315652	410171
Surfaces (P.C.)			
Commune	12	26	38
Neighbour	10	46	56
Bailliage	1	1	2
Else	0	4	4
Total	23	77	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

ONNENS

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
Commune	190	20	210
Neighbour	7	3	10
Bailliage	10	0	10
Else	25	1	26
Total	232	24	256
Surfaces (m2)			
Commune	144012	195253	339265
Neighbour	9556	21899	31455
Bailliage	10242	0	10242
Else	19333	5773	25106
Total	183142	222925	406067
Surfaces (P.C.)			
Commune	35	49	84
Neighbour	2	5	7
Bailliage	3	0	3
Else	5	1	6
Total	45	55	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

Appendix M

DISTRIBUTION OF ENCLOSURES

BONVILLARS

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	65	9	74
Neighbour	7	0	7
<i>Bailliage</i>	0	0	0
Else	5	5	10
Total	77	14	91
Surfaces (m ²)			
<i>Commune</i>	42392	88734	131127
Neighbour	3982	0	3982
<i>Bailliage</i>	0	0	0
Else	7211	24288	31499
Total	53585	113022	166607
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	26	53	79
Neighbour	2	0	2
<i>Bailliage</i>	0	0	0
Else	4	15	19
Total	32	68	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m ²			

CHAMPAGNE

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	44	2	46
Neighbour	4		4
<i>Bailliage</i>	4		4
Else	4	7	11
Total	56	9	65
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	40579	7034	47614
Neighbour	1416		1416
<i>Bailliage</i>	3318		3318
Else	4144	88259	92403
Total	49457	95293	144750
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	28	5	33
Neighbour	1	0	1
<i>Bailliage</i>	2	0	2
Else	3	61	64
Total	34	66	100
N.B. pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

CORCELLES

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	59	3	62
Neighbour	16	0	16
<i>Bailliage</i>	10	0	10
Else	14	7	21
Total	99	10	109
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	55853	16059	71912
Neighbour	18206	0	18206
<i>Bailliage</i>	17328	0	17328
Else	23626	48996	72622
Total	115013	65055	180068
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	31	9	40
Neighbour	10	0	10
<i>Bailliage</i>	10	0	10
Else	13	27	40
Total	64	36	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

FIEZ

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	98	12	110
Neighbour	6	0	6
<i>Bailliage</i>	2	0	2
Else	3	0	3
Total	109	12	121
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	88980	81247	170226
Neighbour	5574	0	5574
<i>Bailliage</i>	1062	0	1062
Else	2146	0	2146
Total	97761	81247	179008
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	50	45	95
Neighbour	3	0	3
<i>Bailliage</i>	1	0	1
Else	1	0	1
Total	55	45	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

FONTAINES

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	127	5	132
<i>Neighbour</i>	60	3	63
<i>Bailliage</i>	1	2	3
<i>Else</i>	17	1	18
Total	205	11	216
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	104480	18315	122795
<i>Neighbour</i>	52823	15130	67953
<i>Bailliage</i>	531	10883	11414
<i>Else</i>	14192	4247	18439
Total	172025	48576	220601
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	47	8	56
<i>Neighbour</i>	24	7	31
<i>Bailliage</i>	0	5	5
<i>Else</i>	6	2	8
Total	78	22	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

HAMLETS

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	19	6	25
<i>Neighbour</i>	4	0	4
<i>Bailliage</i>	13	3	16
<i>Else</i>	6	3	9
Total	42	12	54
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	22850	40944	63794
<i>Neighbour</i>	6636		6636
<i>Bailliage</i>	15993	14068	30061
<i>Else</i>	6282	37251	43533
Total	51761	92263	144024
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	16	28	44
<i>Neighbour</i>	5	0	5
<i>Bailliage</i>	11	10	21
<i>Else</i>	4	26	30
Total	36	64	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

GIEZ

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	28	21	49
<i>Neighbour</i>	21	25	46
<i>Bailliage</i>	8		8
<i>Else</i>	4	2	6
Total	61	48	109
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	35548	270351	305898
<i>Neighbour</i>	28491	183375	211865
<i>Bailliage</i>	10662		10662
<i>Else</i>	7919	11945	19864
Total	82619	465670	548289
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	6	49	56
<i>Neighbour</i>	5	33	39
<i>Bailliage</i>	2	0	2
<i>Else</i>	1	2	4
Total	15	85	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

ONNENS

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	97	8	105
<i>Neighbour</i>	0	0	0
<i>Bailliage</i>	5	1	6
<i>Else</i>	11	1	12
Total	113	10	123
Surfaces (m2)			
<i>Commune</i>	64918	52955	117874
<i>Neighbour</i>	0	0	0
<i>Bailliage</i>	2979	5176	8155
<i>Else</i>	5294	3716	9010
Total	73191	61848	135038
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	48	39	87
<i>Neighbour</i>	0	0	0
<i>Bailliage</i>	2	4	6
<i>Else</i>	4	3	7
Total	54	46	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m2			

Appendix N

DISTRIBUTION OF VINEYARDS

BONVILLARS

	<1 <i>pose</i>	≥1 <i>pose</i>	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	131	3	134
Neighbour	45	4	49
<i>Bailliage</i>	28	2	30
Else	58	10	68
Total	262	19	281
Surfaces (m ²)			
<i>Commune</i>	90107	19289	109396
Neighbour	26532	19661	46193
<i>Bailliage</i>	20405	8627	29032
Else	69853	51527	121380
Total	206897	99104	306001
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	29	6	35
Neighbour	9	6	15
<i>Bailliage</i>	7	3	10
Else	23	17	40
Total	68	32	100
N.B.: <i>pose</i> of Grandson = 3185 m ²			

CHAMPAGNE

	<1 <i>pose</i>	≥1 <i>pose</i>	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	152	5	157
Neighbour	39	3	42
<i>Bailliage</i>	24	6	30
Else	41	16	57
Total	256	30	286
Surfaces (m ²)			
<i>Commune</i>	123504	33180	156684
Neighbour	41905	15130	57035
<i>Bailliage</i>	22761	37560	60321
Else	40147	133560	173707
Total	228317	219430	447747
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	28	7	35
Neighbour	9	3	13
<i>Bailliage</i>	5	8	13
Else	9	30	39
Total	51	49	100
N.B.: <i>pose</i> of Grandson = 3185 m ²			

CORCELLES

	<1 <i>pose</i>	≥1 <i>pose</i>	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	94	0	94
Neighbour	41	5	46
<i>Bailliage</i>	34	5	39
Else	36	10	46
Total	205	20	225
Surfaces (m ²)			
<i>Commune</i>	70882	0	70882
Neighbour	38344	25648	63992
<i>Bailliage</i>	33511	44771	78282
Else	34928	56140	91068
Total	177665	126559	304224
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	23	0	23
Neighbour	13	8	21
<i>Bailliage</i>	11	15	26
Else	11	19	30
Total	58	42	100
N.B.: <i>pose</i> of Grandson = 3185 m ²			

FIEZ

	<1 <i>pose</i>	≥1 <i>pose</i>	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	144	15	159
Neighbour	84	6	90
<i>Bailliage</i>	37	0	37
Else	23	1	24
Total	288	22	310
Surfaces (m ²)			
<i>Commune</i>	113462	111429	224891
Neighbour	60397	25382	85779
<i>Bailliage</i>	13681	0	13681
Else	20969	3451	24420
Total	208509	140262	348771
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	33	32	65
Neighbour	17	7	24
<i>Bailliage</i>	4	0	4
Else	6	1	7
Total	60	40	100
N.B.: <i>pose</i> of Grandson = 3185 m ²			

FONTAINES

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	45	2	47
Neighbour	54	9	63
<i>Bailliage</i>	9	1	10
Else	21	5	26
Total	129	17	146
Surfaces (m ²)			
<i>Commune</i>	36497	18846	55343
Neighbour	47458	38887	86345
<i>Bailliage</i>	8792	7432	16224
Else	23657	23690	47347
Total	116404	88855	205259
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	18	9	27
Neighbour	23	19	42
<i>Bailliage</i>	4	4	8
Else	12	11	23
Total	57	43	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m ²			

HAMLETS

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	11	4	15
Neighbour	16	2	18
<i>Bailliage</i>	15	1	16
Else	65	28	93
Total	107	35	142
Surfaces (m ²)			
<i>Commune</i>	10304	15926	26230
Neighbour	23712	10352	34064
<i>Bailliage</i>	18912	3451	22363
Else	87305	208844	296149
Total	140233	238573	378806
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	3	4	7
Neighbour	6	3	9
<i>Bailliage</i>	5	1	6
Else	23	55	78
Total	37	63	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m ²			

GIEZ

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	7	4	11
Neighbour	1	0	1
<i>Bailliage</i>	0	0	0
Else	0	0	0
Total	8	4	12
Surfaces (m ²)			
<i>Commune</i>	8251	47779	56029
Neighbour	5442	0	5442
<i>Bailliage</i>	0	0	0
Else	0	0	0
Total	13692	47779	61471
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	13	78	91
Neighbour	9	0	9
<i>Bailliage</i>	0	0	0
Else	0	0	0
Total	22	78	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m ²			

ONNENS

	<1 pose	≥1 pose	Total
Frequency (N)			
<i>Commune</i>	190	3	193
Neighbour	14	0	14
<i>Bailliage</i>	20	0	20
Else	11	0	11
Total	235	3	238
Surfaces (m ²)			
<i>Commune</i>	123363	13073	136436
Neighbour	21843	0	21843
<i>Bailliage</i>	10813	0	10813
Else	9584	0	9584
Total	165603	13073	178676
Surfaces (P.C.)			
<i>Commune</i>	69	8	77
Neighbour	12	0	12
<i>Bailliage</i>	6	0	6
Else	5	0	5
Total	92	8	100
N.B.: pose of Grandson = 3185 m ²			

ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

ARCHIVES CANTONALES VAUDOISES (A.C.V.)

Ad-11	1648 ?	Copie de la Charte de la donation faite par le Sire Othon de Grandson à la Chartreuse de la Lance, au bord du lac de Neuchâtel
Ai-1107		Inventaire des archives communales de Bonvillars
Ai-1111		Inventaire des archives communales de Corcelles
Ai-1121		Inventaire des archives communales de Onnens
Ba-13/1	1715-1770	Mandats et ordonnances souverains, concerne les petites affaires communales, portées au Château de Grandson, Samuel Morlot bailli
Ba-13/3	1644-1763	Mandats et ordonnances souverains
Ba-2	1575-1791	Mandats et ordonnances souverains, généralités, 2 volumes
Ba-3	1660-1798	Lettres souveraines, 2 cartons
Ba-4	1594-1795	Répertoire des registres de mandats souverains
Ba-6 bis	1537-1775	Répertoire des mandats souverains
Ba-8	18e	Recueil artificiel d'ordonnances souveraines, 1 volume
Ba-9	18e	Recueil d'ordonnances souveraines, un recueil artificiel d'imprimés
Bb-3/12	18e	Divers papiers d'échanges et de cantonnements, Grandson
Bb-44	1764 (1782?)	Topographie du Pays de Vaud, civile, judiciaire, féodale, ecclésiastique et communale, par bailliages, sièges de justice, seigneuries, paroisses, et communes, dressée par l'ordre de LL.EE. de Berne
Bc-14	1685-1718	Concepts et minutes du Commissariat romand, 6 volumes
Bc-15	1702-1705	Protocole des actes reçus par le commissaire général Fischer
Bc-16	1702-1709	Protocole des commissaires généraux Fischer et Steck
Bc-17	1719-1725	Livre des lettres du commissaire Dubois
Bc-18	1725-1731	Registre des missives du Commissariat romand
Bc-19	1719-1722	Diarium der Welschlandreisen
Bc-21	1718-1745	Consultations sur des questions de droit féodal par le commissaire romand
Bc-22	1718 etc.	Inventaires des livres, papiers et paquets du commissariat romand
Bc-25	?	Commissariat romand, carton des papiers divers, émoluments des commissaires, établissements des reconnaissances
Bd-10	16e-18e	Affaires ecclésiastiques, classe d'Orbe et de Grandson, nomination de pasteurs, divers cartons et pièces
Bdb-211	1704-1823	Actes du Colloque de Grandson

Bdb-242	1758	Loix consistoriales pour les trois bailliages de Morat, Grandson, et Echallens
Bdb-250	1582-1774	Correspondances reçues de diverses classes
Be-10	1536-96, 1632	Arrecks faicts à Grandson
Be-11	-	Un carton de pièces diverses pour le Bailliage de Grandson, non classées
Be-15	1727	Recès et conférences entre les Etats de Berne et de Fribourg
Be-19	17-18e	Correspondances diverses, bailliages mixtes d'Orbe-Echallens, et de Grandson
Be-3	-	Onglet Ballivaux, 19 volumes
Bf-26	1702	Coutumier de Grandson
Bf-27	1702	Coutumier de Grandson
Bf-30	1758	Lois consistoriales, pour les trois baillages médiats, Morat, Grandson et Echallens
Bf-30	1758	Lois consistoriales pour les trois bailliages médiats de Morat, Grandson, et Orbe-Echallens
Bf-51	1721	Recueil d'ordonnances souveraines pour les notaires du Pays de Vaud et pour le paiement des lods, 1 volume
Bf-53	1613-1748	Recueil de mandats souverains divers pour le notariat, 1 volume
Bf-60/3	1663-1796	Réception des notaires, 1 carton
Bf-67	18e ?	Instructions à l'usage des commissaires rénovateurs, précédées des considérations sur l'origine des fiefs
Bf-70	18e	Brève instruction sur les droits seigneuriaux, extrait manuscrit provenant des papiers du pasteur Olivier
Bf-76	18e	Instruction de ce que les notaires doivent savoir et pratiquer
Bf-85	16-18e	Brevets de notaires, serment des notaires, ordonnances adressées aux notaires, listes des notaires, lettres des notaires
Bif-1	?	Manuel de la Cour du Château de Grandson
Bif-42	1687	Registres de mandats souverains
Bif-43	1689-1690	Registres de mandats souverains
Bif-44	1692-1694	Registres de mandats souverains
Bif-51	1708-1726	Manuel de la Cour de la Châtelaine de Grandson
Bif-52	1726-1731	Registres de mandats souverains
Bk-21	1672-1796	Pièces relatives aux perceptions de dîmes dans divers bailliages, carton
Bk-22	?	Greniers et graines pour leur LL.EE.
Bk-23	1701-1719	Le livre des dîmes, 1 volume, 279 pages avec répertoire
Bk-38	?	Pièces relatives aux vignes de LL.EE., 3 cartons
Bk-39	?	Pièces relatives aux caves de LL.EE., 8 cartons, non classés
Bk-6	dès 1661	Le livre des nouveaux acquis et échanges rière plusieurs bailliages du Pays de Vaud
Bk-8	1749	Pièces relatives aux échanges et arrangements faits entre LL.EE. de Berne et de Fribourg des censes et dîmes rières Yvonand, Fiez, etc.
Bl-1	?	Affaires féodales, ordonnances et dispositions générales, états spécifiques des titres féodaux, lods, contributions générales, ...
Bl-21	1585-1590	Etat des fiefs nobles et hommages du Pays de Vaud, Avenches, Cudrefin et Grandson, 1 volume

BI-77	1750-1755	Bailliage de Grandson, livre des relations des lods du Château de Grandson, sous la préfecture du bailli de Montenach, avec répertoire 361 fls
BI-78	1755-1760	Bailliage de Grandson, livre des relations des lods du Château de Grandson sous la préfecture du Bailli Gatschet dès 1755-1760, répertoire 148 fls
BI-79	1760-1765	Idem BI-78, Bailli Montenach, répertoire 235 fls
BI-10	1641- ~ 1790	Affaires féodales, bailliage de Grandson, Grandson, Bonvillars, Fiez, Montagny, Corcelles, Corcelettes, Provence, Concise, La Lance, Giez, Treycovagnes, Gorgier, Val-de-Travers, Yvonand, le fief d'Entremont, carton
BI-29-bis	1628-1712	Rôle des vassaux et fendants du pays de Vaud, recueil artificiel, le 2ème volume contient les rôles pour 1670, 1708, 1712
BI-3	?	Correspondances baillivales, titres de noblesse, droits féodaux, dîmes, censes, acquisitions de droits.....
BI-33	?	Pièces relatives aux seigneuries de [...] Champvent [...] Grandson et Montagny [...], 2 cartons
BI-67	1729-1782	Procès des lods, soit procédures de causes entre LL.EE. de Berne et divers particuliers au sujet des lods. 2 volumes, non répertoriés
Bn-36	?	Navigation sur les lacs Léman et de Neuchâtel, règlements, pièces concernant la batellerie, ports de Morges et de Grandson, Carton
Bp-138	1698	Enquête sur les graines possédées et nécessaires à chaque famille et celles qu'elles peuvent vendre, avec mention du nombre de personnes dans chaque ménage, bailliage de Lausanne, 3 enveloppes
Bp-143	1771-1796	Etat des greniers du pays romand
Bp-144	1780-1797	Etat des greniers de chaque bailliage romand
Bp-145	1662-1663	Compte des travaux à la cave des vins romands, 1 cahier
Bp-23	18e	Carton de pièces adressées au trésorier romand
Bp-31	1478-1797	Comptes du bailliage de Grandson, manquent: 1530 - 1534 - 1554
Bp-51	1739	Rentiers pour LL.EE., 12 volumes. [...] Grandson
Bp-71	1745-1770	Pensions du Château de Grandson, vol.1 = 1745-1750 ; vol.2 = 1765-1770
Bp-88	1792	Rentiers des bailliages d'Echallens et de Grandson, renouvelé 1792, 1 registre
CXV-6	?	Seigneurie de Grandson, Parchemin
CXVI-16	?	Fonds de familles nobles : Banderet
CXVI-265	?	Fonds de familles nobles : Treytorrens
CXVI-31	?	Fonds de familles nobles : Bonvillars
CXVI-81	?	Fonds de familles nobles : Dompierre
CXVI-97	?	Fonds de familles nobles : Favre
CXVII-a	?	Fonds de familles nobles fribourgeoises
CXVII-b	?	Fonds de familles nobles genevoises
Df	District de Grandson, Notaires	
Df-16	1710-1726	Duvoisin H. 2 minutaires de testaments: 1710 à 1720 et 1724 à 1726

Df-2 1704-1765 Amiet François-Joseph, bourgeois de Grandson, 5 registres:1718 à 1765, 13 minutes:1704-1765 (manquent les années 1713 à 1724 et 1739), un carton

Df-7 1705-1755 Boudry Abram, Curial de Concise38 Registres : 1719 - 1755
6 Registres testaments : 1705 - 1755

Dossiers généalogiques : Fatio, de Treytorrens, etc.

Ea-14 Tabelles de la population sous la République Helvétique

Ea-18 1798-1802 Tabelles de la population par paroisses

Ea-2/1 1764 Cahiers de la population pour les paroisses du Pays de Vaud -
Classe de Lausanne

Eb-123/1-5 1634-1821 Registres de paroisse de St. Maurice

Eb-31/1-9 1582-1816 Registres de paroisse de Concise

Eb-93/1-5 1650-1821 Registres de paroisse de Onnens-Bonvillars

Fal-1 1735 Les titres et les droits concernant la Chartreuse de la Lance

Fq : séries des terriers

Fq-103 1641-1650 Quernet en faveur de LL.EE. de Berne du noble Antoine de
Graffenried (1650)

Fq-106 1715-1723 Grosse rière Corcelles appartenant au noble et vertueux Jonas
Jeanneret, seigneur d'Esserte et ancien lieutenant Ballival de
Grandson par acquis de LL.EE. des 2 illustres Etats de Berne et
de Fribourg

Fq-107 1717 Grosse rière Corcelles en faveur du magnifique et très honoré
Seigneur François Pierre Python du Grand Conseil de la ville et
République de Fribourg

Fq-107-bis- 1715-1729 Rentiers et cottet des censes dues à Marie de Treytorrens,
A veuve de Salomon Beausire, rière Corcelles

Fq-107-bis- 1711 Reconnaissances en faveur de Marie de Treytorrens rière Fiez,
B Fontaines, Corcelles

Fq-141 1633-1634 Grosse rière : Bonvillars, Onnens, Corcelles, Concise, St.
Maurice, Champagne

Fq-143 1713 Grosse rière Tuilleries, Corcelettes, Pour LL.EE. de Berne et
Fribourg Cause : Château de Grandson

Fq-144 1713 Pour LL.EE. de Berne et de Fribourg Cause : Château de
Grandson, rière Champagne

Fq-145 1713 Pour LL.EE. de Berne et de Fribourg Cause : Château de
Grandson, rière Fiez

Fq-146 1712 Pour LL.EE. de Berne et de Fribourg Cause : Château de
Grandson, rière Fontaines

Fq-147 1721 Pour LL.EE. de Berne et de Fribourg Cause : Château de
Montagny-le-Corboz, rière Giez

Fq-148 1721 Pour LL.EE. de Berne et de Fribourg Cause : Château de
Grandson, rière Grandson

Fq-149 1723 Idem Fq-50, pour LL.EE. de Berne et de Fribourg, recon-
naissances des détenteurs de fiefs nobles, à cause de leurs
fiefs, rière : ensemble du Bailliage de Grandson

Fq-149 1723 Idem Fq-50

Fq-150 1721 ? Contient les listes alphabétiques des propriétaires et lieux dits
sur : Grandson, Fiez, Mauborget, Fontaines, Romairon, [...],
Fiez-Pittet, Giez. La date peut être erronée, (les cotes et les
noms ne correspondent pas aux séries des registres)

Fq-151	1712	Pour LL.EE. de Berne, cause : Château de Grandson, rière Mutrux
Fq-154	1721	Pour noble dame Marie-Anne Bourgeois, cause : ses fiefs, rière Giez
Fq-155	1713	Pour LL.EE. de Berne et de Fribourg, cause : leur Château de Grandson, rière Bonvillars
Fq-33	1587	Quernet en faveur de LL.EE. de Berne et de Fribourg à cause des châteaux et seigneuries de Grandson et Montagny le Corboz
Fq-50	1723	Grosse des fiefs nobles du bailliage de Grandson, quernets et reconnaissances en faveur de LL.EE.
Fq-77	1713	Grosse rière Onnens
Gb-107-a	1713	Plans du territoire de Bonvillars
Gb-109-a	1713	Plans des villages et des territoires de la commune de Champagne et Saint-Maurice, pour LL.EE. de Berne et de Fribourg
Gb-110-a	1714	Plans de Concise
Gb-111-a	1717	Plans du territoire de Corcelles (renvoi à la grosse Fq-107)
Gb-112-a	1709	Plans du village et du territoire de Fiez pour LL.EE. de Berne et Fribourg, 1712 voir Gb-118-a
Gb-113-a	1712	Plans de Fontaines
Gb-114-a	1712	Plans de Fontanezier
Gb-115-a	1721	Plans du territoire de Giez (manquent les fol. 1, 3 et 13 à 16)
Gb-116-a	1712	Plans des villages et territoires de Grandevent, Villars-Burquin et Vaugondry, pour LL.EE. de Berne et Fribourg
Gb-117-a	1713	Relative à la grosse Fq-143. Plans du territoire de Grandson
Gb-118-a	1712	Plans du territoire de Mauborget
Gb-119-a	1712	Plans du territoire de Mutrux
Gb-121-a	1713	Plans du territoire d'Onnens (manquent les fol. 1 à 4, 33, 34, 37 à 42)
Gb-122-a	1712	Grosse ? ~100 folios (manquent plusieurs), plans du territoire de Provence
Gc-111-2/4	18e	Plan des joux de la commune de Giez
Gc-111-7/4	18e	Plan des aquis et broussailles indivisibles entre Grandson et Fiez, entre l'Arnon et le Canal du Moulin
Gc-111-7/5	1713	Plan du "Marais de Chevalanson"
Gc-111-8/1	18e	Plan des joux des communes de Bonvillars, Champagne, St-Maurice, Corcelettes, Onnens sis sur le territoire de Mauborget, en la Grangaz, en Praz, en Palenchard et la Combaz Grange Cruchaud

Without reference: inventaire des titres de M. le Major Tribolet bourgeois de Berne propriétaire du domaine, autrefois Chartreuse de la Lance, au bailliage de Grandson, 1735

ARCHIVES COMMUNALES

Champagne, Giez, Fiez, Fontaines, Bonvillars, Concise and Corcelles.
Various papers were preserved in a jumble. With the exception of Concise (Refer: André Dupasquier, (1976)) where some methods were used for classification

BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'YVERDON

Le livre de Marc de Treytorrens 1618-1726

ARCHIVES D'ETAT DE FRIBOURG (AEF)

série Grandson

- 4 cartons en tout, quelques comptes et lettres. Peu de matériaux
- Compte des graines du Château de Grandson 1781, double LL.EE. Fribourg
- Comptes Grandson 1725
- Comptes Grandson, 1720
- Les hoirs du feu David-Nicolas Jeanneret doivent au Château de Grandson
- 1756, dîmes de paille en Champagne et Bonvillars et autres comptes
- 1723, rénovation
- 1721, extrait du rentier limitatif rière Giez
- 1719, dîmes
- 1713, extrait rentier limitatif rière Grandson

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography comprises only major books and articles read in relation to this research. There is no pretention of being exhaustive. In the era of information technology, any major library could produce comprehensive listings of reading materials requested by key-words on specialist topics.

- AEBISCHER, Paul**, (1976), Les noms des lieux dans le canton de Fribourg, Fribourg
- AGASSIZ, D.**, (1938), "L'Odyssée d'une cloche", *Revue historique vaudoise*, mars-avril, p.109-117
- AMMAN, Hector (édit.)**, (1951), Atlas Historique de la Suisse, Aarau
- AMOOS, Anne-Marie**, (1981), "Le Recensement vaudois de mai 1798", *Revue historique vaudoise*, p.57-97
- ANDREY, J.**, (1926), "L'histoire du cadastre fribourgeois", *Annales Fribourgeoises*, pp.171-ff
- ARIES, Philippe**, (1972), Histoire des populations francaises, Paris
- ARIES, Philippe**, (1973), L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime, Paris
- ARMS, BAKER, PENGELLY**, (1979), A Practical Approach to Computing, New-York
- ARON, Raymond**, (1979), Les étapes de la pensée sociologique, Paris
- ATKINSON, Laurence**, (1982), A Student's Guide to Programming in Pascal, London
- ATKINSON, R.F.**, (1978), Knowledge and Explanation in History, London
- AUGUSTINS, Georges**, (1979), "La division égalitaire des patrimoines et l'institution de l'héritier", *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, 20, p.127-141
- AUGUSTINS, Georges**, (1982), "Esquisse d'une comparaison des systèmes de perpétuation des groupes domestiques dans les sociétés paysannes européennes", *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, 20, p.39-69
- BAKER, F.T., MILLS, H.D.**, (1973), "Chief Programmer Teams", *Datamation*, December, p.58-61
- BARCLAY, G.W.**, (1958), Technics of Population Analysis, New-York
- BARRACLOUGH, Geoffrey**, (1980), Tendances actuelles de l'histoire, Paris
- BARRACLOUGH, Geoffrey**, (1982), An Introduction to Contemporary History, London
- BAULANT, Micheline**, (1972), "La Famille en miettes: sur un aspect de la démographie du XVIIe S.", *Annales E.S.C.*, juil.-oct, p.959-968
- BAULANT, Micheline, LE ROY LADURIE, E., DEMONTET, M.**, (1978), "Une synthèse provisoire: les vendanges du XVe au XIXe S.", *Annales E.S.C.*, juil.-août, p.763-771
- BERARD, Laurence**, (1982), Terres et eaux en Dombes, Lyon
- BERGER, René**, (1953), "Les Arts", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- BERGER, Eric**, (1979), La Contrée de Grandson, Grandson

- BERGIER, Jean-François**, (1981), "Villes et campagnes en Suisse sous l'Ancien Régime; quelques variations" , *Revue Suisse d'histoire*, 31-4, p.391-402
- BERGIER, Jean-François**, (1984), Histoire économique de la Suisse, Lausanne
- BERKOWITZ, S.D.**, (1980), An Introduction to Structural Analysis, The Network Approach to Social Research, Toronto
- BERR, Henry, FEBVRE, Lucien**, (1932), "History and Historiography" , In: *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, EDWIN, R.A., SELIGMAN (Edits.) , London
- BERTHOUD, Gérald**, (1967), Changements économiques et sociaux de la montagne; Vernamiège en Valais, Berne
- BIAUDET, Jean-Charles**, (1953), "Les événements politiques", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- BIERMANN, Charles**, (1946), La maison paysanne vaudoise, Lausanne
- BIERMANN, Charles**, (1952), Le canton de Vaud, Lausanne
- BIDEAU, Alain**, (1980), " A Demographic and Social Analysis of Widowhood and Remarriage; the Example of the Castellany of Thoissey-en-Dombes 1670-1840", *Journal of Family History*, Spring, p.28-43
- BISHOP, Peter**, (1982), Computer Science, London
- BLANC, Olivier**, (1974), Démographie et développement, Le canton de Vaud au XIXe S., Lausanne
- BLANC, Olivier**, (1981), "La natalité vaudoise: Deux cents ans d'histoire" , *Revue Suisse d'histoire*, 31-2, pp.144-173
- BLANCHARD, Ian**, (1985), "Industrial Employment and the Rural Land Market 1380-1520", In: *SMITH, R.M.(edit.), Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- BLOCH, Marc**, (1982), Apologie pour l'Histoire, Paris
- BODMER, Walter**, (1967), "L'Evolution de l'économie alpestre et du commerce de fromage du XVIe S. à 1817 en Gruyère et au Pays d'Enhaut" , *Annales Fribourgeoises*, 48, pp.5-162
- BONGAART, John**, (1982), "The Fertility-Inhabiting Effects of the Intermediate Fertility Variables", *Studies in Family Planning*, 13-6/7, June-July, pp.179-189
- BONGAART, John**, (1978), "A Framework for Analysing the Proximate Determinants of Fertility", *Population and Development Review*, 4, pp.105-132
- BOSSARD, Maurice, CHAVAN, Jean-Pierre**, (1986), Nos Lieux-dits, Toponymie Romande, Lausanne
- BONIN, Serge**, (1962), "L'Etude de la Propriété Foncière: un exemple de méthode cartographique", *Etudes rurales*, 5-6, avr.-sep., pp.136-160
- BOURDIEU, Pierre**, (1962), "Célibat et condition paysanne" , *Etudes Rurales*, 5-6, avr.-sep., pp.33-135
- BOURDIEU, Pierre**, (1972), "Les stratégies matrimoniales dans le système de reproduction", *Annales E.S.C.*, juil.-oct., pp.1105-1127
- BOURGEOIS, V.-H.**, (1903), "La chapelle particulière de la famille Bourgeois dans le Temple de Grandson", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.329-378
- BOURGEOIS, V.-H.**, (1924), "Aperçu archéologique de la contrée de Concise", *Revue historique vaudoise*, Novembre, pp.321-336
- BOURGEOIS, V.-H.**, (1982 édit.), Au pied du Jura, Grandson
- BOURGEOIS-PICHAT, Jean**, (1950), Mesure de la fécondité des populations, Paris
- BOYVE, Jacques-François**, (1756), Remarques sur les lois et statuts du Pays de Vaud, Neuchâtel

- BOYVE, Jacques-François**, (1766), Définition ou explication des termes du droit consacrés à la pratique judiciaire du Pays de Vaud, Lausanne
- BRACHER M., SANTOW G., MORGAN S.Ph., TRUSSEL J.**, (1993), "Marriage dissolution in Australia: Models and Explanations", *Population Studies*, 47-3, pp.403-425.
- BRAUDEL, Fernand**, (1969), *Ecrits sur l'Histoire*, Paris
- BRAUDEL, Fernand**, (1979), *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen*, Paris
- BRAUN, Rudolf**, (1988), *Le déclin de l'Ancien Régime en Suisse*, Lausanne
- BREWER, J.G.**, (1972), *Enclosures and the Openfields: A Bibliography*, Reading, The British Agricultural Society
- BRON, Dori**, (1982), *Population et propriété foncière à Vuissens [canton de Fribourg]: 1382-1637 d'après les terriers*, Université de Lausanne, (n.p. mémoire)
- BROOKS, F.P. Jr**, (1982), *The Mythical Man-Month, Essays on Software Engineering*, Addison-Wesley Co.
- BROWN, S.C. Edit.**, (1984), *Objectivity and Cultural Divergences*, Cambridge
- BUCHER, Silvio**, (1974), *Bevölkerung und Wirtschaft des Amtes Entlebuch im 18.Jh.*, Lucerne
- BUCHER, Silvio**, (1976), "La population de la vallée d'Entlebuch au 18ème S.", *Annales de démographie historique*, pp.458-461
- BURNES, Alan**, (1981), *The Microchip - Appropriate or Inappropriate Technologies?*, Chichester
- BURRI, Hans-Rudolf**, (1975), *Die Bevölkerung Luzerns im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, Lucerne
- BURRI, Hans-Rudolf**, (1976), "La Population de Lucerne au 18e s. et au début du XIXe s.", *Annales de la Démographie Historique*, pp.461-463
- BUTTICAZ, Emile**, (1927), "A propos des commissaires bernois", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.367-376
- CAMPBELL, Bruce M.S.**, (1985), "Population Pressure, Inheritance and the Land Market in a 14th Century Peasant Community", In: *SMITH, R.M. (edit.), Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- CAMPICHE, Raoul**, (1946), "Les titres sous l'Ancien Régime", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.41-42
- CARBONEL, Charles-Olivier**, (1981), *L'Historiographie*, Paris
- CARR, H.E.**, (1982), *What is History?*, London
- CARRE, Bernard**, (1979), *Graphs and Networks*, Oxford
- CASPARD, Pierre**, (1974), "Conceptions prénuptiales et développement du capitalisme dans la principauté de Neuchâtel, 1678-1820", *Annales E.S.C.*, juil.-oct., pp.989-1008
- CHAMOREL, Gabriel-P.**, (1944), *La liquidation des droits féodaux dans le canton de Vaud 1798-1821*, Lausanne
- CHAMOUX, Antoinette**, (1972), "La reconstitution des familles; espoirs et réalités", *Annales E.S.C.*, juil.-oct., pp.1083-1090
- CHAMPOUD, Philippe**, (1963), *Les droits seigneuriaux dans le Pays de Vaud*, Vevey
- CHARBIT, Yves**, (1981), *Du malthusianisme au populationisme, les économistes français et la population 1848-1870*, Paris

- CHEVALLAZ, George-André**, (1949), Aspects de l'agriculture vaudoise sous l'Ancien Régime, Lausanne
- CHEVALLAZ, George-André**, (1953a), "L'Agriculture", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- CHEVALLAZ, George-André**, (1953b), "La Population", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- CHUARD, Jean-Pierre**, (1959), "Notes sur quelques cas de Charivari à Aigle à la fin du 18e Siècle", *Folklore Suisse*, pp.57-59
- CHUARD, Jean-Pierre**, (1968), "Notes sur la fabrication du fromage de Gruyère", *Annales Fribourgeoises*, 49, pp.156-164
- CLARK, R.L.**, (1973), "A Linguistic Contribution to Goto-less Programming", *Datamation*, December, pp.62-63
- CLIFTON, D. H.**, (1978), Business Data Systems, London
- CLOTTU, Olivier**, (1979), "Les nobles de Vaumarcus au Landeron; leurs descendants et héritiers", *Archives héraldiques suisses*, pp.49-65
- COP, Raoul**, (1990), "Travaux céréaliers et assolements aux montagnes du 17e au début du 19e S.", In: Musée Neuchâtelois, 2/90
- CONOD, Philippe**, (1984), "Heurs et malheurs d'un régent de campagne au 18ème", Beaumont
- CORVOISIER, André**, (1982), Sources et méthodes en histoire sociale, Paris
- COUTEAU-BEGARIE, Hervé**, (1983), Le phénomène "Nouvelle Histoire", Paris
- CUAGNIEZ, Régine**, (1984), Aspects des systèmes de culture pratiquée à Chavornay et Suchy au 18e et 19e S., Université de Lausanne, (n.p. mémoire)
- DATE, C.J.**, (1981), An Introduction to Database Systems, New York
- DAUBEZE, Yvette**, (1972), "Un programme d'étude démographique sur l'ordinateur", *Annales E.S.C.*, juil.-oct., pp.1047-1070
- DAVENPORT, R.A.**, (1978), "Data Analysis for Database Design", *Australian Computer Journal*, 10/4, pp.122-137
- DAVIS, PH.J., HERSH R.**, (1981), The Mathematical Experience, London
- DAYER, Christopher**, (1985), "Changes in the link between families and land in the West-Midlands in the 14th and 15th centuries", In: *SMITH, R.M. (edit.), Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- DAYER, Christopher**, (1985b), "Changes in the size of Peasant Holdings in some West-Midlands villages", In: *SMITH, R.M. (edit.), Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- DEBARD, Jean-Marc, LASSUS, François**, (198?), Le dénombrement du Comté de Bourgogne de 1688, Essais sur la situation démographique en Franche-Comté au lendemain de son annexion à la France, (n.p.thèse, IRRI, UniL)
- DEGLON, Roger**, (1949), Yverdon au Moyen-Age, BHV 8, Lausanne
- DELEVANT, Henri, HENRIOUD, Marc**, (1979), Le livre d'or des familles vaudoises, Genève
- DESSEMONTET, Olivier**, (1956), "Histoire des archives cantonales vaudoises", Lausanne
- DESSEMONTET, Olivier**, (1957), "Les faux de sire Hugues de Grandson en 1389", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.113-126

- DESSEMONTET, Olivier**, (1961), "Le fief Mestral-d'Allinges à Saubraz: 1510-1717" ,
Revue historique vaudoise, 1961, pp.49-78
- DESSEMONTET, Olivier**, (1967), Memorandum pour l'usage des anciens plans
cadastraux, Archives Cantonales Vaudoises, Lausanne
- DESSEMONTET, Olivier**, (1972a), "Le 250e anniversaire de la culture du tabac en Pays
Romand", Archives Cantonales Vaudoise, Lausanne
- DESSEMONTET, Olivier**, (1972b), Armorial des communes vaudoises, Lausanne
- DESSEMONTET, Olivier**, (1974), "Aperçu sur l'état civil vaudois des origines au 31
Décembre 1875", *Revue d'Etat-Civil*, Novembre 1974, pp.340-344
- DESSEMONTET, Olivier**, (1980), "The Role of the Family in Swiss Rural and Urban Life",
Archives Cantonales Vaudoises, Lausanne
- DOLIVO, D.**, (1964), "Les monnaies de l'Evêché de Lausanne", Monnaies au Pays de
Vaud, BHV 38, Lausanne
- DONALDSON, J.R.**, (1973), "Structured Programming", *Datamation*, Decembre,
pp.52-54
- DORVING, Folk**, (1950) "Etudes sur le cadastre médiéval en Suisse-romande" , *Revue
Suisse d'histoire*, 30, pp.198-243
- DUBLER, Anne-Marie**, (1975), Masse und Gewichte, Luzern
- DUBOIS, Jacques**, (1953), "Le Vignoble", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*,
Lausanne
- DUBY, Georges**, (1977), L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans l'Occident
médiéval, Paris
- DUCOMMUN, Marie-Jeanne, QUADRONI, Dominique**, (1991), Le refuge protestant dans
le Pays de Vaud, fin 17e- début 18e. S., aspects d'une migration, BHV 102
- DUMUR, M.**, (1893), "Documents et anecdotes relatifs à la dîme", *Revue historique
vaudoise*, pp.25-32
- DUPASQUIER, André**, (1976), Brève histoire de Concise, Concise
- DUPAQUIER, Jacques**, (1965), "Des rôles et tailles à la démographie historique,
l'Exemple du Vexin français", *Annales de Démographie Historique*, pp.31-42
- DUPAQUIER, Jacques**, (1966), "Démographie et sources fiscales", *Annales de
Démographie Historique*, pp.233-240
- DUPAQUIER, Jacques, DEMONET, Michel**, (1972), "Ce qui fait les familles
nombreuses", *Annales E.S.C.*, juil.-oct., pp.1025-1045
- DUPAQUIER, Jacques**, (1984), Pour la démographie historique, Paris
- DUPRAZ, E.**, (1904), "Les baillis d'Orbe et d'Echallens", *Revue historique vaudoise*,
pp.1-12
- DUPRAZ, E.S.**, (1953), "l'Eglise catholique", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*,
Lausanne
- DYMOND, David**, (1981), Writing Local History, London
- EDWIN, R.A., SELIGMAN (Edits.)**, (1932), The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, London
- FAVIER, André**, (1960), Evolution de la population de Morges, Lausanne
- FINLAY, Roger**, (1981), Population and Metropolis, The Demography of London, 1580-
1650, Cambridge

- FLEURY, M. & HENRY, L.**, (1956), Des registres paroissiaux à l'histoire de la population, Manuel de dépouillement et d'exploitation de l'état civil ancien, Paris
- FLEURY, M. & HENRY, L.**, (1965), Nouveau manuel de dépouillement et d'exploitation de l'état civil ancien, Paris, INED
- FLANDRIN, Jean-Louis**, (1975), Les amours paysannes, amour et sexualité dans les campagnes de l'ancienne France (XVIe-XIXe s.), Paris
- FLOUD, Federick**, (1979), An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians, London
- FOURQUIN, Guy**, (1970), Seigneurie et féodalité au Moyen-Age, Paris
- FREUND, John E.**, (1979), Modern Elementary Statistics, London
- FREYMOND, Jacques**, (1953), "Le mouvement ouvrier", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- GAUTIER, Etienne & HENRY, Louis**, (1958), La population de Crulai, paroisse normande, Paris
- GENEQUANT, J.E. & all**, (1976), Grandson 1476, Lausanne
- GIDDEY, Ernest**, (1953), "L'Ecole", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- GIDDEY, Ernest**, (1974), L'Angleterre dans la vie intellectuelle de la Suisse Romande au 18ème S., Lausanne
- GILLAND, Pierre**, (1978), La population du canton de Vaud, Lausanne
- GILLIARD, Charles**, (1911), "Au Temps de LL.EE", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.249-304
- GILLIARD, Charles**, (1934), "Dépreciation de la monnaie dans la suisse occidentale", *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, p.85-89
- GILLIARD, Charles**, (1938), "A propos de la conquête bernoise", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.65-79
- GILLIARD, Charles**, (1945), "Les corporations d'autrefois", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.43-51
- GILLIARD, Charles**, (1953), "L'évolution constitutionnelle", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- GILLIARD, Charles**, (1983 réédit), Histoire de la Suisse, Paris
- GOLAY, Jean**, (1953a), "L'économie vaudoise en 1953", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- GOLAY, Jean**, (1953b), "Le commerce et la banque", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- GOLAY, Jean**, (1953c), "Le Canton de Vaud dans la Confédération", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- GOLDSCHLAGER, Les, LISTER, Andrew**, (1982), Computer Science, A Modern Introduction, London
- GOODY, Jack**, (1976), "Inheritance, Property and Women", In: *GOODY, Jack, THIRSK, Joan (edits), Family and Inheritance*, Cambridge
- GOODY, Jack, THIRSK, Joan (edits)**, (1976), Family and Inheritance, Rural Society in Western Europe 1200-1800, Cambridge
- GOUBERT, Pierre**, (1969), L'Ancien Régime: La Société, Paris
- GRAY, Peter**, (1984), Logic, Algebra and Databases, Chichester
- GREER, Germaine**, (1984), Sex and Destiny; The Politics of Human Fertility, London

- GRELLET, Pierre**, (1953), "Etrangers et voyageurs", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- GRIES, D.**, (1978), "On Structured Programming", In: *Programming Methodology*, New York
- GRIGG, David**, (1982), *The Dynamics of Agricultural Changes*, London
- GROGONO, Peter**, (1980), *Programming in Pascal with Pascal/1000*, London
- GRUTER, E.**, 1979, "Le terrier, livre de la féodalité", *l'Histoire*, pp.81-fl
- GUEX, Jules**, (1946), *La montagne et ses noms*, Lausanne (réédit., Martigny 1976)
- GUILLAUME, P. & POUSSOU, J.P.**, (1970), *Démographie historique*, Paris
- HAJNAL, John**, (1953), "Age at Marriage and Proportion Marrying", *Population studies*, VII-2, November, pp.111-135
- HEAD-KOENIG, Anne-Lise, VEYRASSAT-HERREN, Béatrice**, (1970), "La production agricole du plateau suisse aux 17ème et 18ème S.", *Revue suisse d'histoire*, pp.562-600
- HEAD, Anne-Lise**, (1989), "Contrastes ruraux et urbains en Suisse de 1600 au début du 19e S.", In *Mélanges d'histoire économique offerts au Professeur Anne-Marie Piuz*, Genève
- HEGG, Louis**, (1923), *Etude sur le cadastre*, Lausanne
- HENRY, Louis**, (1968), "Verification of Data in Historical Demography", *Population studies*, 12, March, pp.61-81
- HENRY, Louis**, (1976), *Population Analysis and Models*, London
- HENRY, Louis**, (1980), *Techniques d'analyse en démographie historique*, Paris
- HENRY, Louis**, (1983), "La Population de l'Angleterre de 1541 à 1871", *Population*, 4-5, pp.781-821
- HEUBI, Philippe**, (1976), *La grande dîme en graine dans le bailliage d'Yverdon*, Université de Lausanne, Archives Cantonales Vaudoises, (n.p. mémoire)
- HOBcraft, John, MENKEN, Jane, PETERSON, Samuel**, (1982), "Age, Period and Cohort Effects in Demography: A Review", *Population Index*, 48/1, Spring, pp.4-43
- HOLDRENES, B.A.**, (1985), "Widows in Pre-Industrial Society: an Essay upon their Economic Functions", In: *Smith, R.M. (edit.), Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- HOLLINGWORTH, H.T.**, (1969), *Historical demography*, London
- HOLLOWAY, Simon**, (1988), *Data Administration*, Worcester
- HORN, Pamela**, (1980), *The Rural World, 1780-1850, Social Changes in the English Countryside*, London
- HOSKINS, W.G.**, (1982), *Field Work in Local History*, London
- HUBLER, Lucienne**, (1980), "De Pierre à Jérémie ou de l'influence de la réforme sur le choix des prénoms, Vallorbe, 1509-1650", *Etudes de Lettres*, s.4, t.3, n.1, p.21-37
- HUBLER, Lucienne**, (1984), *La population de Vallorbe du XVIe au début du XIXe. Démographie d'une paroisse industrielle jurassienne*, Lausanne
- HUBLER, Lucienne**, (1992) "Parrainage et réseaux sociaux: l'exemple des élites Vallorbières, 17-18e s.", In *La monnaie de se pièce*, Pelet, P.-L & Poudret, J.-F. (edit.), BHV 105, Lausanne

HUNT, Roger, SHELLEY, J., (1979), *Computers and Common Sense*, London

JACCARD, Henri, (1906), "Essai de Toponymie", *Mémoires et documents de la Suisse romande*, 2e série, tome VII, Lausanne

JONES, Anne-Marie, (1984), "Population Dynamics in a Marginal Area of Upland Europe: A Mediterranean or European Demographic Regime?", Workshop, Oeiras, 1984

JUNOD, Louis, (1946), "Le Pays de Vaud a-t-il connu le 'Kiltgang'?", *Archives suisses des traditions populaires*, XLIII, pp.164-175

JUNOD, Louis, (1951), "Le Charivari au Pays de Vaud dans le premier tiers du XIXe siècle", *Archives suisses de traditions populaires*, pp.114-129

JUNOD, Louis, (1953a), "Mil-Huit-Cent-Trois", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne

JUNOD, Louis, (1953b), "Coutumes et Traditions Populaires", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne

JUNOD, Louis, (1959a), "Esquisse de l'histoire de la seigneurie de Corcelles-près-Concise", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.1-8

JUNOD, Louis, (1959b), "Charivari et société des garçons à Coudrefin en 1783", *Folklore suisse*, pp.55-57

KENT, W., (1983), "A Simple Guide to 5 Normal Forms in Relational Database Theory", *Communication of ACM*, 26-2, February, pp.120-125

KEPFER, E., (1938), "Quelques données sur le droit de sauvegarde", *Revue historique vaudoise*, mars-avril, pp.103-109

KLINE, Morris, (1982), *Mathematics in Western Culture*, London

KOHLER, Pierre, (1953), "Les Lettres", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne

KOLAKOWSKI, Leszek, (1982), *Main Currents of Marxism*, Oxford

KUPFER, E., (1939), "Le change de monnaies à Morges 1634-1700", *Revue suisse d'histoire*, 19-3, pp.277-285

KUPFER, E., (1940), "Notes sur diverses taxes et contributions de l'époque bernoise à Morges", *Revue historique vaudoise*, juil.-août, pp.145-156

LAMAISSON, Pierre, (1979), "Les stratégies matrimoniales dans un système complexe de parenté: Ribenne en Gevaudan (1650-1830)", juil.-août, *Annales E.S.C.*, pp.721-743

LASLETT, Peter, WALL, Richard, (eds), (1972), *Household and Family in Past Time*, Cambridge

LASSER A., GARDIOL N., RADEFF A., (1987), "Morges en 1798, Port ou Riviera?", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp. 85-102

LEBRUN, François, (1975), *La vie conjugale sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris

LE ROY LADURIE, Emmanuel, (1966), *Les paysans de Languedoc*, Paris

LE ROY LADURIE, Emmanuel, (1972), "Système de la coutume; structure familiale et coutumes d'héritage en France au XVIe s.", *Annales E.S.C.*, juil.-oct., pp.825-846

- LE ROY LADURIE, Emmanuel**, (1973), *Le Territoire de l'Historien*, Paris
- LE ROY LADURIE, Emmanuel**, (1976), "Family Structure and Inheritance Customs in Sixteen Century France", In: **GOODY, J. and THIRSK, Joan (eds)**, Cambridge
- LEE, Ronald Demos**, (1978), *Econometric Studies of Topics in Demographic History*, New York
- LERIDON, H.** (1973), *Natalité, saisons et conjoncture économique*, Paris
- LORCIN, M.-T.**, (1974), *Les campagnes de la région lyonnaise au 14ème et 15ème S.*, Lyon
- LOYS DE BOCHAT, Charles-Guillaume**, (1747-1749), *Mémoires critiques pour servir d'éclaircissements sur divers points de l'histoire ancienne de la Suisse*, 3 Vol.
- MACFARLANE, Alan**, (1970), *The Family life of Ralph Josselin, A Seventeenth Century Clergyman: An essay in Historical Anthropology*, Cambridge
- MACFARLANE, Alan**, (1976), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616-1683*, British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, New Series, iii, London
- MACFARLANE, Alan**, (1978), *The Origins of English Individualism*, Oxford
- MACFARLANE, Alan**, (1985), "The Myth of Peasantry: Family and Economy in a Northern Parish", In: **SMITH, R.M. (edit)**, *Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- MAILLEFER, Paul**, (1895), "Le Pays de Vaud sous le régime bernois", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.13-171
- MALTHUS, Thomas**, (1829), *An Essay on The Principle of Population*, London
- MANDELROT, Benoît**, (1975), *Les objets fractals, forme, hasard et dimension*, Paris
- MARTIGNIER, D., AYMON DE CROUSAZ**, (1867), *Dictionnaire historique, géographique et statistique du canton de Vaud*, Lausanne
- MARTIN Colin**, (1939), *La réglementation bernoise des monnaies, au Pays de vaud, 1536-1623*, BHV, Lausanne.
- MARTIN Colin**, (1973), *Trésors et trouvailles monétaires racontent l'histoire du Pays de Vaud*, BHV 50, Lausanne
- MARTIN Colin**, (1978), *Essai sur la politique monétaire de Berne, 1400-1798*, BHV 60, Lausanne
- MARTIN Colin**, (1983), *La politique monétaire de Berne II, Les monnaies en circulation dans les cantons, 1400-1798*, BHV 75, Lausanne
- MARTIN, James**, (1975), *Computer Database Organisation*, New Jersey
- MARTIN, James**, (1976), *Principles of Database Management*, New Jersey
- MARTIN, William**, (1980), *Histoire de la Suisse*, Lausanne
- MAYER, Kurt Bernard**, (1952), *The Population of Switzerland*, New York
- McCRACKEN, D. D.**, (1973), "Revolution in Programming", *Datamation*, December, pp.50-52
- MENDELS, Franklin**, (1978), "Le ménage paysan", *Annales E.S.C.*, juillet-aout, pp.780-802
- MEYLAN, Henri**, (1953), "L'église réformée", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- MICHON, Francis**, (1960), *La condition des gens mariés dans la famille vaudoise au 16ème S.*, Lausanne

- MIEVILLE (de), E.**, (1928), "Ordonnance bernoise sur l'acquisition de la bourgeoisie du 3 juillet 1737", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp. 222-223
- MIEVILLE, Henri-Louis**, (1953), "La pensée", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- MILLER, E.F., LINDAMOOD, G.E.**, (1973), "Structured Programming, Top-Down Approach", *Datamation*, December, pp.55-57
- MILLES, Dennis R.**, (1985), "The 19th Century Peasantry of Melburn, Cambridgeshire", In: **SMITH, R.M. (edit.)**, *Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- MIRABDOLBAGHI, Ariane**, (1984), "The study of Bailliage mixte of Grandson", discussion papers, Oeiras
- MIRABDOLBAGHI, Ariane**, (1985), "Landownership & Population in Grandson", seminars, London School of Economics
- MIRABDOLBAGHI, Ariane**, (1986), "Creating a Database with Ingres", working paper, London School of Economics
- MOGEON, L.**, (1938), "Frédéric-César de la Harpe, Percepteur", *Revue historique vaudoise*, mars-avril, pp.83-99
- MONBARON, Patrick-Ronald**, (1984), "Bonmont sous l'Ancien Régime bernois 1536-1798", Pro Bono Monte
- MONITON, Thierry**, (1989), *Le cadastre vaudois au XIXe siècle*, Lausanne
- MONTEI, M.**, (1981), "The Effect of Programming Team Structure on Programming Tasks", *Communication of ACM*, 24, March, pp.106-113
- MORARD, Nicolas**, (1964), "Les registres de la paroisse de Broc", *Annales Fribourgeoises*, 46, pp.17-31
- MORARD, Nicolas**, (1966), "L'évolution des prix de quelques denrées alimentaires à Fribourg au 18ème S.", *Annales Fribourgeoises*, 47, pp.57-110
- MORARD, Nicolas & CAHN, Erich B. & als** (1969), *Monnaie de Fribourg*, Fribourg
- MORONEY, J.M.**, (1980), *Facts From Figures*, London
- MORRIS, Kline**, (1982), *Mathematics in Western Culture*, London
- MORRIS, R.J.**, (1988), Editorial of: *Computing and History Today*, 4, August, pp.7-9
- MOTTAZ, Eugène**, (1900a), "La levée de la dîme du vignoble de Champagne", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.16-21
- MOTTAZ, Eugène**, (1900b), "A propos du chapon", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.58-61
- MOTTAZ, Eugène**, (1902a), "Mandat du gouvernement bernois du 13 septembre 1715 sur les mariages mixtes", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.345-ss
- MOTTAZ, Eugène**, (1902b), "La chasse aux "gueux" à l'époque bernoise", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.20 et 89
- MOTTAZ, Eugène**, (1903), *Les bourla-papey et la révolution vaudoise*, Lausanne
- MOTTAZ, Eugène**, (1907), "Une ordonnance bernoise concernant les pauvres", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.124-127
- MOTTAZ, Eugène**, (1914, reedit 1982), (*DHV*), *Dictionnaire historique, géographique et statistique du canton de Vaud*, Genève
- MOTTAZ, Eugène**, (1928), "LL.EE et la mendicité", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.211-215

- NETTING, Robert McC.**, (1981), *Balancing on an Alp, Ecological Change and Continuity in a Swiss Mountain Community*, Cambridge, USA
- NETTING, R. McC, WILK R. R., ARNOULD, E. J. (edit.)**, (1984), *Households, Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group*, Berkeley
- NETTING, Robert McC.**, (1993), *Smallholders, Householders*, Stanford
- NEWMAN-BROWN, W.**, (1985), "The Receipt of Poor Relief and Family Situation", In: **SMITH, R.M. (edit.)**, *Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- NICOD, Vincent**, (1979), *Aspects de la grande dîme en graine de LL.EE de Berne et de Fribourg dans le Bailliage Commun d'Orbe-Echallens au XVIIIe s.*, Université de Lausanne, (n.p. mémoire)
- NICOLAS-OBADIA, Georges**, (1974), *Atlas statistique agricole vaudois: 1803-1965*, Lausanne
- NICOLAS-OBADIA, Georges**, (1978), *L'axiomatisation de la géographie: l'axiome chronologique*, Lille
- OLIVIER, Eugène**, (1938), "Le Pays de Vaud se dépeuplait-il au 18ème S.?", *Revue suisse d'histoire*, 18, pp.18-97
- OLIVIER, Eugène**, (1961), *Médecine et santé dans le Pays de Vaud*, Lausanne
- ORTIGUES, Edmond**, (1972), "La psychanalyse et les institutions familiales", *Annales E.S.C.*, juillet-octobre, pp.1091-1104
- PELET, Paul-Louis**, (1946), *Le canal d'Entreroches, histoire d'une idée*, Lausanne
- PELET, Paul-Louis**, (1953), "L'industrie et les transports", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- PELET, Paul-Louis**, (1970), "Dix paradoxes sur le temps et l'histoire", *Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto, Revue européenne des sciences sociales*, 22-23
- PELET, Paul-Louis**, (1974), "Une industrie bimillénaire: la sidérurgie du Jura vaudois", *Annales E.S.C.*, juil.-déc., pp.789-812
- PELET, Paul-Louis**, (1978), *Fer, charbon, acier dans le Pays de Vaud*, vol.2, BHV 59, Lausanne
- PELET, Paul-Louis**, (1981), "L'archéologie industrielle: science ou fiction? Une question de définition", *Revue suisse d'histoire*, 31, pp.32-42
- PELET, Paul-Louis**, (1982), "L'histoire des techniques avant la Révolution Industrielle", *Revue suisse d'histoire*, 32, p.324-337
- PELET, Paul-Louis**, (1983), *Fer, charbon, acier dans le Pays de Vaud*, vol.3, BHV 74, Lausanne
- PELET, Paul-Louis**, (1985), "La métallurgie aux champs - le mythe de la ferme-atelier", *Revue suisse d'histoire*, 35, pp.157-163
- PELET, Paul-Louis**, (1993), "Le fer en Suisse et la recherche en archéologie et archéométrie sidérurgiques", colloque de Besançon, 10-13 Nov., to be published in 1994
- PERRENOUD, Alfred**, (1974), "Malthusianisme et protestantisme: un modèle démographique weberien", *Annales E.S.C.*, juillet-décembre, pp.975-988
- PERRENOUD, Alfred**, (1979), *La population de Genève, XVI-XIXe s.*, Genève

- PERRENOUD, Alfred**, (1983), "Calendrier du mariage et coutume populaire: le creux de mai en Suisse-romande", *Population*, 6, pp.924-940
- PFISTER, Christian**, (1975), Agrarkonjunktur und Witterungsverlauf im westlichen Schweizer Mittelland zur Zeit der Oekonomischen Patrioten 1755-1797. Ein Beitrag zur Umwelt und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts, thèse, Berne
- PICTET, Robert**, (1973), Etudes de quelques aspects de la propriété foncière dans une commune rurale sous l'Ancien-Régime, Belmont-sur-Lutry 1690-1798, Université de Lausanne, (n.p. mémoire)
- PICTET, Robert**, (1981), "Cadastration et fiscalité aux XVII et XVIIIe s. L'exemple de Belmont-sur-Lausanne", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.9-47
- PICTET, Robert**, (1991), "L'ancienne structure agraire de Faoug au XVIIe S.", *Revue Historique Vaudosie*, pp.51-62
- PICTET DE ROCHEMONT, Charles**, (1801), Traité des assolements ou l'art d'établir les rotations de récoltes, Genève
- PIERRE-HUMBERT, William**, (1926), Dictionnaire historique du parler neuchâtelois et Suisse-Romand, Neuchâtel 1926, (réédit. 1976)
- PIGUET, Emile**, (1934), Les dénombrements généraux de réfugiés huguenots au Pays de Vaud et à Berne à la fin du XVIIe s., Lausanne
- PIUZ, Anne-Marie**, (1974), "Climat, récoltes, et vie des hommes à Genève, XVI-XVIIIe S.", *Annales E.S.C.*, janvier-juin, pp.599-618
- PIUZ, Anne-Marie**, (1983), "Le marché urbain (XVIIe-XVIIIe S.)", *Revue suisse d'histoire*, 33, pp.75-85
- POUDRET, J.-F.**, (1956), "L'heureuse destinée des notaires vaudois au Moyen-Age", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp. 1-ss
- RADEFF, Anne**, (1977a), "Propriété foncière et pouvoir à Lausanne au XVIIe s.", Centre d'histoire économique et sociale de Lyon, 9, pp.91-103
- RADEFF, Anne**, (1977b), "Naissance d'une communauté agro-industrielle du Jura suisse: Vallorbe 1397-1614", *Etudes rurales*, 68, pp.107-140
- RADEFF Anne**, (1979), Lausanne et ses campagnes au XVIIème S., Lausanne
- RADEFF, Anne, PELET, Paul-Louis**, (1980), "Emigrés du Pays d'Enhaut", In: Rougement 1080-1980, Lausanne
- RADEFF Anne**, (1984), "Cercles ou noyaux? Les aspects lausannois au XIIe s.", *Revue suisse d'histoire*, 34, pp.69-86
- RADEFF Anne**, (1993), "Le réseau des auberges vaudoises au XVIIIe siècle", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.125-137
- RAPP, Georges**, (1942), La seigneurie de Prangins du XIIIe S. à la chute de l'Ancien Régime, Lausanne
- RAVENSDALE, Jack**, (1985), "Population Changes and The Transfer of Customary Land on a Cambridgeshire Manor in the 14th Century", In: *SMITH, R.M.(edit.), Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- RAZI, Zvi**, (1985), "The Erosion of the Family-Land Bond in the late 14th and 15th Centuries; A Methodological note", In: *SMITH, R.M.(edit.), Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- RENGGER, A.**, (1812), Des mouvements de la population du canton de Vaud, Lausanne

- REYMOND, Jules, BOSSARD, Maurice**, (1979), *Le patois vaudois, grammaire et vocabulaire*, Lausanne
- REYMOND, L.**, (1894), "De l'origine des droits d'usage dans les forêts", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.245-252
- RICHARDS, Marina & ZAMORA, Silvia**, (1976), *La propriété foncière à Vallorbe au début du 19ème S.*, IRRI, Université de Lausanne, (n.p. mémoire)
- ROBINSON, Arthur H.**, (1963), *Elements of Cartography*, London
- ROSSIER, Eloi**, (1985), "La démographie du district d'Entremont 1850-1950", *Groupe valaisan des sciences humaines*, pp.119-138
- ROTH, Paul**, (1953), "Historiens vaudois", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- RUBATTEL, Rodolphe**, (1959), *Propriété paysanne*, Lausanne
- SAWYER, W.W.**, (1959), *A Concrete Approach to Abstract Algebra*
- SCHEBERT, Urs Peter**, (1989), *Bevoelkerungsgeschichte des Schwyzer Pfarreien Freienbach und Wollerau im 18. Jahrhundert*
- SCHLUCHTER, André**, (1990), *Das gösgener Amt in Ancien Régime*, Basel
- SCHMIDT, Maurice**, (1975), *La réformation des notaires dans le Pays de Vaud 1718-1723*, Lausanne
- SCHOCH, Maria**, (1980), *La population du Pays d'Enhaut*, Lausanne
- SCHOFIELD, R.S.**, (1972), "La reconstitution des familles par ordinateur", *Annales E.S.C.*, juillet-octobre, pp.1071-1082
- SECRETAN, Claude**, (1953), "Science et médecine", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- SIGAUT, François**, (1975), "La jachère en Ecosse au 18e S.", *Etudes Rurales*, pp.89-105
- SMITH, H.T., GREEN, T.R.G.**, (1980), *Human Interaction with Computers*, London
- SMITH, Richard M.**, (1985a), "Families and their Land in an Area of Partible Inheritance: Redgrave, Suffolk, 1260-1320", In: *SMITH, R.M. (edit.), Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- SMITH, Richard M.**, (1985b), "Some Issues Concerning Families and their Property in Rural England 1250-1800", In: *SMITH, R.M. (edit.), Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- SORGESA MIEVILLE, Béatrice**, (1992), *De la société traditionnelle à l'ère industrielle: les comportements familiaux face au changement économique*, Neuchâtel
- SPEISER, F.**, (1908), "Catalogue des prieurs et recteurs, suivi de mentions inédites sur le personnel et le nécrologue de la Lance", *La revue ecclésiastique suisse*, p.240-265
- SPILMANN, E.**, (1912), "Notice sur le notariat vaudois durant la période bernoise", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.149-159
- STELLING-MICHAUD, S.**, (1939), "Le livre de raison de Marc de Treytorrens", *Revue historique vaudoise*, pp.264-ss
- STONE, Laurence**, (1982), *Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, London

- TANNER, Albert, HEAD-KONIG Anne-Lise**, (1992), *Les paysans dans l'histoire Suisse*, Zürich
- TANNER, Philippe**, (1992), *Le coutumier de Grandson*, BHV 106, Lausanne
- TILLY, Charles**, (1978), *Historical Studies of Changing Fertility*, Princeton
- TODD, Emmanuel**, (1984), *L'enfance du monde: structure familiale et développement*, Paris
- TRANter, N.L.**, (1985), *Population and Society*, New York
- TREYVAUD, O.**, (1953), "La politique vaudoise en 1953", In: *Cent cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- VAUCHER, Daniel**, (1961), "Assolement triennale en France", *Etudes Rurales*, pp.7-17
- VAUCHER, G.**, (1958), "Registres paroissiaux et l'état civil dans la Confédération Suisse", *Archivum*, VIII, pp.61-77,
- VANDER WAD A.M., MENTIS, G.J.**, (1966), "La population de Rotterdam au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle", *Population*, 21, pp. 1170-fl
- VETTER, M.**, (1981), *Database Design Methodology*, New Jersey
- VUILLEUMIER, H.**, (1927), *Histoire de l'église réformée au Pays de Vaud*, Lausanne
- WALES, Time**, (1985), "Poverty, Poor Relief and the Life Cycle", In: **SMITH, R.M. (edit)**, *Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- WALES, Time, LASLETT, Peter, ROBIN, Jean (édits.)**, (1983), *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, Cambridge
- WALL, Richard**, (1985), "Real Property, Marriage and Children. The Evidence from four pre-Industrial Communities", In: **SMITH, R.M. (edit)**, *Land, Kinship and Life Cycle*, Cambridge
- WALTER, Achilles**, (1976), "Revenu et situation économique des paysans", *Etudes rurales*, pp.33-47
- WALTER, François**, (1980), "Contribution à l'étude de la petite propriété familiale en pays de Fribourg", *Revue suisse d'histoire*, 30, pp.29-58
- WATCHER, Kennet W., HAMMEL, E.A., LASLETT, Peter**, (1978), *Population and Social Structure*, Advances in Historical Demography, London
- WILLIGAN, J.D., LYNCH, K.A.**, (1982), *Sources and Methods of Historical Demography*, London
- WOODS, Robert**, (1982), *Population Analysis and Geography*, London
- WRIGLEY, E.A.**, (1965), "Some Problems of Family Reconstitution Using English Parish Registers Materials: The Example of Colyton", *3rd International Conference of Economic History*, Munich, pp.199-221, (pub. Paris)
- WRIGLEY E.A. (édit.)**, (1966a), *An Introduction to English Historical Demography from the 16th to the 19th Century*, London
- WRIGLEY E.A.**, (1966b), "Family Limitation in Pre-Industrial England", *Economic history review*, 19, pp.82-109
- WRIGLEY E.A.**, (1972), "The Process of Modernisation and the Industrial Revolution in England", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, pp.225-259

- WRIGLEY E.A.**, (1977), "Birth and Baptism: The use of Anglican Baptism Registers as a Source of Information about the Numbers of Birth in England Before the Beginning of Civil Registration", *Population studies*, XXXI, pp.281-312
- WRIGLEY E.A.**, (1978), "Fertility Strategy for the Individual and the Group", In: *E.A. Wrigley and Ch. Tilly (edit.), Historical Studies of Changing Fertility*, USA
- WRIGLEY E.A., THOMSON, E.P. (edit.)**, (1973), *Identifying People In the Past*, London
- WRIGLEY E.A., SCHOFIELD, R.S.**, (1981), *The Population History of England*, London
- WRIGLEY E.A., SCHOFIELD, R.S.**, (1983), "English Population History, Family Reconstruction: Summary Results 1600-1799", *Population studies*, 37, pp.157-184

ZUMKELLER, Dominique, (1992), *Le paysan et la terre, agriculture et structure agraire à Genève*, 18ème S., Genève

UNSIGNED OR COLLECTIVE WORKS:

- 1766 Ordonnance concernant les habillements etc... pour les Pays allemand et romand de la république de Berne, Berne
- 1779 Coutumier nouveau de la ville et de tout le bailliage de Grandson, Projeté par les sujets du dit bailliage, Yverdon
- 1875 Dossiers généalogiques sur les familles genevoises
- 1893 "Don de joyeux avènement", *Revue historique vaudoise*, p.156-158
- 1912 "Trois documents inédits sur la suppression de la chartreuse de la Lance", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique suisse*, p. 276-290
- 1924 Glossaire des patois de la Suisse Romande, Paris et Neuchâtel
- 1938 "Engagement d'un régent d'école", *Revue historique vaudoise*, mars-avril, p.120-121
- 1938 "Une requête contre la dîme des pommes de terre", *Revue historique vaudoise*, mars-avril, p.117-119
- 1953 *Cent Cinquante ans d'histoire vaudoise*, Lausanne
- 1973 *Encyclopédie illustrée du Pays de Vaud*, Lausanne
- 1980 *Rougemont, 9e centenaire, 1080-1980*, Lausanne
- 1980-1982: UNIL-IRRI Seminars, supervisor: P.-L. PELET, papers by:
CORNUZ Jacques, CORSET Jean-Marc, ELIAS Pier-Luca, GARDIOL
Nathalie, JAVET Danielle, MIRABDOLBAGHI Ariane, RIGADIS Yannis,
TRAMS Rosemarie.
- 1983 *Nouvelle histoire de la Suisse et des Suisses*, Lausanne
- 1987 *Bibliographie vaudoise, index général, (Encyclopédie illustrée du canton de Vaud, vol. 12)*, Lausanne