Bocconi

WORKING PAPER N. 221 MAY 2024

# Economic Shocks and Assimilation Policies: Phylloxera and Educational Expansion in French Algeria

Mara P. Squicciarini Gianandrea Lanzara Sara Lazzaroni Paolo Masella

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# Economic Shocks and Assimilation Policies: Phylloxera and Educational Expansion in French Algeria

Gianandrea Lanzara

Sara Lazzaroni

Bocconi University

University of Bologna

Paolo Masella

University of Bologna

Mara P. Squicciarini Bocconi University \*

May 2, 2024

### Abstract

This paper studies the impact of a shock, the phylloxera crisis in 19th-century France, on assimilation policies towards the native population of French Algeria. In particular, assembling a novel dataset on French MPs and their parliamentary speeches, we find that MPs coming from areas hit harder by the phylloxera, were more likely to: i) use keywords related to the impact of phylloxera and wine production; ii) express greater interest and support towards policies aimed at educating the native population. The latter pattern becomes visible approximately ten years after the phylloxera crisis, consistent with the view that organizing production requires time.

JEL-Classification: J15, Z10, I25. Keywords: assimilation, minorities, education, 19th-century France.

<sup>\*</sup>We thank Caterina Alfonzo and Matteo Pograxha for excellent assistance throughout the construction of the data. Financial support from the PRIN Grant # PRIN 2017ATLJHB is gratefully acknowledged.

# 1 Introduction

Throughout history, the occurrence of negative shocks (e.g., economic shocks, natural disasters, wars, and pandemics) has represented a major challenge to societies, often having an impact on policies and attitudes towards minorities and their assimilation. A large literature in economics and political sciences has shown that these shocks may lead to scapegoating behavior and discrimination against minorities (Becker and Pascali, 2019; Anderson et al., 2020; Doerr et al., 2022; Anderson et al., 2017; Fouka, 2019; Jedwab et al., 2019; Abraham et al., 2024). However, there is scant empirical evidence on: i) whether (and under which conditions) negative shocks may have positive externalities and foster assimilation policies; and ii) how this happens.

In this paper, we exploit an exemplary historical setting, i.e., the French phylloxera crisis in late 19th-century France and its impact on educational policies towards Algerians. Phylloxera is an insect from the aphid family that attacks grapevines, causing their decline and death. Its spread in France from 1863 represented an extremely negative shock to the French economy, which at the time was predominantly agricultural. In particular, wine production made up a significant part of agricultural output and employment. To compensate for the decline in domestic production and the resulting income losses, French families involved in the wine industry emigrated to Algeria, then a French colony, where some recent technological innovations had made wine production feasible in spite of the high temperatures. The economic development of Algeria required the training of local labor capable of integrating into the economic activities of French colonists. From 1890, educational policies aimed at the native population became an important discussion topic in the French Parliament, with the goal of promoting knowledge of French and the development of manual skills useful for agricultural work.

To carry out the empirical analysis, we assembled a novel dataset from historical sources, which includes information on all members of the French Parliament (MPs) and the texts of the Parliamentary debates during the period of the Third Republic (1870-1942). In particular, we first downloaded from official websites the biographical information of all MPs elected. For each MP, we observe the date and place of birth, as well as the electoral district, the election date, the term of office for each mandate (an MP may be in charge for several mandates), and a one-page biographical note. We then matched biographies to speakers in our dataset of Parliamentary speeches. This dataset provides details on the speeches of each MP for a total of 1,463,560 speeches. Finally, we manually digitized the data in Galet (1957) to recover measures of the phylloxera shock at the department level.

In order to measure MPs' attitudes towards the native population of Algeria, we use two

distinct yet complementary approaches to text analysis: dictionary-based methods and topic analysis. We find that MPs from departments affected by phylloxera use keywords related to the impact of phylloxera and wine production more frequently following the phylloxera shock (compared to other MPs). We also find that MPs from departments affected by phylloxera express greater interest and support towards policies aimed at educating and training the native population compared to unaffected department. This pattern becomes visible approximately ten years after the phylloxera crisis, consistent with the view that relocating families engaged in wine production to Algeria and organizing production in a new environment are processes that require time.

This paper contributes to two strand of the literature. First, it relates to those works analyzing the impact of a negative shock on minorities' assimilation. Gould and Klor (2016) study the assimilation behavior of Muslim immigrants in the U.S. after the 9/11 attacks caused a spike in anti-Muslim hate crimes. They find that in states with a higher incidence of hate crimes Muslims decreased intermarriages, increased fertility, and reduced female labor force participation and their proficiency in English. By contrast, Fouka (2019) investigates the effect of anti-Germanism in the United States during WorldWar I and show that the German minority increased its assimilation by changing naming patterns towards Americanization and by filing more petitions for naturalization. We provide novel empirical evidence that a shock may positively affect the assimilation policies towards minorities when the latter become complementary to the well-functioning of the economy. In the Algerian case, policies of educational expansion were put into place to favor natives' accumulation of human capital.

Then, it contributes to the literature on the effects of phylloxera. Banerjee et al. (2010) study its impact on adult height, health, and life expectancy of children born in phylloxera-affected departments during the crisis. Bignon et al. (2017) investigate the effect of the phylloxera shock on crime. This paper takes a novel angle and shows the impact of the agricultural (and economic) shock on the educational policies towards the Algerian population.

# 2 Historical background

### 2.1 The phylloxera crisis and the wine industry in Algeria

The phylloxera insect, originating from America, was first detected in French vineyards near the Rhine estuary in 1863, having been transported to Europe on commercial vessels. The disease, whose origin was initially unknown, attacked the roots of vines, impairing their ability to produce grapes and ultimately leading to the plants' death. Subsequently, the pest spread throughout France, inflicting substantial damage on both vineyards and the broader wine production sector. It was first observed affecting the roots of vines in the Gard department, in the South of France, in 1868, yet it was not officially identified as the cause of the disease until 1875. During the 1870s, the insect reached the departments of Gard, Hérault, and Vaucluse. By the late 1880s, phylloxera had invaded 37 of the 40 departments where, according to Banerjee et al. (2010), wine constituted more than 15% of agricultural production.

In the 19th century, the wine industry represented roughly one-sixth of the agricultural production value in France and served as a vital source of livelihood for numerous families. The diffusion of phylloxera destroyed one-third of the vineyards in the country, resulting in a dramatic decline in wine production by approximately 70% from 1875 to 1889, as documented by Meloni and Swinnen (2014). Bignon et al. (2017) further estimate that wine production in wine-intensive departments decreased by almost 50% during the 1850–1905 time period. However, the French demand for wine was not falling, so it was crucial to find new suppliers to keep up with it (Isnard and Labadie, 1959).

Moving wine production to Algeria had two main advantages. First, it offered French consumers an alternative good wine against the recent practice of altering French wine by adding a cheaper one to the original to meet the demand, thus allowing to maintain quality standards. Second, it prevented imports from Italy and Spain, France's direct competitors. As a result, settlers switched from wheat to wine: the area of European vineyards rose from 15,000 ha. in 1878 to 110,000 in 1890 (Ageron, 1991) and by 1914, vineyards accounted for 44% of the European real property, whith wine representing one-third of the value of Algerian exports (Ruedy, 2005).

# 2.2 Education policies in Algeria and the integration of the indigeneous people

The replacement of wheat with wine increased dramatically the demand for labor as "a hectare of vineyard require[d] eighty days' work per year, eight times as much as wheat" (Isnard and Labadie, 1959, p.73). This led the settlers to increasingly rely upon the mass of rural natives, which had to quickly "learn the techniques of grape cultivation and wine-making" (Isnard and Labadie, 1959, p.73). Hence, the need of very specific education policies that could serve two main purposes: (i) acquire proficiency in the French language and writing to enhance interactions and connections with the settlers, and (ii) teaching to the natives skills they can use and pass on, especially those necessary for the agricultural work. This was largely discussed in parliamentary debates of the time.

As an example, let us quote a speech by Antoine Rozet. Antoin Rozet was elected in the department of *Haute-Marne*, a wine-growing department, in the North-East of the country, affected by phylloxera. On December 11th, 1896, he delivered the following speech at the *Chambre des Deputées*.

In his deposition before the Senate's committee of eighteen in 1891, the distinguished rector of the Academy of Algiers [...], the honorable Mr. Jeanmaire, made a deposition in which he said: "One essential thing is to find a way to make French education useful to the natives; until now, we have placed ourselves too much from the French point of view; we must succeed in interesting the native in school by teaching him manual trades that he could teach in turn, such as locksmithing, carpentry, masonry. We must even more tend towards agricultural education by organizing agricultural schools attached to French schools, where simple and practical instruction would be given. The initiative should be given to the governor-general. [...] Agricultural work in the garden or in the demonstration field of the school will not truly be the apprenticeship of the cultivator's trade, but an application of the elementary theoretical notions that should be given to students on the cultivation of cereals, vegetables, fruit trees, and vines. The teacher will strive to give students a taste for gardening, to spread among the natives the vegetables they do not know and whose acclimatization and cultivation will contribute to improving their diet. If he could propagate in Kabylie, for example, the planting of fruit trees from France, the use of potatoes and chestnuts, which thrive very well there, it would be a great service that he would have rendered to the indigenous population. The chestnut wood, which would be used for making casks increasingly necessary in Algeria due to the expansion of wine production, would become a wealth in itself". [...] Therefore, it is essential that the natives learn French to strengthen various relationships with the settlers. In my opinion, the limited education for the natives should consist mainly of teaching French and writing, with a bit of arithmetic, and also a lot of manual and agricultural work.

Similarly, "Colons, who had always been critical of the attempt to create a special school system for natives who did not want it, were quick, after 1870, to dismantle the Arab-French system. They claimed that Muslims were now free to attend the French schools [...] They insisted that whatever education was offered should be vocationally oriented, focus on the needs of the agricultural labor market, and avoid academic subjects that might tend to politicize the natives. While there were several versions of the native school curriculum

from the 1880s, all courses of study shared an emphasis on the practical rather than the theoretical, and all were taught almost exclusively in French." (Ruedy, 2005, p. 104-5)

# 3 Data

#### 3.0.1 Historical and institutional background

The history of France from 1830 to 1870 is traditionally divided into three sub-periods: the *Monarchie de Juillet* (July Monarchy, 1830-1848), the *Seconde République* (Second Republic, 1848-1852), and the *Second Empire* (Second Empire, 1852-1870).

Table 1: Legend	
Historical Periods:	
Monarchie de Juillet	MJ
Seconde République	$\operatorname{SR}$
Second Empire	SE
Troisième République	TE
Newspapers:	
Le Moniteur Universel	MU

JORF

Journal officiel de la République française

### 3.1 1830-1870

The Monarchie de Juillet began on July 30, 1830, with the accession of Louis Philippe of Orleans to the throne. The constitutional form was a constitutional monarchy. The hereditary principle was replaced by the principle of popular sovereignty. The parliament was bicameral, comprising the *Chambre des Deputées* and the *Chambre des Pairs*. The *Chambre des Deputées* was elected through limited suffrage—restricted to men over 25 who paid a minimum tax threshold. The king appointed the members of the *Chambre des Pairs*.

The Seconde République began on February 23, 1848, following the overthrow of Louis Philippe during the wave of European revolutions that swept through France as well. The constitutional form was a parliamentary republic. The parliament was composed of a single chamber, the Assemblée Nationale, elected by direct universal suffrage by citizens over the age of 21. Louis Bonaparte was elected President of the Republic.

In December 1851, Louis Bonaparte successfully carried out a coup d'état, leading to the establishment of the *Second Empire* in January 1852 and the promulgation of a new constitution. The constitutional form was still republican although with strong authoritarian traits, with powers concentrated in the figure of Louis Bonaparte, who was proclaimed emperor in December 1852 under the name Napoleon III. The parliament was composed of two chambers: the *Corps legisaltif*, elected by universal male suffrage, and the *Sénat*, which included members from the clergy, the military, and other imperial appointees.

#### 3.1.1 Data sources

**Speeches** Throughout this period, the stenographic transcripts of the parliamentary debates are found in *Le Moniteur Universel* (MU), a newspaper founded during the French Revolution with the aim of publishing the debates of the revolutionary National Assembly. In 1834, the newspaper received the formal assignment of publishing the parliamentary transcripts. During this period, it served as the official gazette of France, providing coverage of the approved laws and other public acts. Starting from January 1st, 1869, Napoleon III replaced it with the *Journal officiel de l'Empire français* (later to become *Journal officiel de la République française*, but the MU kept publishing the parliamentary transcripts throughout 1869 and 1970. It then survived as an independent newspaper until 1901.

We downloaded all issues of the MU from 1830 to 1870, in JPEG format, from website Retronews (retronews.fr), the press website of the French National Library (see Figure ??).

**Biographies** The websites of both the *Assemblée Nationale* and the *Sénat* provide, on dedicated portals, information on the personal and political biographies of the parliamentarians throughout this period. See websites www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/sycomore/recherche for the *Assemblée Nationale* and www.senat.fr/senateurs-2nd-empire/senatl.html for the senators of the Second Empire.

#### 3.1.2 Speeches

#### 3.1.2.1 OCR

Because the text files provided by Retronews were of insufficient quality to be used in the analysis, we opted to download all pages in JPEG format and leverage Google Vision to convert each newspaper issue into a single text file. The layout of the MU featured multiple columns, and Optical Character Recognition (OCR) algorithms often struggle to accurately read column breaks. To address this, we first used Detectron2, Facebook's library for image detection, to split each page into its respective columns. Then, we processed each column separately through the OCR algorithm.

We can outline the key steps of the procedure as follows:



#### MONITEUR UNIVERSEL. LE Nº 224.

#### JE UDI, 12 Août 1850.

PARTIE OFFICIELLE. ORDONNANCES DU ROI.

ORDONNANCES DU ROI. LOUIS-PHILIPPE, Noi nes Fasquas, A tous présens et à veuir , siult : Arons ordonné et ordonnom: ce qui suit : M. Dupoa (de l'Euro, ), membre de la chambre des dépuiss, est normé garde-des-stewax, ministre secritaire d'etta département de l'unistre de la fuite. Paris, le 11 soit 65 -LOUIS-PHILIPPE. Le commissaire provisire au département de l'intérieur, Cuison. LOUIS-PHILIPPE, Roi nes Fasquas, A tous présens et à veuir, valut : Arons ordonné et ordonnous ce qui suit : M. Le comits Gérard, lieutemat-général, membre de la chambre des dépuisté, est nommé ministre serie-téles et soit 650. LOUIS-PHILIPPE. Paris, le 11 soit 650.

Le garde-des-sceaux, ministre secréta d'état au département de la justice, DUPONT (de l'Eure.)

LOUIS-PHILIPE, Ranne Fansgan, A tabend and the sense of the sense A tabend and the sense A tabend and the sense and table to the sense of the sense of the sense of the sense of the sense and table to the sense of the sense table of the sense

LOUIS - PHILIPPE, Ron zes Fasaças, A tous présent et à treir, salut ; A cous présent et à treir, salut ; A condonné entre de la chambre des déjautés, M. Guizot, nombre de la chambre des déjautés M. Guizot, nombre de la chambre des déjautés neut de l'intérieur. Paris, le 11 août 1850. DUIS - PHILIPPE. Par le Boi : Louis - PHILIPPE. Par le Boi : Louis - Ministre secrétaires d'état a déjantement de la justice, DURONT (de l'Eure).

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, Ror pre Françans, A tous présens et la venir, salut, Avans ordenne ét ordennance ce qui suit : M. le baron Louis, membre de la chambre det léputés, est normé ministre secrétaire-d'état au lépartement des finances, Paris, le conze août : 550.

LOUIS - PHILIPPE. Par le Roi : Le garde-des-sceaux, ministre secréta d'état au département de la justice. DUPOST (de l'Eure.)

LOUIS-PHILLPPE, Roi des Français, A tous présens et à venir, salut. Avons ordonné et ordonnom ce qui suit : M. le comte Molé, pair de France, est nomm juisire secrétaire-d'état au département des af-sire dérandres secrétaire-d'état au département des af-

ires étrangères. Paris, le ouze soût 1830. LOUIS-PHILIPPE. Par le Roi :

Le garde-des-sceaux, ministre scrétaire d'état au département de la justice, DUPONT (de l'Eure.)

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, Ror DEs Fnarçais, A tons présent et à venir, salut ; A vons ordonné et ordonnous ce qui suit : M. le conte Stabistiani, lieurenant-général, mem-re de la chambre des députés, est nommé mi-sistre serchaire d'état au d'partement de la marine. Paris, le onze nont : 155m. LOUIS-PHILIPPE. Par le Roi, Par le Roi,

Le garde-des-sceaux, ministre secrétaire-d'état au département de la justice, DUPONT (de l'Eure)-

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, Roi des FRANÇAIS. A tous présens et à venir, salut. Sont nommés membres de notre conseil des m

uistres : M. Dupont (de l'Eure), garde - des - sceaux, ministre secrétaire - d'état au département de la

Ministre ; M. le comte Gérard, lieutesant-général, ministre iscrétaira-d'état au département de la guerre ; M. le comte Molé, ministre scrétaire-d'état au département des affaires étrangères ;

M. le comte Sébastiani , ministre scrétaire-d'état au département de la marine " au département de l'instruction publique et des cultes, président du consei-d'état ; M. le baron Louis, ministre secrétaire-d'état au département de sinances ; M. Guizot, ministre secrétaire-d'état au dépar-tement de l'unérieur; M. Jacques Laffitie, membre de la chambre des députe;

M. Casimir Perrier, membre de la chambre des

députés; M. Dupin aîné, membre de la chambre des éputés; M. le baron Bignon, membre de la chambre

M. le baron promo-es dépatés. Paris, le onze août 1850, - PHILIPPE. Par la Roi Le garde-des -scenaz, minitre secrétaire d'état au département de la jusice, DUPOST (de l'Eure.)

Durost (de l'Eure.) LOUIS-PHILIPPE, Roi nes Fraxeus, A tous présens et à venir, salut : Sur la démission donnée par M. le marquis de la Tour-Maubourg, nous avons nomme et nommous gouverneur des Javaildes M. le maréchal comte Jondan.

Noter ministre secrétaire-d'état au département de Noter ministre secrétaire-d'état au département de guerre est chargé de l'exécution de la présente. Paris, le 11 août 1850. LOUIS - PHILIPPE. Par le Roi, départ en départ

Lo ministre secrétaire-d'état au de tement de la guerre, Cie GERARD. d'élat au dépai

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, Roi DES FEASÇAIS. A lous présens et à venir, salut : Sur le rapport de notre commissaire provisoire au épartement de l'intérieur. Nous avons nommé et nommons :

département de l'intérieur, Nous avons normé el ucommons: M. Barbaroux, sons-prélét de Limoux (Ande), en remplacement de M. d'Auberjon; M. Lochmeyer, sons-prélét de Saintes (Charente-Liférieure), en emplacement de M. de Guord ; M. Bouiner fils, sons-prélét de Sainter (Charente-ter), en remplacement de M. de Quarteinsches; M. Copie, sons-prélét de Niener, et M. Coujo, en sons-frélét d'Ausenins (Lorre-et-Lién, en de Saint-Aiguna, sous-prélét d'Ausenins (Lorre-Inférieure), en remplacement de M. de Quartriace, sous-prélét de Tinnwille (Ma-ensent), sons-prélét de Tinnwille (Ma-densent), sons-prélét de Tinnwille (Ma-Desineux, sons-prélét de Tinnwille (Ma-Desineux, sons-prélét de Moriagne (Orne), en remplacement de M. De Moriagne (Orne), M. Pourat, sons-prélét de Moriagne (Das-de-Calais), en remplacement (BM. Cours), sons-render de M. Joursensy ( M. Pourat, sons-prélét de Moirre), four-de-Dôme), ne membacement de M. de Fourgey-rolles; M. Budrit Lafreg Gin, non-prélét de Bionre (Pay-de-Dôme), sons-prélét de Bionre (Pay-relles), en remplacement de M. de Paguy-rolles), sons-prélét de Bionre (Pay-de-Dôme), sons-prélét de Bionre (Pay-rolles), en remplacement de M. de Paguy-rolles), sons-prélét de Bionre (Pay-

de-Dome), en remplacement de M. de Peguey-rolles; M. Molia (Louis), sous-prélet de Niom, en rem-placement de M. Dutour de Suiver; M. Pricur de la Comble (Easèle), sous-prélet de Commercy (Wass), en remplacement de M. Pau-lin Gillon, dont la démission est acceptée ; M. Durche de Lifond, sous-prélet de Gruy (Haute-Loire), en remplacement de M. de Pelet; M. Bellon, sous-prélet de Louluns (Sabacet-Loire), en remplacement de M. de Pelet; M. Bollon, sous-prélet de Boulanzy ; M. Gondinet (Adolphe), sous-prélet de S-Yrriex, (Haute-Venne), en remplacement de M. Gou-diet (François-Marcelin). Notre commissive provisoire au département de Fratérieur est chargé de l'escention de la présent Paul, les noût 1850.

lerreur es cuarge d'annauce. Paris, le 10 août 1850. LOUIS-PHILIPPE. Par le Roi, Le commissaire provisire au département de l'intérieur, Guizor.

PARTIE NON OFFICIELLE.

INTÉRIEUR.

I - Il y a eu un diner de So couverts au Palais-Royal; on y remarquait des générax, le prince de l'alleyrand, des éléves des Ecoles, des dificiers de la garde nationale et plusieurs des citoyens les plus recommandables du commerce de Paris.
- Le soir, la Reine, entourée de sa famille, a reça dans es salons. On a distingué parmi le s'ent entretem longie. Soult, avec lequel le Raisont repartis pour Taina.
- On pesse que Charles X s'embarquera des parie.
- On pesse que Charles X s'embarquera des parternes.
- On pesse que Charles X s'embarquera des parternes.
- Quelques députés ont allacté de ne point

- antroung, et qu'il ira fixer sa résidence à Palerme. — Quelques députés ont allecté de as point praitre najourd'hui à la chambre. S'ils sa refu-sent à prèter le serment au Roi Louis-Búilgne et à son gouvernement, et est se dépouiller eux-mêtnes de leur qualité, c'est renoncer à leur man-dat, et il est à croire que le Minisière prendra une mesure qui les oblige à rempir ce deroir ou a se d'emitre de la députion. Dans le cas du r/los, il serait sans douie pourve à leur rem-placement.

a e demettre de la députation. Dans le cas du remplacement.
M. Dupins hois, bitennier de l'Ordre des reversts, et été admis à présenter au Roi les hommages de Ordre, et ést exprimé en ces termes :
• Sua e,
• Nous conso effirir au Roi les respects et les hommages d'an Ordre où le due d'Orfens a terver des auxi, des conseils et et a défauer au Roi les respects et les hommages d'an Ordre où le due d'Orfens a terver des auxi, des conseils et et a défauer au Roi les respects et les hommages d'an Ordre où le due d'Orfens a terver d'enhoire se employeras tous nos efforts à les vant termes d'an et les envir réabilités. En les inveguant, nous employeras tous nos efforts à les vant des vens de termes d'an event des vens que vois vene d'expander. En les inveguant, nous employeras tous nos efforts à les vens de vens de vens de vens de vens de la des los conseils et et les des les vens de la des los vens de evens de vens de vens

un terme, sur neues d'avoir participé à mettre (L'heure avancée et l'ciendue des séances des deux chambres, nous forcent à remettre à demain la publication des adresses au Roi, de la éfpata-de Péronne, d'Ambioie, d'Anrillae, du tribund de Strashourg, du consistoire des laraélies de France, etc., etc.)

etr., etc.) Le colonel Humault de la Chevallerie ayast aban-donné le commandement du 8º régiment d'idiauterie légère, en garrison à Wissenhourg, le licitemant-colonel Fleury Bourkhuits, qui l'a remplicé pro-tivernentat, vient d'adresse au commissionir prov-ciènce departement de la guerre la lettre sui-vante :

oire au département de la guerre la letire sui-vante : • Wissembourg, le 6 août. • Jai l'honner d'adresser à Vorte Excellence l'approbation franche et sincère donnée par MM. Les els mourses prises per le Gouvernement provisoire, el lui vosait et nos bras et nos caurs pour le son-tenir d'ans tout ce qu'il entreprendra pour le bien phile et pour la délesse du soit seré ile la parier, a jennis l'étranger, jaloux de notre bonheur, ossit • Les sons-filierie et addisét, qui ont tum ap-pris àvec une joie dificile à dépendre les chang-menes survens et l'approbation qu'i donnet le lers officierer, ont voule aussi se jonnire à eux pour concentre l'office d'une somme de 80 a franse que le 8 reigiment fait à Vorte Excellence pour être dis-tinhué aux matheureuses victimes des 27, 38 et 29 juillet deraier. »

Le directeur des ports chargé par intérim, de l'ad-ministration de la marine, a autorisé le préfet ma-ritime à Breat, à torient et l'achefort, n crganiser les ouvires du port en garde nationale, sons les ordres des officiers de gaine amirine, par coardo-rir au service militaire de l'arsenal et, au besoin, au mainien de l'ordre et de la tranquilité pu-blique. Paria, le 14 août. De aries, le 14 août. Aprês avoir travaillé une grande partie de la contraite de la con

- 1. annotate a sample of pages from each period
- 2. train an image detection model on the annotated sample of pages
- 3. use the model to predict and crop all other pages from each issue of *Le Moniteur* Universel into individual columns
- 4. send each column to Google Vision for OCR
- 5. paste all columns for each issue into a single text file

We executed this procedure separately for the *Monarchie de Juillet*, the *Seconde Republique*, and the *Second Empire*, to account for variations in the page structure across periods. For step (1), we used Label Studio (labelstud.io) to manually delineate columns for thirty randomly selected issues – ten issues for each of the three historical sub-periods. Because the number of pages varies from issue to issue, we ended up with 76 pages for the *Monarchie de Juillet*, 100 pages for the *Seconde Republique*, and 46 pages for the *Second Empire*.

For the *Monarchie de Juillet*, we annotated a single "column" category. Because during this period the text tends to be reported without interruptions, columns always span the page from top to bottom. For the *Seconde Republique*, we also annotated a single "column" category. In this case, however, columns are allowed to have breaks in between, because tables occasionally appear during this period, often horizontally spanning multiple columns. At the same time, tables are too unfrequent for the algorithm to accurately detect them. Finally, for the *Second Empire* we annotated three different categories: "column", "table", and "dead zone". In this period, since tables are more frequent, the algorithm does a good job at detecting them.

#### 3.1.2.2 Extracting debates

The OCR procedure delivers raw text files for each issue of the MU. As the MU contained a variety of materials beyond those related to parliamentary activities, our primary task is to extract the section of the MU containing the parliamentary debates.

During the MJ, there were two branches of Parliament: *Chambre des Deputés* and *Chambre des Pairs*. During the SR, there was only one branch, the *Assemblée Nationale*. During the SE, there were again two branches: *Chambre des Deputés* and *Sénat*. For each of branch-period, we devise a procedure to locate and extract the debate.

Figure 2: Le Moniteur universel, August 12, 1930, page3. The headers for the debate sections of the Chambre des Pairs and the Chambre des deputés are visible on the page

ARTEMENT DE LA MARINE. lettre adressée au ministère de ar M. l'amiral baron Duperé. Vaisseau l'Alger, baie d'Alger, le 31 juillet 1850.

Washed Labor, and GAGE, homeor, par juris leites da jar et da is, do vom rendre compte que l'espé-le commandement de M. le contra-osamel, avait le double but d'occuper, le force. Boue, d'y mettre granison, sueite contre Tripoli. A la demande de el Bourmont, l'urais dirigé quelques par M. Graeb, une députation d'ha-bles d'Algor, porteurs d'une dépâche par M. Graeb, une députation M. le visiseux Kardrain, commandant devant foit débarquer la députation sous la désanat une autorités locipies une jonfait débarquer la députation sons la décessant aux autorités locales une in-reconsultre l'autorité du Roi, de Lire fort par la gravission turgue, o d'y abborer e pavillon de France. Catte démarche u succión complet. La ville et les ports e occupés en ce monnent par la gravison e du M. l'amiral de Ro-amel, parti le as doute débarqué depuis deux ou trois

## CHAMBRE DES PAIRS.

Séance du mercredi 11 août. 11 DÉE PAR M. LE BARON PASQUIER. ance est cuverte à deux heures et demie. secrétaire et archiviste donne lecture du pro-sal de la séance d'hier. de ce procès-verbal est adoptée sans

président. Quelques-uns de MM. les pairs, la séance d'hier et présens aujourd'hui, de-à prêter serment. Je vais lire la formule du

e d'être fidéle au Roi, d'obéir à la Charte muelle et de me conduire en tout, comme ent à un bon et loyal pair de France. » is d'Ariuzon. le prince de Poix, le maré-n, le comte Destut de Tracy et le duc de rélieut servent.

ioincile ei de me conture en rota, comme ioincil ei d'an de loyal pair de Prance. » pais d'Arizon. Le prince de Poix, le maré-prise d'arizon et de loyal pair de maré-prisent servent. Les Traye et le due di uer pair dit avant de jurer : Le n'ai rien à xe motifs si noblement développés hier par de Faz-James, et je déclare m'y réunir eu wer et d'insuellement développés hier par de rota d'anne lecture in le chambre de plu-due de Prasin d'errit que son boux-trive, le Breteui est malade, ce qui l'empêche de se à a chambre. met d'anne derit, de Bouthome-les-Bais, auté ne lui permet pas recore de les patier, haron de Larccheineuaul ergente que l'éta x de sa santé ne lui permetie pas encore de at aux travar de la chambre. Missi il déclare de core et d'intention au serment prêté par antentre si de contre de engeles à har. d'occasion de la chambre de deux módailles, à l'occasion de la chambre de deux regénération éduiles eront déposée aux archives de la illes seront déposées aux archives de la

mite Dégérando fait heminge à la chambre errige initialé : Institut de droit administratif, mbre ordonne le dépât à sa hibliothèrue), mbre cordonne le dépât à sa hibliothèrue), mériednet. Mk. les pars on té dé convoqués ndre le rapport de la commission chargée de na de l'adresse au Roi, e est donnée à M. le baron de Barante,

monte à la tribune. 2. J'entends quelques-uns de MM. les usage est qu'oa délibère en comité ntends que, est qu'oa délibère en de discussions. est l'usage, telle est la règle i est l'usage, telle est la cham

s députés. iger. Un article du réglement de la cham-és preserit, il est vrai, que les discus-sse doivent avoir lieu en comité sceret. ses ayant élé secrètes jusqu'à ce jour, le noire réglement n'a pu prévoir ce cas. cé. Je rapporte un fait je n'émeis pas

preserves are reproved un fait; je n'émise pas n'édont. Dans (Past norminier des chosese distantist en consist servert, comme toutesdistantist en consist servert, comme toutesessentist. Le n'aix donce pas pas, a signard'huiist donce pas besoin qu'un article du right-servint. Le n'aix donce pas pas, a signard'huicet article. Or, je le régister, functs nosest entrels. Origines par la déclaration dedibrés et aucous article du règlement ueet al'aprués, delinération à laquelle cetteet al'aprué pas preserve le secret paur losdans le droit commun, d'auvrir cette advan-

Dela ne se peut.... Jourdan. Il me semb

Test cer qui a fait insérer cans hamine des dépués harricle qui porte que na ten-tion de l'adresse aura litet ce comité serret. *M. de Brézé. Je* suppose que l'adresse soit modifisée ar un sancdement, le public surs donc commissée à une adresse qui ne sera pas celle adoptie. *M. le président.* Il faut que cinq membres le lèven *M. le président.* Il faut que cinq membres le lèven *M. le président.* Il faut que des discutt par parties de lateur parties terminés descrit.

zé. Je n'ai pas voulu dire qu'il y ans la discussion ni dans les faits , M. de B

rts. Non. Beiliard. Si quatre membres demai tomité secret, je me réunira à eux. dent. Quand jai demandé aciong mer comité secret, je me suis réulerme comité secret, je me suis réulerme demais de la chambre sa unsaidé i es parts. Lisez l'adres

enteut devant V. M. pour la reme ent à la France. Une voix unani

ilrat que vous avez passé avec la France , ce ononcé par la raison et par l'honneur, sont 

te lociure, MM. les pars se rendent dans N.\* a heure s'écoule et la séance est reprise. Internet donne slors une seconde lociure de iers paragraphes qui sont adoptéa graphes n'ent donné lieu à anciene observa-hureaux. Le 5° et d'ernier seulement a para fune modification.

modification. de Montalembert. An nombre des de-vons à remplir pour le bonheur de la est pas de plus important que celui de ette enceinte de grandes et salution

ui protége la France nous a pré

et il

J'ap

J'appnie de toutes mes forces la s proposée par votre commission. On demande de toutes part, et la l'impression de ce discours.

M. M. M. M.

dant il est arrive quand l'auc courir les urnes quand l'auc voir présenter de difficulté. La chambre consultée décide urnes. de M.M. les p a de M.M. les y a de M.M. les y

pour que chacun de M. le président tire au sort qui doivent faire partie de la l'adresse au

## Non..... Billet bland

des membres dont se

guier, le marquis de inte Dejeau, le comte arency, le baron de Bar comte duc de rd , le duc de

Je prendrai les ordre ra-te-lle président. Je prendrai les ordre *M. le président.* Je prendrai les ordre *M. de Sémonville.* Dans quel costume res de la grande députation seront-ils *M. le président.* Je prendrai égalemen dres du Roi, et je les fertai connaître. La séance est levée à quatre heures.

La séance est levée à quaire neural N. B. C'est par erreur qu'au Moniteur du 10 nous vons énoncé comme abseut M. le marquis de Morte-art, l'un des secrétaires de la chambre. Le noble pair urêté serment.

CHAMBRE DES DÉPUTÉS. FICE-PRÉSIDENCE DE M. LAFFITTE. Séance du mercredi 11

La séance est ouverte à une heure un M. de Gouves Denuncques, rapporteur eau, fait prononcer l'admission de M. Alcocq récédement aincret M. le vice-président. Plusieurs adresses sont ar-

#### 3.1.2.2.1 Monarchie de Juillet

**Beginning of the debate** The parliamentary debates of each branch are located under the headers "CHAMBRE DES DÉPUTÉS" and "CHAMBRE DES PAIRS" (see Figure 2). Consequently, we build a regex pattern to identify this string in the text.

**End of the debate** All parliamentary sessions end with the phrase "the sitting is adjourned", "la séance est levée" in French. Therefore, we use regex variations of this string to capture the end of the debate.

#### 3.1.2.2.2 Seconde République

**Beginning of the debate** The parliamentary debates are located under the header "ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE" (see Figure 3). Consequently, we build a regex pattern to identify this string in the text. Our search may return multiple matches, or a unique yet incorrect match. To make sure that we only retain the correct match, we implement an additional check. We observe that in the opening lines of the debate section: (i) an uppercase header announces the name of the president chairing the session; (ii) the date of the session is reported; (iii) a short summary section precedes the actual transcript. Therefore, we only retain the match when regex variations of "PRESIDÉNCE", "Séance du [date]", and "SOMMAIRE" are found in the subsequent five lines. In case these checks still leave us with multiple potential matches, we grab the first one.

**End of the debate** All parliamentary sessions end with the phrase "the sitting is adjourned", "la séance est levée" in French. Therefore, we use regex variations of this string to capture the end of the debate.

#### 3.1.2.2.3 Second Empire, after 1861

**Beginning of the debate** The parliamentary debates are located under the headers "CORPS LÉGISLATIF" and "SÉNAT" (see Figure 4 for the *Corps législatif*. Consequently, we build branch-specific regex patterns to identify these strings in the text. We first use a "strict" pattern that only allows for minimal variations. If no result is found, we then use a more flexible pattern. This strategy helps minimize errors, especially for the Senate pattern, which is very short. Our search may return multiple matches, or a unique yet incorrect match. To make sure that we only retain the correct match, we implement three additional checks. First, we observe that in the opening lines of the debate section: (i) an uppercase header announces the name of the president chairing the session; (ii) the date of the session

Figure 3: Le Moniteur universel, May 5, 1848, page 2. The headers for the debate section of the Assemblée nationale is visible on the page



Figure 4: Le Moniteur universel, March 17, 1861, page 2. The header for the debate section of the Corps législatif is visible on the page



is reported; (iii) a short summary section precedes the actual transcript. Therefore, we only retain the match when regex variations of "PRESIDÉNCE", "Séance du [date]" or "Suite de la séance de [date]", and "SOMMAIRE" are found in the subsequent five lines. Second, because in these years the Senate pattern also appears in other section of the MU, we explicitly exclude these cases. Third, we exclude matches preceded by the names of foreign States or Capitals, because in these years the MU often reports summaries of the parliamentary debates of other countries. In case these checks still leave us with multiple potential matches, we additionally search the string "compte rendu" in the five lines following each candidate match. If not found, we grab the first match.

End of the debate All parliamentary sessions end with the phrase "the sitting is adjourned", "la séance est levée" in French. Therefore, we use regex variations of this string to capture the end of the debate. As a sanity check before exporting the text file with the debate, we make sure that the debate contains the pattern "M.", which stands for *Messieur* and always introduces a speaker.

#### 3.1.2.3 Extracting speeches

Our next task is to split each debate file into individual speeches.

**Beginning of the speeches** As a preliminary step, we cut the short initial section summarizing the content of the parliamentary session. We use regex variations of the string "SOMMAIRE" to detect the beginning of the summary section. In case multiple matches are found, we grab the first one. We then look for regex variations of the phrase "la séance est ouverte 'a...heures" or "le procès verbal est adopté". Again, in case multiple matches are found we grab the first one. This is the start of the debate section. In case no match is found, we assume that debate starts from line one. In some cases, we fail to detect the start of the summary section. In this scenario, we start from the line that follows the string "PRESIDENCE", in case it appears in the initial ten lines. Otherwise, we assume that the debate starts from line one.

**Splitting pattern** We then build a regex pattern to detect the end of a speech and the beginning of a new one. During the MJ and the SE, in its simplest form, a succession of speakers is identified by the presence of the following structure in the text :

...fin. M. Untel. J'ai l'honneur... The same is true for the SR, except that the abbreviation for *Messieur* was replaced with "*Le citoyen*" during this period. We will need to build a rather complex regex pattern in order to account for the many variations to this basic structure as well as the frequent OCR errors. We now describe the building blocks of our splitting pattern.

- **before\_speaker** is a new line marker, potentially followed by one or two spaces.
- **before\_M** matches "S. Exc." the abbreviation for "Son excellence", or His excellency, that some speakers bear before their name.
- M matches the pattern *M*., which stands for *Messieur* and precedes all speaker names. We allow both for *M*. and for *M*, to account for OCR mistakes.
- Le matches variations of definite article "Le". This pattern is used in conjuction with "citoyen" during the SR, and with "président"
- after\_M matches zero to five "words" more precisely, bundles of alphanumeric characters separated by spaces. This rather broad pattern encompasses such cases as M. le duc de..., and other situations where the speaker's name is preceded by aristocratic or military titles.
- titles matches variations of *président*, *ministre*, and *rapporteur*. In each case, we allow these titles to be followed by zero to three words. In combination with after\_M, this pattern allows us to match speakers such as, e.g., *M. le président* and *M. le ministre de la guerre*.
- **lastname** matches any word starting with an uppercase letter. **lastname2** is a laxer pattern that matches any sequence of nonspace characters.
- other matches additional text that occasionally appears after the last name, before the concluding period (see the example above). This text further qualifies the speaker or his posture and always follows a comma. For instance, we often encounter cases like: "M. Untel, rapporteur". With some variations across years, we may also find such instances as, e.g., "M. Untel, de sa plaçe" (i.e., from his seat), or "M. Untel, continuant" (i.e., continuing). Clearly, we must be very specific to minimize the probability that we match names occurring within other speeches.
- dot matches a dot. dot2 matches a dot, a colon, or a semicolon. dot3 matches a dot or a comma.

• after\_speaker ensures that the preceding pattern is not followed by numbers, reducing the risk of matching cases where election outcomes (and the number of votes) are reported.

#### 3.1.3 Biographies

#### 3.1.4 Matching speeches and biographies

Our final task is to link parliamentarians who speak during a parliamentary session, i.e., "speakers", to their respective entries in the dataset with the biographies, i.e., "MPs".

For each parliamentary debate, we extract from the dataset of parliamentary speeches a list of speakers who took the floor. Then, we retrieve from the biographies the parliamentarians who were in office in that branch of parliament and on that date, using the start and end dates of their terms. The matching process compares the surnames (and, where available, the first names) of these two sets of observations.

We can outline the key steps of the procedure as follows:

- 1. we compute the matrix of Levenshtein distances from speakers' lastnames to the MPs' lastnames. Then, we associate each speaker to the MP with the lowest Levenshtein distance. In case of ties, we keep both matches.
- 2. for each matched speaker-MP pair from the first step, we calculate the matrix of Levenshtein distances for the other components of the name, i.e., first names. if only the speaker's last name is available, this step has no effect. Otherwise, we match each speaker's first name to the closest corresponding first name in the MP's list. After matching, we remove that first name from the MP's list to prevent double-counting. A first name is considered successfully matched if the Levenshtein distance is less than two. Finally, we retain the pair with largest number of successful first names matches. In case of ties, we randomly select one of the two matches.

### 3.2 1871-1942

### 3.2.1 Historical and institutional background

The Third French Republic lasted from the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, which ended with France's defeat and the capture of Napoleon III, to the German invasion of 1940. The constitutional form was a parliamentary republic. From February 19, 1871, to December 31, 1875, the legislature was composed of a single chamber, the *Assemblée Nationale*, which was elected by universal male suffrage. The Assembly's responsibilities

included signing a peace treaty with Prussia and drafting the forthcoming constitution. The constitutional laws, which took effect from January 1876, established a bicameral parliament: the *Chambre des Deputées*, elected by universal male suffrage, and the *Sénat*, elected by a departmental college consisting of deputies and other local representatives.

#### 3.2.2 Data sources

**Speeches** During the French Third Republic, the *Journal Officiel de la République*  $Française^1$  (JORF) was responsible for publishing the stenographic reports of the parliamentary debates.

All the issues of the JORF from 1870 to 1942 can be freely downloaded from the Gallica website, the digital portal of the National Library of France (https://gallica.bnf.fr). The documents are available both in PDF and in text format (see Figure 5).

In the years from 1870 to 1880, it is necessary to download the entire JORF issue, while after 1880, the website provides a series of documents that exclusively contain the section of parliamentary debates. We downloaded all the documents in text format using the R software with packages rvest and RSelenium.

In some instances, multiple documents are associated with the same date. Between 1870 and 1880, this actually happens for most dates, and typically, these are multiple identical versions, of variable quality, with only one having an available text file. In the years following 1880, this happens rarely, but when it does, these are documents containing different material and need to be manually verified.

**Biographies** The websites of both the Assemblée Nationale and the Sénat provide, on dedicated portals, information on the personal and political biographies of the parlamentarians of the Third Republic. See websites www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/sycomore/recherche for the Assemblée Nationale and www.senat.fr/senateurs-3eme-republique/senatl.html for the senators of the Third Republique.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Napoleon III created the *Journal Officiel de la République Française* in 1868. A decree of November 5, 1870 granted this journal the monopoly to publish laws and regulations (Source: Wikipedia).

Figure 5: *Journal officielde la République Française*, February 17, 1871, page 1. The header for the debate section of the *Assemblée nationale* is visible on the page

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louidor bien noss entroper un mente pour la montant de leur renouvellement, pour qu'ils n'éprouvent encun redard dats la quite fontion du forernal.	tes avoir traversé la route qui con- muit, le Louhans à Lous-le-Scalatier, elle la limite départementale à la hau- travillage de Meilerst, d'où elle se risurre,	<ol> <li>Bloot-Vilaine, 12; Bore, 10; et-Loire, 6; Bere, 6; Jara, 3; annu far, 6; Loir-ol-Cher, 2; Loire-Infé- 12; Loiret, 3; Lot, 6; Lot-s-Ga- drama;</li> </ol>	arables à la validation. sobhari alimi, mous pomrons arriver rapi- à la vield mitor commite des pouvoirs mais q sobhar, it des formula l'Assemblés serait à nom d'	no serai pernis de consulter la France. Loiret, au nom da pays tout ender, au pre Assertighe qui le repelsente légitime- line perse trenes lui demander le temps	oh, Lui-ei Garomee en Louive, ean 1 Maure-et-Loire, Manche, Marne, Louis-J. Mayrenn et Meerthe. rean 1 Manue, Morishan, Mostile, Nilver,	
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ministre: supprimant is comme commente das sheminis de far. Article addissenti à la convention d'armation de 25 janvier 1971, l'accouve d'armation de 25 janvier 1971, l'accouve d'armation de 26 janvier 1971, d'am	t. 4. La supteresse de Bestinfon con- sen un rayon de dix kilomètres à la Savoin spillon de sa garnisen. La piace forte 9; De xonne sera entourée d'un terrain 19; Se	a; Seine-et-Marne, 6; Seine et-Oise; petier au-Sevres, 7; Somme, 11; Tarn, 5; pedier et-Garonne, 4; Var, 3. En tout, pedier st 1	rappene pas qu'il y ai a cantonir à y si- sui au te le fait, se chercherair à y si- hernédistement. Assemble n'y volt pas d'empériement, dreis drei direi se competitione de marger drei drei se competitione de marger	d tona 204 effarts, d'adorder iner situation a neue l'aurices voela. Soyes atte que leure s, leure sacrifices pieurs l'ordennes, je ne sa sur me conscience, car devant Dice j'en Vanye Vanye	neee, Var et Vapolnae. prens : Vandoe, Vienne, Vienne (Hante-). Vorme. a Stady: frans Virumiention que vient de	
Assemblés satisatis. Nervilis dirangères, Revittilouet de Paris. – Belevé des arrivaget, Deuros et marchés, acca	la circulation sur les chemins de fer de Dijon conduisont à Gray et à Dòle, libre pour les trains militaires et d'ail-	te à valider 214. Rien de saillant s la demission de Garibaldi, acceptéo Assembléo, et la discussion sur l'éli- a des prédots un n'est pas terminée.	texts present (Marques nombreuses d'as- tées herman, (Marques nombreuses d'as- int) ni de proobler à ce simpe, ja donne con- nicht A na angehlige d'ange letter grie je viens	anount, mais our pla responsession, que i d'autre hits que d'arriver un terms do ces su (Monvencell) as mess y alderes, l'en suis convaince, et je Cope Units	L la primient, les colonies ont des complet- conters. rodant les élections aut du régulières & la est en Algèrie. Je domande dans quel	
PARTIE OFFICIELLE	s commandants de troupes de part la autre régleront le ravitaillement des ropre téorenesses et des forts qui dans les nomi stements du Doubs et du Jura se lable	seambles a attendu l'arrivée des seatants de Paris pour procédor à la internation de zon bareau, qui se fara pro- tement demain.	evoir à l'instant, et dont j'ai lo devoir de ours compin. 6 outre lettre : lioren prévident de l'Assembble rationale, est a	La diral à const suce opplier me view of con- Ja diral à const suce opplier in taite que con- de l'Assemble de France qu'un délai reau- tion de l'Assemble de France qu'un délai reau- ple de l'Assemble	elles senset virilien. le president, l'Assensités déciders. teurs menders. Dans le quintièse énement le président. En uffet, j'al orbits de dire- té président. En uffet, j'al orbits de dire-	
Paris, la 16 Pécrier 1871. cuis	vent en passession de troupos fran- es et la delimitation des rayons de cos s, qui seront de trois kilomètres cha- La circuistion sur les roules ou che-	t journal a signals dans les dicrets da de la mas	torine on dernier devele rends à la cause République franço (as, je mis rent fui porter puis cate, que ge disporte entre vus institut, a plan de rentore sumi au cause de dépuis dent Maria de la cause de la caus	ter déciter des destinées de pays. (Vite ap- contracté.) In président. 37 cruis être l'interprése de Union decembre de l'Aconstitée (M. M.	The harvest out out particle an eccentric Marchington, Grandsburge, Goryans, Schol- er, de la Riderandy et Table (Saircychie. Is estimates Fundersons mar fall observer qu'il in the scholarse funderson mar fall observer qu'il	
Far décret, en date du 15 Sévrier 1871, ont das Bonnies	s de fer qui traversont ces rayons sers rticle 5. Les trois départaments du du G blos, du Doubs et de la Cles-d'Or secont	ste pas, D'ajaŭs ce journat, reconstruit ouvernomini devrainsi, pour des vala- fara revoltus de la signature de seja hera de Gouvernoment, Or, depuis lo e de MM, Arnas, Pollotin, Gornier-	o horoc o par divers departements. (Manens- a cas scans divers.) fe vans salme. c Signé : G. GARMALIS.	neuros secoremes unantenzes dante la pensile et le radioni qu'il exprime de natitive un (crute aux parte dante qu'il exprime musi dante la résolution le pays, comme ausse (cruteté et avoc la adait	a certain montre de departement (16 de mes col orne cancer les Montiens II estas (16 de mes col o dont la solucita de la companya de la solucita par, expendant, que cola doive aproter la des constructes que la la las menas danger	
Prieident de chambre a la cons d'app de la même N. Rohanît de Fisary, conseiller à la même tour, en sumplaoument de M. Motringer, âlcô- de de la constante de constante de constante de constante constante de la constante de constante de constante de constante constante de constante de consta	pris dés à présent dans l'armistice Page ela la 28 janvior, en yappliquant, pour prés de l'armistice ot pour los autres ditions, la totalité des stipulations pas s	s, stors les décrets sont signis par qua- nembres soulement. pérsondes irrégularité dout il s'agit n'a pérsondes un décret du Gouverne. 34	Dordenne, in 12 föreler 1852. » de 1 reden redener hanne. Trebs hien 1 fots-Lien 1 (Ap 10 president. L'Amemblie donne auto de 3	alor norm toron vi lo de sentimenta qui animent touta la Prazon, planimenti, jui à filire connaitre à l'Assemblée de m planiment, jui à filire connaitre à l'Assemblée de manuel terres de démission qui ma sont parce.	John genul inconvinient your none sealent o pas gendar des permiers moments on M. co est représentée par l'Assemblés. (Oni'i fortestailles	
Rourup, vice-président au tribunal de première instance de la Seine, en remplacement de M. Rohault de Pieury : Vice-président au tribunal de première instance	signées dans la convention du 25 mon tier dernier. JULES FAVRE.	L en dato un 4 server o 41, est ainsi nete los 112 serve, nº 41, est ainsi R.2 Yn Falsence de MM, Garnier-Pages, a Simon, Pelletus, Enzmanuel Arago, ven	delaration. Elle sen transmon à requi sur par a de l'intéreur. . Jutes Favre, Je demende la parole. (Men- ent d'attention.)	Se lis enconsidement : Les monthères du Gouvernement della défense internement della défense man	(c)	
do la Scine, M. Giandaz, juge au usime scopi, en reenplacement do M. Loriot de Rouvray ; Juge au tribunat de permises instances de la Scine, M. Mois, estistimo da pescurerar de la Répo-	DE BENARCE.	nhress du Gouvernsement de la otternise consis, covoyés en mission, les désrets membres du conseil présents à la majorité membres du conseil présents à Paris, et membres du treis membres du Gouver-	Lis providenti, R. Autoreau, J. rempire un L. Julius Parves, de as plane, J.e. rempire un lor qui m'est particulivement doux em dépo- les provides du Gouvernement de la définise les provides du Gouvernement de la définise	and de loars collégane, qui vatilierent fas pré- ries, out l'honneur de Acpour leurs parvoirs tre les mains du président de l'Assemblée ma- rie lle maine du président de l'Assemblée ma- die de la conternat à leur poste, pour le main-	1 So percentiferat. Menimure, l'appeit des matri- de l'Assemblée et l'accidation de c'harri- si à en barcon est dound pour résultes doune en de sinectoire meniclese, doune hereaux s	
thique pris la mitma sider, en remparement nan de M. Gandati ; Substant des processer de la République près le tribunal de première instance de la Soine, se mont de la soine, en	Bouches-du-Rhône.	generative working over heur validité, s peur suffixe pour heur validité, s peur suffixe pour heur validité, s la s	acalo entre les memors de Operenement de a, (Mouvement.) synta que les memors de Gouvernement de dénies metionale out été chargés du fardeau dénies metionale out été chargés du fardeau	n de l'ordre et l'enfention des heis, junpri es l'in alort été régulièrement relevis. • Pain a Bordonne, le 12 Divier 2011. • L. rocustenov, menuscieux Akaon.	reinidene huteau na se treave sompesé que de 4 mentes. mentes que 1860 collègnes arrivecent, ils se- i aposité à corrolitar les tefas bareaux qui	
recupiacement (o M. Mulle. M. Bodel, ancien commiller à la cour d'appeil do Paris, est métimé conseiller honoraire à la	A M. Pratoni, Gambata, A Thiers, Trochu, Grévy,	SSEMBLEE NATIONALE,	ation of it same distripted to posterior arrives an orde 11 hour scenario possible do no trouver an have mandataren da propin. (Très-bien 1) la venni dana les arconstanons, les plus dou-	OLAN - MENON, ANNUER - PAADN, 1 JULES MENON, ANNUER - PAADN, 2 JULES MENON, A	rent alasi erv annetitatente engenerer à former les quatemines et quinnières ba- res qui restoire vacants. Ne dennis, tobs probablement, un membre as-	
Par disret, on date da lls parvice 1871, des dis- pennes ont 64 scoordes 5 M. Gilbert-Boscher,	Casimir Périet. Lanfrey. Charotov. Esquiros. Amat 100	Siance du 13 ferier 1871.	recoser et les plus crusiles ; mais, grice a vo- parrietenne , mentiours ; grice a Funisa, de ci, à laqueil, feur nite canvaisan, notis no fai- is pas un solutio appel (Beaved Jacave), et qui, par la solution de la constant de las un de la	Monnieur le pointient,     Pai Phonneur de déposer un le burens de resolution de minimum de déminieur de minimum des aussentides matimum de mon posse, pour l'en-	considerable do nos collegars with arrive pol- tana los bareaux pursents fonctioname régle- statorenami, Ca adaminat, los dossieurs qui cost déposés à la questane vont dans immuditate- pursente accesses de restrict presente actedia-	
connesiler a la corr d'appet evalué, avec M. Legonidre, va parenti, au deprè prohibé, avec M. Legonidre, cornesilier à la méroe cour.	Ledru-Rollin. Corse. MM, Gavini, Shorin Ablatucci,	Territoria de la construcción de general de la construcción de la c	become need how seeks, pur la source des instances pu illeurs, pur la boin seeks, pur la source des instances pu notre cloire patrie (Nouvelle appendantos), m un arriversons à hander sea plate et la resumati- tion de la sourcement d'utilision de la source Nul conventent d'utilision de la sourcement Nul conventent d'utilision de la sourcement d'utilision de la sourcement (Nul conventent d'utilision de la sourcement)	adminn des affahres ourrannes, jungu'à ce que son successour ait éol dragné. « Je suis, avec une hante considération, mon- ner les réalident, voire trèb-oblissant serviteur.	danti aux diections dans les proche-urchaux ne as sont pas encore parennes, l'inclué les hu- tous à prochay, comme je l'ai indupé au com- comment de actes situnce, d'est-à-dire appeler	
Persiant l'absente du ministre de l'agriculture et du commercie, la signature des actas resorris- nant à ce dipartement a ané déléguie à M. Ozen- tementimentement, par décers en date du 17	Gond. Galloni. Giacomo Limperani. (Paur cos deux demiers nome la résultat n'est	n prelident et Excessentel Arago, - Betrait de l'An- semble dans son berennt. Anzähnet in M. BERGET-B'ARY, SOYEN O'AGE.	plandmanments.) C'unt à vone, messienne, qu'appartient cette ande couvre. Quant à meas, nous ne somme ar ieu, si on a'out van juniciables, prête à ré-	Burdeaux, in 13 Sirrier 1171: da     Manaieur in président,     Manaieur in président,     Manaieur in président,     Manaieur de dénorer sur la bureau de pre	in her sein her öfpenis eine, a versammer og a senter vit va liser, aven vax in manives dont se ett i malin her opførtione diotorrates, et å décha- , ringels her recompremente qu'ils ansent recus	
Evrice 1971.	Cotes-du-Nord. MM. Trechn. Do Treventur.	In second of Bennist-d'Ary prend place au fan- eil MM. Purd de Rômment, Dachment, Gabriel TE-	sulter de tous nos actes, convanicois que nous se esconterens dans leur examen que la loyatacit à inspireix obacuns de vus délibitentions, conc- ni vous pouver duce cortains que jamais ante au-	Assernable, nontacade una deminister de ministre de Assernable, nontacade una deminister des ministre Assernable, poste, poste, poste l'expédition des ministre sourantes, paqu'à ce que mon encosseur	leurs oulligenes, as les osceleurs de leur esperies ente leur paraiserni ou no leor paraiserni pas fables. Dans le cas du l'affirmative, les rappets Indi-	
unio commitatif des chemins de for, institué an- prés du ministère des travance publice, a été sup- prinsé.	Deparate. Herre's de Saisy. Henri' Champagaya Garrè-Kérintont. Filand.	(b) et al. Calendar plus jeunes membres pol- ints de l'Assemblée, montent au isurazz, es ils su accest, les deux pomiers à droite, les deux der- lors à mande de M. les vehiclent.	to pende na note gnarna com rebennar, (Manques unx- neced areantiment.) En entendant, ngeo-ieure, qu'un pouvoir not- tra entendant, ngeo-ieure, qu'un pouvoir not-	an en deligné. « Veniller agrère, monsierr le président, im agrenzaces de ma hante considération, ministre « Le général de division, ministre	presion à l'Asse minuée pour permitire de proposer la valida- con des lighticos faines dans res départements. Accomment-)	
PARTIE NON OFFICIELLE	Allenou. Henri de Lorgeril. Riout de Largeniaye? Henri de Boisboissei.	Bonk annis au troininne hanc à gnuche r le vine- feinident du Gouvernement de la difense patie- ale, M. Jules Pavor, et lou membres durit Gous- emmenant présente à Dardeaux, MM. Jules S-	oir légninn, décidant des destinées de la Fran- re, - j'el Thommur de déposer son le harens de Austmilie la déclarision selvante ; Les membres de Gouvernement de la défense	e La FUO, s - Berdsmin, in 33 Byrter 1871, - Monsenz in polsillent,	b) A constructive of an encourter formulatement, in the percellar area narrane que je viene d'indi- our, est l'importe, charma le comprend, que cela plane molément.	
Paris, is 16 Février 1871.	Charles Hoon. Doubs. MM. Greyy.	one, tentiler-Paper, Engewie Perfeten, Ennehmet Irago et Glais Bindin, siner que las autonates, 101 le général Le Pice et l'andrei Feuriebon. 26. le président. Messioure, Pergence des car-	atlénale seussignés, tant so horr com qu'ai nece lo leure collegues qui reificant les prisentes, ent l'honseur de départe leurs pouvairs entre bes mins du gesisident de l'Assemblée rationale. Ils	<ul> <li>4 J'al l'honneur de déposer sur le breest de l' l'Ansemblée ma démission des functions de mini- tre de l'instruction publique, des cultas et des beaux-inte.</li> </ul>	Vees saver, messionre, qu'il est d'anage que, ans chaque boreirs, en nomine, an seraite col- aire, un pessiolent et un nercivitaire, et que, pour laures directivo, un singre un rapperteur d'ana-	
Articles additionnels à la convention	De Mervac. Montmol. Fanichier. Menetal.	nent que possible à l'organisation défaitive de 'Assemblée, par casaéquezz à la viritization des porvoirs de tous les membres qui dervens en faise arres.	encount à leur pour pour a mannen et terrer et l'extension des lois, passivil es qu'ils en aient (de régulièrement roberts, » (Très-hient très- hient) des la ministères researces desse inde-	Jo resteral a men porte paqua en ressalation de mon sociestur.     Veulles appler, monsieur in provident, Pas- arranse de ma hanne consideration.     Journe analysis (2000), 5	nforceins proclas-versionex of do presenter, on nonzolo militare, l'opinion du laurenn. Jo vous engagé à vous rémitr de suite dans vou greens.	
Los soussignés, munis de pouroirs en verte después ils cat conclu la convention du 25 junvier, considérant que par ladite	Indre-et-Loire. MM. Houssard. Gouin.	Ainsi que cela a ésé convenu sutre neuro dans nates elemines préparatoire d'hire, il va étes pro- obié au térago au seri des horseus suivant les formes suivées dans nos indetenue assemblétes.	ment sa diminision, reas cente condition qu'il at- teintra le venouver d'aligné par vons ; el jangté ce unconnel, p'respère qu'il seux court, chercus de vons mend Pennymment da faire san devoir	<ul> <li>Borloant, es 13 Bavier 1971.</li> <li>Monssenr la président,</li> <li>Fai Chammer de dépaser sur la harsan de</li> </ul>	Il sevelt this-box per, doi demant, and per- tions nons remit on assertifie phiratels, affa, tool do consultar nature introduct defining, soit sur- tion do prophéer à l'engeniextion de Gouverne-	
olitricure do finire conser les opérations tellisaires dans les départements du Doube, du Jura et de la Céced Or, et devant Belfort, et de treser la lieure du démurcation entre	Deligny, De Bradieo. Wilson. Loir-ei-Chor.	Yous raves que faste proposition devait due prolabilement dissuide dans les bureaux. l'As- semblés est divisée en un certain nordere de bu- reaux.	(Dresident) Le mise, messereure, était de persite au millen de vore annihiles que celà m'était possible. Dans des circonstances lam pluibles, que j'unui l'occa-	PAssemble rationale na demonstrate summers des affaires durangères. Je present à trom posto, pour l'expéditions des affaires commitée, jungu'à en que more rencemment ait des daniens.	Ne produce de l'entret. Ne produce par de von que nous stemmes en présence de dérensitances extrémenent graves : les louren, les minutes deivent être compilées par server.	
Voccupation allemando ol les positions de l'armée française à partir de Quarré-les- Tombes, dans le département de l'Yonno, out conclu-la convention additionnelle	MM, Bozerian, Thiers, Ducoux, Do Sers.	Bi neur todas reportants à mais de 1810, neue poque de l'Assemblée tationale de 1810, neue vegoins que les 750 membreique la compositions étaient réporties entre quirne hannaix. Les horeceux mandaient à la vérification des	sion de vous faires constains prios taré avec déaux, j'ai fuit au 8 férrier Télection des députés de la Fentre, et su f1 four résultions. Oféair prosper une impossibilité ; mais je comptais sur le paréculares	e Dat Foldment a version, vare bien humble et bien obtinget erviter. • state FAVEL >	Dampage dono l'Assembble à pacebler auxi regi- dement qu'elle le pourse, tout un faisant rège- lièvement des channe, shane le but de virifier les servoirs de ses membres, et d'organiser tout or	
suivante :	Mourthe. MM. Varroy. Vigr.	pozvoirs. Ces pouvoirs sons justiliés par les pro- cle-verbaux dremés dans chaque département, isoppels indéparent tous les décâls de l'Olection de charma.	the in relation, or present que effort, nous series experiments. (Many second and Triba-barn I) Is resulting and the presence que ja relation spin pus from- de des many second (the lot.)	<ul> <li>Berdoan, a ti revise light</li> <li>Mansieur la prinident,</li> <li>J'hi Thremeur do dópener car le largan de l'Assenblée nationale ma dómission de ministre.</li> </ul>	pai a lession d'étre établi italis retre citation de- treille. M. Cochery, Je demande la paroie. M. le Président. Vous avez la paroie. A la	
de l'armement de la pace. La garnison de la la fort sortira de la place avec les hanneurs de la guerre, en conservant ses armes, ses équipages et le conservant ses armes, ses équipages et la	Brios. Laflao. Gambatta. Claude. Anociou.	Malheurweisen auf beiter commens fein Leis Fa- tole encote teus ets prode-unbaux. Ni sons dissen oblighe de les attendire, Chansmildes per- denit un temps considérable qui peut et duit com	An termin, permetterenni de le dire, pour le Gon- terosmanis que j al Chonsoni do représenter, preu- tous, pour l'activation des le direction de la constitu- neux familieux activité à cutte échienne.	de la marche el dei consense. « de recent à moti peirs, pour l'expédition des affaires constantes plangrà co que paus assonniller att de désigné "Nondem ander, antonione le président, les as-	Urbane. 26. Cocherry. Manufactr. (24) dessends its parele poor vening au nooit do planeares da non collegener, deparer art lo harres da 7 Aurantikie na projet da	
be aims que les archives militaires. Les commandants de Beliert et de l'ar- mée de siège se mettront d'accord ser l'orocident, accord ser l'orocident d'accord ser	Berlet. Moselle. arsturat convu	Conversion of the second provided the constituter Plan- mentalise datase managers provided the constituter Plan- mentalise datase managers interpreter managers and distribute these residences, and a constitute plane	Genn pour cola que je suita verm de Parra la Bardonna. Jo vero domando la permission de retargane questose pour à man poue, ou fu des devours difficiles es délicats à remplar, de se	errances do ma hante consideration : . Le vice-aniral, ministre de la marire st des colonies, . Le rotracence .	<ul> <li>« L'Amendal bie mainentie,</li> <li>Dichie l'application privance du réglement qui a régle les déchémentes de l'Arcemblés de</li> </ul>	
sinsi quo sur les détalls qui n'y sont pas prèrus, et sur la direction et sur les étapes dans lesquelles la garnison de Belfort re- joindra l'armée, française an delà de la	Gambeita. Humbert. Dornis. Noblot.	their on qui annais manqué au pressier monient. Diarqués d'anomisment.) To propose dons à l'Anemables do procéder au timese au sort des Europer, alta que chasan non-	puis pas m'exployer astronomico se selo de un tan les dullcollès qui ness estormati, mai- toris comprenes fort hen qu'ayant commeno come unave sous notes responsabilité, neus n des unave sous notes responsabilité, neus n	Il est dozné arte da ces denissions. Il sera pourva à la reconstituilos da gouvernezant de la Prance, et vons anrez, resentanze, à vons presen-	1555 a 1953. a Elde décido egatement que, jusqu'à la consti- tution de sets leureau délimité, es pour compiléer son foreau javassées, il seca prochait immédiate- ses à le menération et d'un questere.	
ligno de démarcation. Art. 2. Les prisonniers allemands se trouvant à Bellort seront mis en liberté. Art. 3. La ligne de démarcation, arrêde	Deschanges.	naisse lo bureau anquel il apparticut. Ils no se- nent pas immediatement compasts de 50 mmi- bres, parce que la menhee das menhes priorite na comporte pas das bureaux comptets. En na se-	Information operation of the second s	<ul> <li>a con a con const autors de l'Assemblée surs en pouvoirs des nambres de l'Assemblée surs en la lieu.</li> <li>volet l'order de réspirition, envir les hereaux, volet l'order de réspirition, envir les hereaux.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Adidalia Cohney, Darfart de Corny, Boald- das Desams, conte La Monnersye, Oklite- lain, contro de Chauleus, E. Pelseen, Achor de Canage, Ambanes Fonjer,</li> </ul>	
jungu au point on se toucanat les fron est partements de l'Yonne, de la Nièvre et d la Côte-d'Or, sera continués le long de l limite méridionale du département de l	e Bordeaux, 16 Serier, 2 la 20 du matia. Intérieur à préfets, et intérieur intérieur Paris.	punt dotte que de 15 megutien au lien de 50, a menure que de nouveaux dépunts arriverent, la servoit adjoints aux horieurs estimate, de manier à las déver successivement au chiffre de 50, de 10	<ul> <li>consulter pour être sir que je reneastrerai dat este Chambre une complite munimité, cu se de reporter à coix une imputés mon réporter octs allematics que la Prance en prets, qu </li> </ul>	<ul> <li>ann charge d'optier la virilination ;</li> <li>ann charge d'optier la virilination ;</li> <li>beneme : Also, Alson Alliere Alges (Basses);</li> <li>Alges (Bastes), Alges Martimes,</li> <li>beneme : Ablack, Ardenses, Ander, Ashiv,</li> </ul>	margais de Yagrah, Itages, A. de Mallé, de Chatellane, vicentie de Gesticot-Biron, Paul Mengant, J. J. Deloni, «	
Chieve Or, jung au point ce lo chomin o lier qui, do Nevers, par Autan et Chiguy conduit à Chalons-sor-Satos, franchis limite dudit département. Ce chemin o fonction enforcement Desamorties de la fonction de la constante de la constante de la constante en fonction de la constante de la constante de la constante en fonction de la constante de la constante de la constante en fonction de la constante de la constante de la constante en fonction de la constante de la constante de la constante en fonction de la constante de	L'Assemblée continue à vérifications, à o la voirs des élus. Voiri les vérifications, à o jour : Ain. 7 dépuiés : Alsne, 11 : Allier, 7	mambres, et enfin à leur due élections terrois, unes les procés verbaux des élections terrois, unes du reget, auvertés aux horeaux et louradiguemen séculés, pour les repports en être enquise fairs.	<ul> <li>qu'il arrive, à faire conregetationnel son devie (Vive approbation et applendiagementa))</li> <li>D'Assemblés déclant en pleine bibliefs, comm a paparitant à das regénérateurs de pays, qu'</li> </ul>	Aute, Averren. Aute, Averren. Bruches-to-Rhass, Calvades, Can- te ui, Cuarana, Calvades, Calvades, Can- ue ui, Cuarana, Calvades, Calvades, Can-	Yous devis, manner, compromise a more structure tament la but de care proportion : co but, d'est de facilitar la ruphilit de nos traveux et la règle-	
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Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

#### 3.2.3 Speeches

#### 3.2.3.1 Speeches: 1870-1880

#### 3.2.3.1.1 Extracting debates

In this period, our starting point is the raw text files of the JORF. As the JORF contained a variety of materials beyond those related to parliamentary activities<sup>2</sup>, our primary task is to extract the section of the JORF containing the parliamentary debates.

During the constitutional phase between 1870 and 1875, there was only one branch of Parliament, the Assemblée Nationale. Following the approval of the Third Republic's constitution in 1876, both the Chambre des Deputés and the Sénat were established. For each of these three branches, we devise a procedure to locate and extract the debate. We can outline the key steps of the procedure as follows:

- come up with text patterns that unequivocally identify the beginning and the end of the debate
- devise variations of these patterns in the regex language to account for spelling mistakes in the raw text
- develop a series of checks to ensure that the matched text patterns do correspond to the desired outcome

**Beginning of the debate** From 1870 to 1875, the debat section appears under the header "ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE", while from 1876 to 1880 there are two sections that appear, respectively, under the headers "CHAMBRE DES DÉPUTÉS" and "SÉNAT". Thus, we build year-specific regex patterns to locate these strings in the text. Because these headers also appear in the short summary section at the very beginning of the JORF, we make sure we cut off this section before we search the regex patterns.

Our search may return multiple matches, or a unique yet incorrect match. To make sure that we only retain the correct match, we implement two main additional checks. First, we check if a match is followed by additional patterns that strongly signal the presence of a parliamentary debate. Second, we exclude matches preceded by the names of foreign States or Capitals, because the JORF often reports summaries of the parliamentary debates of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The first part, the official section, announced to the public new laws and regulations. The second part, in which the parliamentary debates are found, also featured sections dedicated to foreign policy news (*Nouvelles et correspondances étrangères*), cultural and social news (*Informations et Faits*), as well as materials related to the activities of other bodies such as the *Academie des Sciences* and the *Banque de France*.

other countries. In case these checks still leave us with multiple potential matches, we grab the first one.

End of the debate To capture the end of the debate section, we use three sets of patterns. First, all parliamentary sessions end with the phrase "the sitting is adjourned", "la séance est levée" in French. Second, all parliamentary records are signed by the head of the stenographic service, "le chef du service sténographique" in French. Thus, we include variations of this phrase, as well as the year-specific names of the directors. Third, we include patterns to capture the headers of the sections that typically follow the parliamentary debates, in specific years, in the Journal officiel. As a sanity check before exporting the text file with the debate, we make sure that the debate contains the pattern "M.", which stands for Messieur and always introduces a speaker.

#### 3.2.3.1.2 Extracting speeches

Our next task is to split each debate file into individual speeches.

**Beginning of the speeches** As a preliminary step, we cut the short initial section summarizing the content of the parliamentary session. We assume the summary starts at line one since we used the beginning of the summary to extract the debate file. Following the summary, an uppercase header announces the name of president (or, at times, the vice-president) who is going to chair the session. Then, the opening phrase "la séance est ouverte  $\dot{a}$ ...heures" follows, meaning that the session started at a certain time. Thus, in order to match the end of the summary and the beginning of the debate, we use regex variations of PRESIDENCE and the opening phrase. Additionally, for certain years, it is useful to include the actual names of the President and the Vice-President.

**Splitting pattern** We then build a regex pattern to detect the end of a speech and the beginning of a new one. In its simplest form, a succession of speakers is identified by the presence of the following structure in the text :

...fin.

M. Untel. J'ai l'honneur...

However, we will need to build a rather complex regex pattern in order to account for the many variations to this basic structure as well as the frequent OCR errors. For instance, since the OCR struggles to correctly interpret line breaks, we do not use this marker. We now describe all the building blocks of our workhorse pattern.

- **before\_speaker** matches all combinations of characters that may precede a speaker. These characters are the period (as in the example above), question mark and exclamation marks. We also account for some frequent OCR mistakes (e.g., 1 for !), as well as uppercase letters (excluding M), given that uppercase headers often introduce new sections of the debate. Note that before\_speaker does not include the comma (although the OCR may occasionally interpret periods as commas); the reason is that the name of a speaker preceded by a comma is a string that may easily occur *within* the speech delivered by a parliamentarian.
- M matches the pattern *M*., which stands for *Messieur* and precedes all speaker names. We allow both for *M*. and for *M*, to account for OCR mistakes.
- after\_M matches zero to five "words" more precisely, bundles of alphanumeric characters separated by spaces. This rather broad pattern encompasses such cases as M. le duc de..., and other situations where the speaker's name is preceded by aristocratic or military titles.
- titles matches variations of *président*, *ministre*, and *rapporteur*. In each case, we allow these titles to be followed by zero to three words. In combination with after\_M, this pattern allows us to match speakers such as, e.g., *M. le président* and *M. le ministre de la guerre*.
- **lastname** matches any word starting with an uppercase letter. We employ it as an alternative to the titles. Indeed, when a speaker is referred to by his title, the last name is not reported. In all other cases, while allowing for some flexibility with after\_M, at least one word resembling a surname (i.e., starting with an uppercase letter) must appear not too far from M.
- other matches additional text that occasionally appears after the last name, before the concluding period (see the example above). This text further qualifies the speaker or his posture and always follows a comma. For instance, we often encounter cases like: "M. Untel, rapporteur". With some variations across years, we may also find such instances as, e.g., "M. Untel, de sa plaçe" (i.e., from his seat), or "M. Untel, continuant" (i.e., continuing). Clearly, we must be very specific to minimize the probability that we match names occurring within other speeches.
- after\_speaker ensures that the preceding pattern is not followed by numbers, reducing the risk of matching cases where election outcomes (and the number of votes) are reported.

#### 3.2.3.2 Speeches: 1881-1942

#### 3.2.3.2.1 Extracting speeches

In this period, Gallica provides the parliamentary records for each branch of Parliament as individual documents (see Figure 6 for the *Chambre des Députés*). As a result, we are spared the trouble of extracting the debates from the JORF.

**Beginning of the session** During this period, especially from 1900 onward, the Parliament occasionally convened multiple times in a day (rarely more than twice). In such instances, a document will present the records of all the sessions, with each session introduced by a short summary. As a first step, we break the text into individual sessions using regex variations around the word "SOMMAIRE". After excluding the initial 25 lines of introductory Gallica notes, which appear in the downloaded text file, we search for multiple sessions from the 125th line onward.

**Beginning of the summary** To cut the initial summary session, we use variations around string SOMMAIRE. In cases where this pattern is not detected (due, for instance, to OCR errors in the text), we assume the summary starts at line 4—this being the average starting line across the sessions where the pattern is found.

**Beginning of the speeches** Following the summary, an uppercase header announces the president (or, at times, the vice-president) who is going to chair the session. Then, the opening phrase "*la séance est ouverte à…heures*" follows, meaning that the session started at a certain time. Thus, in order to match the end of the summary and the beginning of the debate, we use regex variations of PRESIDENCE and the opening phrase. Additionally, for certain years, it is useful to include the actual names of the President and the Vice-President.

End of the speeches We still need to detect the end of the debate in order to separate the block of parliamentary speeches from the additional parliamentary material often included in the document. This material includes technical reports and, more prominently, the outcomes of roll call votes occurred during the session. To capture the end of the debat section, we use two sets of patterns. First, all parliamentary sessions end with the phrase "the sitting is adjourned", "*la séance est levée*" in French. Second, all parliamentary records are signed by the head of the stenographic service, "*le chef du service sténographique*" in French. Thus, we include variations of this phrase, as well as the branch- and year-specific names of the directors. Third, after 1909, the written questions of the MPs systematically follow the

Figure 6: *Journal officiel de la République Française*, January 11, 1881, page 1. Parliamentary documents and debates for the *Chambre des Députés*.



debate, thus we can include variations of the section's header ( $QUESTIONS \ ECRITES$ ). Finally, we include in the code a large number of exceptions to handle specific documents where we could not automatically detect the ending pattern.

**Splitting pattern** We then build a regex pattern to detect the end of a speech and the beginning of a new one. This pattern is identical to the one used for the period 1870-1880, and we refer the reader to Section 3.2.3.1.2 for details.

**Exception for Senat in years 1922 to 1932** The Senate records from March 17th, 1922 to December 30th, 1932 have a different structure and we handle them in a different script. Specifically, the *sommaire* now follows, rather than precedes, the debate. Therefore, we look for the beginning of the debate right after the introductory Gallica notes. All the regex patterns are the same as for the general case.

#### 3.2.4 Biographies

**Chambre des deputées** The website of the Assemblée Nationale features a dedicated page for each member of the Chamber of Deputies. In addition to the name and surname, these pages provide their birth and death details, including dates and locations. Further, the pages list each term served in either the National Assembly or the Chamber of Deputies, specifying the start and end dates, the department of election, and the political affiliation of the deputy. Finally, these pages feature one or two biographical snippets sourced from two different references: "Dictionnaire des parlementaires français de 1789 à 1889" by Adolphe Robert and Gaston Cougny, and "Dictionnaire des parlementaires français de 1889 à 1940" by Jean Jolly.

The name of the parliamentarian is presented in the following format: the first names are separated by commas; after the last first name, the surname follows without a comma, e.g., "Georges, Eugène, Benjamin Clemenceau". Thus, we construct a regex pattern to separate the first names and the surname. The pattern matches the first occurrence of the string "space plus an upper case letter" which does not follow a comma, along with all subsequent characters.

**Sénat** The website of the *Sénat* features a dedicated page for each senator. In addition to the name and surname, these pages provide their birth and death details, including dates and locations, their profession, and their department of election. Further, the pages list the dates of election, and the final date at which the senator was in office. Finally, these pages

feature one or two biographical snippets sourced from the same references as for the *Chambre* des deputées.

The name of the parliamentarian is reported in the following format: the surname in uppercase letters followed by the first names, e.g., "CLEMENCEAU Georges". Thus, we construct a regex pattern to separate the first name and the surname. The pattern matches all characters preceding a sequence of uppercase letters followed by a string indicating the first name, i.e., an uppercase letter followed by a sequence of lower case letter.

Also, we use the information on election dates to deduce the start and end dates of each term served by the senator. To assign a political affiliation to each senator, we build a regex pattern for each political group existed during the TR, and we search these patterns into the biographies.

#### 3.2.5 Matching speeches and biographies

Our final task is to link parliamentarians who speak during a parliamentary session, i.e., "speakers", to their respective entries in the dataset with the biographies, i.e., "MPs".

For each parliamentary debate, we extract from the dataset of parliamentary speeches a list of speakers who took the floor. Then, we retrieve from the biographies the parliamentarians who were in office in that branch of parliament and on that date, using the start and end dates of their terms. The matching process compares the surnames (and, where available, the first names) of these two sets of observations.

We can outline the key steps of the procedure as follows:

- 1. we compute the matrix of Levenshtein distances from speakers' lastnames to the MPs' lastnames. Then, we associate each speaker to the MP with the lowest Levenshtein distance. In case of ties, we keep both matches.
- 2. for each matched speaker-MP pair from the first step, we calculate the matrix of Levenshtein distances for the other components of the name, i.e., first names. if only the speaker's last name is available, this step has no effect. Otherwise, we match each speaker's first name to the closest corresponding first name in the MP's list. After matching, we remove that first name from the MP's list to prevent double-counting. A first name is considered successfully matched if the Levenshtein distance is less than two. Finally, we retain the pair with largest number of successful first names matches. In case of ties, we randomly select one of the two matches.

# 4 Empirical Patterns

In this section, we present some empirical patterns from our textual analysis of parliamentary speeches, aimed at assessing the impact of phylloxera on integration policies directed towards the indigenous populations of Algeria. Our methodology employs two distinct yet complementary approaches to text analysis: dictionary-based methods and topic analysis. For an overview of text analysis techniques, see Gentzkow et al. (2019).

The dictionary-based approach searches the text for specific keywords that may indicate the subject matter or attitudes expressed in the text. While straightforward to apply and interpret, this approach has two main limitations: it is dependent on the researcher's choice of keywords, and by neglecting the context in which these keywords appear, it may lead to classification errors.

Topic analysis makes us of an unsupervised machine learning algorithms to uncover latent topics within the text. Specifically, we employ the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) algorithm, as developed by Blei et al. (2003). This method is based on a generative probabilistic model where each topic is represented as a distribution over all words in the text corpus, and each document (speech) is represented as a distribution over these topics. The number of topics and the parameters of the underlying distributions are determined by the researcher. All word-topic and document-topic probability weights are estimated through maximum likelihood.

In the following, we restrict our analysis to the subset of parliamentary speeches including the keyword "Algeria". This restriction allows us to capture more nuances in the debates pertaining to Algeria.

## 4.1 Keywords

As a first step, we search for occurrences of the keyword "phylloxera" within the parliamentary speeches. Figure 1 illustrates the share of parliamentary speeches, within five-year intervals, that include this keyword relative to the total number of parliamentary speeches in the same period. The solid line in the figure denotes parliamentarians elected in departments affected by phylloxera, whereas the dashed line corresponds to parliamentarians elected in other departments. Consistent with the historical evidence, we detect the initial occurrences of the keyword "phylloxera" in the early seventies, when the phylloxera insect was recognized as the cause of the disease devastating French vineyards. The share of speeches including this keyword reaches its peak between 1885 and 1890, at the height of the phylloxera crisis. While parlamentarians from both affected and unaffected departments mention this keyword, its usage is more prevalent among parliamentarians from phylloxera-affected departments. In particular, the share of speeches that included the keyword "phylloxera" reaches 4.5 percent among this group of parliamentarians, whereas it remains below 2 percent among their counterparts from other departments. After reaching its peak, the usage of the keyword "phylloxera" gradually declined among all parliamentarians. However, references to phylloxera continued among parliamentarians from the affected departments until the end of the study period, only dropping to zero between 1940 and 1945.





To investigate the connection between the diffusion of the phylloxera and its impact on wine production in the parliamentary speeches, we next search wine-related keywords. These include *vin* (wine), *vigne* (vineyard), and *viticole* (viticultural, or wine-growing). Similar to Figure 7, Figure 8 illustrates the share of speeches including these keywords over five-year intervals. In the decades leading up to the phylloxera crisis, approximately 2% of parliamentary speeches mentions wine, showing neither significant temporal variations nor notable differences between departments impacted by phylloxera and those unaffected. However, beginning in 1885-1890, there is a marked and steady increase in references to wine and viticulture in the speeches of parliamentarians from departments affected by phylloxera, in contrast to a stable pattern observed in other departments. Notably, although phylloxera appears as a temporary shock in the parliamentary discourse (see Figure 7), its influence on discussions related to wine is persistent and increasingly significant over time. Among parliamentarians from affected departments, the share of speeches containing wine-related keywords peaked at 40% during the years 1935-1940. This probably reflects the persistent effects of the relocation of wine production to Algeria on competition and on the economic conditions of French wine-growers.



Figure 8: Share of speeches with keyword "wine"

Finally, we explore the relationship between the impact of phylloxera and the support for educational policies aimed at the indigenous populations of Algeria. In Figure 9, we present the share of speeches that include both the keywords *école* (school) and *indigène* (indigenous) across five-year intervals. Beginning in the 1890-1895 period, the use of these keywords is significantly more prevalent in departments affected by phylloxera compared to other departments, with a peak of approximately 12% of speeches during the 1895-1900 interval. This wedge persists up to the 1910-1915 period and then disappears. Interestingly, the divergence in support for educational policies targeting the indigenous population between affected and unaffected departments becomes apparent approximately ten years after a similar divergence in the usage of keywords associated with phylloxera and wine. This pattern is not surprising. The process of relocating families engaged in wine production to Algeria, acquiring and cultivating land, organizing production in a new environment, pinpointing new challenges and potential solutions are all steps that require time. Hence, we may expect that the discussion of policies aimed at training the local Algerian workforce display a lag relative to the initial discovery of phylloxera.



Type of department - - other - affected by phylloxera

### 4.2 Topic Analysis

We now present the findings of our topic analysis. The results reported below derive from an analysis involving 40 topics, although our findings remain robust when employing both fewer and greater numbers of topics. We chose this specific number because our own experimentation indicated that it offers an optimal balance between computational demands and the granularity of topic disaggregation. The parameters for the Dirichlet prior distributions have been set according to standard values recommended in Griffiths and Steyvers (2004).

Our results are consistent with the insights obtained through the dictionary-based methods. Specifically, we identified two topics that are easily interpretable as counterparts to the keywords for wine production and indigeneous schools used in section 4.1.

The topic "wine production" (identified as topic number 17 in the topic analysis) is depicted in Figure 10, and it follows exactly the same trend as Figure 8 concerning the share of speeches that include the keyword "wine".

Similarly, the topic "indigenous schools" (topic 8 in the topic analysis) is shown in Figure 11 and mirrors the trend in Figure 9 for the share of speeches that include the keywords "ecole" and "indigenous".





Type of department - - other - affected by phylloxera Type of Event Phylloxera

# 5 Conclusions

The occurrence of negative shocks may have an impact on the attitudes and policies towards minorities and on their assimilation. While a literature in economics and political sciences has shown the negative impact of these shocks on minorities assimilation, there is scant empirical evidence on whether (and under which conditions) shocks may instead trigger assimilation policies favoring integration. This paper studies the impact of the phylloxera crisis in 19th-century France on policies of educational expansion towards the Algerians. In particular, assembling a novel dataset on French MPs and their parliamentary speeches, we find that MPs coming from areas hit harder by the phylloxera, were more likely to express interest and support towards policies aimed at educating the native population. This becomes visible approximately ten years after the phylloxera crisis, consistent with the view that relocating families engaged in wine production to Algeria and organizing production in a new environment are processes that require time.

Thus, these empirical patterns, together with the historical records, suggest that a shock may foster assimilation policies towards minorities when the latter become complementary to the well-functioning of the economy. In the Algerian case, policies of educational expansion were put into place to favor natives' accumulation of human capital.

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