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# From the Old to the New Regime in Toulouse: Judiciary Professionals in Spatial Perspective, 1695-1830

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Since Roman times, Toulouse has primarily been a regional market and administrative center for a large area between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and between the Central Massif and the Pyrenees. When the city and its hinterland were annexed into the kingdom of France in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, its role remained very much the same. The creation of a royal appeals court in the 15<sup>th</sup> century – the Parliament of Toulouse – reinforced the administrative role of the city as people flocked to the court from a vast area covering the equivalent of 13 of our present-day departments and the major part of the new administrative region called Occitania (see map of Parlement and map of Occitania)<sup>1</sup>.

Map 1 - The territory of the new Occitania Region since January 2016



If the Parliament was the biggest and most prestigious court in the region, a number of other tribunals also judged all types of cases with church, seigneurial, tax, salt, forestry and water courts and so on.... As a result, the administration of justice became one of the principal activities of the city and of its inhabitants. This remained true up to the French

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<sup>1</sup> For recent overviews of the history of Toulouse, see Jean-Marie Pailler, Annie Thomas and Jack Thomas, *Une petite histoire de Toulouse*, Pau, Editions Cairn, 2016; and Michel Taillefer (dir.), *Nouvelle histoire de Toulouse*, Toulouse, Privat, 2002.

Revolution. and the abolition of the Parliament and the reorganization of the judiciary system during and immediately after<sup>2</sup>.

Old Regime Toulouse shared many of the characteristics of a pre-industrial city, as presented by Gideon Sjoberg<sup>3</sup>. Even if the city counted hundreds of merchants, they clearly occupied a less prestigious place than elites coming from religious or administrative spheres, especially the judges of the Parliament. Almost universally noble, these judges were the richest people in the city, as Jean Sentou showed in his studies of wealth at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>4</sup>. Their fortunes came from their vast land-holdings in the area around Toulouse; they were classic rentiers who had benefitted from the construction of the Canal Royal de Languedoc (Canal du Midi) in 1681, allowing them to sell their wheat crop to distant Mediterranean markets<sup>5</sup>. This wealth then was based on their domination of the surrounding countryside rather than on urban based revenues or even urban based property-holding.

The situation of religious elites was somewhat different, even if the Catholic church drew considerable revenues from the countryside agricultural rents and church tithes. Religious establishments held much property in Toulouse, as much as one-third of the surface of intra-mural Toulouse<sup>6</sup>.

Secular public buildings were fewer and occupied much less space. The most important and the biggest were the Parliament (former castle) with its prison, the town hall (le Capitole), the Seneschal court, the market hall, the treasury and the mint (see map). Of these, as we shall see, the Parliament was by far the most important in numbers of people connected to its day to day functioning.

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<sup>2</sup> J. Thomas, « Toulouse, capitale judiciaire à l'époque moderne : un essai de bilan historiographique et cartographique », in Jacques Poumarède (dir.), *Territoires et lieux de justice*, Paris, La Documentation française, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> G. Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City, Past and Present*, London, Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1960.

<sup>4</sup> J. Sentou, *Fortunes et Groupes sociaux à Toulouse sous la Révolution (1789-1799). Essai d'histoire statistique*, Toulouse, Privat, 1969.

<sup>5</sup> G. Frêche, *Toulouse et la région Midi-Pyrénées au siècle des Lumières, vers 1670-1789*, Paris, Cujas, 1974.

<sup>6</sup> N. Marqué, *Géohistoire de Toulouse et des villes de parlement (vers 1680-vers 1830)*. 3 volumes, Thèse d'histoire, Université de Toulouse, 2015, p. 328-470.

Map 2 - The principal courts in Toulouse between 1650 and 1790



Another characteristic element of the pre-industrial European city lay in the massive walls; in Toulouse they were inherited from Roman times, at least for parts of them. The ramparts had been enlarged, remodeled and more or less maintained since then and were a visual marker of the city's main area and an important psychological element of urban identity<sup>7</sup>. As we shall see, the city walls much influenced residential patterns up to the French Revolution.

The study of the judiciary population of Toulouse over time is possible thanks to important documentary resources that cover a long period from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century to about 1830, some 150 years. These resources fall into three categories: 1) census type records that were either linked to tax assessments (1695 and 1790) or simply to a classic census (1830-31); 2) property registers that detailed property-holding in the city – 1680, the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and 1830; 3) local almanacs or directories that list office-holders and other professions for the years 1789-1790 and 1830. We have used all these documents in order to accumulate as much data as possible about the people employed in the judiciary sector of the economy and where they lived. We can thus propose a geo-historical analysis of this important part of Toulouse's economy and social structure, as well as its evolution from about 1695 to about 1830.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Christopher Friedrich, *The Early Modern City, 1450-1750*, London, Routledge, 1995, p. 23

The head tax of 1695 required each profession to pay a predetermined sum, therefore the declarations of taxable amounts were thus crucial element of these fiscal evaluation. The quality of these documents is very good so it allows a detailed analysis of professions, of measures of relative wealth and of social prestige (as well as quite detailed spatial location).

A second source was the census of 1790, the result of a law voted in December 1789, the very beginning of the Revolution. The government had three principal motivations – calculate the tax assessment among the population; define as precisely as possible the electoral corps; prepare lists for future military recruitment. The census was undertaken over 4 days in January 1790, and its quality was very uneven from area to another. Census takers often left out professions for whole blocks. Isabelle Caubet, the specialist of this census, estimates that about 50 % of the heads of households were left uninformed as to professions<sup>8</sup>. She and we have been able to improve this statistic for judiciary professions by using the Baour *Almanach* which gave information for almost 600 men from the Parliament judges to the less prestigious and wealthy scribes and bailiffs<sup>9</sup>. We also used the land tax registers from the Revolutionary and Imperial periods to complete information on individuals. These improvements do not, unfortunately, correct all the approximations of the 1790 census.

A third source is the 1830-1831 census. It was the first of a reorganized effort to enumerate the whole population of France. It provides a detailed and fairly accurate information about the heads of households and their families for the whole city of Toulouse.

A fourth source are the Toulouse land registers used are part of a long-going project by the Toulouse city government linking its present-day documents with a set of historical documents going back to 1680. Work on the Toulouse historical GIS began in 2002 when a team was constituted within the Municipal Archives. The first two layers concerned the land registers from 1680 and 1830 for the intra-mural parts of the city<sup>10</sup>. When Nicolas Marqué joined the team in 2010, he worked to integrate documents for the Revolutionary and Imperial layer for the central city and the urban continuum.

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<sup>8</sup> I. Caubet, *Approches démographiques et sociales des ménages toulousains entre 1695 et 1790*, Toulouse, History thesis, 3 volumes, 1999.

<sup>9</sup> The Baour Almanach was published every year during the last decades of the Old Regime. It combined features of a city directory and an official institutional guide for Toulouse and for much of the Languedoc province. For our uses, it furnished detailed lists with names and addresses of the men who worked in the major judiciary institutions as well as the barristers and attorneys and other minor officials.

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.urban-hist.toulouse.fr/uhplus/>

GIS is a software which associates a set of data and digital techniques that allow one to treat objects that have a spatial dimension. In a GIS, each “object” whether it be a plot of land or a building takes the form of a polygon to which are linked geographical coordinates locating it in space as well as assigned data that describe its properties (for instance its owner, its size or its nature). All of this information comprises a spatially referenced data base. In this, each object has a spatial location. Queries of the data base can thus obtain results in the form of maps. For Toulouse, the Urban GIS is a resource of great historical importance because it includes several layers that go back to 1680. It is thus possible to reconstitute past land structures or land use and to superposition layers in order to observe change over time.

In our talk today, we have time to give only a few examples of how this data can be treated in a geo-historical perspective. We will concentrate our attention on two time periods, the Old Regime (1695-1790), and the beginning of the New Regime (1790-1831)<sup>11</sup>. We shall first address the question of the importance of the judiciary professions in Old Regime Toulouse before suggesting a number of ways in the French Revolution inaugurated a series of changes.

### **I. Old Regime Toulouse and the Importance of its Courts**

In Old Regime Toulouse, the number of men connected to the myriad courts was far superior than what we would find in a modern city. In 1695, 11,1 % of households were linked to justice while in 1790, about 9 % were. The number of households with an active member belonging to the judiciary sector remained relatively stable between 1695 and 1790 but general population growth was moderate (1695, 38000, 1790, about 53000) with a bit less than 40% growth over the century. In both years, the majority of these men were associated with the Parliament of Toulouse: in 1695, more than 2/3 of the men worked for the Parliament; in 1790, more than 6 out of 10 were still associated with the Parliament. The situation after the Revolution changed considerably. If about two-thirds of the men working in the judiciary system were linked to the main Royal court, their numbers had been drastically reduced both in absolute and in relative terms. Men associated with justice were now fewer than 300, a decrease of about 60%, whereas the population of Toulouse had continued to

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<sup>11</sup> The term Old Regime was popularized by Alexis de Tocqueville in his classic work, *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*, Paris, 1856 (English translation, New York, 1955). The term New Regime has been borrowed from Isser Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789-1820*, New York, Norton and Company, 1994.

grow, albeit slowly, reaching about 59 000 according to the census of 1831<sup>12</sup>. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Toulouse was a regional agricultural and commercial center and an administrative capital but for a much smaller area than before 1789.

### *Where did these people live in Old Regime Toulouse?*

Urban morphology, inherited from Roman and Medieval times, shaped the distribution of the city population across urban space. First of all, Toulouse was founded by the Romans along the right bank of the Garonne River which was high enough to avoid most floods. The left bank, the neighborhood known as Saint Cyprien, is lower and subject to flooding which meant that urban elites avoided it and remained almost exclusively, up to the Revolution, on the right bank. The construction of a stone and brick bridge, the Pont Neuf or New Bridge, in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century, did not induce wealthy people to cross the river to live. City walls – built during Roman and Medieval times -- also played an important role in keeping most of the population within them, especially the wealthy families. As most of these families possessed property and homes outside of Toulouse, sources of much of their income and prestige, they preferred to live within the walls during the long periods they stayed in the city for work and sociability. One of the characteristics of Toulouse is that elite populations chose to live in the shadow of the walls, just inside them. In many European cities, proximity to the walls was often left to less fortunate families. Extra-mural neighborhoods (faubourgs) did develop during the last century of the Old Regime both as urban suburbs and as zones of economic activities. For instance, the opening of the Canal du Midi in 1681 contributed to the expansion of housing and economic activities in the faubourg Saint Etienne. Nonetheless, the walls remained an important barrier for most wealthy inhabitants and for most members of the judiciary professions whatever their prestige. In 1695, only 3.4 % of the judiciary professionals lived either outside the walls or in the Saint Cyprien neighborhood. In 1790, this percentage had risen to only 3.6 %. In 1830, even as the walls were tumbling down and being replaced by large urban boulevards, still only 5.4 % had ventured beyond into the faubourgs.

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<sup>12</sup> The information for this paragraph comes from a variety of sources:

- \* 1695: Capitation or head tax rolls, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne (ADHG) C 1082 1 and 2 ;
- \* 1790 : Archives municipales de Toulouse (AMT) CC 2859 and 2860 ;
- \* 1831 : AMT 1F 45-48.

Among the studies that use these sources, see R. Sénot, *Analyse du rôle de la capitation de Toulouse (1695)*, Master's thesis, Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1985 ; J. Thomas, « Gens de justice à Toulouse au temps de Louis XIV », in *Toulouse, une métropole méridionale : vingt siècles de vie urbaine*, vol. 1, Toulouse, Méridiennes and Fédération historique de Midi-Pyrénées, 2009, p. 163-186 ; and the works cited above by I. Caubet and N. Marqué.

**Table 1 Distribution of judiciary professionals in 1695 by capitoulat<sup>13</sup>**

Capitoulat	Block of residence known	Block of residence unknown	Total
Dalbade	145		145
Daurade	38		38
La Pierre-Saint Géraud	88		88
Pont Vieux	23		23
Saint Barthélémy	198	8	206
Saint Etienne	188	6	194
Saint Pierre	40		40
Saint Sernin	55		55
Saint Cyprien	7		7
Suburban areas Faubourgs			21
Unknown			
Total	782	14	817

**Table 2 The distribution of judiciary professional in 1790 by capitoulat**

Capitoulat	Block of residence known	Block of residence unknown	Total
Dalbade	125	23	148
Daurade	39	5	44
La Pierre-Saint Géraud	66	20	86
Pont Vieux	21	1	22
Saint Barthélémy	198	68	266
Saint Etienne	139	33	172
Saint Pierre	12	10	22
Saint Sernin	42	23	65
Saint Cyprien		5	5
Suburban areas Faubourgs			27
Unknown			26
Total	642	188	883

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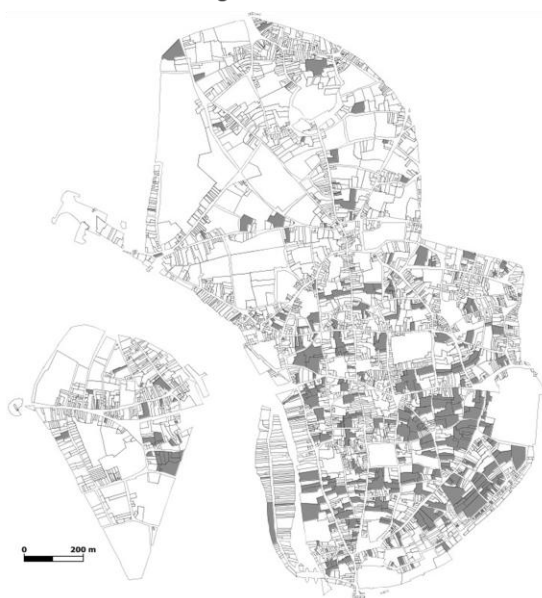
<sup>13</sup> ADHG C 1082 1 and 2



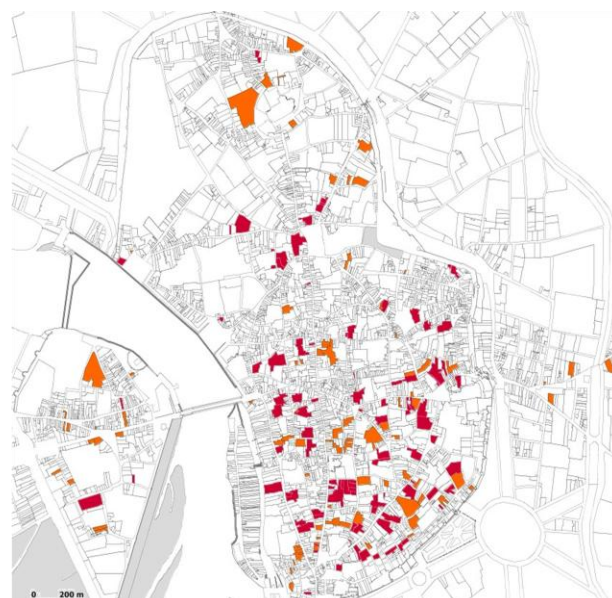
Our maps of Toulouse in 1695 and 1790 show how the judicial professions were concentrated in certain parts of the city, in particular within striking distance of the main court in Toulouse, the Parliament. This was true for all of the professions from judges down to lowly “praticiens” who worked for attorneys and lawyers and who were taxed at considerably lower rates in 1695 and in 1790<sup>14</sup>. In both years, between 10 and 13 % of the intra-mural blocks accumulated more the 40 % of the men linked to the judiciary professions<sup>15</sup>. Hence the men who worked in the Parliament resided closest to the court house whereas those who worked for the Seneschal’s court tended to live near that building further north in the city.

### Maps 3 and 4

Properties belong to Parliamentary judges in the land register of 1680



Properties confiscated during the Revolution



### *Consequences for the spatial distribution of the rest of the population*

A very unequal distribution existed in the different neighborhoods of the city – a strong concentration near the principal court – the Parliament. This unequal distribution has several explanations:

- The geographical position of the court house at one extremity of the city;

<sup>14</sup> Two or three or three pounds in 1695 as compared to 20 for barristers and attorneys.

<sup>15</sup> As the table for 1790 shows, a large number of men could not be located with precision. This is the result of the way the 1790 census was undertaken, quickly, with little preparation and supervision. As a result, almost 50 % of the heads of families have no profession assigned to them. Isabelle Caubet, Nicolas Marqué and I used several sources to complete the information on these categories of people, especially the land registry of the Revolutionary period and the *Almanack* of Baour which gives names and street addresses for more than 500 men in the judiciary sector. Because of poor census reporting, our base for 1790 is less complete and the number of blocks with 10 or more men in the judiciary field is mechanically smaller than in 1695.

- The consequences of the city walls on the location of housing;
- Historical “inertia” of housing choices linked to royal administration and courts;
- Transportation “inertia” – walking city, that limits distances from home to work-place;
- Competition from religious establishments from the Middle Ages to the Counter-Reform;
- The transfer of the Seneschal’s court from the royal part of the city to the “burg” in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The concentration of these residences in the South of the city, near the Parliament, has implications for the residential choices of the rest of the population. The vast majority of the families linked to justice employed domestic servants, with important differences from the top to the bottom of the judiciary hierarchy. If Parliament presidents employed more than six per household, their colleagues employed an average of about 2.5. Barristers, attorneys and notaries employed between one and two; court employees employed fewer than one servant. As the map drawn up by Isabelle Caubet shows, the parts of the city with the highest percentage of families with servants were also often the same ones with high numbers of judiciary professionals<sup>16</sup>.

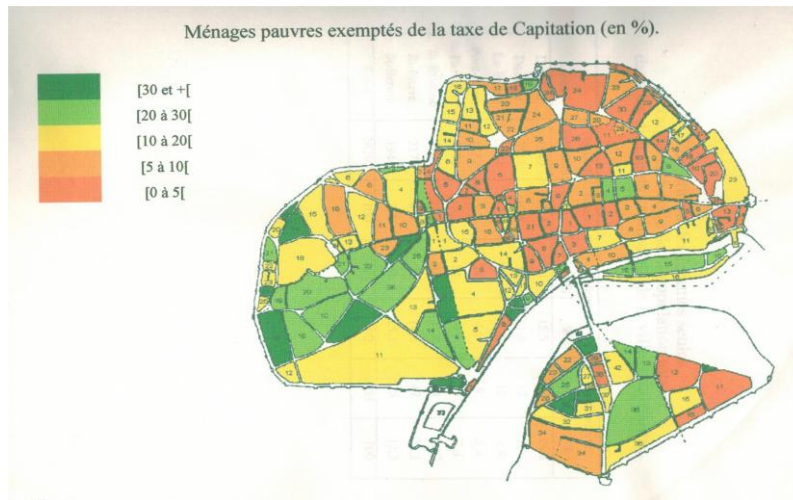
Map 5 - Blocks where Parliament men resided, all statuses, in 1695 (according to I. Caubet)



<sup>16</sup> I. Caubet, *La « famille » à Toulouse en 1695, d'après les registres de capitation*, master's thesis, Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1993, p. 171 and 180.

On the other end of the social hierarchy, families that were so poor as to be exempted from the 1695 head tax resided largely in other parts of the city where rents were presumably lower.

Map 6 – Poor households exempted from the head tax in 1695 (I. Caubet)



These maps suggest a degree of social segregation in residential choice that needs to be explored and measured further. We can show, for instance, that families connected to the diverse institutions of justice were over-represented in two wards, Dalbade and especially Saint Barthélémy, but we need to be able to get closer to the blocks and streets to understand who lived where and with what neighbors.

If we look at the 25 blocks with at least 10 residents from the legal professions, 22 counted fewer than 10% of households exempted from the head tax and only 3 had more than 10%. If we inverse the perspective and examine the 15 blocks with over 30% of the households exempted (a bit less than 8% of the blocks), we find 17 law professionals (a bit more than 2% of their population). Among them were three judges, one from the lowest level royal court in Toulouse (the provost court); one from the salt court and one parliamentary judge who paid by far the highest tax in his block. Most of the others gravitated around secondary tribunals (barristers, attorneys and practitioners who were the lowest level of the legal profession) and paid small head taxes.

### *The relative stability of Old Regime urban structures*

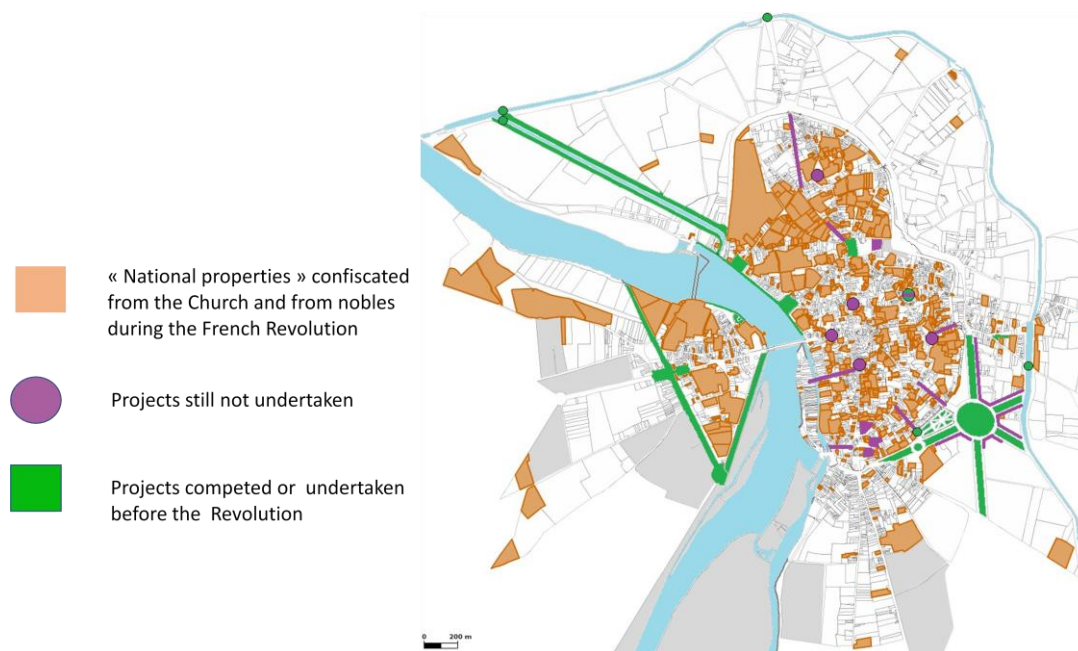
Even as Toulouse grew between 1695 and 1790, its urban structures did not change in important way. In particular in the intra-mural spaces that we have been examining here there was little change. This, of course, is not to say that nothing changed over the century, but that

there were powerful forces that blocked change within the city walls, especially on the more prestigious right bank. A number of projects were submitted to city authorities but those that concerned the central city had little chance of being accepted. Intra-mural inhabitants did not take favorably to projects that would expropriate all or parts of their urban properties and neighborhoods and they were influential with municipal authorities and beyond. Expropriating religious institutions was a challenge to religious consciences. Money was also a problem as central city projects tended to cost more than projects outside the walls because expropriation budgets were inevitably higher. Urban palaces were expensive to acquire and it was viewed as hostile by urban elites. City finances were under tight control by royal authorities (the intendant of Languedoc) who were not eager to displease the powerful parliamentary judges. In the end, the projects that went forward after 1750 or so were those that remodeled spaces on the city's periphery: along the Garonne River where few elite inhabitants lived, outside the walls where a project for parks and gardens was developed (the Esplanade) and where a feeder canal was dug to link the Canal du Midi and the Garonne. The wealthy citizens within the walls were happy to have easy access to green areas with parks and promenades while leaving their residential spaces intact. The only major urban project that was successfully completed before the Revolution was the construction of a new façade for the Capitole building (town hall) and the square that sits in front of it. Municipal prestige overcame the difficulties, both financial and technique, of such a major project in the heart of the city. As Nicolas Marqué wrote in his thesis, the map of successful urban projects at the end of Old Regime Toulouse is the negative of the map of the elite population, in particular, of the prestigious members of Parliament<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> N. Marqué, *Géohistoire de Toulouse et des villes de parlement (vers 1680-vers 1830, op.cit., p. 656.*

Map 7 - National properties and public works up to the Revolution: projects completed and those not yet undertaken of finished by the early years of the Revolution

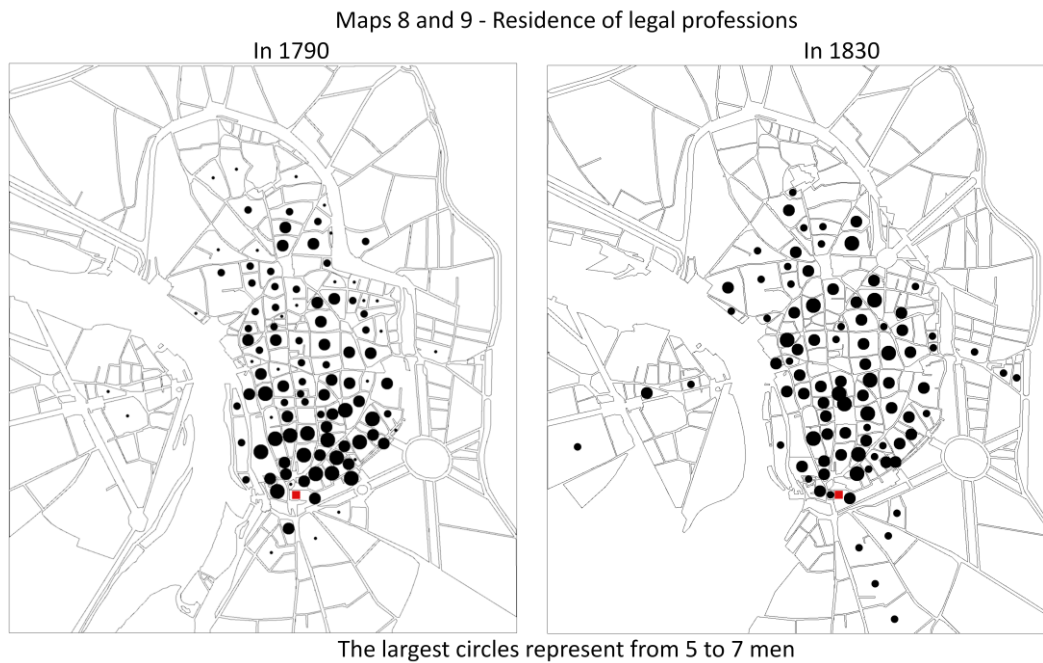


## II. The French Revolution and the Beginning of the New Regime in Toulouse

The French Revolution meant many things to many people. Among the decisions that greatly influenced the shape of Toulouse (and other cities as well) were two decisions of the Constituent Assembly in November 1789: 1) on November 2, the Assembly decided to “nationalize” Church property in order to pay off part of the national debt; 2) the next day it voted to suspend all the French parliaments before deciding the next year to abolish them<sup>18</sup>. As Church property represented about one-third of the surface of intra-mural Toulouse, such a decision would necessarily have important consequences if followed through. As for the suspension and abolition of the Parliaments, it was a cruel blow to Parliamentary cities such as Toulouse, Dijon, Aix and others that did not have the additional resources of parliamentary port cities such as Bordeaux or Rouen, or that were not capital cities such as Paris. But the consequences of their disappearance were not immediately visible. Toulouse would remain primarily an administrative city with a relatively large commercial sector keyed to local and regional markets so that the change would not be necessarily of kind, it would look more like some form of micro evolution. Let us try to sketch out some of the consequences of the important changes introduced in 1789.

<sup>18</sup> J. Godechot, *La Révolution française. Chronologie commentée, 1787-1799*, Paris, Perrin, 1988, p. 76-77.

We can begin on a paradoxical note. When we look at the neighborhoods in which the legal professions were the most heavily represented in Old Regime Toulouse, the New Regime does not seem to have brought much change by 1830.



These areas remain very similar in terms of land usage (mainly residential); property structures (most owners after 1790 continue to be what we can call bourgeois or aristocratic); finally, lot structures remained stable as there were few subdivisions of lots or, on the contrary, consolidations of lots. As the numbers of legal men had shrunk considerably after 1790, their concentration appears less dense in traditional judicial neighborhoods. In 1790, there were men from the judiciary sector in 103 blocks of the inner city; in 1830, in spite of their drastic reduction in numbers, they still were present in 84 blocks. Three quarters of the blocks in 1830 were already inhabited by legal families in 1790.

### ***Few Changes in Urban Space in the Former Parliamentary Neighborhood***

One of the reasons for the lack of change in this neighborhood was the fact that in spite of the confiscation of many aristocratic properties during the Revolution and the loss of the Parliament, most properties remained in the same hands either in strict familial terms or in more general sociological ones. Fully one half of the parliamentary families were able to buy back their urban homes either directly or through friendly intermediaries. When they did not, other wealthy families bought them and maintained them in the same elite residential spirit. It would be difficult to argue for a form of democratization of the former parliamentary neighborhood after 1790. In the 1830-1831 census, the profession of “propriétaire” (owner)

became very frequent to describe the social and professional situation of residents. This term indicated that the person was a land-owner and lived on his rents based on the production of his country farms. This sociological group was clearly not inclined to encourage city government to renovate its neighborhood; its interests were elsewhere (the price of wheat, economic questions on importations and exportations...) <sup>19</sup>.

### ***Significant Change in the Neighborhoods where Church Property Was Important***

Change was susceptible to be more visible in parts of the city where large religious properties had been confiscated. Many of these properties were relatively large, especially in the north of the city and in Saint-Cyprien on the left bank of the river. As such, they were more expensive to buy and their price discouraged buyers.

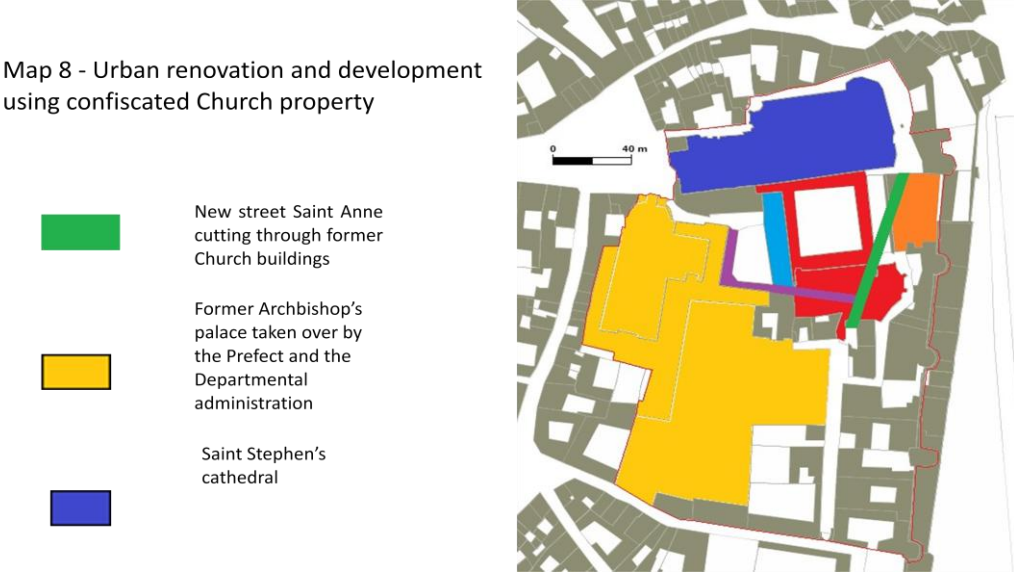
Many of these buildings changed functions as the clergy was replaced in a number of places by military personnel or by workers in new industrial activities. With Revolutionary war spreading into Spain after March 1793, Toulouse became a rear base for military operations. With a large number of vacant buildings, many quite large and with outside gardens and storerooms, all kinds of military activity could be deployed: industries for making weapons, powder and clothes, barracks for housing troops, hospitals to take care of the wounded, warehouses and barns for storing food, equipment and animals, training grounds and prisons. Many of these buildings were occupied only during the war and found other uses later. During these war years, the outside appearance of most of these buildings changed little as money and time were scarce to undertake ambitious changes. Inside the buildings, though, all kinds of destruction and rebuilding took place to adapt to the new needs of the army. In the short-term then, functional change did not modify profoundly urban structures.

The military was not the only beneficiary of confiscated Church property. The State and local government were able to use buildings either to suit immediate or more long-term needs. Church buildings became prisons (usually for several years until the end of the Terror), the large Old Regime hospitals retained their functions but without the pre-Revolutionary religious personnel. Many Church-related educational facilities also kept their educative functions under government supervision. Administrations took over Church property to install their employees and officials. The best illustration of this is the transfer of the Archbishop's palace to the new prefecture and departmental administration. In addition, the Archbishop's

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<sup>19</sup> See Roger Brunet, *Les campagnes toulousaines, étude géographique*, Toulouse, Geography thesis, Université de Toulouse, 1965, for the attitudes of land-owners during the early years of the 19th century.

complex in the Saint Stephen's neighborhood was profoundly modified as Church buildings were destroyed to create a new street (see map).



Church property also served to house new civil industrial activities which held the promise of employing local inhabitants and in supplying the army with needed goods (see map).

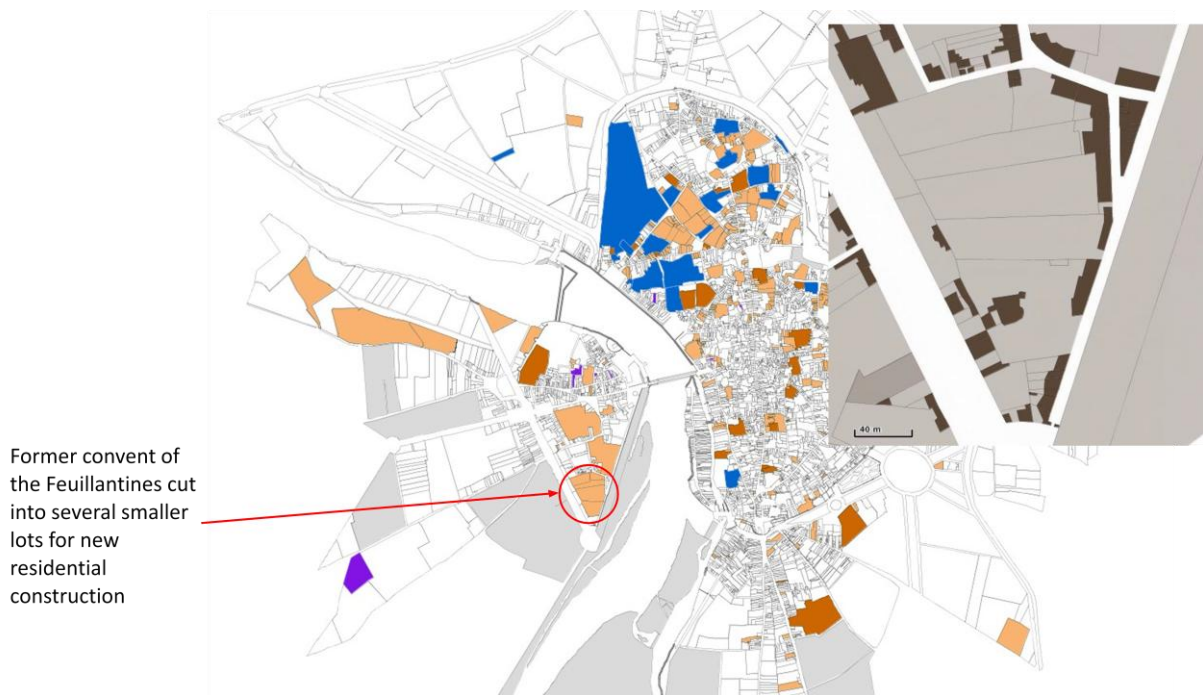


Finally, a relatively small number of large Church properties were acquired by groups of investors who destroyed them in order to subdivide the lots and sell them to people wishing to build individual or collective housing. We can see two examples of this kind of operation on



the right bank near the big industrial site of the Arsenal (on the former Carthusian convent) and on the left bank where the Feuillantines convent was subdivided into several lots for rebuilding housing (see maps).

Map 10 – The subdivision of the former Feuillantine convent



These small-scale changes led to an increase in population in these neighborhoods and allowed lower-class families to obtain reasonably cheap housing within the city walls.

As before the Revolution, few urban projects were undertaken in the zone between the Parliament and the Place du Capitole or between the cathedral and the Garonne. After 1790, the most important project concerned the conversion of one of the major convents that had become a national property during the Revolution and that was torn down to create one of the few squares in the neighborhood before the square itself was transformed into a market place then a market hall in the late 19th century. That no expropriation was needed made financing the project easier, especially as the destruction of the convent could be paid for with the sale of the detritus. And as the project did not impinge on private properties surrounding the convent, there was little opposition from neighbors.

If we go back to the map showing urban projects from about 1750 to 1830, we can observe that the right bank of the Garonne became more dynamic after 1790 with a number of relatively important projects being undertaken. Several squares were created or enlarged in neighborhoods that had not had squares before the Revolution. Much more important was the

remodeling of a large part of the eastern part of the city as walls were destroyed and replaced by wide urban boulevards, squares and avenues. This would lead to new construction for residences and commerce, in particular around the new market square now called Victor Hugo. This newly developed area linked the old urban center to the Canal du Midi in a more direct and functional way and would also serve as the link to the future railway station that would be built in the next generation. After the nationalization of Church property and the suppression of the Parliament, the destruction of the old Roman and Medieval walls were clear signs that the preindustrial city was giving way to something new.

## **Conclusions**

This paper has mobilized both traditional forms of analysis using census data and maps and innovative forms of analysis using historical GIS in order to chart changes from the Old to the New Regime in Toulouse. Old Regime Toulouse shared many characteristics of a preindustrial city with the importance of religious and legal elites, the first as the most important property owners, the second as the wealthiest and most prestigious part of the city's population. Church property was concentrated in the northern and western parts of the city whereas the legal population was particularly situated in the southern part, around the Parliament where most were employed. The French Revolution hit these two groups very hard and introduced the ferment of change into the city. We have argued that the destruction of Parliament had relatively minor consequences for the city's urban and socio-professional structures. The legal professions continued to live in the same neighborhoods even if they were fewer in numbers and probably less prestigious and less wealthy than their pre-Revolutionary counterparts. These neighborhoods remained residential, with about the same density of lodgings and inhabitants sharing similar social characteristics. The confiscation of Church properties introduced more substantial change as the functions of the buildings changed as well as their occupants. Over time, many conventual buildings were destroyed or transformed, properties were subdivided and their functions changed. Diverse activities replaced religious ones and the population of these neighborhoods both grew and became more diversified.

Examining urban projects between 1750 and 1830 shows that pre-Revolutionary projects were limited to spaces outside or on the periphery of the urban center, especially on the more prestigious right bank. The wealthiest neighborhoods resolutely resisted projects that they perceived as threatening their properties and interests. After 1790, urban change became somewhat more possible as confiscated Church property opened up new perspectives at more

reasonable costs for local government. Even so, change proceeded slowly, affecting very specific properties, leaving others untouched for the moment. The destruction of the ancient walls would lead to more spectacular change and the true transformation of Toulouse from the Old to the New Regime.