

# Bottom-up Nation-building: National Censuses and Local Administration in Nineteenth-Century Spain

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## Abstract

It is customary to consider population censuses (and statistics in general) as exclusive to the modern State, appearing in the second half of the eighteenth century but being developed and spreading in the West during the nineteenth century. Indeed, censuses help to strengthen and legitimize such states. However, in Spain, just as in Europe and the United States, the first population censuses considered modern were the result of, on the one hand, the directives and general and provincial coordination provided by the new state statistical institutions, such as the Statistics Commission or the Institute of Geography and, on the other, municipal personnel and the previous knowledge of local conditions held by the councils and other agents, such as the clergy, intellectuals, and notables. The media were also availed of for the cause. Let us recall that the municipalities were an explicit part of the state apparatus, therefore their relevance in carrying out censuses is not an indication of failure or weakness on the part of the Spanish State regarding the process of “bottom-up nation-building”, but rather a way to imagine the nation through which collective involvement would build the nation from the locality.

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The research reported in this manuscript has been partially funded by the project “Reforma sanitaria y administración municipal en el ámbito urbano español. Palma de Mallorca, 1855-1923” (HAR2011-27186) [Sanitary Reform and municipal administration in the Spanish urban context. Palma de Mallorca, 1855-1923], directed by Professor Isabel Moll and funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation.

We thank the editors and the reviewers whose comments/suggestions helped improve and clarify this manuscript.

[Correction added on 29 June 2021, after first online publication: The copyright line was changed.]

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## INTRODUCTION

It is customary to consider population censuses (and any data collected for statistical purposes) as exclusive to the modern State. They appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century but were developed and spread in the Western world during the nineteenth century (Raphael, 2008; Yule & Kendall, 1919). This particular State was an institution capable of imposing its decisions unilaterally on the social body as a whole thanks to its ability to monopolize legitimate violence, not only physical but also symbolic. This is the classical theory of the State established by Max M. M. Weber (1978), Charles Tilly (1990), and broadened by Pierre Bourdieu (2014), in which the state has legitimate authority to carry out its task. Indeed, censuses help to strengthen and legitimize this type of state. Besides, far from being simply a bureaucratic exercise based on the neutral use of the science of statistics, they are an important tool for constructing society in the hands of central government. Their actions were spread in a “top-down” one-way process aimed at controlling, managing and dominating the population through knowledge of it (Appadurai, 1996; Calhoun, 1994; Lam, 2011; Nobles, 2000). In this respect, Pierre Bourdieu (2014, p. 295) states that statistics are the key tool of the State, as they allow it to gather all-encompassing information which none of the individuals who provided it could acquire alone. For his part, Stuart Woolf (1989, pp. 588–589) points out that, unlike now, the origins of statistics do not lie with the State but with other institutions, such as Christian churches themselves.<sup>1</sup> Let us recall the important role played by the Catholic Church in compiling parish registers of baptisms, marriages and deaths.

Public statistics were to be an integral part of ensuring governability (Foucault, 1991, 2007). While, at the same time, helping to imagine the nation (the Nation-State, specifically) during the nineteenth century, as Benedict Anderson (1991) originally formulated. More recently, authors such as Dan Bouk (2017, p. 89) or Kaat Louckx (2017) have supported the idea that censuses helped to justify abstractions such as the nation or the self-awareness of the State in the specific case of Belgium.

There is no doubt that the State imposed censuses and enabled them to be carried out. However, new studies have appeared recently which question its exclusivity as the only actor capable of gathering official information and show how the acceptance and collaboration of other social agents was required. It is argued that mutual trust between the State and the population is necessary for this type of enterprise (Emigh et al., 2016a; Slack, 2004; Thorvaldsen, 2018; Thorvaldsen & Glavatskaya, 2017). Regional and municipal authorities were key to explaining the increase in the administrative capacity of states during the nineteenth century and, by derivation, the compilation of statistics. In this way, apart from Austria, most civil growth was at local-regional government levels, although operating subordinate to the State and conducting their tasks in a standardized fashion (Mann, 1993). In the specific case of carrying out censuses, in the United Kingdom, Italy and the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, central governments depended on civil servants and local agents (Curtis, 1994; Emigh et al., 2016b; Matos, 2016). In a sense, this would be a tautology as, after the liberal revolution, all these institutions were part of the same state apparatus, irrespective of their degree of autonomy.

Moreover, we emphasize the historical importance of censuses seen from the present day, when their very *raison d'être* is under question. This is due to the technological revolution allowing for alternative ways to recover information which are considered more efficient and economic, but also due to the opposition of the population—especially in the English-speaking world—to the intrusion of the State by accessing their personal data.<sup>2</sup>

It is our premise that the Spanish case was not oblivious to this reality. Following the French centralist model, both provincial and municipal governments fell under the authority of the Civil Governor, a political office appointed directly by the government in Madrid.<sup>3</sup> As far as statistic development is concerned, the first important milestone was the creation of the National General Statistics Commission in 1856 by the first government of the moderate Narváez (1844–1846), producing the first modern census in Spain (1857).<sup>4</sup>

On 21 April 1861 the Commission was transformed into the General Board of Statistics and went from being a coordinating office to acquiring a much more executive character. It was endowed with considerable human and material resources, a trend which would also be followed by the institution that inherited its functions, the Institute

of Geography and Statistics created on 12 September 1870 (Muro et al., 1996, p. 43; Pro Ruiz, 2007, p. 600) Thanks to this process, according to some authors such as Juan Pro Ruiz (2007), at the end of the nineteenth century the Spanish State was able to generate really solid population statistics such as censuses and catalogues of place-names or the *Movimiento Natural de la Población* [Vital Statistics]<sup>5</sup>. A similar positive conception of Spanish statistics is supported, although to a lesser extent, by José Ignacio Muro et al. (1996). Other authors such as Teresa Antonia Cusidó Vallverdú and Gil-Alonso (2012) are more sceptical of the quality and coverage of the censuses compiled in Spain during this period.

It is our hypothesis that this process of modernization was not only not incompatible with the dependence of statistics on municipal administration, which represented bottom-up nation-building, but also needed to rely on various types of civilian personnel, especially intellectuals, liberal professions and the local clergy.<sup>6</sup> Equally important is the fact that, after Emigh et al. (2016a), we cannot conceive the compilation of censuses solely as an enterprise of the State, a result of its capacity for social change. Censuses owe as much to civil society as to public administration. We therefore highlight the crucial role in their compilation played by local and provincial elites, such as primary and secondary school teachers, clergy, journalists, lawyers, military personnel, writers and, in general, outstanding members of society with enough education to be able to understand the jargon of public administration.

These elites had two essential features in common. First, their ability to translate standardized concepts and categories into a language that could be understood by ordinary people (especially when a large part of the population was monolingual in Catalan). At the same time, these were elites strongly aligned with the creation of the Nation-State, whether due to interests inherent to their economic activity, especially the commercial bourgeoisie, or as a consequence of the process of professionalization and acculturation they had undergone thanks, among other factors, to having had access to different levels of education. In any case, they were local worthies or elites co-opted by the State with no requirement to be members thereof as civil servants or politicians. Not only would they not be antagonistic to central authority, they would be in a situation of mutual dependency; their collaboration being essential during the process of constructing the Nation-State.<sup>7</sup> In fact, in keeping with Pierre Bourdieu (2014) we consider the State as a field of power, a space structured according to certain competing interests, partly represented by the local level, but in no case definable as anti-State.<sup>8</sup>

To achieve this general aim, we consider it essential to begin with an in-depth study of a regional case, representative of Spanish conditions. This may possibly be the only way to learn about the role of local and provincial administration, as well as that of authorized civilian personnel, in carrying out nineteenth-century censuses in Spain. Thus, we shall analyze the State from a municipal and provincial viewpoint, a perspective infrequently used in European, especially Spanish, historiography.

For the purpose of this work, we have basically analyzed sources of a municipal nature. In particular, we have thoroughly examined the minutes of Palma City Hall between 1850 and 1900, paying special attention to demographic-type data collection. This type of documentation has the advantage of establishing a long-term series allowing one to observe to what degree agreements reached are fulfilled and the political controversies arising among the different actors in the administration. Besides, analysis of the specific documentation in relation to carrying out national censuses (1857, 1860, 1877, 1887 and 1897) and population registers between 1850 and 1900 by Palma City Hall itself and the Provincial Census Board, at present held in the Kingdom of Mallorca Archive, and, in lesser measure, by Pollença Town Hall, has proved of vital importance. The information provided by a fully-developed urban centre and provincial capital is complemented by that of a very socially and economically different rural town. Consequently, we can obtain a clearer picture of regional conditions, at the same time more representative of Spanish conditions.

These sources have also been contrasted with information appearing in the official gazettes of the time. Finally, consultation of the press archives of the era has acquainted us with the position of agents from outside public administration.

We wish to point out that a study like this, which aims to obtain accurate and detailed knowledge of how censuses were carried out in Spain, cannot be produced without a case study such as the one we are proposing. This

means using local examples which are meaningful and representative of wider realities, which will not provide us with knowledge of everything but will enable us to establish premises and confirm or otherwise paradigms of general history. In fact, this approach takes for granted a constant dialogue with general history as the local level helps us comprehend global processes (Terrades, 1985). In other words, as Justo Serna and Anacleto Pons (2000, p. 167) have claimed, “local, varied or individual, are forms of expression of general accounts that transcend [concrete] contexts”. This local perspective is not determined by the dimension of the study but by the questions and methodologies applied (Wrigley, 1983). Besides, the local context is where global processes are interpreted and translated into actions by those involved (Ploeg, 2016). Obviously, this approach is indebted to the works of new local history and of microhistory, which brought to light the importance of reducing the scale of observation in order to reconstruct history as it really happened.<sup>9</sup>

### Preliminary steps: municipal population registers and sacramental books

At the beginning of 1857 municipal administration and the Church were, in practice, the only institutions with experience in compiling population data.<sup>10</sup> The former due to compiling municipal population registers. They began with the Decree issued on 3 February 1823 and had made considerable progress when a Royal Decree issued on 29 June 1837 standardized their implementation and ensured their continuity over time. In Mallorca, the earliest population registers found are from 1823, although they have only been found for this year in 8 municipalities.

From an organizational point of view, it is worth stressing how in the capital of the Balearic Islands, in the city of Palma, a specific municipal institution was created in 1850, the Statistics Commission, made up of four councillors and four major taxpayers.<sup>11</sup> It is not, therefore, an improvement in the professionalization of statistical work, but it demonstrates the importance the subject was acquiring in local administration and the need for support from people of importance in the city. In 1851 this institution disappeared to give way to the Board of Experts, mainly devoted to drawing up the property register.<sup>15</sup> The enactment of the new Municipal Law in August 1870 established that population registration should be carried out every five years, something which was more than fully complied with by Mallorcan population registers even before this law was passed.

Apart from that, we must not forget that population registers, besides providing information that may be used for statistical purposes, meet military and fiscal requirements of the State. In this regard, the *Ordenanza para el reemplazo del ejército* [Military Service Ordinance] issued on 2 November 1837 is of key importance, as it established the compulsory nature of military service for all young men of a certain age, although it could be avoided by various methods, including paying for a replacement (Jiménez Guerrero, 2005, p. 360). The complementary relation between the aforementioned Ordinance and Royal Decree is not a matter of chance. It was necessary to know the potential number of people of military age in each locality in order to enlist them in the national army. Moreover, each council was responsible for preparing the call-up lists, amending them and then drawing lots to decide which members of the contingent would form part of the quota assigned, drafted as future soldiers. Obviously, there was no room on the lists for all residents, but only for those laid down in the 1837 ordinance, namely, single and widowed childless Spanish men who on 30 April were between 18 and 25 years old. Married men and those who had taken holy orders, and who on the same date were not yet 22, were also included (Jiménez Guerrero, 2005, p. 370). For that purpose, the register was essential because, as we know, it provided information not only about the total population but also about their classification, age and location in the urban area.

Obviously, this was an incentive to conceal population, both collectively and individually. In the first case, local authorities were interested in having a total number of inhabitants that was smaller than the reality, in order to reduce the quota assigned to each municipality by the government, as well as certain head taxes. In the second case, it was the families themselves who had no interest in placing their young men on the register so that they would disappear from the call-up lists.

In any case, from the 1850s on, a series of corrective measures introduced by the Government, as well as better circulation among the population of the legal precepts involved, resulted in a tangible improvement in the gathering of data on the local population, according to those authors who have studied them (Jiménez Guerrero, 2005, p. 372). Thus, after several failed attempts at setting up the civil registry,<sup>13</sup> a Royal Order issued on 1 December 1837 made it compulsory for parish priests and those in charge of charity houses to provide council secretariats of provincial capitals or places with more than 500 inhabitants with information about births, marriages and deaths. This was an attempt to create a civil registry with the collaboration of the Church, making comparison with the data in the population registers easier, especially regarding the age of those registered.

As we said earlier, better knowledge of the ordinance and of rights and obligations regarding the military also entailed a greater awareness of the consequences of concealment because of the disservice to those who were registered. Although fraud was not completely eliminated, it does seem to have been reduced, which is of some administrative importance. Particularly when the whole process involved in call-up lists, population registers and the proto-civil registry carried out by the councils marked the beginnings of a bureaucratic expertise not held by any other public administration, although it was still a long way from being able to manage without the Church.

Palma City Hall was no exception to this general pattern. Specifically, on 13 January 1837 the council agreed that the head of each barracks into which the city was divided, together with the neighbourhood watchmen, would draw up the general register of the inhabitants. There is every indication that, as there was no specific staff devoted to compiling data, it was the councillors for each sector ("neighbourhood heads"), with the assistance of junior staff and secretarial scribes, who took on these tasks. At the same time, it was the council secretary who, a few days later, presented a model form to standardize registration, also to be used to make note of registrations and cancellations occurring before the new register was drawn up. Although we do not know if this proposal did go ahead, it is an indication of the primitive and almost experimental state of statistical work at the time. The same may be said of the beginnings of the civil registry in the city, as we shall see later on.

Over the following years, the procedure was repeated annually in a similar fashion. On some occasions, the urgent need for soldiers forced the council to be more diligent when counting and classifying the population. This happened as a consequence of the Royal Order issued on 17 September 1842, ordering the accurate registration of all inhabitants by name between 1 and 29 October, with the specific aim of complying with the drafting law of 1837. To this end, City Hall agreed to produce the same number of forms as the previous year at whichever printer turned out to be cheapest. Next, they were sent out to the neighbourhood watchmen to be distributed house to house. Eight days later they were collected. On 13 November, the register was put on public display for amendment.

In 1850, emphasis was placed on numbering houses and city blocks in order to improve localization of each and every one of their inhabitants. The attempt failed for want of a prior mapping exercise. But it demonstrated the will to facilitate population counting and, at the same time, to control it more effectively. Thus, the first amendment to house and block numbering came about in 1853.<sup>14</sup> In any case, definitive numbering was not achieved until 1866 when, besides placing the tiles with the number of each house on them, the streets were all given official names instead of block numbers.<sup>18</sup>

It is precisely the precarious state of local administration in relation to the demands of the state and, especially, the shortage of staff with experience in statistical work, which explains the repeated requests by the governor in the early 1850s for the council to submit the population register within the given deadlines. Likewise, he repeatedly reminded them that the drawing of lots for the draft was to be carried out on the specified dates. Such deficiencies should not allow us to forget that the registers were revised annually. This was a great improvement, providing better knowledge of the demographic reality of the city and township, while at the same time allowing municipal civil servants to gain experience in the subject. As the decade advanced, and especially during the following decades, this procedure would become administrative routine.

The implementation of the civil registry presented more difficulties. This was really a sphere pertaining to the Church, thanks to the registers of baptisms, marriages and deaths it had been carrying out continuously since the sixteenth century. Besides, local administration had a shortage of personnel available for this purpose, which

explains its dependence on the ecclesiastical register to obtain primary data from which to compile the *Movimiento Natural de la Población* until 1871 when it was finally set up. Even so, there were various attempts to put the civil registry into operation with the collaboration of municipalities. In the case of Palma City Hall, the first attempts to do so date from 1837, although it appears that, as in the majority of provincial capitals, the register of births, marriages and deaths did not function continuously until 1841 and, even then, not always in the normal way to be expected. This did not stop the register from moving forward, as is shown by the fact that on 11 May 1852 the council agreed to appoint a clerk dedicated exclusively to the continuation of the civil registry, and in 1853 a budgetary provision was made to that effect.<sup>16</sup>

Although the creation of a proper civil registry, standardized and with its own data, did not come about until 1871, under the remit of justices of the peace, previous municipal experience was of great importance. Besides, comparison with population registers increased their reliability, by making it more difficult for any youths who may have circumvented inscription in the population register to hide, as well as helping to verify the age of all those registered, a key element when it came to drawing lots for the draft. The issue of identification cards by town halls from 1854 onwards was of similar importance, setting a precedent for the present-day national ID card, as they were mandatory for citizens to carry out legal procedures, travel, obtain public documents, or practice a profession or trade. It was essential to be on the population register in order to obtain the card.

### **The first census in the era of statistics (1857): between local experience and State organization**

Thus, it may be argued that, at the end of the 1850s, the public administration that had most experience in compiling demographic data and availed of the largest number of civil servants or public employees was municipal. It is also true that central government was well aware of the interest local authorities had in distorting (especially reducing) the total number of inhabitants in their respective municipal districts for fiscal and military reasons. Although the proportion of central administration officials increased in absolute and relative terms as the nineteenth century advanced, in the Balearics in 1913 there were still 1,132 local government officials for only 813 from central government (Moral Ruíz, 2007, pp. 130–132).

There can be no doubt that the first modern population census in 1857 and, to a certain extent, those compiled throughout the rest of the century, reflected this tension between the statistical objectives of central government and the possibilities offered by local administration which, at the same time, required the cooperation of local elites or lay personnel (Muro et al., 1996, p. 51). The importance of town councils was fully recognized in the *Preamble and Royal Decree providing for the compilation of a general census by registration of the whole population of Spain and its adjacent islands*. This first universal census in the age of statistics states that *town councils usually compile a register of residents each year for the use of local administration; but working in isolation, without agreement and without State control, the data collected is of little use as it is irregular, rough and inaccurate* (Muro et al., 1996, p. 55).

However, the nature of modern censuses was different from that of population registers. The first one was carried out in 1857 on the initiative of a recently created institution, the National General Statistics Commission, established in November of the previous year, whose aims were purely statistical, unlike population registers whose purpose was military and fiscal, as well as residential, as we have argued elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> Of course, its scope was state-wide, so it had to calibrate the population data of the whole of mainland Spain and adjacent islands at any one time.

The Statistics Commission, besides being essential to promoting the idea of the census, was also essential to organizing and supervising it, a role it would not abandon in the future. It must be noted that, in spite of the difficulties it met in the early stages, the Commission not only managed to set up a series of permanent delegations in the provinces, equipped with civil servants and material resources to carry out the tasks assigned from Madrid. This fact must be noted as in Italy, for example, the Central Bureau of Statistics had no officers in the locality and,

therefore, always had to depend on municipal staff with the assistance of volunteers (Emigh et al., 2016b, p. 95). Until the summer of 1858 these tasks were essentially two: the population census and inquiries into agricultural production (Muro et al., 1996, p. 29). In any case, we must not ignore the fact that the Provincial Statistics Commissions also included non-professionals, in representation of political bodies, the clergy and the liberal professions in the province (*El Mallorquín*, 2 Jun. 1857, p. 1).

The Statistics Commission alone could not carry out the enormous amount of work involved in the general population registration all on one day nor in compiling statistics and reports afterwards. In fact, the Instruction issued on 27 April 1857 to implement the Royal Decree of 14 March provided for the establishment of three types of boards, provincial, district and municipal, to be in charge of work on the censuses. The former was to coordinate the work and verify the results, but it was the municipal boards who were responsible for gathering the information and drawing up the first tables and summaries.

The boards were presided over by the governor in provincial capitals and by the mayors in the other municipalities. In the case of the municipal boards, they were to be made up of political and administrative personnel, such as the mayor, the councillors and the Town Clerk (who acted as such on the board), but also by people from outside the Town Hall. Specifically, the two oldest parish priests in the district, the justices of the peace, a doctor, a surgeon and a primary school teacher, and anyone else considered necessary, whether because of his or her education or particular importance in the community, also formed part of the board.

Although this composition was not feasible in all municipalities, in most of them there were enough people suitably qualified to follow the directions of the Instruction or adapt it to local conditions. Thus, the Palma board was set up on 2 April with only half of the councillors, with no need for a teacher or a doctor, whose place was taken by people with proven expertise chosen by the governor and chairman of the board; while in the case of Pollença, a town of around 8,000 inhabitants at the time, the composition was exactly that prescribed by the law.<sup>18</sup>

As we have already mentioned, the municipal staff were indispensable due to their knowledge of local conditions and their experience acquired in compiling population registers. But, even so, they were insufficient. Significant members of the clergy and the local community were needed who, besides their knowledge of the population to be surveyed, could liaise with families and the authorities. These people were a key factor in explaining the meaning of the questions asked on the census forms, just as in the United Kingdom or Italy (Emigh et al., 2016b, p. 33 and 95). But this composition of the board also revealed a desire to turn compiling the census into a collective effort involving the entire social body.

The compilation of the census was considered an act of patriotism, which is how the Mallorcan press regarded the work carried out by ordinary citizens for the census (*El Mallorquín*, 20 Jun 1857, p. 4). In this way, a higher degree of legitimacy and acceptance would be achieved for an enterprise which might arouse certain fears among the population. Undoubtedly, the authorities did not work alone in this field, the press of the day helped to create this favorable state of opinion, which was absolutely necessary to dispel any misgivings citizens might have about such a sensitive subject, knowing the military and fiscal purpose of population registers in the past. An early article, published on the front page of the 10 January 1857 edition of *El Mallorquín* newspaper, reported on the importance of "statistical science" which, in the case of Spain, was to produce "optimal results, which are a principle of good administration, and make an effective contribution to national prosperity..." (*El Mallorquín*, 10 Jan 1857, p. 4). The same newspaper highlighted on its front page the national character of the enterprise and the duty of all citizens to participate correctly, with arguments such as the following:

"Perhaps all the precautions taken may not be sufficient to attain the accuracy desired, but at least they will avoid the grave errors of past censuses; we should acquire as close an approximation to the truth as this type of documents can provide, the government will find in them sounder criteria for its actions and, the nation, evidence of its power and glory."<sup>19</sup>

As a whole, the task of the municipal board was crucial from the start of preliminary work calculating the hypothetical number of inhabitants in order to realistically organize the work to be carried out and operational costs of carrying out a census, in which prior knowledge of the population and how it was distributed by local

administration was crucial. This is why drafting the specific budget was one of the first tasks. Besides, this municipal board was in charge of sub-dividing the locality into sections, each of which included a commission responsible for carrying out the practical work.<sup>20</sup> In Palma, the district was sub-divided into 16 sections, the number of existing barracks, delegating to each of them a member of the board who would take responsibility, assisted by non-members with knowledge of the lie of the land.

The second phase of the census consisted in distributing the forms to all homes, military barracks, hospices, hospitals and convents, to be filled in on 21 May by the heads of households, assisted by the auxiliary staff in each section when they were unable to do so. Illiteracy and the spread of part of the population of Palma required a large number of agents and aides in each section so that the registration could be carried out in a single day. On that point the board had the support of the Captain General, who allocated all available sergeants and corporals so there would be no lack of scribes for the registration, as well as allocating an increasing number of unarmed soldiers to assist in the matter. They took turns with security officers, guards and other delegates of the municipal authorities, including representatives of civil society and the security forces. Besides, military collaboration had already been publicized in the press in the month of April 1857, when the Captain General himself stipulated that all military personnel living in the islands should cooperate to carry out the census.<sup>21</sup> It must be borne in mind that, at the time, the city of Palma already had a municipal police force, created in 1853, and up to 30 nightwatchmen, active since the beginning of the century, as well as lookouts and navvies.<sup>22</sup>

Subsequently, each section carried out an initial classification and sent it to the municipal board, which was able to write its report on 16 July 1857. It shows that the capital of the Balearic Islands had a population of 51,871.<sup>23</sup> The other towns in the province sent their tables and reports to the district board, which sent a report to the provincial board. In the Balearic Islands as a whole, everything seems to indicate that the census work was satisfactory according to the National Statistics Commission itself.<sup>24</sup>

## The 1860 and 1877 censuses: more provincial government and less town hall

Civil and municipal involvement in the next censuses of 1860 and 1877 continued to be important in all towns and cities. It is also true that the activity of the mayors of provincial capitals was reduced when the municipal boards there were eliminated and their responsibilities assumed by the corresponding provincial board.<sup>25</sup> In Palma, it was this board that directly carried out the preliminary work and the general registration. Even so, we must not ignore the fact that the mayor was a member of the board and that the work of council staff, administrative as well as guards and security personnel, was vital for distributing and collecting the forms, just as they had done three years earlier.<sup>26</sup>

The action taken for the 1877 census, under the auspices of the Institute of Geography and Statistics, corroborates this assertion. At that time, the vice-chairman of the Provincial Statistics Commission and the provincial and municipal board,<sup>27</sup> Francisco Manuel de los Herreros (1817-1903), who had already chaired a section in 1860, was in practice the person in charge of managing the census work. There can be no doubt that he is the person who was really in charge of work on the census, as the chairman was the Provincial Governor. He was clearly a representative of the city's cultural elites. A prominent journalist, between 1848 and 1900 he was director of the Balearic Institute, where he also taught Logics. With him an executive committee was formed, with Gabriel Oliver (1847-1934) as Mayor of Palma; Teodoro Alcover, a priest from the Cathedral; Antonio Gelabert, professor of Medicine; Gerónimo Rosselló and Juan Alou Vich, members of the provincial council; Rafael Pallete, colonel of the Engineer Regiment; José María Muñoz 2nd Navy Commander; Antonio Llopart, lawyer, and the curates of all the parishes in the city.

Furthermore, as we shall see, the importance of the council was much greater than is suggested simply by the mayor's involvement as a member of the board. Staff with no training in statistics, politicians and local civil servants, the clergy and the local elites still played an outstanding role, as was also the case in neighbouring countries. This

kind of local organization, together with the importance of local authorities in carrying out censuses, has been seen in the United Kingdom, Italy, the United States, and also in France and Russia (Emigh et al., 2016b; Thorvaldsen & Glavatskaya, 2017).

The provincial board for compiling the 1877 census began by asking the municipal administration how many forms would be required to carry out the general registration. The reply was: 14,000 family and 300 joint forms.<sup>28</sup> On 18 December the provincial Government requested four aides from the municipal secretariat to fill in the form headings starting the following day.<sup>29</sup> Later, the secretariat provided the board with all the trained staff to distribute them to each family on 31 December and, as the case may be, fill them in.

These staff were civil servants or school teachers of an intermediate or low category whose salary was less than 1,500 pesetas a year. Finally, 32 local employees were mobilized for the census who, in turn, were assisted by the 40 nightwatchmen and 32 municipal guards, as well as mayor's neighbourhood representatives and navvies. We cannot say with certainty that these were the only public servants who took part in these tasks. Staff from the provincial council and the Provincial Government may also have been involved, but they are not mentioned in the Provincial Census Board meeting minutes nor in those of the Municipal Board. In any case, council staff most likely made up the most important group among those who took part in the general population registration.<sup>30</sup> Meanwhile, the mayor had received orders from the governor to assist as necessary each of the 11 commissioners who were to head each section in which the municipal district had been sub-divided.<sup>31</sup> They were also authorized to appoint more staff to collect the forms if those provided by the institutions proved not to be sufficient.<sup>32</sup> It was also the council that was in charge of announcing the imminence of the census through a proclamation.<sup>33</sup>

It is in the third phase of the census that we find a lesser involvement of the local corporation, at least in the capital. In the case of Palma, once the forms had been collected and deposited in the headquarters of each section, the provincial board appointed a temporary aide, under orders from the corresponding chairman or commissioner, to examine and correct the inscription forms collected, and prepare an individual summary for each one, as well as writing up the auxiliary booklets and compiling municipal statistics. For this work each person received 3.75 pesetas a day. It should be noted that the council had to pay or advance part of these emoluments, although the documentation consulted does not provide sufficient detail to determine precisely to what extent.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the council had to settle or advance this additional payment, although again the sources consulted are not clear on this point.<sup>35</sup>

It could be said that the municipal-provincial part of the 1877 census was finished on 15 September when the report was sent to the central authorities. However, it turned out to be incomplete, as it incorporated only 15 municipal reports, lacking 44 more from as many towns and cities in the province. This meant another special commission had to be set up to finish the work and the board had to meet on several occasions. It met for the last time on 24 April 1885 when, once all the work had been approved by the supervisory authorities, it agreed to return the population registers, auxiliary booklets and summaries to the municipal boards that had submitted them.<sup>36</sup> It was not until July 1881 that, in practice, the census for the Balearic Islands was considered complete.

At this point, we cannot turn a blind eye to the fact that, between the 1860 census and the 1877 one, councils throughout the province had carried out an action that must be considered essential for the statistical control of the population, apart from other considerations. We refer to the compilation of local nomenclatures,<sup>37</sup> naming each street within the city while, at the same time, numbering every house, as until then streets were officially identified only by a number. In the case of Mallorca, the tiles with the street names, as a rule, were put up in 1862,<sup>38</sup> although in Palma, oddly enough, not until a year later.

## **The persistence of local agents and a renewed presence of the municipality: the 1887 and 1897 censuses**

The last two censuses of the century, in 1887 and 1897, are characterized by the continuing importance of lay, civil and military personnel, and a renewed relevance of municipal administration. This was due to the fact that, in

provincial capitals, the municipal boards were separated from the provincial ones, while conditions remained the same in other localities and district boards disappeared. In this respect, Francisco Manuel de los Herreros, who continued to hold the post of vice-chairman of the provincial board, considered a return to the situation in 1857 as positive, since both boards, municipal and provincial, had different purposes according to the Instruction. Nor is this situation out of line with what happened in countries such as Italy and the United Kingdom during the same period (Emigh et al., 2016b).

The provincial board was to be responsible for tasks such as inspection, coordination, resolution of doubts and problems raised by the practical details of drawing up the census, which was a material responsibility of the corresponding municipal boards.<sup>39</sup> Besides, the ex officio chairmen of these were now the mayors, who recovered the relevance they had lost in the two previous censuses and even surpassed the relevance they held in 1857, when the municipal boards of provincial capitals were chaired by the governor. Along with them, and especially in smaller villages, council secretaries were key. In fact, during the second session of the provincial board, an agreement was reached that a committee would visit every council in the Balearics. At the same time, each Town Clerk would meet with the secretary of the Statistics Board "to ensure the progress of work on the census, the criterion adopted and the rest". There is, therefore, both a desire and a mechanism by which to standardize the methodology used for carrying out the census. However, we cannot say that all the issues were resolved (Cusidó Vallverdú & Gil-Alonso, 2012). It was also agreed to evaluate in which cases it would be necessary to send civil servants to organize the work properly.<sup>40</sup>

The Instruction issued on 28 September 1887 specified that municipal boards would be made up of the mayor as chairman, all councillors—except in provincial capitals where four of them were to belong exclusively to the provincial board—, the parish priest—and, in cases where there was more than one, the two oldest—, the municipal judge or judges, the Commander of the *Guardia Civil*, a doctor, a pharmacist, a primary school teacher, an agronomist, three major taxpayers—for property, industrial and commercial tax respectively—, and the Town Clerk. People whose knowledge was deemed by the mayor appropriate for them to be members of the board were also included.

In provincial capitals, the person responsible for statistical work in the province, two officers of the *Guardia Civil* and four army officers, in this case appointed by the governor, were to be ex officio members. The large number of members, 110, on the list drawn up in Palma in 1887 stands out, the dedication of only 33 of whom is specified. Among these the majority are health professionals, 7 doctors, 4 pharmacists and a veterinarian; and a total of 9 lawyers. Not forgetting the 3 priests, added to the two established by law as members of the board.<sup>41</sup> In the case of rural towns such as Pollença, in addition to the councillors, the board was made up of the parish priest, the municipal judge, the Commander of the *Guardia Civil*, a doctor, a pharmacist, a primary school teacher, an agronomist, one major taxpayer for property, industrial and commercial tax. Moreover five people with sufficient education, among whom there were, at least, a teacher and a doctor, were added.<sup>42</sup>

As far as carrying out the census is concerned, 72 secretarial assistants with a salary under 1,500 pesetas were provided by the various public institutions, and even by some private entities. The council was the administration that provided most employees, with 11, followed closely by the provincial council (10) and the Captaincy General (9). Specifically, they were from the following administrations: Property, Tax, Criminal, Customs, Public Works, the Treasury, the Civil Government, the Statistics Department, the Institute of Secondary Education, the provincial council, the High Court, the Maritime Health Department, the Property Register, the Teacher Training College, the Forestry Department, the Crédito Balear bank, the *Cambio Mallorquín* [Mallorcan Exchange], the *Harinera Mallorquina* [Mallorcan Flour Mill], the Captaincy General and the council.<sup>43</sup> In any case, the council's contribution was again increased thanks to the auxiliary and security staff who had to be present when the forms were being distributed and collected. All this apart from the coordinating role of the mayor's office, from which the collaboration of those institutions which were to take part in the census, mainly the church and the army, was requested. At the same time, the administrative duties mentioned in the case of earlier censuses were maintained.

Just as in previous editions, the press encouraged citizen participation. It even confronted persistent rumours that the census was really a fiscal weapon in the hands of the government. On the contrary, “the purpose and object of the present statistical operation is to acquire and gather clear, categorical knowledge of our way of being and appearing among other Nations, and we must take pride in accounting for who we are and what we are worth from a point of view both natural and civil, both industrial and scientific and we must take care to be as accurate as possible”.<sup>44</sup> In this way, the collective nature of the census was once more made clear, in the sense of both proximity (the local community) and nationality, being presented as an activity that involved all citizens of the State without exception. Neither was the international level ignored, tying the census to the progress of the most civilized nations. The Catholic press and the church hierarchy also encouraged participation in similar terms, as was made clear by *El Áncora* for 21/12/1887, by stating that “His Lordship the Bishop, and, like him, others around Spain, has spoken with authority to his clergy and members of their dioceses about making this census a success, as the episcopacy always takes an interest in anything to do with justice and civilization.” (p. 2).<sup>45</sup>

The advance of civilization was also key in the report by the Palma board for the national census of 1857: “Society is advancing rapidly and steadily towards perfection and the people endlessly endeavour to improve their social conditions [...]. Tomorrow, in addition to our accurate knowledge of the land, we shall also know how many inhabitants we have per square league, [...], which, when compared to those of other nations, will give us the relative weight of Spain in the universe” (pp. 92–94).<sup>46</sup> In the 1877 census report for Pollença, we find similar arguments about statistical work which “allows us to make an informed judgement about the civilization or culture of nations, laying the ground for good and proper administration of the people”.<sup>47</sup>

It is worth underlining how, as the century advanced, the need to dispel doubts about the nature of the census persisted. It was important to emphasize the national nature and the role of statistics in the progress of society while, at the same time, stressing the lack of any fiscal purpose. At the end of the day, there was no choice but to follow this path to avoid being left behind surrounding nations. Thus, in 1887, the press published articles where one could read arguments such as the following:

Now more than ever must we fulfil such a sacred mission when one of the most important operations for any well-ordered society is the survey that is about to be carried out. As willing as any to offer our cooperation in this enterprise, we must make an effort, as necessary, to dispel certain rumours we are displeased to hear spread in a way both thoughtless and unfounded and whose omissions, in the shadow of such idle fears, will always impair the accuracy of statistical data and do us a disservice in the eyes of other nations regarding the good concept in which any educated and enlightened people should be held.<sup>48</sup>

Ten years later, on the occasion of the 1897 census, the situation remained practically the same. In fact, this census was held under the same *Ley de Estudio de la Población* [Law on Population Study] enacted on 18 July 1887, which also standardized the carrying out of general surveys by prescribing a ten-year cycle. Even so, certain features are worth mentioning.<sup>49</sup> The most important was that, at the request of the mayor himself, the governor accepted that an aide from the Palma delegation of the Institute of Geography and Statistics would assist the secretary of the municipal board—let us remember he was also the Town Clerk—in the more technical aspects of the census.

On this occasion, the municipal district was sub-divided into a larger number of sections, up to 75, practically corresponding to one for each neighbourhood. In fact, the city of Palma had gone from 53,019 inhabitants according to the 1860 census to 62,525 in 1897, which may also explain the increase in census sections.<sup>50</sup> Due to the fact that there had to be members of the municipal board in each section, the total number of board members increased significantly, even more so than in 1887. Naturally, the mayor appointed to these positions people who were well acquainted with the urban and demographic conditions of each neighbourhood. This was especially important in the case of the rural and outlying parts of Palma, as well as for the suburb of Santa Catalina outside the walls. It should be noted that the walls of the city were not fully demolished until 1902 (March Noguera, 2002).

In this respect, it should be emphasized that it was the section committees that drew up the lists of families in the area under their responsibility, including their exact location. This would be the basis for a guide to distribution and collection of the forms, although previously the “mayor as chairman appointed some temporary officers who, along with members of the corps of minstrels, municipal guards and other municipal agents, under the orders of the secretary of the board assistant to the Statistics personnel appointed by the governor, would study said lists collecting data on the ground to ensure it would be as close to the truth as possible.”<sup>51</sup> Once the final lists had been compiled, the same personnel filled in the form headings, finishing the task on 21 December.

Next, the mayor’s office would publish a proclamation announcing population registration on 1 January, after setting up a permanent office in City Hall and in the suburb of Santa Catalina first-aid post, to assist those families who were not literate enough to fill in the forms themselves. We must bear in mind that, in previous censuses, this assistance was given in their own homes on the same day the forms were to be collected. But, on this occasion, and although “many forms were filled in by the staff there, especially in the suburb [of Santa Catalina]”, the time taken by the data collection process was indeed reduced.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> the Municipal Drum Band went around the main streets in the capital urging the population to register in the census, once more stressing the collective nature of the enterprise.<sup>52</sup> The proclamation announcing the obligation to register in the census was also publicized in towns and villages around the island by the town crier.<sup>53</sup> Naturally, as in earlier editions, the press from all ideological spheres persuaded the population to register. In the *La Unión Republicana* newspaper, representative of republican interests, which were systematically denied access to government, one can find articles which follow word-for-word the dictates of the authorities on the matter. For example, in the 7 December 1897 edition, one can read:

It is very important for the public to learn about this project, about the need for all inhabitants to register and about the liability incurred by those who through malice or ignorance do not cooperate in the success of this very important operation.

The *El Áncora* newspaper, for its part, took upon itself to encourage the participation of Catholics, in similar terms. But it also underscored the importance of the ecclesiastical authorities collaborating in the enterprise, not only in all the municipal boards they belonged to, but that they should use their social prestige and their influence on Catholics to promote the census.<sup>54</sup>

Sure enough, at half past seven in the morning of 1 January, all members of the municipal board, including the chairmen and the secretary of each section, gathered in City Hall where they were given the documentation they were to distribute house to house, with the help of auxiliary and junior staff mentioned earlier. Members of the rural sections also had a carriage at their disposal. By 10 o’clock in the morning distribution of the forms was completed. Clearly at this point the municipal machinery must have been well oiled. The whole operation was presided over by the mayor and lead by the Town Clerk and the aforementioned assistant to the Statistics personnel. Also present was the governor as head of a committee of the provincial board acting as observers. On 2 January, the forms collected by all sections were handed over to the secretary of the board, who proceeded to carry out a thorough examination of them. A summary of the city’s inhabitants resulted in 62,525 de facto and 62,626 de jure inhabitants.<sup>55</sup> On 28 March, the task was considered complete and the mandatory report was written up.

## CONCLUSIONS

Statistics were conceived as a tool for State-building, even for centralization and standardization of the national territory in the case of Spain. Once the liberal regime had been stabilized, after the defeat of Carlism in 1840, the government needed to avail of reliable data about the population according to international criteria, an action

deemed necessary by liberalism in order to intervene in the development of the nation. Thus, the 1857 census originated in the centre of political power, creating an ex novo bureaucracy which responded directly to the Statistics Commission, in other words, to central government. The census was, therefore, the work of the Spanish State.

But it is not true to say that the 1857 census was a “shock operation” which broke the reliance councils had on central Government when compiling demographic statistics, as Juan Pro states (Pro Ruiz, 2019, p. 435). In fact, the first population censuses considered modern were the result of, on the one hand, the directives and general and provincial coordination provided by the new state statistical institutions, such as the Statistics Commission or the Institute of Geography. But, as we have shown, in the case of Mallorca as representative of the Spanish case, they could not have been carried out without municipal personnel and the previous knowledge of local conditions held by the councils. Nor without the active participation of other agents, such as the clergy, intellectuals, worthies and, in general, citizens representing the city or each town or village.

Let us point out that the Church and the political and administrative staff of the councils, just as in the rest of the Western world, were the only ones who in 1857 already had a certain amount of practice in collecting demographic-type data, such as population registers and registers of baptisms, marriages and deaths. Besides, the councils had been drawing up street maps, numbering houses and registering property. Finally, the Civil Governor and the Captain General as direct representatives of the State, but also mayors and councillors, were qualified, by their social position and by authority granted, to mobilize active sections of the population. Moreover, various types of associations and people of recognized standing, even the press, were involved in the interest of an enterprise which was to be considered of national importance and an advance in civilization. We must insist that this conclusion is along the same lines as other similar studies dealing with realities outside Europe. Thus, Loveman (2007) shows how the compilation of censuses in Puerto Rico at the beginning of the twentieth century required the effective collaboration of local agents, who left their own mark on the racial classification originating from the United States Census Bureau. On the other hand, during the nineteen-eighties, the creation of the concept “Hispanic” to refer to all immigrants to the USA from Central and South America can be traced as much to government bureaucrats as to activists in defence of civil rights or to large media companies (Mora, 2014).

The way the censuses were carried out was not a hindrance, at least in the case of Mallorca and, probably, in the rest of Spain, to their positive appraisal by contemporaries. Even though they displayed the defects associated with setting up a new service, as well as the vicissitudes of Spanish politics. For example, the 16 years during which no census was held between 1860 and 1877 were a result of the political instability triggered by the revolutionary period known as *La Gloriosa* (1868-1874) and not so much by problems deriving from the actual capacity of the State to carry them out and, even less so, from the evasive will of the councils.

Thus, it is clear that municipal involvement in carrying out the censuses is not an indication of failure or weakness on the part of the Spanish State regarding the process of “nation-building”, as it has generally been considered by a good part of Spanish historiography.<sup>56</sup> On the contrary, our results reinforce the theses of authors such as Ferran Archilés Cardona (2002), Javier Moreno Luzón (2007) or Fernando Molina Aparicio and Cabo Villaverde (2011), among others, who have revised the thesis of the alleged failure of the Spanish process of nationalization.

As we have emphasized, central, provincial and local authorities in Mallorca were able to mobilize for a state enterprise, not only civil servants and public employees, but also the citizenry and the media, from progressive as well as republican and Catholic circles. In addition to the write-ups in the ultra-Catholic *El Áncora* newspaper already mentioned in the study, *La Unión Republicana*<sup>57</sup> newspaper, ideologically at the other extreme, took the same view in favour of the 1897 census. So that the expressly collective nature of each census was just another way to imagine the nation (Anderson, 1991). Or even a local work process as an explicit part of the state apparatus in which all citizens took part. It must be borne in mind that this was just one more way to build the nation from the locality, in the words of Alon Confino (1997).

Indeed, with some differences of scale and timing, Spain was only following the pattern of other Western countries who had to “trust” their municipal administration to develop government activities throughout their territory. Thus, the importance of the councils and the provincial councils should be underlined in order to understand the Spanish process of modernization in the second half of the nineteenth century (Moral Ruíz, 2007, p. 103). Moreover, Michael Mann is very specific when he states that “Apart from Austria, most civil growth was at local-regional government levels. A division of labor devolved: Most of the new civil functions devolved to local or regional governments, with the central state retaining its historic militarism” (Mann, 1993, p. 375). Lutz Raphael, 2008, pp. 146–152) also highlights the important role of local administration in the development of public administration in the West during the nineteenth century. Besides, as recent studies on the subject have shown, censuses cannot be considered a state enterprise separate from society, an imposition by central government, rather they require the collaboration of the various local authorities, of the elites and worthies, as well as of people representing each community (Emigh et al., 2016b; Thorvaldsen & Glavatskaya, 2017). In short, the creation of censuses in Mallorca during the second half of the nineteenth century was another form of bottom-up nation-building.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We sincerely thank the editors of JHS and the reviewers whose comments/suggestions helped improve and clarify this manuscript.

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> However, one must take into account that the purpose of the Church in compiling baptisms, marriages and deaths did not correspond to purely statistical criteria, as was the purpose of the State in compiling population censuses and other types of statistics (Reher & Valero Lobo, 1995).
- <sup>2</sup> Coleman (2012) offers an interesting analysis of what the disappearance of censuses entails, especially in Europe, where it is at a more advanced stage. This subject is also dealt with in Baffour et al. (2013).
- <sup>3</sup> See Sánchez Morón (1990), for an approximation to the reality at Spanish municipal level; while Cajal Valero (1999) offers an interesting evaluation of the role of the Civil Governor as a political agent of the central government.
- <sup>4</sup> It is generally held that the first modern census in Spain was not carried out until 1857, although there are direct precedents in the censuses held by Aranda (1768), Floridablanca (1787) and Godoy (1797). However, it was not until this precise moment that censuses began to take on the distinguishing features of modern population censuses (Reher & Valero Lobo, 1995). That is to say: sponsorship by the State with appropriate administration and legislation; national boundaries; universality; individual enumeration; simultaneity in data collection; periodicity, publication and diffusion. More on this topic can be found in Goyer and Draaijer (1992).
- <sup>5</sup> Although this type of statistics falls outside the scope of this article, we find it of special interest to present Vital Statistics as another way of pinpointing the numerical/statistical zeal of the State in the second half of the nineteenth century. Vital Statistics covers statistics on births, marriages and deaths in Spain, compiled at first from parish registers, until the civil registry was set up. For more information on this secondary source see: Teresa A. Cusidó Vallverdú (2011).
- <sup>6</sup> This consideration, based on the work of M. Agulhon (1981) or A. Confino (1997), is in contrast to the thesis prevalent among Spanish and French historiography that only by developing a powerful centralized public administration, executed by civil servants under direct orders from central government, could political modernization be accomplished effectively throughout the State, as is affirmed by Eugen E. Weber (1976) or, more recently, Juan Pro Ruiz (2019).
- <sup>7</sup> Emigh et al. (2016a) themselves suggest that the participation of these non-state actors would make state censuses possible and, at the same time, susceptible to modification thanks to their individual action (micro level) and through their membership of various organizations and institutions (mezzo level).
- <sup>8</sup> In any case, we must point out that Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of “habitus” and “field” do not always allow him to overcome the structure-action dichotomy, because the weight of the former makes truly autonomous actions by all agents impossible (Alexander, 2000), as in the case of the ability to categorize and/or classify the population.
- <sup>9</sup> We refer, obviously, to the proposals put forward several decades ago by Carlo Ginzburg (1976) or Giovanni Levi (1985). More recently, this way of dealing with history has been revalued in what Pedro Carasa Soto, 2007) once called “el Giro local”. As evidence of this, the last 2019 issue of the prestigious journal *Past & Present* was devoted to *Global History and Microhistory*.
- <sup>10</sup> In the nineteenth century, since parish registers became mandatory after the Council of Trent, the Church had a lot of experience in compiling useful demographic data although, as we have seen, the purpose was not statistical (Willigan &

Lynch, 2013). The purpose of these books was, in fact, to document pastoral and, more specifically, sacramental activity. Besides, from the 1820s on, municipal administrations began to compile so-called population registers which, although they provided information about the number of inhabitants in the municipality, as do population censuses, their purpose was to provide proof of residence and address in the municipality concerned. Population censuses, however, which in Spain are considered modern after 1857, had a purely statistical function and, as detailed earlier, included a number of elements regarding scope, simultaneity or periodicity which are not found in population registers. Initially, population registers throughout Spain were compiled neither simultaneously nor at set intervals as were censuses, although this changed in the twentieth century. Furthermore, the data collected in censuses and population registers, and even in registers from different towns, also tended to vary, especially during the nineteenth century. Some data, such as name and surname, age/date of birth, or address, were the same. On the other hand, censuses tended to provide more information of a socio-economic nature or about literacy, which does not mean we cannot find some examples of population registers which also gathered this type of information. For purposes and differences between censuses and population registers in Spain, see A. Jurado (2004).

<sup>11</sup> AMPa, Actas Municipales [Council minutes] for 28 May 1850.

<sup>12</sup> AMPa, Actas Municipales for 29 Apr 1851.

<sup>13</sup> The United Nations defines civil registration as the continuous, permanent, compulsory and universal recording of the occurrence and characteristics of vital events, notably births and deaths, but also marriages (1. Principles and recommendations for a vital statistics system, rev. 3. New York: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs; 2014; Available from: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/Demographic/standmeth/principles/M19Rev3en.pdf> [cited 2020 Oct 14]). The ultimate implementation of the Civil Registry in Spain did not happen until 1871, further proof of the quantifying zeal of the State during the second half of the nineteenth century. The strong interrelationship between the registry and the town halls should be noted, as inscription, especially in small municipalities, was and still is carried out in municipal facilities. For more information on this subject, see: José R. Valero Escandell (1986).

<sup>14</sup> AMPa, Actas Municipales for 2 Dec 1853.

<sup>15</sup> AMPa, Actas Municipales for 25 Jan 1850, 29 Jan 1850, 14 Aug 1863 and 19 Jun 1866.

<sup>16</sup> AMPa, Actas Municipales for 5 Mar. 1852, 11 May. 1852 and 27 Aug.1853.

<sup>17</sup> Besides, this was to be the first modern census, as Cusidó Vallverdú & Gil-Alonso, 2012 or Muro et al., 1996 point out.

<sup>18</sup> AMPa-Estadística, Memoria de la Junta Municipal de Palma de 1857 [AMPa-Statistics, Palma Municipal Board Report 1857], file 1305-3, p. 94. AMP-Censos de Població [Population Censuses] 1857, 1860 i 1877, file 2533.

<sup>19</sup> "Official Section" in *El Mallorquín. Diario de Palma*, 21 March 1857, p. 1. Emphasis added.

<sup>20</sup> Both the Royal Decree issued on 14 March 1857 and the Instruction on 27 April are available online at <http://www.ine.es>.

<sup>21</sup> AMPa-Estadística, Memoria de la Junta Municipal de Palma de 1857, file 1305-3, pp. 100–101.

<sup>22</sup> Author's reference.

<sup>23</sup> For a general evaluation of the type and nature of the data extracted from this and later nineteenth-century censuses, see Cusidó Vallverdú & Gil-Alonso, 2012).

<sup>24</sup> Preliminary report published on 30 September 1858 of the Royal Decree issued on 30 December 1858 consulted at <http://www.ine.es>.

<sup>25</sup> Instruction issued on 11 Nov. 1860 and 4 Nov. 1877 (*Gaceta de Madrid*).

<sup>26</sup> ARM-INE (Estadística), box 296. Actas de la Junta provincial del Censo [Provincial Census Board minutes] for 26/05/1860 and 16 Nov 1877.

<sup>27</sup> his is the denomination we have found on the letterheads of documents sent by the Provincial Commission.

<sup>28</sup> AMPa-Estadística, Comunicaciones recibidas de la Junta Provincial [Notifications received from the Provincial Board], file 1424-2, 12 Oct 1877.

<sup>29</sup> AMPa-Estadística, Comunicaciones recibidas de la Junta Provincial, file 1424-2, 18 Dec 1877.

<sup>30</sup> AMPa-Estadística, Comunicaciones recibidas de la Junta Provincial, file 1424-2, 27 Dec 1877 and 30 Dec. 1877.

<sup>31</sup> AMPa-Estadística, Comunicaciones recibidas de la Junta Provincial, file 1424-2, 1 Dec 1877 and 6 Dec. 1877.

<sup>32</sup> ARM-INE (Estadística), box 296. Actas de la Junta provincial del Censo for 29 Dec 1877.

<sup>33</sup> AMPa-Estadística, Comunicaciones recibidas de la Junta Provincial, file 1424-2, 27 Dec.1877. This is also what usually happened in the towns, as we have seen in the case of Pollença (AMP-Censos de Población 1897, file 2543).

<sup>34</sup> ARM-INE (Estadística), box 296. Actas de la Junta provincial del Censo for 8 Jan 1878.

<sup>35</sup> ARM-INE (Estadística), box 296. Actas de la Junta provincial del Censo for 7 Jul 1878 and 30 Aug 1878.

<sup>36</sup> ARM-INE (Estadística), box 296. Actas de la Junta provincial del Censo for 28 Jul 1881.

<sup>37</sup> For further information on this subject, see Esteve Palós, 2005).

<sup>38</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the information on street signs and house numbers is taken from Author's reference. Also of interest is the appraisal of this subject by Juan Pro Ruiz, 2007, p. 615).

<sup>39</sup> ARM-INE (Estadística), box 296. Actas de la Junta provincial del Censo for 14 Oct. 1887.

<sup>40</sup> ARM-INE (Estadística), box 296. Actas de la Junta provincial del Censo for 15 Nov.1887.

- <sup>41</sup> AMPa-Estadística, file 1170-21, 9 Nov 1887.
- <sup>42</sup> AMP-Censos de Població 1857, 1860 i 1877, file 2533.
- <sup>43</sup> AMPa-Estadística, file 1170-21, 29 Dec 1887.
- <sup>44</sup> *El Correo de Mallorca*, 28 Dec. 1887, p. 2. *El Áncora* newspaper for 21 Dec. 1887 also published similar words of encouragement.
- <sup>45</sup> *El Áncora*, 21 Dec 1887, p. 2.
- <sup>46</sup> AMPa-Estadística, Memoria de la Junta Municipal de Palma de 1857, file 1305-3, pp. 92–94).
- <sup>47</sup> AMP-Censos de Població 1857, 1860 i 1877, file 2533.
- <sup>48</sup> *El Correo de Mallorca*, 28 Dec 1887, p. 2.
- <sup>49</sup> Thanks to the copy of the Municipal Board Report on the 1897 census preserved in the city archive, we are able to follow the general guidelines for carrying it out (AMPa-Estadística, Memoria de la Junta Municipal de Palma, file 1200-9). We have not been able to locate the report for 1887.
- <sup>50</sup> Population figures for the city can be consulted in *Alteraciones de los municipios en los Censos de Población desde 1842* [Alterations to Municipalities in Population Censuses since 1842] ([https://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/es/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica\\_C&cid=1254736176998&menu=resultados&idp=1254735572981](https://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/es/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica_C&cid=1254736176998&menu=resultados&idp=1254735572981)) [Consulted on 16 Oct 2019].
- <sup>51</sup> AMPa-Estadística, Memoria de la Junta Municipal de Palma, file 1200-9, p. 10.
- <sup>52</sup> AMPa-Estadística, Memoria de la Junta Municipal de Palma, file 1200-9, pp. 13 and 14.
- <sup>53</sup> *El Áncora*, 22 Dec 1897, p. 3.
- <sup>54</sup> *El Áncora*, 12 Dec 1897, p. 3. Paradoxically, *El Magisterio Balear. Periódico de primera enseñanza*, encouraged the participation of the teaching community. Thus, in the 28 December 1897 edition the whole front page was devoted to urging teachers to fulfil their duties as laid out by law regarding carrying out the census.
- <sup>55</sup> AMPa-Estadística, Memoria de la Junta Municipal de Palma, file 1200-9, pp. 16 and 19.
- <sup>56</sup> We believe that the thesis of the failure of nationalization put forward at one time by Fusi (1994) or Riquer i Permanyer (1994), and continued by very prestigious authors such as Álvarez Junco, (2001), among others, is far from being exhausted. This, therefore, is a debate which is still open, as is shown by Andreu Miralles (2016), to which our proposal is simply a contribution in the same vein.
- <sup>57</sup> For example, *La Unión Republicana*, 17 Dec 1897, p. 1; 18 Dec 1897; 23 Dec 1897 o 26 Dec 1897, p. 1.

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**How to cite this article:** Salas-Vives, P., & Pujadas-Mora, J. M. (2021). Bottom-up nation-building: National censuses and local administration in nineteenth-century Spain. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 34(2), 287–304. <https://doi.org/10.1111/johs.12323>