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# Pyrenees without Frontiers: the French-Spanish Border in Modern Times, 17th to 20th Centuries

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## ABSTRACT

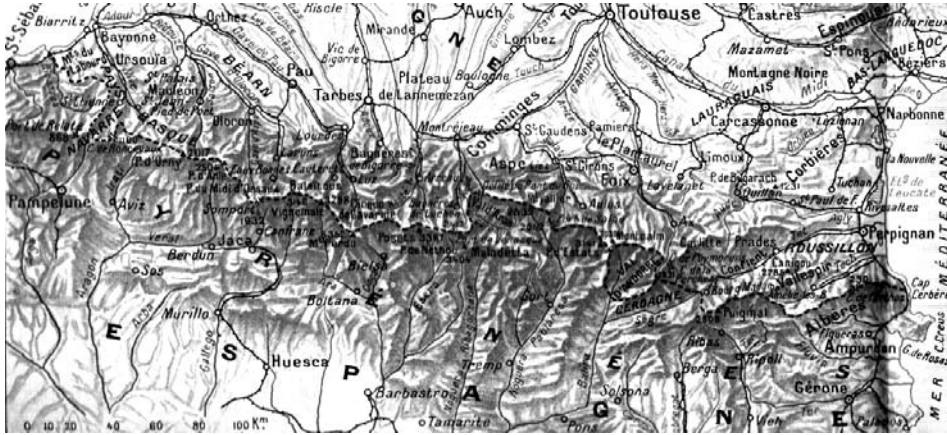
Contrary to the common perception, the notion of a “natural border” does not express an intangible reality, that of a geographical border line which automatically constitutes the infallible criterion of national policies. What this study will show is that the Pyrenees always represented a space of autonomous life, from one side of the mountains to the other. It was also a zone of contact which allowed exchanges and migrations of every sort in both directions, across the mountain valleys as also along the roads of the Atlantic and Mediterranean coastal regions. From an early stage the Pyrenees played an essential role in the affirmation of the states which bordered on them, Spain and France, as well as in the definition of the border from a political and military point of view. What finally emerges from this *longue durée* analysis from the 17th to the 20th centuries is that there is a close link of reciprocity between the local and the national, because if the daily experience of the Pyrenean populations attracted the attention of the royal power, its direct intervention was in affairs which concerned it only theoretically, but in terms of national development, notably the increasing power of national feeling, it did have an influence on the behaviour of populations and on the affirmation of distinctive identities on both sides of the border.

*Contrairement à ce que l'on a longtemps cru ou affirmé, la notion de « frontière naturelle » n'exprime pas une réalité intangible, celle d'une limite géographique qui s'imposerait d'elle-même et constituerait du même coup le critère infallible des politiques nationales. Ce que veut montrer cette étude, c'est que les Pyrénées ont de tous temps constitué un espace de vie autonome d'un versant à l'autre et une zone de contact qui a permis les échanges et les migrations de toutes sortes dans un sens ou dans l'autre, aussi bien à travers les vallées de montagne que par les routes du littoral atlantique et méditerranéen. En outre, les Pyrénées ont très tôt joué un rôle essentiel dans l'affirmation des États limitrophes, l'Espagne et la France, et la définition de la frontière d'un point de vue politique et militaire. Ce qui ressort*

*enfin de l'analyse dans la longue durée du XVIIe au XXe siècle, c'est qu'il existe un lien étroit de réciprocité entre le local et le national, car si le vécu local des populations pyrénéennes attira l'attention de la puissance régaliennne, puis son intervention directe dans des affaires qui ne la concernait que de très loin, à l'inverse les enjeux nationaux, notamment la montée en puissance du sentiment national, finirent par influencer sur le comportement des populations et l'affirmation d'identités distinctes de part et d'autre de la frontière.*

Does the border exist for the historian? This is a delicate question that cannot be answered decisively with a simple affirmation or negation. Current debates which concern the borders of Europe show clearly how much the term remains an object of polemic, notably in the case of Turkey, which for many cannot be included in the European Union because of its belonging to the Asiatic continent or the Near East. This analysis rests basically on the existence of “natural borders” – a notion which during the Renaissance became relevant through cartography, notably Mercator, to political and military aims. Borders were also fixed in political terms, for example the theoretical borders of the French monarchy, that of the Bourbons, in justifying conquests beforehand aimed at preserving the “square meadow”, that is to say the territory which was the legitimate and ‘natural’ guarantor of the internal harmony of the kingdom<sup>1</sup>.

As a matter of fact, a “border” is a human creation that aims to identify and differentiate between the political and territorial units which constitute the modern state. Contrary to what is commonly believed, the notion of a “natural border” does not express an intangible reality, that of a geographical border which should be obvious by itself and constitute at the same time an infallible criterion for national policies. However, the question is worth asking in the case of the Pyrenees because of the division which they seem to create between France and Spain, and of the visible obstacle that they seem to represent to human exchanges on both sides. Visible is the right word, because it would be easy to show that the Pyrenees have never corresponded to this definition, even though they were from ancient times thought of as impassable. It should be borne in mind that the Pyrenees offer many points of passage between France and Spain, first of all the coastal plains of the Basque Country and of Catalonia, but also the mountain passes that follow the valleys – orientated, with few exceptions, on a north-south axis. Historical examples from the Visigoths and Vandals up to the present abound: these show that, far from having been an impervious border, the Pyrenees were always considered a space of population and of transition. This is all the more true since the reasons for crossing this “natural border” in one direction or in the other have increased through the centuries: this development was one which was to involve the neighbouring states increasingly in local Pyrenean matters as a means of settling definitively both the controversial border question and the associated royal rights on which they might impinge.



Map 7  
Physical Map of the Pyrenees.

## THE FORMATION OF THE FRENCH-SPANISH BORDER IN EARLY MODERN TIMES

Since the end of the 15th century the movements of population through the Pyrenees have been characterized principally by their religious and political character and so oriented predominantly in a south-north direction. The origin of such a situation is to be found in the religious and philosophical intolerance that dominated Spanish society and politics at least until the early 19th century. Given the Crusades conducted both outside and inside the limits of the Iberian Peninsula against “false religions”, Spanish intolerance had been followed immediately by dramatic waves of persecution that affected all individuals and communities who were suspected of professing a religion or ideas contrary to the official Catholic faith or who did not obey its rules and principles. Consequently, the policies of the Catholic monarchs of Spain forced many thousands of Spaniards, who risked being accused of heresy – including converted Jews and Muslims, but also humanists – to leave their homeland in order to escape the Inquisition. Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, as well as anti-liberalism proved to be powerful instruments in the hands of the Spanish monarchs. This deprived the country of an important work force, but also of a dynamic and occasionally wealthy population including bankers, merchants, intellectuals, and artists. However, movement also existed in the opposite direction and Spain “naturalized” – according to the expression used by Bartolomé Bennassar – many subjects of the crown of France, “almost all coming from countries of the language of Oc”. Among the migrants there were not only merchants who were of a decided benefit to Barcelona, Valencia or Seville, acting as a dynamic group within these Spanish port cities, but also and primarily poor people dispelled by war or religious struggles and lured by the promise of a better life<sup>2</sup>. Some of them had a trade and were likely to find qualified places as bricklayers, carpenters, weavers, or

bakers, but most of those who arrived during the peak of migration at the end of the 16th century could hope at best only to work beside Moriscos until 1607 when these last were evicted in the same manner as the Jews of the Iberian kingdoms had been more than a century before. From this date on the number of Frenchmen in the Iberian peninsula continued to grow, notably where lands had been abandoned by Moriscos. This was true in particular of the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia where conditions were more favourable, so that the ambassador of France had already estimated their numbers at more than 20,000 in 1626. It is true that the value of “work” was not highly prized in Spain and that work opportunities were plentiful for skilled artisans. This immigration, however, declined strongly in the second half of the 17th century. This was a result of the accelerated depreciation of Spanish currencies and, more especially, of the increasing intolerance for foreigners who from an early date were associated with heretics<sup>3</sup>.

The life of border populations on both sides of the Pyrenees was to a considerable extent affected by these migrations. The migrations were imagined as involving a growing number of settlers in the Pyrenees themselves, some of them discouraged at the idea of crossing the mountain passes or else attracted to the hard but freer life of the summits: “It had certainly nothing of a cloud-cuckoo-land, but ambitious and hardened men could survive it more easily than elsewhere” thanks to the liberality of some cities or provinces in which charters and *fors* (privileges) guaranteed newcomers a very broad freedom<sup>4</sup>. But it is true at the same time that many roads that crossed the Pyrenees made for easier communication and passage between the two sides of the mountains, notably in the direction from France to Spain. Spain enjoyed a very flattering image, sometimes acquiring even mythical status, as it was compared to Peru in the 18th century. The Pyrenees were the origin of a growing traffic between the French and Iberian kingdoms, both legal and illicit, because of the very important fraud and smuggling opportunities which they afforded<sup>5</sup>.

It is important to underline that the border between France and Spain did not have a definite and clear demarcation before the 17th century. It was not until the signature of the Treaty of the Pyrenees on 7 November 1659 that a first effort was made to deal with the constant local conflicts that resulted from this vagueness. By putting an end to a war long seen as useless, the Treaty of the Pyrenees concluded the quarrel which had erupted between Charles V and Francis I a century earlier, regarding the “natural borders” of France. The initial line of the border almost followed the Pyrenean chain but it then turned away from it in the East to exclude Roussillon and the Val d’Aran which were Spanish domains on the northern side of the mountains. As for Andorra, this territory had been managed jointly since 1278, initially by the count of Foix and then by the king of France, with the bishop of Urgell, and enjoyed co-sovereignty. In conformity with this natural border the crown of Spain renounced Roussillon in favour of France, as well as a part of Cerdanya and territories located north of the Pyrenees – but not the Val d’Aran – following “the Pyrenees Mountains, which anciently divided the Gauls” from Spanish lands, a limit which “shall henceforth be the division of the two said kingdoms”<sup>6</sup>.



Fig. 1

Claude Lorraine, *The Treaty of the Pyrenees* (about 1659-1660), Versailles.

Louis XIV and Anne of Austria are followed by the duke of Anjou, the future Philip V; Minerva, Venus and Juno are waiting to present the crown of Spain.

In fact, the Treaty of the Pyrenees brought no satisfactory solution to the demarcation between the two kingdoms because in reality the kingdoms contented themselves with restoring peace by means of an union between the infant Maria Theresa, the daughter of the Spanish king Philip IV, and Louis XIV, which took place one year later in Saint-Jean de Luz in the Basque Country. They nonetheless omitted to define a clear-cut boundary, as was stipulated in the treaty, except for Cerdanya which was not crossed by the Pyrenees<sup>7</sup>. Consequently, the local quarrels that had been so numerous over previous centuries remained without solution and gave rise to constant litigation until the 19th century. The absence of an agreed border not only contributed to maintaining a climate of tension in the Basque Country or in the central Pyrenees regarding rights of possession or the sharing out of pasture<sup>8</sup>, it also revealed the inability of the French and Spanish authorities to resolve the ambiguities resulting from the Treaty of the Pyrenees – for example, the well-known vagueness of the watershed on the Bidassoa, and in par-

particular the new complications in Cerdanya arising out of the revised border, since this put an end to the linguistic and geographical unity of the ancient Catalan province.

The reason for such a complicated situation stemmed from the perception and role of the frontier in the 17th century, at a time when the state “was not, strictly speaking, a territorial state”, but a state based on jurisdictional sovereignty which “involved a form of administration that gave precedence to jurisdiction over territory”. In practice, this meant that each of the jurisdictional spheres, i.e. military affairs, justice, ecclesiastical policies, commercial activities and taxation, “was an administrative circumscription with its own boundaries”. There were also boundaries that “often failed to coincide” with and were considered “distinct from the political boundary of the kingdom”. The normalisation of legal and political life between the two kingdoms that followed the signing of the Treaty of the Pyrenees was not a simple thing. It was necessary to include Roussillon, separated from Catalonia, and to institute a new customs regime by virtue of which charges for admission and rights of travel abroad were received solely from the king of France. It was not until the middle of the 18th century that the market was harmonised and unified “by the continuity of trade, by erasing distortions and tax inequality introduced by the duties imposed on commercial circulation”<sup>10</sup>. Yet, there was the peculiar case of Llivia, which remained Spanish following an additional agreement, signed in 1660, constituting it as a territorial enclave north of the border exempt from the sovereignty of the king of France. This shows that the reality on the ground could prove too complex for pure geographical logic<sup>11</sup>.

The only clearly defined objective in the reshaping of jurisdictions was perhaps that of a military border because the loss of Cerdanya was never accepted by the Spanish. The troops of Charles II, successor to Philip IV, occupied the totality of this territory in 1667 and again in 1673. Although not in a state of war, France and Spain became conscious of the political border separating Cerdanya into two distinct provinces, as well as of the necessity, following the French reconquest and the peace of Nijmegen in 1678, to build an “iron border” in accordance with the plans of Vauban, the most famous royal architect<sup>12</sup>. As a matter of fact, Vauban passed through Roussillon after his active work in Toulon, where he added new defensive elements to the bulwarks of Perpignan. He made this city a military centre for the whole Franco-Spanish border, establishing a chain of forts on the main points which dominate the passes of the Eastern Pyrenees. Finally, he constructed the citadel of Mount Louis at the entrance to Cerdanya, which immediately covered the Têt valley and threatened that of Sègre, assuring the French free access to Catalonia. Some years later, after the duke of Anjou had acceded to the throne of Spain under the name of Philip V, his grandfather, Louis XIV, could even declare to the new king of Spain that there were no Pyrenees anymore, thus implying that there was no more dispute, war or separation between France and Spain, and that this chain of mountains had ceased indeed to constitute a threat to the kingdom of France<sup>13</sup>.

This aspiration, however, remained unfulfilled because the succession to the Spanish throne became the source of a new war between Philip V and the archduke Don Carlos acclaimed in Vienna as legitimate king of Spain in 1703, a war that was to last until 1714<sup>14</sup>. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the local populations on both sides of the Pyrenees were not seriously affected by the conflict due to the old agreements between the Spanish and French valleys that existed prior to the consolidation of the monarchical states, specifying that they were allowed to trade and travel freely on both sides of the Pyrenees, also to settle their disputes relating to pastures, woods and water supply, and finally to adopt a neutral stance in case of war. Moreover, the war between neighbouring Great Powers proved to be extremely beneficial from an economic point of view because the commercial privileges received by the Pyreneans allowed them to develop a fruitful traffic between the two sides of the mountains and to become rich, as is indicated by the very pleasant residences located downstream in the French valleys<sup>15</sup>. Consequently, when the two monarchical states entered into a series of long wars, both the French and Spanish valleys demonstrated their refusal to participate in hostilities: on the contrary, they defended their freedom, enlarging the former *lies et passeries* conventions to a formal neutrality (or *surséance de guerre*):

To protect themselves better and to live in peace, valleys on one end of the mountain chain to the other gathered in federations, which linked them to their neighbours of the opposite mountainside, assuring freedom of trade and reciprocal guarantee of peace between them. The true border was therefore no longer the natural border of the Pyrenees, but the border the local economy had naturally imposed: it was located where the valley opens up towards the plain and not at the top of the mountains<sup>16</sup>.

#### “A NATIONALIZING OF THE LOCAL AND A LOCALIZING OF THE NATIONAL”

Several factors contributed, however, to destabilise the functioning of the society of Pyrenean mountains in the 18th century and to impose a new vision of the border, more in tune with the national wills of the bordering states; that is, to favour “a nationalizing of the local and a localizing of the national” in Sahlins’ expression<sup>17</sup>. The most important was undoubtedly and paradoxically the multiplication of border conflicts which, during the extended peacetime after the War of the Spanish Succession, affected the Pyrenean valleys. These rural wars, or “Wars of Borders”, as they were then called, were not in themselves a novelty since they had been part of the life of these pastoral societies since the middle ages<sup>18</sup>. However, their increasing frequency became a source of increasing concern for the Spanish and French monarchs, so that local events became a motive for intervention and a decisive element in the consolidation of the nation-states in regard to their peripheries. These rural wars illustrated in reality the rapid transformation of pastoral life in the Pyrenean mountains, indicating that modernity did not overlook entirely this seemingly marginal geographical region. Indeed, the mountain population was increased very strongly in the 18th and 19th centuries – for example,

in the village of Luz-Saint-Sauveur, where the number of inhabitants increased by 104% between 1753 and 1845. More generally in the Pyrenean valleys demographic growth was of the same order or above, as in the Val d'Aran (+148%) and Upper Urgel (+185%)<sup>19</sup>. Where the indistinctness of borders, notably in the Aldudes, a zone of common interests in Navarre, was correlated with this demographic growth, it provided an impetus to the increasingly southerly colonisation of pasture areas by the inhabitants of Baygorri – most often the younger family members. This was why conflicts between valleys took on an increasingly violent character and why the authorities tried hard to put an end to this anarchy by border settlements: first in 1708, unsuccessfully, then again in 1769<sup>20</sup>.

Looking more closely at the reasons that explain the increase of violence, it is also quite evident that the disappearance of the ancient collective traditions is directly linked to the introduction of new agricultural and pastoral practices, such as the enclosures, which favoured individual property and called into question the customary rights, notably of *vaine pâture* and with respect to the use of communal property<sup>21</sup>. This evolution was all the less surprising as trade relations between Spain and France declined progressively from the 1720s concurrently with the affirmation of Regalian rights linked to monarchical power<sup>22</sup>. Finally, the French king in particular realised very clearly that the delimitation of the border was of vital importance for economic as well as unstated military reasons and that the Swiss jurist Emer de Vattel's advice in this regard was worth following so as to avoid a possible usurpation of territory on behalf of Spain. With the accession of the same dynasty, the Bourbons, on the thrones of France and of Spain from the beginning of the 18th century, the conflict of many years' standing between the two powers ended and much was done to promote inter-state cooperation in the suppression of smuggling and the regulation of trans-Pyrenean trade<sup>23</sup>. Several treaties of friendship, of a military and commercial character, were concluded between the two monarchies, from 1721 up to the adoption of the *Pacte de Famille* in August 1761 which led to a whole series of agreements, notably those of 1768, 1774 and 1786<sup>24</sup>. These two last conventions evidently expressed the determination of the French and Spanish sovereigns, Louis XVI and Charles III, to take control of trade both by land and sea in a more draconian way, indicating that previous conventions had not managed to stop endemic smuggling<sup>25</sup>.

Another very important treaty was also signed in August 1785 in order "to establish a dividing line in Aldudes or Quint Royal and Val-Carlos in Navarre, and to determine the borders of both States in all contentious places of this part of the Pyrenees"<sup>26</sup>. An experts' committee, chaired by the count of Ornano and Don Ventura de Caro, was appointed by the two sovereigns to study the possibilities of a final and clear line for those common lands that had been the constant cause of rural wars for centuries. It entailed in concrete terms, according to the preamble of the treaty, the abolition of all ancient jurisdictions and the annulling of agreements concluded between Pyrenean valleys – *lies* and *passeries* and other *faceries*:

Considering that *faceries* and community in the holding of grasses and of pastures between neighbouring persons living near the border of the one and of the other nation were very detrimental to the rest and general calmness of the borders since they gave rise to *de facto* ways of retaliation and to other reprehensible excesses, so that, like their sovereigns, the respective subjects of both powers live as they ought to in peace and friendship, it was admitted that all *faceries* and communities which took place until now in Aldudes or Quint Royal and in Valley Carlos shall be and will remain abolished and of no value, so that no one shall be able to restore them in the course of time or renew them<sup>27</sup>.

Unsurprisingly, the western Pyrenean communities refused to accept a treaty so disrespectful of the customary law, notably the shepherds of both sides of the mountains who continued to maintain relations and to regulate their disagreements thanks to the assemblies of deputies and passeries, at least up to the French Revolution<sup>28</sup>. From 1789-1790 local circumstances were deeply affected by the debate on the *départementalisation* of France whose purpose was to remove the ancient jurisdictions in the name of national logic and common interest. It was envisaged that the erasing of provincial borders would destroy local privileges and bring together “without disturbances, all parts of France in a single body and all Peoples, who divide it, in a single Nation”<sup>29</sup>. The creation of the border départements of Basses-Pyrénées, Hautes-Pyrénées, Haute-Garonne, Ariège and Pyrénées-Orientales in February 1790<sup>30</sup> was of course a step away from the partition of the ancient royal provinces of Béarn, Guyenne and Gascony, of the county of Foix, Languedoc and Roussillon, but it also marked a fusion of the administrative, fiscal and religious borders. However, with the exception of Danton, who would in January 1793 assert the importance of assuring the defence of France on its natural borders in the West, the North, the East, and also in the South at the Pyrenees<sup>31</sup>, the border as such does not seem to have been a major preoccupation of central government, at least up until the declaration of war against Spain on 7 March 1793. At the same time, although the inhabitants of the Pyrenees took an active part in the writing of *cabiers de doléances* [registers of grievances] and supported enthusiastically the work done by the Constituent Assembly – for instance, the city representatives of Saints-Girons in Couserans “congratulate once again the National Assembly on its glorious work” and “ask for the creation of a département”<sup>32</sup> – there do not seem to have any major incidents among the local inhabitants. P. Sahlins for instance emphasizes that “the Revolution and its administrative redivision had relatively little impact on daily life” for the French Cerdans in particular, even if the intervention of the state with the creation of a national land register, or *cadastre*, and the forced submission of the Catholic church raised movements of protest and occasionally resistance from the peasants<sup>33</sup>.

The war between Revolutionary France and Spain from 1793 to 1795, which resulted directly from the execution of Louis XVI and his family<sup>34</sup>, and the supposed maltreatment inflicted on French nationals in Spain<sup>35</sup>, was not only a border conflict: it soon spread to the American colonies and was to have important consequences for the future of the island of *Saint Domingue*<sup>36</sup>. With regard to the Pyrenees, war extended to both moun-

tain sides, with the invasion of Roussillon, Navarre and the Basque Country by Spanish troops. The setting up of the *Armée des Pyrénées* by order of the Convention of 1 March 1793 helped to restore the French position and furthermore to reverse the course of war, with the occupation of Catalonia in 1794. The war concluded with the signing of the treaty of Basel on 22 July 1795, a treaty which obviously fulfilled both parties' expectations, first because all conquests made by France were to be restored to Spain, second because the alliance organized by Britain against the Committee of Public Safety imposed a reconciliation with Spain at a time when Catalonia threatened to rise up against the invader<sup>37</sup>. Article 7 of the treaty had a very specific impact as regards the Pyrenees since it was decided in Basel to name "without delay" on either side commissioners to prepare a "treaty of limits between both powers", the novelty being that the border should cross by "the crest of the mountains which form the watersheds of France and Spain"<sup>38</sup>. The implications of such a decision did not escape criticism by the Convention when the text of the treaty was introduced in Paris on 5 Thermidor, Year III (23 July 1795) because this new definition, as pointed out by the deputy Charles-François Delacroix, "might result in the loss of some territory and consequently in an attack against the indivisibility of the Republic". As Boissy d'Anglas answered on behalf of the Committee of Public Safety, it was always possible for the Convention to reject the text if they thought it unacceptable. If this rigorously-applied principle might result in the loss of French Cerdagne for the Republic, the same principle might also give France the Val d'Aran by way of compensation – and this may have influenced the French negotiator<sup>39</sup>.

Once again circumstances, this time due to the Revolution and to the state of war in Europe, did not allow the realisation of this plan of demarcation, but the question of where the "true" watersheds were located continued to enliven debates in the border regions, notably in Cerdanya<sup>40</sup>. In practice nothing changed in the life of the Pyreneans, apart from a return to some normality after three years of sporadic warfare that had led to the closing of the border. In Barèges the surveillance posts were maintained by the inhabitants themselves, proof that Revolutionary ideology did not spare the Pyrenean highlanders<sup>41</sup>. However, in spite of the "nationalisation" of Pyrenean Frenchmen and of the growing consciousness of national feeling after 1795, it should be noted that compulsory conscription and *levées en masse* by the Revolution had no success in 1792, much less in 1793, with sanctions quickly imposed on families and villagers guilty of helping deserters<sup>42</sup>. The policy of sanctions did not cease with the coming to power of Napoleon Bonaparte, rather the reverse was true. Again and again throughout the Empire, up to its collapse in 1814-1815, the prefects and the officers in charge in the Pyrenees testified in reports to their respective ministers concerning the many desertions, notably after the invasion of Spain by the Napoleonic troops in 1808<sup>43</sup>. Indeed, if the percentage of draft-dodgers was nearly 13% in France between 1806 and 1810, it reached 20-30% in the Hautes-Pyrénées and in the Pyrénées-Orientales, 40-50% in the Basses-Pyrénées and even exceeded 50% in

the Haute-Garonne and in the Ariège, leading to the creation of mobile columns in 1808 who were responsible for hunting all dissenters (draft-dodgers and deserters)<sup>44</sup>.

## MIGRATION, THE NATION BUILDING PROCESS AND STATE INTERVENTION IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

By restoring the Bourbons on the thrones of Spain and France, in the person of Ferdinand VII and Louis XVIII, the European coalition breathed new life into the ancient *Pacte de Famille* which had united both branches of this dynasty at the beginning of previous century. The problem of the border remained unsolved because no clear demarcation had been agreed between the two countries and quarrels could easily resume between the two sides of the Pyrenees, notably in the Aldudes in spite of the “almost complete peace which reigned between pastors from 1789 to 1814”<sup>45</sup>. Meanwhile, the Pyrenees also saw many migratory movements from Spain to France, but from France to Spain too, notably for political and economic reasons. During the French Revolution, around 7,000 non-juring priests and at least as many aristocrats, along with moderate revolutionaries, found shelter in Spain. For example, the former deputy of the Hautes-Pyrénées at the Legislative, Jean-Henry Couget, emigrated in autumn 1793 towards Huesca<sup>46</sup>. After 1814, the current of political banishment was reversed with thousands of Spaniards converting to revolutionary ideas or simply sympathising with the Enlightenment – the so-called *afrancesados*. They were forced to flee to France until the year 1820, which heralded a short period of liberal triumph in Spain, then again from 1823 until 1833 and the death of Ferdinand VII<sup>47</sup>. During the Liberal period, from 1820 till 1823, around 12,000 Absolutist families found shelter in France, a number which grew considerably from 1833 with the First Carlist War which lasted until 1839<sup>48</sup>. About 24,000 Carlists, i.e. Absolutists, refused to submit to the Liberal order after the signature of the Convention of Vergara and chose to emigrate, mostly to England and France.

There were also important displacements of population across the Pyrenees in the 19th century, motivated by economic factors, notably from 1840, because of return to civil peace and the triumph of the Liberals. From this date Spain seems to have become a sort of *El Dorado* for European, notably French, industry, with heavy investment in the building of the Spanish railway network. As a consequence, thousands of Frenchmen from all walks of life sought their fortune on the other side of the Pyrenees. As well as skilled railway workers there were all kinds of artisans attracted by the development of urban society. Many of them came from the poor mountains of Auvergne – following the example of their ancestors known already in the 17th century in Madrid under the name of *gabachos* (from the Limousin too), to work as bricklayers, carpenters, traders, coalmen or producers of liqueur<sup>49</sup>. Although Spain was more sparsely populated than France and had a low birth-rate, movements of population were also evident in the opposite direction. People emigrated from the Basque Country and Aragon, undoubtedly

as a result of the decline of pastoralism and the attraction of the French countryside, such as in Gascony, which constituted an attractive opportunity for many poor peasants<sup>50</sup>.

These migrations, especially those of the Carlists and Liberals, had an important impact on legislation in force in Spain as in France, as well as on the perception of the border as a space whose mastering appeared more and more to be a national necessity. There was an intense debate on the question of emigration during the Liberal period. This was highlighted in the contradiction between the recognition by the state of individual rights, among them the right to emigrate, and the matter of distributive justice between all citizens, which implied a sort of contribution from the migrants to the nation. But in fact the question of emigration did not appear again in parliamentary debates until the year 1856, although from 1853 decrees and directives began to be published to regulate conditions of emigration<sup>51</sup>. In France, the large-scale arrival of political refugees in the 1830s, Polish as well as Spanish<sup>52</sup>, led Louis-Philippe's government to ask the Chamber of Deputies to vote one million francs in credit to facilitate urgent benefits to the expatriates, in accordance with the collective norms of charity, as wages, given that most of them were "freedom fighters" or more prosaically "army rubbish"<sup>53</sup>. However, all refugees were not treated equally and contingency funds were used as a means of controlling and supervising refugees. In fact, the authorities invoked a law of 1832 which decreed house arrest, a measure that the prefects were urged to apply with rigour. From then on refugees were not only forced to dwell in a place chosen by the French State, but also to follow a very definite route to get there. Besides this, they were subjected to close surveillance by the police, in order to prevent them from straying into areas which were off-limits, notably Paris<sup>54</sup>.

The border again preoccupied French and Spanish authorities when the "War of Borders", a common feature of the past, flared up again in 1827 in Aldudes (or Quinto Real) because of the increasing privatisation of lands and pastures in this shared region of Navarre. Contrary to previous clashes, however, the new *Guerre des Limites* lasted an unprecedented time – until 1856 – and developed in a way not understood by people especially in Paris and in the Pyrenean municipalities. As underlined by Christian Desplat, "the temporal and space reality of pastoral war differed markedly from that which the servants of the State and the press documented: it referred to the *longue durée*, or even the permanence, of rural societies. 1827 was not a beginning and 1856 was not a termination"<sup>55</sup>. Indeed, from local notables right up to the government itself, it proved difficult to make it comprehensible, that is to say to conform to national logic. In reality, state efforts at intervention provoked none of the reactions expected of the peasants and shepherds, who were stubborn in regulating their disagreements by the ancestral and ritual practice of *carnaus*, that is to say livestock robbery. In 1830, for instance, the distribution of weapons aimed at having a formal battle remained ineffective, as did patriotic calls for the defence of the nation<sup>56</sup>.

Weary of waiting, the Spanish and French authorities decided to put an end to this conflict, on the occasion of personal political rapprochement between the queen of Spain, Isabel II, and Napoleon III. The plenipotentiaries representing the two sovereigns convened in Bayonne on 2 December 1856 in order to ratify for the first time a clear physical demarcation between the two sides of the mountains – in the name of peace and friendship between the populations of the Pyrenean valleys<sup>57</sup>. Yet, several years – and other treaties signed in Bayonne as well – were needed to resolve the prickly question of the border between France and Spain in all its length from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. It was only in July 1868 that boundary stones were put down, on the summit of the Pyrenees and through the Cerdanya as well, marking the border in a tangible way so as to impose to respect and keep people apart, be they shepherds, smugglers or ordinary citizens<sup>58</sup>. There were certainly still instances of friction regarding the border in the 1870s, due to the Third Carlist War, and in the 1890s and 1900s because of the anarchist contagion in Catalunya<sup>59</sup>; but it is nonetheless possible to assert that the border ceased to be a problem between France and Spain in the 20th century, at least as regards its demarcation and its reciprocal respect by civil and military authorities. Indeed the Franco-Spanish border played a decisive role in the course of the Civil War in Spain from 1936 until 1939 as a demarcation line of battles circumscribed in the Peninsula and especially as a point of no return for thousands of refugees escaping Francoist repression after the collapse of the Catalanian front in January 1939.

### THE FRANCO-SPANISH BORDER BETWEEN EXILE AND RESISTANCE (1936-1948)

Subject to draconian security measures at least from 1874-1875<sup>60</sup> and although officially closed from June 1938, the border was briefly opened to civilians who rushed through in their thousands at the end of January 1939. Even the soldiers and militiamen who, for a time, were excluded on the Spanish side of the mountains were authorised to enter French territory, having been disarmed, to avoid Franco's troops who threatened to catch up and slaughter them in the name of the crusade against the Spanish "Reds". Added to the 50,000 women, children and old men who had already sought refuge in France between 1936 and 1938, up to 465,000 individuals crossed the Franco-Spanish border in the space of three weeks, leaving behind their homes, property and hopes. The reception reserved for them by the French authorities was far from corresponding to the solidarity that the men of Spanish Popular Front were entitled to expect from the French Republic, fatherland of human rights and freedom. The Daladier government was unprepared and was forced to improvise the "camps on the beach" along the Mediterranean coastal region, where today tourists from all over Europe enjoy some sun and well-deserved holidays<sup>61</sup>. The extent of this human tragedy is clearly reflected in the many stories dealing with the attitude of the French authorities, notably during border

crossings. Carlos Bosch Garcia, son of a prominent Catalan intellectual, Pere Bosch i Gimpera, wrote in this respect:

An unforgettable sight was the faces of these women carrying their children and the incredible number of old persons loaded with some belongings, all that they had from now on, excluding hunger and tiredness. [...] The massive arrival of such a numerous and hungry population represented a serious problem for France. The department of the Pyrénées-Orientales confronted the problem or rather it did not, given the solution adopted. To move away the refugees away from the French border zone was a logical measure to avoid dealing with those who persecuted them. But having been moved away up to the coast, they were regrouped on the beach and encircled with the famous *fil de fer barbelé* [barbed wire]. The authorities entrusted their surveillance to mobile guards, reinforced by Senegalese soldiers, to form a cordon that isolated them from the rest of France. “*Nobody leaves from here, except to go back to Spain*”. Confronted with this situation, many turned back<sup>62</sup>.

In spite of the official closing of the border, which remained the constant policy of France from 1938 until 1948, the Pyrenees never ceased to be a passageway between the two countries during this period. After the Spaniards who, forced, went back to Spain in the hope of avoiding the Second World War, it was the Jews and foreigners of occupied Europe, English or American airmen, escaped prisoners and draft-dodgers from STO, i.e. forced labour in Germany, who crossed the Pyrenees to avoid the Gestapo and the police of the Vichy government. As in the past, the Pyrenean populations showed their distinctive identity, their refusal to submit to state law and their sense of solidarity. Sometimes the shepherds and mountain dwellers were transformed into ‘passeurs’ for their personal benefit, but they were most often the efficient actors of escape networks in the service of freedom<sup>63</sup>. So, the ancient smuggling roads helped to save the lives of thousands of individuals and to permit continuing struggle against the Nazi occupier via Spain and Gibraltar. It was not without risk, because it was necessary to evade French, Spanish and also German surveillance on the border. A number of ‘passeurs’ paid the “blood tax”, but in doing so they made the Pyrenees a space of freedom to some degree<sup>64</sup>.

Other networks linked to the resistance also participated to make the Pyrenees a space partly free from police and military control. Servicemen and communists, Frenchmen and Spanish Republicans organised from 1940 in villages, in mountains, in GTE, i.e. in organisations made responsible for supervising the forced labour of the foreigners. Everywhere possible, in the Hautes-Pyrénées as in the Ariège, and in the bordering departments, the Spanish Republicans came out of isolation gradually and organised into autonomous guerrilla units or joined movements of internal resistance. The UNE (National Spanish Union), for example, influenced extensive mobilisations, and then the struggle of the Spanish resistance fighters, communist or not, against the Nazi occupier and the Vichy Militia<sup>65</sup>. Finally, the Pyrenees were the theatre of an abortive attempt at the “Reconquest of Spain”<sup>66</sup> after the liberation of France in 1944-1945 when several thousand Spanish resistance fighters tried in vain to take over the Val d’Aran to insti-

tute in embryo republic and to prepare for the overthrow of the dictatorship<sup>67</sup>. Yet, the growing call by a part of public opinion to oppose by every possible means the Franco regime and especially the execution of one of the historical leaders of Spanish resistance in France, Cristino García and several other guerillas, in February 1946, and finally the international isolation of the Spanish dictatorship led to the official decision to close the border with Spain. It was however a short-term decision, without any significant consequence, since the border was re-opened two years later, in February 1948, under pressure from economic interests and local elected representatives along the border – in other words, for “realism”, with the secret hope, bitterly disappointed, of seeing democracy finally triumph on the other side of the Pyrenees<sup>68</sup>.

Observing the evolution of the Pyrenean border from the 17th until the 20th century three essential concluding points seem to emerge clearly. Above all, the “natural border” which constitutes the Pyrenees, with whatever difficulties and pressures this involves, was in fact at all times a very easily surmountable obstacle, both for mountain dwellers and for the populations who for economic, political or personal reasons, decided on a given day to pass from Spain to France or from France to Spain. The permeability of this border, not only in the coastal regions of the Basque Country and Catalonia but also in the valleys of the central Pyrenees, is striking all the more so as the control of passages became a tangible reality only with the tardy enforcement of royal power. We should note, too, the importance of smuggling that increased well into the 19th century thanks to privileges granted by the Pyreneans of both sides of the mountains until the treaties of Bayonne showed clearly that the border existed at best only in the mind of the civil and military authorities in national and provincial capitals. It was only with the affirmation of national issues at the end of the 19th century and especially in the following century that the border became a demarcation line in reality between French and Spanish civilization. As a consequence, the imperative to control the Pyrenean populations by the two neighbouring states became stronger both for military and customs reasons, as a way to answer the concerns of a more and more distrustful, if not xenophobic, public opinion regarding foreigners.

It is also striking to note that the Pyrenean border provides a very paradoxical picture. Indeed, the interests of Spain and France in their common border long preceded any royal plan to establish a *pré carré* in accordance with the suggestion formulated by Vauban in 1673. Long before the signature of the first major bilateral treaty in 1659, the Pyrenees already had a highly strategic role, as demonstrated by the extension of the kingdom of Castile up to the mountains. This occurred first in the 13th century, with the integration of the Basque provinces of Alava, Biscaye and Guipuzcoa, then in 1469 due to the marriage between Isabel the Catholic and Ferdinand of Aragon<sup>69</sup>. Moreover it was the same imperialist ambition that originated in conflicts of the 16th century between Spain and still independent Navarre and especially between Spain and France because of the threat implied in the presence of Spanish forces on the other side of

the Pyrenees in Roussillon and the Val d'Aran. Finally this same Pyrenean border exemplified the definition of "natural borders", long before the French authorities were concerned about the Rhine and the northern border of France. However, it should be noted that more than two centuries were to elapse, from 1659 until 1866 at least, before Paris and Madrid decide to create an uncontested demarcation line from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. This is all the more striking when one considers that the eastern and northern border of France was permanently fixed after the annexation of Artois, Alsace and France-Comté with the Treaty of Nijmegen in 1678. Modifications of the northern border still took place in the 18th century but no longer after 1789, except during the grandiose but short period of the Napoleonic Empire and with regard to later additions – Savoy and the county of Nice – in 1860. Besides, the decision taken in Vienna in 1815 by the victorious united powers to restore the 1792 borders of the French monarchy, that is to say very close to those of the pre-Revolutionary period, shows clearly that the *Ancien Régime* borders enjoyed an undisputed recognition.

The third and last lesson to be drawn from this study has already been mentioned, but needs to be underlined once again. This touches the particular relationship in the Pyrenees between the local and the national. As we have observed, pastoral conflicts were first and foremost a matter for the local populations which, in a ritualized way and all told without excessive violence, managed to find amicable solutions by means of *lies*, *passeries* and *faceries*. The inhabitants also used these agreements to try to secure more autonomy and freedom, by trying to confirm them systematically vis-a-vis their sovereigns on the two sides of the mountains. However, the increasing consolidation of royal power both in Spain and in France resulted in increased state intervention in the affairs of the Pyrenean valleys and the imposition at the local level of national concerns. For the French state especially, smuggling and privileges accorded to the border populations led not only to considerable financial losses; they also revealed the inability of royal power to control the totality of the territory in principle subject to it<sup>70</sup>. In the same way, the regulation of pastoral conflicts without the intervention of the state was perceived as a sign of unacceptable weakness, even if, in the end, they were forced to admit, as the Convention delegates did after 1789, "that battles between shepherds were unavoidable and difficult to stop"<sup>71</sup>. As P. Sahlins has clearly explained, "both state formation and nation building were two-way processes at work since at least the seventeenth century. States did not simply impose their values and boundaries on local society. Rather, local society was a motivating force in the formation and consolidation of nationhood and the territorial state"<sup>72</sup>. In fact, it may be argued that the Pyrenees greatly contributed as a periphery to the shaping of national identity and the definition of territorial boundaries, long before modern states realized that it was necessary to enforce their authority in this outlying space, particularly from the 19th century with the creation of a military *cordon sanitaire* for the "strategic defence of the national borderline"<sup>73</sup>.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> See the classic work by Y. Lacoste, *La géographie, ça sert, d'abord, à faire la guerre*, Paris 1976, repr. 1985; A. Fierro-Domenech, *Le pré carré. Géographie historique de la France*, Paris 1986.
- <sup>2</sup> B. Bennassar, *Un Siècle d'Or espagnol, 1525-1648*, Paris 1962, pp. 91-92.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92-94.
- <sup>4</sup> J.-F. Soulet, *La civilisation matérielle d'autrefois*, in F. Taillefer (ed.), *Les Pyrénées, de la montagne à l'homme*, Toulouse 1974, repr. 2000, pp. 253-256.
- <sup>5</sup> See, for example, G. Larguier (ed.), *Douanes, États et Frontières dans l'Est des Pyrénées de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Perpignan 2006.
- <sup>6</sup> "Et pour ce qui concerne les pays et places que les armes de France ont occupé en cette Guerre, du costé d'Espagne, comme l'on auroit convenu en la negociation commencée à Madrid l'année 1656, sur laquelle est fondée le present Traité, que les monts Pirenées, qui avoient anciennement divisé les Gaules des Espagnes, seront aussy doresnavant la division des deux mesmes Royaumes, il a esté convenu et accordé, que ledit Seigneur Roy Tres-Chrestien demeurera en possession, et jouira effectivement de tout le Comté et Viguerie de Roussillon, du Comté et Viguerie de Conflans, pays, villes, places et chasteaux, bourgs, villages et lieux qui composent lesdits Comtez et viguerie de Roussillon et de Conflans". *Treaty of the Pyrenees*, article 42. The Spanish text was slightly different, while mentioning the limits "which commonly have always been held to be the division of the Spains and the Gauls".
- <sup>7</sup> See the definitive work by P. Sahlins, *Boundaries. The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*, Berkeley 1989, pp. 25-60.
- <sup>8</sup> M. Lafourcade (ed.), *La frontière franco-espagnole. Lieu de conflits interétatiques et de collaboration inter-régionale*, Bordeaux 1998, p. 8.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- <sup>10</sup> A. Conchon, *Traités et leudes en Roussillon (1659-1790)*, in G. Larguier cit., p. 130.
- <sup>11</sup> On the Llivia case see Sahlins, *Boundaries* cit., pp. 49-53 and the complete agreement in S. Whatley, *A General Collection of Treatys, Declarations of War, Manifestos and other Public Papers relating to Peace and War*, vol. 1, London 1732, pp. 100-102.
- <sup>12</sup> Vauban wrote in a memorandum of 1673: "The King ought to think a little about squaring his field. This confusion of friendly and enemy fortresses mixed together does not please me at all. [...] Preach the squaring, not of the circle, but of the field; it is a good and beautiful thing to be able to hold one's accomplishment in both hands." Cited in Sahlins, *Boundaries* cit., p. 68.
- <sup>13</sup> "Dear Sir my brother and nephew, Since providence put me on the throne of Spain, I did not lose sight for one single instant of the obligations of my birth. Louis XIV, of eternal memory, is always present in my mind; which always seems to me to hear this big prince at the time of our separation saying while embracing me that there were no Pyrenees anymore, that two nations which disputed preference for a long time would not henceforth be anything other than one people and that eternal peace between them would necessarily produce the tranquillity of Europe." *Letter of the King of Spain to His Very Christian Majesty [Louis XV]*, 3 September 1718, in K. von Martens, *Causes célèbres du droit des gens*, Leipzig - Paris 1827, p. 157.
- <sup>14</sup> See J.-P. Le Flem, J. Pérez, J.M. Pelorson, J.M. López Piñero, J. Fayard (eds.), *La frustración de un imperio (1476-1714)*, Barcelona 1984, pp. 427-447.
- <sup>15</sup> Soulet, *La civilisation* cit., pp. 286-287.
- <sup>16</sup> Lafourcade, *La frontière* cit., pp. 12-13.
- <sup>17</sup> Sahlins, *Boundaries* cit., 165.

- <sup>18</sup> See J.-P. Allinne, *Frontière négociée, frontière disputée. Une représentation coutumière des conflits frontaliers dans les Pyrénées sous l'Ancien Régime*, in M. Lafourcade (ed.), *La Frontière des origines à nos jours*, Bordeaux 1998, pp. 363-378.
- <sup>19</sup> Soulet, *La civilisation* cit., pp. 290.
- <sup>20</sup> J. Salcedo Izu, *Les Aldudes: lieu de conflits interétatiques et de collaboration interrégionale*, in Lafourcade, *La frontière* cit., pp. 379-400.
- <sup>21</sup> "Inspired by physiocratic theories of agricultural wealth, the French monarchy and provincial parlements attacked these collective grazing rights, especially in the late eighteenth century." Sahllins, *Boundaries* cit., p. 135. *Vaine pâture* consisted in converting arable lands into common pastures once the harvest of cereals was over.
- <sup>22</sup> The real attempts at modernisation of agriculture seem, however, to have failed in many sectors of the Pyrenean mountains, at least on the French side of the mountains. Although travel stories are not exempt from prejudice and *idées reçues*, they give an idea of the impression of the western Pyrenees to an erudite traveller: "Timid by ignorance and by interest, not daring to open new roads, Bigorrais would scorn the familiar best practices of other provinces. [...] Always a slave of manners, you would in vain introduce a new branch of culture to Bigorrais; he would look in pity at your systems and despise your lessons. No fields could be better worked [...]; no plantations of exotic trees which it would easily be possible to naturalize; no trials of blackberries, rape, turnips; and no experiments, useful changes, new moral or political truths; nowhere a sense of taste, emulation; everywhere the same vices militating against any research; contempt of novelties and of discoveries; invariable attachment to the ancient principles." J.-P. Picquet [or L.-P. Bérenger], *Voyage dans les Pyrénées françaises: dirigé principalement vers le Bigorre et les Vallées*, Paris 1789, pp. 46-47.
- <sup>23</sup> "Since the slightest usurpation on another's territory is an injustice, it is necessary to mark with clarity and precision the borders of territories so as to avoid committing injustices and to take away any subject of dissension, any occasion of quarrel. If those who agreed the treaty of Utrecht had paid the full attention to such an important matter as it deserves, we would not see France and England arming to decide by a bloody war what the demarcation of their belongings in America may be." E. de Vattel, *Le droit des gens ou principes de la loi naturelle*, tome 1, London 1758, p. 323.
- <sup>24</sup> See P. S. Du Pont de Nemours, *Le pacte de famille et les conventions subséquentes entre la France & l'Espagne: avec les observations sur chaque article*, Paris 1790.
- <sup>25</sup> Article 16 of the Convention of December 1786 states explicitly: "All French subjects who shall have been caught smuggling in Spain, of whatever kind it may be, within the space of four leagues distance of the border, shall be returned for the first time with proof of the offence to be judged according to French laws. The same shall be done in regard to Spanish subjects who shall have been caught smuggling in France in like manner by the space of four leagues distance from the border; and such of the aforementioned smugglers who shall have committed thefts, homicides, acts of violence or resistance against justice, patrols or troops, and who, having been returned a first time, shall commit the same offence a second time shall alone be excepted from the terms of the present article." *Convention conclue entre le Roi et le Roi d'Espagne*, 14 December 1786, reproduced in *Recueil general des anciennes lois françaises, depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789. Du 1er janvier 1785 au 5 mai 1789*, Paris 1827, p. 288.
- <sup>26</sup> *Traité définitif de limites entre la France et l'Espagne pour établir une ligne divisoire aux Aldudes ou Quint Royal et Val-Carlos dans la Navarre, et pour déterminer les limites des deux États en tous les lieux contentieux de cette partie des Pyrénées*, 27 August 1785, reproduced in *ibid.*, pp. 75-84.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- <sup>28</sup> J.-B. Harguindéguy, *La frontière en Europe, un territoire?: coopération transfrontalière franco-espagnole*, Paris, 2007, p. 62. This is also the case in the central Pyrenees between the valley of Barèges and Aragon in 1787, in 1788 and 1789; A. Brives, *Pyrénées sans frontière*, Pau 2000, p. 137.

- <sup>29</sup> Cited in M.-V. Ozouf-Marignier, *De l'universalisme constituant aux intérêts locaux: le débat sur la formation des départements en France (1789-1790)*, in "Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations", 1986, 41, 6, p. 1194.
- <sup>30</sup> *Décret relatif à la division de la France en 83 départements*, 15 January and 26 February 1790, in J.-B. Duvergier (ed.), *Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, réglemens et avis du Conseil d'état*, tome I, Paris 1824, pp. 121-130.
- <sup>31</sup> A. Vermorel (ed.), *Œuvres de Danton*, Paris, 2nd ed., 1867, p. 137.
- <sup>32</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée des communes et de l'Assemblée nationale, 1789*, no. 146, 11 December 1789, vol. 9, Paris 1789, p. 25.
- <sup>33</sup> Sahlins, *Boundaries* cit., pp. 170-175.
- <sup>34</sup> See the Spanish royal proclamation and the following decree addressed to his government in L. de Marcillac, *Histoire de la guerre entre la France et l'Espagne, pendant les années de la révolution française 1793, 1794 et partie de 1795*, Paris 1808, pp. 6-11.
- <sup>35</sup> This argument can be deduced from the bill of indictment against Louis XVI, when it is says (article 31): "You demean the French nation in Germany, in Italy, in Spain, since you do nothing to demand the amelioration of the maltreatment which Frenchmen have suffered in these countries." (11 December 1792), in J.-B. Duvergier (ed.), *Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, réglemens et avis du Conseil d'état*, tome V, Paris 1834, p. 76.
- <sup>36</sup> See A. Yacou, *Saint-Domingue espagnol et la révolution nègre d'Haïti (1790-1822)*, Paris 2007.
- <sup>37</sup> *Traité de paix entre la République française et le roi d'Espagne*, 22 July 1795, reproduced in G.F. Martens, *Recueil de traités d'alliance, de paix, de trêve ... depuis 1761 jusqu'à présent*, tome 6, Göttingen 1829, pp. 124-128; D. Woronoff, *La République bourgeoise, de Thermidor à Brumaire, 1794-1799*, Paris 1972, pp. 38-40.
- <sup>38</sup> *Traité de paix entre la République française et le roi d'Espagne, ibid.*, p. 126.
- <sup>39</sup> A.-J.-F. Fain, *Manuscrit de l'an trois (1794-1795)*, Paris 1828, pp. 229-230, 235-237.
- <sup>40</sup> Sahlins, *Boundaries* cit., p. 189.
- <sup>41</sup> Brives, *Pyénées* cit., pp. 140-144.
- <sup>42</sup> M. Bouloiseau, *La République jacobine. 10 août 1792-9 thermidor an II*, Paris 1972, pp. 142-152.
- <sup>43</sup> See for example J.-J. Cazaubert, *Difficultés dans une vallée frontalière de l'Espagne*, in C. Desplat (ed.), *Pyénées-Terres-Frontières*, Paris 1996, pp. 47-55.
- <sup>44</sup> A. Corvisier (ed.), *Histoire militaire de la France. 2. De 1715 à 1871*, Paris 1992, pp. 305-315. An imperial decree was adopted on 25 March 1810 "containing the acts of beneficence and of forgiveness on the occasion of the marriage of His Majesty the Emperor and King" with Maria-Theresa of Austria, which allowed the discharge of cases against thousands of draft-dodgers, notably Pyrenean. See J.-B. Duvergier (ed.), *Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, réglemens et avis du Conseil d'état*, Tome XVII, Paris 1836, pp. 59-62.
- <sup>45</sup> C. Desplat, *La guerre des Limites, 1827-1856: l'appropriation de l'espace pastoral dans les Pyrénées*, in Desplat, *La guerre des Limites* cit., p. 29. See also the major work by J.-R. Aymes, *La déportation sous le Premier Empire. Les Espagnols en France (1808-1814)*, Paris 1995.
- <sup>46</sup> Brives, *Pyénées* cit., p. 145.
- <sup>47</sup> L. Barbastro Gil, *Los afrancesados. Primera emigración política del siglo XIX español (1813-1820)*, Madrid 1993; R. Sánchez Mantero, *L'émigration politique en France pendant le règne de Ferdinand VII, in Exil politique et migration économique. Espagnols et Français aux XIXe-XXe siècles*, Paris 1991, pp. 17-29.

- <sup>48</sup> L. Urrutia, *Les Espagnols carlistes ou isabelinos au Pays basque français*, in *Exil politique et migration économique, ibid.*, pp. 53-59.
- <sup>49</sup> See T. Zeldin, *A History of French Passions*. vol. 2. *Intellect, Taste and Anxiety*, London 1993, pp. 68-70; É. Témime, *Les Français en Espagne au milieu du XIXe siècle, une migration privilégiée*, in *Exil politique et migration économique. Espagnols et Français aux XIXe-XXe siècles* cit., pp. 61-74; R. Duroux, *Les Auvergnats de Castille : renaissance et mort d'une migration au XIXe siècle*, Clermont-Ferrand 1992.
- <sup>50</sup> G. Courtes, *Réfugiés politiques et immigration espagnole dans le Gers au XIXe siècle*, in J.-P. Amalric (ed.), *Culture et modes de sociabilité méridionaux*, Paris 1991, pp. 144-153.
- <sup>51</sup> J. Bouza Vila, *Política, civilización y miseria. Causas y efectos de la emigración según un informe de 1845*, in "Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales", 94, 79, 1 August 2001.
- <sup>52</sup> The Carlist general Cabrera alone crossed the French border with his 8,000 strong army of Aragon in July 1840. C.L. Lesur, *Annuaire historique universel ou histoire politique pour 1840*, Paris 1841, p. 488.
- <sup>53</sup> G. Noiriel, *Réfugiés et sans-papiers. La République face au droit d'asile, XIXe-XXe siècle*, Paris 1991, p. 47.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52-56. "Twenty-eight departments of the south [of France] are forbidden to Carlists by the law of July 1839; only a number of the Spanish refugees were authorised "to move closer to departments of the second and third line from the Pyrenees. [...] In 1843, after the fall of Barcelona, the Catalans are imprisoned in four departments of the Massif Central."
- <sup>55</sup> Desplat, *La guerre des Limites* cit., p. 28.
- <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-33; J.-B. Harguindéguy, *La frontière* cit., pp. 65-67.
- <sup>57</sup> *Traité conclu à Bayonne le 2 décembre 1856 entre la France et l'Espagne pour déterminer la frontière entre les deux pays depuis l'embouchure de la Bidassoa jusqu'au point où confinent le département des Basses Pyrénées l'Aragon et la Navarre*, in A. de Clercq (ed.), *Recueil des traités de la France*, Volume VII 1856-1859, Paris 1866, pp. 196-204.
- <sup>58</sup> A second and third treaty signed in April 1862 and May 1866 defined the border in the central and eastern Pyrenees. The fourth treaty, that of 11 July 1868, agreed the last revisions after the survey conducted by expert land surveyors. In Cerdanya alone no less than 602 boundary stones were set up. J.-B. Sirey (ed.), *Recueil des lois et des arrêts en matière civile, criminelle, administrative et de droit public*, Paris 1866, pp. 64-67; Sahlins, *Boundaries* cit., pp. 238-266.
- <sup>59</sup> All the Departmental Archives possess general and personal files about Carlists and Anarchists as well, such as in Albi (Tarn). See AD-T (Archives départementales du Tarn), IV M 2/80, 2/93-95, 1894-1906. Also M. Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years, 1868-1936*, London 1998, pp. 34-36, 86-114.
- <sup>60</sup> A. Corvisier (ed.), *Histoire militaire de la France*. 3. *De 1871 à 1940*, Paris 1992, pp. 29-38. See also C. Espinosa, J. Maurin, *L'armée et la ville en France 1815-1870: De la seconde Restauration à la veille du conflit franco-prussien*, Paris 2008, pp. 83-94.
- <sup>61</sup> See G. Dreyfus-Armand, *L'exil des républicains espagnols en France. De la Guerre civile à la mort de Franco*, Paris 1999, pp. 19-101; J.-F. Berdah, *The Devil in France. The Tragedy of Spanish Republicans and French Policy after the Civil War (1936-1945)*, in A. K. Isaacs, G. Hálfdanarson (eds.), *Discrimination and Tolerance in Historical Perspective*, Pisa 2009.
- <sup>62</sup> C. Bosch García, *Témoignage: Le passage de la frontière*, in J. Sagnes, S. Caucanas (eds.), *Les Français et la guerre d'Espagne. Actes du colloque de Perpignan*, Perpignan 1990, pp. 381-390. Carlos Bosch García was a young man, then 20 years old. See also J.-F. Berdah, *La frontière existe-t-elle pour les historiens? La frontière franco-espagnole au XXe siècle*, in R. Belot (ed.), *Guerre et frontières. La frontière franco-suisse pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, Paris 2006, pp. 57-67.
- <sup>63</sup> H.R. Kedward, *Occupied France. Collaboration and Resistance, 1940-1944*, Oxford 1997, p. 54.

- <sup>64</sup> For a detailed study see É. Eychenne, *Pyrénées de la liberté. Les évasions par l'Espagne, 1939-1945*, Toulouse 1997; R. Belot, *Aux frontières de la liberté. Vichy-Madrid-Alger-Londres, 1942-1944*, Paris 1998.
- <sup>65</sup> J.F. Berdah, *Genèse d'une résistance. Les CTE et GTE au cœur du combat contre le fascisme (1939-1944)*, in J. Ortiz (ed.), *Rouges. Maquis de France et d'Espagne. Les guérilleros*, Pau 2006, pp. 81-103.
- <sup>66</sup> "Reconquest of Spain" (*Reconquista de España*) was the code name given by the UNE to the military action against the Franco regime in the Val d'Aran.
- <sup>67</sup> See E. Pons Prades, *Guerrillas españolas (1936-1960)*, Barcelona 1977; *Republicanos españoles en la Segunda Guerra mundial*, Madrid 2003; F. Moreno Gómez, A. Ferrán Sánchez, *Maquis y Pirineos, la gran invasión (1944-1945)*, Lleida 2003.
- <sup>68</sup> A. Dulphy, *La politique de la France à l'égard de l'Espagne de 1945 à 1955. Entre idéologie et réalisme*, Paris 2002, pp. 48-338.
- <sup>69</sup> A. Rucquoi, *Histoire médiévale de la Péninsule ibérique*, Paris 1993, pp. 216-238.
- <sup>70</sup> This impression is reflected in the following opinion expressed by the Ministry of War in the 1830s: "I am surprised and I become worried to see that the borderline between France and Spain succumbs to habits, to customs, to claims of small Pyrenean villages [...] instead of following the general rule dictated by the paramount interests [of the state]". Cited in Espinosa, Maurin, *L'Armée* cit., p. 85.
- <sup>71</sup> Brives, *Pyrénées* cit., p. 187.
- <sup>72</sup> Sahlins, *Boundaries* cit., p. 8.
- <sup>73</sup> Espinosa, Maurin, *L'Armée* cit., pp. 83-94.

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