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Julien Gabriel Sugy's agrarian knowledge

The level of knowledge of little farmers during the nineteenth century in France is unknown. Usually scholars measure the level of literacy by analysing marriage acts in "état civil" or sometimes in marriage contracts. Those poor symbols were more signals than signs of literacy. They do not make sense, they do not inform historians about what people knew, and what people thought¹. The paucity of documents produced by peasants themselves explains this way of things². Usually peasant's knowledge is filtered by what rural and urban elites wrote about them. It is of course necessary to except the work of Alain Corbin about *François Pinagot*. By a very careful research he attempted to represent the mental universe of a poor illiteracy clog maker of the Perche who lived between 1800 and 1870³.

Nevertheless, owing the scarcity of direct and personal account of little farmers it is very difficult to understand how the savant knowledge spread in countryside. In fact except if we suppose that little farmers imitated large landowners or big farmers it remains puzzling how they acceded to knowledge networks. It is therefore impossible to think how the little peasant gained autonomy, and how they should gain independency. The notebook Julien Gabriel Sugy wrote between 1830 and 1860 provide some light about this process.

Because Martyn Lyon wrote about the notebook of Julien Gabriel Sugy, it is first necessary to precise how they were given to "archives départementales de l'Essonne". Unlike what Martyn Lyons assumed, Georges Hottin the grand-grand-son of Julien, did not deposit archives of Hottin family. Lyons assumed also that Georges never married: "The family line seems to have run out with Georges, who apparently never married [...] I assume that he was responsible for depositing the family papers in the public archives."⁴ In fact, one of the descendants of Georges, Christian Hottin, a French historian, decided to give to the Archives de l'Essonne (a French *département* close to Paris) the familial archives, and especially the notebook of Julien Gabriel Sugy, and the one of his son-in-law Jules Hottin⁵. This remark is very important. François Joseph Ruggiu underlined the necessity to contextualize this kind of archives from three points of views⁶. Firstly, it is necessary to display the milieu of the *scripteur* (scriptwriter). Secondly, it is necessary to know the way by which this material

¹ Moreover there are very few studies about possession of book ("livres" ou "volumes" in French) among farmers and more generally peasants, except for the wealthiest. HERMENT ; 2009 : 525-532.

² Thanks to the survey of François-Joseph Ruggiu, Jean-Pierre Bardet, Christine Nougaret and Pascal Even, it is possible to measure the paucity of this type of documents: *Les écrits du for privé en France de la fin du Moyen Age à 1914* - GDR n° 2649 CNRS et DAF, <http://daf.archivesdefrance.culture.gouv.fr>. (23 July 2013). Usually, these documents came from wealthy families of landowners. In fact the family Hottin enriched during the nineteenth century and became wealthy, but when Julien Gabriel began to write he was a "normal" little peasant.

³ CORBIN ; 1998.

⁴ LYONS, M., *The writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860-1920*, Cambridge University Press, 2012; 236.

⁵ Christian Hottin said to me this notebook was in a safe-box (*coffer-fort*) bought perhaps by his family around 1860. Christian Hottin said to me that there were also three gold watches in the safe-box. Christian Hottin who wanted avoid the spread of these archives, decided to give to the départementales archives of Essonne (henceforth AD91) all the papers. These archives contain several notebooks. One of them (AD91, 74 J/28) was wrote by Julien Gabriel Sugy, another (AD91, 74 J/29) was wrote by Julien and later by some other persons of the family Hottin. A last notebook (AD91, 74 J/27) was written by Jules Hottin the son in law of Julien Gabriel Sugy. The most important material is the first notebook of Julien Gabriel Sugy. It was written between 1830 and 1860. It is composed of 37 folio (some folio were cut). We quoted other pieces gradually if it is necessary. Christian Hottin said to me that his family had two strong-box. It is possible that one of them was bought by Hottin family during the 1880'. Among the paper of the family, there is an advertisement of the enterprise Untersteller (a strong-box maker) which mentioned several medals won during the *exposition universelle* of 1878 and 1879 (AD91, 74J/50). The papers of Julien Gabriel were in another strong-box built around 1860 by an enterprise located at Paris Boulevard Beaumarchais. About the familial archives and their destiny see FESCHET, V., 1998.

⁶ RIGGIU, F.-J., p. 7-12, in CASSAN, M.; BARDET, J.-P. and RIGGIU, F.-J.: 2007.

came to us. Thirdly, it is necessary to determine the various and potential uses of this material. We answer here very quickly to the second necessity. We try to answer to the two others below. In fact the *archivistique* context is very important also to understand what Julien wrote. But it is necessary to display the global context to understand why and how this material was preserved. There were within the safe-box of Hottin family a lot of notarial contracts and a lot of other pieces we used for this work. They provide further important information to understand what Julien was speaking.

To understand one of the interests of Julien's diary it is also very important to specify the level of knowledge during the period in which Julien wrote. At the beginning of the 1830's the agronomic science was in infancy. Pasteur, Boussaingault and Liebig did not yet realise their fundamental discoveries. The use of fertilisers and the knowledge in livestock breeding and livestock diseases was poor⁷. Nevertheless some agronomic guideline were popularised by agronomic literature, especially those one concerning hygiene of cattle⁸. From another point of view it is important to note that knowledge was not only scientific knowledge but also practical knowledge. Some were relating to the plough, and more generally implements used by farmers. Some other concerned calculation (owing the long and difficult penetration of decimal system in French countryside).

At the end of the period, in 1860, if decimal system was rather well-known, it was not the same for scientific knowledge which made astonishing advance: too much, indeed, for farmers. A long period began around 1840 during which scientific elites had to struggle to force their advices⁹. But, if administrative and political elites were quickly convinced that the agriculture could progress very fast, two conditions were necessary to spread those new paradigms. Firstly, scientific should have agreed on the terms of progress; secondly farmers should have experimented the new path of growth. It is necessary to remind this context to judge the content of Julien's notebook. It was necessary also to remind that, in 1860, Julien was 54 years old; he was to finishing his career of farmer.

In the first part we try to describe the origins and the milieu of Julien. In the second part we investigate the notebook to measure the extreme diversity of knowledge that Julien copied in it, and to know better Julien. These matters are very important to assess the level of knowledge of a little French farmer in the middle of the nineteenth century and to understand by which means the knowledge spreading among this social class. In the third part we display the level of Julien's knowledge in calculus. In the fourth part we try to separate information which could be considered as specifically agricultural.

1 Who was Julien Gabriel Sugy?

a) The fortune of Julien Gabriel.

Julien was born the 28th of September 1806 at Videlles a village located at about 40 km from Paris (Annex, Map 1). His father, Jean Pierre Sugy was wine-grower or farmer. His grand-father was wine-grower too. The later died the 25th July 1803. Because of six of his children were minors, the notaries of La Ferté-Alais made a probate inventories¹⁰. Thanks to this probate it is possible to know the social standing of the family.

The grandparents of Julien had a medium-size farm, partly owned, partly rent, whose structure is displayed in the table 1.

⁷ VALLAT, 2009.

⁸ REYNAUD, 2011.

⁹ BOURRIGAUD, 1994 and JAS, 2000.

¹⁰ AD91 74J/16

Table 1. Structure of the farm of Julien's grandfather.

	Acreage in hectares	Value in francs of crops
Wheat and Rye	3,2500	424,75
Oats	2,3595	161,25
Lentil, Peas and Beans	1,1760	91,50
Vineyard	1,2662	224,00
Total Crops	8,0517	901,5
Straw from crops		178,00
Fallow (plough and manure)	4,0097	224,00
Total acreage	12,0614	

The grandparents of Julien were not poor. They managed an estate from about 12 hectares, one of which was devoted to vineyard. They owned two cows (for milk), one horse, and a very old donkey. The total value of the livestock was 271 francs. They owned also a cart (96 francs) and a plough (36 francs). The total movable asset was 2.461,60 francs.

As these people had ten children, each of them did not receive a lot after the death of Pierre Sugy. Jean Pierre Sugy, Julien's father, was the eldest son. He received 200 francs when he married with Julienne Gabrielle Rose Gaudion the 11th of February 1806. Some months later Julien Gabriel was born.

According to the "cadastre" Jean-Pierre Sugy (Julien Gabriel's father) and his wife owned 2.8295 hectares at Videlles around 1820¹¹. They were typical of little landowners who were numerous in this region¹². Jean Pierre was considered sometimes like a farmer, sometimes like a winegrower. In fact these denominations were more or less interchangeable. Usually men became farmers when they married and if they were not too poor to be designed by this term. The denomination "vigneron" (winegrower) was sometimes representative of a specific activity but it was also, very often, a substitute of "journalier" (day-labourer)¹³. Despite these remarks, as demonstrated by the probates of Pierre Sugy, the denomination winegrower makes sense¹⁴. At last, it is noticeable that in the beginning of the nineteenth century, vineyards covered about 10 % of the acreage of the village of Videlles¹⁵.

When Jean-Pierre Sugy died (3 mars 1854), he and Rose Gaudion, his wife, were fairly wealthy: the movable asset was of 5 123.14 francs of furniture, and they owned more than 4 hectares¹⁶. On July 21st 1871, the mother of Julien Gabriel deceased. The amount of her fortune was more than 8.000 francs, which included an estate of 2 hectares¹⁷.

Meanwhile, on June 21st 1830, Julien married Hortense Séverine Chartier¹⁸. Julien received a dowry of 600 francs and Hortense received a dowry of 800 francs.¹⁹ The marriage contract indicates that the Julien's parents gave to him: "six francs, savoir: cinq cents francs en la valeur d'un cheval sous poil rouge âgé de neuf ans (nine years old red horse), garni de

¹¹ AD91, 3P/3508. They owned also some fields in Dannemois and Moigny: AD91 3P/2455 and 3P/2922.

¹² HERMENT ; 2012: 52-61. For the position of Jean-Pierre among the landowners of Videlles, see annex 4.

¹³ BEAUR, 1999.

¹⁴ Until the crisis of oïdium (circa 1850), vineyards had a very great importance in some parts of Bassin Parisien. In some areas the acreage decreased very much after 1850, but the final extinction of the Parisian vineyards occurred during the crisis of phylloxera, during the 1880'.

¹⁵ Vineyards covered 83.5 hectares for a total acreage of 856 hectares. AD91, 3P/3507.

¹⁶ AD91 3Q6/182.

¹⁷ AD91 3Q6/248.

¹⁸ She was Born 5 January 1813. At the moment of his marriage Julien was described like a "cultivateur" (farmer) but in this notebook he described himself like a "charretier" (carter). In the census of 1836 he was not described at all. But he was named "Gabriel Isidore" ! At the same date, his father, Jean Pierre Sugy, was described like a "cultivateur". *Census of 1836*, AD91, on line, number 211, page 9, and number 334, page 14.

<http://www.archinoe.net/cg91>

¹⁹ June 20th 1830. AD91, 74J/21.

son collier, de sa selle de limon & de ses gros et menus traits, d'une voiture garnie de ses roues en bois & de son essieu en fer (a cart with their wheels and its iron axle), d'une charrue montée, d'une herse & d'un rouleau, et cent francs en la valeur des habits, linges et hardes à son usage" The horse and the cart had a great importance from an economic point of view, because Julien was a carter²⁰.

Hortense, like Julien, had no sister and no brothers. Her father died on August 3rd 1835, and her mother on January 4th 1848. When his father died²¹, Hortense Séverine inherited from about five hectares. Movables were low: 583,50 francs. When her mother died, Hortense received 2.6 hectares more? and 1.000 francs of movables²².

Between 1835 and 1871, Julien and Hortense had received about 13 hectares of land after their parents' death. In fact, as the parents and the parents-in-law of Julien were quite old, it is likely that Julien Gabriel managed more or less their estates²³. But he never became owner of their estates before their parents' death. It is important to underline that the situation of Julien and Hortense was typical of people who were single child. The process of accumulation of wealth was favoured by absence of brother and sister²⁴. When they married their unique daughter with Louis Hottin, they gave to her a dowry of 1,300 francs²⁵.

To display the process of accumulation and to understand the status of Hottin family, and finally to appreciate the destiny of these archives, it is useful to speak about the destiny of the descendants of Julien. Some very precise information was provided by the marriage contract and the probates of Alcide Irisse Hottin the *single* grandson of Julien²⁶. In 1878, When Alcide Irisse married with Adélaïde Aline Chartier he received 1.000 francs from Julien Gabriel, his grand-father, and a dowry of 10.000 francs from their parents²⁷. Irisse died on June 8th 1903²⁸. His probate indicated that wheat and oats covered each an area of 12,60 hectares. Beetroots covered 1.26 hectare, and other forages 4.22 hectares²⁹. Total area devoted to crops represented about 30,5 hectares. We do not know how much represented fallow. Georges Hottin, the single heir of Irisse received all the fortune of the family³⁰.

At the end of his life, Julien was named "propriétaire" or "rentier". Once again it is necessary to precise that these denominations were vague, but in the case of Julien they were

²⁰ Nevertheless, third May 1831, Julien's parents, and Hortense's parents gave to their children a little field and a place to built up an house. AD91, 74J/18.

²¹ AD91 3Q6/173

²² All these calculations are incomplete because of the structure of the sources. We do not know if the parents of Julien and Hortense owned land around the canton of La-Ferté-Alais.

²³ The first of July 1831, Julien's parents-in-law leased a great part of their estate to Julien and Hortense, but they remained owners and they seem to be still busy. The contract explained that "Les preneurs s'obligent de labourer et faire les charriages que leurs père et mere bailleurs auront à faire annuellement sur leurs requisitions pendant les dittes neuf années sans recevoir de dédomagement du prix à loyer ci après parlé [...] et que les bailleurs auront le Droit de faire paturé leurs vaches avec ceux de leurs enfans sur les pièces d'herbages qui sont situé sur le calvaire seulement quant ils se trouveront ensemencé en ditte natures de pâture". AD91, 74J/21.

²⁴ HERMENT ; 2012: 229-309.

²⁵ AD91,74J/24 and 3Q6/266. It seems that fiscal administration évalue the value of the field at about 200 francs.

²⁶ Born 23 October 1853

²⁷ Adélaïde Aline Chartier's parents also gave to her 10.000 francs. AD91 J 74/25.

²⁸ At this time Séverine Antoinette, the daughter of Julien and Hortense, was alive. Iris (or Irisse) had one son, Georges born at Videlles 26 avril 1889.

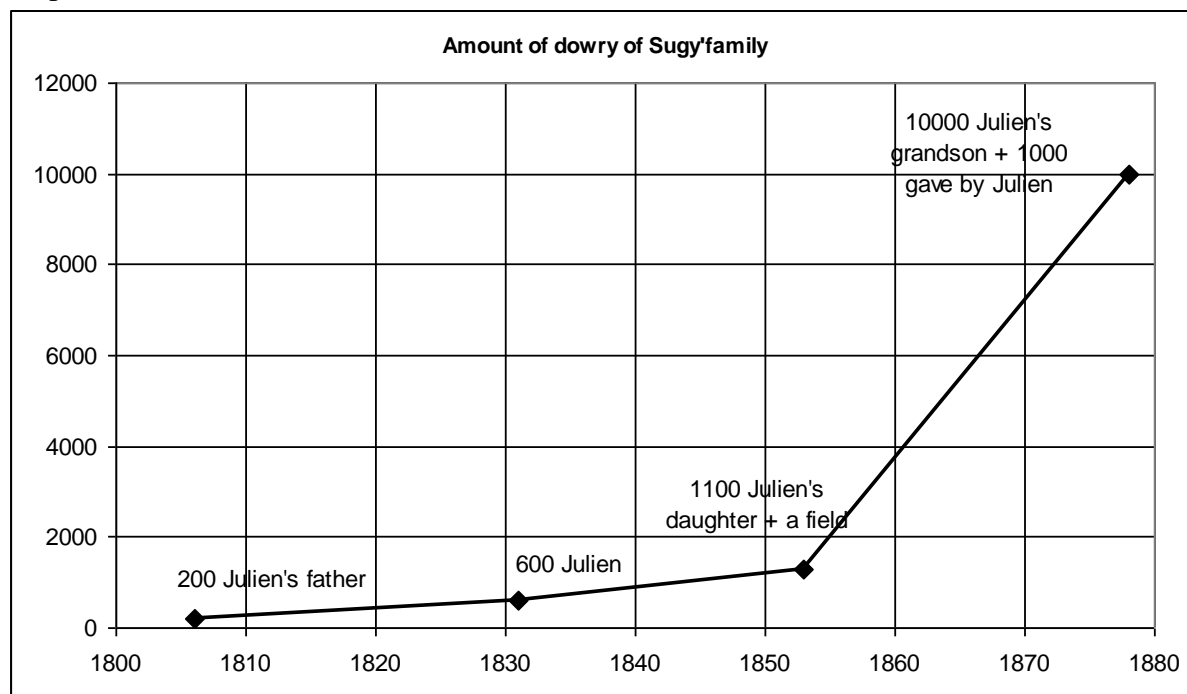
²⁹ The area devoted to beetroots was low in Seine-et-Oise until the second half of 20th century.

³⁰ As Christian Hottin said to me, Irisse Alcide Hottin and Adélaïde Aline Chartier had three sons. But the first one died very young. The second son, Jules, died in 1901. George then became a single heir. This information was consistent with the potential inheritance of Georges. He is obvious, his grand-mother, Antoinette Séverine Chartier, who was almost 70 yars old in 1900, did not head his own estate.

consistent with his level of fortune. If, like a lot of families, the Julien's family endured several deaths of children, the Malthusian strategy was obvious³¹.

This strategy was a success for the posterity of Julien as prove the amount of dowry for each generation (see graph 1). When he died, the fortune of Julien Gabriel was more than 22.000 francs, without taking the fact that his wife had a personal fortune³².

Graph 1.



It is so necessary to underline that there was a very important difference between Julien's social standing in 1830 when he married Hortense, and when he died, June 12th 1886. Besides, the fortune of the Julien's descendants could explain his notebook is now available.

b) Literacy and illiteracy.

To understand the environment of Julien we have to refer to the level of fortune of his parents or to the level of his fortune at the beginning of his adulthood. The level of fortune of his family at the end of his life was partly due to the Malthusian comportment of four generation of people, and partly due to the misfortune of some death.

We do not know anything about the childhood of Julien Gabriel except he had no brother and sister. The village of Videlles had a school for a long time. In 1900, like in every French village, the primary school teacher of Videlles wrote a "monographie" of the village. He indicated that between 1819 and 1826 the primary school teacher was François Lefèvre. It is likely, but not sure, that Lefèvre was the same who was subrogate guardian of the six minor brothers and sisters of Pierre Sugy. So he could be a cousin of Julien Gabriel. The primary school teacher indicated in 1900 that the mayor of Videlles wrote a letter in 1823 to the Préfet of the "département" in which he noted that there was only one school for boys and girls.

François Lefèvre seemed to be a good teacher³³. The mayor of Videlles indicated:

" Les enfants vont à l'école avec assez d'assiduité et remplissent biens leurs devoir religieux; il y en a qui se distinguent par leurs progrès". But he added that the book in which

³¹ Even if we considered the fact that some children died when they was young, it is obvious that these people controlled birth.

³² AD91 3Q6/470

³³ AD91, on line. *Monographie de l'instituteur*, 1900.

children learned to read were very old (from the time of “Henri le Grand” – Henry the fourth). They were 200 hundred years old!

Moreover, like in a lot of villages it seemed that children go to school during the end of autumn and during winter, but helped their parents at work during spring and summer.

However, when Julien Gabriel Sugy was a boy, until 1819, the school master Gaillard, did not seem very concern by schooling. He was appointed by the municipality during the Revolution³⁴. After the degradation of the Presbytery, he set up the school at home. The teacher who wrote the monographie in 1900 said “[...] il était en même temps marchand de vin, les buveurs s’attaiblaient dans la sale de classe.”³⁵

We do not know if Julien learned to read and write with his cousin or with the former teacher. It is obvious he liked to read and write. Anyway, regardless of his relationship with François Lefièvre, the good teacher, almost all the member of his kinship knew how to sign and most likely how to write and read. When he married Hortense, all the people who were there were able to sign, at the exception of Hortense’s mother. It seems that the level of literacy in the family of Julien was higher than average. The level of fortune of his grand-parents could explain this statement. But, like in almost all the probates we know for this region and this period, there was no mention of books in the probates of his grand-father³⁶. Perhaps the old books of his cousin Lefièvre introduced a fondness for lecture and writing. But there were other sources available to inspire Julien.

A last remark concerns arithmetic. Julien knew elementary calculation methods: addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. However, as Alain Corbin underlined most of the peasants knew the elementary calculation methods. We show below that Julien wanted to know more.

2 The notebook of Julien Gabriel.

a) Private life.

It is possible to know when Julien Gabriel began to write his notebook. On the top of the first page Julien noted: “Ce registre est commencer en 1830 par moi Julien gabriel Sugy avidelle 1830 ce registre est remplit de plusieurs chose utile pour la grequulture³⁷ et pour bien des affaires interesante”. So it is likely that Julien began to write this diary just before or just after his marriage (June 21, 1830).

We could expect that this notebook was a diary, but in the inside front cover four dates were mentioned: 1830, 1831, 1832 and 1835. Julien wrote on the top of the inside front cover: “jappartient à Julien Gabriel Sugy” and in the left margin “charetiere a Videlle mil huit cent trente³⁸”. Below in the margin he wrote: “1831 Videlle est peuplé de 607 âmes”. Below again in the margin he noted: “Jai 20 sacs Davoine 1832³⁹”. Except those informations, Julien noted in the whole page the number of carriages of stones necessary to his “batisse du bout du

³⁴ 30 pluviôse an 2. Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid. The school teacher was also wine-merchant, and customers remained in the classroom to drink. “[...] they sat down at the table to drink”

³⁶ HERMENT, 2009: 525-532.

³⁷ “la grequulture” for “l’agriculture”. It seems Julien wrote phonetically. It is possible that he said l’agréculture. It is possible to imagine that the phonetic features of the writing of Julien were due to his accent. Martyn Lyons underlined that: “the improvised nature of such documents is one of the characteristic of the writing of the poor and uneducated. Their texts are closed to oral speech and dialect, and their author had some difficulty in maintaining a straight line and in observing the rule of syntax and correct spelling.” Martyn Lyons, “*Ordinary writings, or How the illiterate speak to historians*”, in *Ordinary writings, Personal Narratives. Writing practices in 19th and early 20th century Europe*, Martyn Lyons (ed.), Peter Lang, Bern, 2007, p. 13-31.

³⁸ “charetiere” for “charretier” which means “carter”

³⁹ “Videlles have 607 inhabitants”; “I have 20 sacs of oats 1832”

chien” in 1832⁴⁰. This example show that this document was not a diary but a kind of notebook in which Julien wrote some useful information or some information that were worthy of interest. Julien did not respected systematically a chronologically order. So, it is sometimes very difficult to understand the structure of this notebook. Often it is not possible to know exactly when he wrote, except if we can find the sources he used.

Nevertheless, it seems that Julien had been first determined to organise his notebook. A set of data by which he registered each year the beginning and the end of harvest of wheat during the period 1837 and 1860 was bring together. But, as usually, there were some other information in these pages. Moreover the end of the notebook was clearly devoted by Julien to mention what people owed for his services (his work).

The best is to try to fill information available in this notebook without taking into account the *order* chose by Julien. It could be useful to understand what were his preoccupations. I begin with privacy.

Julien and Hortense seemed to have good relations with their family. Their parents and parents-in-law helped them. Jean Philippe Chartier and his wife, Séverine Thévenin, gave to them a plot to build up their house⁴¹. As Julien specified in his notebook, his parents had given another plot to be cultivated⁴². In this case, it was easy for parents to give some estate to their children because Hortense and Julien were single children. Apart from this example, Hortense’s parents, or Julien’s parents helped their children. For exemple, in 1834 Julien wrote: « Je dois au pere chartier 55 francs pour mon ecurie en solive de 1834 pour tous »⁴³. Sometimes, Julien worked for his parents as proved by several mentions. It is therefore possible to imagine a lot of occasions of mutual assistance between parents and children.

Nevertheless, it is striking that there were very few private information. In 1854, Julien quoted the death of his father⁴⁴. In a second notebook Julien quoted the death of his mother: “Année 1871. Roze Guadion veuve Jean Pierre Sugy ma mere est decedée le 21 juillet 1871 a lage De 90 ans et 10 jours 3 heure et Demie De lapres midy *Sugy Gabriel*”⁴⁵. It is perhaps possible to say something about the way by which Julien spoke about the death of his parents. But we are not psychologist. Nevertheless, it is striking Julien used very simple words. This sentences seemed like those one of “acte d’état civil”. Unlike what we could think about these poor words, it is not a proof of disaffection, but likely the inability (or unwilling) to speak about something very painful and private. A last several very touching mentions concern their parents. Between the death of his father and the one of his mother, the village had a new

⁴⁰ “batisse” for bâtisse” which means construction (building). *Le bout du chien* is a place in the village of Videlles.

⁴¹ AD91, 74J/28 (Julien’s notebook), and AD91, 74J/21 (notarial contract).

⁴² AD91, 74J/28 (Julien’s notebook), and AD91, 74J/21 (notarial contract).

⁴³ Julien owed 55 francs his father-in-law.

⁴⁴ “Mon pere est Décédée le 16 Septembre 8 heures Du soir Dix huit cent cinquante quatre agée de 75 ans Six mois est née en 1780 le 11 novembre”

⁴⁵ AD91 74J/29.

cemetery⁴⁶. When Julien moved the bodies of his father he wrote some affecting words in the second diary⁴⁷.

Hortense, his wife, was almost never mentioned. In 1832, Julien wrote that him and Hortense had built a house. It is possible also that he wanted Hortense to sign his notebook. However, but it is more likely he signed instead of Hortense (see annex 2).

In 1832, he quoted the birth of his daughter: "aujourd'hui treize Juillet 1832 un heure après midi Je eu une fille qui a été née Dans l'année Du choléra Dans le premier jour De la moisson des Seigles l'année de la gelée des vignes"

The most remarkable evidence of affection for his wife and his girl was a little sentence wrote in 1832: « Je eu ma fille en 1832 Je plante un frêne⁴⁸ ». In fact, this sentence has an echo in a picture drawn by Julien at the beginning of 1833. This picture embodied his wife standing in front of a little tree whose leaves seems to be like those of an ash (see annex 3)⁴⁹.

b) Political opinions of Julien.

Information concerning political events was very unusual in this notebook. In 1852 Julien quoted that Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte was elected Emperor⁵⁰. We do not know if Julien was Bonapartist.

Around 1848, probably, despite a lot of spelling mistakes, Julien faithfully adapted a speech pronounced by a former captain of the garde nationale. At the end of the speech the captain exclaimed: "il me reste une Dernière recommandation Sais de ne jamais abandonné votre Drapeau Sais l'emblème de la liberté adieu mes braves avant de nous ~~quité~~ séparée Crions ensemble vive la republique"⁵¹

⁴⁶ Julien seems very concern by this matter. At the end of the copy of his marriage contract he wrote: "Vente du terrain pour la construction Du cimetière De Videlles Lieu Dit Le clos du Roncet en 1861 le 20 juillet voici la liste des vendeurs" After he quoted the acreage, and the price of the new graveyard. Below he précised the name of the masson who built up the graveyard. In the same page he wrote something very private: "Sais à la mémoire de mes Descendants que J'écris ces quelques lignes pour que les Génération avenir puisse connaître la Date Du cimetière ou le Génération vienne se réunir Dans ce lieu ou repose nos pères ou tous se réunir. Depuis le plus faible Jusqu'au plus fort. Sais la que Dieu a mis Legalité entre les hommes..." It is one of the sole metaphysical meditation of Julien. He was quite old when he wrote these words. He dated these words from first March 1873. He was 67 years old. AD91, 74/21.

⁴⁷ "Souvenir De mon père et ma mère. Moi Julien Gabriel J'ai fait transporter les restes précieux Des cendres De mon père Dans le nouveau cimetière le 25 août 1873 Après 19 ans d'inhumation J'ai vu tous les fragments De son corps Dans sa position Sans que ses membres ne soient Décomposés Je les ai réunis côte à côte avec leur pierre mortuaire mon père et décédé à l'âge De 74 et 6 mois rose gaudion ma mère a l'âge de 90 ans et 10 jours" AD91 74J/29. We can find a similar mention at the end of the copy of his marriage contract. AD91, 74J/21. In the second source we quoted, Julien wrote some words which seem not from his own inspiration: "Je viens m'incliner Devant Les Génération future et moderne pour les époques pour la perpétuer aux siècles avenir pour reconnaître le lieu De la Sépulture à l'époque de sa fondation". We see below he was accustomed to do that.

⁴⁸ "My girl was born in 1832. I plant an ash." Indeed the first sentence is not "My girl was born, but "I had a girl".

⁴⁹ Julien wrote: "I Julien gabriel Sugy did and "design" it. Mil huit cent trente trois. January the 20th at 8.00 pm" "désigné" could signify "drawn" or "signed". It is possible that the little tree was a "vine stock" In this case it could be possible that the vine stock was a kind of "tree of Jesse" as suggested by Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux.

⁵⁰ "Remarque de la nomination de l'empereur le 21 et 22 novembre 1852 De la Commune de Videlles Le nombre des Electeurs ce montait 185 votants Dont ils a eu 161 oui Et 24 Electeurs manquant qui forme un total de 185 Electeurs. "

⁵¹ I translate in good French language : *Il me reste une dernière recommandation : c'est de ne jamais abandonner votre drapeau. C'est l'emblème de la liberté. Adieu mes braves avant de nous séparer crions ensemble « Vive la République »* I try to translate in english. "I have a last advice to give. You should never abandon your flag. It is the symbol of Liberty. Farewell my braves. Before to be separated let's exclaim: *Vive la République*". These words seem, more or less, like the last speech of Napoléon. But the "Farewell my braves..." was a literary cliché. The most interesting in these words were linked with the idea of République.

But in fact Julien seemed very impressed by the “garde nationale” or perhaps the army. Some page later he described the way to command the troops.

« Pour former le cercle par la Droite et par la Gauche formée le cercle marche.

« Pour ouvrir le cercle par la Droite et par la gauche sur le centre en ligne marche

« Portée armée »

« Pour inspectée les armes il feaux metre les hommes sur deux rangt et commandé Second rangt Deux pas en arriere Marche ce porté a la Droite Du Second rangt et Dire a droite alignement ce portée aux centre De la compagnie et commandé porté arme reposé arme et commandée inspection armes après linspection le Capitaine commande Second rangt Deux en avant marche ». There were two little pictures in this text to explain what Julien had in mind. Lastly, these pages said more about the dream of Julien than about his political opinions⁵².

Unlike Jules Hottin, his son in law, Julien did not seem to be a “garde national” in 1848. In 1848, Jules Hottin wrote in his diary:

“ nous avons été marié le 31 mai en mille huit cent quarante huit année de la republique français qui a commence le 23 février nous avons été obligé de marché sur paris le 24 juin toute la garde national du canton de la ferté, nous avons été jusquau pâtés⁵³. nous avoins a notre noçe 120 personnes qui adurez trois journée qui ce sont bien passé.”

Like a lot of peasants, Jules, and perhaps Julien, were anxious about events in Paris at the end of June 1848. But it did not seem that he participated in suppression of the riots in Paris. In fact, like a lot of Frenchmen, Julien and Jules seemed first to be sincerely republican. Jules wrote in his diary:

“nous avons plantés un sapin la grille le 18 février 1848 (most likely 1849) en place de labre de la liberté année de la république *hottin*”

At any other period, neither Julien’s notebook, nor this one of Jules mentioned political events. The “Seconde République” seems to be a great moment from this point of view. But after the “plébiciste”, perhaps because it was quite dangerous to wrote something about politic, neither Julien nor Jules spoke anymore about politics⁵⁴.

c) What about Julien’s dreams?

One of the most remarkable pages of Julien’s diary is the one in which he copied a contract:

“Je reconnais avoir reçu du sieur Philémont Barué la somme de quarante cinq francs pour une année Du loyer Des terres Bois vigne et prés situés sur le terroire de Soisy et autre Sirconvoisin qu’il tien moi échut le onze novembre Deriner Sans prejudice de lanne courante.

Avidelle ce onze novembre mil huit cent trente et un ./.

Signature Julien gabriel Sugy”

⁵² There is a very interesting piece which was dated 9th June 1846 related to the “garde nationale”. It is a letter of the sous-préfet (sub-prefect) of Etampes by which he informed the mayor of Videlles that the “contrôleur” and “inspecteur” of weapons of the “garde nationale” should be stay at La Ferté-Alais. Weapons, without any doubts rifles, should arrive before ten in the morning the 22 of July 1846 at La Ferté. AD91, 74J/21. We do not know how Julien had have this text. It should be useful to make some research in the archive of Videlles.

⁵³ Pâtés is without any doubt “le Plessis-Pâté” a village in the north of Videlles (see map).

⁵⁴ As underline Lyons, “The personal calendars of peasants and artisans, and the private family viewpoints which they expressed owed more to agrarian and liturgical cycles than did they to more superficial rhythms of secular or political events.” LYONS: 2012, p. 232. But as we showed above mentions of privacy were scare in the notebook of Julien. A last note concerning politic: at the end of the copy of his marriage contract Julien made a very fleet (or discreet) allusion to the République when he spoke about the new cemetery. He wrote: “Ce premier mars 1873 Republique”

Indeed we do not know if it was a real contract. There is another contract on the same page which seems extracted from a model⁵⁵. We can find some private agreement in the family archives. Some of them were signed by Julien and Hortense, some other by their parents in law. They never wrote by Julien. Julien wrote only at the end of the contract “aprouvé lecriture sidessus” and signed (see annex 2).

The most interesting thing is the *paraphe*. It seems like the *paraphe* of an auctioneer (annex 2). Julien used consistently this *paraphe* in his notebook. Thus, this sign was both very important and quiet private to him⁵⁶.

We can see that the spelling of Julien was not perfect. Indeed it was very bad as prove another extract of his diary. At an undetermined date Julien wrote a poem titled “chanson nouvelle par Sugy Julien Gabriel⁵⁷”. First verses were:

“un Beau navire de la Jeune garenne ”

“alait quitté les pallemes de madrasse

“et sur la rive une jeune indienne

“a sa compagne inci parlait tous bas...

I could identify this new song! It was inspired by a poem of Léon Halévy published in 1828, lyric Désiré Lemire:

“Un beau navire, à la riche carène

“Allait quitter les plages de Madras,

“Et sur la rive, une jeune Indienne

“A sa compagne ainsi parlait tout bas...

These two extracts of the Julien’s diary introduce to other very important problems. Perhaps Julien dreamed to be an auctioneer or a poet? But the most important for our purpose is to identify the sources of such information. For the contract, sources were obviously notarial sources, or private agreement wrote by a well-literacy person⁵⁸. For the new song it is possible that the source was simply oral. In fact, the first line of Julien’s poem did not make sense at all. Perhaps, Julien had heard a song but did not understand all the words⁵⁹. There is another hypothesis. Some local newspapers published poetry. Julien had perhaps read and copied this poem. However, if it is the case, it becomes very difficult to understand why Julien made so many mistakes.

d) Economic information.

The Notebook of Julien contains a lot of economic information. We can tell the difference between contracts which were written in the diary and the others information especially those which concerned the economic activity of Julien.

There are some contracts in the diary. For example the contract with Toussaint Guillot who was builder (mason):

“Moy toussaint Guillot jay maublige de faire les dedans de la maison du sieur Gabriel Sugy et la masonnerie avec la converturre et (deux mots illisible) pour la somme de cent

⁵⁵ There is another example pages 8 and 9 of the diary.

⁵⁶ Julien used sometimes of this *paraphe*. But most often his signature was less sophisticated.

⁵⁷ “A new song by Julien Gabriel Sugy” It is not possible to say if Julien want to write “a new song by” or a “new song of”.

⁵⁸ There are several contracts (private agreements) or “acte” (in French) in the archives. For example, the one wrote by a bailiff November 10th 1825, or the one wrote by a surveyor wrote September 6th 1850. There are also several private agreements which concerned several households who lived “rue du bout de chien” or at “au bout de la Croix”. Any type of private agreements was written by Julien.

⁵⁹ There is another song copied by Julien which poses the same problem: “Déjà la brise du matin...” Source: AD91 74J/49. This poem was written by anonymous poet, lyric by Lorezo Filiberti. All references was extracted from : *Chansons nationales et populaire de France*, Dumersan and Ségur, Garnier, 1866, Paris, tome 1, p. 22 and p. 26

soixante douze francs Compris la chemine don le sieur Sugy promai De me donner moitie a noël prochain et lautre et le restans une an après”

“Julien Sugy (with a paraphe) Guillot maçon”

More often Julien wrote some words about debts. So, usually contractors did not sign. But as prove the contract with Guillot some people could read Julien’s notebook. Sometimes contracts were quite strange like the contract by which Julien and Hortense rent a stable and a barn they inherited from Jean Chartier to Lajoie. With this contract Lajoie could occupy freely buildings but he had to keep a closed watch on buildings and Hortense’s mother⁶⁰.

Other economic information was varied. Julien marked a lot of information about the built of his house and the way to pay it. It is noteworthy that the rate of interest was usually 5 or 6 %⁶¹. Julien wrote down also when he bought a new cow⁶². Usually he bought cattle at Maisse a little town very closed from Videlles (see map). He also bought a horse at Milly (see map) which was a town of about 2.000 inhabitants: “J’ai achetée mon cheval gris en 1842 a Benoit il était agée de 30 mois à la saint martin 1842 Je l’ai payer 485 francs et J’ai vendu mon vieux 203 francs a Benoit à Milly”⁶³

The horse of Julien played a very important role. Julien was a carter. There was a lot of information about this economic activity. For exemple: “Mémoire pour Brigitte en 1835 chariages a une journée et demie du premier fumier”

Mémoire pour Beauregare une Journée et Demie Du premier fumier et un quart De Jour avant a la moisson Des blés ”

Une demie Journée de fumier a l’entré des vendanges et Deux tier De Demie Journée 3 franc 7 Sous”⁶⁴

Chariage Des fumier 25 # 17 Sous”

Julien carried manure, stone, wood, grain, etc.

Other important information displayed by Julien was the dates of the beginning and end of harvest for wheat. Each year, during the period 1837-1860, he recorded such information. Sometimes he gave also some specifications about the weather and difficulties for harvest. It is striking that there was no information about grape-harvest. But, as shown by the latter quotation, there were vineyards. It seems that in 1853 Julien was also a wine grower. Julien built up a “foulerie”⁶⁵ : a place to crush grape.

⁶⁰ We can find the original contract in the archives of Hottin family. It was a private agreement. AD91, 74J/18. Once again Julien made a lot of faults when he quoted the contract. In fact the contract was quite confused. It is signed by *Victore Blondele*, but the name of Blondel did not appear in the text. We could not understand exactly the first name of Lajoie.

⁶¹ « J’ai soussignée reconnais tant en mon noms quant celui de mon épouse Devoir la somme De Sept cents francs au sieur Jean chartier quil ma pretée pour le Besoin et utilité de ma maison a raison de Six Du cent par année a commencé au premier mars mil huit cent trente Deux Dond le premier payement ce fera en mil huit cent trante trois année suivante sais pour quoi Je moblige De faire le remboursement 1834 et De payé l’interet jusqua ce jour »

⁶² « Notre premier vache nous a couté 144 en 1831 » ; « J’ai ageté notre manont le 20 septembre mil huit cent trente neuf 1839 pour cent dix francs » ; « Nous avons acheter notre Biche au mois de Septembre a Messe 1838 pour la somme de 225 francs » ; « Nous avons acheter notre collette le 25 novembre a messe pour la somme De Deux cent cinq francs l’année 1839 »

⁶³ It is noteworthy that the old horse was sale twelve years after the marriage of Julien and Hortense. We do not know if it was the same than Julien received when he married.

⁶⁴ I translate the latter sentence: “A half day for manure at the beginning of grape-harvest and two third of a day...”

⁶⁵ “J’ai commencé a faire construire ma cave ma foulerie et ma vacherie ont a commencé la *fouille* le 24 mai 1853 construis par Guillot toussaint fils.” Among the pieces of the family archives there is contract (8th March 1850) with a mason named Lhomme to built several building “rue du bout de chien”. We do not know if this contract was linked with Julien wrote about. AD91, 74J/21.

3) Compter, peser diviser.

a) Operations.

If little peasants were often assumed to be illiterate, usually they were supposed to know how to count. Since a lot of economic activities were more or less market-oriented (labour, crops, etc.) they were obliged to know how to sum and how to subtract. In this sense the knowledge about counting was a very important part of the knowledge of peasants. But it is very difficult to know exactly what people knew about counting. The notebook of Julien catches a glimpse of what people knew, and can help us to understand how they learned to count.

The metric system, and the new monetary system were indeed more simply than old systems. Moreover the metric system was universal. But during the childhood of Julien, and actually until the middle of the century, a lot of people used very often the old system to determine the acreage of a field or a vineyard, to weight or to measure a quantity of wheat or a quantity of wood for example.

It is absolutely sure that Julien knew how to solve an addition as shown by a lot of operation he solved almost daily, and which were reported in the notebook. It seems that he had no difficulty to convert an old measure in a multiplication or subdivision. But new systems, which were systematically decimal, seemed more complex for him. In fact there were two problems.

The first one is the fact that it was very often necessary to divide by ten and to use of decimal after zero to make a difference. Julien learned to make them. At page 13 of the book-notes he wrote:

“Soustraction Decimal

Suposer que	50 # 00	payé 30 francs 15 centime
	<u>30 # 15</u>	comme nayant pas de centime
	19 # 85	au 50 francs ajoutée Deux
		00 Decimal qui vous Réduiron

Vos cinquante francs a 5000 centime et ensuite il feaux

Soustraire et vous aurée pour restant 19 # 85 centime”

This first problem was deeply linked with new monetary system but also with new system to measure acreage. In fact the problem solved by Julien was written in the same page in which Julien try to convert the ancient measures to new measures for acreage.

« Reduction Des hectare ares et centiares mesure de 22 pied

1 h f 195 p 80 centième

Un hectare fait un arpent quatre vingt quinze perche 80 centième

1 arpent fait 51 ares 07 centiare mesure de 22 pied

Mesure de vingt pied en hectare ares et centiare

1 hectare fait 237 perche mesure de 20 pied

1 arpent fait 42 ares 20 centiare

Un centiare est un metre carrée et un ares est 10 metre de long sur 10 metre de large ou 100 metre carrée

L’hectare veaux 100 ares ou Dix mil metre carrée

100 ares de long sur 100 ares de large font 10000 metre carrée »

Fortunately we can identify one source used by Julien to understand and use the new system. Julien possessed a table to convert old measures in new measures. We do not know where this table was edited but we know that Julien owned this document in 1847 onwards. He wrote: “Japartien a Julien Gabriel Sugy ceux qui me trouverons aurons la Bonté De me

rendre a lui Sous recompense A videlle ce 21 février mil huit cent quarante sept⁶⁶” Obviously, Julien made some calculations with this volume.

However Julien seemed very interested by arithmetic. He quoted the way to calculate the dominical letter for each year. Once again he did not quote the source. It is possible that he copied an almanac.

b) Geometry.

It was difficult to solve the equivalence between old and new system of measure. But the most difficult problem was to calculate acreage. Julien was very concerned by this problem from several points of view. For example he wanted to determine the acreage covered by 20.440 cobblestones from 22 cm length and width⁶⁷. In the same way he copied with a lot of details the acreage covered by different types of slates and different types of tiles. It is likely that he quoted a book, or perhaps he listened to a roofer or a mason⁶⁸.

In fact, very early Julien tried to understand how to measure the acreage of a field. In the first page of the notebook he copied a “Manier pour arpenter par les parties Decimal” (way to measure acreage with decimal).

But it is not possible to measure acreage only by multiplying length by width, because a lot of plots had a form of trapezium. Julien tried to understand some elements of geometry to calculate the acreage of some plots. He designed several plots of various forms. Next to one of these pictures there is a geometric figure composed by a square or a rectangle A, B, C, D, with two bisectors which join A, C and B, D. Julien wrote: “La ligne AB est égale à CD l'ouverture est de 11 mètre 50 centimètre” We do not know anymore about Julien's experiences about geometry.

The most important remark we can make about these calculations links with another big issue for nineteenth century peasantry, and so with another dimension of the agricultural knowledge. One of the most powerful means to enhance agriculture, and to improve way of life of peasants, was to build up new buildings. From this point of view all these calculation made by Julien about tiles and slates, but about cobblestone also⁶⁹, were very useful. It is obvious that sometimes the determination of the context is a crucial matter to understand the choice of Julien when he wrote.

4) Agricultural knowledge of Julien.

a) Agriculture.

It is necessary to explain a difference between the knowledge about agriculture and about livestock breeding. We examine first agriculture. It is important to note first there is almost no mention concerning vine-growing. On the contrary, there are a lot of mentions concerning grain crops. As we showed above, Julien took note of the beginning and the end of harvest. From a general point of view, he was very concerned by this problem. In the second page of the notebook Julien noted the quantities necessary to sow different types of seed:

“Manier pour çemer les grenes

Pour semer des navet ils en faut une verrée au quartiers

Et pour la moutarde ils en faut deux verrée au quartier

⁶⁶ “This is the property of Julien Gabriel Sugy, these one who find it shall have kindness to give it back to him with reward.” AD91, 74 J/44.

⁶⁷ “Manière de Savoir la quantiter de mètre Superficiel Dans 20440 pavée a 22 le mètre en même temps pour en connaître la longueur De la rûe pour la quantite de 20440. Savoir Divisée 20440 par 22 pavé que contient le metre superficiel vous aurée 929 metre superficiel pour 20440 Et si vous voulee la longueur De la rue que 929 metre superficiel Donne De longueur Diviser 929 metre par 5 metre largeure de la rue vous aurée 186 metre De Longeure pour 20440 pavee moins la cinquième partie Du Dernier metre”

⁶⁸ There are several possible sources.

⁶⁹ There were many quarries for cobblestone in the region of Videlles.

Pour semer lavoine il en faut une mesure au quartier.

Pour semer du bled il en faut six mesure à l'arpent.

Mesure de 20 pied

Et a la mesure de 22 pied il en faut huit mesure”⁷⁰

We can imagine that this knowledge was passing through oral tradition. But it is possible that Julien copied a book. Most interestingly was the following sentence concerning the way to use quicklime:

“*Manier de choler (choter) il faut un sceaux et un quart d'eau par sac*”

Once again we do not know where and when Julien learned that. It is likely that the process of learning was oral.

Later (or more precisely below) he continued to display the way to plough and sow sainfoin. This mention is dated from 1831. He mentioned plaster the same year. Moreover, at the same time Julien mentioned that he sown *blé blanc*. Later, in 1848, Julien wrote that he sowed “blé de Saumur”. We do not know if it was an *experience*. It is likely, but not sure. Except this mention of “blé de Saumur” there was no other mention in the notebook concerning specific crops⁷¹.

Except crops Julien mentioned in his notebook the way to “monter une charrue” (to construct a plough). This text is very confused, and spelling is very bad. It is possible that Julien copied this text in a newspaper or in an almanac but we could not find any reference⁷². Perhaps Julien heard some explanations gave by blacksmith, and after translated them in his own language.

Some other information was noticeable. Julien was also concerned by arboriculture. He marked in his notebook:

« Le laurier ce plante en automne.

Le pin se plante en octobre et novembre en fosse Bien Beché il feau metre sept grain et semble (ensemble) »

“Laurel had to be planted in autumn. Pin had to be planted in October or November. It is necessary to put seven seed together” It very likely that these kind of knowledge was simply oral.

In the margin of the same page Julien indicated the time to transplant and below the way to transplant:

“*Manier De grefer en ecuisson il faut fendre lécorce et y introduire votre ecuisson et que le bous du haut ce raporte avec la pluze De larbre après il feau le lier avec De la pluze Dozier Six Semaines vous coupé Lozier qui lier l'ecuisson en derrie de larbre*” This way to transplant was very well know. Once again we could not identify the source used by Julien, anyway it is likely it was oral or traditional.

b) Cows.

The notebook of Julien provides some remedies for livestock disease. Fortunately we could identify some sources. However, as we will show below, these links pose more problems than they solve.

The best is to take an example among several, which delineate issues raised by Julien's quotation. We report the text of Julien and compare it with the source:

⁷⁰ There are some other mentions about sainfoin, clover, lucerne and “disette” probably a kind of beetroot (betterave champêtre).

⁷¹ *Blé de Saumur* was a winter wheat. There were many mention of this type of wheat in *Journal d'agriculture pratique* during the 1830'. This variety of wheat came from “Val de Loire” and spread during the nineteenth century especially in Bassin Parisien. See *Les meilleurs blés*, Villemorin-Andrieux & Cie, 1880, p. 72. http://museum.agropolis.fr/pages/documents/bles_villemorin/fiche.php?page_actuelle=72&no_ouvrage=1 5 juillet 2013.

⁷² About almanac see BOLLEME, 1975.

“Propreté des étables, Libre Sirculation de lair, lotion Des mangeoires avec de leau tiede Dans laquelle on doit mettre une bouteille de chlorure par sceau nourrir les malades avec des rasines du son frisé, Des résidus de fécule ; les faire boire a leau tiede légèrement nitré blanchie avec Des farines Dorge ou de la recoupé gargarisé la bouche cinq ou Six fois par Jour avec De leau émolliante (Douze pinte), une bouteille de vinaigre Deux livre de miel et un peut de sel de quisine. Les trayons doivent être lavée souvant Dans la journé avec De leau émolliante, et le Soir on doit les graisser avec un Saindoui, du populeum ou du beure frais fondus Les pieds doivent être lavée avec de l’eau tied fortement saturnée, et de longuent égyptiac Doit etre apliqué sur les parties ulcérée. La maladie ne dure que hui a quinze jours.”

This very long quotation could help us to understand how knowledge spread among farmer. In fact this text is an exact quotation of the *Journal d’agriculture pratique* for the year 1839:

“Propreté des étables, Libre circulation de l’air lotion des mangeoires avec de l’eau tiède Dans laquelle on doit mettre une bouteille de chlorure par sceau ; nourrir les malades avec des racines de son frisé, des résidus de fécule ; les faire boire a l’eau tiède légèrement nitrée, blanchie avec de la farine d’orge ou de la recoupe ; gargariser la bouche 5 ou 6 fois par jour avec de l’eau émolliente (12 pintes), 1 une bouteille de vinaigre, 2 liv. de miel et un peu de sel de cuisine. Les trayons doivent être lavés souvent dans journée avec de l’eau émolliente, et le soir on doit les graisser avec un saindoux, du populéum ou du beurre frais fondus. Les pieds doivent être lavés avec de l’eau tiède fortement saturnée, et de l’onguent égyptiac doit être appliqué sur les parties ulcérées. La maladie ne dure que 8 à 15 jours⁷³,”

The text deals with an epizootic occuring in 1838. As it was pointed out at the end of the article of *Journal d’agriculture pratique*, it was first publish in another newspaper: *La gazette des hôpitaux*.

This comparison proves that Julien knew this text but prove also he copied it with a lot of faults. But we cannot determine how he knew it, and in which circumstances he quoted the newspaper. It is possible to put forward several hypotheses and exclude some others.

It is unlikely Julien bought this newspaper. We know that he had a booklet extracted of *La nouvelle maison rustique* published in 1845⁷⁴. We do not know if he had the whole edition. But it seems that he never quoted this book in his notebook. There are two others adequate explanations. But any of them are fully fair.

One can imagine that somebody read the newspaper and Julien wrote it. This explanation could explain the numerous faults of Julien. In this case, like in the case of poems, Julien quoted only the sound and made faults because he did not know how to spell words. But this explanation could be absolutely false. In fact, there are numerous faults but there is no mistranslation. Unlike poems in which Julien misunderstood the meaning of some words, it seems that Julien understood very well this text. There is another motive for which it is unlikely that somebody read the text. The word “*chlorure*” was spelled correctly. It is more likely that Julien saw this unknown word and copied it correctly⁷⁵.

The following explanation is more likely. Julien had for a moment the newspaper and quoted the text but had no respect for spelling. If this explanation is the good one it remains puzzling who lend the newspaper and where Julien read it. One can express several but hypothetical explanations. The cousin of Julien, the former school teacher, Lefièvre, had some books. But as we saw above, the family of Julien was not very rich and the schoolmaster had only very old books. Julien could read the newspaper at inn, especially at Maisse where he went regularly. Once again, it seems an unfair explanation. In a little town like Maisse, inns

⁷³ *Le cultivateur, journal des progrès agricoles, et du bulletin du cercle agricole de Paris*. Janvier 1839 – 11^e Année. Source : <http://books.google.fr/books> In ville de Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts

⁷⁴ AD91, 74J/48.

⁷⁵ It is likely “chlorure” was “eau de javel”.

were not supposed to be library or *cabinets de lecture*⁷⁶. In this way it was possible that Julien went sometimes to Etampes, the big town of this region, and could read some newspapers in a *cabinet de lecture*⁷⁷. But this is purely hypothetical. Julien never mentioned Etampes. Finally it is more likely that Julien knew somebody who read and write often: a big farmer, a priest or a noble man. But it was of course only some hypothetical hypotheses.

c) Horses.

Because he was carter, Julien was more interested by diseases of horses by those of cows⁷⁸. There are a several mentions of remedies about this matter. We could not find all the sources used by Julien, but two mentions are very interesting because it is possible to evoke another source of knowledge and to evoke limits of usual knowledge. At an undetermined date Julien quoted in his notebook:

“Remède pour faire pisser un cheval

Faut prendre deux ou trois têtes d’ail avec leur pelure, & les pelez avec huile d’olive tellement qu’ils viennent comme un onguent, puis en froter toutes la verge & les génitoires du cheval il pissera”

This text was obviously inspired by an extract of Liger:

“*Ou bien*, pilez trois têtes d’ail avec leur peau, melez-y de l’huile d’olive ou de bon vinaigre, & battez-les jusqu’à ce qu’ils fassent une consistance d’onguent, dont vous frotterez la verge & les génitoires du cheval : cet onguent est fort diurétique.”⁷⁹

The text of Liger was very old. It is very unlikely that Julien possessed an edition of Liger. Perhaps the source used by Julien was the same than in the former example. However, it is sure that the primary source has not the same status. In one case the sources of knowledge were recent, and in a certain way more or less reliable. In the other case the knowledge was very old, and could be the same in 1600 or 1700, etc.

There is another mention in the notebook concerning the same disease. Julien wrote: “Pour un cheval qui ne peu uriner ni fianter. Bien souvent les chevaux tombe sur la litières et se tourmente ne pouvant pisser ni fienter, alors faut prendre de la racine de fougère mâle et lui en mettre un morceau sur la langue aussitôt il guérira” (If an horse cannot urinate or sheet [...] it is necessary to put a root of male fern on its tongue)

As we can see Julien copied several remedies which were unpromising and in a certain extent contradictory. In some books root of fern was considered like vermifuge but in some others it was considered like astringent.

Another mention related to *vertigo* by which the horse seems to be crazy.

⁷⁶ We had two probates for innkeepers in Soisy-sous-Ecole and Maisse who deceased June the 5th 1857 and March 6 1852. There was no mention of book. AD91 2E 83/71 and 2E 61/202.

⁷⁷ First mention of an issue which could concern farmers in the local newspaper I quoted, was published in 1844 It concerned the capacity of traction of a work horse on tarmac, rocky path, canal, etc. *L’abeille d’Etampes*, AD91 on line.

⁷⁸ Martyn Lyons, wrote: “For the benefit of his descendants as well as himself, Julien-Gabriel Sugy recorded tips on how to sow mustard and cereals, how to treat an injured horse, how to tile a slate roof and (*curiously*) how to induce a horse to urinate.”. Lyons: 2012, 231. In fact we believe Lyons made two mistakes. The first one concerns the idea that Julien wrote for the benefits of his descendants. We shall try to explain why in conclusion. Besides, it is now relevant to underline it was not curiously that Julien explain “how to induce a horse to urinate.” There are several explanations more or less obvious. The horse of Julien was ill, and Julien tried to take care of it. Some other horses could be so. But beyond this hypothetical explanation all these extracts proved that the horse of Julien was essential for the household’s economy. Concerning the tile roof, it is obvious Julien was more concerned about their own building than about the edification of is descendants. A lot of mention proved he was very concerned by these matters.

⁷⁹ *La nouvelle maison rustique. Tome premier. Dixième édition.* Edited in 1775, p. 226, <http://books.google.fr/books>, or Ibid., edited in 1721, p. 237 (Gallica BNF).

“Recepte pour un cheval qui a une maladie comme folle Se donnant de la tête contre la Muraille et comme enragé

Le vertigot maladie du cheval

Il faut prendres des boutons de fers et les chauffer tout rouges puis faire avec le feu un trou au haut du front du cheval et au Du croupet, puis quatre autres trous avec ledit feu au travers du col dans la crinière a scavoire Deux d’un côté et deux de lautre ; puis adouciré lesdit trou d’onguent rosat Et seignere ledit cheval du col et il guerira cette resepte est approuvée on appelle vers coquin et les italien l’appellent”

The end of the text is very muddled. It seems Julien got mixed up two remedies: bleeding (saignée) and application of a burning button of iron (*boutons de fer chauffés au rouge*). Since long time ago a lot of books evoked the first remedy (saignée). But we did not find any direct mention about the second remedy (*boutons de fer chauffés au rouge*). However it is possible to find some indirect mentions of this remedy in some books. If a horse was sale by a horse dealer, it was sometimes said that the buyers had to search burns. These signs were considered like the sign that the horse had been insane, and suffered, before to sale, from *vertigo*⁸⁰. Some other mentions criticised this remedy:

“[Le toupet] est cette partie de la crinière qui se trouve au dessus de la tête, qui passe entre les deux oreilles & vient couvrir le front : les maquignons s’en servent quelquefois pour couvrir la marque du bouton de feu, qu’un maréchal ignorant aura, très-mal à propos, appliqué sur cet endroit à un cheval qui aura eu le vertigo”⁸¹ This text was published in 1769. It claimed that ignorant blacksmiths used this remedy against vertigo.

These different remarks could be useful to pose three problems. The first problem concerns the different sources used by Julien. They were extremely various. In the case of cows the source was clearly the *Journal d’agriculture pratique* published in 1839. In other cases, sources should be books, but we, sometimes, cannot identify them. We can identify Liger, who wrote at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century. But other remedies could be quoted from almanacs or from a volume of popular printed books. Moreover, the remedy by which Julien wanted to cure *vertigo* was perhaps gave by a blacksmith. It was produced by popular wisdom. The second problem concerns the reliability of sources. It is striking that these different kinds of sources were considered as reliable by Julien. He did not make any difference between Liger, popular agronomic literature, advices gave by a blacksmith, and a recent newspaper which are supposed to be very serious. The third problem concerns the way by which Julien could gain access to knowledge. From this point of views we are obliged to imagine several channels: oral, elitist, popular. But we cannot determine neither was the more important nor the more reliable.

Conclusion.

During the all the study of Julien’s notebook it had been necessary to try to understand what came from printed knowledge, and what came from oral knowledge. But is the distinction between oral and printed knowledge relevant? The answer is not obvious. In fact it seems that this two means of expression were inseparable. On one hand a lot of examples indicate that texts were very often reinterpreted by Julien (poems and perhaps remedies for cattle). On the other hand some knowledge were purely oral but could be had correspondence in agronomic or savant literature. It was the case of the quantities of grains seed, or the way to plant a tree or to transplant for example. In these cases, Julien could copy a book but

⁸⁰ Among several authors we could identified, see for example, Buc’hoz, P.-J. *Dictionnaire vétérinaire des animaux domestique*, Tome 1, 1770, Paris, p. 405, <http://books.google.fr/books>, 12 July 2013.

⁸¹ *Essai sur les haras*, 1769, Turin, p. 112.

everybody in his social and professional milieu knew that already⁸². The willing to determine first and foremost a printed source for each sentence of Julien could be dangerous. But it is necessary to do so, because Julien, like in the example of “greffe en écusson”, attempted to formalise an old practice and seems to be inspired by formal or printed knowledge. This conduct was perhaps commanded by a new relation of peasantry to printed sources.

It is also dangerous to think that the printed knowledge was savant contemporary knowledge. From this point of view it is necessary to distinguish closely savant and elitist knowledge. We can assume that a lot of printed sources used by Julien were not savant sources but all of them were produced, and, more or less, filtered by elites⁸³. Moreover, it is likely Julien knew them through elites: perhaps a school-teacher, perhaps a big land-owner, perhaps a clergyman, etc.

It is useful to pose two others questions. The first concerns the extent of agriculture knowledge. The second deals with the role of this notebook. The knowledge of peasant could not be reduced to the agricultural or agronomic knowledge. Even for purely agricultural activities, peasants needed to use various knowledge, and various level of knowledge. In some extent, the great importance of calculus in Julien’s notebook demonstrates it. The second question is more important. One can assume that Julien wrote only for himself his notebook. But it seems to us some others peoples could read what Julien wrote. Can we imagine that Julien, sometimes, gave some advices to his neighbours? It is possible. And once again we are obliged to speculate. Another explanation seems very interesting. Martyn Lyons underlines that Julien wrote “for the benefit of his descendants as well as himself”⁸⁴. We think this assumption is not relevant for several reasons.

Firstly, a lot of mentions were clearly disconnected from a transmissible knowledge that could be important for descendants of Julien: for example the poems we quoted, or the recipe to cook a hare, etc.

Secondly, if there were some explanation about the way to sow mustard, oats, and so on, as Lyons remarks, it seems to us that these mentions were written very early, and came from an oral knowledge. It is not necessary to imagine than Julien wanted to transmit a knowledge that his descendants could know by a lot of way.

The third reason to reject this assumption is more important. It concerns the status of Julien’s knowledge. During the life of Julien, the framework of agronomic knowledge dramatically changed. Is it possible to imagine that Julien ignored this revolution? It is striking that there was no mention in the notebook about new fertilisers for example. We could easily demonstrate that guano, for example, was knew and used by farmers. If this notebook should be edifying his descendants, it is obvious that Julien made some more relevant choice. After 1860, Julien began to write in another notebook⁸⁵. The content of this second notebook is totally different of the previous old one. Except some mentions about the parents of Julien I quoted above, and a mention about the Prussian soldiers he was obliged to feed in 1871, Julien spoke about piece of land he sold and those one he bought, and more often about the stocks (share of society) and bonds he owned. In a certain extent this new notebook reflects the new way of life of Julien, but the new society which emerged during the Second Empire also.

⁸² On literacy and oral transmission see Goody, J., Watt, I., “The Consequences of Literacy” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Apr., 1963), p. 304-345.

⁸³ In some extent, to avoid some misinterpretation, it is necessary to read what Jack Goody wrote about this matter. GOODY, J., *La raison graphique. La domestication de la pensée sauvage (The domestication of savage mind)*, Les éditions de minuit, Paris, 1979.

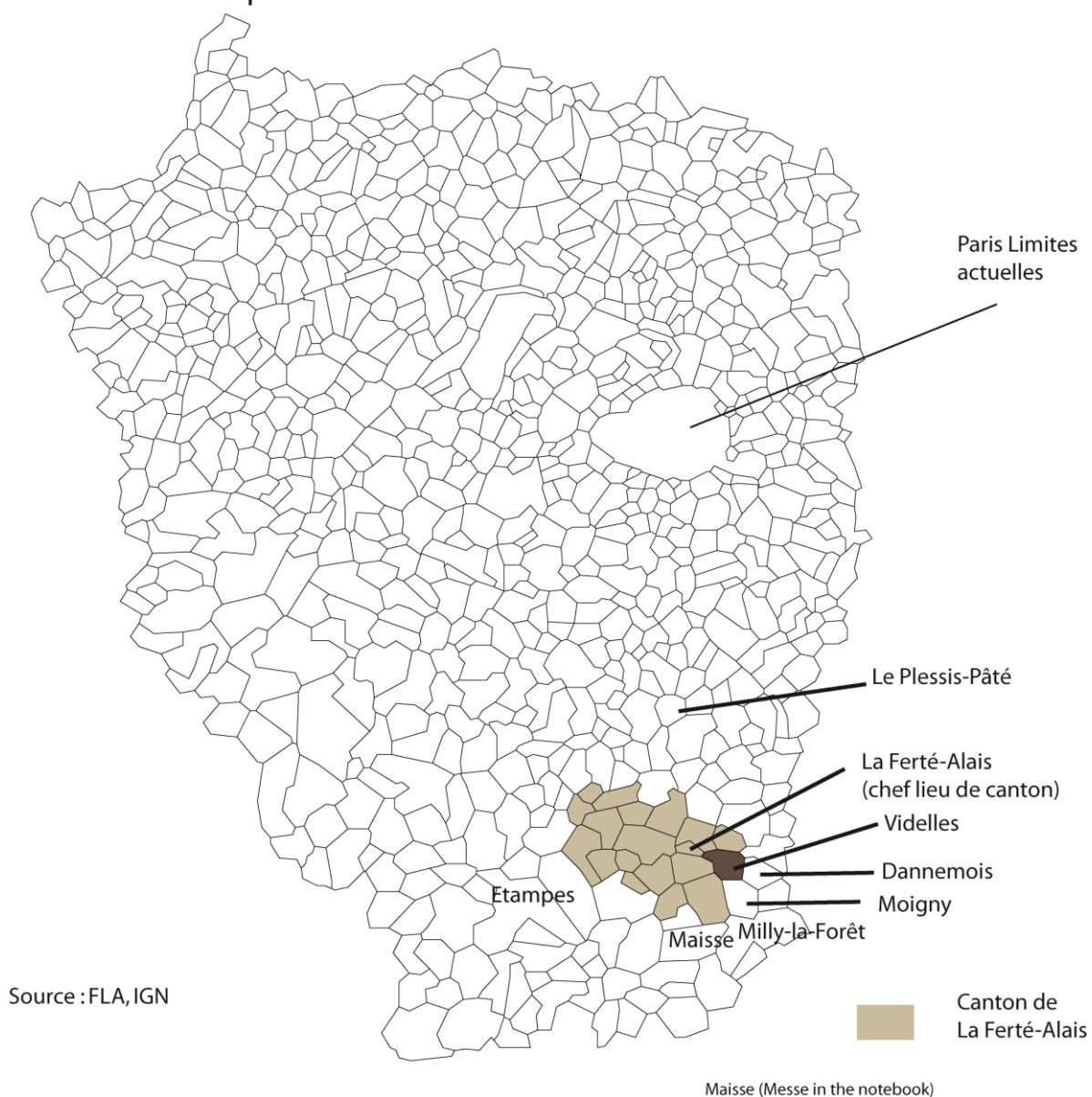
⁸⁴ Lyons: 2012, 236.

⁸⁵ Georges Hottin wrote in the inside front cover: “Livre ayant appartenu à mon grand grand Père Sugy Julien Gabriel *Georges Hottin*” AD91 74J/29.

It is now necessary to wonder if the interpretation of Julien's notebook we provided is not a reflection of our own preoccupation? We try to find the sources used by Julien. If we could find each of them we could be sure design a table in two columns: The first one with the quotation of Julien, the second one with the source(s) he used. Even if we could do so, it remained puzzling how Julien knew these sources and why he copied some unusual sources. We entitled a paragraph "What about Julien's dream?" In fact we mainly (but shortly) described the world of Julien. From this point of view, the very strange dreams of Julien should to be explored more closely by an ethnographer who should not be ignoring this world.

Annex.
Map 1.

Départements de la Seine-et-Oise et de la Seine.



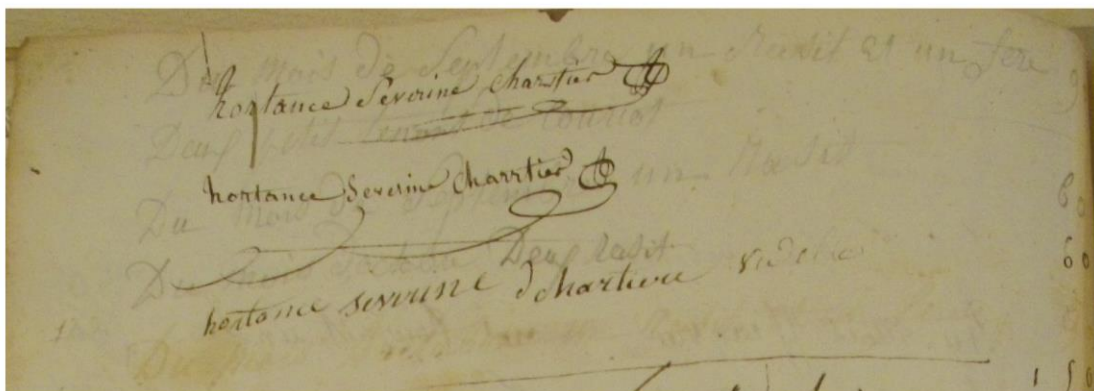
Annex 1.

Signature Julien Gabriel +
+ Suzanne

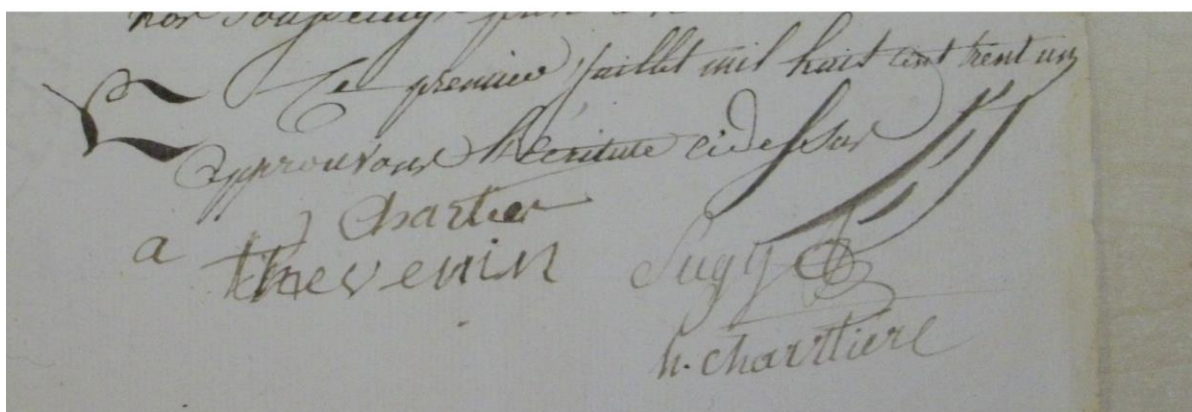
Page's thirty six notes, I null;

Annex 2.

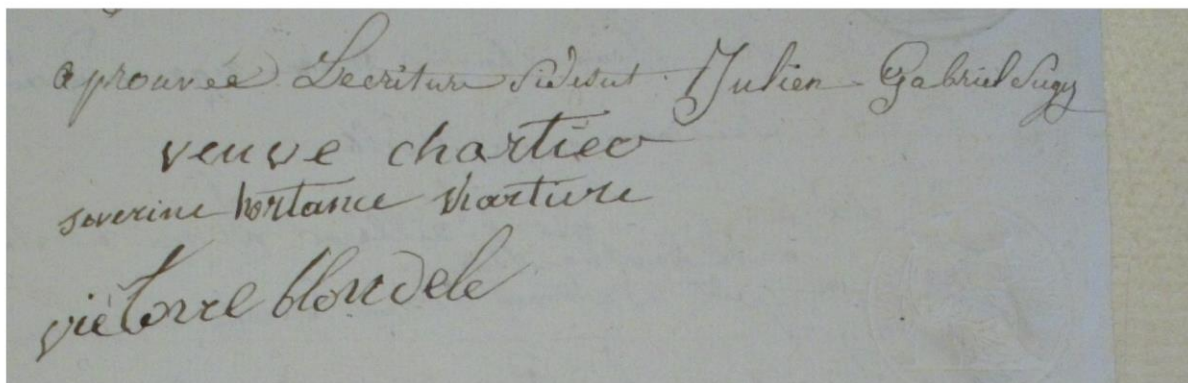
Signature d'Hortense dans le journal de Julien Gabriel Sugy. AD91, 74J/28.
Likely Julien's hand-writing.



Signature d'Hortense en 1831. AD91, 74J/21. Acte sous seing privé (private agreement wrote by an unknown person)



Signature d'Hortense vers 1835. AD91, 74J/21. Acte sous seing privé (private agreement wrote by an unknown person)



Annex 3.



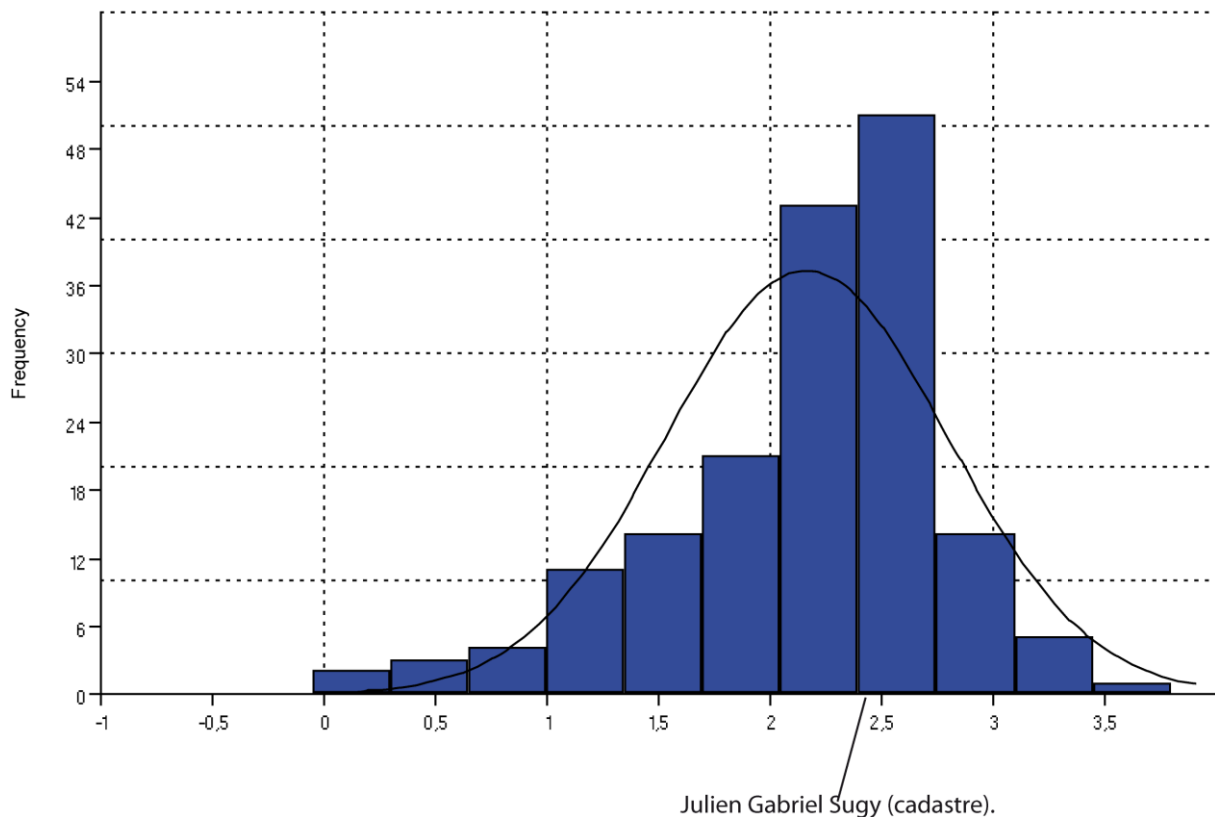
I Julien gabriel Sugy did and "design" it. Mil huit cent trente trois. January the 20ht at 8.00 pm.

"désigné" could signify "drawn" or "signed".

It is possible that the little tree was a "vine stock" In this case it could be possible that the vine stock was a kind of "tree of Jesse" as suggested by Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux.

Annex 4.

Distribution of landowners at Videlles. People who live at Videlles around 1820.
AD91, 3P/3508. In ares (1/100 hectare) Log scale .



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Contract marriage of Irisse Alcide Hottin, J 74/25

Notebook of Jules Hottin, 74 J/27

Notebook of Julien Gabriel Sugy, 74 J/28.

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