PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

AP® European History
Thematic Approaches

Curriculum Module

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Introduction

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As teachers plan their school-year course calendar, contemplating the challenges of a half-millennium curriculum, college-level reading, essay writing and DBQs, against the high school realities of pep rally schedules; state-mandated tests; six-, seven- and even eight-period days; and the demands of extracurricular activities, the task of making it all fit can seem daunting. Alas, there is no remedy or jiffy shortcut for skating through the Age of Religious Reformations or the long 19th century. However, there are organizing themes and historical thinking skills that comprise the weft and warp of the course and which can facilitate both teacher practice and student learning. This collection of lessons and materials takes on some of these elements, thus making the theme of this collection, well, themes. These lessons and materials reflect the diversity of the AP® European History course itself: they cover a variety of historical eras and content, involve the powerful and the poor, the reformers and the unreconstructed, the conformists and the iconoclasts. They provide an array of approaches to developing the historical thinking skills that characterize student success in AP History courses. And, finally, the content provided offers new perspectives for even well-seasoned AP European History teachers.

AP European History has long organized the course through themes: three very broad categories (political-diplomatic, social-economic and intellectual-cultural) and dozens of subcategories (private and state roles in economic development, changes in religious thought and organization, etc.). The contributions in this volume all take a thematic approach, often integrating aspects of the three broad thematic categories in the current course description. (The chart at the end of the introduction identifies for each contribution in this volume aspects of these three broad theme categories.)

Two contributions approach questions about the role of the individual in society. Professor Elizabeth Lehfeldt's materials explore the precarious existence of the individual against the authority of the collective, in this case, the combined power of Church and state during the Spanish Inquisition. Professor Carol Engelhardt Herringer investigates two very different approaches to the relative importance of individual and collective interests during the Industrial Revolution using the paradigmatic interpretations of John Stuart Mill, Karl Marx and others.

Kathryn Edwards's materials provide students with an opportunity to examine the precarious shifting sands of various intellectual approaches during the age of the Scientific Revolution, as assumptions concerning truth, reality, evidence and belief came into conflict. Dr. Carol Pixton's lesson on the Absolutism of Louis XIV presents materials that will challenge students to grasp both the broad authority and the real limits of absolutism, while also supporting student understanding of the impact of state power on other civil institutions and on individuals. This will also provide students with a more complex understanding of factors that contributed to the French Revolution.

Dr. Carole Buchanan's lesson on nationalism provides multiple approaches to the topic. While the concept of nationalism is a staple of the course, Dr. Buchanan's learning activities include an activity that allows students to apply some of the characteristics of the nation-state to their school. The lesson also includes primary sources, a mini-DBQ and essay prompts that will provide effective essay practice or stimulating classroom discussions.

Two of the contributions to this Special Focus create opportunities to place Europe in a global context. Dr. Carole Buchanan provides extensive factual and interpretative materials to support an examination of the impact of decolonization on both France and Algeria with a variety of history skill-building activities. Diego Gonzalez-Grande takes on the Ottoman Empire. His suggestions and advice provide teachers with practical suggestions for source materials and content.

Finally, the wonderfully rich, well-chosen and comprehensive materials compiled by Professor Emily Tai examine the nature of the economic crisis of the early modern period ("Poverty and Prosperity in the Early Modern Economy, 1450–1789"). This set of materials provides content readings for teacher lectures or for student background reading, primary source materials, and a plethora of prompts and questions to provoke lively classroom discussion or essay writing. The materials lend themselves to being divided and used at various points in the course or as a stand-alone thematic unit that reveals the chronic instability in the lives of the poor and the developing but insecure status of the middle classes.

The educators who contributed to this project crafted materials that convey the thematic sweep of the AP European History curriculum while providing teachers with additional resources for encouraging the development of skills by engaging students in the practice and craft of history.

Thematic Content

The synopses below list the primary course concepts (as identified in the AP European History Course Description) in each of the lessons. This is not intended to be a comprehensive list, but it demonstrates the main ideas addressed in the lessons.

Individual and Community: Identity in the Time of the Spanish Inquisition

Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt

Political and Diplomatic Themes	Social and Economic Themes	Intellectual and Cultural Themes
• The extension and limitation of rights and liberties (personal, civic, economic, and political); majority and minority political persecutions • Relationship between domestic and foreign policies	• Changing definitions of and attitudes toward social groups, classes, races, and ethnicities within and outside Europe • Gender roles and their influence on work, social structure, family structure, and interest group formation	• Intellectual and cultural developments and their relationship to social values and political events

Full and Plain Evidence: Science, Tradition and Religion in Early Modern Europe

Kathryn Edwards

Political and Diplomatic Themes	Social and Economic Themes	Intellectual and Cultural Themes
	• Changing definitions of and attitudes toward social groups, classes, races, and ethnicities within and outside Europe • Gender roles and their influence on work, social structure, family structure, and interest group formation	• Changes in religious thought/ institutions • Secularization of learning and culture • Scientific and technological developments and their consequences • Developments in literacy, education, and communication

The "Terrour of the World" or the "Sick Man of Europe"? Introducing the Ottoman Empire in AP® European History

Diego Gonzalez-Grande

Political and Diplomatic Themes	Social and Economic Themes	Intellectual and Cultural Themes
• The rise and functioning of the modern state in its various forms • Relations between Europe and other parts of the world: colonialism, imperialism, decolonization, and global interdependence • The growth and changing forms of nationalism • Forms of political protest, reform, and revolution • Relationship between domestic and foreign policies • Efforts to restrain conflict: treaties, balance-of-power diplomacy, and international organizations • War and civil conflict: origins, developments, technology, and their consequences	• The development of commercial practices • Changing definitions of and attitudes toward social groups, classes, races, and ethnicities within and outside Europe • The growth of competition and interdependence in national and world markets • Private and state roles in economic activity • Changes in the demographic structure and reproductive patterns of Europeans: causes and consequences • Gender roles and their influence on work, social structure, family structure, and interest group formation	• Secularization of learning and culture • Intellectual and cultural developments and their relationship to social values and political events • The diffusion of new intellectual concepts among different social groups • Impact of global expansion on European culture

Louis XIV and the Limits of Absolutism: Administration and Taxation

Carol Pixton

Political and Diplomatic Themes	Social and Economic Themes	Intellectual and Cultural Themes
• The rise and functioning of the modern state in its various forms • The evolution of political elites and the development of political parties, ideologies, and other forms of mass politics • The extension and limitation of rights and liberties (personal, civic, economic, and political)	• Private and state roles in economic activity • The shift in social structures from hierarchical orders to modern social classes: the changing distribution of wealth and poverty • The development of commercial practices, patterns of mass production and consumption, and their economic and social impact • The growth of competition and interdependence in national and world markets	

The Individual During Industrialization: Concepts of Individualism and Community in the Writings of Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill

Carol Engelhardt Herringer

Political and Diplomatic Themes	Social and Economic Themes	Intellectual and Cultural Themes
• The evolution of political elites and the development of political parties, ideologies, and other forms of mass politics • The extension and limitation of rights and liberties (personal, civic, economic, and political); majority and minority political persecutions • Forms of political protest, reform, and revolution	• Private and state roles in economic activity • The role of urbanization in transforming cultural values and social relationships • The shift in social structures from hierarchical orders to modern social classes: the changing distribution of wealth and poverty • The development of commercial practices, patterns of mass production and consumption, and their economic and social impact • Origins, development, and consequences of industrialization • The growth of competition and interdependence in national and world markets	• Intellectual and cultural developments and their relationship to social values and political events • Developments in social, economic, and political thought, including ideologies characterized as "-isms," such as socialism, liberalism and nationalism • The diffusion of new intellectual concepts among different social groups

From Multinational Empires to Nation-States: Transformations in Eastern Europe

Carole A. Buchanan

Political and Diplomatic Themes	Social and Economic Themes	Intellectual and Cultural Themes
• The growth and changing forms of nationalism • The evolution of political elites and the development of political parties, ideologies and other forms of mass politics • The extension and limitation of rights and liberties (personal, civic, economic and political); majority and minority political persecutions • Forms of political protest, reform, and revolution • Efforts to restrain conflict: treaties, balance-of-power diplomacy and international organizations • War and civil conflict: origins, developments, technology, and their consequences	• Changing definitions of and attitudes toward social groups, classes, races and ethnicities within and outside Europe	• Developments in social, economic and political thought, including ideologies characterized as "-isms," such as socialism, liberalism and nationalism

The Impact of Decolonization: France and Algeria

Carole A. Buchanan

Political and Diplomatic Themes	Social and Economic Themes	Intellectual and Cultural Themes
• Relationship between domestic and foreign policies • Relations between Europe and other parts of the world: colonialism, imperialism, decolonization and global interdependence • The growth and changing forms of nationalism • Efforts to restrain conflict: treaties, balance-of-power diplomacy and international organizations • War and civil conflict: origins, developments, technology and their consequences	• Changing definitions of and attitudes toward social groups, classes, races and ethnicities within and outside Europe	• Impact of global expansion on European culture

Poverty and Prosperity in the Early Modern Economy, 1450–1789: Was There a "Crisis" in Early Modern Europe?

Emily Sohmer Tai

Political and Diplomatic Themes	Social and Economic Themes	Intellectual and Cultural Themes
	• Private and state roles in economic activity • The role of urbanization in transforming cultural values and social relationships • The shift in social structures from hierarchical orders to modern social classes: the changing distribution of wealth and poverty • The influence of sanitation and health care practices on society; food supply, diet, famine and disease; and their impact • Private and state roles in economic activity • The development of commercial practices, patterns of mass production and consumption; and their economic and social impact • Changing definitions of and attitudes toward social groups, classes, races and ethnicities within and outside Europe • Changes in the demographic structure and reproductive patterns of Europeans: causes and consequences • Gender roles and their influence on work, social structure, family structure and interest group formation • The growth of competition and interdependence in national and world markets	• Impact of global expansion on European culture

Individual and Community: Identity in the Time of the Spanish Inquisition

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Introduction

The Spanish Inquisition is a topic that readily lends itself to an examination of various facets of early modern European religion, politics, and society. It is also an excellent vehicle for exploring the theme of the relationship between the individual and the community. The study of the Inquisition (1) provides a window into the quest for orthodoxy during the religious upheaval and challenges of the Protestant Reformation (in Spain these struggles took place in a heterodox society where Christians, Jews and Muslims had coexisted for centuries); (2) reveals the inextricable ties between religion and politics as Spanish monarchs used orthodoxy and their power to oversee it as a tool of political statecraft; and (3) exposes how communities responded to the threatening reality of the institution in their daily lives — alternately accusing and protecting one another from its reach. The historical analysis of these three components facilitates a deeper understanding of how early modern individuals lived in a society where the combined power of religion and the state shaped their everyday lives. Contextualizing the Inquisition as a historically specific phenomenon will also move students beyond the stereotypical, popular caricatures of this institution.

The Spanish Inquisition is also an excellent topic for historiographical study. Since its inception it has been the subject of critiques, defenses and varying interpretations. In the 16th century, Spain's enemies served their own ends with propaganda that decried the Inquisition as evidence of Spain's intolerance and repression. Also in the 16th century, some Spaniards themselves were outspoken critics of this institution. Yet in its heyday there were certainly those who defended it as a necessary tool for ensuring the social and religious order. In the 18th and 19th centuries, with the exception of Juan Antonio Llorente, few Spanish scholars examined the Inquisition critically, and most defended it as justifiable (e.g., Menéndez y Pelayo). The 20th century witnessed the birth of more historically critical scholarship that has charted the Inquisition's evolution over time and

pointed to differences in practice that varied by region and geography (the way it operated in the Americas, for example, was different from its administration in Spain). From the 1970s forward, studies of the Inquisition have become increasingly nuanced, examining how particular groups (e.g., women, moriscos) were targeted by the Inquisition and debating larger questions of interpretation (e.g., How repressive was the Inquisition? How much of the Inquisition's agenda was shaped by anti-Semitism? To what extent did the Inquisition presage modern totalitarian regimes? etc.).

Teacher Materials

Sources and Background Information

Note: All works mentioned here are cited fully in the bibliography.

Although Henry Kamen is the Anglophone scholar who has written most prolifically on the subject, his work is the least useful for those looking for a straightforward examination of the topic. Instead, Helen Rawlings's *The Spanish Inquisition* (2006) is an outstanding introduction. Notably, her work includes a detailed explanation of how the Inquisition functioned as an institution, explaining the roles of various officers and the procedures for trials. Although students probably do not need explicit instruction in these details, instructor knowledge of these will be helpful. The Inquisition did not use torture, for example, as widely or as indiscriminately as modern stereotypes suggest. Further, it is helpful to know how the Inquisition operated (e.g., how denunciations were solicited, the limited options for defending themselves available to the accused, etc.) in order to understand better the trial records that will form the basis of the primary sources suggested for use here. Similarly, Lu Ann Homza's introduction to her anthology of Inquisition sources provides an instructive introduction to the topic (excerpts of Rawlings and Homza are provided as part of this packet of materials).

Although not necessarily suitable as separate reading assignments for students, there are several micro-historical case studies of individuals called before the Inquisition. Richard Kagan's *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* explores the case of a young woman who was locally renowned in Madrid as a prophetic visionary. Because her visions contained explicit critiques of the reign of Philip II, however, she was eventually called before the Inquisition to defend the character and content of her experiences. *Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete*, by Sara T. Nalle analyzes the case of a humble wool carder from rural Spain whose unorthodox interpretations of Christian doctrine and practice attracted the scrutiny of the Inquisition. Finally, the collection of essays in Mary E. Giles' *Women in the Inquisition* provides excellent case studies of women who appeared before the tribunal.

In recent years, a wealth of translated primary sources has become available. The most significant collection is Lu Ann Homza's *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478–1614: An Anthology of Sources* (2006).

Learning Outcomes and Course Themes

The background materials and primary sources provide an opportunity for students to examine the relationship between the individual and society, the individual and the state, and the state and the Roman Catholic Church in 15th- and 16th-century Spain. The context of the rise of monarchy in Castile and Aragon, and the role of religion in asserting state controls provide insights into political and cultural assumptions of the time. Testimony by the accused and their fellow townspeople also reveals social relationships, gender roles and attitudes toward social order.

Primary Sources — Background and Guiding Questions

Document: Andrés Bernáldez describes the coming of the Inquisition

In this document, Andrés Bernáldez, a chronicler and a priest, describes his perception of the converso "problem" and the circumstances that prompted Isabel and Ferdinand to bring the Inquisition to Spain.

Questions

1. What kinds of practices does Bernáldez accuse the conversos of? What evidence does he provide that the conversion of the Jews to Christianity was not true or complete?
2. Although he does focus on religious practices, Bernáldez also focuses on other converso behaviors. What does his attention to nonreligious practices reveal about Christian-converso relations?

Notes on the Questions

Bernáldez's attack against the conversos highlights lingering anti-Jewish sentiment in Spain. The creation of the converso population stemmed from a series of violent encounters between Jews and Christians in 1391. While scholars debate what precisely sparked these events, it is clear that, incited by Dominican preaching against the Jews, Christians lashed out against their Jewish neighbors, destroying their property, threatening their lives and forcing them to convert to Christianity. It is also important to regard Bernáldez's account as a kind of political propaganda, meant to bolster the reputation of Isabel and Ferdinand and their commitment to Christianity.

Document: Testimony and additional trial record provided by the court notary, Trial of Diego de Almodovar, penanced for Blasphemy, 1545.

Questions

1. What prompts Diego to appear before the Inquisition? What can this tell us about how the Inquisition operated and its role in the lives of ordinary Spaniards?
2. What does Diego confess to doing? What defense does he offer for his actions?
3. Why do you think the inquisitors ask about who was present when he blasphemed?
4. What is Diego's sentence? What do you think is the significance of where he has to perform his penance? Compare his sentence to those in the case of Inés. What similarities and differences do you find?

Notes on the Questions

Diego's confession appears to be prompted, at least in part, by knowing that the Inquisition is operating in his region and has publicized edicts on the subject of things like blaspheming. The inquisitors often asked an individual who else was present when they committed their sins or behaved and spoke heretically as a way of establishing networks and identifying others whom they might prosecute. It is significant that Diego was forced to perform his penance publicly — a way of making him an example to the rest of the community. Diego's penance is a "lighter" one than the one handed down in Inés' case. Notably, however, all of the penances had a "public" component that put the accused on display to the rest of the community — whether through requiring them to wear a sanbenito (a type of penitential garment) or perform their penance in the parish church.

Case Studies: Two Cases Against Conversos

When seeking to try conversos, the Inquisition depended on the denunciations of neighbors and others close to the domestic sphere of these individuals. The Inquisition always faced the dilemma of discerning an individual's true beliefs — to what extent could it really look into a person's heart and know the true character of what that individual believed? As a consequence, the tribunals frequently relied on "clues" provided by external behavior. As the first case suggested for study here indicates, it was dietary and other practices and rituals that brought Inés to the attention of her neighbors and called down the scrutiny of the Inquisition. Similarly, the second case highlights external acts (eating and the observance of religious rituals within the home) as signs that the accused was not a good Christian and had reverted to Jewish practices. As revealing as the accusations themselves are, the defenses offered by the accused and the witnesses who testified for them are also pertinent. Oftentimes, the accused confessed to these Jewish rituals, not because they were practicing Jews, but because these rituals had become part of their daily social and cultural practices and were not necessarily invested with religious significance.

Questions

1. Compare the testimony of Inés and Pedro. Why do you think Inés confesses so readily to the accusations against her? How does Pedro seek to defend himself against similar accusations?
2. What do you think it means that 15 years after the first accusations against her, Inés is called up again on similar charges?
3. What kinds of defense are offered by the witnesses that appear on Pedro's behalf?
4. What can each of these cases tell us about the social fabric of these communities? For example, who teaches Inés some of these rituals? On what kind of evidence (e.g., seeing him somewhere) do Pedro's neighbors base their defense of him?

Notes on the Questions

Inés's quick confession suggests that she was practicing various Jewish rituals but did not necessarily see the harm in doing so, since they were linked primarily to social and cultural practices that may not have been invested with deliberate religious significance. Pedro, on the other hand, seems to recognize the inherent dangers in being accused of such practices, and offers a series of defenses and/or excuses for his behavior. Inés' somewhat unapologetic stance may also contribute to the fact that she is found guilty. The inquisitors were not, on the other hand, convinced of the charges against Pedro. Inés' beliefs and practices were clearly deeply entrenched. Despite a fairly stern penancing at her original trial, she comes to the attention of the Inquisition again over 15 years later. Questions 3 and 4 demonstrate the social ties and community fabric that shaped individuals' belief systems and the extent to which the community itself could offer support to those denounced to the Inquisition.

Student Materials

Historical Context

Phase 1: The Inquisition Comes to Spain

Isabel and Ferdinand, monarchs of Castile and Aragon, respectively, decided to bring the Inquisition to Spain after long debate and discussion. Inquisitional tribunals had operated under papal authority in the Middle Ages (most notably against the Cathar heresy), so there was both precedent and procedure in place when the Catholic Kings discussed the possibility of implementing one in Spain. The tension that raised the possibility was concern in the monarchs' court that Spaniards who had been forcibly converted to Christianity (or their descendants) were no longer practicing Christianity but had, in fact, reverted to Jewish beliefs and rituals and were contaminating the ability of "good" (often referred to as "old") Christians to observe the faith. Gradually convinced

that these individuals, known as conversos, represented a real threat to the integrity of Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula, the monarchs petitioned the papacy in 1478 for permission to bring a tribunal to Spain. Notably, they received unprecedented powers to appoint inquisitors and exert secular authority over this ecclesiastical tribunal. As such, this phase of the Inquisition is an excellent case study in how early modern monarchs joined political and religious authority to achieve centralization and unity. The decision to bring the Inquisition to Spain, then, can also be presented as part of Isabel and Ferdinand's other religious campaigns, notably the reconquest of the Islamic kingdom of Granada (completed in 1492) and the decision to expel the Jews (not be confused with the conversos) from Spain (also in 1492). These two actions, coupled with the decision to use the Inquisition in Spain, reveal Isabel and Ferdinand's determination to combine their sovereign authority with religious mandates in order to bring Christian — and hence, political — unity to their kingdoms.

Phase 2: The Inquisition Evolves

Over the course of the 16th century, the Inquisition shifted its attention to other sectors of the Christian community. The Protestant Reformation introduced another brand of heresy into the equation. In the 1520s the Inquisition became very concerned about a spiritual movement known as alumbradismo. The alumbrados (illuminated ones) claimed an elevated spirituality that they believed exempted them from Catholic practices like praying to the saints and observing the authority of priests — a belief system that seemed quite similar to some of the ideas of Martin Luther. Yet the alumbrados never self-identified as Lutherans or Protestants. The Inquisition did, however, try some of them for heresy, and in 1525 it issued an edict denouncing some of their precepts. Though in retrospect we know that Reformation ideas made only very limited inroads into the Iberian peninsula, the Inquisition took the possibility of these incursions quite seriously. In 1559, for example, it staged two dramatic autos-da-fé in the city of Valladolid (Philip II was even in attendance at one of them). Many of those penanced and subsequently executed at these public spectacles were accused of "luteranismo," or spreading Lutheran ideas.

This heightened sense of heretical threats led the Inquisition to turn its attention to new suspects in the second half of the 16th century. While it continued to prosecute conversos, the behavior and practices of "old" Christians began to attract scrutiny. These cases suggested that ordinary Christians often lacked a firm grasp of church doctrines like the Trinity. The fault did not lie entirely with them; what these cases also revealed was how poorly some priests were educated and the deficient state of pastoral care and instruction at the local level (something that was true throughout western Europe and that the Council of Trent sought to remedy by founding more seminaries for priests). In their evaluation of old Christians the Inquisition also tried to regulate issues of morality, investigating cases of sodomy, bigamy and blasphemy. The case highlighted here is one involving the charge of blasphemy.

Document 1

Source: Andrés Bernáldez, excerpt from *Recollections of the Reign of the Catholic Kings*, early 16th century. Bernáldez described himself as "a chronicler and parish priest" [1] near Seville. He wrote these recollections some years after witnessing the events he describes.

… Friar Vincent Ferrer could convert only a few Jews, and the people spitefully put the Jews in Castile to the sword and killed many, and this occurred all over Castile in a single day, Tuesday. Then the Jews themselves came to the churches to be baptized, and so they were; and very many in Castile were made into Christians. After their baptism, some went to Portugal and to other kingdoms to be Jews; others, after some time had passed, returned to being Jews in places where they were not known. Many unbaptized Jews and synagogues still remained in Castile, and the lords and kings always protected them because of their great utility.

The baptized Jews who stayed were called conversos … which means those converted to the Holy Catholic Faith. The conversos observed the Faith very badly … for the most part they were secret Jews. In fact, they were neither Jews nor Christians, since they were baptized, but were heretics, and [yet] without the Law [of Moses]. Thus this heresy was born, as you have heard …

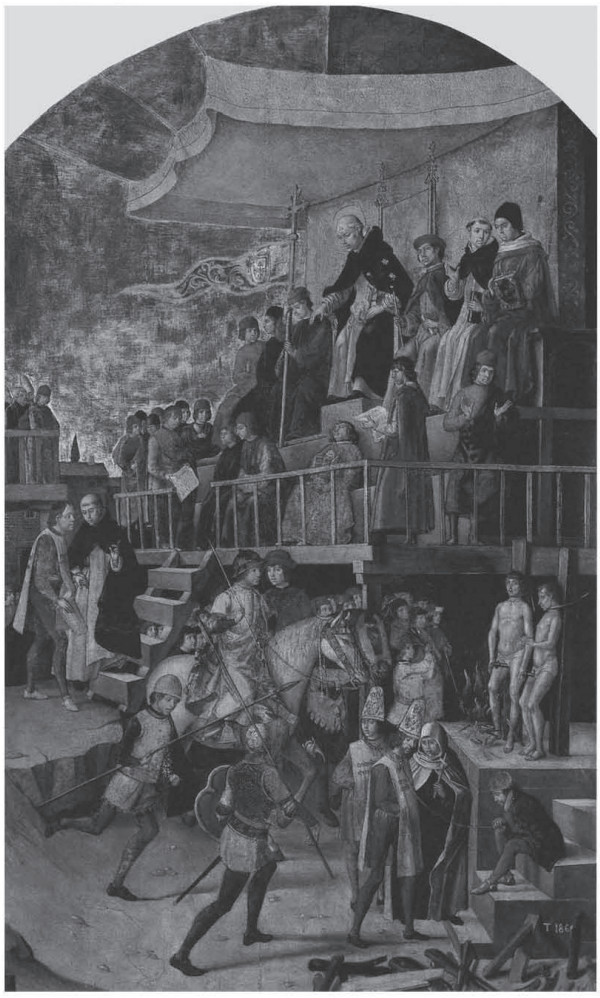
In the first years of the reign of the very Catholic and Christian Kings Ferdinand and Queen Isabel, this heresy was so bold that its learned men were on the verge of preaching the Law of Moses, and its simple men could not disguise the fact that they were Jews. When the King and Queen went to Seville for the first time, the Archbishop of Seville, Pedro González de Mendoza, was there as well; and Friar Alonso de Hojeda, a holy and Catholic Dominican from the monastery of San Pablo, who always preached and fought against this heresy, was there too. He and other religious and Catholic men told the King and Queen about the great evil and heresy in Seville. They in turn committed the matter to the Archbishop, so that he could punish the guilty and remedy the matter He issued certain orders about it, and promulgated them I the city and the entire archbishopric, and put deputies in place. And two years passed, and his measures were worthless.

According to what we saw at the time, this horrible beast walked around very freely, and the ill-fated, heretical Jews fled from ecclesiastical doctrine.

1. *Memorial del reinado de los Reyes Cathólicos, que escriba el bachiller Andrés Bernáldez.* Manuel Gómez-Moreno and Juan de M. Carriazo, ed. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1962.

Document 2

Source: Pedro Berruguete, *Burning of the Heretics (Auto-da-fé)*, c. 1500, Museo del Prado, Madrid, Web Gallery of Art, accessed 1/24/08, http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/b/berrugue/pedro/index.html.



The auto-da-fé was a public ceremony presided over by religious authorities announcing the findings of the Inquisition court and the punishment, if any, of the accused. Contrary to the painting, punishment was carried out by secular authorities, separate from the humiliation of the public ceremony. Death sentences, such as shown here, were rare: more common were loss of property, house arrest, the requirement to wear special penitent clothing, or fines.

Document 3

Source: Trial of Diego de Almodovar, penanced for Blasphemy, 1545. Transcription of testimony (in italics) and additional trial record provided by the court notary.

I, Diego de Almodovar, resident of the village of Aboler — which belongs to the military order of Calatrava, and the diocese and archbishopric of Toledo — appear before your lordships and confess, with the proper respect, that within the last twenty years, a little more or less, I acquired a vice, namely gambling. Sometimes when I practiced the said vice, I said with anger and passion, Í don't believe in so-and-so," or "I deny so-and-so," for which I ask pardon from God and a beneficial penance from your lordships. In all this time I, the said Diego de Almodovar, have confessed every year and received the sacraments, and I have confessed the sin [of swearing], and my

confessors have absolved me from it. Now I have heard that your lordships have ordered edicts published and read in which many things are said about such matters, and I have been informed that I cannot be absolved of this sin unless I come to declare it before your lordships, on account of which I beg you to treat me mercifully.

I swear that what is contained in the said petition is true, and I say that what the petitions says — "I don't believe in such-and-such," and "I deny such-and-such," — should have said "I don't believe in God" and "I deny God," because in that way this deponent said such blasphemies [sic] and he has said those blasphemies within the last twenty years …"

He does not remember how many times he said it. But he remembers that he said it within the last five years, because [people] had falsely told this deponent that a religious superior from Alcalá had something to do with this deponent's wife. When this deponent found the rumor was a lie, he said, "I deny God," three or four times, out of anger over the false allegation.

The deponent was asked if a secular judge had investigated this matter of his wife. He said that an investigation had not been carried out, nor had there been trouble about it, nor had he been punished any other time for any blasphemies.

Asked who was present when this deponent uttered the blasphemies, he said many people from the village were present when he said it, as they were gambling. Those still living, with whom this deponent gambled, are Francisco de Molina and Juan de Molina, and Diego de Espedes, and Antonio de Espedes, his brother, and Hernando de Espedes. These people are all residents of the said village, and he believes they hear it. Next, he said Antonio de Balderas was present during the blasphemies of five years ago … Balderas was the one who provoked this deponent [with a story about his wife]. The deponent thinks that a son of the said Balderas was present, though he doesn't remember which of Balderas' two sons it was. Being asked, he said he is an Old Christian. And I, the notary Agustín Yilán, was present.

Having seen the confession of Diego de Almodovar, we find that we condemn him, so that on the forthcoming Sunday, which is March 29, he shall hear the major mass that is said in the church of the village of Alcalá, from the point it begins until it ends, standing upright before the steps of the major altar … he shall be barefoot and barelegged, and hold a lit wax candle; he shall not sit nor kneel in the Mass, except that he shall kneel from the time they raise the Holy Sacrament [the Eucharist]

until they have consumed it. He shall hand over the candle to the cleric who said the Mass when it ends, and he shall pray five Ave Marias and four Pater Nosters to the Lord, in reverence to God our Lord, whom he offended with his blasphemies. We warn him that henceforth he shall not say similar blasphemies in any way, or he will be punished with all severity. Within fifteen days of completing the said penance, he shall send proof of it with some person who is coming to this city, all of which we order by this sentence.

Case Study 1: The Trial of Inés López[2]

Inés López, a widow about 30 years old, was brought before the Inquisition multiple times over the course of two decades. Her father, a shoemaker, had been tried posthumously by the Inquisition but was found innocent after an effective defense by his children and lawyer. The finding of innocence allowed his family to inherit his property, which otherwise would have been confiscated by the Inquisition court. Subsequently, Inés' mother and sisters were each tried by the Inquisition. Her mother was found guilty of Judaizing, sentenced to life imprisonment, and required to publicly confess her heresy. Her sister Violante was found guilty and burned at the stake in 1494, one year prior to Inés' trial.

Document 4

Source: Excerpt, transcript of the Inquisitorial trial of Inés López in Ciudad Real, Spain, 1495.

Most reverend Lords:

I, Inés López, a resident of Ciudad Real, wife of the late Alonso de Aguilera, appear before Your Reverences with the greatest contrition and repentance for my sins of which I am capable, and I beg Our Lord Jesus Christ for His pardon and mercy, and I beg of Your Reverences a saving penance for my soul, and tor those [sins] that I have committed by which I have offended My Lord Jesus Christ and His Holy Catholic Faith, which are the following in this manner:

I declare, My Lords, that I did not do servile work on some Saturdays, and on Saturdays I put on clean clothes. And sometimes I ate food that was prepared on Friday for Saturday, and I lit candles on Friday evening in accordance with Jewish ritual.

2. Inés López, translated from Castilian by Ronald Surtz.

Likewise, I observed some of the Jewish fasts, [fasting] until nightfall. Moreover, I sometimes observed Jewish holidays, when I found out about them from a cousin of mine named Isabel de Lobón, when I was [staying] with her, for she was a widow. And she told me to do so for the benefit of my soul, especially [to observe] Passover, for the aforementioned Isabel de Lobón, has left Villarreal; for where, no one knows.

Likewise, I removed the fat from meat whenever I could.

Likewise, My Lords, I declare that I ate on low tables at funeral banquets …

Document 5

Source: Inés López, additional confession, 14 January 1496, Inquisitorial trial, Ciudad Real, Spain.

My Most reverend Lords:

I, Inés López, daughter of Diego López, a resident of Ciudad Real, appear before Your Reverences to say that, because I had made a confession of the sins I had committed against Our Lord in which I said that if any further sin came to mind I would declare and reveal it, I now declare, My Lords, that what I further remember is the following:

I declare and confess to Your Reverences that on some Friday nights my sister [Violante], the [wife] of [Pedro de] San Roman, and I tidied up the house and cooked Saturday's food on those nights. We did this sometimes and other times we didn't eat it, and neither did my aforementioned sister, who told me that I shouldn't eat [it] nor anything cooked with it because I was younger than she.

Moreover, My Lords, sometimes when I went to Mass it was my custom and habit to chatter and not to pray …

Moreover, My Lords, on Sundays and holidays I sometimes sewed things I needed and also performed other tasks …

Moreover, My Lords, on days of abstinence in Lent and the vigils of other holidays and on ember days, I often prepared and ate food, and I saw that my aforementioned sisters ate meat and other [forbidden] delicacies …

Moreover, My Lords, I declare that when my father died, I saw Diego Díez's wife and Sezilla, the wife of Martín González, put a pot of water in the parlor where [his body] was. I don't know why, except that I heard it said that it was to bathe my aforementioned father, who was dirty. And I placed a basin of water and a cloth in said parlor — I don't remember who told me to do so, except that I believe that it was Mayor Alvarez, my sister, who was there.

Moreover, I often lit candles on Friday nights in San Romans; house, because I usually lived with San Roman and his wife, my sister, for I was twelve or fifteen years old.

Moreover, My Lords, I saw that my mother did not spin on Saturdays, and I saw this during the whole time that I lived [with her].

Document 6

Source: Inés López, additional confession, late January 1496, Inquisitorial trial, Ciudad Real, Spain.

My Most reverend Lords:

I, Inés López, a resident of Ciudad Real, appear before Your Reverences and declare that, in addition to what I have declared and confessed to you, I often porged meat and removed the tendons from legs of lamb.

Document 7

Source: Inquisitional Court, Official Arraignment of Inés López, 16 September 1511.

I. *First, that the aforementioned Inés López, after her aforementioned false reconciliation and abjuration, often and at many time and in many places disclaimed the confession that she had spontaneously made, declaring and affirming that she had never perpetrated or committed the crimes of heresy that she had confessed to and for which she was reconciled, and [declaring] that false witnesses had imputed [such crimes] to her and to others, and that she had never done any of those things for which she had been reconciled, and that she had only been reconciled so that they wouldn't burn her at the stake …*

II. *Moreover, that the aforementioned Inés López, after her reconciliation and abjuration, defended and continued to defend many condemned heretics, declaring and affirming that they had been unjustly condemned, that they were no heretics, except*

that they had been falsely accused and condemned without their deserving it; in particular, she said that her mother and her sisters, who had been condemned, had been unjustly condemned, for they were good Christians and had not committed any crime of heresy whatsoever that would justify their being burned at the stake …

III. *Inés is also accused of defending certain deceased "heretics" whose bodies were discovered to be shrouded I the Jewish manner and buried without any crosses.*

IV. *Moreover, that the aforementioned Inés López, often speaking after her reconciliation about the Inquisition and about heretics, said that everything had been fabricated by false witnesses and that the Inquisition had been set up for the sole purpose of extracting money and robbing them …*

V. *Moreover, that the aforementioned Inés López did not know how to cross herself nor did she ever cross herself, until such time eight or ten months ago when they said that the Inquisition was coming to Ciudad Real. And afterwards, if she ever did make the sign of the cross, it was not done as a Christian, crossing herself and saying "In the name of the Father and of the Son, etc." And if ever they got her to say "In the name of the Father" she was reluctant and even refused to say "and of the Son" or "of the Holy Spirit."*

VI. *Moreover, that the aforementioned Inés López, and unbeliever and a mocker of our holy Catholic Christian faith and of the things of the Church and the Eucharist, sometimes when she returned from hearing mass, which she only attended in order to look good in the eyes of her neighbors, would make jokes, saying that she had come from such and such a church and that she had heard a smoked mass, which she said because they had used incense, …"*

Document 8

Source: Defense, Inés López, Questionnaire for Tachas Witnesses, 1511. (The defense did not know who had provided testimony to the prosecution. However, following usual practice, Inés and her lawyers were allowed to produce a list of her enemies [Tachas witnesses] whose testimony they asserted should be discounted as biased.)

IV. Moreover, if they know, etc., that the aforementioned Catalina Alonso was and continues to be an enemy of the aforementioned Inés López and has hatred and enmity towards her, because a daughter of the aforementioned Catalina Alonso was living with the aforementioned Inés López and the aforementioned Catalina Alonso removed her from the house, which caused them to quarrel, and the aforementioned Catalina Alonso went around saying that Inés López should be burned at the stake. And they also quarreled because the aforementioned Catalina Alonso stole a kneading trough from the aforementioned Inés López.

VI. Moreover, if they know, etc. that Teresa Muñoz and the sacristan of Santa María and Catalina García a companion of the aforementioned Teresa Muñoz, were and continue to be enemies of the aforementioned Inés López, because the aforementioned Teresa Muñoz stole two pieces of ribbon from the aforementioned Inés López, who quarreled with her and called her a whore and a procuress and a sorceress, as she is, for she [Teresa] procured a daughter of Pedro Amarillo for theaforementioned sacristan, and likewise she [Inés] quarreled with the aforementioned Catalina García because she [Catalina] had the aforementioned Teresa Muñoz [living] in her house, which is why all three had it in for her [Inés].

VII. Also, if they know, etc., that the aforementioned Juana de Torres, a holy woman, was and continues to be an enemy of the aforementioned Inés López because she [Juana] stole a lace-trimmed piece of cloth from her, and she fell out [with her] over that, and [also] because the aforementioned Inés López discovered and disclosed that the aforementioned Juana de Torres had given birth [out of wedlock] to a son and a daughter, and out of enmity she [Inés] made the whole matter public, and from that moment on the [Juana and her children] had great enmity towards her …

IX. Also, if they know that the aforementioned Alonso de Carmona [Camargo] was and continues to be an enemy of the aforementioned Inés López and holds hatred and enmity towards her, because while the aforementioned Camargo was away traveling, the aforementioned Inés López lived in Camargo's house, and as soon as she took possession of it, she made off with a wardrobe she was renting from him, concerning which the aforementioned Alonso de Camargo summoned the aforementioned Inés López to appear in court, and also concerning a certain pile of manure that she left in the house, which they fell out and ended up enemies.

XVI. Also, Catalina de Salzedo is her enemy, because she adopted the honorific title "Doña," and the aforementioned Inés López said: "Confound it!" for since she [Catalina] was the daughter of a purse-maker, she had no right to call herself "Doña." And the aforementioned Catalina de Salzedo found out about it and showed and to show enmity toward her …

XXII. Also, Marina, the wife of Monteagudo is her enemy, because when she was Monteagudo's mistress, the two of them quarreled and the aforementioned Inés López called the aforementioned Marina a whore …

XXVIII. Also, if they know that Elvira Gonzàlez, mother of the aforementioned Inés López, and continues to be her enemy, for she would say publicly that the Inés was no daughter of hers, and she [Elvira] is a woman often has bouts of delirium.

In Toledo, on 1 March and 2 March 1512, witnesses testified that to the best of their knowledge the persons Inés claimed were hostile to her were not, in fact, her enemies. On 3 July and 5 July the Inquisitors met and voted that Inés' property be confiscated and that she be turned over to the secular authorities to be burned at the stake.

Case Study 2: Inquisition Trial of Pedro de Villegas, 1483–1484

Document 9

Source: Pedro Díaz, officer and general vicar for the most reverend lord Pedro González de Mendoza, Cardinal of Spain, Archbishop of Toledo, account of the Inquisition trial of Pedro de Villegas, 1483.

Nine o'clock in the morning on December 19, 1483, in the houses where the reverend lord inquisitors reside and hold their court. The reverend lords were seated, and in our presence — we being the secretaries and witnesses written below — the honorable Fernando Rodriguez de Barco, who is a cleric, a chaplain of the King, and a chief prosecutor of the Holy Inquisition, appeared. He said that he intended to accuse Pedro de Villegas, a resident of this city, who is being held in the Holy Inquisition's prison, and he asked the inquisition to order Villegas taken out and brought before them. Seeing his petition, the inquisitors ordered the constable, who was present, to remove Villegas and bring him to the court. With Villegas present, the chief prosecutor then submitted a writ of accusation against him, the content of which follows.

Writ of Accusation against Pedro de Villegas, submitted by Fernando Rodríguez de Barco, chaplain of the King, chief prosecutor of the Holy Inquisition.

Document 10

Source: Fernando Rodríguez de Barco, chaplain of the King, chief prosecutor of the Holy Inquisition, Writ of accusation against Pedro de Villegas, December, 1483.

Reverend and Virtuous Lord Judges, Inquisitors of heretical iniquity:

I, Fernando Rodríguez de Barco, chaplain of the King, chief prosecutor of the Holy Inquisition, appear before your lordships and accuse Pedro de Villegas, resident of this city. I say that Pedro de Villegas lives with the reputation of a Christian, is called a Christian, and exercises and enjoys the privileges of a Christian. Yet with the calumny against our Lord and His Holy Catholic Faith, and in violation of the censures and penalties for heresy and judaizing, Pedro de Villegas has observed the Law of Moses and its ceremonies and rituals, and apostatized in this way:

First, Pedro de Villegas ate meat during Lent without a need or a reason for it, on account of Jewish ceremony and in contempt of our Holy Catholic Faith.

Next, he ate unleavened bread on the Jewish Passover.

Next, he willingly observed the Sabbath on Saturdays in his house, on account of reverence [for] Jewish ceremony. He ordered his household adorned as if it were a feast day.

Next, Pedro de Villegas is a judaiser and a heretic and observed Mosaic Law in other matters and instances that I will make known in this brief trial, as the come to my attention.

On account of which behaviors — and for not presenting himself before your Lordships during the Edict of Grace to confess lovingly and willingly his heretical errors — Pedro de Villegas must be considered a heretic and apostate, and should receive a sentence of greater excommunication, along with other civil and criminal penalties established in the law. Virtuous Lords, I ask and implore that you find him a heretic and an apostate, and that justice be done.

Answering the accusation by himself in court, Pedro de Villegas said it was true that he ate meat during Lent, but that he did so out of necessity, not for another reason. He denied everything else contained in the accusation, and thus he concluded. Witnesses: Alvaro Fernandez, Ruíz Daza, Francisco de Hozes.

Then the chief prosecutor said that since Villegas had responded to the accusation and concluded that he would conclude as well. The

inquisitors said that since both parties had finished and offered themselves for proof, they would consider as finished the first stage of the trial and would receive both parties for proof. They then assigned a legal period for the presentation of proof, to begin the third day from now, and to encompass the next nine days in which the inquisition tribunal was not closed, etc., [sic] Witnesses Juan Gómez and Juan de Hozes, clerics.

Afterward, on January 2, 1484, in the houses where the reverend lords reside and hold their court, the honorable master Juan Ruíz Daza and Juan de Hozes were present; both are clerics.

Document 11

Source: Pedro de Villegas, interrogatory of his defense witnesses, January 2, 1484.

Reverend and Virtuous Lords, Inquisitorial judges:

I, Pedro de Villegas, appear before your Lordships and affirm my denial of the prosecutor's accusation. If I ate meat during certain Lenten seasons, on a day when the Church had forbidden it, it was because of an illness I have, which recurred at that time. I caught this illness in this way: my hand was hurt while I was stretching a cloth over a frame, and the frame ripped the cloth I half; the spring came lose and carried me the length of three or four men from where I'd been standing, and it "broke and wounded me," as the saying goes. As a matter of fact, I am debilitated. If I rested on certain Saturdays, it was not because of a ceremony of Mosaic Law; I have never, God forbid, intended to follow Mosaic Law, for I come from an Old Christian lineage on both my father and mother's side. And I never talk with Jews, nor was I raised to have such an inclination. If I rested on some Saturdays it would have been at a time when my job of cloth making wasn't flourishing: there happened to be a month or two during which I did not work at all. This happened two or three times over the year, or on feast days, or days the Church ordered us to observe, or when I was sick.

And unleavened bread is such a foreign thing to me, it's as likely I ate it as it is that Muhammed ate port. I am a man brought up in a home with a common room and a generous atmosphere. I do not remember having eaten unleavened bread, as I have no intention of judaizing, nor am I of such a lineage. But though I have no intention of judaizing, and am not of that lineage, it is possible that I would eat it if I were hungry an dif people offered it to me repeatedly, especially if I had no other bread and if it were good; still, I do not remember having seen it [i.e., the unleavened bread]. Therefore I ask your Lordships that the witnesses presented on my behalf answer the following questions:

First, if they know me, Pedro de Villegas.

Next, if they know, saw, or heard it said, or if they believe, that I am reputed to be a Old Christian in this city and territory, on both my father and mother's sides, and I was brought up with a gentlemen in a house with a common room until I was thirteen or fourteen, and that I married, and took this job of cloth maker.

Next, if they know, etc., whether all the time that I have lived in this city and have been married, that whenever the occasion arose to do my work or any other work on a Saturday, that I performed that work in the same way as I would have on any other day of the week. Unless it was a feast day, or there was no work and I had nothing to do.

Next, if they know, etc., that about ten or eleven years ago, more or less, as I was stretching a cloth on the frames … that are in the city, that the cloth tore in half and the spring came loose and I was carried the length of three or four men from where I was, and that I tore my skin and hurt my hand.

Next, if they know, etc, that I am a loyal and Catholic Christian and have such a reputation. And that I do the works of such a man: I have gone to churches and heard Masses and divine sacrifices; I have confessed and received the Eucharist in times of affliction and at the times so commanded by the Church; I have held, believed, and confessed all that the Holy Church commands us to hold and believe, and commands us to perform and observe.

May your Lordships make these questions pertinent to the case. I beg your noble office to do what is required and request that justice be done. Thus I ask for testimony.

And given, Virtuous Lords, that the aforesaid frame broke and wounded me, for which reason I ate the meat at that time, and I would now be able to eat it if my defense were successful, I ask you I the best way I can, by law, that you investigate the accident and seek evidence of it.

What the witnesses testified as they were secretly, separately, and individually asked the interrogatory, is what follows.

Document 12

Source: Diego Philipe, witness for the defense, testimony, 1484.

Diego Philipe, a witness presented by Pedro de Villegas, being legally sworn and then asked the questions of the interrogatory, said to the first question that he had known Villegas for twelve years, a little more or less.

Asked the second question, he replied he didn't know, but he'd heard it said of Pedro Villegas.

To the third question, he replied he had seen Pedro de Villegas working as a cloth maker, and that Villegas worked as much on Saturday as on any other day of the week. And he saw this because he lodged with Villegas, and the door to his room opened on the inside of the house.

To the fourth question, he replied he did not know.

To the fifth question, he replied that he had sometimes seen Villegas in St. Peter's Church, hearing Mass like a Christian, and that he didn't know about the rest of the question.

For the other questions pertaining to the case, he said that he'd heard Villegas himself say that he was hurt. And he reaffirmed his testimony.

Document 13

Source: Antonio, the cloth maker, witness for the defense, testimony, 1484.

Antonio, a witness presented by Pedro de Villegas for his defense, being legally sworn and then asked the questions of the interrogatory, said to the first question that he had known Pedro de Villegas over the last five years, and that he'd had business dealings with him in stitching cloth.

To the second question, he said Villegas told him that his mother was a conversa and his father an Old Christian, and he'd seen [sic] him say that he had lived with Fernando de Villegas, and this is what he knows concerning the question.

To the third question, he said that he worked with Villegas in cloth making. In that job he had seen Villegas work on Saturday as if it were any other day.

To the fourth question, he said that he knew nothing more than what he had heard from Villegas' wife.

To the fifth question, he said that he had seen Villegas in church many times with Pedro Alegre, in order to hear masses and sermons. He knows that four or five years ago, Villegas was seized by illness, and he personally carried Villegas, who was very exhausted, to his house. He knew that Villegas confessed to a Dominican friar in the house, and afterward the friar gave him the Eucharist near St. Peter's [feast day]. That is all he knows.

To the sixth question, he said that he once saw Villegas eat meat on a Friday (he does not remember what day it was), and Antonio then told his friends about having seen it. And he reaffirmed his testimony.

Document 14

Source: Friar Francisco de Trujillo, witness for the defense, testimony, 1484.

Friar Francisco. A witness presented by Pedro Villegas for his defense, being legally sworn and asked the questions of the interrogatory, said to the first question that he has known Villegas for three and a half years, more or less.

To the second question, he said he does not know.

To the third and fourth questions, he said he does not know.

To the fifth question, he said that he sometimes saw Villegas in the church of St. Francis, hearing Mass and the Divine Offices like a Christian, and this witness said that he has heard Villegas' confession two or three times over the past three years. As to the other parts of the question, he has neither seen it nor does he know about it.

Asked the other questions pertinent to the case, Friar Francisco said that he know Villegas is a sick man, according to what he has heard people say who know it for certain; so, if Villegas ate some meat during Lent, he believes it would be due to his illness and not for any other reason, He said he would stick by what he had said regarding everything else, and reaffirmed his testimony.

Document 15

Source: Witnesses for the prosecution, trial transcripts, 1484.

Afterward, on January 2, 1484, in the houses where the inquisitors resided in the lower room where they held their hearings, the honorable Fernando Rodríguez del Barco, cleric and chaplain of the King, and chief prosecutor of the Office of the Holy Inquisition, appeared there before lord Francisco Sánchez de la Fuente, inquisitor. To prove his accusation against Pedro de Villegas, Rodríguez del Barco presented as witness Catalina de Zebrón, daughter of Juan Alonso de Zebrón and Leonor, wife of Benito Sánchez, a farmer. The inquisitor received legally sworn oaths from both women. They swore by God, Holy Mary, the four Holy Gospels, and the sign of the Cross (upon which each one put her right hand) that they would tell the truth about what they knew in this case. The inquisition told them that if they testified truthfully, God would help their bodies in this world and their souls in the next, where they had to stay even longer. If they did not testify truthfully, God would demand great evil to fall upon them, as happens to those who swear His Holy Name in vain. To the imprecation of the oath, each one of the women said: yes, I swear, etc. Amen.

What follows is what Catalina de Zebrón and Leonor, wife of Benito Sánchez, said in the judicial process and general inquisition when they were received as witnesses by the honorable Juan Ruíz de Córdoba, master in holy theology, and Juan Martínez, parish priest of Yevenes, who were empowered by the inquisitors to examine witnesses.

Having been legally sworn, Catalina de Zebrón, an aforesaid witness presented by the prosecutor, said that she was a neighbor of Pedro de Villegas. She saw that his wife observed Saturdays, and walked around very made up, clean, and adorned on that day. She saw this because she lived next door to her, and many times she saw it through a hole in the wall of her house. She ratified her statement.

Having been legally sworn, Leonor, wife of Benito Sánchez, and aforesaid witness presented by the prosecutor, said that fifteen years ago, more or less, she lived with Pedro de Villegas, cloth maker, who then resided at Santiago and now lives in Puerta de Arcos. At that time, she observed that Villegas and his wife ate meat during Lent, and she saw them eat unleavened bread. This is what she knows, and no more. She ratified her statement.

Document 16

Source: Inquisition course, verdict, 1484.

We — Pedro Díaz de la Costaña, licentiate in holy theology, and Francisco Sánchez de al Fuente, doctor in canon law, acting as inquisitional judges of heretical iniquity by apostolic authority — and I, Pedro Díaz, licentiate, officer and general vicar for the most reverend lord Pedro González de Mendoza, Cardinal of Spain, Archbishop of Toledo, have witnessed a trial now pending before us, between two parties. On the one hand, the honorable Fernando Rodríguez del Barco, Cleric, chaplain of the King, our chief prosecutor, on the other, Pedro de Villegas, a resident of Ciudad Real, concerning an accusation that the prosecutor presented against him. In his accusation, the prosecutor said that though Villegas has the reputation and name of a Christian, he in fact is a heretic and apostate, for he follows Mosaic Law and performs its ceremonies; specifically, that Villegas ate unleavened bread in the Passover of the Hews, and agreed to clean and decorate his house in honor of Saturday, and to observe Saturday as the Sabbath. He ate meat during Lent without a need to do so, in contempt of our Holy Faith and in order to honor and follow Mosaic law. The prosecutor says Villegas performed other ceremonies and Jewish rituals to honor and follow that Mosaic Law, and accordingly asked that Villegas be declared a heretic and that he incur the legal punishments against heretics, and that justice be served. And seeing how Villegas denied the accusation, saying he had been a good and faithful Christian and never had done the things of which he was accused. Pedro de Villegas and the chief prosecutor were together received for proof. Each party presented the witnesses that he wanted, and their statements and depositions were written down, and each party was provided with a copy o f that material. And each party was given a time limit to allege whatever they wished in the defense of prosecution of their rights. Once this was done, we decided this trial was concluded. Having [shared] our opinion and counsel with learned men and religious people of good and sound conscience, and having imparted to them this entire trial, following their advice, common opinion, and deliberation.

HOLDING GOD BEFORE OUR EYES:

We find the chief prosecutor did not prove the accusation against Pedro de Villegas, according to what he had to prove by law; and conversely, Pedro de Villegas proved himself to have lived as a good and faithful Christian. If certain ceremonies of Mosaic Law were performed in his house, he contradicted them, and neither consented to nor permitted

them when they came to his attention or when he was informed about them. Whereby we absolve Pedro de Villegas, he shall be freed and released from the accusation, and we order that he may receive as penance the time he has been a prisoner in our jail, because he did not know and inquire with greater diligence as to what things were done in his house against the Holy Faith, so that such things could be been fought against and punished, as they must be by law. We reserve the right to impose additional penances upon Pedro de Villegas beyond what is imposed upon him in this sentence. He must perform and complete those penances when he is commanded to do so by us, in satisfaction and emendation of his negligence and remission. Thus we declare our sentence through these writings.

In Ciudad Real, February 13, February 1484, Juan Sánchez de Tablada and Juan de Segovia, cleric and chaplain of the Queen, apostolic and public notaries of the Office of this Holy Inquisition, and before the witnesses, the reverend lord inquisitors Pedro Díaz de la Costaña and Francisco Sánchez de la Fuente, being in the lower room where they usually hold their hearing, gave this sentence in the presence of Pedro de Villegas. After the sentence was read by one of us, the notaries ordered Juan de Alfaro, the warden of the Inquisition, to release Villegas form the chains and shackles on his feet. They sent him away in peace to his house. Witnesses who were present, who saw and heard the sentence read: Licentiate Jufre de Loaysa, bachiller Gonzalo Muñoz, his brother, the prior of Santo Domingo, the bachiller called Camargo.

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Full and Plain Evidence: Science, Tradition and Religion in Early Modern Europe

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Background

While the vacuum pump and telescope are some of the better-known and more mainstream products of the transitions in worldview that characterized early modern Europe and that commonly fall under the heading of the Scientific Revolution, these transitions affected many other areas of European intellectual life. Two of these areas are closely intertwined and will form the basis for this unit: possession and exorcism.

Medieval Christianity believed that God and the Devil were engaged in a battle for human souls, and one of the more dramatic sites for this battle could be a person's actual body. Devils could use various means to take possession of human beings, suppressing the effects of a person's soul and causing bodies to perform many unnatural and sacrilegious acts. Not only did these activities demonstrate demonic power and further contribute to the fear and temptation on which demons thrived, according to later medieval thought, but they could also eventually lead to the damnation of the possessed individual, also known as a *demoniac*. To combat these demons, the Christian church developed a ritual known as exorcism. Exorcism consisted of a series of prayers and demands designed to test the demon — the idea was to compel the demon to tell the truth about its actions, to force the demon to testify against the evil of its ways and to expel the demon from the demoniac. Ritual and sanctified objects, such as holy water, relics and even the Eucharist (a Christian sacrament), were commonly used in this process. Although clergy alone were officially allowed to perform exorcisms, rites and prayers used in exorcisms were more widely adopted among the general population to prevent demonic intervention in day-to-day activities.

In the 16th century, beliefs about possession and demons and the practice of exorcism were among the many topics debated in the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. These disputes occurred for several reasons. Both Protestant and Catholic reformers shared

many beliefs about the Devil and his legions of demons, including a conviction that demonic activities were increasing. Not surprisingly the existence of religious turmoil only enhanced this conviction. As such, all sides expected to see more frequent and obvious demonic manifestations, such as possession. On the other hand, the evidentiary basis for the significance and effects of these possessions had been fundamentally challenged among Europe's theological and intellectual leaders by Renaissance humanism and Protestant reform. Scripture and centuries of medieval saints' lives, chronicles and scholastics disputes underlay 15th- and early 16th-century attitudes toward possession and exorcisms, yet most of those sources of authority were the very topics that 16th- and 17th-century thinkers challenged or, at least, reconceptualized. For example, later Renaissance humanism continued its emphasis on the centrality of the classics, but its insistence on the worth of this world and the relevance of classical education also led humanists to value empirical evidence and worldly applicability. Protestant reformers were less concerned with this world but denied the centrality of tradition as a basis for truth; in other words, they opened the door for investigators with a less theological bent to be constrained by traditional dogmas and, even, Scripture. Although Catholic reform asserted the truth of both Scripture and tradition, Catholic thinkers, too, adopted the more empirical bent of later 16th-century intellectual life in Italy and Spain. Part of this empiricism included an emphasis on the study of natural phenomena as a way to come to a better knowledge of God. Such impulses led religious orders such as the Jesuits to become pioneers in the collection and analysis of natural objects.

In the course of the early modern debates about the relationship between personal observation and traditional authority, possession and exorcism became one of the many disputed topics. Every country in Europe had its famous demoniacs and individuals who claimed they could expel demons. Often these cases arose during times of regional or national turmoil. In early modern France, a spate of possession cases appeared during the Wars of Religion, and Protestant and Catholics alike saw their ability to expel demons as ways to demonstrate the truth and, thereby, power of their faith. Yet people in early modern Europe were also aware of the personal aspects of possession and exorcism and the potential for fraud in these cases. In fact, ascertaining if the demoniac was really possessed was often the heart of the case and led to the greatest controversies. It inspired publications ranging from single-page documents known as broadsheets to formal treatises, hundreds of pages long. In these many sources modern historians can see the evolution of standards of evidence and sources of authority that are among the most influential transitions in early modern Europe.

No one should think, however, that this process was immediate or even entirely beneficial. As the following documents make clear, the debates over possession and exorcism also incorporate traditional attitudes about class and gender (the opinions of elite men were considered more valid than those of poor women), and these beliefs did not change over the course of the early modern period. It can even be argued that, with the Enlightenment, class distinctions based on education and beliefs grew greater. Moreover, empirical evidence and reasoned argument was not always on the side of the so-called "rationalists" and "naturalists." Their ideas were disseminated as much through scorn as through reason, and topics such as possession and exorcism provide a vivid example of both the strengths and weaknesses of this "new" science and philosophy. They also demonstrate just how small the group of individuals was that newer, rationalist ideas affected, even well into the 18th century.

Learning Objectives

This unit has several objectives that have influenced the choice of documents:

1. To introduce students to the traditional historical approach to intellectual developments of the 16th–18th centuries, culminating in the Enlightenment, using the example of possession and exorcism.

   This movement is generally depicted as one from the authority of Scripture and tradition (still in some textbooks presented as an irrational or magical worldview) to one based on empirical observation of the natural world and experimental science (one depicted much more frequently as innately rational).

2. To nuance this traditional perspective on early modern intellectual development. This unit will argue that the traditional perspective oversimplifies the late medieval heritage and relies on a perception of the Renaissance that was formulated in the 19th century.

   Instead, it will pose that what the early modern period saw was a changed definition of "rationality." Within its parameters, the intellectual systems of the later Middle Ages were both rational and even empirical. In early modern Europe a small group of intellectuals proposed a new basis for knowledge, albeit one that followed many ancient logical and rhetorical principles, and this new basis took centuries to disseminate, probably only reaching its peak in the 19th century.

3. To have students apply the rubrics of "method" and "motivation" as a way of determining the "newness" of a particular scientific discussion.

   In this exercise, the scientific discussion is the one about possession and exorcism, which was regarded as part of "natural philosophy" in early modern Europe. "Method" refers to how the writer proves his point. Older methods would include Scripture or the classics as evidence, apply scholastic structures to the book's organization (writing it with headings like "question 1, point 1," for example), appeal to authorities or tradition/history, etc. A more modern method would be to use contemporary, personal observations and describe a chain of causation; extremely modern, and very unlikely, would be to propose an experiment. "Motivation" refers to why the author writes. Older motivations would be to come to a better knowledge of God. More modern motivations would involve an acceptance of distance between God and the world and to look at the natural world independently, as having its own value. As students will see, even in the 18th century, both old and new methods and motivations still influenced the authors, even those considered "Enlightened."

4. To show the close relationship between religion and society in early modern Europe, even in "scientific" areas.

Many of the topics studied by leading lights of the Scientific Revolution were also studied in the Middle Ages under the category of "natural philosophy." Natural philosophy remained the term for most scientific studies in early modern Europe and included a wider variety of topics than modern science: for example, the study of demons (demonology) was part of both theology and natural philosophy depending on what aspect an individual was studying. Individuals involved in analyzing and judging cases of possession and the practice of exorcism often also practiced natural philosophy, and both informed each other.

5. To illustrate the effects of intellectual change on class and gender relations.

   This objective is somewhat deceptive, because the traditional narrative of early modern intellectual development is progressive, that is the early modern European worldview marks a positive move to more reasonable, rational understanding. The effect of these ideas on women and people of lower classes is, however, more mixed. Throughout this period women continued to be seen as innately irrational, although a few exceptions were admitted, and the debates over possession and exorcism highlight this aspect because women were seen as more likely to be affected. Moreover, intellectuals of the 18th century defended their ideas in part through vitriolic ridicule of the lower, "peasant" understanding of their opponents. As social and intellectual elites increasingly defined themselves through their elevated (and expensive) education and distance from "vulgar" practices, the classism of early modern European society became even more striking.

Document-Based Activities

1. The last document in this lesson is a secondary source, an excerpt from H.C. Erik Midelfort, *Exorcism and Enlightenment: Johann Joseph Gassner and the Demons of Eighteenth–Century Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 1–9. In it, Midelfort presents a controversial argument about early modern intellectual change. Use the primary sources to set up a debate over the validity of Midelfort's argument.
2. Set up a debate between Protestant and Catholic thinkers over the correctness of possession and exorcism. Be sure to have the students incorporate the ideas they learned in their unit on the Reformations.
3. Have each student choose the author with whom they sympathize the most and the one whom they find the most distasteful. Compare the responses of the students and discuss why they chose these authors.

Questions for the Documents

Groups of Documents

1. Compare the two images and their depictions of "religious enthusiasm." Given that they were produced at approximately the same time, how do you account for their differences?
2. To what extent do the late 17th-century documents reflect the ideas of the *Malleus Maleficarum* and other earlier sources? Apply the categories of method and motivation (See Learning Objective 3, above) to sort through the authors' ideas.
3. Compare the descriptions of possessed individuals in Marescot and Visconti. How do you account for the similarities and differences? Why might these signs be the most obvious demonstration that people are possessed?
4. Using these documents and your knowledge of European history, analyze why the witchcraft craze peaked and declined during this period.

Individual Documents

Questions for Document 1

1. Draw up a summary of the points Kramer itemizes here. Do these points seem to flow in an ordered sequence? Why might Kramer think these were the most effective points to include?
2. What types of evidence does Kramer use to construct his argument? Does he feel that he needs to defend the use of this evidence?
3. How would you describe Kramer's tone? Defensive? Confident?

Questions for Document 2

1. How does Marescot demonstrate his Christian convictions even though he is certain that Brossier is a fraud?
2. How might the tone of the first paragraph foreshadow his conclusions?

Questions for Document 3

1. Why does Protestantism lead to demonic possession according to Del Rio?
2. What evidence does Del Rio use for his assertions? Compare it to other 17th-century authors. Would they agree his evidence is satisfactory?

Questions for Document 4

1. Based on this document, what types of medical procedures might a sick woman in 17th-century England experience?

2. How does "suffocation of the mother" act on a woman's mind and body to make her think she's possessed?
3. Why should observers assume a woman suffers from a medical condition rather than demonic possession?

Questions for Document 5

1. In what ways is this document a product of Catholic Reform?
2. What might Jorden's response be to Visconti's list? Why does Visconti think these symptoms are a sign of an unnatural illness?

Questions for Document 6

1. While many of the documents here were produced as part of a controversy, the style of an effective controversial treatise has changed. Compare Glanvill to Kramer and Jorden. How do they go about proving arguments? Which method do you find most convincing?
2. In what ways does Glanvill represent a combination of both old and new methods and motivations?

Questions for Document 7

1. Why does Thomasius believe in "crystal-gazers and exorcists"? Does he feel a need to justify these beliefs?
2. What does Thomasius use as evidence for his assertions?

Questions for Document 8

1. How does Bayle's perspective on the imagination compare to that found in Marescot and Jorden?
2. What is Bayle's attitude toward possessed women?

Questions for Document 9 (Midelfort)

1. In what ways are Gassner's exorcisms empirical?
2. How do you explain the enthusiasm with which people received Gassner's exorcisms?
3. Compare the accounts of exorcisms from the earlier period with those practiced by Gassner. (Hint: Look at what Gassner treats in his exorcisms.)
4. Just how "enlightened" was the Enlightenment, according to Midelfort?

Student Materials

Note on Document 1

Arguably the most famous late medieval demonology, the *Malleus Maleficarum (The Hammer of Witches)* by Heinrich Kramer (also known as Henricus Institoris c.1450-505) is also one of the most infamous and misunderstood works on witchcraft and its many related subjects, including in this case possession and exorcism. In the 1480s Kramer was a Dominican and inquisitor for "Upper Germany," that is, southwestern Germany, western Austria, Switzerland, and his homeland, Alsace. While his experiences with the actual trials influenced his work, of far greater influence was the resistance local communities and some of his ecclesiastical superiors raised against his illegal methods and inaccurate knowledge of both civil and canon law. One of his leading opponents, Jacob Sprenger (1437–1495), a fellow Dominican and reformer, was so closely linked to Kramer that he has been falsely labeled as a coauthor of the *Malleus*. First printed in 1486, there is extensive evidence that the *Malleus* was a work in progress. Some scholars believe that Kramer thought that revising the book was unimportant because he believed the end of the world was coming soon and the prevalence of demons and witches was but one of the symptoms. Despite its incoherencies, the *Malleus* went through 12 editions between 1486 and 1523. The book remained in Latin throughout this period, which means its readership was confined to elite intellectuals (theologians, medical doctors and lawyers). Its modern reputation as the centerpiece of the European witch hunts during the 16th and 17th centuries is thus almost assuredly false, although the assertions in the *Malleus* about the pervasive presence of the devil and the corrupted nature of women helped to form both early modern and modern discussions of witchcraft.

Document 1

Source: Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, ed. and trans.,*The Malleus Maleficarum* (Speyer, 1486). Montague Summers, ed. and trans. (1928; reprint, Dover Publications, 1971), 128–134, 179–188.

PART II. QUESTION I.
Of the Method by which Devils through the Operations of Witches sometimes actually possess men.

It has been shown in the previous chapter how devils can enter the heads and other parts of the body of men, and can move the inner mental images from place to place. But someone may doubt whether they use witches to gain such complete control of men. To clear up these doubts we must undertake three explanations. First, as to the various methods of possession. Secondly, how at the instance of witches and with God's permission devils at time possess men in all those ways. Thirdly, we must substantiate our arguments with facts and examples.

… we may say that the devil can possess a man in two ways. In the first way, we may say that, since a man is by any mortal sin

brought into the devil's service, in so far as the devil provides the outer suggestion of sin either to the senses or to the imagination, to that extent he is said to inhabit the character of a man who is moved by every stirring temptation, like a ship in the sea without a rudder….

We may say, therefore, that just as there are five ways in which devils by themselves, without witches, can injure and possess men, so they can also do so in those ways [with] witches; since then God is the more offended, and greater power of molesting men is allowed to the devil through witches. And the methods are briefly the following, excepting the fact that they sometimes plague a man through his external possessions: sometimes they injure men only in their own bodies; sometimes in their faculties; sometimes they only tempt them inwardly and outwardly; others they at times deprive of the use of their reason; others they change into the appearance of irrational beasts.

But first we shall rehearse five reasons why God allows men to be possessed: sometimes a man is possessed for his own advantage; sometimes for a slight sin of another; and sometimes for his own venial sin; sometimes for another's heavy sin. For all these reasons let no one doubt that God allows such things to be done by devils at the instance of witches; and it is better to prove each of them by the Scriptures, rather than by recent examples, since new things are always strengthened by old examples.

PART II. QUESTION II.
Prescribed Remedies; to wit, the Lawful Exorcisms of the Church, for all Sorts of Infirmities and Ills due to Witchcraft; and the Method of Exorcising those who are Bewitched.

It has already been stated that witches can afflict men with every kind of physical infirmity; therefore it can be taken as a general rule that the various verbal or practical remedies which can be applied in the case of those infirmities which we have just been discussing are equally applicable to all other infirmities, such as epilepsy or leprosy. Lawful exorcisms are reckoned among the verbal remedies, and there are three matters to be considered regarding them.

First, we must judge whether a person who has not been ordained as an exorcist, such as a layman or a secular cleric, may lawfully exorcise devils and their works. Secondly, we must consider what is to be done when no healing grace results from the exorcism.

Thirdly, we must consider practical and not verbal remedies; together with the solution of certain arguments….

To understand these [remedies] we must consider how they originated, and how they came to be abused. For they were in their origin entirely sacred; but just as by the means of devils and wicked men all things can be defiled, so also were these sacred words. For it is said in the last chapter of S. Mark, about of the Apostles and holy men: In My Name shall they cast out devils; and they visited the sick, and prayed over them with sacred words. In later times priests devoutly used similar rites; and therefore there are to be found to-day in ancient Churches devout prayers and holy exorcisms which men can undergo, when they are applied by pious men as they used to be, without any superstition; even as there are now to be found learned men and Doctors of holy Theology who visit the sick and use such words for the healing not only of demoniacs, but of other diseases as well…

But, alas! superstitious men have, on the pattern of these, found for themselves many vain and unlawful remedies which they employ these days for sick men and animals; and the clergy have become too slothful to use any more the lawful words when they visit the sick….

Now for the elucidation of this matter it is asked how it is possible to know whether the words of such charms and benedictions are lawful or superstitious, and how they ought to be used; and whether the devil can be conjured and diseases exorcised….

…. the first of these conditions, as we learn from S. Thomas,[1] is that there must be nothing in the words which hints at any expressed or tacit invocation of devils. If such were expressed, it would be obviously unlawful. If it were tacit, the operator has no care whether it is God or the devil who is helping him, so long as he attains his desired result. And of such not only must physicians and astronomers be the judges, but especially Theologians. For in this way do necromancers work, making images and rings and stones by artificial means; which have no natural virtue to effect the results which they very often expect: therefore the devil must be involved in their works.

Secondly, the benedictions or charms must contain no unknown names….

1. Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) was a leading Dominican theologian and one of the medieval thinkers most responsible for the integration of Aristotle's ideas and methods into medieval Christianity. Although his ideas were controversial during his lifetime, by the 15th century his thought, embodied in his most famous and comprehensive work, the *Summa Theologica*, became normative in the Christian church; and in 1586, Pope Pius V declared Aquinas a "doctor of the Church," a theologian and writer whose ideas are fundamental to Catholicism.

Thirdly, there must be nothing in the words that is untrue; for if there is, the effect of them cannot be from God, Who is not a witness to a lie. But some old women in their incantations use some such jingling doggerel as the following:

Blessed MARY went a-walking
Over Jordan river.
Stephen met her, and fell a-talking, etc.

Fourthly, there must be no vanities, or written characters beyond the sign of the Cross. Therefore the charms which soldiers are wont to carry are condemned.

Fifthly, no faith must be placed in the method of writing or reading or binding the charm about a person, or in any such vanity, which has nothing to do with the reverence of God, without which a charm is altogether superstitious.

Sixthly, in the citing and uttering of Divine words and of Holy Scripture attention must only be paid to the sacred words themselves and their meaning, and to the reverence of God.

Seventhly, the looked-for effect must be left to the Divine Will; for He knows whether it is best for a man to be healed or to be plagued, or to die….

….in whatever is written there must be nothing that savours of an invocation of devils; for then it is manifestly superstitious and unlawful, and must be judged as an apostasy from the faith.

Document 2

Source: Michel Marescot, *Discours véritable sur la faict de Marthe Brossier de Romorantin pretendue demoniaque* (Paris, 1599). Translated by Abraham Hartwell.

In 1599 a young, unmarried French woman, Marthe Brossier of Romorantin, a small town, claimed to have been possessed by the devil, who a neighbor commanded to torment her. The Brossier case was one of a series that struck France between 1560 and 1620, and her case attracted large crowds for her public exorcisms. The cases were so sensational in Paris that the bishop of Paris asked a group of leading physicians to examine Brossier to see if she was truly possessed. Michel Marescot (1535–1605) was one of those doctors, and his damning conclusion that she was a fake ("Nothing of the Devil, lots of tricks and fakery; a little bit of sickness") helped to inspire the king of France, Henry IV, to order her to return home. Brossier and several supporters

defied Henry and fled to Italy; the last we hear of her is in 1604 when she is reported to be in Milan and still possessed. Despite Marescot's medical credentials and royal authority, Marescot's condemnation of Brossier was challenged. Pierre de Bérulle, who would eventually become a cardinal, saw Marescot's condemnation as a challenge to Catholicism, a particularly hot topic given that the French Wars of Religion had just ended, and there is some evidence that Bérulle was correct; certainly Marescot had Protestant sympathies. Translated into English and published in England in 1600, Marescot's account would also influence other opponents of possession and exorcism in England.

Document 3

Source: Brian Levack, ed., *The Witchcraft Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 244–245.

Upon Thursday the first day of April all mysteries were employed and used; none of the remedies were forgotten that are proper to the driving out of devils. They settled themselves to prayers. She blared out her tongue, turned her eyes, and at the pronouncement of certain words she fell as before and used such motions as they do that are troubled with a convulsion. Yet all these actions seemed to the physicians to be merely counterfeit. The exorcisms or conjurations were begun again, and the woman hearing the words Et homo factus est; And he was made man, she labored with all her strength and forces to make her gambols, and being upon her back, in four or five skips removed herself from the altar to the chapel door, which indeed astonish all the company.…

And touching the thesis and general proposition, there was never any doubt of it. For we do believe, according to the Christian faith, that there are devils, that they enter into men's bodies, and that they torment them in sundry sorts, and all whatever the Catholic Church has determined of their creation, nature, power, effects and exorcisms, we hold to be true, firm and stable, as the Pole of heaven. But touching the hypothesis, that is to say, that Martha Brossier is or hath been possessed of a devil, we say it is absurd, false and without any likelihood. And to prove it we will conclude by this general syllogism:

Major: Nothing ought to be attributed to the Devil that has not something extraordinary above the laws of nature.

Minor: The actions of Marthe Brossier are such as have nothing extraordinary above the laws of nature.

Conclusion: And therefore the actions of Martha Brossier ought not to be attributed to the devil.

Document 4

Source: Martin Del Rio, *Disquisitiones magicarum libri sex* (Louvain, 1603), translated by P.G. Maxwell-Stuart.

Martin Del Rio (1551–1608) was one of the leading early modern scholars of demonology. He gave up a successful career working for the Supreme Council of Brabant and at twenty-nine entered the Jesuit Order, where he became one of its leading theologians. Fluent in seven languages including Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, as a young man he published commentaries on classical authors such as Seneca which aOnce he became a Jesuit, the Society sent him through Spain, the Low Countries, and Germany to work as a professor and an advisor to rulers and church leaders on both theology and canon law. His largest and most influential book, the *Disquisitiones magicarum libri sex* (Six Books on Investigations into Magic, published 1599–1600), was cited as authoritative by both Protestants and Catholics, despite the close connection Del Rio made between heresy and witchcraft. In this work he calls for close cooperation between exorcists and physicians in recognizing and treating the possessed.

Document 5

Source: The following excerpt, which continues the case history begun in Document 4, comes from Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe, 400–1700: A Documentary History*, 2d ed., revised by Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 332–334.

Nothing has spread this plague further and more quickly through England, Scotland, France and Belgium than the dread pestilence of Calvinism. Before, in a few places, an unreliable rumor was scattered about a few [and then only the common] people. Now, with this heresy, as in the case of the frenzy of a fever, it has invaded very many people all over the place [and openly], who are famous for their nobility, learning, wealthy and dignity. … In answer to my question, why does magic regularly accompany heresy, I am reminded of the reasons very clearly advanced by my late friend Dr. Juan Maldonato, Society of Jesus, a priest and a very learned and holy man, when he gave public lectures in Paris on evil spirits. He gave five reasons as follows:

1. Evil spirits dwell in heretics. … So it follows that, just as when a war is over, the soldiers are spread in all directions and become robbers and lay siege to every road, so evil spirits, when heresies are driven off or destroyed, which before were flourishing, seek new dwellings in other people. For when evil spirits are compelled to come out of a person in whom they

had lodged, they seek by way of an agreement that they be allowed to retreat into another place. …

3. It seems to be so arranged by nature that just as plague follows famine, so various types of meddlesome arts follow heresy. For heresy is "a famine of the Word of God" (*Amos* 8.11); and as in a lack of corn-supply people are compelled to eat food which is not healthy, whence it happens that plague arises from the corrupted humors: so, while heresy flourishes, while people used the corrupted meanings of Scripture, at length they have recourse to the magical arts which are like diseases of the soul.
4. Evil spirits are accustomed to use heretics as though they were beautiful prostitutes to draw people into error. …
5. In my opinion, the fifth cause is the negligence of those who rule the Church. …

How I wish these things had not intruded upon our eyes! We have seen the once flourishing Protestant scum of Belgium devouring everything with Calvinism, Lutheranism and Anabaptism, like caterpillars. … We see elsewhere the number of atheists or politicians increasing with the result that since so few true and fervent Catholics remain, none can be seen distinctly because their numbers are so small.

Notes on Document 6

Edward Jorden (1569–1632) was a well-known English physician who became involved in a series of polemics about a famous English possession case, that of Mary Glover (1602). When Mary began having fits, she accused an older woman with whom she had been fighting of having sent a devil into her. The case grew so sensational and acrimonious that four doctors, Jorden being one of them, were called to testify at the older woman's trial. Despite skeptical medical opinions, Mary's human tormentor was condemned to death, and a group of Puritan preachers succeeded in ridding Mary of the demon. Jorden, however, was convinced that there had been a gross miscarriage of justice and published his medical diagnosis of Mary's problems: that she was suffering from "suffocation of the mother," a "female complaint" caused by the "wandering" or displacement of Mary's uterus that affected the patient both physiologically and psychologically, causing her to exhibit symptoms much like those ascribed to the possessed. One of three pamphlets that appeared in 1603 about the Glover case, Jorden's *A Brief Discourse* represents one of the most thorough and concise examples of the medicalization of possession and exorcism.

Document 6

Source: Edward Jorden, *A Brief Discourse of a Disease Called the Suffocation of the Mother* (London, 1603). From Brian Levack, ed., *The Witchcraft Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 250–251.

To the Right Worshipful the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians in London.

… I thought good to make known the doctrine of this disease so far forth as may be in a vulgar tongue conveniently disclosed, to the end that the unlearned and rash conceits of divers might be thereby brought to better understanding and moderation, who are apt to make everything a supernatural work which they do not understand, proportioning the bounds of nature unto their own capacities, which might prove an occasion of abusing the name of God, and make us to use holy prayer as ungroundedly as the Papists do their prophecy tricks, who are ready to draw forth their wooden dagger if they do but see a maid or woman suffering one of these fits, conjuring and exorcising them as if they were possessed with evil spirits. In Padua I once saw five or six at one sermon interrupting and reviling the preacher until he had put them to silence by the sign of the cross, and certain powerless spells.

Wherefore it behooves us to be zealous in the truth, so to be wise in discerning truth from counterfeiting and natural causes from supernatural power. I do not deny but that God doth in these days work extraordinarily for the deliverance of his children and for other ends best known unto himself, and that among other, there may be both possessions by the Devil and obsessions and witchcraft, etc. and dispossession also through the prayers and supplications of his servants, which is the only means left to us for our relief in that case. But such examples being very rare nowadays, I would in the fear of God be very circumspect in pronouncing of a possession both because the impostures are many and the effects of natural diseases be strange to such as have not looked thoroughly into them.

But let us consider a little the signs which some do show of a supernatural power in these examples. For if they say there no such signs need appear, because the Devil by witchcraft may inflict a natural disease, then I ask them what they have to do with the Devil or with dispossessing of him, when he is not there present, but hath been only an external source of a disease by kindling or corrupting the humors of our bodies, which disease as well as other will submit itself to physical indications. Wherefore they must needs make him to be an internal cause, and to possess the members and faculties of the body

and hold them to his use; or else they understand not what they say when they do peremptorily disclaim natural means and avouch that they speak certain words and perform certain voluntary motions upon his incitation, and are hindered by him from speaking other words which they would fain utter. And therefore to this end diverse signs and symptoms are alleged by them as arguments of a supernatural and extraordinary power inherent in the body.

One of their signs is insensibility, when they do not feel being pricked with a pin or burned with fire, etc. Is this so strange a spectacle when in the palsy, the falling sickness, apoplexis, and divers other diseases it is daily observed? And in these fits of the Mother it is so ordinary as I never read any author writing of this disease who doth not make mention thereof. This point you shall find proved both by authorities and examples in the fourth Chapter of this work.

There also you shall find convulsions, contractions, distortions and such like to be ordinary symptoms in this disease.

Another sign of a supernatural power they make to be the due and orderly returning of the fits when they keep their just day and hour, which we call periods or circuits. This accident, as it is common to divers other chronical diseases, such as headaches, gouts, epilepsies, etc., so it is often observed in this disease, as is sufficiently proved elsewhere.

Another argument of theirs is the offence in eating or drinking, as if the Devil meant to choke them therewith. But this symptom is also ordinary in uterine affects, and I have at this time a patient troubled in like manner.

Another reason of theirs is the coming of the fits upon the presence of some certain person. The reasons of it from the stirring of the affections of the mind.

Another main argument of theirs is the deliverance upon fasting and prayer, which we will imagine to be so indeed without any counterfeiting in that point. This may be a natural remedy [in] two manner of ways: the one by pulling down the pride of the body and the height of the natural humors thereof, a very convenient means and often prescribed by our authors in young and lusty bodies; the other by the confident persuasion of the patient to find release by rules and authorities in our profession and also by examples to be a very effectual remedy in curing diverse diseases of this nature.

Notes on Document 7

Zaccaria Visconti (also known as Zacharias Vicecomes, c. 1560s–early/mid-17th century) was an Italian exorcist and priest known for his austere piety and dedication to freeing those who were possessed by demons. From his base as prior of the abbey of Saint Donato in the university city of Pavia, Visconti both worked as an exorcist and wrote his guide, *Complementum Artis Exorcistiae (A Complement to the Exorcist's Skills)*, supporting the practice of exorcism by licensed clergy and providing guidelines for the many circumstances which an exorcist might face. In particular, Visconti focused on how to discern the presence of an evil spirit, in the process, summarizing and reevaluating the later medieval doctrines on the "discernment of spirits," a branch of theology which concentrated on perceiving and defining the existence and activities of spiritual presences within creation.

Document 7

Source: Zaccaria Visconti, *Complementum Artis Exorcistiae* (1608), translated by P. G. Maxwell-Stuart. From P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *The Occult in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 46–48.

Part I, doctrine 5 — Signs of someone possessed by an evil spirit:

(1) Very often the demoniac sticks out a tongue unnaturally black and swollen; his throat is either inflated or narrowly constricted so that he seems to wish to be strangled. It returns, however, to its former state.
(2) Demoniacs weep aloud and do not know why they are weeping.
(3) They answer questions angrily in a loud, quarrelsome voice.
(4) When pressed to speak, they do not wish to do so.
(5) They grit their teeth and do not wish to eat.
(6) They pursue people with hatred.
(7) They say many things whose meaning it is impossible to decipher.
(8) They are oppressed by heavy torpor.
(9) They remain as if deprived of their senses.
(10) They cut themselves with knives and slash their clothes and hair.
(11) They have frightening, dreadful eyes.
(12) They are afflicted by a sudden terror which immediately goes away.
(13) They imitate the voices of various animals and so one hears the roaring of lions, the bleating of sheep, the lowing of oxen, the barking of dogs, the grunting of pigs, and so on.
(14) They hiss through their teeth, froth at the mouth and show other signs like rabid dogs.
(15) Very often they jump from a great height.
(16) Sometimes a fiery or ice-cold vapor runs through their bodies.
(17) They feel as though ants are running over their body; or frogs jumping, vipers, snakes, and fish swimming; flies flying, and so forth.

(18) They see and hear things beyond what is natural.
(19) They feel scared of things when these are placed on top of their head. …
(20) They cry out when one places any saints' relics on their head, even if one does so secretly, and say: 'Take them away. They mean me harm', or 'They are too heavy.' They blow heavily or turn their head round or make an effort to throw the relics off or display anger against the minister and bystanders.
(21) They have a hatred for all spiritual things. They run away at the sight of priests, especially exorcists, and are unwilling to enter a church. If they do go in, they try to run out at once. … They are unwilling to look at or kiss any blessed object, the images of the saints, and especially the crucifix. Indeed, they throw them down and spit on them all.
(22) They make no effort to speak sacred words … and if they do pronounce them, they try to stutter, or corrupt the words, and demonstrate extreme boredom. At length they cannot say them at all. This is how they show clearly they are possessed by evil spirits.

Notes on Document 8

Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680) was a leading 17th-century English controversialist, associated with a movement known as Cambridge Platonism. Glanvill and his allies argued for the reality of spirits in both the natural and the supernatural world against the ideas of Descartes and Spinoza, which were spreading among the English intelligentsia and which Glanvill labeled "atheism." *Sadducismus Triumphatus (Sadducism*[2] *Conquered)* was one of four major books Glanvill produced in the course of these battles. Glanvill's methodology reflects modern scientific principles, an approach that made it difficult for the opponents to challenge them. Glanvill discussed both the philosophical underpinnings for belief in witches and the supernatural (a more traditional approach to the topic), but also supported his argument through the collection of hundreds of trial records and accounts of authentic experiences attested to by leading thinkers of their day. Members of the Royal Society gladly contributed to Glanvill's enterprise, viewing it as one more area in which the new investigative principles for natural history could be applied. The fact that their evidence could also be seen as supporting Scripture both benefited traditionalists and shielded some members of the "new" scientific community from charges of "atheism."

2. Sadducism refers to the Sadducees, Jewish thinkers who only supported the authority of the written law. In the case of the battles between the Cambridge Platonists and the "atheists" of 17th-century England, "Sadducism" was a term used to condemn the irreligious, anti-spiritual beliefs of those thinkers who supported what was believed to be a purely materialist worldview. Thomas Hobbes was regarded as the consummate Sadducee.

Document 8

Source: Joseph Glanvill, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*; (*Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions)*, 3rd ed. (London, 1689), 273–274, 313, 326–330.

SECT. VI. Proofs from Possession of Evil Spirits, and that they were not Diseases, as the Witch-Advocates would have them.

That such Possessions have been, we find frequently and plainly delivered in the History of the Gospel, and so often, that I shall not need to recite particulars. The Evasion that the Witch-Advocates have for this is that the Devils and *unclean Spirits*, which our Saviour is said to have cast out, were strange and uncommon *Diseases*, and Christ who came not to teach Men Philosophy, complyed with their deceived apprehension, and the Evangelists speak according to their conceit in this matter.

But if this Answer must pass, then in the first place, Farewell all Scripture, it may be made to say what we please! If when the Scripture speaks plainly of unclean *Spirits* and *Devils*, we may understand *Diseases* by it, then what we read of *good Angels* may be substitute *Graces* and *Virtues*, and what we read of *Christ himself*, may all be interpreted of the *Christ within each of us*, and so all the Scripture, and all Religion shall signifie what any Man thinks fit.

Secondly, The cure of Diseases is mentioned in many of the Texts, distinctly from the casting out of the Devils. Thus *Matth*. 10. 1. *He gave the Disciples power against unclean Spirits to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sicknesses, and all manner of Diseases*. This was a different Power from the former, and all manner of sicknesses and diseases implies the uncommon and extraordinary, which our opponents would have to be the same as the Devils. So *Luke* 6. 18. *He healed them of their Diseases, and those that were vexed with unclean Spirits, were brought to him, and he healed them likewise*. And most plainly, *Matth*. 4. 24. *And they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers Diseases and Torments and those that were possessed with Devils, and those that were Lunatick, and those that had the Palsie, and he healed them*. The Mad-men, and those that had the Falling-Sickness, the Distempers which the Witch-Advocates make Devils of, are here mentioned apart, and as distinct from those Devils our Saviour cast out.

Source: This is Glanvill's account of the possession of Mompesson's house by a demon in 1661, what modern readers might call a haunting. The narrative begins again with Glanvill's conclusion.

PROOF OF APPARITIONS, SPIRITS, AND WITCHES, FROM A CHOICE COLLECTION OF MODERN RELATIONS.

RELATION I. *Which is the enlarged Narrative of the Dæmon of Tedworth, or of the Disturbances at Mr. Mompesson's House, caused by Witchcraft, and the villany of the Drummer.*

Thus I have written the summary of Mr. *Mompesson's* disturbance, which I had partly from his own mouth related to diverse witnesses, who confirmed that he had told them such, and partly from his own Letters, from which the order and series of things is taken. The same particulars he writ also to Dr. *Creed*, of Oxford University.

Mr. *Mompesson* is a Gentleman, of whose truth in this account, I have not the least ground of suspicion, he being neither vain nor credulous, but a discreet, sagacious and manly person. Now the credit of matters of Fact depends much upon the Relators, who, if they cannot be deceived themselves nor supposed any ways interested to impose upon others, ought to be credited. For upon these circumstances, all humane Faith is grounded, and matter of Fact is not capable of any proof besides, but that of immediate sensible evidence. Now this Gentleman cannot be thought ignorant, whether that he relates be true or no, the Scene of all being his own House, himself a witness, and that not of a circumstance or two, but of an hundred, nor for once or twice only, but for the space of some years, during which he was a concerned, and inquisitive Observer. So that it cannot with any shew of reason be supposed that any of his Servants abused him, since in all that time he must needs have detected the deceit. And what interest could any of his Family have had (if it had been possible to have managed without discovery) to continue so long so troublesome, and so injurious an Imposture? Nor can it with any whit of more probability be imagined, that his own melancholy deluded him, since (besides that he is no crazy nor imaginative person) that humour could not have been so lasting and pertinacious. Or if it were so in him, can we think he infected his whole Family, and those multitudes of Neighbours and others, who had so often been Witnesses of those passages? such Supposals are wild, and not like to tempt any, but those whose Wills are their Reasons. So that upon the whole, the principal Relator Mr. *Mompossen* himself knew, whether what He reports was true or not, whether those things acted in his House were contrived *Cheats*, or extraordinary *Realities*. And if so, what Interest could he serve in carrying on, or conniving at a juggling Design and Imposture?

He suffered by it in his Name, in his Estate, in all his Affairs, and in the general Peace of his Family. The Unbelievers in the matter of Spirits and Witches took him for an Impostor. Many others judged the Permission of such an extraordinary Evil to be the Judgment of God upon him, for some notorious wickedness or impiety. Thus his Name was continually exposed to Censure, and his Estate suffered, by the Concourse of People from all parts to his House, by the Diversion it gave him from his Affairs, by the Discouragement of Servants, by reason of which he could hardly get any to live with him. To which if I add the continuall Hurry that his Family was in, the Affrights, Vexations and Tossings up and down of his Children, and the Watchings and Disturbance of his whole House (in all which, Himself must needs be the most concerned) I say, if these things are considered, there will be little reason to think he could have any Interest to put a Cheat upon the World, in which He would most of all have injured and abused Himself. Or if he should have designed and managed so incredible, so unprofitable a Delusion, 'tis strange that he should have troubled himself so long in such a Business, only to deceive, and to be talkt of. And it is yet more so, that none of those many inquisitive Persons that came thither purposely to criticize and examine the Truth of those Matters, could make any Discoveries of the Juggling, especially since many came prejudiced against the Belief of such things in general, and others resolved before-hand against the Belief of this, and all were permitted the utmost Freedom of Search and Enquiry. And after Things were weighed and examined, some that were before greatly prejudiced went away fully convinced. To all which I add, That there are divers Particulars in the Story, in which no Abuse or Deceit could have been practised, as the Motion of Boards and Chairs of themselves, the beating of a Drum in the midst of a Room, and in the Air, when nothing was to be seen: the great Heat in a Chamber that had no Fire in excessive cold weather, the Scratching and Panting, the violent Beating and Shaking of the Bedsteads, of which there was no perceivable Cause or Occasion: In these and such like Instances, it is not to be conceived how Tricks could have been put upon so Many, so Jealous, and so Inquisitive Persons as were Witnesses of them.

'Tis true, that when the Gentlemen the King sent were there, the House was quiet, and nothing seen nor heard that night, which was confidently and with triumph urged by many, as a confutation of the story. But 'twas bad Logick to conclude in matters of *Fact* from a single *Negative*, and such a one against numerous *Affirmatives*, and so affirm, that a thing was never done, because not at such a particular time, and that no body ever saw what this Man or that did not. By the same way

of reasoning, I may infer that there were never any Robberies done on *Salisbury* Plain, *Hounslow* Heath, or the other noted places, because I have often Travelled all those ways, and yet was never Robbed; and the *Spaniard* inferred well that said, *There was no Sun in England, because he had been six weeks here, and never saw it*. This is the common argument of those that deny the Being of *Apparitions*, they have Travelled all hours of the night, and never saw any thing worse than themselves (which may well be) and thence they conclude, that all pretended *Apparitions* are *Fancies* or *Impostures*. But why do not such arguers conclude, that there was never a Cut-Purse in *London*, because they have lived there many years without being met with by any of those Practisers? Certainly he that denies *Apparitions* upon the confidence of this *Negative* against the vast heap of *Positive* assurances, is credulous in believing there was ever any *Highway-man* in the World, if he himself was never Robb'd. And the Trials of Assizes and Attestations of those that have (if he will be just) ought to move his Assent no more in this case, than in that of *Witches* and *Apparitions*, which have the very same evidence.

But as to the quiet of Mr. *Mompesson's* House, when the Courtiers were there, it may be remembred and considered, that the disturbance was not constant, but intermitted sometimes several days, sometimes weeks. So that the intermission at that time might be accidental, or perhaps the *Daemon* was not willing to give so publick a Testimony of those Transactions, which possibly might convince those, who he had rather should continue in the unbelief of his existence. But however it were, this circumstance will afford but a very slender inference against the credit of the story, except among those who are willing to take any thing for an Argument against things which they have an interest not to acknowledge.

I have thus related the sum of the story, and noted some circumstances that assure the truth of it. I confess the passages recited are not so dreadful, tragical and amazing, as there are some in story of this kind, yet are they never the less probable or true, for their being not so prodigious and astonishing. And they are strange enough to prove themselves effects of some *invisible extraordinary Agent*, and so demonstrate that there are *Spirits*, who sometimes sensibly intermeddle in our affairs. And I think they do it with clearness of evidence. For these things were not done long ago, or at far distance, in an ignorant age, or among a barbarous people, they were not seen by two or three only of the Melancholick and superstitious, and reported by those that made them serve the advantage and interest

> of a party. They were not the passages of a Day or Night, nor the vanishing glances of an Apparition; but these Transactions were near and late, publick, frequent, and of divers years continuance, witnessed by multitudes of competent and unbyassed Attestors, and acted in a searching incredulous Age: Arguments enough one would think to convince any modest and capable reason.

Notes on Document 9

Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) was a renowned and controversial lawyer and judge and the first head of the University of Halle in Brandenburg, Prussia, which became one of the chief centers of the German Enlightenment under Thomasius' leadership. Working as a professor, lawyer and adviser to the dukes of Prussia, Thomasius produced influential books and other treatises about the laws of evidence to be used in witchcraft trials and the practice of torture; he even wrote a legal opinion about whether a ghost's testimony could be used in a trial. In *De Crimine Magiae (On the Crime of Magic)*, Thomasius denied that witchcraft existed, but the implications of this denial caused some clergymen to accuse him of irreligion and even atheism; his earlier work, which challenged conservative Protestant and Catholic theologians alike, had already caused him some difficulties at Halle, which was closely tied to the Lutheran establishment. In *Über die Hexenprozesse (On the Witch Trials),* Thomasius both clarified his position and attacked his detractors. The section here on exorcism is but one of the dozens of topics Thomasius addresses in this legal and philosophical tract.

Document 9

Source: Christian Thomasius, *Über die Hexenprozesse* (Leipzig, 1702), translated by Edward Peters, in Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe, 400–1700: A Documentary History*, 2d ed., revised by Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 445–448.

> Unfortunately, since I was forced to learn that someone has taken the opportunity to use my disputation *De crimine magiae* in order to incriminate me falsely of not believing in the devil, disregarding the opposite position which is to be read in open and clear words in the disputation itself, I have myself taken the opportunity to testify clearly … to my innocence and to report my opinion of witches more fully than I could in that disputation because of the shortness of time I had and the press of other affairs. Specifically, as I believe in the devil, and the devil is the original cause of evil, and it follows from this that I hold that he is responsible for the first sinful fall of the first human beings [that is, original sin]. I also believe that sorcerers and witches exist, and that they injure men and beasts in various ways.

I also believe that there are crystal-gazers and exorcists and they are able to accomplish wonderful things by means of superstitious things and blessings. I allow that by these people certain things are done which are not illusions or fraudulent and cannot be ascribed to the natural powers of bodies and natural elements, but must come from the devil, and that certain things happen by these means, about which one can say nothing other than that they come from a greater power than that of man, and cannot be ascribed to God and his angels, as when, for example, there comes forth from a human body things that are sometimes natural and sometimes artificial, such as threads, needles, potsherds, hair, pike's teeth, and in far greater number out of orifices that could not possible contain them, for example, out of the ears. I also hold that no one should permit crystal-gazers, exorcists, and conjurors to live in a well-ordered republic, but should expel them from it or when the opportunity arises to punish them in more severe ways. I hold that those same sorcerers and witches who injure humans by these different means should be put to death, also when injuries are committed by otherwise unknown and secret powers of Nature, or even when no injuries resulted, but sorcerers and witches only tried to commit them by their spells and deceit. …

I believe that all of these things are either the inventions of idle people or false stories told by those who wish to deceive others to obtain some authority or to get money from them, or they are the result of melancholic illusions.

I believe that the commonly held opposite opinion gains nothing when I allow as well that through superstitions and exorcisms all kinds of wonderful things can really take place. … I believe that the commonly held opinion gains nothing when I allow that some illnesses are caused by the devil and that some of them are brought about by magicians by the help of the devil. …

And especially in the case of wonderful and supernaturally induced diseases, great investigation should be made in order to make certain that there are no deceptions involved, even when they are testified to by learned and trustworthy persons and even by doctors of medicine, because learned and trustworthy people can be as easily deceived as any others, if not more so. And I believe that among these stated or supernaturally induced diseases, about which someone has compiled an entire book, most of them have been told about by deception and that among a hundred cases there is scarcely one that does not involve some hocus-pocus or some hasty action.

Notes on Document 10

Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) was a leading French intellectual, whose Huguenot (French Protestant) beliefs led him to spend most of his adult life as an exile in Holland. Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique (Critical and Historical Dictionary)* was one of the most widely read books of the 18th century and encompassed an enormous number of fields of human knowledge: philosophy, history, literature, the problem of evil, tolerance, etc. In three ways Bayle's thought is representative of the 17th-century French Enlightenment: he was skeptical of popular and traditional opinions, he advocated applying Cartesian philosophical principles toward gaining a simpler and more natural understanding of topics that were commonly seen as outside the realm of nature, and he condemned religious enthusiasms and their destruction of tolerance and peace. Being strongly antidogmatic Bayle never fully rejected the theological foundation for witchcraft, but he challenged the ability of people to know whether certain phenomena were attributable to witchcraft. In this way Bayle's response to possession and exorcism is founded in modern motivations and applies some modern methods but also incorporates those found in earlier, 16th-century skeptics.

Document 10

Source: Pierre Bayle, *Réponse aux questions d'un provincial* (1703), from Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe, 400–1700: A Documentary History*, 2nd ed., revised by Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 438–441, translated by Alan Charles Kors.

I understand, thus, that is very possible for a woman to persuade herself that someone has put the Devil into her body. All that is necessary for this is that she be asked if the witch whom she suspects made any grimaces near her, at the time that she believes she was put under a spell, and muttered several words which are preliminary to the evocation of the Demon that someone wants to make enter her. It is enough to tell her that he is a man who has put many other people under the possession of the Devil. She thereupon will believe herself a veritable possessed person, and will act in the way that she knows possessed people act; she will scream, she will jump up and down, and so on and on. …

A similar persuasion can easily enter the mind of those devout nuns who read many treatises filled with stories of temptations and apparitions. They attribute to the malice of Satan the wicked thoughts that come to them. …

It is not necessary for me to give you proofs of the force of the imagination: you will find enough of them in the books that have been published on this matter … The fear of death inspires so much grief and so many worries in ill persons, even if they say nothing about it, that these increase their illness much more than remedies diminish it,

and very often become great obstacles for the remedies to overcome. Remove this cause, give a full confidence to the ill person, and he will have a tranquil mind, and that will be his cure. It is thus that monks famous for their holiness and the gift of miracles and that sacred relics have been able to cure many men. …

I beseech you not to accuse of fraud those who protest that phantoms have appeared to them, for the tales that they have read or heard told about these sorts of apparitions were able to leave so deep a mark upon their brain that the animal spirits cannot fall upon these marks without vigorously stimulating the idea of a specter. If a lively attention to those latter objects, accompanied by fear, unsettles the imagination, be assured that the action of the animal spirits upon this mark will be stronger than the action of light upon the optic nerves. The imagination will thus be stronger than sight, and will paint its objects as if they were present, in such a way that although a person may be awake he will believe that one sees a thing which is not present to the eyes, but only to the internal senses. Consider a bit what happens in our dreams. … The same thing will happen in much the same way to those who are not asleep, if by the effect of some fear, or of some great internal emotion, the acts of the imagination have more force than those of sight, hearing, etc.

Notes on Document 11

William Hogarth (1697–1764) was a leading English artist and satirist. While his paintings made him famous, and prosperous, in his day, his engravings added much to his national and international reputation. This engraving was one of Hogarth's last and it reflects the disgust that many English intellectuals of his era felt for what they saw as foolish, popular beliefs. As such, it also reflects the growing rift in European society between a more intellectualized religion of the elites and a more traditional piety practiced among the less-educated and rural populations.

Document 11

Source: William Hogarth, *Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism* (1762). The original is at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Description: Original image is c. 14 1/2 x 12 9/16. The image depicts a crowd in a church listening to a fire-and-brimstone preacher. From his pulpit the preacher displays two puppets, presumably to terrorize the audience into good, Christian behavior: a witch, who is nursing a familiar spirit while riding her broomstick, and a devil. When the preacher's wig falls off, a shaven head like that of a Roman Catholic monk appears. The text in front of the preacher on the lectern reads "I speak as a fool." Below the pulpit another minister is pushing an icon down the front of a young, attractive woman who appears to be in the throes of sexual/religious ecstasy. Next to the couple is a religious thermometer, an invention of Hogarth for this picture, that gives various emotional states in increasing degrees of danger (hotness): agony, lust, madness and suicide are among the hot topics. (The mercury thermometer, such as the one depicted here, had only been invented in 1716.) At the base of the thermometer is a diseased brain. On the floor in the front, a young woman breaks a gin glass while she gives birth to a bunch of rabbits; this alludes to Mary Toft, who gained national renown for her claims that she gave birth to rabbits. Next to the woman is a boy vomiting pins, presumably possessed by the Devil. The audience more generally screams, cries and waves their arms, gestures associated with madness, hysteria and/or possession. The chandelier over their head has a demonic face and "A New and Correct Globe of Hell" engraved on it. From outside, a calm man dressed as a Turk observes this Christian madness.

Document 12

Source: Original image in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

Gespräch über die heilsamen Beschwörungen und Wunderkuren des Herrn Gassners (1775). Title page from one of the many writings circulating in late 18th-century Germany describing and taking sides in the controversy over Gassner's healing exorcisms. In this case, the picture depicts something which no observers of Gassner's exorcisms ever saw: an actual devil being expelled from a possessed person. Such depictions were, however, common on earlier engravings showing exorcisms.

Notes on Document 12 Secondary Source

H. C. Erik Midelfort (1942–) is the C. Julian Bishko Professor of History at the University of Virginia. One of the leading scholars of early modern German history and the history of witchcraft in the United States, he has been extremely influential in expanding and revising modern understandings of the witch hunts and related topics, such as popular culture, psychology, madness and exorcism, in the Holy Roman Empire. His work has received numerous international awards, and he is the only American member of Working Witch Interdisciplinary Research (AKIH), the leading German research group on the history of witchcraft.

Document 12 Secondary Source

Source: H. C. Erik Midelfort, *Exorcism and Enlightenment: Johann Joseph Gassner and the Demons of Eighteenth-Century Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 1–9.

In December of 1774 wonders were reported in the little Franconian town of Ellwangen. … The town was the proud seat of the imperial prince provost of Ellwangen and his high noble canons, and a refuge for the embattled former members of the Jesuit Order. Two centuries earlier some of Germany's fiercest witchcraft trials had taken place in Ellwangen, and now the devil seemed to be on the rampage again. Beneath her gray stone walls, in the imposing castle and in a house exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Augsburg, a short, balding, rotund Catholic priest created a sensation by exorcising countless epileptics, the crippled, and even the blind. On the morning of December 21, one supplicant was a sturdy rustic who suffered from "St Vitus' dance," the strange ailment that caused its afflicted to leap and twitch uncontrollably. We do not know what St. Vitus' dance actually was, and most cases had disappeared by the sixteenth century, but perhaps the condition lingered on in the region around Ellwangen, because the imposing Romanesque church of Ellwangen was dedicated to St. Vitus. An excited crowd had gathered to watch the proceedings, including noblemen and visitors from distant Munich [the provincial capital]. Astonishingly, the priest did not immediately summon forth the demons afflicting the man; instead, with solemn imprecations he bade demons to do their worst. At his command the demons responded. The farmer began suddenly dancing and snapping his fingers. He hopped round the room three times, making some of the assembled observers giggle. A hostile witness declared that he jigged about as if he were in a tavern. When this had gone on for a time, however, the priest ordered the demons to give the poor man an attack of epilepsy. Suddenly the fellow collapsed on the floor, flailing and thrashing, hurling himself about and "bellowing like an ox." Then with one Latin word — *cesset*, "let it cease" — the exorcist made it all stop.

Only then did the priest proceed to a full canonical exorcism. One skeptical witness from Munich was astonished to see that this piece of religious theater was taken serious by almost all of those assembled. He laughed at such antics and declared that they were flatly incredible, but he could not deny that the peasant had acted as if possessed by demons and that they seemed to have relaxed their grip on the man as soon as the priest ordered them to do so.

This peasant was not an isolated example. Such episodes were repeated countless times in different places, and the reports by both credulous and hostile witnesses multiplied as southern Germany experienced a full-fledged religious revival surrounding the figure of Father Johann Joseph Gassner, a now little-remembered exorcist from the Vorarlberg in the mountains of far western Austria. His story is full of surprises, not least for those like the incredulous witness in Ellwangen, who refused to recognize that in the controversy between religion and reason in the late eighteenth century most of the best empirical evidence lay on the side of the exorcists.

Slowly, slowly we are learning that the eighteenth century was more than an age of reason. Religious thinkers and believers did not simply evaporate under the brilliant illumination of the self-anointed representatives of Enlightenment; instead they often sturdily resisted the trivializing voices of advanced criticism and crackling anticlericalism. It would also be wrong to assume that religious thinkers merely joined in reaction to the 'progressive' forces of the age. In this book we will see that the chief scientific ideas that competed with the religious notion of demonic possession were hardly secure. …

Critics of Gassner often claimed that his exorcisms achieved their effects by 'sympathy' or by suggestion. … We may see in this interpretation an early definition of the 'placebo response,' but unfortunately these critics were usually arguing by unsubstantiated assertion rather than relying on any evidence…. Johann Joseph Gassner has bushel baskets of careful eyewitness testimony to the effectiveness of his leading rituals. In accord with the best scientific standards of his day, his sympathetic witnesses included noblemen and sober physicians. …

So when we study the brief period of Father Gassner's celebrity and his final defeat, we are not looking at a simple victory for the Enlightenment. The political forces that ultimately called a halt to Gassner's exorcisms were at least as upset at his evident success and the public tumult he was provoking as they were incensed at his

unauthorized extension of exorcism to thousands of cases that the Roman Church would not at that time have approved. …

In all these ways exorcism and this specific exorcist brought out both the worst and the best from the Enlightened opponents of traditional demonology and Catholic ritual. In the struggle over Gassner and his cures we can get to know some of the wrinkled contours of late-eighteenth-century German politics and culture. In the process I think we can also glimpse the origins of problems that have not gone away.

It seems remarkable that an eighteenth-century Catholic exorcist should become the center of religious attention throughout much of southern Germany. Such excitements do not sit comfortably with our schoolbook version of the age. And yet thousands of desperate people, the blind, the halt, and the lame, made their way to visit Father Gassner, hoping that he would heal them of their infirmities by casting out demons. Countless observers came just to gawk. Many others found in Gather Gassner welcome proof that traditional religion still had some fight left in it. For us, accustomed to think of the 1770s as the decade of the American Revolution and the flourishing of a trans-European Enlightenment, the celebrity of a German Catholic exorcist seems distinctly odd. Was this not the age of 'the laws of nature and of nature's God'? Was this not the decade when French, German, and British philosophers reached the peak of their influence, an apogee marked by the publication of the last volumes of Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, by the publication of Joseph Priestley's discovery of oxygen, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and the first volumes of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*? Even if we concede that such examples of advanced thought were not to everyone's taste, we may also recall that the 1770s was a time of classic, hard-nosed realpolitik, that in 1772 the kingdom of Prussia, Austria, and Russia began dismantling Poland by redistributing one-third of her lands and people among themselves. Meanwhile, for Roman Catholics the 1770s are perhaps most memorable for the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773, one of the surest signs that the Enlightenment was having a serious impact even on the Catholic Church. What was an exorcist doing attracting thousands of enthusiastic followers in the 1770s?

Gassner does not seem to fit our view of an Enlightened age. But he also seems to defy many other cultural trends of his day. For elite members of the Holy Roman Empire the 1770s marked a

time when German culture was finally rejoining the vast concert of European culture and politics. After more than a century of seeming peculiarly backward, German writers and scholars began to celebrate their latest achievements. In 1775, for example, Maria Theresa of Austria abolished the judicial use of torture, thus declaring that her state would no longer inflict deliberate and excruciating pain in order to extract truth from those presumed guilty. The enlightened throughout the Holy Roman Empire applauded noisily. In 1772 Johann Kaspar Lavater of Zurich published the first edition of his remarkably successful *Essay on Physiognomy*, in which he tried to show that a person's character was visible in his facial features. He thus achieved an important new empirical and philosophical synthesis in the study of human nature. In 1774 Johann Wolfgang Goethe published his explosively best-selling *Sorrows of Youth Werther*, prompting a wave of proto-Romantic suicides; in the same year Gotthold Ephraim Lessing published anonymously the first of Hermann Samuel Reimarus's sensational *Fragments*, challenging the biblical account of Jesus' resurrection and other miracles. And in 1775 Franz Anton Mesmer began to practice his newly invented healing art ('mesmerism') in southern Germany, well before he moved on to celebrity in Paris. None of these German events suggests the capacity for profound religious renewal coupled with a revival of demonic possession. The people who streamed to visit Father Gassner seem to have lived in a different time and place from the world of Goethe, Lessing, and Lavater, and far from the French Enlightenment and the American Revolution. Perhaps the 1770s were not one decade but several. …

For some readers perhaps the biggest surprise will be that Gassner and his supporters could spend so much time and effort on the dangers represented by the devil and not collapse in a paroxysm of witch hunting. Aside from the abortive trial of Maria Anne Schwägelin, Gassner's healing campaign remained free of accusations and remarkably free even of suspicions of witchcraft. In this way the recent surge of scholarly interest in witchcraft actually serves us poorly, for it misleads us into expecting that cases of demonic possession would automatically devolve into accusations of witchcraft. This pattern was indeed common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and did linger on into the eighteenth century. At a cloister in Würzburg, beginning in 1744, for example, several nuns fell into what appeared to be demonic possession, and the subpriorin, Maria Renata Singer, was accused of being the witch who had provoked these outrages. For over three years exorcisms took place until finally the old woman broke

under pressure and confessed that she was indeed guilty. She was beheaded and burned in June of 1749 after a noisy dispute that pitted skeptical administrators of the bishop of Würzburg against the city council of Würzburg along with clerical allies from the Benedictine, Premonstratensian, and Jesuit Orders.

There was, however, no necessary or inevitable connection between cases of demonic possession and witchcraft accusations. Throughout the Middle Ages, in fact, the 'discernment of spirits' was a regular exercise in understanding religious experience and in differentiating between fraud and genuine experience, and among divine, angelic, and demonic visitations of various sorts. Until the end of the Middle Ages priests and theologians who tested the spirits did not imagine that witches could induce demonic possession, and this notion represented one of the dangerous cultural inventions that we associate with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Gassner himself was not entirely free of ideas about witches and bewitchment, as we will see, but he reached back to an earlier constellation of ideas by claiming that the devil could cause all manner of disorders. For him, demonic possession was not mainly caused or even prompted by witches (i.e., by human agents) and was not even characterized by supernatural or preternatural (strange) behavior. Indeed, the naturalizing impulse of the Enlightenment may have expressed itself in Gassner's assumption that demons imitated nature so perfectly that only an exorcism could detect them. Ironically, by separating demons and demonic possession from witchcraft, Father Gassner helped ensure their independent survival into the more skeptical nineteenth century and even down to today.

The *"Terrour of the World"* or the *"Sick Man of Europe"*? Introducing the Ottoman Empire in AP® European History

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Introduction

In *The Economist* (February 2008), an article describes efforts by the current Turkish government to resolve the ongoing tension between the Turkish majority and its Kurdish minority by emphasizing the commonality of their religious convictions. An official of the ruling party justified the government's approach by noting that, "Islam bound us in Ottoman times and during the war of independence, so why not today?" ("A religious revival," 60). During this decade, the magazine has devoted considerable space chronicling the difficult negotiations between the European Union and the government of Turkey over the latter's application for membership in the European Union (EU). Some of the reservations expressed by a number of European leaders regarding the suitability of the enrollment of a nation of nearly 70 million Muslims into the EU mirror judgments by earlier governments about the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Christian Europe. As AP teachers of European history, we would hope that our students possess the mastery of the historical context to evaluate the accuracy of the Ottoman analogy and the characterization of Turkish society and government by some European politicians. To what extent, then, does the current AP European History Exam reward teachers and students who integrate Ottoman studies with the traditional emphasis on Western Europe's usual suspects (Britain, France, Germany)?

A novice teacher reviewing the last three released AP Exams (1994, 1999 and 2004) might easily conclude that the Ottoman Empire does not rank very highly among the priorities of past test-development committees. The 1999 and 2004 AP Exams contain no multiple-choice items that deal with an Ottoman topic, while the 1994 exam includes two items, one that asks the student to identify the city that viewed itself as the "Third Rome" after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks and a second question that requires the student to

identify what powers quarreled as a result of the declining power of the Ottoman Turks in the 19th century (items 70 and 76, respectively). Test-development committees have yet to ask a free-response question that requires students to analyze, compare or explain any aspect of Ottoman policy or society. The 2001 DBQ on the character and condition of the Greeks includes two primary documents by Ottoman officials (the sultan and a provincial governor), but a significant number of the documents present the Ottoman Turks in a most unflattering light. We should not, therefore, be surprised if certain stereotypes about the "Orient" are reinforced in the minds of our students.

Teachers, therefore, have an opportunity to integrate Ottoman studies into the AP course in European History and to counter these stereotypes. Some material is already available to teachers, since virtually all major textbooks provide information on the development and expansion of the Ottoman Empire into the Balkans and the Mediterranean region. Discussion of the impact of the Ottoman Empire on European politics, society and culture can serve as a starting point for class conversations on the concept of Europe and European civilization. Anxieties in early modern Europe about the identity of Ottoman culture — was it European, Asian or some hybrid? — can serve as the springboard for studying the current debate over Turkey's admission into the European Union.

What I propose to provide, after a brief summation of the content found in a number of textbooks,* are a number of suggestions on how the teacher with little or no background on the history of the Ottoman Empire (such as yours truly) can introduce aspects of the Ottoman experience into the curriculum without, I hope, being overwhelmed. Finally, a list of sources and recordings that have proven particularly useful in my efforts to gain greater understanding of the "mysterious Turk" is provided at the end.

Historical Summary

The Ottoman Turks, one of a number of Turkish tribal confederacies, gained control over much of the Balkans during the 14th century, benefiting from the weakness of the Byzantine Empire and divisions among the various Christian Balkan states. In 1453, the sultan Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481) captured Constantinople and converted the city into the capital of a formidable military empire. Some textbooks note that the rise of the Ottomans paralleled the resurgence of Christian power on the Iberian Peninsula, in that the Ottoman and Spanish monarchies both created and governed multiethnic states in the 14th and 15th centuries. During the second half of the 15th and much of the 16th centuries, ambitious sultans expanded Ottoman power in southeastern Europe and the Mediterranean. The high mark of Ottoman power is generally linked with the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566), remembered in Ottoman chronicles as "the Lawgiver." In 1526, Ottoman forces overran most of the kingdom of Hungary, and three years later unsuccessfully besieged Vienna. The Turkish threat to Habsburg lands is sometimes cited as one of the factors that hindered Charles V's efforts to defeat Lutheranism during the German Reformation. In the Mediterranean, Ottoman fleets raided the coastlines of Italy and Spain and captured

much of the empire that had been established by Venice and other Italian city-states. Only the temporary alliance of Spain, the Papacy and the republic of Venice managed to halt Turkish expansion at the battle of Lepanto in 1571. Authors disagree on the significance of Lepanto; most books view Lepanto as a serious setback for Ottoman ambitions, but one text describes the defeat as a minor inconvenience from which the Turks recovered. After Lepanto, internal problems are cited as contributing factors to a crisis of the 17th century — weak sultans, palace intrigue, loss of central control over the provinces, a corrupt oligarchy, the failure to keep up with the more advanced Western powers and the hostility of Islamic law to technological innovation. Around 1650, a series of grand viziers sought to revitalize the empire, and renewed efforts at expansion saw a second siege of Vienna in 1683. War with the Habsburgs in the 1680s and 1690s resulted in the loss of Hungary, Croatia and Transylvania. The 18th century was marked by further military defeat at the hands of not only Austria but also the Russian Empire under Catherine the Great. By the 1780s, Russia had gained control of the northern coastline of the Black Sea, and the Russian empress had conceived the "Greek Project," whereby an Orthodox Christian empire governed by one of her grandsons would be established with Constantinople as its capital.

Textbooks identify and discuss a number of Ottoman institutions and practices, focusing on the distinctive organization of the empire's military and administrative institutions and the relative toleration enjoyed by the empire's religious minorities. Surprisingly, given the fact that the Ottoman Empire was a dynastic state, few books provide much information on the principles of succession and the role of the harem in palace politics. Treatment of the Empire's commercial relations with other European states receives widely varying treatment. Some authors acknowledge that Constantinople was the largest European city in early modern Europe, surpassed only by some cities in China, but most texts provide little information on the way in which the Ottoman government reconstructed the city after the conquest in 1453.

Teaching Suggestions

1. One of the themes listed in the Course Description Guide is the expectation that students will comprehend the *rise and functioning of the modern state in its current forms (political and diplomatic history)*. One of those political forms was the empire. In the early modern period, one can cite the overseas empires established by a number of European governments (Portugal, Spain, England, France and the Dutch Republic), as well as a number of land empires in Europe (Holy Roman Empire, Spain, Austria, Russia and Ottoman Empire). The concept is often not addressed in a systematic manner until discussion of the New Imperialism of the late 19th century. For teachers who wish to introduce students to the concept of empire earlier in the course, Dominic Lieven's *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals* (Yale University Press, 2001) may prove useful. Although Lieven focuses on Russia, the opening chapter provides a conceptual discussion of the term and suggests some possible lines of discussion, for example: Do maritime and land-based empires exhibit different

methods of control over indigenous populations? A brief chapter on the Ottoman Empire also summarizes many of the distinctive features of Ottoman rule.

2. Most teachers, when introducing the Italian Renaissance, devote considerable attention to the political writings of the period, especially Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1513). Given the commercial ties between a number of Italian states (Venice, Genoa, Florence) and the eastern Mediterranean, and Italian knowledge of and interest in Ottoman government, writers like Machiavelli and his Florentine contemporary Francesco Guicciardini included the Ottoman government in their commentaries. Their commentaries in *The Florentine Histories*, the *Discourses on Livy*, and *The History of Italy* on the character of the Turkish government illustrate Renaissance views on the state and the nature of politics, especially when compared with assessments of Italian and other princes.

3. One of the clear distinctions between the Ottoman Empire and other European states occurred in the treatment of religious groups whose faiths diverged from the dominant religion. At a time when religious uniformity was common in much of Europe, Ottoman authorities allowed the Empire's Orthodox, Armenian Christian, and Jewish communities considerable autonomy and freedom of worship (the Millets system). In the 2002 AP Exam, students were asked to compare the religious policies of three monarchs or regents (Isabella I of Spain, Elizabeth I of England and Catherine de Medicis of France). The question can be modified to require students to compare and contrast the religious policies of the Spanish and Ottoman monarchies during the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Specialized studies on the Ottoman Empire note that the Ottomans often directed their greatest hostility not against neighboring Christian states in Europe but toward the state on their eastern frontier, the Persian Empire, which followed Shiite rather than Sunni Islam.

4. The Ottoman expansion into Central Europe under Suleyman the Magnificent occurred when the Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–1556) was fighting a dynastic war with the French Valois family and also attempting to subdue Lutheranism in the Holy Roman Empire. Martin Luther addressed the Ottoman threat in his *On war against the Turk* (1528), which is readily available on the Internet. One topic worth considering is Luther's characterization of the Turkish threat and his attitude toward the Roman Papacy. Which was judged to be the greater threat to Christianity, and why?

5. Although most textbooks refer to the commercial ties between the Ottoman Empire and the rest of Europe, their coverage tends to be rather thin. Much of the Empire's commercial activity was dominated by its Armenian, Greek and Jewish communities. Most textbooks fail to acknowledge their contributions to Mediterranean commerce, but they often minimize the role of Italian merchants based in Constantinople. For the teacher seeking to demonstrate that the Western European–Ottoman relationship was complex, discussion of the commercial interaction should prove rewarding. The catalog for the 2007 exhibit *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797* at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York can be purchased on Amazon.com and contains considerable information on the complex relationship between Venice and the Turks. A review of the exhibition and the catalog is available in *The New York Review of Books* (July 19, 2007).
6. Much of the traditional narrative on the Ottoman Turks emphasizes the military nature of the empire, although as one scholar points out, the early modern state was essentially an instrument of warfare. The Turks were simply more adept at the beginning than many of their rivals. The texts emphasize the Janissary corps established by the process of seizing young Christian boys and then raising them as Muslims. The young men received a thorough and carefully supervised education and then entered either civilian or military administration. As a significant instrument of the early modern state, the creation of permanent standing armies is one topic my students have been required to research. Comparisons with the armies of Louis XIV, Peter the Great and the Hohenzollerns of Prussia are the most common, since sources are readily available in university libraries and on the Internet.
7. To my surprise, given the recognition of the Ottoman Empire as a dynastic state, many textbooks say little or nothing about the issue of succession in the Ottoman court. The topic, perhaps because it involves some understanding of the intricacies of the seraglio, has proven to be a subject that appeals to the curiosity of certain adolescent minds. After describing the evolution of the Ottoman methods of succession, which did not remain static, students are asked to compare dynastic succession within the Ottoman government with Henry VIII's resolution of his dynastic problems and asked to judge which proved to be the least destabilizing to society and injurious to the interests of the state.
8. One of the principal achievements of the Ottoman sultans was the reestablishment of Constantinople as the capital of a powerful state. When Constantinople came under Turkish control in 1453, the city's population reached about 50,000, a far cry from its heyday. Beginning with Mehmed II, sultans adopted a variety of measures to rebuild and repopulate the city. Mehmed ratified the privileges of the foreign resident community at Galata and initiated construction of the Topkapi palace, which would serve as the sultan's residence and also the seat of the Ottoman government. Comparisons with the Russian State of the late 17th century under Peter the Great may prove useful. A foreign community of soldiers, engineers and other specialists needed by the Muscovite State resided in the German Quarter in Moscow and

provided the young Russian tsar with many of his earliest advisers. Eventually, the tsar established a capital city at St. Petersburg by methods that in many instances resemble those adopted by the Turkish government. For the teacher unfamiliar with Constantinople, Philip Mansel's *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire, 1453–1924* (New York, 1998) and John Freely's *Istanbul: The Imperial City* (New York, 1998) provide extensive information on the city, the palace and the foreign quarters.

9. Although the textbooks maintain that the Turks remained a terror throughout the early modern period, by the 18th century the Turks no longer posed a significant military threat to the security of Central Europe. One of the signs of diminished fear of the "Terrible Turk" can be found by investigating the classical music of the period. So-called Turkish or Janissary music, characterized by the presence of considerable percussion instruments, was introduced by a number of Viennese composers for its exotic quality. Operas set in the Ottoman Empire or more generally in the Orient often involved situations that turned the Turk into a comic figure. Since students are expected to examine major cultural developments and relate them to social values and political events, the classical music of the period provides an easy avenue for such studies.

The exotic quality of so-called Turkish or Janissary music is best illustrated by having students listen to music by the composers Franz Joseph Haydn, Michael Haydn or Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Haydn's 100th *Symphony* (*The Military*) offers a straightforward example of "Turkish" music. Simply play the first two movements of the symphony (about 13–14 minutes of music) and ask the students to pay particular attention to the symphony's second movement. Even students with little knowledge of, or sympathy for, classical music should be able to note the "exotic" quality of the instrumentation. If a teacher is worried about the attention span of students, then Michael Haydn's *Turkish March in C Major* or the overture to the Mozart opera *The Abduction from the Seraglio* will illustrate the concept in less time.

Mozart's opera *The Abduction from the Seraglio* (1782) illustrates a clear departure from the image of the "Terrible Turk." After providing students with a synopsis of the story, it is worth noting that the character of Pasha Selim, the princely character who desires the love of the heroine Constanza, allows her in the end to be reunited with her Christian lover. Since Selim was a prince, albeit a Turkish one, he is treated as a humane and enlightened ruler. Although this is not central to the topic of the Ottoman Empire, I have found that students easily grasp connections to the concept of enlightened despotism (Joseph II was emperor of Austria in 1782). The comic Turk in the opera is Osmin, who is outwitted by the heroes at every turn. The duet "Viva Bacchus! Bacchus lebe!" — when he is induced to break Islamic law and get drunk — is brief and easy for students to follow once you set the scene and provide them with the text (one could illustrate the point by showing a DVD of the opera, but I haven't done so yet).

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Louis XIV and the Limits of Absolutism: Administration and Taxation

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Objectives

Students will explore the taxation system of the French monarchy in order to better understand the challenges and complications faced by an "absolute" monarch. In an evaluation of the administrative documents and the charts of revenues and expenditures in the reign of Louis XIV, students will learn what costs had to be covered by income from taxes and where the greatest expenditures lay, including debt service. Students will understand the ways in which Louis worked to increase the administrative power of his state and extend his authority throughout his kingdom using his *intendants*, royal officials sent to the provinces as agents of the king.

To the instructor: The documents in this lesson can be used in various ways to develop student skills in document analysis, providing practice in understanding the meaning of the texts and the statistics, as well as in assessing the points of view and perspectives of Louis, his ministers and *intendants*.

For Part I of the lesson, each student should receive the introductory materials "Louis XIV: The Limits of Absolutism — Administration and Taxation" and the tax tables and tax roll (Documents 1–3). In small groups, students should formulate a report to Louis on the nature of his income and expenditures, with suggestions for cutting back in some areas or adding to others, including rationales and likely outcomes.

For Part II of the lesson, students will need copies of the remaining documents. After students develop a good picture of French finances, divide the class into three groups representing: the King, ministers Colbert and Condé, and various *intendants*. Each group will write a response to the recommendations developed in Part I of the lesson, in keeping with the appropriate point of view of their assigned identity, i.e., their perspective on the issue, including concerns,

reactions to the points of view of others, etc. Because the documents are long and the issues somewhat complex, provide the groups with ample time to go through each document carefully. The lesson can take from three to five days, depending on your class schedule and use of homework assignments. Questions are provided to guide classroom and group discussions. The final question, *What are the limits of the king's authority?*, provides a logical conclusion to the documents and the study of royal absolutism in the age of Louis XIV.

Introduction

> We have always considered taxes to be the sinews of the state.
> — Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.)

Royal absolutism in France was dependent on taxes. As the monarchs in France could tax freely without the consent of the Estates-General (a representative body that met infrequently) from the reign of Charles VII (1422–1461), kings enjoyed a free hand in gathering revenues. Therefore, the monarch would simply decide how much money he needed and divide up that tax burden among the provinces. This power continued unchecked as the Estates-General did not even meet from 1610–1789.

Tax Exemptions

There were, however, a number of difficulties faced by the king when collecting revenues. First, as is well known, the wealthiest and most powerful subjects enjoyed the privilege of exemption from the *taille* (a direct tax), and it was paid primarily by the peasantry (which formed the majority of the population) as well as by elements of the bourgeoisie. Exempt groups included nobles, clergy and the inhabitants of many larger towns. Therefore, from its origins until the French Revolution, the revenue of the French crown depended largely on the poorer and least privileged of its subjects. Increasing the *taille*, as was frequently done in the 17th century, risked impoverishing the peasantry to the point where it might openly rebel.

Ennoblements: Venality of Office

To make matters worse, the process of making nobles of subjects who had been commoners increased in the 17th century. Henri IV, Louis XIV's grandfather, and his minister, the Duc de Sully, sold royal offices for large sums of money (as had been done before) but also made it possible for those new officeholders to gain noble status. The sale of offices provided the king with immediate revenues, but those purchasing royal offices could eventually make their heirs and descendants fully noble and, therefore, tax-exempt, further reducing the number of wealthy taxpayers. This process was referred to as "venality of office" and provided important short-term revenues to the king at the expense of future revenues from taxation.

System of Collections

Next, the collection of direct taxes such as the *taille* (and other indirect taxes, such as the *gabelle* levied on sale and the *aides* primarily on wine) could not be accomplished in an efficient fashion. The king did not have an IRS, and taxes were not collected centrally. The *taille* was collected by officials, who had to be remunerated for their work. The funds they collected did not necessarily go directly to Paris, as they were often used to pay sums owed by the state in the locality. Indirect taxes (such as the *gabelle* and *aides*) were collected by "tax farmers," who would pay the monarch and then collect from the people. In addition to many opportunities for corruption, the overhead for collection of both kinds of taxation has been estimated at upwards of 14 percent. This means the taxpayers paid more, the king got less and those intervening tax collectors (often exempt from paying taxes themselves) benefited from the difference.

PROVINCIAL JURISDICTIONS: *PAYS D'ELECTIONS* AND *PAYS D'ETATS*

Finally, the king was constrained in all areas by the traditional administrative structure of France, which included many overlapping jurisdictions, customary law codes, local elites, and rights and privileges the king was bound to uphold.

The administration of France at the highest level was not uniform.

Two-thirds of France consisted of *pays d'élections* (the northern, central and southwest areas), which did not have their own regional assemblies. In these areas royal officials could collect taxes directly. (Ironically, the term *pays d'élections* does not reflect choice or independence but greater dependence on the crown.) The French word *pays* (pronounced pay-ee) simply means country or area.

The remaining third of France consisted of *pays d'états* (formerly independent provinces, such as Burgundy, Brittany and Languedoc) with their own regional assemblies (called *états*, or estates). These assemblies were responsible for the collection of taxes in their jurisdictions, which were subsequently turned over to the king. In the table, you will notice a distinct difference between the amounts collected from the pays d'élections and from the *pays d'états*.

All of France was divided into large jurisdictions called "*generalités*." The *intendants* (royal officials responsible to Colbert and King) were usually assigned to one *généralité*. (A map of France showing *pays d'élections* and *pays d'états* and the *généralités* can be found at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/G%C3%A9n%C3%A9ralit%C3%A9.)

Aided by able and energetic ministers, in particular his finance minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis was able to collect vast sums in taxes. Yet those sums were never enough to support his appetite for luxurious splendor at home and military glory abroad.

In this lesson you will learn how taxes were levied, what amounts were collected and how they were spent in the reign of Louis XIV. You will read views of various characters, including Louis himself, Colbert, provincial *intendants* (royal officials), local nobles and even some taxpayers.

As you read each document, ask yourself: What difficulties does Louis face in collecting taxes from his people? Who resists Louis and how? What are the highest costs in Louis's budget? What are his greatest expenditures? Who benefits from the system of taxation in the reign of Louis XIV? What ongoing problems can you anticipate? What are the limits of the king's authority?

Features of the *taille*, Louis XIV's principal tax

The amount of the *taille* from year to year bore no relationship to the ability of the population to pay. It was simply divided up among the provinces, and each year's payment could be different, and was usually higher.

The *taille* owed by a village or hamlet was a collective responsibility. If a taxpayer in the village absconded, others would have to pay his taxes in his place. If taxes were not paid, a community member could be locked up until they were. The collection of the *taille* was done at the local level, with each community required to make up their tax roll. Local officials started with an amount they had to collect, which they then divided up among the local people.

Taxes had to be paid whether it was a good or bad harvest year, and the effects of war were only sometimes accepted as an excuse for nonpayment. In the 17th century peasants often pleaded with local officials to release them from obligations, especially if soldiers had pillaged their villages.

Taxes (direct and indirect) were one of the greatest peasant grievances. They were also only part of the burdensome financial responsibilities of the ordinary peasant who (at minimum) also had to pay a variety of seigneurial dues (owed to the local lord), church tithes and, more often than not, interest payments on loans or obligations. Add to this a bad harvest, or passage of soldiers, and a peasant village could be reduced to beggary. It is estimated that roughly half of a French peasant's meager income went to taxes, dues and tithes.

Money in Louis XIV's France

Taxes were collected in *livres tournois*, literally meaning "pounds" coined in the city of Tours. *Livres* could be divided into 20 *sous* (shillings) and each *sou* could be divided into 12 *deniers* (pence). Larger denominations included the *écu* (similar to the name of the Spanish coin *escudo*), which was worth 3 *livres*, and the *pistole*, which was worth 11 *livres*.

Lesson Part 1

Document 1: Government Expenditures by Category

Source: William Beik, *Louis and Absolutism: A Brief Study with Documents* (New York: Bedford St. Martin's, 2000), 104–105.

King's Household and Court	1663	1669	1675	1681	1687	1688
Royal household	520,570	545,667	557,377	772,958	563,227	557,662
Food and drink acount	1,222,667	1,406,291	1,814,510	1,564,065	1,692,000	1,601,079
Special household expenses	1,144,082	3,166,729	862,238	1,146,974	1,023,287	683,829
Minor household expenses	438,885	411,189	426,895	462,678	353,232	338,764
Stables	369,027	510,540	370,240	823,043	769,843	726,423
Purchase of horses	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000
Alms and offertory	151,741	39,708	82,593	122,070	362,966	315,000
Household policing	61,050	61,050	61,050	61,050	61,050	61,050
Swiss guards	35,909	43,738	49,352	59,538	49,038	50,028
Hunting and falconry	206,563	261,852	297,724	312,174	406,597	335,354
Favors and tips	100,044	146,995	131,281	133,861	226,562	236,889
King's spending money	939,661	874,000	1,637,000	1,073,000	1,991,414	1,996,500
Petty donations and travel	333,049	459,305	648,868	1,293,322	833,961	1,336,393
Total	5,535,248	7,939,064	6,951,128	7,836,733	8,345,177	8,250,971

Royal Construction						
Total	1,905,825	5,775,866	3,695,416	6,441,001	7,757,438	6,985,978

Pensions and People at Court						
Household of the queen mother	1,423,955	-	-	-	-	-
Household of the queen	1,052,427	1,035,451	1,144,145	1,231,721	-	-
Household of the dauphine	-	-	-	1,021,382	1,059,372	1,074,593
Household of monsieur	861,359	375,359	864,704	1,076,000	1,010,000	1,049,200
Household of madame	252,000	252,000	252,000	252,000	252,000	252,000
Household of duchess of Montpensier	300,000	252,000	-	-	-	-
Stipends of royal council and officers	1,679,361	2,064,153	1,532,371	2,111,787	2,138,312	2,128,395
Other stipends	1,111,392	194,200	188,550	417,700	211,800	208,000
Stipends of marshal of France	903,038	516,853	559,482	358,390	573,081	550,481
Regular pensions	1,367,500	1,178,784	1,649,310	1,465,075	2,732,179	2,607,515
Total	8,951,032	5,868,800	6,190,562	7,934,055	7,976,744	7,870,184

Foreign Policy	1663	1669	1675	1681	1687	1688
Secret subsidies abroad, foreign policy	1,886,689	3,037,741	6,388,562	3,545,243	1,334,500	2,710,330
Ambassadors and embassies abroad	406,891	395,550	591,950	816,655	285,266	657,700
Total	2,293,580	3,433,291	6,980,512	4,361,898	1,619,766	3,368,030

Public Works

The Bastille (royal prison)	112,563	70,518	136,827	200,386	146,517	169,305
Paving of Paris streets	16,997	96,199	60,380	55,197	53,666	53,666
Bridges and roads	152,637	367,108	-	314,450	1,095,811	762,708
The Paris guard	-	-	-	-	116,731	119,723
Wolf hunting	23,993	34,293	34,293	34,293	34,293	34,293
Total	306,190	568,118	231,500	604,326	1,447,018	1,139,695

Military Defense, Warfare

Swiss regiment	551,978	-	100,000	298,000	211,576	260,050
Standard military garrisons	3,175,659	2,738,489	2,219,548	2,430,594	2,304,346	2,280,335
Payments to troop commanders	-	-	584,936	1,057,805	1,202,700	1,311,987
Extraordinary military expenses	9,056,937	15,629,047	48,390,558	31,611,643	35,518,162	44,453,359
Military bread ration	-	-	9,717,399	712,195	-	897,797
Billeting of troops on the move	-	-	6,165,781	1,788,925	1,962,563	2,921,590
King's musketeers, special forces	667,060	634,952	187,080	187,335	185,461	185,448
French and Swiss guards	2,119,064	1,628,958	-	-	-	-
Artillery	644,310	-	13,725	10,166	6,420	31,833
Upkeep of fortifications	995,262	2,687,008	3,379,269	7,190,879	7,101,611	11,993,059
Navy and royal galleys	2,668,370	12,896,497	10,260,746	6,976,543	9,413,307	10,164,940
Total	19,898,640	36,214,951	81,019,042	52,264,085	57,906,146	74,500,398

King's Secret Expenses (Mostly Debts)

Total	6,085,508	4,939,926	2,454,894	3,265,022	6,851,814	3,907,111

Debt Service, Interest

Total	1,569,714	11,531,542	4,337,361	58,292,953	1,166,624	3,110,037

Grand Total	456,545,737	76,271,558	111,860,415	141,000,073	93,070,727	109,132,404

Questions for Analysis

What are the largest items in the king's "budget" and why? What is surprising or unexpected about government expenditures? What kinds of change over time occur in his "budget"? Discuss possible reasons for these changes.

Document 2: Source of Louis XIV's Tax Revenues in Livres

Source: William Beik, *Louis XIV and Absolutism: A Brief Study with Documents* (New York: Bedford St. Martin's, 2000), 99.

Date	1. Pays D'elections	2. Pays D'états	3. Forests	4. Venality of Office	5. Indirect Taxes	Total Gross Revenue
1663	37,935,610	6,274,735	297,709	2,041,948	41,634,000	88,184,002
1665	35,345,219	5,934,726	909,618	1,817,220	44,644,595	88,651,378
1667	36,742,162	8,232,073	617,966	1,354,667	44,928,407	91,875,275
1669	33,832,240	9,235,580	649,433	458,936	47,334,600	91,510,789
1671	33,845,797	12,221,041	667,478	1,945,169	51,248,335	99,927,820
1673	36,645,510	7,038,421	1,017,639	3,806,924	53,043,926	101,552,420
1675	38,122,834	12,687,857	887,852	9,686,640	57,965,500	119,350,683
1677	40,435,347	10,069,327	711,122	5,610,879	59,635,166	116,461,841
1679	34,761,420	10,685,477	717,435	2,906,665	59,363,255	108,434,252
1681	34,153,457	8,826,536	914,976	2,577,188	66,893,298	113,365,455
1683	37,908,244	9,830,019	1,411,313	1,966,798	64,937,000	116,053,374
1685	34,508,216	11,127,333	1,564,808	7,493,117	66,043,250	120,736,724
1687	32,439,655	10,840,322	1,557,857	3,055,665	65,881,234	113,774,733

Note: *Pays d'élections*, where taxes were collected directly by royal officials, made up two-thirds of France. *Pays d'états* (such as Brittany, Burgundy and Languedoc) supervised the collection through provincial assemblies. Indirect taxes were collected on salt (*gabelle*) and wine (*aides*) and included revenues from internal customs duties.

Questions for Analysis

Compare the King's revenues with his expenditures for the years listed in the previous table. How much does the King earn yearly from the sale of offices? What proportion of the king's revenue comes from the taille? (Add the first two columns and divide by total revenue in the last column.)

Document 3: Village Tax Role from Normandy Archives of the Département of Seine-Maritime, C 2099), 1698

Source: Pierre Goubert, *The Ancien Regime: French Society 1600–1750* (New York: Phoenix Giant, 1969), 121.

Tax Assessments **The Tax Roll of La Bellière, 1698** La Bellière is a village in Normandy (Northern France)	
Over 100 *livres* (150 and 110)	2
About 50 *livres* (53, 49, 48)	3
24–32 *livres*	6
16–21 *livres*	6
9–12 *livres*	6
3–7 *livres*	9
2 *livres*	4
10 *sous*	5
This small Norman community is assessed at 904 *livres*; barring a single exemption, the *curé* (priest), it comprises 41 taxpayers, four old inhabitants and four new inhabitants.	

Examples of assessments from La Bellière:

150 livres	Jean Horcholle, farmer for the marquis de La Bellière, at 1200 l. one plough, 15 cows, 30 wool beasts.
110 livres:	François de Gournay, farmer for the sieur de Saint-Arnoult and the widow Pierre Tabur, at 320 l.; owns about 140 l. of income, 2 horses, 6 cows
53 livres:	Adrien Tabur, assistant clerk of the rolles [a minor office], farmer for the sieur de Mortemer at 400 l., 2 horses, 8 cows…
49 livres:	Pierre d'Horcholle and his son Estienne, farmer for the sieur Delestre d'Aumalle at 400 l., 2 horses, 6 cows.
27 livres:	René Le Sage, miller for the sieur de Pommerreux at 150 l., 1 horse, 1 cow
16 livres:	Robert Mallard, weaver, farmer for Pierre le Clerc at 60 l., 2 cows.
8 livres:	Antoine Pinot, mason, owner of a small house.
6 livres:	François Fourgon, day-laborer, tenant.
4 livres:	Antoine Belleferme, day-laborer, tenant.
3 livres:	Francois Gambu, *dominie*, (teacher and priest) resident at the school.
2 livres:	Widow Nicholas Bailly, dowager.
10 sous:	4 'absentees' [probably absconders, beggars, or soldiers]

Question for Analysis

How evenly does wealth appear to be distributed in this village?

Lesson Part II: Documents for Point-of-View Analysis

Document 1

Source: Louis XIV, *Mémoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin*, trans. Paul Sonnino (London: Macmillan, 1971), in David L Smith, *Louis XIV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 25–26.

1661

I realized that I should give serious attention to financial recovery, and the first thing which I judged necessary was the removal from their positions of the principal officials who had caused chaos. For ever since I took control of my affairs, I had daily uncovered new evidence of their wastefulness, and especially the Superintendent [of Finances, Nicholas Fouquet]. The sight of the vast establishments which this man had designed, and the insolent acquisitions which he had made, could not but convince me of his wild ambition, and the general distress of my subjects constantly demanded that I bring him to justice … It must be added that of all the royal duties, the one which the prince must guard most jealously is the management of the finances. It is the most delicate of all, for it is the one most capable of seducing those who perform it, and the one which makes it easiest to corrupt others. The prince alone must have the sovereign direction of it, because he alone has no fortune to create except that of the state, no acquisition to make except for the extension of the monarchy, no authority to strengthen except that of the laws, no debts to pay except the public charges, no friend to enrich except his subjects.

[A king's] plans must be more varied, more extensive and more hidden than those of any private individual, of such a nature … that sometimes there is scarcely a single person in the world to whom he can confide them completely. There are however none of these plans into which finances do not enter somewhere. But it goes deeper than that: there is no project which does not depend absolutely and essentially upon them, for what is great and beautiful when our financial circumstances allow become illusory and ridiculous when they do not. Think then, I beg you, how a king could govern and not be governed, if, having neglected these financial details, his best and noblest thoughts are subject to the whim of his chief minister or the Superintendent [of Finances], or the treasurer, or of some obscure and unknown clerk, whom he would be obliged to consult like so many oracles, so that he could no undertake anything except with their permission and their support.

Source: Louis XIV, *Mémoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin,* translated by Paul Sonnino (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 85–86.

1662

… It has been the custom not merely to ask [the provincial estates] for large sums in order to obtain meager ones … but also to tolerate their putting conditions on everything, to promise them everything, to circumvent everything they had been promised soon thereafter under various pretexts, even to issue a great number of edicts with no other intention than to grant, or rather to sell, their revocation soon thereafter. I found this method undignified for the sovereign and unsatisfactory for the subject. I chose an entirely different one that I have always followed since, which was to ask them for precisely what I intended to obtain, to promise little, to keep my promises faithfully, hardly ever to accept conditions, but to surpass their expectations when they appealed to my justice and to my kindness.

Questions for Analysis

What problems does Louis identify in his administration generally and particularly in the taxation system? What solutions does he offer? How does Louis view the role of the monarch?

Note on Document 2

In 1670 Louis's finance minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert wrote a Financial Memorandum to Louis XIV. While Colbert's policies had increased revenues from taxes, he was concerned that taxes were too high relative to the amount of money in circulation. He feared that the taxes would choke the economy by skimming off too much. Colbert was a mercantilist.

Document 2

Source: William Beik, *Louis XIV and Absolutism: A Brief Study with Documents* (New York: Bedford St. Martin's, 2000), 92–93.

… the recovery of the people will consist of making what they pay into the public treasury proportionate to the amount of money circulating in commerce. This ratio has always been 150 million [money in circulation] to 45 million [revenue from taxes]. It is currently 120 million to 70 million. Consequently, [the ratio] is much too high, and a logical conclusion is that people will fall into great misery … There is a fixed quantity of money circulating in all of Europe, which is increased from time to time by silver coming from the West Indies. It is demonstrable that if there are only 150 million livres in silver circulating [in the kingdom], we cannot succeed in increasing [this

> amount] by 20, 30 or 50 million without at the same time taking the equivalent quantity away from neighboring states. This results in the double effect that we have seen so markedly during the past several years: Your Majesty's power and grandeur are increased, while your enemies and those who envy you are humbled …

Question for Analysis

Explain how this memorandum reflects the economic policy of mercantilism.

Document 3

Source: Jacques Boulenger, *The Seventeenth Century in France* (New York: Capricorn, 1963), 333.

Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Private letter to the King, July 22, 1666.

> It is well to save fivepence on unnecessary things and to pour out millions when it is a question of your glory. I declare to Your Majesty that, for my own part, a useless meal which costs one thousand crowns distresses me beyond measure; yet, when it is a question of millions of gold for Poland, I would sell all I have; I would mortgage my wife and children; I would go on foot all my life to provide it, were this necessary.
>
> Your Majesty must please excuse this little outburst.

Note: While Colbert opposed the vast expenditure on the building of Versailles and other luxuries, he was eager to spend the money to put a French prince (Condé) on the throne of Poland.

Questions for Analysis

As Louis's finance minister, Colbert was always seeking ways to increase royal revenues and to reduce expenditures. What kinds of expenditures is Colbert opposed to and what kinds does he support? Do his views sometimes conflict with Louis's? Using the next three documents, explore ways in which Colbert and Louis might have disagreed on expenditures. How might these differences have created problems for Colbert?

Document 4

Source: *Concise Columbia Dictionary of Quotations*. Edited by Robert Andrews. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 294.

Quote attributed to Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) Chief Minister to French King Louis XIV.

> The art of taxation consists in so plucking the goose as to obtain the largest amount of feathers with the least amount of hissing.

Document 5

Source: Gilette Ziegler, *At the Court of Versailles: Eyewitness Reports from the Reign of Louis XIV*. (New York: Dutton, 1966), 90–91.

Marquis de Saint-Maurice, Ambassador to the French court from the Duke of Savoy. Private letter, December 1670.

> The butchers' shops of Paris produce a considerable revenue which had not been exactly calculated hitherto; it had been thought that this revenue belonged to the city, but it was discovered that the butchers' shops were the property of the King. Having been informed about this, Madame de Montespan [the king's favorite mistress] asked the King to award her this bounty, which he granted her, each being under the impression that it might bring in 50,000 écus a year at the most [150,000 livres].
>
> Being acquainted with these plans, the butchers first offered 100,000, then 150,000, although some warned her that these were exaggerated estimates and that she would be lucky to receive a revenue of 50.000 écus. M. Colbert got to know about these negotiations and informed the King, pointing out to him that none of his predecessors had ever made a gift of this importance. His Majesty, who is thrifty by nature, began to change his mind about the proposed gift of revenue, despite his love for the proposed beneficiary. When Madame de Montespan realized what was going on she exploded in a violent rage against the minister [Colbert]. He, for his part, to get rid of his enemy, tried to supplant her in the King's favor with the Duchesse de Mazarin, and the Comtesse de Soissons and the Duchesse de la Vallière joined with him in this scheme, which was set in motion and masterminded by old Madame de Chevreuse. And that is how things stand at present.

Document 6

Source: Margaret Lucille Kekewich, *Princes and Peoples, France and the British Isles, 1620–1714: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 110–111.

Colbert's Instructions to the *Intendants*,1680.

The King has instructed me to repeat more strongly to you the orders which His Majesty has given you, in every preceding year, about the inspection of the generality [administrative district] in which you serve. He wants you to apply yourself to this task even more vigorously than you have in the past, because he wishes there to be equality in the allocation of taxes and a reduction in all kinds of abuses and expenses, thus bringing further relief to his peoples in addition to that which they have received from the lowering of taxation.

The King intends that, as soon as you have read this letter, you should begin your visit to each of the elections [subdivisions in each generality] in your generality:

That, during this tour, you should examine with the utmost care the extent of landed wealth, the quality of livestock, the state of industries and in fact everything in each election which helps to attract money there; that you should seek out, with the same diligence, anything which might help to increase animal foodstuffs, to expand industrial production or even to establish new manufactures. At the same time, His Majesty wants you to journey to three of four main towns in each election, excluding those which you have chosen in earlier years, and in these places to call before you a large number of tax-collectors and leading inhabitants from the surrounding parishes; to take pains to find out all that has taken place concerning the receipt of the King's orders, the nomination of collectors, and the allocation and payment of the *taille*; to ferret out all the malpractices in these procedures; to try to remedy them yourself; and, in case you find some which can be treated only by a royal judgment or decree, to send me a report in order that I may inform His Majesty …

Listen to all the complaints which are brought to you about inequalities in allocation on the rolls of the *tailles*, and do everything which you consider appropriate to stamp out these iniquities and to make the allocation as fair as possible. Examine with the same thoroughness the expenses which are incurred, both by the receivers in relation to the collectors and by the collectors in relation to the taxpayers. As this is something which has always been open to endless trickery, you cannot show too much determination in trying to expose

it. One of the most effective methods which His Majesty wishes you to use in repressing these abuses is to suspend the receiver of the *tailles* who seems the most culpable in your generality, and to entrust his duties to someone else for the next year. This punishment will assuredly cause the disappearance of many of these evil practices. His Majesty will also offer a reward to the receiver who has run his election the most effectively, and who has incurred the least expenses.

His Majesty likewise requires that you should report every three months, without fail, on the number of prisoners who have been arrested concerning the taille or the various indirect taxes. [Summary arrest was a common punishment for failure to pay taxes.]

Questions for Analysis

Colbert's letters show that he supervised the provincial intendants (royal officials who represented the king) closely. Based on the letters below, describe the expectations that Colbert has of the intendants. What kinds of problems arose either in the provinces or with the intendants themselves? How do you think these expectations and these problems affected the monarchy of Louis XIV?

Document 7

Source: Margaret Lucille Kekewich, *Princes and Peoples, France and the British Isles, 1620–1714: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 161–162.

Letter from Colbert to Chamillart, Intendant at Caen, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 15 April 1672.

I was very surprised to hear from your letter of 11 April, that the collector of tolls at Valognes has ordered the arrest of a Dutch vessel in the port of Cherbourg, on the grounds that war has been declared against the States of the United Provinces. It is not the place of these toll-collectors to meddle in such matters; but, seeing that the ship has been seized, the master must be permitted to ask that it be returned to his charge. However, it is now your task to inform the collector in private that I have pondered over this event and have decided that, for an action of this kind, I should put the culprit in a dungeon, with his feet in irons, for a period of six months, to teach him that it is not his privilege to use force in this way and on his own initiative, and that he should show greater wisdom in the future.

I ask you to tell him this in private because it is not appropriate for the people to believe that there is dissatisfaction with some of the men who collect taxes for His Majesty.

Document 8

Source: Margaret Lucille Kekewich, *Princes and Peoples, France and the British Isles, 1620–1714: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 161–162.

Letter from Colbert to the Duke de Chaulnes, Governor of Brittany and a high-ranking French official.

> Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 10 December 1673
>
> I hope that the bad humor in which you have found all the members of the Estates will be turned to your greater glory and will make even better known to the King the respect in which you are held in the province, and your hard work to bring to a successful conclusion those things which are pleasing to him and are in his best interests … I feel I should tell you that the edicts which have given rise to these complaints in Brittany have been put into operation and are still in force in Languedoc and Provence, two provinces where other circumstances make them seem even more burdensome than they do in Brittany, among which is the fact that in those areas it is the *intendants*, whom the provinces regard as outsiders, who judge all matters arising from the execution of these edicts …
>
> I have no doubt at all that Brittany will do the same, or even better; but I confess to you that, as I hope that this province will yet show, and more strongly than others, clear signs of its unlimited devotion to the wishes of His Majesty, I am a little concerned that I shall be obliged to tell him of such ill will in the minds of his subjects. As I am convinced that you can inspire other feelings in them, I am hoping that I shall soon have the satisfaction of hearing more agreeable news to His Majesty…

Document 9

Source: Margaret Lucille Kekewich, *Princes and Peoples, France and the British Isles, 1620–1714: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 161–162.

Letter from Colbert to Ménars, Intendant at Paris.

> I have received your letters and memoirs of 20, 23, 27 and 30 June, and 3 and 5 July, describing your visit to the elections of Nemours, Sens, Joigny, Saint-Florentin and Tonnerre. I am sure you would wish me to tell you that to visit five elections in fifteen days is no way to satisfy the King, for it is impossible to carry out in so short a time all that His Majesty requires of you, as contained in the orders and letters I have sent to you. You should not have led yourself to believe that His Majesty would put any faith in your memoirs, when it is so obvious that they have been prepared so hastily. You were asked to examine so many problems that you would quite clearly have been unable to carry out unaided all the investigations which you have put in your reports, and it is almost impossible to believe that you have done any more than consult some local officials about these matters, and have based your conclusion on what they told you.

Document 10

Source: Brian Tierney and Joan Scott, eds. *Western Societies: A Documentary History, Volume I* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984), 482.

Letter from Colbert to M. d'Herbigny, Intendant of Grenoble.

> Versailles, 16 November, 1680
>
> I was surprised to learn, by your letter of the 28th last, that you had levied on the *élection* of Vienne an assessment of 4,700 livres, for the construction, subject to my approval, of a bridge to facilitate the transportation of the harvest to Grenoble.
>
> You know as well as I that it is not permissible to make such an assessment on the people without a writ of the King affixed with the Great Seal, and you must take care to do nothing contrary to that general usage of the realm, and never to give so bad an example to the authorities of the province, who are only too much inclined to go beyond the bounds, and to those who will succeed to your position.

Document 11

Source: William Beik, *Louis XIV and Absolutism: A Brief Study with Documents* (New York: Bedford St. Martin's, 2000), 131–132.

Letter to Colbert from the Intendant Bouchu from Burgundy.

> Dijon, February 17, 1663
>
> The complaints about which you wrote me, from numerous inhabitants of Beaune to the royal council, are simply the results of the inequality and injustice inherent in the tax levy. [This tax] is a product of the freedom mayors and aldermen have claimed to impose whatever sums they want. This [abuse] has been practiced in every community in Burgundy, burdening the lesser people to the advantage of the magistrates and the important citizens of each community. When they were supposed to pay ten thousand, the mayor and aldermen had no difficulty imposing twenty thousand or more. The self-interest of the magistrates and the important inhabitants lies in the fact that the former can appropriate these sums or use a good part of them for useless expenses such as trips, feasts, presents, and other things of that nature, while the latter, themselves often magistrates, pay little or nothing of these taxes anyway. The magistrates compel the poor to pay, along with those who lack support in each community, while sparing the most powerful; or they get themselves exempted by means of collective payoffs or discharges from the Parlement of Dijon. They also claim exemptions by virtue of holding petty offices in the sovereign courts or in the household of the king, the queen, … or the Prince … The Parlement of Dijon has always allowed the communities to impose these taxes without obtaining permission letters, although the ordinances firmly prohibit such practices …
>
> I must note in passing, Monsieur, that the same injustice that is practiced in every community through these taxes and surtaxes, in which the weak pay two to three times their assessments while the powerful pay nothing at all or very little, is also practiced by the élus [in assessing] the unprotected communities differently from those who are controlled by members of the Parlement, members of the Chambre des Comptes, and important churchmen or gentlemen …

> I must also report another great irregularity. When the important inhabitants of Beaune say that if the royal orders were executed, they would no longer have the exemptions and discharges they had enjoyed in the past, more than fifty of them appealed their assessments. I am sending you the list drawn up by the mayor and aldermen. You can see, Monsieur, the expense that these lawsuits will impose on every community if they are allowed to proceed. Before the auditing of debts, the mayor and aldermen were perfectly happy to see these lawsuits because they were a pretext for borrowing, taxing and charging expenses for trips to Dijon … The remedy I found in Bresse was to tax the offices of all these cheaters in each community, to the point where hardly anyone complains. If we did the same here, we would get rid of more than three-quarters of this chicanery …

Questions for Analysis

What kinds of problems does Bouchu run into in trying to exert authority in the name of the king in the province of Burgundy? What views does he hold about the local officials? What measure can the intendant take to exert his authority?

Document 12

Source: Julian Swann, *Provincial Power and Absolute Monarchy: the Estates General of Burgundy, 1661–1790* (New York: Cambridge, 2003), 156.

Grand Condé, Letter to Local Officials in Burgundy who are refusing to collect all of their taxes, April 13, 1661.

> The king has strongly disapproved of your delay in imposing taxation … His Majesty has done me the honor of speaking about it, and he has informed me that he was not satisfied by the manner in which you have acted. You will see from his letter that he does not approve of your plan to send a deputation and that he orders you to levy the necessary taxation forthwith. I have included with my own letter that of His Majesty to warn you that you risk incurring his displeasure if you do not act promptly in accordance with his wishes.

Document 13

Source: William Beik, *Louis XIV and Absolutism: A Brief Study with Documents* (New York: Bedford St. Martin's, 2000), 127.

Grand Condé, Letter to Colbert describing his negotiations over finances with the Estates in Burgundy, June 18, 1662.

> … I had to report that, because the king is obliged to maintain quantities of troops and pay them more regularly than he does during the war, His Majesty is unable to avoid drawing considerable aid from his subjects for the troops' subsistence. It was not like previous peace treaties, because then His Majesty had not made considerable conquests; now he had retained a number of important fortresses that he had to maintain; … and financially it was impossible for the king to give his people all the relief they desired, especially at a time when his domain [royal property] was completely alienated [mortgaged] following a great dissipation of his finances …
>
> Since then the Estates have deliberated every day, persuaded that the extreme misery in this province — caused by the great levies it has suffered, the sterility [of the land] in recent years, and the disorders that have recently occurred — would induce the king to give them some relief.

Document 14

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Grandconde.jpg

Joost van Egmont, *Portrait of Louis II, Prince de Condé* (1621–1686), known as Le Grand Condé for his military achievements in the Thirty Years' War and in Louis XIV's War of Devolution.

Document 15

Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Lefebvre_-_Jean-Baptiste_Colbert.jpg, accessed December 8, 2007.

Claude Lefebre, *Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 1666. Colbert was Louis XIV's minister of finance from 1665 to 1683.

Document 16

Source: Colbert, 1670, "Memorandum to the King on finances." Victor Mallia-Milanes, *Louis XIV and France: Documents and Debate*, (London: Macmillan, 1986), 40–41.

This document addresses the effects of taxation on the people.

> During the course of this year I find the abundance which was apparent everywhere has changed for two very compelling reasons … The first is the increase in expenditures, which are climbing to 75 million, and which consequently exceed revenues by 5 million in peace time. This other is the general difficulty which the tax farmers and the *receveurs generaux* [tax farmers] are having in giving money out of the provinces, the delays in their payments to the royal treasury, and their daily protestations with the enormous poverty which they find in the provinces makes them fear their financial ruin and that they will not be able to keep up the payments of their tax farms and the general taxes.
>
> This situation can be accepted as all the more truthful since we know clearly through various accounts that poverty is indeed very great in the provinces, and although it may be attributed to the small demand for wheat, it is clearly apparent that some other more powerful cause must have produced this poverty, even though the failure of wheat sales could indeed prevent farm workers from having enough money to pay their *tailles* …

All that the people can save up is divided into three portions: the first, what they can set aside for their subsistence and for their small savings; the second for their masters, who are the owners of the land which they cultivate; and the third, for the King. This is the natural and legitimate order of this distribution. But when authority is at the point where Your Majesty has put it, it is certain that this order changes, and that the people, who fear and respect this authority, begin by paying their taxes, set aside little for their subsistence, and pay little or nothing to their masters. And since these people must have the wherewithal to pay before they think of meeting their tax obligations, and since their taxes must always be proportionate to the money each individual may have, the general financial administration must always be watchful and exercise all the care and all Your Majesty's authority in order to attract money into the realms, to spread it throughout the provinces in order to make it easy for the people to live and pay their taxes.

Document 17

Source: Pierre Le Pesant, Sieur de Boisguilbert (lieutenant-general for Rouen and surrounding districts), in Victor Mallia-Milanes, *Louis XIV and France: Documents and Debate*, (London: Macmillan, 1986), 41.

This document addresses the effects of taxation on the people.

Portrait of Pierre Le Pesant
Sieur de Boisguilbert

In effect, the arbitrary *taille* compels a merchant to hide his money and farmer to let his land lie fallow, for if one wishes to do business and the other to plow, they would alike be crushed with the *taille* by powerful men, who themselves are in the position of paying little or nothing at all.

The aides, customs, and taxes on goods coming in and out of the kingdom (all of them four times as heavy as the goods can support) bring it about that a man sees his cellars full of wines rotting, whilst they are very dear in this neighborhood, so that five hundred millions are lost to the revenue of the kingdom.

Must peace be awaited before it is possible to save the lives of at least two or three thousand creatures who perish every year from poverty, especially in childhood, half of them not being able to grow to the age

> when they could make their own living since their mothers lack milk through shortage of food and excess of work; while at a greater age, having only bread and water, without beds, clothes or any remedies for their illnesses, deprived of sufficient strength to work, which is their only source of income, they perish before completing half their life.

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The Individual During Industrialization: Concepts of Individualism and Community in the Writings of Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill

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Introduction

In the 19th century, two very different ways of thinking about social life came into open conflict in Europe, especially in western Europe. One approach emphasized the role of the individual and his rights and responsibilities. Until the second half of the 19th century, the individual was almost always a "he," and usually an educated, property-owning man. The other approach gave priority to the community, whether that community was the nation, the race, a trade group, a social class or the residents of a region.

The new valuation of the individual was a legacy of both the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, which attributed rights and responsibilities, especially in the political sphere, to the individual. In the 19th century, the upheavals to the family, economy and social system wrought by industrialization caused the individual to be brought into greater prominence. In some cases, that prominence was positive, as new economic opportunities benefited some individuals. However, industrialization also devalued the individual, as mechanization began to render an individual worker's skill and craftsmanship unnecessary. (This process was known as "de-skilling.") This disregard for the individual produced a backlash. Some rejected industrialization, as the Luddites and the Romantics did, although this response was doomed to failure. More often, though, the new reality of industrialization inspired new theories about labor, economics and society. In Britain the socialist Robert Owen sought to value labor according to the amount of time invested by the worker, rather than by the market, while in France Saint-Simonian

socialists envisioned a new hierarchy with industrialists as the new elite. Likewise, the trade unionist movement that developed in the second half of the 19th century sought to gain some of the benefits of industrialization for their members.

The relationship between the individual and society was further brought into prominence by the gradual expansion of the franchise in most western and central European nations. The decree of universal manhood suffrage in France in 1793 did not presage universal manhood suffrage elsewhere, and even in France the value of the franchise declined as Napoleon and later rulers gave the masses only token voting power. However, although electoral barriers were not swept away immediately, they did gradually fall, so that by the end of the 19th century, most adult men in western and central European countries had the vote. The greater participation of previously disenfranchised individuals forced their governments to expand educational opportunities, so that those who voted would have at least a minimal formal education. Another effect was the rise of mass movements, including socialism and trade unionism.

Liberals were at the forefront of defending the rights of individuals during the 19th century. They argued that the individual was capable of regulating himself and thus should be allowed to pursue his interests in the political and economic spheres. Although motivated by self-interest, they argued, his pursuits would nevertheless benefit society at large.

Liberalism, which encompassed political and economic theories, emerged in the second half of the 18th century. It was closely tied to the philosophy of utilitarianism, which was founded by Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832). Born in London to a prosperous family, Bentham determined as a young man that his life's work was to reform society along rational lines.

Rebuffed by monarchs, including Catherine the Great of Russia, he came to believe that government would enact reforms only if it was accountable to the people, and thus that democracy was essential in order to improve society. Flattering himself that he adopted a scientific approach to reform, Bentham valued social utility over morality, tradition, or custom. Decreeing that what gave pleasure should be the standard for judging rather than what was good, he developed a "felicific calculus" that sought to show how humans seeking pleasure over pain would make choices that benefitted, or at least did not harm, society.

One of Bentham's leading disciples was James Mill, the father of John Stuart Mill. James Mill consciously educated his son to become a philosopher, teaching him Greek beginning at age 3 and Latin beginning at age 8. Upon first reading Bentham's philosophies at age 15, the younger Mill became a convert to the idea of utilitarianism and resolved to become a social reformer. However, he had also become "a mere reasoning machine," as he noted in his *Autobiography*. This led to an intellectual crisis from which he recovered by reading poetry, especially Wordsworth and Coleridge. The result was a greater appreciation for the role of emotions in one's life, which led Mill to modify the utilitarianism of his father and Bentham.

In 1830, Mill met and fell in love with Harriet Taylor. Their relationship remained chaste for the next 19 years, until Harriet's husband John died. Mill and Taylor married in 1851 and worked together until she died in 1858. Mill credited Taylor with being a close intellectual companion, and scholars continue to debate whether her influence was far less than Mill asserted, or whether she was an uncredited coauthor.

Rejecting what they saw as the atomization of society caused by industrialization and liberalism were a variety of ideologies that privileged the group. These included socialism, trade unionism, Chartism, nationalism, religion and racist ideologies. While the adherents to and the goals of each movement differed, these movements all asserted the importance of a group identity in opposition to what they saw as the rapacity and soullessness of liberalism. The most theorized, as well as one of the most influential, of these movements was communism, whose leading theorists were Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Marx was born in Trier, Germany, to an enlightened bourgeois family. He studied first law and then philosophy at the University of Berlin, where he became a member of a group of radical Hegelians. He earned a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Berlin in 1841 but pursued journalism because his radical views meant that an academic career was closed to him. The following year, Engels was sent to Manchester, England, by his father, a German textile producer who had invested in a factory there. Arriving during the economic and agricultural crisis known as "the Hungry Forties" — in 1842 about a third of Manchester families had pawned most of their personal possessions and were relying on a combination of government and private charity to survive — Engels witnessed the suffering caused by industrialization. In 1844, Marx and Engels met and began a collaboration that lasted until Marx's death in 1883. Although they wrote many works together and Engels financially supported Marx and his family, Marx is often given the major credit for these works. Even Engels admitted that he was more of an editor than an equal partner in the intellectual production.

Scorning other forms of socialism as "Romantic" and unpractical, Marx described his theories as scientific. Like the Enlightenment *philosophes*, Marx believed that scientific rules governed society as well as history. However, his thought was also influenced by the severe social consequences of industrialization, which Engels documented in *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845).

Marx was a materialist; that is, he believed that material conditions determined a society's beliefs. Economic conditions — who owned the tools needed to create goods — determined ideology, rather than beliefs determining working conditions and the structure of society. According to Marx, ideology protected existing labor relations. Influenced by Hegel's theory of the dialectic — that history could be described by the thesis-antithesis-synthesis process — Marx reversed Hegel and said that the end of history was not the revelation of a transcendent God but communism. This theory is explained in his major work, *Das Kapital*, and synthesized by A.J.P. Taylor in his classic introduction to *The Communist Manifesto*.

Having drawn an apparently clear distinction between the ideas of those who privilege the individual and those who privilege the group, it is necessary to note that the distinction between the individual and the community was not always absolute in this period. Mill's writings place the individual in the context of his or her community, while, as the excerpt from *Rerum Novarum* shows, Christianity acknowledged the claims of both individual and community. There is a role for both individuals and groups in Darwin's theories, which not surprisingly were appropriated by both those who sought to justify unregulated individual competition and those, like Social Darwinists and some nationalists, who emphasized the group, which they often termed the "race." Although Marx and his collaborator Engels are not often associated with a discussion of the individual, they did not wish to obliterate the individual; but they did claim that the individual had already been obliterated by bourgeois capitalism.

The primary source readings that follow (Mill, Dickens, Marx, Pope Leo XIII, Charles Darwin) lay out some of the major themes of this debate, while the secondary sources (Sullivan, Taylor, Avineri) show how the theories of Mill, Marx and Engels were connected to two other major movements, imperialism and nationalism.

The study questions and classroom activities found at the end of the document set provide the opportunity for students to synthesize a variety of interpretations of the role and relative value of the individual versus that of the larger society during the age of industrialization. Teachers may choose to use all or only a few of the documents and suggested classroom questions and activities.

Student Materials

Notes on Document 1

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (1859).

This work, which was one of Mill's most significant, sought to defend the rights of the minority against the tyranny of the majority, which was a possible outcome of utilitarianism's valuing of social utility. He described a private sphere that could not be regulated by the government or by society. Mill's philosophy takes a broader view of human relationships than did the early utilitarianism of his father and Bentham.

Document 1

The object of this Essay is to assert one very simple principle, as entitled to govern absolutely the dealing of society with the individual in the way of compulsion and control, whether the means used by physical force in the form of legal penalties, or the moral coercion of public opinion. That principle is, that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. He cannot rightfully be compelled to do or forbear because it will be better for him to do so, because it will make him happier, because, in the opinions of others, to do so would be wise, or even right. These are good reasons for remonstrating with him, or reasoning with him, or persuading him, or entreating him, but not for compelling him, or visiting him with any evil in case he do otherwise. To justify that, the conduct from which it is desired to deter him, must be calculated to produce evil to someone else. The only part of the conduct of any one, for which he is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign.

It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to say that this doctrine is meant to apply only to human beings in the maturity of their faculties. We are not speaking of children, or of young persons below the age which the law may fix as manhood or womanhood. Those who are still in a state to require being taken care of by others, must be protected against their own actions as well as against external injury. For the same reason, we may leave out of consideration those backward states of society in which the race itself may be considered as in its nonage. The early difficulties in the way of spontaneous process are so great, that there is seldom any choice of means for overcoming them; and a ruler full of the spirit of improvement is warranted in the use of any expedients that will attain an end, perhaps otherwise unattainable. Despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians, provided the end be their improvement, and the means justified by actually effecting that end. Liberty, as a principle, has no application to any state of things anterior to the time when mankind have become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion. Until then, there is nothing for them but implicit obedience to an

Akbar or a Charlemagne, if they are so fortunate as to find one. But as soon as mankind have attained the capacity of being guided to their own improvement by conviction or persuasion (a period long since reached in all nations with whom we need here concern ourselves), compulsion, either in the direct form or in that of pains and penalties for non-compliance, is no longer admissible as to their own good, and justifiable only for the security of others.

It is proper to state that I forego any advantage which could be derived to my argument from the idea of abstract right, as a thing independent of utility. I regard utility as the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions; but it must be utility in the largest sense, grounded on the permanent interests of man as a progressive being. Those interests, I contend, authorize the subjection of individual spontaneity to external control, only in respect to those actions which concern the interest of other people. If any one does an act hurtful to others, there is a *prima facie* case for punishing him, by law, or, where legal penalties are not safely applicable, by general disapprobation. There are also many positive acts for the benefit of others, which he may rightfully be compelled to perform; such as, to give evidence in a court of justice; to bear his fair share in the common defense, or in any other joint work necessary to the interest of the society of which he enjoys the protection; and to perform certain acts of individual beneficence, such as saving a fellow-creature's life, or interposing to protect the defenceless against ill-usage, things which whenever it is obviously a man's duty to do, he may rightfully be made responsible to society for not doing. A person may cause evil to others not only by his actions but by his inaction, and in either case he is justly accountable to them for the injury. The latter case, it is true, requires a much more cautious exercise of compulsion than the former. To make any one answerable for doing evil to others, is the rule; to make him answerable for not preventing evil, is, comparatively, the exception." (51-3)

…

Let us suppose, therefore, that the government is entirely at one with the people, and never thinks of exerting any power of coercion unless in agreement with what it conceives to be their voice. But I deny the right of the people to exercise such coercion, either by themselves or by their government. The power itself is illegitimate. The best government has no more title to it than the worst. It is as noxious, or more noxious, when exerted in accordance with public opinion, than when in opposition to it. If all mankind minus one, were of one

opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind. Were an opinion a personal possession of no value except to the owner; if to be obstructed in the enjoyment of it were simply a private injury, it would make some difference whether the injury was inflicted only on a few persons or on many. But the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.

…

That mankind are not infallible; that their truths, for the most part, are only half-truths; that unity of opinion, unless resulting from the fulest and freest comparison of opposite opinions, is not desirable, and diversity not an evil, but a good, until mankind are much more capable than at present of recognizing all sides of the truth, as principles applicable to men's modes of actions, not less than to their opinions. As it is useful that while mankind are imperfect there should be different opinions, so it is that there should be different experiments of living; that free scope should be given to varieties of character, short of injury to others; and that the worth of different modes of life should be proved practically, when any one thinks fit to try them. It is desirable, in sort, that in things which do not primarily concern others, individuality should assert itself. Where, not the person's own character, but the traditions or customs of other people are the rule of conduct, there is wanting one of the principal ingredients of human happiness, and quite the chief ingredient of individual and social progress. (102)

…

It will not be denied by anybody, that originality is a valuable element in human affairs. There is always need of persons not only to discover new truths, and point out when what were once truths are true no longer, but also to commence new practices, and set the example of more enlightened conduct, and better taste and sense in human life. This cannot well be gainsaid by anybody who does not believe that the world has already attained perfection in all its

ways and practices. It is true that this benefit is not capable of being rendered by everybody alike: there are but few persons, in comparison with the whole of mankind, whose experiments, if adopted by others, would be likely to be any improvement on established practice. But these few are the salt of the earth; without them, human life would become a stagnant pool. … I insist thus emphatically on the importance of genius, and the necessity of allowing it to unfold itself freely both in thought and in practice, being well aware that no one will deny the position in theory, but knowing also that almost every one, in reality, is totally indifferent to it. People think genius a fine thing if it enables a man to write an exciting poem, or paint a picture. But in its true sense, that of originality in thought and action, though no one says that it is not a thing to be admired, nearly all, at heart, think that they can do very well without it. Unhappily this is too natural to be wondered at. Originality is the one thing which unoriginal minds cannot feel the use of. They cannot see what it is to do for them: how should they? If they could see what it would do for them, it would not be originality. (110-11)

…

I fully admit that the mischief which a person does to himself may seriously affect, both through their sympathies and their interests, those nearly connected with him, and in a minor degree, society at large. When, by conduct of this sort, a person is led to violate a distinct and assignable obligation to any other person or persons, the case is taken out of the self-regarding class, and becomes amenable to moral disapprobation in the proper sense of the term. If, for example, a man, through intemperance or extravagance, becomes unable to pay his debts, or, having undertaken the moral responsibility of a family, become from the same cause incapable of supporting or educating them, he is deservedly reprobated, and might be justly punished; but it is for the breach of duty to his family or creditors not for the extravagance. If the resources which ought to have been devoted to them, had been diverted from them for the most prudent investment, the moral culpability would have been the same. George Barnwell murdered his uncle to get money for his mistress, but if he had done it to set himself up in business, he would equally have been hanged. Again, in the frequent case of a man who causes grief to his family by addiction to bad habits, he deserves reproach for his unkindness or ingratitude; but so he may for cultivating habits not in themselves vicious, if they are painful to those with whom he passes his life, or who from personal ties are dependent on him for their comfort.

> Whoever fails in the consideration generally due to the interests and feelings of others, not being compelled by some more imperative duty, or justified by allowable self-preference, is a subject of moral disapprobation for that failure, but not for the cause of it, nor for the errors, merely personal to himself, which may have remotely led to it. In like manner, when a person disables himself, by conduct purely self-regarding, from the performance of some definite duty incumbent on him to the public, he is guilty of a social offence. No person ought to be punished simply for being drunk; but a soldier or a policeman should be punished for being drunk on duty. Wherever, in short, there is a definite damage, or a definite risk of damage, either to an individual or the public, the case is taken out of the province of liberty, and placed in that of morality or law. (129-30)

Notes on Document 2

John Stuart Mill, *On the Subjection of Women* (1869).

In this work, Mill faced what previous defenders of individual liberty had avoided: that women were as capable of self-government as men. He described women as unnaturally subordinate to men and said that both they and society would be happier if they had the same rights and opportunities as men. However, he was forced to abandon his scientific reasoning, as he had to acknowledge that he had no evidence that women were as capable as men, a lack he attributed to the current structure of society, which did not allow women to demonstrate that they were.

Mill supported extending the vote to women, and as a Member of Parliament, he tried to amend the 1867 Reform Bill so that it included women. (His measure failed by a large majority and he did not win reelection.) He also supported the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 (which made divorce easier to obtain) as well as the Married Women's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882 (which allowed married women to control first their earnings and then their real property).

Document 2

> The modern conviction, the fruit of a thousand years of experience, is, that things in which the individual is the person directly interested, never go right but as they are left to his own discretion; and that any regulation of them by authority, except to protect the rights of others, is sure to be mischievous. This conclusion, slowly arrived at, and not adopted until almost every possible application of the contrary theory had been made with disastrous result, now (in the industrial department)

prevails universally in the most advanced countries, almost universally in all that have pretensions to any sort of advancement. It is not that all processes are supposed to be equally good, or all persons to be equally qualified for everything; but that freedom of individual choice is now known to be the only thing which procures the adoption of the best processes, and throws each operation into the hands of those who are best qualified for it. Nobody thinks it necessary to make a law that only a strong-armed man shall be a blacksmith. Freedom and competition suffice to make blacksmiths strong-armed men, because the weak-armed can earn more by engaging in occupations for which they are more fit. In consonance with this doctrine, it is felt to be an overstepping of the proper bounds of authority to fix beforehand, on some general presumption, that certain persons are not fit to do certain things. It is now thoroughly known and admitted that if some such presumptions exist, no such presumption is infallible. Even if it be well grounded in a majority of cases, which it is very likely not to be, there will be a minority of exceptional cases in which it does not hold; and in those it is both an injustice to the individuals, and a detriment to society, to place barriers in the way of their using their faculties for their own benefit and for that of others. In the cases, on the other hand, in which the unfitness is real, the ordinary motives of human conduct will on the whole suffice to prevent the incompetent person from making, or from persisting in, the attempt.

If this general principle of social and economical science is not true; if individuals, with such help as they can derive from the opinion of those who know them, are not better judges than the law and the government, of their own capacities and vocation; the world cannot too soon abandon this principle, and return to the old system of regulations and disabilities. But if the principle is true, we ought to act as if we believed it, and not to ordain that to be born a girl instead of a boy, any more than to be born black instead of white, or a commoner instead of a nobleman, shall decide the person's position through all life — shall interdict people from all the more elevated social positions, and from all, except a few, respectable occupations. Even were we to admit the utmost that is ever pretended as to the superior fitness of men for all the functions now reserved to them, the same argument applies which forbids a legal qualification for members of parliament. If only once in a dozen years the conditions of eligibility exclude a fit person, there is a real loss, while the exclusion of thousands of unfit persons is no gain; for if the constitution of the electoral body disposes them to chose unfit persons, there are always plenty of such persons to choose from. In all things of any difficulty and importance,

those who can do them well are fewer than the need, even with the most unrestricted latitude of choice: and any limitation of the field of selection deprives society of some chances of being served by the competent, without ever saving it from the incompetent.

At present, in the more improved countries, the disabilities of women are the only case, save one, in which laws and institutions take persons at their birth, and ordain that they shall never in all their lives be allowed to compete for certain things. The one exception is that of royalty. Persons are still born to the throne; no one, not of the reigning family, can ever occupy it, and no one even of that family can, by any means but the course of hereditary succession, attain it. All other dignities and social advantages are open to the whole male sex: many indeed are only attainable by wealth, but wealth may be striven for by anyone, and is actually obtained by many men of the very humblest origin. The difficulties, to the majority, are indeed insuperable without the aid of fortunate accidents; but no male human being is under any legal ban: neither law nor opinion superadd artificial obstacles to the natural ones. Royalty, as I have said, is excepted: but in this case everyone feels it to be an exception — an anomaly in the modern world, in marked opposition to its customs and principles, and to be justified only by extraordinary special expediencies, which, though individuals and nations differ in estimating their weight, unquestionably do in fact exist. But in this exceptional case, in which a high social function is, for important reasons, bestowed on birth instead of being put up to competition, all free nations contrive to adhere in substance to the principle from which they nominally derogate; for they circumscribe this high function by conditions avowedly intended to prevent the person to whom it ostensibly belongs from really performing it; while the person by whom it is performed, the responsible minister, does obtain the post by a competition from which no full-grown citizen of the male sex is legally excluded. The disabilities, therefore, to which women are subject from the mere fact of their birth, are the solitary examples of the kind in modern legislation. In no instance except this, which comprehends half the human race, are the higher social functions closed against anyone by a fatality of birth which no exertions, and no change of circumstances, can overcome; for even religious disabilities (besides that in England and in Europe they have practically almost ceased to exist) do not close any career to the disqualified person in case of conversion.

The social subordination of women thus stands out an isolated fact in modern social institutions; a solitary breach of what has become their fundamental law; a single relic of an old world of thought and practice exploded in everything else, but retained in the one thing of most universal interest; as if a gigantic dolmen, or a vast temple of Jupiter Olympius, occupied the site of St. Paul's and received daily worship, while the surrounding Christian churches were only resorted to on fasts and festivals. This entire discrepancy between one social fact and all those which accompany it, and the radical opposition between its nature and the progressive movement which is the boast of the modern world, and which has successively swept away everything else of an analogous character, surely affords, to a conscientious observer of human tendencies, serious matter for reflection. It raises a *primâ facie* presumption on the unfavorable side, far outweighing any which custom and usage could in such circumstances create on the favourable; and should at least suffice to make this, like the choice between republicanism and royalty, a balanced question.

The least that can be demanded is, that the question should not be considered as prejudged by existing fact and existing opinion, but open to discussion on its merits, as a question of justice and expediency: the decision on this, as on any of the other social arrangements of mankind, depending on what an enlightened estimate of tendencies and consequences may show to be most advantageous to humanity in general, without distinction of sex. And the discussion must be a real discussion, descending to foundations, and not resting satisfied with vague and general assertions. It will not do, for instance, to assert in general terms, that the experience of mankind has pronounced in favour of the existing system. Experience cannot possibly have decided between two courses, so long as there has only been experience of one. It if be said that the doctrine of the equality of the sexes rests only on theory, it must be remembered that the contrary doctrine also has only theory to rest upon. All that is proved in its favour by direct experience, is that mankind have been able to exist under it, and to attain the degree of improvement and prosperity which we now see; but whether that prosperity has been attained sooner, or is now greater, than it would have been under the other system, experience does not say. On the other hand, experience does say, that every step in improvement has been so invariably accompanied by a step made in raising the social position of women, that historians and philosophers have been led to adopt their elevation or debasement as on the whole the surest test and most correct measure

of the civilization of a people or an age. Through all the progressive period of human history, the condition of women has been approaching nearer to equality with men. This does not of itself prove that the assimilation must go on to complete equality; but it assuredly affords some presumption that such is the case.

Neither does it avail anything to say that the *nature* of the two sexes adapts them to their present functions and position, and renders these appropriate to them. Standing on the ground of common sense and the constitution of the human mind, I deny that anyone knows, or can know, the nature of the two sexes, as long as they have only been seen in their present relation to one another. If men had ever been found in society without women, or women without men, or if there had been a society of men and women in which the women were not under the control of the men, something might have been positively known about the mental and moral differences which may be inherent in th nature of each. What is now called the nature of women is an eminently artificial thing — the result of forced repression in some directions, unnatural stimulation in others. It may be asserted without scruple, that no other class of dependents have had their character so entirely distorted from its natural proportions by their relation with their masters; for, if conquered and slave races have been, in some respects, more forcibly repressed, whatever in them has not been crushed on by an iron heel has generally been let along, and if left with any liberty of development, it has developed itself according to its own laws; but in the case of women, a hot-house and stove cultivation has always been carried on of some of the capabilities of their nature, for the benefit and pleasure of their masters. Then, because certain products of the general vital force sprout luxuriantly and reach a great development in this heated atmosphere and under this active nurture and watering, while other shoots from the same root, which are left outside in the wintry air, with ice purposely heaped all round them, have a stunted growth, and some are burnt off with fire and disappear; men, with that inability to recognize their own work which distinguishes the unanalytic mind, indolently believe that the tree grows of itself in the way they have made it grown, and that it would die if one half of it were not kept in a vapour bath and the other half in the snow.

Notes on Document 3

Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* (1854).

This "condition of England" novel satirized early utilitarianism (the doctrine of James Mill and Jeremy Bentham) through the figure of Thomas Gradgrind, the industrialist whose indoctrination of his children led to tragic consequences for his daughter Louisa. This scene, which opens the novel, introduces Gradgrind's philosophy.

Document 3

"Now, what I want is, Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will ever be of any service to them. This is the principle on which I bring up my own children, and this is the principle on which I bring up these children. Stick to Facts, Sir!"

The scene was a plain, bare, monotonous vault of a school-room, and the speaker's square forefinger emphasized his observation by underscoring every sentence with a line on the schoolmaster's sleeve. The emphasis was helped by the speaker's square wall of a forehead, which had his eyebrows for its base, while his eyes found commodious cellarage in two dark caves, overshadowed by the wall. The emphasis was helped by the speaker's mouth, which was wide, thin, and hard set. The emphasis was helped by the speaker's voice, which was inflexible, dry, and dictatorial. The emphasis was helped by the speaker's hair, which bristled on the skirts of his bald head, a plantation of firs to keep the wind from its shining surface, all covered with knobs, like the crust of a plum pie, as if the head had scarcely warehouse-room for the hard facts stored inside. The speaker's obstinate carriage, square coat, square legs, square shoulders, — nay, his very neckcloth, trained to take him by the throat with an unaccommodating grasp, like a stubborn fact, as it was, — all helped the emphasis.

"In this life, we want nothing but Facts, sir; nothing but Facts!"

The speaker, and the schoolmaster, and the third grown person present, all backed a little, and swept with their eyes the inclined plane of little vessels then and there arranged in order, ready to have imperial gallons of facts poured into them until they were full to the brim. (41-2)

Notes on Document 4

Industrialization allowed Europeans to establish formal or informal empires in much of Africa and Asia by the end of the 19th century. — While the previous generation of liberals — including Bentham, James Mill and Edmund Burke — had rejected imperialism, John Stuart Mill supported it.

Document 4

Source: Eileen P. Sullivan, "Liberalism and Imperialism: J.S. Mill's Defense of the British Empire," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 44, 4 (Oct.–Dec. 1983), 607.

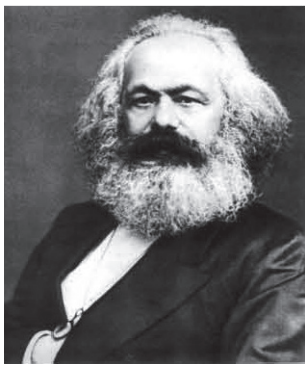
From the late 1820s until his death in 1873, J.S. Mill gradually rejected [the] … classical liberal position and developed the argument that England's economic and political interests were best served by the retention and expansion of empire. In formulating this new position, Mill often borrowed and generalized the arguments of others. In so doing, he became the most prominent of the mid-nineteenth century defenders of empire and the most important influence on the generation of liberal imperialists who followed him.

Mill argued in favor of a British Empire composed of white settler colonies and of non-settler dependencies in Asia, Africa, and Ireland. These different types of possessions were to be governed in different ways depending on the stage of civilization they had reached and on the political arrangements they had inherited.

Colonies like Canada, Australia, and New Zealand had populations of 'European race' who were at the same stage of civilization as the English. These people were perfectly capable of governing themselves and Mill supported 'home rule' for them. The colonists should control their own internal affairs and be subject to England only in matters of foreign or international policy. The areas to be subject to England's jurisdiction were military defense, international relations, and colonial public lands. All other matters, including the treatment of the aboriginal populations, were to be regulated by the colonies themselves. Mill argued also that because the white settlers were at the same stage of civilization as the English, their dependent status should continue only so long as they consented to it. Assuming that the colonies consented, however, they were in fact dependencies. Empire to J.S. Mill meant that colonies were subject to the sovereign power. …

The peoples of Asia and Africa, on the other hand, were barbarous and uncivilized and could not govern themselves. In these cases, England must provide a benevolent despotism. Mill recommended that the governance of barbarous dependencies be entrusted to autonomous bodies of experts like the East India Company rather than to the English people and Parliament. In 1854, however, he lost his battle to preserve the autonomy of the East India Company. After this date, he began to argue that Parliament itself should appoint commissions of experts and follow their counsel.

Notes on Document 5



This short pamphlet was written by Marx and Engels for the Communist League in six weeks and was published in February 1848, shortly before the Revolutions of 1848 began in Paris. Ironically, it had no impact on those upheavals, as it was not until some time later that it became widely read. The *Communist Manifesto*, as it is usually known, first sets out Marx's view of history as a series of clashes between oppressor and oppressed before describing the social ills of industrialized society and his solution — communism. It was a statement of principles rather than a practical plan, for the mechanisms by which communism would be achieved are absent. Even those who have not read the work are familiar with its first line — "A spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of Communism" — and its famous closing lines: "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains."

Document 5

Source: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848).

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. … The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class

antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms: Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat. (17-18)

…

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors,' and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment.' It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom — Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation. (20)

…

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world-market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production.

The intellection creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature. (22)

…

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons — the modern working class — the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed — a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. The labourers, who must sell themselves piece-meal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuation of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labor, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and consequently, all character for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and therefore also of labour, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labour increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work exacted in a given time or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarch master into the great factor of the industrial capitalist. Masses of labourers, crowded into the factory, are organized like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the

command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and exertion of strength implied in manual labour, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labor of men superseded by that of women. Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labor, more or less expensive according to their age and sex.

No sooner is the exploitation of the labourer by the manufacturer, so far, at an end, that he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.

The lower strata of the middle class — the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants — all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population. (25-7)

…

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in

order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battle lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years. (28)

…

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: (1) In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. (2) In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

…

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in a single sentence: Abolition of private property.

We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labour, which property is alleged to be the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of the petty artisan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form? There is no need to abolish that; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily. (34)

…

Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social.

And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society, by means of schools, & c.? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class. from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor.

But you Communists would introduce community of women, screams the whole bourgeoisie in chorus.

The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives.

Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substation for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, *i.e.*, of prostitution both public and private. (38–39)

Notes on Document 6

This encyclical on the relationship between capital and labor recognized the social problems described by Marx and Engels, but envisioned a different, cooperative solution to the class antagonisms of the late 19th century. In contrast to Marx and Engels's dismissal of organized religion, this document asserted a central role for the Church in alleviating class tensions. It is recognized as the founding document of modern Roman Catholic social teaching and has inspired a vast amount of literature.

Document 6

Source: Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*. 1891.

17. … There naturally exist among mankind manifold differences of the most important kind; people differ in capacity, skill, health, strength; and unequal fortune is a necessary result of unequal condition. Such unequality is far from being disadvantageous either to individuals or to the community. Social and public life can only be maintained by means of various kinds of capacity for business and the playing of many parts; and each man, as a rule, chooses the part which suits his own peculiar domestic condition. As regards bodily labor, even had man never fallen from the state of innocence, he would not have remained wholly idle; but that which would then have been his free choice and his delight became afterwards compulsory, and the painful expiation for his disobedience. "Cursed be the earth in thy work; in thy labor thou shalt eat of it all the days of thy life."

Engelhardt Herringer 18

18. In like manner, the other pains and hardships of life will have no end or cessation on earth; for the consequences of sin are bitter and hard to bear, and they must accompany man so long as life lasts. To suffer and to endure, therefore, is the lot of humanity; let them strive as they may, no strength and no artifice will ever succeed in banishing from human life the ills and troubles which beset it. If any there are who pretend differently — who hold out to a hard-pressed people the boon of freedom from pain and trouble, an undisturbed repose, and constant enjoyment — they delude the people and impose upon them, and their lying promises will only one day bring forth evils worse than the present. Nothing is more useful than to look upon the world as it really is, and at the same time to seek elsewhere, as We have said, for the solace to its troubles.

19. The great mistake made in regard to the matter now under consideration is to take up with the notion that class is naturally hostile to class, and that the wealthy and the working men are intended by nature to live in mutual conflict. So irrational and so false is this view that the direct contrary is the truth. Just as the symmetry of the human frame is the result of the suitable arrangement of the different parts of the body, so in a State is it ordained by nature that these two classes should dwell in harmony and agreement, so as to maintain the balance of the body politic. Each needs the other: capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital. Mutual agreement results in the beauty of good order, while perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and savage barbarity. Now, in preventing such strife as this, and in uprooting it, the efficacy of Christian institutions is marvelous and manifold. First of all, there is no intermediary more powerful than religion (whereof the Church is the interpreter and guardian) in drawing the rich and the working class together, by reminding each of its duties to the other, and especially of the obligations of justice.

20. Of these duties, the following bind the proletarian and the worker: fully and faithfully to perform the work which has been freely and equitably agreed upon; never to injure the property, nor to outrage the person, of an employer; never to resort to violence in defending their own cause, nor to engage in riot or disorder; and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles, who work upon the people with artful promises of great results, and excite foolish hopes which usually end in useless regrets and grievous loss. The following duties bind the wealthy owner and the employer: not to look upon their work people as their bondsmen, but to respect in every man his dignity as a person ennobled by Christian character. They are reminded that, according to natural reason and shameful, to a man, since it enables him to earn an honorable livelihood; but to misuse men as though they were things in the pursuit of gain, or to value them solely for their physical powers - that is truly shameful and inhuman. Again justice demands that, in dealing with the working man, religion and the good of his soul must be kept in mind. Hence, the employer is bound to see that the worker has time for his religious duties; that he be not exposed to corrupting influences and dangerous occasions; and that he be not led away to neglect his home and family, or to squander his earnings. Furthermore, the employer must never tax his work people beyond their strength, or employ them in work unsuited to their sex and age. His great and principal duty is to give every one what is just. Doubtless, before deciding whether wages are fair, many things have to be considered; but wealthy owners and all masters of labor should be mindful of this - that to exercise pressure upon the indigent and the destitute for

the sake of gain, and to gather one's profit out of the need of another, is condemned by all laws, human and divine. To defraud any one of wages that are his due is a great crime which cries to the avenging anger of Heaven. "Behold, the hire of the laborers… which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth; and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."(6) Lastly, the rich must religiously refrain from cutting down the workmen's earnings, whether by force, by fraud, or by usurious dealing; and with all the greater reason because the laboring man is, as a rule, weak and unprotected, and because his slender means should in proportion to their scantiness be accounted sacred. Were these precepts carefully obeyed and followed out, would they not be sufficient of themselves to keep under all strife and all its causes?

Document 7

Source: Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species* (1859).

In the preservation of favoured individuals and races, during the constantly-recurrent Struggle for Existence, we see the most powerful and ever-acting means of selection. The struggle for existence inevitably follows from the high geometrical ratio of increase which is common to all organic beings. This high rate of increase is proved by calculation, by the effects of a succession of peculiar seasons, and by the results of naturalisation, as explained in the third chapter. More individuals are born than can possibly survive. A grain in the balance will determine which individual shall live and which shall die, — which variety or species shall increase in number, and which shall decrease, or finally become extinct. As the individuals of the same species come in all respects into the closest competition with each other, the struggle will generally be most severe between them; it will be almost equally severe between the varieties of the species, and next in severity between the species of the same genus. But the struggle will often be very severe between beings most remote in the scale of nature. The slightest advantage in one being, at any age or during any season, over those with which it comes into competition, or better adaptation in however slight a degree to the surrounding physical conditions, will turn the balance.

With animals having separated sexes there will in most cases be a struggle between the males for possession of the females. The most vigorous individuals, or those which have most successfully struggled with their conditions of life, will generally leave most progeny. But success will often depend on having special weapons or means of defence, or on the charms of the males; and the slightest advantage will lead to victory. (467-8)

…

As each species tends by its geometrical ratio of reproduction to increase inordinately in number; and as the modified descendants of each species will be enabled to increase by so much the more as they become more diversified in habits and structure, so as to be enabled to seize on many and widely different places in the economy of nature, there will be a constant tendency in natural selection to preserve the most divergent offspring of any one species. Hence during a long-continued course of modification, the slight differences, characteristic of varieties of the same species, tend to be augmented into the greater differences characteristic of species of the same genus. New and improved varieties will inevitably supplant and exterminate the older, less improved and intermediate varieties; and thus species are rendered to a large extent defined and distinct objects. Dominant species belonging to the larger groups tend to give birth to new and dominant forms; so that each large group tends to become still larger, and at the same time more divergent in character. But as all groups cannot thus succeed in increasing in size, for the world would not hold them, the more dominant groups beat the less dominant. This tendency in the large groups to go on increasing in size and diverging in character, together with the almost inevitable contingency of much extinction, explains the arrangement of all the forms of life, in groups subordinate to groups, all within a few great classes, which we now see everywhere around us, and which has prevailed throughout all time. (470-1)

Document 8

Source: A.J.P. Taylor, historian, on Marx and Hegel, "Introduction," *The Communist Manifesto* (1967), 8–10.

Intellectual self-confidence was common among nineteenth-century thinkers, and it has always been the mark of philosophers except the English variety: most of them pursue the Philosopher's Stone in some form of universal wisdom. Self-confidence was particularly strong in Hegel and his followers who dominated German philosophy when

Marx entered on his academic studies at the universities of Bonn and Berlin. Hegel himself had been dead for some years; his spirit still walked the lecture rooms, and Marx learnt from it. Like other philosophers, Hegel sought for a world-system and claimed to have done better than his predecessors. They had been baffled by the problem that the world would not stand still. No sooner did they devise a universal system than the world changed into something else. Hegel made change itself the heart of his system. Moreover he laid down how change came about. A principle or idea — the thesis — was challenged by its opposite — the antithesis. From their conflict there emerged not the victory of one side or the other, but a combination of the two — the synthesis. In time this new thesis was again challenged by a new antithesis. A new synthesis emerged, and thus mankind rolled forward and upward. This was the Hegelian process of the dialectic.

Hegelian philosophy was a stroke of enlightenment. For the first time, thinkers made their peace with movement instead of insisting on a static universe. They were in fact fumbling towards the idea of evolution, which was perhaps the greatest creative idea of the nineteenth century. But Hegel could not tolerate the conception that things grew and changed of themselves. He still wanted to discover some outside force which drove them on and imagined that he had found it in the dialectic. To a skeptical English eye, the dialectic seems an arbitrary and unnatural form which breaks down at the first hurdle. After all, the conflict between male and female — thesis and antithesis — is also cooperation, though Hegel as a German did not perhaps like to admit it. Moreover this conflict does not produce a synthesis in the shape of a hermaphrodite, but a new being who is either male or female. However these are mundane objections. Marx's revision of Hegel had a different nature. The conflict which Hegel postulated was between ideas. Marx found the conflict in the world itself, and the ideas sprang from the conflict instead of causing it. In his own words, he found Hegelianism standing on its head and put it right way up. He called the result dialectical materialism.

In another aspect Marx did not quarrel with Hegel. Though Hegel had accepted movement and change, he was philosopher enough to jib at the thought that these would go on forever. One day the dialectical process would reach its term. The ideal would be achieved. As a young man, Hegel thought that this ideal had been achieved with Napoleon. Later he was shrewd enough to abandon this illusion and discovered the ideal in the Prussian state, which had arrived at the perfect society. In this

ingenious way, Hegelianism, which was based on change, became a doctrine of conservatism, with the dialectic reduced to a historic curiosity. Marx was a radical before he began as a philosopher, and a radical he remained. He certainly did not regard the Prussian state as ideal. But he, too, assumed that the dialectic would achieve its goal one day or another. The social conflicts which were the basis of his system would finally produce a synthesis where no conflicts were left, and history would come to an end. This synthesis was socialism, an ideal society or Utopia where everyone would be happy with conflict for ever more. The idea of a socialist Utopia was by no means new. Indeed dreamers had been describing it for many years. The novelty which Marx provided, according to his own account, was to show how the ideal future would grow out of the practical present. There was no need to postulate some impossible change of heart. Dialectical materialism would compel men to live in Utopia whatever the promptings of their hearts.

Document 9

Source: Shlomo Avineri, historian, "Marxism and Nationalism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 26:3/4 (Sept. 1991): 637–657.

Of all the historical phenomena discussed by Marx, his treatment of nationalism, nationalistic movements and the emergence of the nation-state is the least satisfactory. It also left a problematic heritage to the socialist movement, with a veritable 'black hole' where a confrontation with one of the most potent social and political forces of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries should have been.

Marx never discussed nationalism in any systematic way, and what we have are a number of disjointed statements, dealing with the issue sometimes on a very general level, sometimes in response to specific historical events on which he had commented in newspaper articles. A careful study of these scattered references will show that there are two distinct analyses of nationalism in Marx, one pre- and one post-1848. I call pre-1848 'the pre-modern paradigm,' the post-1848 'the bourgeois paradigm.'

The *locus classicus* for the pre-modern paradigm' (paradigm I) is to be found in *The Communist Manifesto*, where the universalizing power of the capitalist market is sketched by Marx in memorable and pithy language. This universalizing thrust, according to Marx, does away with everything that is particular, be it regional or national. The capitalist mode of production is to Marx the first to have given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every

country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the glove. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The … creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature.

And furthermore:

> National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding to them.

Hence Marx's famous dictum that "the workingmen have no country" and his postulate that in the future "the supremacy of the proletariat will make [these differences between the nations] vanish still further."

National differences thus are likened in this paradigm to other pre-modern traits, like local customs and dress: they are all due to disappear before the universalizing onslaught of the bourgeoisie and be even more perfectly integrated into a world-culture by the proletarian revolution.

It was this aspect of paradigm I of Marx's thoughts on nationalism which came to characterize the cosmopolitan and internationalist heritage of the socialist movement. Yet Marx himself subtly changed his views — though without ever admitting that he had done so. The experience of the revolutions of 1848/9, during which nationalism appeared as a major force for the first time on a massive scale, occasionally proving to be much stronger than class interests, was followed very closely by Marx as editor if the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and his journalistic writing of this period abounds with

many insights into the emergence of, and clashes between, various national movements — in Germany and Italy, in Poland and Bohemia, in Hungary and Croatia. Obviously such a powerful force evidently changing and redrawing the map of Europe, reordering borders and state structures, could no longer be subsumed under the pre-modern paradigm as a mere appendix of pre-modern economic formations, about to be swept into the dustbin of history by the universalizing forces of market capitalism.

What Marx developed after 1848/9, and mainly in response to the developments leading towards the unification of Germany and Italy, was paradigm II — the explanation of nationalism as a *modern* superstructural expression of the bourgeois need for larger markets and territorial consolidation. In this paradigm, far from being an exotic and romantic — or romanticized — relic of the pre-industrial age, nationalism is (to use Eric Hobsbawn's later phrase) a 'building block' of capitalism.

According to this paradigm, capitalism needs large economic entities: it cannot function and develop properly when Germany, for example, is divided into thirty-seven states, mini-states and city-states, each with its own laws, customs arrangements, political structures and currency. The unification of Germany — and of Italy — is no longer just a dream of the romantics, yearning for elusive and imaginary Teutonic forests or Roman glory: it is in the direct economic interest of the bourgeoisie, and nationalist ideologies are nothing other than superstructural strategies of legitimation for these economic interests. The *Zollverein* — the mainly north German customs union which preceded the political unification of Germany under Bismarck — is the model for the emergence of modern nation-states. Nationalism is no longer pre-modern for Marx — it is the epitome of the processes of capitalist development and industrialization.

Because of this, Marx now supported, for instrumentalist but not immanent reasons, the unification of Germany and Italy: whatever helped develop capitalism was, of course, ultimately hastening its demise. Furthermore, only in large, unified entities could the proletariat develop an adequate class consciousness and not be sidetracked into secondary efforts. Marx's support for Prussia in the 1870-1 Franco-Prussian War, for example, was argued in terms of the instrumentality of this war towards Germany's unification and as an important step in the development of industrialization, capitalism and the ensuing strengthening of the working class. As one could imagine,

such a view, overlooking the immediate causes of the war, did not always sit well with others within the radical movement, with its emphasis on ethical considerations and opposition to the kind of regime epitomized by Bismarck. Yet Marx never wavered from this instrumentalist approach, eschewing merely 'moral' approaches.

Study Questions

1. How does Mill justify his belief that individual freedom is practical and useful for society?
2. What limits does Mill put on individual freedom? In what ways do these limits contradict his overall philosophy?
3. How did Mill's beliefs about the individual affect his proposals for the equal treatment of women?
4. In what ways does Mill's support of empire contradict his philosophy? How do you account for this difference?
5. What role does individual choice play in the philosophy of Marx and Mill?
6. Although Mill rejected the sterner form of utilitarianism championed by his father and Jeremy Bentham, how might Dickens's implicit criticisms of the philosophy also be applied to Mill's form of utilitarianism?
7. What is the relationship between the individual and the group in Darwin's theory? In what ways do Darwin's ideas about the individual and the group agree with those of Marx? With those of Mill? Are his ideas most like those of Marx or those of Mill?
8. Compare the views of humanity expressed by Marx and Mill. Is Marx's view of humanity more or less optimistic than Mill's?
9. Marx and Pope Leo XIII recognized the social ills caused by industrialization, yet their solutions differed. Which solution was more realistic, and why?

Student and Class Activities

1. Writing from the perspective of Marx or Mill: Adopting the position and beliefs of either Marx or Mill, students write a letter to the other person. Students should select an aspect from the two theories to formulate their letters. This hypothetical exchange should criticize the view of the other theorist, pose questions and/or search for common ground. Students can exchange one or two letters through this process.
2. Expanding beyond Marx and Mill: Using a graphic organizer or discussion format, students can consider which interest groups/sectors of European society would fear Marx and/or Mill and which would find comfort in their ideas.

3. Understanding the context: Familiarize students with the context of the era with primary source illustrations and literature, such as the engravings of Blanchard Jerrold and Gustave Doré in *London, A Pilgrimage* (1872). The illustrations as well as an extensive and varied list of poetry and prose are available at http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/skilton/index.html ("Treasure of a Great Metropolis" in *London and Literature in the Nineteenth Century*" — Cardiff University).
4. Considering the relationship between the individual and collectivity: After reading and analyzing each document, create a chart comparing perspectives toward individual liberty with various types of group identity (social class, nation and race, gender and family), the nature of progress and change, religion, the role of the state, etc.

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Other Resources

2002 AP European History DBQ — Manchester, England

http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/skilton/index.html
London and Literature in the Nineteenth Century

http://www.theglasgowstory.com/storyd.php
Second City of The Empire: 1830s to 1914

From Multinational Empires to Nation-States: Transformations in Eastern Europe

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Contents of the Unit

I. Ethnic Map of the Former Yugoslavia

Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/europe/yugoslav.jpge

Map courtesy of The University of Texas at Austin, Perry Castañeda Collection

II. Historical Overview of the Disintegration of Empires and the Restructuring of Eastern Europe

In 1918, after four years of war, the Austro-Hungarian Empire disintegrated into national components. Up to the eve of war in 1914, all three of the multinational empires of Eastern Europe — Austria-Hungary, Russia and the Ottoman Empire — had each

maintained the trappings of traditional rank and power. Few conceived of a world in which the monarchy did not exist.

The events of World War I exposed the political backwardness that proved fatal to all three multinational empires, not only destroying the monarchies but also polarizing the diverse peoples who inhabited them. For members of national minorities it was "deliverance from foreign oppression." For Hungarians and Germans it was a time of betrayal: "many became radical nationalists and militarists." (Cornwall, 2)

Historically, the main objective of dynasties is self-preservation, not modernization. The process of modernization required to maintain an empire's power status in the late 19th century created conflicts and tensions with which dynastic authorities were unable to cope. Their inability to modernize successfully was revealed in their reactions to the tensions posed by change, namely to retrench by stressing allegiance to the dynasty and turning to the traditional authority of the ruling classes that supported the dynasty. Ethnic nationalities reacted to this retrenchment — which included the imposition of official language, a dominant religion, and the extension of police authority — with intensifying aspirations for independence.

These dynasties possessed characteristics that rendered them incapable of coping with demands for modernization of the state. Among the shared traits were that they:

a. Inherently mistrusted change;

b. Did not understand (or underestimated) the need for technology, the nature of industrial economic activity, money capitalism and banking;

c. Viewed society and the upper echelons of the social order as belonging to the traditional, aristocratic supporters of dynasty, which meant they ignored or failed to utilize the skills of the rising urban middle and working classes;

d. Did not create a unified state economic policy, which would have raised capital necessary to promote economic activity and to build an infrastructure (i.e., railroads, etc.);

e. Made few changes in foreign policy, continuing the traditional dynastic policies of expansion and dominance (i.e., conflicts over Serbia between Austria-Hungary and Russia), rather than developing a foreign policy focused on economic development and trade relations needed to foster modernization;

f. Did not cope with the development of independent sources of authority in the economy (banks, corporations) and the laws necessary to sustain these institutions;

g. Did not cope with the development of independent sources of authority in the political sphere (political parties, provincial legislatures);

h. Were unable to mobilize society for a cause other than sustaining the monarchy;

i. Chose leadership personnel in the government at all levels that emphasized traditional class rank expertise rather than expertise (e.g., filling the military officer class with aristocratic elite) that had sustained the dynasty;

j. Proved unable to utilize modern methods such as propaganda to promote their reigns and leadership, and publicly justify their actions and goals (unlike Hitler, Lenin and Ataturk).

The tensions and conflicts created by these weaknesses were not addressed through the processes of modernization, but with the traditional methods used to preserve dynasties, such as declarations of loyalty, oaths of allegiance, strengthening of authority of traditionally dominant social groups, culture and language, and by the use of force.

How did these weaknesses contribute to the rise of ethnic nationalism and demands for independence in Eastern Europe? What modernization did occur in these states, gave the subordinate groups a sense of their contribution to and increasing importance to society as well as a sense of their common identity in expecting some recognition and compensation. The oppressive policies of the state stimulated ethnic consciousness with their demands for conformity to the dominant elite and enforced submission to the dynasty and ruling elites. Both modernization and suppression led to the creation of organizations (both internationalist/socialist and ethnic nationalist) that demanded self-determination and/or independence. Serbia had already gained a measure of autonomy, which made it the focal point of the Balkan Wars. Conflict with its neighbors and between Russia and Austria-Hungary was a triggering factor for World War I.

All these conditions existed in Eastern Europe prior to 1914, but without the horrific changes imposed by the reverses suffered in World War I, suppression and oppression could have continued. The existing difficulties did not foretell the imminent collapse of these dynasties by 1917 (in Russia) and 1919 (in Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire), but the events and military losses suffered by the three dynasties during World War I transformed these weaknesses into fatal inadequacies.

What replaced each of the three multinational dynasties differed. The Versailles Peace Conference redesigned the political boundaries of Eastern Europe, imposing the principle of national self-determination and creating successor nation-states. The Austro-Hungarian Empire became Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania. Serbia became the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. New political and bureaucratic structures were introduced. Democratic voting and other innovations were introduced. The Russian Romanov dynasty was eliminated by an internal revolution that subsequently reintroduced the centralization of the multinational empire under a Marxist-Leninist ideology. Demands for self-determination in the USSR. were suppressed for decades until the disintegration of the USSR in the 1990s. Portions of the western Ottoman Empire were incorporated into Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania; Turkey emerged as an independent state, while its holdings in the Middle East were divided among the victors and became protectorates administered by the colonial powers under the League of Nations.

III. Introducing Nationalism as an Imagined Community: the High School Pep Rally

Focus Question

How is an awareness of being part of and belonging to a particular group created?

Learning Objective

Nationalism has been one of the defining themes of modern history, but its complexity and flexibility are seldom appreciated by secondary students. In Eastern Europe, nation-states were created after World War I, but ethnic diversity continued to create tensions in the region (e.g., Czechoslovakia ultimately divided into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in the 1990s).

Enabling students to acquire greater sophistication of analysis in understanding the nature and power of nationalism (in various forms) is a major aim of this unit. Using the high school pep rally as a mechanism to demonstrate how group consciousness is created can by analogy demonstrate a number of the factors that characterize the solidification of group identity.

This is intended as a fun activity, not as a serious commentary on pep rallies. Still, students will see the parallels between the pep rally, which contains rituals that function in much the same way as the rituals that build national awareness in the USA and eastern Europe. Moving in three steps from the familiarity of the high school, to the analysis of nationalism in the United States, to the less familiar processes at work in Eastern Europe enhances the ability of more students to write about, and to discuss with authority, the topic. The first two steps can easily be accomplished in a single class period.

When students enter high school they acquire a new identity and are part of a new "community," created by the arbitrary boundaries of the school district. The process of becoming a "wildcat," a "mustang" or an "eagle" is a recent event in a student's life that a teacher may use as an analogy for understanding the more abstract concept of nationalism, a major theme of modern history. Modern nationalism links the identity of an individual with that of an abstract unit, "wildcat land" (the high school, i.e., the nation), which historically has been defined by language, shared events and culture as well as the commitment to form a unified entity, a new "tribe" or ethnic group.

The high school pep rally is a ritual that students know and participate in on a number of levels. The territorial setting, the school gym, is an arena with stands on two sides. Students, many dressed in school colors, sit in sections according to age grades (sophomores, juniors, seniors); the uniformed band sits in its own place, ready to begin the fight song and the alma mater, which all students are expected to know.

On the floor, positioned at opposite ends of the gym, are the "warriors," i.e., football team and the "virgins" the girls' dance/drill team. On the center floor are the tribal "totems," the mascot, the school flag, and the cheerleaders, who lead the chants. Near the microphones are the elders/war leaders (the coaches and administrators) and other elders (the faculty, aides, booster groups, parents).

Emotional unity is also based on intensity about a new common enemy (the opposing school). Some battles are more important than others (e.g., homecoming). The shared experiences of the season, or year, contribute to the student's feeling of being part of the group identity.

School tradition ("my parents attended this school," "my brother played on the football team," etc.) also enhance the student's feeling of identity.

Transitioning from the high school pep rally to that of nationalism in the USA is made easier by this discussion. The students are on a wavelength that helps activate discussion.

Have students first brainstorm and write down everything that comes to mind on the topic American nationalism/patriotism/the USA After a few minutes, the class should recategorize or regroup what has been mentioned, creating the chart below. Beginning with the categories in the first column and filling in some examples in the second column. Adding the categories from the high school/microcosm often convinces the students of the workability of this paradigm:

Common Characteristics of Nationalism	United States Nationalism (examples)	Our High School (examples)
I. Traditions and shared historical experiences; "Genesis stories"; Heroes and martyrs	Founding Fathers, Pilgrims and Plymouth Rock; Valley Forge; Washington crossing the Delaware; the frontier; the American Revolution; World Wars I and II; Dec. 7, 1941; Sept. 11, 2001, etc.	Winning regionals or state competitions; a school benchmark, e.g., 25th year, outstanding alumni; school achievements
II. Shared culture — music, language, folklore, myth/"origin tales"; literature and/or "sacred texts"; art;	English as a national language; national anthem; patriotic songs; Declaration of Independence; the Constitution; Gettysburg Address; Kennedy's inaugural address; M. L. King's "Dream" speech; FDR's "Day of Infamy" speech	School alma mater; fight song; school motto; school mascot; logo; school colors on hats, T-shirts, uniforms
III. Common group values/ interests/holidays	"Americanism," including values of patriotism, civic duty, loyalty, democracy; the Fourth of July; Thanksgiving; Veterans Day; Memorial Day; Presidents' Birthdays; Labor Day	Homecoming; prom; graduation; senior show; school play; school competitions, sports and academics
IV. Common Enemies	Communists in the Cold War; Nazis in WWII; Terrorists post-9/11	"The" main football competitor; a rival school district that is not "us"
V. Integrated infrastructure; common symbols; shrines	U.S. flag; capitalism as an economic system; Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials; Washington Monument; Vietnam Veterans Memorial	School flag; school mascot; Student Council; National Honor Society, etc.
VI. Emotional links of individuals to the community or nation; ethnic/school or national consciousness	Standing at attention during the national anthem	Buying football season tickets (alumni, parents, booster groups)
VII. Geographically defined boundaries	Manifest Destiny; sea to sea; sovereignty	School grounds; the home stadium; the school district

Key Terms for Discussing Nationalism

Source Aviel Roshwald, *Ethnic Nationalism and the Fall of Empires: Central Europe, Russia and the Middle East, 1914–1923* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 6.

Note: There are no standardized definitions for any of these terms. Aviel Roshwald summarized the historiography of "national identity" and provided an overview of prevailing explanations to explain the development of national movements.

Ethnic Nationalism refers to any group that thinks of its common identity as a basis for claiming some political-territorial self-determination.

Nationalism any ideology based on the articulation of such claims that serves as the framework for political action.

Nation-State a polity that bases its legitimacy on its claim to represent the identity of a sovereign nation.

Multinational Empires a polity whose group identity is based on loyalty to and governance by a dynastic sovereign.

Modernization the process of transforming a society economically (agriculture is transformed based on scientific methods, industrialization and systems development); intellectual modernization (reflecting advances in scientific rationalism); political modernization (centralized nation-state formation, a professional bureaucracy, a standing army); social modernization (the development of a middle class, urbanization, professional groupings defined by education).

Comparing the Characteristics of Competing Forms of Group Identity in the 19th and 20th Centuries in Eastern Europe

Source: Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

Multinational States	Civic Nationalism	Ethnic Nationalism
• Dynastic sovereignty • Linguistic and cultural diversity • Dominant ruling elite • Examples: Austro-Hungarian empire; Imperial Russia; the Ottoman Empire	• A collective identity • Common values–more associated with liberal values, individual rights, tolerance, scientific rationalism • A territorially defined state • Arose with the expansion of a capitalist-industrial base • Examples: France, Great Britain	• Originated among intellectual elites in central/eastern Europe • A collective identity centered around a myth of common descent/common ancestry, extending the kinship principle to a large population and land • Common culture, language, folklore, religion • Aspirations of political empowerment • More intolerant, chauvinistic and authoritarian forms of government • Absence of an industrial base or strong middle class • Ethnic-based, religious and revolutionary group institutions • Examples: Poles, Slovaks, Serbs

IV. Document-Based Analysis Exercise

The question and excerpts below provide students the opportunity to practice source and document analysis, grouping and the application of historical analysis in a written essay. These are important historical skills that are tested in the AP Exam. Students must read the prompt carefully and understand the tasks involved, and must carefully consider source information as well as document content in order to analyze the point of view and deepen understanding of the purpose, value and limitations of each document.

Prompt

Analyze and assess various perspectives on those issues that surrounded the movement for nationhood among the southern Slavs to 1920.

Historical Context

Before and during World War I, there was great pressure to unite the Southern Slavs of Europe, the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes, and to form a nation. Although regarded as an ethnic family, there is no one language or religion that they share. Serbians are Eastern Orthodox and use both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets, while the Croats and

Slovenes are Roman Catholics and use only the Latin alphabet. Even Serbo-Croatian has so many varied dialects that native Serbs and Croats have difficulty deciphering it.

Document 1

Source: Samuel Huntington, American academic, founder of *Foreign Policy*, a political science journal. Quoted in *Ethnic Violence*, edited by Mary Hull (San Diego: Lucent, 1997).

> Communists can become democrats; the rich can become poor, and the poor rich, but Russians cannot become Estonians. … In class and ideological conflicts, the key question is "Which side are you on?" and people can and do change sides. But in conflicts between civilizations the question is "What are you?" That is a given that cannot be changed.

Document 2

Source: Excerpts from the By-Laws of the Organization Union or Death (a secret Serbian Society known as the Black Hand) to create a Greater Serbia by uniting with their kinsmen, the South Slavs dwelling in Austria-Hungary, Belgrade, 9 May 1911.

> Article 1. This organization is created for the purpose of realizing the national ideal: the union of all Serbs. Membership is open to every Serb, without distinction of sex, religion, or place of birth, and to all those who are sincerely devoted to this cause.
>
> Article 2. This organization prefers terrorist action to intellectual propaganda, and for this reason it must remain absolutely secret.
>
> Article 33. When the central committee of Belgrade pronounces a death sentence the only thing that matters is that the execution is carried out unfailingly. The method of execution is of little importance.

Document 3

Source: Baron von Giesl, Austrian Ambassador to Serbia, letter to the Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary, July 21, 1914, three weeks after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in M. Perry et al, *Sources of the Western Tradition*, vol. II (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., c. 1987), 224.

> After the annexation crisis (1878, when Austria-Hungary took over the administration of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, officially part of the Ottoman Empire), the relations between the Monarchy and Serbia were poisoned on the Servian (*sic*, Serbian) side by nationalism chauvinism, animosity and an effective propaganda of Great-Servian aspirations carried on in that part of our territory where there is a Servian population. Since the last two Balkan Wars (1912 and 1913) the success of Servia has increased this chauvinism to a paroxysm, the expression of which in some cases bears the mark of insanity. …

> The crime at Sarajevo has aroused among the Servians an expectation that in the immediate future the Hapsburg States will fall to pieces. …
>
> I considered this … conclusion … that a reckoning with Serbia, a war for the position of the Monarchy as a Great Power, even for its existence as such, cannot be permanently avoided.

Document 4

Source: Woodrow Wilson, U.S. President, excerpts from his Fourteen Points in M. Perry et al., *Sources of the Western Tradition*, vol. II (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., c. 1987), 242.

> [Principles to be applied in the peace settlement] …
>
> The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.
>
> Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival states; and
>
> Fourth, that all well-defined national aspiration shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.
>
> … This has indeed been a people's war. It has been waged against absolutism and militarism, and these enemies of liberty must from this time forth be shut out from the possibility of working their cruel will upon mankind.

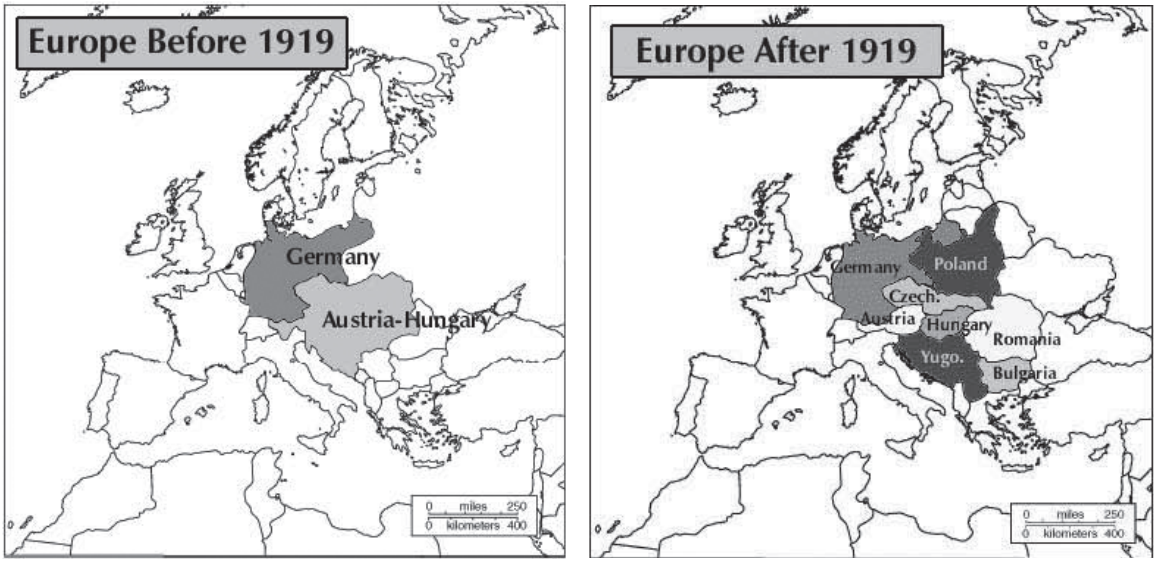
Document 5

Source: Viennese newspaper editorial (Anon.), 1903, translated by and cited in Cornwall, ed., *The Last Years of Austria Hungary* (Exeter, UK: University of Exeter, 2002), 119–120.

> Recently a great political problem has re-arisen, which, since the foundation of the dualist form of government, seemed to be settled, namely, the southern Slav question. … In 1903 the Croats Serbs and Slovenes seemed to be forgetting their various differences and ostentatiously coming together. … If these four million even begin to act under a united leadership, it could be more threatening to the state as a whole than the Bohemian quarrel-ever was for the Austrian half (of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy). … Behind our Southern Slavs stand the peoples of the Balkans, incessantly restless and insatiable.

Document 6

Source: Maps of Europe before and after World War I. http://fcit.usf.edu/holocaust/MAPS/map001.htm http://fcit.usf.edu/HOLOCAUST/mpas/map003.HTM.



Document 7

Source: Velimir Khlebnikov, Russian Pan-Slavic poet. Excerpt from his Pan-Slavic poem "Battlesong," 1903, supporting the movement of Russians, Serbs, and other Slavs against Germanic (including Austrian) influence.

> And I myself would tell
> And I myself would relate
> Would stretch out my hand in an oath
> Gather together all my bitterness and venom in order
> To shout out to the west and the south my news, my faith,
> my fury, and my call.
> My angry, victorious, belligerent call:
> the pressure of a united and wholehearted glory
> against the German.

Possible Responses to the Documents

Document 1

Race is important, achieved through conflict.

Document 2

Serbs will unify the region, achieved through terror, which is the terrorist POV.

Document 3

Expectation to expand was the anticipation of all Slavs, according to the Austrian ambassador, achieved through war, which Serbia saw as causing the decline of the empire; Serbia would cause the fall; Austrian describes the Serb point of view.

Document 4

Wilsonian idealism: asserts the end of World War I will settle the nationhood issue and result in autonomous development, benefiting "the people" without conflict.

Document 5

Viennese (pro-German) point of view: suggests (correctly) that the Slavs will have a domino effect in the region, influencing other ethnic groups if Austrian control is removed.

Document 6

Map describes World War I treaty writers' attempts to create new nation-states in the Balkans.

Document 7

Russian support for Pan-Slavism.

V. Developing Historical Reasoning: the Historical Essay

Suggestions for organizing a comparative essay

Paragraph 1

Provide a concise thesis and introduction, in which key terms are defined or explained. The thesis takes a point of view and organizes the major points to be used in explaining and proving the thesis.

Paragraph 2

Each paragraph must have a topic sentence. Identify and explain with historical support the similarities between the two.

Paragraph 3

Provide a topic sentence identifying differences. One can compare* two as isolation situations, or two that interacted (e.g., warfare, trade); or compare two situations at different points in time; or compare their relationship as part of a larger system.

Paragraph 4

Write the conclusion. Explain why the thesis is valid and how it has been supported.

**Remember, the verb "compare" means to discuss similarities AND differences.*

Essay Prompts

1. Compare the development of nationalism in any two of the following from c. 1900 to 1939.

    - Poland
    - Serbia
    - The Ukraine
    - Czechoslovakia

    Frame your comparative analysis using at least three of the following categories comparison:

    - The rise of self-identity and national consciousness
    - Modernization and the impact of changing conditions
    - Intrastate violence and aggression

- Interstate violence and coercion
- Political obstacles to independence/unity

2. In two of the following, compare the connection between the patterns of decline and the rise of ethnic nationalism from c. 1900 to 1924.
    - Austro-Hungarian Empire
    - Russia/USSR
    - The Ottoman Empire

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The Impact of Decolonization: France and Algeria

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"Decolonization was not just an Algerian Affair — it was also France's."

"Nous sommes des Arabes! Nous sommes des Arabes! Nous sommes des Arabes!" ("We are Arabs! We are Arabs! We are Arabs!")

— Comment by Algerian President Bourguiba, 1962, upon his return from French imprisonment.

"Ça va finir par être vrai !" ("This will eventually become true!")

— Comment by a member of President Bourguiba's entourage.

I. Understanding the Geographical Context

A. Completing the map: Label significant locations, including France, Algeria, their capital cities, Marseilles, the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, the city of Constantine, major Algerian oil fields, and the city of Oran.

Map courtesy of Cartographic Research Laboratory, University of Alabama
alabamamaps.us.edu/…/world/europe/index.html

B. Assign students or partner groups to contribute the following information:

   1. Compare the size of Algeria with the size of France.
   2. What is the distance from Marseille to Algiers? What is the historical significance of the Marseilles and Algiers axis?
   3. During the colonial era Algeria acquired a unique status. How was it unique in the French colonial empire?
   4. Describe the historical interaction between Oran and Europe.
   5. Describe the geographical, social and historical significance of Algiers during the colonial era.
   6. Describe the significance of the city of Constantine during the colonial era.


U. K.
NETH.
GERMANY
POLAND
BELGIUM
LUX.
CZECH REPUBLIC
SLOVAKIA
North Atlantic Ocean
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
SWITZERLAND
SLOVENIA
CROATIA
ITALY
BOSNIA
SERB
MONACO
MONTENE
ANDORRA
Adriatic Sea
MACI
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Tyrrhenian Sea
ALBANIA
TUNISIA
MOROCCO
Mediterra
Gulf of Sidra
ALGERIA
LIBYA
0
250 Km

Answers to Map Questions

1. France is approximately one-fourth the size of Algeria: 212,935 versus 919,595 square miles.
2. 469 miles, the Marseilles-Algiers axis was one of the most direct routes for emigrants and workers leaving Algeria to work in France, and for settlers arriving from Europe.
3. It became part of metropolitan France, and its European settlers became citizens of France.
4. It was settled by Moorish traders from Andalusia, Spain, in 903; In the 15th century the Spanish declared it a place of refuge for expelled Jews and Moors resulting from the Inquisition; the Ottoman Turks took it from the Spanish until the French occupied the region in 1830; Oran remained "inherently Spanish" throughout the colonial era.
5. It was a cosmopolitan city in the colonial era, with a rigid social structure; the sea was visible from most parts of the city and the hills around it. In the 20th *casbah* (old Palace of Algiers), 80,000 Muslims were packed into one square mile. Many others lived in 140 *bidonvilles*, slums in wastelands and ravines that ran down to the sea.
6. During the colonial period the city of Constantine, located in eastern Algeria, was the third center of the three units of metropolitan France into which Algeria was divided.

II. Historical Context: France and Algeria

Introduction

Imperialism exposed the Janus-face of the European powers. The leaders of France saw its role as civilizing and spreading culture to its colonies, including liberal and democratic traditions and secular and scientific values. However, subject regions such as Algeria in North Africa experienced authoritarian and military rule, a rigidly enforced racial status system, and a rejection of traditional culture that implied French superiority and Algerian inferiority.

In 1870 France was defeated by Prussia/Germany and was forced to cede valuable territory on its northwest border. In 1914 Germany again invaded France, and the ensuing western front stretched across northern France for the next five years of war, devastating the country. In 1940 France fell within six weeks of the German Blitzkrieg and suffered a military occupation until liberation in 1945. In World Wars I and II troops from its colonies, including Algeria, fought in support of France. North African veterans acquired

a different perspective on Europe during the wars, many returning to their homes to support independence movements, which were vigorously resisted by France and European settlers in Algeria. In what has been termed the bloodiest and most bitter fights for independence (1954–1962), dispossessed Algerian Muslims lost the war but finally won their independence.

The materials and activities included here provide the opportunity for students to examine the ways in which French and Algerian identities intertwined and repelled, complemented and challenged, and deeply influenced each other during the colonial and postcolonial periods.

The timeline provides students with a tool with which to gauge relative importance of various events from French and Algerian perspectives.

A. External Factors Influencing Interactions Between Europe and Its Colonies by 1945:

1. World War I, World War II and the decline of Europe
2. Rise of the superpowers: USA and the USSR
3. East-West tensions: The Cold War to 1991, when the USSR broke up and the balance of power shifted.
4. The impact of nationalism and independence movements in Asia (India, Vietnam), the Middle East and Africa (Egypt, Algeria).

B. Unexpected Consequences for Europe Post-1945:

1. Reemergence of the importance of the Mediterranean "lake": oil in Algeria, 1954, and OPEC.
2. Rapidity of the disintegration of colonial empires: bilateral decolonization.
3. Persistence of the North-South Axis apart from Cold War, East-West tensions: Europe and Africa; Europe and the Middle East.
4. Economic recovery of France and steadily rising prosperity after de Gaulle (1959–1969); projects for cheap housing and government policies removed many anxieties about homelessness, ill health, unemployment and old age. State railroad system was restored with super trains; major investments in hydroelectricity and nuclear power plants were made. The mechanization of agriculture made France a major food exporter.
5. Development of the European Common Market: Jean Monnet of France, the "father of Europe," and Robert Shuman, a disciple of Monnet, were key to forming the European Coal and Steel Community, a precursor of the Common Market (the EEC, European Economic Community).

6. Consumerism: turned material advancement into a goal, and "taught possessions alone brought fulfillment." (Davies, 1078)
7. Demographic change: France's population from 1840 to 1940 remained at approximately 40 million. By 1985, it had reached 55.2 million. (Davies, 1080)

Historical Glossary

Use the following information to review the key events of French-Algerian history, to use as specific examples and support in developing answers to the essay questions, and to establish context and explanations in document-based-question essay practice.

Key Groups

F.I.S. Islamic Salvation Front — challenged the FLN for control of Algeria, led to civil conflict in the 1990s.

FLN Front de Liberation Nationale — Algerian revolutionaries who led the successful war against France, 1954–1962.

Colons Landowners (wine growers, etc.) of European descent in Algeria, some of whose families arrived in the mid-19th century.

Kabylia Center of sedentary Berbers in southern Algeria, a mountainous area — distinct ethnically from the Arab Algerians of the coast.

OAS Organisation Armee Secrete — European Algerians, many former military who led a failed terrorist, counterrevolution against France, 1960–1962, after France decided Algeria would no longer be French. Terrorist tactics failed: never gained support outside Algeria (even South Africa and Portugal remained aloof); nor did the French army provide any support.

Pied-noirs Algerians of European descent (mostly urban); approximately one million left Algeria as independence approached in 1962.

The UNR Union de la New Republique, and the RPF (Rassemblement du Peuple Francais) — the party of Charles de Gaulle, following World War II.

Selected chronology of French-Algerian Relations

1830 City of Algiers falls to French force of 37,000, beginning 132-year French occupation.

1830–1847 Resistance to French occupation led by Emir Abd all-Qadir. French control maintained by 108,000 French troops (one-third of the French army). Veterans received generous land grants in Algeria.

1834 Algeria becomes a French possession.

1847 Over 100,000 French settlers living in Algeria.

1870 Algeria is integrated into "Metropolitan" France and divided into three departments. French citizenship offered to Jewish settlers but not to Berbers or Arabs.

1871 France crushes another nationalist rebellion in Algeria. Franco–Prussian War ends in defeat for France, which forfeits Alsace and Lorraine to Germany.

1873 Warnier Law facilitates purchase of Algerian lands by European settlers previously occupied by Arab farmers.

1889 Children of European descent in Algeria are granted French citizenship.

1890 European settlers (colons) control over 3.5 million acres of Algeria's farmland. By 1940 one-third of Algerian arable land controlled by Europeans (two percent of the population). (Davidson, 122)

1914–1919 World War I — 180,000 Algerian workers help French war effort. French National Assembly rejects the Algerian Charter, which would grant French citizenship to Muslims who fought in World War I.

1919–1939 Interwar period:

- 1925 — 280,000 Algerian workers in France, subjected to cultural discrimination and hard physical labor.
- 1930 — pied-noirs (Algerians of European descent) celebrate 100 years of French rule in Algeria.
- 1939 — on the eve of World War II the French Empire consisted of more than five million square miles in Africa alone. Eighty thousand African troops fought to defend France in the war, meeting heavy casualties.

1940–1945 World War II period:

- 1942 — Allies land in North Africa; colonial authorities switch sides and declare for the Free French (led by Charles de Gaulle).
- 1945 — Muslim riots, led by Messali Hadj, in Setif, kill hundreds of Europeans. French suppress the revolt, killing 15,000 to 45,000 Algerians.

1945–1953 European reconstruction, imperial reforms resisted:

- Statute of 1947 secures privileges for European Algerians — no concessions: France remained deaf to Algerian demands for equal treatment. Messali Hadj (1945–1954) campaigned in vain.
- 1950—Shuman Plan led to the European Coal and Steel Community and advanced Franco-German reconciliation. ECSC free-trade zone includes France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

1954–1960 French Imperialism challenged in Africa and Southeast Asia

1954 March–May: Battle of Dien Bien Phu, Vietnam (French Indochina). Following loss to the Viet Cong, France withdraws from Vietnam; the United States begins to provide military advisers to South Vietnam.

1954 **Algerian War begins**

- October: Report to the French president states, "The climate is getting worse over there," and recommends more indigenous Algerian integration into the colonial administration.
- November: The FLN attacks at 70 strategic points across Algeria, beginning the eight-year Algerian War. FLN Proclamation lists grievances and demands the elimination of all laws that denied "the history, geography, language, religion, and customs of the Algerian people."
- Leader and World War II veteran Ahmed Ben Bella gains national, mass support throughout Algeria. Moderates support the FLN.
- Over 90 percent of Algerians were illiterate; only one in 10 Algerian children attended primary school.

1955 Algerian War accelerates: estimates of 300,000 dead to over one million dead; over two million homeless, 500,000 wounded, and three million refugees by war's end.

- First victims of the FLN were pro-French Muslims; later terror was aimed at the pied-noirs: "the suitcase or the coffin" (leave or die).
- Approximately 15,000 FLN fighters held their own against 200,000 French soldiers in some 530 garrisons and fortified camps.
- Battle of Algiers begins after terrorist branch of the FLN attacks Europeans in Algiers. FLN emerges on the international scene and sends representatives to the Bangdung Conference, the U.N. General Assembly and the U.S. Senate.
- Military tide turns against the FLN, but popular support remains.
- Oil production begins in Algeria.
- French government offers plan to redistribute land from European "colons" to Algerian "fellaheen," to be funded by oil production.
- Economists estimate that the 400,000 Algerian emigrants in France were supporting some two million in Algeria with their earnings.
- Stalemate perpetuates the war: "France would not let Algeria go and the FLN was not strong enough to take it away." (Harrison, 4)
- Negotiations between the FLN and the Fourth Republic trigger a revolt among French Algerians who called for de Gaulle to take power.

- Suez Crisis (France and England attack Egypt, bombing the Suez Canal) further complicated the North African situation.

1957 Treaty of Rome created the EEC (European Economic Community, or Common Market), removing all internal tariffs by 1968, harmonizing agriculture, taxation and a common external trade policy.

Following a citywide bombing campaign, French paratroopers carry out house-to-house searches in Algiers, arresting and torturing prisoners with electric shock, water torture and mock-drowning of thousands of Muslims.

1958 De Gaulle returns to power as the last Prime Minister of the Fourth Republic, with a mandate to restructure the government of France. De Gaulle visits Algeria.

- The Fifth Republic is created, centralizing executive power under a presidential system: a change brought about as a result of Algerian events.
- FLN proclaims itself a Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria; guerilla warfare continues.

1959 De Gaulle changes course and offers Algeria various plans for self-determination, promising a "close association" with Algeria, which will be governed by the Algerians.

1960 700,000 French troops remain in Algeria. The FLN is close to military defeat but wins the political war.

- Barricades Week: pied-noirs/European Algerians begin resistance/plot assassination, etc. against de Gaulle and his government, but he emerges stronger and more pro-independence as a solution to the Algerian crisis.
- November: de Gaulle speaks of an "Algerian Republic." European Algerians riot, protesting de Gaulle's planned visit to Algeria to commemorate Algerian independence.
- France experiences economic growth second only to Japan, 5.8 percent annually, based on agriculture, computers, supermarkets, airlines, higher living standards (50 percent increase).

1961 France recognizes the war cannot be won politically. Ceasefire negotiations begin.

- Constantine Plan put forth to provide means to preserve and develop ties between Algeria and France, based on the assumption that Algeria cannot solve its economic/social problems alone.
- April 22: Military coup led by four diehard generals in Algiers, leaders of the OAS (Organisation de l'Armee Secrete), using "nihilistic terrorism" and led by General Raoul Salan and General Edmond Jouhaud, launch a final desperate attempt to prevent independence from France. The coup fails when the army remains loyal to de Gaulle, but another attempt to assassinate him comes in September.

- May — Evian Accords are negotiated:
  - Referendum in six months and an interim government
  - Sovereignty — FLN is legalized; general amnesty is issued
  - Military — self-determination for Algeria; army is reduced in size
  - Guidelines for resolving differences in Algeria are set
  - France guarantees to recognize Algerian independence
- December — OAS power peaks, with control of Oran and Algiers, assassinations and terrorism.

1962 Algerian and French movement toward Algerian independence.

- February — 20,000–30,000 Algerian workers in Paris march for Algerian independence; eight are killed and hundreds more are wounded in clashes with police.
- March–May — three top leaders of the OAS arrested by the transitional administration, but terrorism against Muslims continued.
- April — de Gaulle wins 90 percent approval in the referendum on the Evian Accords.
- July — Algerians vote for independence "in co-operation with France." The FLN is dominant, but no reconciliation between the FLN and OAS.
- Algeria governed by a one-party dictatorship, which is controlled by a military hierarchy.

1963

- March — first French nuclear test in the Algerian Sahara.
- March — Algerian leaders call for revision of the Evian Accords; thousands of "disappearances"; nationalization of 5,000 European farms destabilize relations with France; and French compensation for 8,000 Algerian villages destroyed during the war causes reactions in Paris and Algeria.
- May — de Gaulle accelerates the evacuation of French troops from Algeria.
- September — Ben Bella elected president of Algeria. Financial aid from France is needed to ease debt and compensate for financial losses from emigrating European settlers and Algerian emigrants leaving the country.

1964

- Algeria nationalizes the tobacco industry, media and colon property; France limits the number of emigrant workers to 12,000, which contributes to the fall of the Ben Bella government.
- French Petroleum Co. controls Algeria's oil fields and gains profits for France.

- Algerians build a new oil pipeline without French support or financing.
- French negotiate oil deals with Iran, the North Sea and Nigeria.
- Algerian leader Ben Bella develops ties with Moscow, the People's Republic of China, Cuba, Egypt, and even the USA
- Algerian government expands education for primary schools and technical institutes.

1965

- June — Second Afro-Asian Conference held in Algiers
- July 5 — Houari Boumedienne, a staunch socialist and supporter of "Arabization" overthrows Ben Bella on Independence Day, term it a "revolutionary readjustment," a bloodless coup.
- July — By the time the Algiers Accords were signed all but 70,000 of the one million pied-noirs (Algerian Europeans), had fled Algeria. France, grossly unprepared for the tidal wave of immigration, sought cooperation to manage the onslaught.

1966 France withdraws from NATO.

1967 French-Algerian diplomatic and economic relations improve:

- Algeria puts down attempted military coup; receives $1 billion from France to industrialize over five years.
- Algeria helps French economy by accepting payment in francs for oil.
- Algerian emigration to France increased to 3,500 a year for three years.

1968 Muslim Algerians object to the Algerian state's secular policies.
France faces turmoil at home and abroad.

- May: Students at universities and workers riot in France, culminating in a nationwide strike and raising questions concerning de Gaulle's international ambitions and seriously affecting France-Algeria relations.
- USSR's invasion of Czechoslovakia ends de Gaulle's hope to broker East-West détente.
- France's economic modernization far outpaces social and institutional change.
- Loss of empire translates to loss of career opportunities for many French.
- Labor union militancy increases.
- Pied-noirs demonstrate over lack of indemnity payments for their losses in Algeria.
- Algeria exploits the crisis in France, nationalizes French businesses.

1969 De Gaulle appeals for a return to order, calls for referendum. French vote "non!" leading de Gaulle to resign from the presidency.

- France agrees to sell 100 Mirage planes to Qadhafi of Libya, upsetting the United States, USSR and Israel.

1970 French military presence in Algeria ends.

- Gamal Abdul Nasser dies suddenly in Egypt, succeeded by Anwar Sadat.
- De Gaulle dies; the end of an era. Pompidou comes to power.
- Weakened franc devalued while Algerian dinar maintains value.
- Algeria acquires international loans from the World Bank, the USSR, the United States, Japan, West Germany and Italy. Imports from France decline from 90 percent to 30 percent.
- Algerian foreign policy focus shifts to the Mediterranean, showing decline of French influence.
- Algeria introduces first four-year plan to modernize economy.
- The loss of Algerian oil forces France to free itself from critical dependence on Algeria and establish friendly relations with other Arab nations.

1971 Boumedienne initiates a "cultural revolution" in Algeria, marked by a shift from French to Arabic language, changes in education and a new socialist state.

- Algeria nationalizes the oil industry, spelling the end of neocolonialism and decolonization.
- France's role in Algerian commerce drops to 25 percent of its export market.

1973 World oil crisis and rising prices hit Europe.

1974 France closes its borders to immigrants.

1975 President Boumedienne of Algeria meets with President Giscard d'Estaing of France during his visit to Algeria, saying cooperation was an "ethic." However, relations deteriorate with the war in the Western Sahara, the problems of emigrant labor and the rising gas prices.

1976 FLN draws up a national charter based on socialism and Islam as a state religion.

- Arabization in the schools.
- Oil money enables Algeria to industrialize; per capita income rises.

1977 Algerian workers' presence in France serves as a barometer of French-Algerian relations, with growing tensions, strikes and bombings.

- French labor demands that 800,000 Algerians be sent home and that there is a cessation of work cards for Algerians.

1981 Francois Mitterand becomes the first Socialist to be elected president of France.

1988 Political changes in Algeria and France.

- October — Algeria's Second Revolution discredits the FLN, in power since 1962.
- Food shortages, riots and clashes with police leave 500 dead.
- Emigrants in France no longer are allowed to return to Algeria.
- "Convulsive political, economic and social implosion" ends the cooperative era between France and Algeria. (Naylor, 187)
- Conservatives win 80 percent of the seats in the French Assembly, defeating the Socialists.

1990 Elections in Algeria: FIS gains control; FLN comes in second.

- USA intervention in the Iraq-Kuwait war sets off anti-Western fervor in Algeria.
- France turns attention to the European Union and European markets.

1991 Military coup halts elections, invites Muhammad Boudiaf, exiled leader of the FLN, to return as head of government under military control.

1992 Civil conflict and atrocities last throughout the decade, sometimes referred to as the *Fitna*.

- President Boudiaf is assassinated by a bodyguard. More violence follows.
- GIA (Groupe Islamique Armee) extremists assassinate teachers, writers, journalists and others perceived to be in opposition to an Islamic state.
- FLN government cancels the election and bans the FIS. Civil conflict ensues.

mid-1990s — Population of four to five million Muslims in France makes Islam the second largest religious group

1995 Zeroaul elected president of Algeria with 61 percent of the vote.

1996 In Paris France erects a monument to the civilians and military of North Africa, 1952–1962. Of the three million French who had served in Algeria, 25,000 died.

1997 Algerian army remains arbiter of the political process. Islamist insurgency versus military degenerates into an indiscriminate slaughter.

1998 France wins the World Soccer Cup. "Zizou," a team star, is of Algerian descent.

1999 President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, formerly part of FLN, is elected as an independent. He attempts to depoliticize the army, limit corruption and improve relations with France.

- Military versus Islamist conflicts continued, with a death toll of 150,000 (estimated).
- Oil revenues provide $10 billion annually.

2006 FLN still challenged by groups using the same terrorist techniques it had pioneered 50 years previously.

Historical Interpretations About Algeria

1. Much of the Arab/Muslim world … [had] difficulty coming to terms with the 19th century, with its composite legacy of secularization, democracy, laissez-faire economy, transnational industrial and commercial linkages, social change and intellectual questioning. (Kennedy, 208)
2. European settlers were present in many colonies in Africa and "as vociferous as whites in Algeria," but they had never acquired full citizenship" as French citizens, as Algerian whites had. (Meredith, 49)
3. "More than any other developing region … the Middle East and North Africa is affected by issues of war and conflict. … It has more soldiers, air craft and weaponry than anywhere else in the world." (Kennedy, 209)
4. "The angry, confrontational stance toward the international order of today is due to a long-held fear of being swallowed up by the West." There is little hope for real change until this fear is dissipated. (Kennedy, 211)

A. Historical Interpretations About the Way Decolonization Changed France

1. The end of the Fourth Republic was a direct result of the Algerian War, bringing de Gaulle out of retirement with a mandate to reorganize the government. The resulting Fifth Republic produced a more centralized executive and a presidential system. (Nov. 1958)
2. The Algerian War for Independence, lasting eight years, was regarded as an indication of the decline and decadence of France, "the end of France's self-perceived importance." (Naylor, 2)
3. Through cooperation with Algeria and agreements made at independence, France was allowed desert testing of its nuclear weapons/deterrents, which contributed to its regaining status as a world power.
4. The 1965 Algiers Accords marked the beginning of French hydrocarbons (oil) contracts with Iran, Iraq and Algeria.
5. France was enabled to be more independent from the Anglo-American oil cartel through its links with Algeria.

6. To the benefit of France, de Gaulle was able to maintain an "organic," or symbiotic, relationship after independence with Algeria.
7. France was able to maintain a more positive image in negotiating for a real partnership with Algeria while renouncing neo-colonialism. (Naylor, *France and Algeria*, 253–254)
8. Algeria remained important to France because of the emergent labor community interested in working in France. Several million immigrants from its former colonies have arrived in France, and racial tensions have grown. (Kennedy, 275)
9. Over a million European Algerians (pied-noirs) fled Algeria by 1965, creating housing, employment and assimilation problems in France. Of the 140,000 Jews in Algeria (a presence there since the ancient Phoenicians), 110,000 opted to settle in France and 8,500 in Israel. (Naylor, 43–44)
10. The Algerian War was a turning point in French history: it ended the Fourth Republic and returned de Gaulle to power in 1958 with a mandate to create a new political system; the French colonial empire was significantly diminished, and with it a certain idea of national glory died. (Harrison, 3)
11. By the early 1990s, France was "beset by the weight of Muslim immigrants from North Africa, by a Nationalist backlash and a waning Socialist presidency." (Davies, 1134)

B. Historical Interpretations of de Gaulle's Influence and Attitudes on French Decolonization

1. Throughout his life, de Gaulle idealized France as a great and independent power. He wanted and, for a time got, a symbiotic relationship with Algeria after its political independence.
2. France relied on its history of grandeur, i.e., political, cultural and moral greatness. In the 1950s and 1960s, de Gaulle cultivated the ideal of a renovated France wedded to "new realities."
3. It took three years for de Gaulle to prepare France and himself for decolonization and about a year more for intense negotiations, which resulted in the Evian Accords of 1962. He worked to prepare France to maintain its standing as a great power, which drained away resources France needed to modernize. (Popkin, 317)
4. De Gaulle was not nostalgic; he wanted French greatness "now." His policy of cooperation with the developing world, especially Algeria, was to position France in the front rank of nations shaping the world, not as a second-rate power.

III. Classroom Learning: Examining Documents Relating to the Issue of Decolonization and the Impact of That Relationship on France

Directions

This question is designed to test your ability to work with and understand historical documents. Write an essay that:

- Has a relevant thesis and supports that thesis with evidence from the documents.
- Uses a majority of the documents.
- Analyzes the documents by grouping them in as many appropriate ways as possible. Does not simply summarize the documents individually.
- Takes into account both the sources of the documents and the authors' points of view.
- You may refer to relevant historical information not mentioned in the documents.

Prompt

In what ways do the observations expressed in the following documents illustrate attitudes toward self-perception and identity that resulted from the process of decolonization in Algeria and France after World War II?

Document 1

Source: Phillip C. Naylor, *France and Algeria: A History of Decolonization and Transformation* (Gainsville: University of Florida, 2000).

"Algeria personified France's imagination of itself as a great power. … To abandon Algeria, even 100 years later, would be to expose France to derision."

Document 2

Source: Jean Amrouche, (1906–1962), a Christian Kabyle poet who wrote in French. The Kabyle are Berbers, an ethnic group indigenous to Nigeria. This excerpt was written during the Algerian War of Independence, 1955–1962.

"France is the spirit of my soul, Algeria is the soul of my spirit."

Document 3

Source: Frantz Fanon, political testament published as *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961). Fanon was an intellectual, medical student and revolutionary, who worked in Algerian hospitals during the war for independence and came to favor the Algerian cause. Fanon, who was of African and European descent, was born on the Caribbean island of Martinique.

"At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect."

Document 4

Source: Charles de Gaulle, *Memoirs*, 1970.

"France cannot be France without grandeur. … France has emerged from the depths of the past. She is a living entity. She responds to the call of the centuries. Yet she remains herself through time."

Document 5

Source: Thierry Fabre, specialist in French and Mediterranean cultures, *France-Algerie: Questions de memoire*.

"Algeria is a pitiless prism [diffusing] France's failures, a reflector of its masks and an unforgiving mirror of its misconduct."

Document 6

Source: Phillip C. Naylor, *France and Algeria: A History of Decolonization and Transformation* (Gainsville: University of Florida, 2000).

"Charles de Gaulle and … Francois Mitterand attempted to replace that tainted … reflective relationship (with Algeria) with a new one radiating a polished and penitent France, the *cooperateur* rather than the colonialist. … Yet France's vision … continued to see an Algeria in its [own] image."

Document 7

Source: Ferhat Abbas, Algerian political moderate, provisional president, 1962-63, former deputy to the French National Assembly, married to a French woman; statement, 1954.

"We continue to be persuaded that violence will settle nothing. … My departure will show at last to my fellow citizens that I have withdrawn from ineffectual politics. … I am simply joining [the FLN], the organization which struggles for the liberation of Algeria because there is no other way."

Document 8

Source: Paul Teitgen, secretary-general of the Algiers police and former Resistance hero who had been tortured by Nazis nine times during World War II. *Memoirs*, 1957. Teitgen estimated that 3000 individuals "disappeared" during the reprisal/peacekeeping operations

"In visiting the (detention) centers, I recognized on certain detainees the deep marks of cruelties and tortures that I personally suffered fourteen years ago in the Gestapo cellar."

Document 9

Source: Sheikh Ali Belhadj, Algerian imam (Muslim cleric), comments for print, c. 1964.

"Democracy is a stranger in the House of God. Guard yourself against those who say that the notion of democracy exists in Islam. There is no democracy in Islam. … We are not a nation that thinks in terms of majority-minority. The majority does not express the truth. … Multi-partyism is not tolerated unless it agrees with the single framework of Islam. … If people vote against the Law of God … this is nothing other than blasphemy."

Document 10

Source: Ferhat Abbas, first president of Algeria following independence, in *La Nuit Coloniale*, his account of the Algerian War for Independence, 1962.

"When an Algerian described himself as an Arab, the French lawyers say to him: 'No, you are French.' When he demanded he be given the rights of the French, the same lawyers told him 'No. You are Arab.'"

Document 11

Source: Charles de Gaulle, president of France, speech in Algeria, 1958.

> The future of Algeria will be built on a double foundation: her personality and her close solidarity with France. It is absolutely essential that this fruitful transformation be accomplished. This is necessary for the good of the men of Algeria, for the good of the women, for the good of the children who live here; but it is also necessary for the honor of mankind. It is necessary for the peace of the world. This immense political, economic, social and cultural task — who could effect this transformation, if not France? France has the will and the means to do so. It also happens that the vote of the Algerians has just proved that they desire this transformation should be carried out with France.
>
> Therefore, turning toward those who are prolonging a fratricidal conflict, who are organizing lamentable attacks I say: Why kill? We must cooperate.
>
> Stop this absurd fighting and you will at once see a new blossoming of hope over all the land of Algeria. Then let France carry on, Only two paths lie open: war or brotherhood. In Algeria as everywhere, France, for her part, has chosen brotherhood.
>
> Long live the Republic! Long live Algeria and long live France!

IV. Essay Topics and Questions for Classroom Discussion and Writing

A way to build confidence in writing essays and to develop historical thinking skills (analysis, source, contextualization, chronological reasoning and comparison) is to take a sample essay question and develop the thesis, key points, organization and evidentiary support first as a class, but also as a small group activity working within the time confines of a class period and the AP Exam.

On the AP Exam students are provided planning time, suggested at about five minutes, for the free-response questions. Students are also encouraged to support their answers with specific factual evidence.

Suggestions for Classroom Essay-Writing Exercise:

1. Write or project one of the essay prompts provided below on the board or screen.
2. Allow five minutes for students to individually organize a rough answer to the question, including a thesis statement that addresses ALL parts of the question asked and contains the concepts that will be developed in the essay. As the essay develops, the thesis may need revision. Students can read one another's thesis attempts and revise their own, based on peer evaluation.
3. Students develop topics suggested by the prompt and the historical materials, class lectures, etc., which have preceded the writing activity. The most basic topic groupings will be variations of political, economic, demographic/social and cultural responses. Debrief student planning in a classroom discussion. Encourage students to develop more specific and sophisticated categories than the blunt political, economic and social categories upon which students often rely.
4. Allow students sufficient time in class to complete the essay, or assign essay completion as a homework assignment.
5. Additional prompts may be used by breaking students into smaller groups of four or five students and having them continue the process described above.
6. Divide students into two groups representing France and Algeria, and ask them to analyze the time line, choosing the six or so dates that are the most important for the development of their nation's identity. What generalizations can they make about those dates? Allow time for each nation/group to examine the other group's dates and comment on the meaning and relative importance of the selected dates to "their" side of the historical record.

Essay Prompts

1. Identify and analyze the ways decolonization and the end of its empire changed France after World War II.
2. Using your knowledge and the historical evidence provided below, describe and evaluate the role of Charles de Gaulle in the history of France in the 20th century, with particular attention to France's status in Europe and the impact of the decolonization process on de Gaulle's global policies.
3. In July 1962, Algerians voted for independence not "from France" but "in co-operation with France." What was the significance of this wording? For France? For Algeria?

4. "It is one thing to face population pressures, shortage of resources, educational and technical deficiencies, and regional conflicts which would challenge the wisest governments. But it is another when the regimes stand in angry resentment of global forces for change instead of selectively responding to such trends." (Paul Kennedy, *Preparing for the 21st Century*, 208)

   Did Algeria respond selectively to global trends after 1945 or resist them?

5. Since 1945, France's leaders have worked to maintain France's historic and unique national identity while confronting profound changes in its colonies. To what extent has France achieved this goal?

6. "Colonialism denied Algeria its own history; nationalism reinvented it." (James McDougall. *History and Culture of Nationalism in Algeria, i.*)

   To what degree can Algerian nationalism be compared with nationalist movements throughout Europe?

7. Was Algerian independence a betrayal of the course of French history or a retrieval of France's role as a great power?

8. Two major trends have shaped the late 20th century:
   (1) Technology has blurred borders and
   (2) Ethnic separatism has intensified due in part to decolonization.

   In what ways have these unifying and disunifying trends affected France since 1945?

9. What impact has Algeria had on France's political and economic history since 1945?

10. In 1870, 1914 and 1940, France all but succumbed to German attacks. Humiliated during the wars, the French aimed to reassert their authority militarily. Describe and analyze what effect these military defeats had on France's colonized peoples in Algeria and on French policies toward its colonies after World War II.

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Poverty and Prosperity in the Early Modern Economy, 1450–1789: *Was There a "Crisis" in Early Modern Europe?*

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I. Introduction: The Early Modern Economy as a Historical Problem

The question of how to evaluate the role of the economy in shaping European experience between the late 15th and 18th centuries (1450–1789) has been a matter of some debate for historians. Was this a period of "general transition from a feudal to a capitalist economy" as the historian E. J. Hobsbawm wrote in 1954?[1] Or should this transition be more benignly represented as a "second logistic," as Rondo Cameron has argued in classifying these centuries as a period of "long term economic growth"?[2]

Students should be familiar with the main events and trends in political, religious and intellectual history that could justify naming the early modern period as a dynamic period of change, and even of political and religious "crisis":

- The Italian and Northern Renaissance;
- The revolution in science, technology and learning that was precipitated by the rise of printing and gunpowder;

1. E. J. Hobsbawm, "The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," *Past and Present* 5–6 (1954), reprinted in *Crisis in Europe*, 1560–1660, edited by Trevor Aston, with an introduction by Christopher Hill (New York: Basic Books, 1965), 5–58.
2. Rondo Cameron, "Europe's Second Logistic," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 12, no. 4 (1970): 452–462; and *A Concise Economic History of the World: From Paleolithic Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 95ff.

- The rise of the so-called "new monarchs," who utilized expanding powers in the emerging states of early modern Europe (often with some recourse to gunpowder artillery);
- The Protestant Reformation, with some possible treatment of the Religious Wars it engendered;
- And (perhaps most important for understanding developments in the economy) the penetration of Western Europeans into the economy and territories of Africa, Asia and the Americas.

Whether the Europeans who remained in Europe experienced the early modern period as an economic "crisis," however, is not merely an open question of historical interpretation, but an issue with implications for the history of modern European economic thought and politics. Both Marx and Keynes would reflect upon the economic developments of this period in formulating their own, influential theories of economics.[3]

This essay will discuss various aspects of the transition that occurred in the early modern economy, as well as the way in which this transition has been perceived by historians. The text will also offer references to a series of illustrative sources that instructors may use to invite students to engage with this open historiographical question, and to consider conditions of poverty and prosperity in early modern Europe as a dimension of early modern social history. By the close of the lesson designed from this material, it is hoped that students will be prepared to:

- Describe the economic conditions of early modern Europe
- Analyze their effects upon Europeans living in urban and agrarian settings
- Analyze and evaluate debates historians have had over why these conditions existed and how they developed
- Describe, compare and contrast the theories of different economic philosophers and statesmen who wrote about economic conditions, and developed theories about how to solve the problems the economy presented and how to draw the greatest possible advantage from the economy
- Select and interpret art and material culture sources to further, and better, understand the past

Lesson Components

The materials are organized to allow for several different approaches: multiple lessons composing a unit on the economic experiences of Europeans during the early modern period; individual, stand-alone lessons using primary sources and works of art; lecture

3. Note P. Vilar, "Problems of the Formation of Capitalism," *Past and Present* 10 (1956): 15–38, as well as the final section of this lesson.

or materials for student reading and classroom discussion. Assessment opportunities are linked to each major component:

I. Introduction: The Early Modern Economy as a Historical Problem
II. Conditions of Poverty and Prosperity in Early Modern Europe
III. The Rise of Capitalism?
IV. The Price Revolution
V. Contemporaneous Views of Poverty in Fiction, Philosophy and Law
VI. The Enclosure Movement
VII. "Re-Serfdom" in Eastern Europe
VIII. The "Putting-Out System" and Proto-Industrialization in Europe
IX. Mercantilism
X. Early Modern Urban Life: Amsterdam in the Golden Age
XI. The Problem Revisited: Was There Really a Crisis?
XII. More Assessment Ideas: Early Modern Europe in Art

II. Conditions of Poverty and Prosperity in Early Modern Europe

At the end of the Middle Ages (approximately 1450), nearly 90 percent of Europe's population was agrarian, which means that they derived their livelihood and food supply, in some measure, from directly working the land. The other 10 percent lived in Europe's urban areas.

Throughout the early modern period under discussion, and indeed, right up to the early 20th century, conditions of prosperity and wealth were likeliest to consist in the ownership of land as "real" estate, or "immovable property." Much of Europe — in both the East, and the West — was dominated by a class of landowning nobility, along with the Roman Catholic Church in Catholic Europe. Historians use parish and ecclesiastical records to piece together the way in which land was distributed across continental Europe and Great Britain. At the dawn of the 16th century, for example, 97 percent of all land in the combined kingdoms of Spain was owned by about 2–3 percent of the families in Spain, as well as the church.[4] In Poland, the *szlachta*, or landed nobility, were 8 percent of the population, and controlled most of the kingdom's resources.[5] In France, nobility and church each owned about 22 to 25 percent of the land, usually the very best land. Another 13 percent might belong to wealthy merchants and lawyers (the *noblesse de robe*) who served the crown as *intendants* (tax collectors

4. Cameron, *Concise Economic History*, 136
5. Richard S. Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars, 1559–1689* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979), 72–73.

and judges). Conditions of privilege reinforced conditions of prosperity, as, throughout continental Europe, most landed nobility did not pay taxes and the Church did not pay taxes on the spectrum of seigneurial or ecclesiastical dues it collected from the peasantry.[6]

By the mid-15th century, church and nobility shared control of Europe's wealth and resources with members of an increasingly diverse "third estate" (as it was termed in France). At its pinnacle were wealthy merchants active in finance or overseas trade, successful urban craftsmen, and members of the learned professions, such as law and medicine, whose wealth was largely reckoned in "moveable goods": a category that could include coins and, ultimately, paper money, merchandise, and perhaps the tools of a successful artisan's craft; precious fabrics and jewels, furniture, and "shares" of ownership in joint-stock companies or municipal debt funds.

Over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, many of Europe's wealthiest merchants and men with legal training would enter the ranks of the lower nobility. In France, men with legal training would purchase noble titles to become the so-called *noblesse de robe*. In Protestant sectors of Europe, England in particular, wealthy merchants entered the ranks of the "gentry" when they acquired land in the wake of Crown seizure and sale of monastic lands. Men active in commerce and the craft and industrial guilds would, meanwhile, come to dominate the economy of Europe's urban areas: towns, cities or city-states such as Venice and Genoa, Naples and Seville, Paris, Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London. Below them, were smaller craftsmen, and independent peasants who either held title to their own land or owed minimal payment to a traditional overlord. In France, approximately 40 percent of the kingdom's land was tilled by peasants, the vast majority of whom worked land owned by the church — monasteries, abbeys, convents, bishops — for which they paid seigneurial dues, usually a *métayer*, or 50 percent of their annual crops, along with church tithes and the *taille*, a direct, annually assessed land tax, and a *capitation* (head tax) payable to the crown, to which neither the nobility nor the church were subject. Such "sharecropping" arrangements were also typical in Spain and the Italian peninsula, where peasants subject to seigneurs and the church paid the *mezzadria*.[7]

In 1577, the Englishman William Harrison (1534–1593) described English society this way:

> "… We in England, divide our people commonly into four sorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgesses, yeomen, and artificers or labourers. Of gentlemen the first and chief (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons; and these are called gentlemen of the greater sort, or (as our common usage of speech is) lords and noblemen: and next unto them be knights, esquires, and, last of all, they that are simply called gentlemen. … the gentleman being so much subject to taxes and public payments as is the yeoman or husbandman, which he likewise doth bear the gladlier for the saving of his reputation. … Citizens and burgesses have next place to

6. Pierre Goubert, "The French Peasantry of the Seventeenth Century: A Regional Example," in *Crisis in Europe, 1550–1660*, edited by Trevor Aston (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), 141–165.
7. Cameron, *Concise Economic History,* 110.

> gentlemen, who be those that are free within the cities. … Yeomen are those which by our law are called Legales homines, free men born English, and may dispend of their own free land. … The fourth and last sort of people in England are day-labourers, poor husbandmen, and some retailers (which have no free land) copyholders, and all artificers, as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, brickmakers, masons, etc."[8]

Those who lived in less comfortable circumstances experienced poverty somewhat differently, depending upon whether they lived in urban or agrarian settings. By the close of the 15th century, the vast number of peasants who worked the land owed rents, payable either in cash or in the form of crops. For their animals, and land, peasant families might owe additional services or payments to the owner of the land that had been established centuries earlier as part of the medieval manorial system. Desperately poor peasants rented tiny plots of land that barely supplied the means of subsistence for themselves and their families, often supplementing their income with seasonal agricultural labor on neighboring estates. In the cities, poorer men and women labored in household service or in various sectors of the wool and silk cloth industry for extremely modest wages. There was also a large population of individuals whose poverty had driven them to the margins of society. Those who could not pay their rents or produce enough to feed their families might be reduced to the condition of landless peasants, who labor as seasonal agricultural workers, on the farms of others, joining the burgeoning armies of European states increasingly dependent upon infantry armed with gunpowder to fight their wars, or the crews of trade, slave and war vessels bound for the East or the Americas. In some cases, vagrants lived more openly by their wits, by stealing or by migrating to the cities seeking charity.

Of the two groups of individuals, enjoying prosperity or suffering poverty, it was unquestionably the poor who were more numerous; one French witness estimated, in 1690, that 10 percent of the population were open beggars; another 50 percent were nearly beggars, and another 30 percent were "badly off"; the historian Bronislaw Geremek estimated that 40 percent of Europe's population lived in conditions of poverty during the late medieval and early modern periods.[9] Six years later, the Englishman Gregory King asserted that 51 percent of England's subjects were laborers, "decreasing the wealth of the kingdom," and living on less than £20 annually. In the year 1600, 75 percent of the populations of Antwerp and Lyons, by one estimate, were too poor to pay municipal taxes.[10] This situation had only ameliorated slightly by the second half of the 18th century, when documentation for Bologna, Italy, indicates, for example, that there were 16,000 beggars out of a total town population of 70,000.[11]

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8. The full reference for this text is William Harrison, *Description of Elizabethan England in Holinshed's Chronicles,* from *Chronicle and Romance: Froissart, Malory, Holinshed* (New York: P.F. Collier, 1910), available through the Paul Halsall Internet Modern History Sourcebook, at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1577harrison-england.html#Chapter%20IX.
9. Bronislaw Geremek, *Poverty: A History,* trans. Agnieszka Kolalowska (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 119.
10. Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis*, *1598–1648*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 11; Thomas Munch, *Seventeenth-Century Europe: State, Conflict, and the Social Order in Europe, 1598–1700* (London: Macmillan, 1990).
11. Piero Camporessi, *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe*, translated by David Gentilcore (Cambridge, 1989), 61.

III. The Rise of Capitalism?

Traditional historiography presents the 16th and 17th centuries as the period of an economic shift across Europe, in the wake of the Protestant Reformation and the expansion of the global economy, away from older prohibitions against usury and signs of the Roman Catholic Church's discomfort with economic dynamism; as well as the story of a shift in the geoeconomic "center of gravity" in Europe, from the Mediterranean to the North/Baltic/Atlantic sea economies. Although Venice continued to enjoy economic prominence in the 16th century, the future belonged to the Protestant Dutch Republic, with its capital at Amsterdam, and Protestant Great Britain, which would dominate the 18th-century Atlantic economy.

If there is one term that is most closely associated with this shift, as some historians have seen it, from a medieval "feudal" economy to the modern "industrial economy" that would emerge by the close of the 18th century, it would be capitalism. According to Robert S. Duplessis:

> "… Capitalism can be regarded as a specific way of organizing the production of material wealth. In a capitalist economy, individuals and groups who possess capital assets — in the form of money, credit, land, productive equipment, and stocks of raw materials — use these resources to hire laborers for wages and set them to work producing agricultural and industrial goods (commodities) for sale in the market, where profits are realized. …"[12]

Debates over the origin and the novelty of capitalism abound. Karl Marx (1818–1883) argued that the success of the Protestant religion among the "bourgeoisie" of Europe was owing to the way that it gave expression to the virtues needed to get ahead in a brave new world of capitalist endeavor: thrift, hard work, self-reliance and rationality. In 1905, the German sociologist and historian Max Weber (1864–1920), argued in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* that the rise of Protestant Christianity — and particularly the rigorously disciplined predestination theology of Jean Calvin (1509–1564) — promoted a type of "worldly asceticism" that prodded Europeans away from the negative view of profit as usury that had infected the medieval merchant's guilty quest for wealth, and toward the conceptualization of the merchant's pursuit of wealth as industrious devotion to the purpose each Christian had been accorded in the world.[13]

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12. Robert S. Duplessis, *Transitions to Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5.
13. Weber's work is available online, at http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/WEBER/toc.html. See also the critical discussion of the Weber thesis by Gordon Marshall, *In Search of the Spirit of Capitalism: An Essay on Max Weber's Protestant Ethic Thesis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982). One might note, in contrast, one example of a "guilty" medieval merchant, Francesco Marco di Datini of Prato (d. 1410), who was known for the sign over the threshold of his office "for the love of God and Profit." See also Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars,* 141–142.

In the wake of Protestant Christianity's rise, Weber wrote:

> "… A specifically bourgeois economic ethic had grown up. With the consciousness of standing in the fullness of God's grace and being visibly blessed by Him, the bourgeois business man, as long as he remained within the bounds of formal correctness, as long as his moral conduct was spotless and the use to which he put his wealth was not objectionable, could follow his pecuniary interests as he would and feel that he was fulfilling a duty in doing so. The power of religious asceticism provided him in addition with sober, conscientious, and unusually industrious workmen, who clung to their work as to a life purpose willed by God … Finally, it gave him the comforting assurance that the unequal distribution of the goods of this world was a special dispensation of Divine Providence, which in these differences, as in particular grace, pursued secret ends unknown to men. …"[14]

Weber's thesis would be further elaborated by the 20th-century historian R. H. Tawney (1880–1962) who, in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926), wrote that Jean Calvin "did for the bourgeoisie of the sixteenth century what Marx did for the proletariat of the nineteenth. …" Weber and Tawney drew some of their evidence from the way in which capitalism would particularly flourish in Protestant northern European centers like Amsterdam (which dominated the economy of the 17th century) and London (which would dominate the Atlantic economy of the 18th century). Lawrence Derycke has seen the roots of northern European success as older, arguing that "the climate north of the Alps was more hospitable to foreign investors, who poured money into public annuity markets, including those sponsored by Bruges, Ghent, Louvain, Leiden, and Lille," even before the rise of Protestant Christianity, because these towns were less likely to impose restrictions upon the involvement of noncitizens in money markets.[15] Other historians have critiqued Weber in preferring to trace capitalism to Mediterranean entrepôts, like Venice and Genoa, which had flourished during the late medieval and Renaissance periods, but began to lose economic ground to the Protestant north after 1500.

Still other historians have questioned whether the suggestion that "capitalism" originated in the early modern period may not be both an overstatement and an insufficient description of how the early modern economy actually worked. "Many important aspects of the European economic system," writes the historian Christopher Friedrichs, for example, "remained remarkably stable until the end of the eighteenth century." Friedrichs continues:

> "… in most of Europe, until the end of the *ancien régime*, the dominant type of transaction in rural economy was something that might best be

14. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, V, at http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/WEBER/cover.html (University of Virginia American Studies website).

15. Laurence Derycke, "The Public Annuity Market in Bruges at the end of the Fifteenth Century," in *Urban Public Debts. Urban Government and the Market for Annuities in Western Europe* (14th–18th centuries), ed. Marc Boone, et al. (Turnhout, 2003), 165–182, quoted by Julius Kirshner, "States of Debt: The Mellon Sawyer Seminar on Debt, Sovereignty, and Power" (Cambridge, 18 November, 2006), available at http://www.ppsis.cam.ac.uk/pol_sawyer/documents/papers/kirshner_state-debt.pdf.

> described as *appropriation*: the unremunerated transfer of a large portion of the agricultural product or its monetary equivalent from the primary producers to more powerful members of society. These transfers — in the form of dues to a seigneur, rent to a landlord, repayments to a creditor, tithes to the church, or taxes to the state — were … strongly rooted in tradition and … firmly upheld by law. …"[16]

The real difference, argues Friedrichs, was between town and country:

> "… The urban economy was different … what primarily distinguished the urban from the rural economy was the fact that so many more of the goods exchanged within the cities were transferred not by appropriation but by *exchange* ..."[17]

The principal development that nevertheless may justify the label "early modern," and even the introduction of the term "capitalism," is the increasing importance that money acquired in transactions involving labor, as well as goods and services, after 1450. Between 1450 and 1550, more and more European peasants found themselves both rewarded with money for their work and obliged to pay for commodities, like food and clothing, with money. There had always been a certain degree of agricultural production in urban areas; increasingly, however, by the 16th century, exchange became a part of the rural economy, as farm commodities, as well as urban luxury and industrialized goods, became increasingly subject to coin purchase and commercial exchange. In other words, rural and urban economies began to become less differentiated, while the population of most cities increased significantly over the 15th through 18th centuries.[18]

A *monetized* economy could work to the advantage of merchants who were already participating in urban commerce and exchange, particularly as this commerce became affected by the unprecedented level of inflation that characterized the European economy after 1450, a phenomenon known as the Price Revolution. Some historians have argued that the price revolution *facilitated*, if it did not cause, the rise of capitalism, insofar as it made the investment of capital less risky, or at least, lowered the *perception* of risk — a steady rate of inflation almost guaranteed that even the most marginal investor would receive more than he had contributed as an investment in any sort of commercial or agrarian venture over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries. Such individuals might also see the value of their investments in the global trade network that began to emerge after 1500 climb with rising prices. Successful merchants, particularly in Protestant commercial centers of Europe, such as Amsterdam, and, later, London, also found new opportunities for investment in the development of land appropriated from the Roman Catholic Church. The monetization of the rural economy might nonetheless impose great misery on peasants who needed things they could not pay for; or who lost title to their

16. Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City*, *1450–1750* (New York: Longman Group, 1995), 91.
17. Ibid., 92.
18. Note Peter Musgrave, *The Early Modern European Economy* (London: Macmillan Press, 1999), 6; and Friedrichs, 91–92.

land and were forced into the condition of becoming seasonal, migrant agrarian laborers. The Price Revolution may thus be examined as a key factor in theories of capitalism and crisis in the early modern period.

IV. The Price Revolution

Historians have estimated that prices for most commodities, including the most essential one of bread, rose by roughly four times between 1450 and 1700. This price revolution may be observed in a variety of evidence that scholars have collected from various records for the cost of goods and services throughout Europe. Look, for example, at the rise of these prices for an English church school between 1500 and 1700.[19]

Expense in Shillings	In 1500–1580	In 1700
Wine for the School Chapel	8 shillings	96 shillings
Cloth per piece (for student uniforms)	40 shillings	120 shilling
Parchment (by dozen)	3 shillings	18 shillings
Candles (dozen)	1 shilling	5 shillings
Beef (14 lbs)	1 shilling	2 shillings
Rabbits (per dozen)	9 shillings	18 shillings

19. These figures are compiled from Sir William Beveridge, *Prices and Wages in England* (London, 1939), 1:81–90; by Dunn, 136. Excellent graphs on the rise in the cost of wheat and other commodities can be found in H. H. Lamb, *Climate, History, and the Modern World*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1995) and Y. S. Brenner, "The Inflation of Prices in England, 1551–1650," *The Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 15, no. 2 (1962), 266–284, at 272, from JSTOR. Depending upon instructional needs, historians may wish to consult these additional works for figures that document the change in prices over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries: Christopher Clay, *Economic Expansion and Social Change: England, 1500–1700*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1984), 1: 28-51 (with tables); E. H. Phelps Brown and Sheila Hopkins, "Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables Compared with Builders' Wage Rates," in *The Price Revolution in Sixteenth-Century England*, Peter Ramsey, ed., Debates in Economic History series (London, 1971), 18–41, reprinted from *Economica* 23 (November 1956); Y. S. Brenner, "The Inflation of Prices in Early Sixteenth-Century England," *The Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 14 (1961-62); also in Ramsey, 69–90.

Historians have attributed this gradual and steady inflationary trend to several factors: The mounting cost of war throughout Europe, imposed by the expense of paying for mercenary infantry and gunpowder; the costs of war compelled polities across Europe to impose mounting taxes on the "taxable" sector of the population, as well as to resort to coin devaluation, tax farming and price increases in certain commodities that were necessary royal monopolies (such as salt, in 17th-century France); a rising supply of precious metals, some mined from deposits in Central Europe, and others from the recently discovered reserves of the Spanish colonies in Latin and Central America, which were then poured into the market by the Spanish Empire during the 16th-century religious wars;[20] and the demographic expansion of the European population beyond pre-14th-century plague levels without commensurate gains in agricultural technology, which resulted in a rise in prices for basic commodities and necessities through increased demand.

In 1400, Europe's population has been estimated to have stood at 59 to 60 million people, a decline of 25 percent from 1300, mostly due to the devastating losses of the Bubonic Plague, or "Black Death," epidemics that had ravaged Europe since 1348. Although estimates vary, it has been suggested that Europe's 16th-century population had rebounded from these devastating losses, growing from approximately 59 to 60 million to somewhere between 80 and 100 million by the 1600s.[21]

Population growth exerted an inflationary pressure on prices because Europeans had not been able to significantly increase the productivity of their land. Indeed, trends in world climate worked against this during the 16th and 17th centuries in the form of what some historians have termed the *Little Ice Age*: a decline of 1.5 degrees Celsius (equivalent to about 2.7 degrees Fahrenheit) in the overall world temperature.[22] Modern historiography has traced the impact of this decline in temperature through the measurement of tree rings (which are thicker in warm years, and thinner in cold ones). They have also studied the records of 17th-century astronomers, such as the Pole Johan Hevelius (1611–1687) and the Englishman John Flamsteed (1646–1719). Historical geographers have advanced a number of theories about why this temperature decline occurred, from the reduced solar activity (possibly what the absence of sunspots indicate) to the possibility of volcanic ash trapped close to the earth's surface. Whatever its causes, however, the Little Ice Age had a disastrous impact on crop yields across the world. In Asia, it led to devastating drought conditions; in Europe, it translated into a reduction in excessive precipitation (snow and rain), glacier

20. The key scholarly studies on the apparent correlation between the price rise and the influx of specie, or "American bullion" were authored between 1926 and 1934 by the historian Earl J. Hamilton, whose most important work was *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain*, *1501–1650* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934). See also Ruggiero Romano, "Between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: the Economic Crisis of 1619–1622," in Ernesto Screpanti and Stefano Zamagni, *An Outline of the History of Economic Thought*, trans. David Field (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 19.
21. Note Colin McEvedy and Robert Jones, *Atlas of World Population History* (Penguin, 1978); and Alison Rowlands writes in a chapter of *Early Modern Europe: A Shorter History*, edited by E. Cameron (Oxford, 1999), 47–48. See also Cameron, 97; Hobsbawm, 7–9.
22. Lamb, 211.

advance in what today is Switzerland and Austria, and a reduction of the productive growing season by three or four weeks in most European countries (by 15 percent).[23]

Population growth, as the English economist Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834) would later argue, meanwhile, would make life additionally difficult for poor Europeans insofar as it exerted an upward pressure on the cost of living. Over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, those who labored for wages, both in Europe's cities, and in the countryside, saw the real value of their pay decline between 20 and 50 percent, as the cost of grain and bread — a staple that urban workers and landless agricultural workers might well be obliged to purchase, rather than grow — as well as rent, ascended steadily.

This table, compiled by the economic historian Peter H. Lindert from the research of Ronald D. Lee, compares the rate of wages with the price of grain in early modern England:[24]

Table 1 Malthus' Evidence on English Wages and Prices, c. 1350-1811

Year	Daily Wage (Without Meals) (Pence/Day)	Price of Wheat (Pence/Peck)	"Corn Wage" (Pecks/Day)
c. 1350	1.5–2.0	2.00	0.75–1.00 (fell to 1377, rose to 1398)
1413–1444	3	3.25	0.92
1444–1500	4.0–4.5	2.25	1.78–2.00
1485–1509	4.0–4.5	2.38	1.68–1.89
1571–1575	8.0	8.25	0.97
1601	10.0	15.50	0.65
1650–1655	14.0	24.00	0.58
1656–1661	14.0	18.50	0.76
1665–1700	10.5–12.0	15.94	0.66–0.75
1700–1720	10.0–10.5	15.00	0.67
1720–1755	12.0	12.00	1
1767–1770	15.0	14.00	1.07
1807–1811	30.0	36.00	0.83

R. C. Nash has nevertheless argued that "the greatest burden on the peasants … was caused not by crises but by an increase in their tax obligations, and there is a remarkable coincidence between the emergence of centralized governments with strong tax-raising

23. In addition to Lamb, 211–212, note also John A. Eddy, "The Mauder Minimum: Sunspots and Climate in the Reign of Louis XIV," in *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), 264–298. See also introduction, 7–8; for the worldwide impact of the Little Ice Age, see also Anthony Reid, "The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century in Southeast Asia," 206–234; and William A. Atwel, "A Seventeenth-Century Crisis in East Asia," 235–254. See also Patrick R. Galloway, "Long-Term Fluctuations in Climate and Population in the Pre-Industrial Era," *Population and Development Review* 12 (1986): 1–24.

24. The table was assembled by Peter H. Lindert, "English Population, Wages, and Prices: 1541–1913," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 15, no. 4 (1985): 609–634, on page 612.

powers and the difficulties of peasant agriculture. …"[25] France, as Edgar Kiser and April Linton, two historical sociologists, have shown, was at war 65 percent of the time between 1515 and 1788; England was at war 51 percent of the time. Both monarchies imposed steadily increasing taxes upon subjects within their realms over this period in order to defray the mounting cost of conflict, which now included gunpowder and the remuneration of infantry. In England, the elite might be obliged to contribute to such tax revenue, as per the consent obtained by English monarchs in Parliament. In France, or in the territories of the Spanish empire, it was rather the vast majority of those outside the aristocracy who shouldered the mounting tax burden.[26] In addition to the two "direct" forms of taxation in France mentioned above — the *taille* on property, and the *capitation*, a head tax — members of France's third estate also paid a variety of "indirect" taxes, such as the *gabelle* (a tax on salt), as well as *aides*, consumption taxes on various commodities, and export duties. Before the English Civil War, English subjects paid the *subsidy*, the *fifteenth* (calculated from the rental value of land) and the *tenth* (a tax on movable property, calculated according to its resale value). [27]

This combination of factors — more money in circulation, a growing population and a mounting tax burden — dramatically increased the experience of hardship for the poor when Europe's cooler temperatures, taken together with land exhaustion, resulted in a series of devastating famines over the course of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, beginning with the catastrophic harvests of 1528–1529 and continuing with similar disasters dated to 1565; 1569; 1585; 1588; 1594–1597; 1611; 1621; 1630s; 1649–1652; 1659–1662; 1693–1694; 1709–1710; 1770–1774, and the food crises that would number among the precipitating factors for the French Revolution.[28]

Some of our most graphic descriptions of famine originate from 17th-century France, where the subdivision of land inheritance among peasant families (which encouraged communal farming within the family that tended to work against any agricultural innovation), taken together with the obligation to furnish lords with half of each peasant tenant's crops; the mounting and often devastating royal tax burden, imposed to pay for the wars fought during the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) and Louis XV (1715–1774); and the burdensome prices of royal monopolies, left little money to buy grain that might have been grown elsewhere and made the impact of these famines particularly devastating. *Report of the Estates of Normandy*, reports the suffering as the result of one such famine from Saint-Quentin in France, in 1651:

> "… Of the 450 sick persons whom the inhabitants were unable to relieve, 200

25. R. C. Nash, "The Economy," in *The Seventeenth Century*, edited by Joseph Bergin (Oxford, 2001), 23.
26. Edgar Kiser and April Linton, "Determinants of the Growth of the State: War and Taxation in Early Modern France and England," *Social Forces* 80, no. 2 (2001): 411–448, esp. 418–419.
27. Ibid., 420; see also M. J. Braddick, *Parliamentary Taxation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994); and Philip T. Hoffman, "Taxes and Agrarian Life in Early Modern France: Land Sales, 1500–1730," *Journal of Economic History* 46, no. 1 (1986): 37–55.
28. Andrew B. Appleby, "Epidemics and Famine in the Little Ice Age," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10, no. 4 (1980): 643–663; see also Lamb, 221.

> were turned out, and these we saw die one by one as they lay on the roadside. A large number still remain, and to each of them it is only possible to dole out the least scrap of bread. We only give bread to those who would otherwise die. The staple dish here consists of mice, which the inhabitants hunt, so desperate are they from hunger. They devour roots which the animals cannot eat; one can, in fact, not put into words the things one sees. ... This narrative, far from exaggerating, rather understates the horror of the case, for it does not record the hundredth part of the misery in this district. Those who have not witnessed it with their own eyes cannot imagine how great it is. Not a day passes but at least 200 people die of famine in the two provinces. We certify to having ourselves seen herds, not of cattle, but of men and women, wandering about the fields between Rheims and Rhétel, turning up the earth like pigs to find a few roots; and as they can only find rotten ones, and not half enough of them, they become so weak that they have not strength left to seek food. The parish priest at Boult, whose letter we enclose, tells us he has buried three of his parishioners who died of hunger. The rest subsisted on chopped straw mixed with earth, of which they composed a food which cannot be called bread. Other persons in the same place lived on the bodies of animals which had died of disease, and which the curé, otherwise unable to help his people, allowed them to roast at the presbytery fire. …"[29]

In 1693, Henri Platelle, the Curé of Rumegies, wrote about the impact of another famine in his journal:

> "… The final misfortune was the utter failure of the ensuing harvest, which caused grain to reach a tremendous price. And since the poor people were exhausted in like measure by the frequent demands of his majesty and by the exorbitant taxes, they fell into such poverty as might just as well be called famine … in our parish alone, more people died than in several ordinary years … men of goodwill had their hearts wrung at the sign of the poor people's sufferings … without money … while a measure of corn cost 9-10 livres at the end of the year, with peas and beans corresponding. …"[30]

Famine tended to be followed quickly by epidemics, as malnutrition lowered resistance to a host of diseases from acute diarrhea (a major killer of young children during this period) to typhus, smallpox, cholera and bubonic plague. Epidemics were also spread by the migration of peoples, who took to the roads in search of charitable distribution of foods, which they were sometimes able to receive in Europe's major cities; and by wandering European armies, who brought disease, as well as rapine, in their wake. A plague epidemic

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29. Cecile Hugon, *Social France in the XVII Century* (London: Methuen, 1911), 171–172, 189, quoted by Paul Halsall in *The Internet Modern Sourcebook* at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook01.html.
30. From Henri Platelle, *Journal d'un curé de campagne au XVIIe siècle,* ed. Alexandre Dubois (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 1997), translated and quoted in *Perspectives from the Past: Primary Sources in Western Civilizations*, edited by James M. Brophy, Joshua Cole, Steven Epstein, John Robertson and Thomas Max Safely (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 715–717.

could devastate a city: Venice, for example, lost one-third of its population in 1575–1577; Naples lost nearly 50 percent of its population in 1656. Wars also took their toll on civilians: 30 percent of the population of the Holy Roman Empire perished in the carnage of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Although the birthrate in Europe remained high, 20 to 25 percent of all children died in the first year of life, and 50 percent of all children died before the age of 20. Women risked a lot by bringing children into the world; 10 percent died in childbirth. As a result, the population would grow little until the 18th century, when Europe's population would grow to between 120 and 140 million.[31]

This rhythm of famine, disease and war constituted the chief "positive checks," as the English Economist Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834) would later term such disasters on early modern Europe's population. It is these conditions, in particular, that have led many historians to term the early modern period — and particularly the seventeenth century — a crisis.[32]

V. Contemporaneous Views of Poverty in Fiction, Philosophy and Law

Early modern fiction reflects the frequent conditions of hunger, vagrancy and crime and what these conditions might impose upon the poor. Folk and fairy tales from western and eastern Europe depict wandering protagonists who live by their wits and stumble, in conditions of luck, on magic tablecloths that produce meals whenever unfolded.[33] Piero Camporesi has argued that the early modern image of the ogre, who "eats men," is also derived from the experience of famine, as those who starved in France and on the Italian peninsula might even be driven to cannibalism.[34] Picaresque novels, such as Miguel Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (c. 1613), furnish a sense of what peasant life was like. H.J.C. von Grimmelshausen's 17th-century novel *The Adventurous Simplicissimus* (1668) contains graphic descriptions of the devastation wreaked by the Thirty Years' War upon peasants in the Holy Roman Empire.[35]

When written by a member of the elite, works of fiction might also document the way in which the vagrant poor might be driven to theft, and consequently be perceived as untrustworthy criminals by writers who observed them from the vantage point of privilege. One such view of peasant experience from a privileged point of view is provided by the short novel (novella) written by a French cleric, the Abbé Jean-Baptiste

31. McEvedy and R. Jones, *Atlas of World Population History.*
32. Note Musgrave, 126.
33. Note Robert Darton, "Peasants Tell Tales: The Meaning of Mother Goose," in *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 9–72, esp. 31–35.
34. Camporesi, 50–51.
35. H.J.C. von Grimmelshausen, *The Adventurous Simplicissimus*, trans. A.T.S. Goodrick (London: Heinemann, 1912), available at the following website of the College of William and Mary: http://www.wm.edu/history/rbsche/grimmelshausen.

Castor Febre (1727–1783), entitled *Jean l'ont pris* (literally, "John-they-have-taken-him," the "him" of the piece being the father of the protagonist, who is arrested and executed for swindling). In this excerpt, the author conveys the suspicion members of the church might have of the vagrant poor, in the description the protagonist gives of his own behavior:

> "[53] … One talent that we peasants make good use of and that, though it is not to our honor, is certainly to our profit, is that of knowing where this man's Muscat grapes are to be found, that woman's figs, another's peaches and apricots and, above all, of knowing the right times to go plundering the farms. [54] I was so successful at cultivating this talent during my youth that if I had to, I could go and pinch some fruit and a few chickens as skillfully as anyone. It is true that I long since gave up playing those kinds of games, at least until the opportunity presents itself; but, to get back to what I was saying, before mastering this little recreation, I managed to get to at least seven or eight hundred blows on shins. Those villains, the vineyard-keepers, either out of jealousy, or because I never had a single piastre to show them, were especially vigilant: over fifty times they put me into the situation of an *inci homme* (in other words, the protagonist is saying that he was beaten as many times as Jesus on the way to the cross). I couldn't get into the smallest estate without them finding me; and when I thought I was safe from their attentions, and could sit down in peace and eat my fill, they were always there to disturb me. …"[36]

Assessment Questions

1. What is the view of peasants presented in this story?
2. How do the characters in the story spend their time?
3. Does the author deal with the problem of poverty directly?
4. Where do you note reference to the experience of prosperity?

Additional Assessment Ideas

Works of fiction provide a number of interesting opportunities for assessment. At the College of William and Mary, students in History 315, "Europe in the Age of Absolutism, 1648–1789," have been assigned responsibility to provide historical footnotes and apparatus for *Simplicissimus*.[37] An approach such as this one, where students choose a fiction source and discuss its historicity, might also be adopted for *Don Quixote* (available on the Internet at http://www.bartleby.com/14/ or http://www.

36. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Love, Death, and Money in Pays d'Oc*, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: George Brazillier, 1982). The section where Jean describes the arrest of his father and his nickname is given in nn. 32–40, 9–11; the section quoted in this excerpt is nn. 53–54, 15.
37. See footnote 36 above.

gutenberg.org/etext/996) or any number of other works of the early modern period, including folklore, poetry and drama.

The migration of poor, sick vagrants into the cities in search of food also placed pressure on urban and royal governments to deal with the problem of poverty, through the imposition of legislation governing the local price of bread, as well as legislation that attempted to restrict and criminalize begging. In 1526, the Spanish Humanist Juan Luis Vives considered the problem in *On Assistance to the Poor* (1526):

> "… They have no conception of the duty of a government who wish to limit it to the settling of disputes over money or to the punishment of criminals. On the contrary, it is much more important for the magistrates to devote their energy to the producing of good citizens than to the punishment and restraint of evildoers. For how much less need would there be to punish, if these matters were rightly looked after beforehand! ... Surely it is a shame and disgrace to us Christians, to whom nothing has been more explicitly commanded than charity … that we meet everywhere in our cities so many poor men and beggars. Whithersoever you turn you encounter poverty and distress, and those who are compelled to hold out their hand for alms … Certain salutary measures have been devised by very eminent men who have sought the welfare of the state: taxes have been eased, public lands turned over to the poor to cultivate, certain surplus funds have been distributed by the state … but … I propose the following plans … Some of the poor live in those institutions commonly called hospitals … others beg publicly; still others bear their hardships as best they can, each one in his own home. I call "hospitals" those places where the sick are fed and cared for, where a certain number of paupers is supported, where boys and girls are reared, where abandoned infants are nourished, where the insane are confined, and where the blind dwell. Let the governors of the state realize that all these institutions are a part of their responsibility … Let those who suffer poverty at home be registered, both they and their children, by two senators for each parish, their needs ascertained, in what manner they have lived hitherto, any by what ill chance they have fallen into poverty. It will be easy to learn from the neighbors what sort of men they are, how they live and what their habits are. Evidence about one poor person should not be taken from another, for he would not be free from jealousy. … Then in regard to the beggars who wander about with no fixed dwelling places; let those who are in health declare their name and the reason for their mendicancy in the presence of the Senate, in some open place or some vacant lot, that their filth may not pollute the Senate chamber; let those who are sick do likewise in the presence of two or four senators and a physicians that the eyes of the Senate may be spared … Let witnesses be sought to testify in regard to their manner of life …

> "Before everything else this principle must be accepted, which the Lord imposed upon the human race as a punishment for its sin; that each man should eat bread that is the fruit of his own labor … when I say 'eat' I do not mean to imply food alone … Let no one among the poor be idle, provided of course he is fit for work by his age and the condition of his health. … Health and age must be taken into consideration; but in order that you may not be imposed upon by a pretense of sickness or infirmity … let the opinion of physicians be sought, and let imposters be punished. Of the able-bodied vagrants, the foreign born should be returned to their native country — which is indeed provided for in the Imperial law — with traveling money, for it would be inhuman to send a destitute man on a journey without any money, and would be nothing less than commanding him to rob … Should the native poor be asked if they have learned a trade? Yes, and those that have not, if they are of a suitable age, should be taught the one to which they are most strongly inclined, provided it is feasible. If it is not feasible, let them be taught some similar trade … Even those who have dissipated their fortunes in riotous living … must be relieved, for no one must die of hunger. But to them more irksome tasks should be assigned, and smaller rations, that they may be an example to others, and may repent of their former life … Nor would I allow the blind to sit idle or to wander about in idleness. There are a great many things at which they may employ themselves. Some are suited to letters … others to music. … Let others turn wheels and work the treadmills; tread the winepresses; blow the bellows in the smithies … Let the blind women spin and wind yarn … Laziness and a love of ease are the reasons for their pretending they cannot do anything, not feebleness of body … Let the investigators make their examination into the needs of the poor humanely and kindly …"[38]

Assessment Questions

- How are the poor cared for in early modern Europe, according to this passage?
- Who does Vives believe should be responsible for poor relief?
- What are the reasons Vives thinks people might become poor?
- How does Vives believe the poor should be treated?
- What sorts of standards should be applied in deciding how to help someone who is poor, according to Vives?

Martin Luther's ideas about the economy and the poor, articulated in a section of his *Address to the German Nobility*, closely parallel those of Vives and Catholic commentators. Early modern European thinkers — whether Protestant or Catholic

38. Juan Luis Vives considered the problem in *On Assistance to the Poor* (1526), translated by M. M. Sherwood (1917), reprinted in the *Viking Portable Renaissance Reader* (1953), 347–354.

— tended to view economic developments as human distortions of the market and, at the same time, to believe that evolving monarchies and civic municipalities should assume responsibility for the care of the poor. At the same time, however, Protestant and Catholic thinkers shared the same essential view that poverty itself, and particularly begging, were the result of an idleness that required correction. Throughout early modern Europe, discussions of poverty were always punctuated by a discussion of what the English termed "sturdy beggars" — individuals who were deemed responsible for their indigence, insofar as they were capable of work (like Jean l'ont pris) and therefore unworthy of assistance (or sympathy).

By comparison with Vives, one may note how Martin Luther's views of financial enterprise in this passage from *On Trading and Usury* (1524) echoed older prejudices against commerce that had been typical of medieval theologians:

> "… First. Among themselves the merchants have a common rule which is their chief maxim and the basis of all their sharp practices, where they say: 'I may sell my goods as dear as I can' They think this is their right. Thus occasion is given for avarice, and every window and door to hell is opened. What else does it mean but this: I care nothing about my neighbor; so long as I have my profit and satisfy my greed, of what concern is it to me if it injures my neighbor in ten ways at once? There you see how shamelessly this maxim flies squarely in the face not only of Christian love but also of natural law. How can there be anything good then in trade? How can it be without sin when such injustice is the chief maxim and rule of the whole business? On such a basis trade can be nothing but robbing and stealing the property of others …"[39]

Assessment Questions

- How does Martin Luther perceive the activities of the merchant?
- How might Luther's views, as expressed in this passage, be used to critique Max Weber's theory about "the Protestant Ethic"?

Assessment Idea

Please pick a law text below and discuss how it did, or did not, put the standards Vives outlined in his theoretical work into practice:

A. Excerpts from Article IX of Emperor Charles V's edict concerning the Netherlands, issued on October 6, 1531:

> "… experience shows that if begging for alms is permitted to everyone indiscriminately, many errors and abuses will result, for they will fall into

39. *Luther Works,* vol. 45, edited by Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), available at http://www.reformation.org/luther-trade-usury.html.

idleness, which is the beginning of all evils; they and their children will abandon their trade or occupation, from which they could have made a living, for a wicked and contemptible life, and condemn their daughters to poverty and unhappiness, and all manner of wickedness and vice; and even though they be young, and strong, and able-bodied, they will perfidiously and deceitfully wrest for themselves that which could be distributed to the old, the sick, and the infirm, and to those in great need … but above all in order that those who are poor and sick, and other indigents unable to earn a living, might receive food and sustenance, to the glory of God, our Saviour, and according to his will, from true love and charity we have ordered and decreed what follows.

- Public begging is prohibited in streets, squares, and churches, and from house to house …
- Those who do so shall be imprisoned the first time, and subject to the discretion of judges thereafter;
- A central fund (*bourse commune*) will be created for the relief of the sick and needy;
- A collection box will be displayed at every parish church for contributions to the fund;
- The fund will be administered by a committee consisting of the clergy, distinguished members of the community, and imperial officials. They shall draw up lists of the poor in each parish, noting their profession, their revenues, and the number of children, and indicating the amount of support they deem appropriate for each. Such details are to be rigorously checked …
- Able-bodied paupers are to be made to work and support their families …
- … and if the poor supported through this fund come to complain to these curates, preachers, and others, they should not be readily believed, but consoled with kind words and sent to the charity commissioners, who will consider what appropriate course to take. …"[40]

B. Decree of the Paris Parlement, February 5, 1535:

"All able-bodied beggars born in Paris or resident in the city for at least two years must, on pain of death, present themselves for employment at public works … Those in the above category for whom the city can find no employment in public works are to present themselves for work as masons' assistants … the wage is set at 20 deniers a day … All able-bodied beggars not born in Paris or resident in the city for less than two years must, on pain of death, leave the city within three days; beggars who feign illness or disability are liable to be flogged and banished;

40. Quoted and translated by Bronislaw Geremek, *Poverty: A History* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), 143–144.

> if they are recidivists, the judges may deal with them as they see fit; no resident, whatever his status, may give alms in the street, on pain of a fine …"[41]

C. The chronicle of the late-17th-century Roman, Bartolomeo Piazza, refers to an ordinance of Pope Clement VIII:

> "…so that all confusion and disorder be eliminated in the distribution of alms distributed at the Vatican palace, Clement VIII ordered that for information regarding the petitions given, there be two gentlemen elected in each parish who are well-informed of its needs. These gentlemen shall sign a statement declaring those petitions truly deserving of being presented, so that they may assiduously provide for the needs of those deserving of relief, and that the undeserving not claim that which is designated for the needy. …"[42]

D. Opening sentence of a decree by the Venetian Senate in 1529:

> "… in order to root out a wicked custom and an evil way of life in the form of begging. …"[43]

E. The English parliamentarian William Marshall drafted this Poor Law in England in 1536, which would set the standard for the English approach until the mid-19th century. Parishes were to be responsible for finding work for those who could contribute to the economy:

> "…For as much as the king's majesty has full and perfect notice that there be within this his realm as well a right great multitude of strong, valiant beggars, vagabonds and idle persons of both kinds, men and women, which though they might well labor for their living if they would will not yet put themselves to it as divers other of his true and faithful subjects do, but give themselves to live idly by begging and procuring of alms of the people, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, hurt of their own souls, evil example of others, and to the great hurt of the commonwealth of this realm; as also divers others old, sick, lame, feeble and impotent persons not able to labor for their living but are driven of necessity to procure the alms and charity of the people. And his highness has perfect knowledge that some of them have fallen into such poverty only of the visitation of God through sickness and other casualties, and some through their own default whereby they have come finally to that point that they could not labor for any part of their living but of necessity are driven to live wholly by the charity of the people … whatsoever the occasion be, charity requires that some way be taken to help and succor them that be in such necessity and also to prevent that others shall not hereafter fall into like misery. Therefore his highness, of his most blessed and godly disposition, like a virtuous prince and gracious head regarding as well the maintenance of the commonwealth of

41. Ibid., 146–147; note that Geremek indicates that 20 deniers was a very low wage.
42. In *Rome/Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth Century Europe*, edited by Peter van Kessel and Elisja Schulte (Amsterdam, 1997), 180.
43. David Chambers and Brian Pullan, eds., *Venice: A Documentary History* (London, 1996), 303–304.

> his realm, the body, as the relief of the poor, wretched and miserable people whereof be a great multitude in this his realm, and the redress and avoiding of all valiant beggars and idle persons within the same … has by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporary, and the commons in this present Parliament assembled … provided certain remedies as well for the help and relief of such idle, valiant beggars as has been before remembered, as of such poor and miserable people as be before rehearsed, in manner and form following. …"[44]

Meanwhile, this section of the Venetian *Cronaca Agostini*, discussing conditions in Venice during October 1569–1570, describes the conditions this legislation was meant to control:

> "… For six days on end there was no bread in the baker's shops and no flour in the warehouse, so that the poor could not buy victuals in any part of the city … the frenzy was so great that people were killing each other to get flour. … the shortage lasted like this for some time and even grew worse … deliveries to the warehouses began to be made no more than once a week … the Signoria then had flour given out to the bakers in the parishes and they made bread with it and two deputies in each parish (one noble, one citizen), were ordered to be present at distributions of bread. These persons made a description of the people and gave them tickets entitling them to the amount of bread specified on them, at the rate of two loaves per head per day, one half of wheat, and one of millet, paying 1 marcheto each for them. After this ordinance things became very calm, whereas before it was passed many people had been smothered on account of the crowds demanding bread from the bakers and many poor women had been unable to get anything because the crush was so great … and the Ten and the Zonta made it a capital crime to steal bread during this time, although some did it anyway … there were also nobles, buying up the grain and selling it at gouge prices …"[45]

In general, what students should be looking for in this legislation, or narrative descriptions of the application of this legislation, is:

- Penalties for public begging
- The efforts to create public funds, or assign public responsibility, sometimes in partnerships with the church, for poor relief
- A perceived distinction between the "genuinely" poor and sick and the so-called "able-bodied poor"
- Attempts to restrict vagrants as a means to limit liability for poor relief

44. Available through the Internet Modern History sourcebook, this is an excerpt from *Reading About the World*, edited by Paul Brians, Mary Gallwey, Douglas Hughes, Azfar Hussain, Richard Law, Michael Myers, Michael Neville, Roger Schlesinger, Alice Spitzer and Susan Swan (New York: Harcourt Brace Custom Books) and at http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~wldciv/world_civ_reader/world_civ_reader_2/marshall.html. See also G. R. Elton, "An Early Tudor Poor Law" *Economic History Review*, new series, 6, no. 1 (1953): 55–67; and Steve King, "Poor Relief and English Economic Development Reappraised," *The Economic History Review,* new series, 50, no. 2 (1997): 360–368.

45. Chambers and Pullan, 108–110.

VI. The Enclosure Movement

By the close of the Middle Ages, *manorialism* and the old *copyhold*, as it was called in English, which awarded a tenant hereditary rights to land in exchange for the performance of certain services and certain dues to landlords, was giving way, in western Europe, to *leasehold* — a tenancy maintained by an annual rent payment that usually carried the loss of traditional medieval peasant rights to use the manorial "commons" — the pasture, pond and woodland that had been so important to enabling peasant families to maintain themselves above subsistence level. This trend also involved the demise of the *open field system*. Instead of taking manorial lands as a whole, and assigning each member of a peasant village various plots of land distributed across them, each renting peasant might be assigned a small, fixed plot. In England, in particular, these circumstances shaped the development known as *enclosure*. "Enclosure" may be defined as "physically shutting off a piece of land with a fence, hedge, or wall, but it also, more substantively involved the removal of communal rights, controls, or ownership over a piece of land and its conversion into "severalty," where an owner had sole control over its use and access to it."[46]

In England, where enclosure was ultimately approved by acts of Parliament during the 18th and 19th centuries, the incentives to enclose lay variously in the profits afforded by the wool industry when commons was turned to sheep pasturage; the interest in meeting the demand for grain by placing unused land under cultivation; the possibility of cultivating mining or hunting rights on enclosed lands; and finally, by the second half of the 17th century, the interest among some proprietors, in experimenting with new farming and land reclamation techniques. The Price Revolution moreover facilitated borrowing necessary to acquire these lands, and thus further stimulated the rise of enclosures across Europe throughout the 16th–19th centuries. As scattered strips across large open fields were consolidated into compact and discrete properties, often fenced in with hawthorn hedges, smaller farms were often "engrossed" into larger estates, while open, or "common," areas might be fenced in as well.

In England, price incentives might induce landlords — often middle-class gentry who had acquired their landed holdings in the dissolution of the monasteries — to "enclose" the commons and use leases as a means to force tenants off land. Peasants could then be hired at often low hourly wages to herd sheep or till soil for a simple wage for labor rendered. Even where enclosure might not have been precipitated by the Protestant Reformation, famines could speed the transition for peasants in France and Spain from family tenure among moderately prosperous peasants to *metayage* and *mezzadria*, essentially sharecropping arrangements where peasants owed their landlords, who, in France, were often members of the expanding *noblesse de robe*, a fixed proportion of their annual crop (usually about 50 percent). Such arrangements

46. Roger J. P. Kain, John Chapman, and Richard B. Oliver, *The Enclosure Maps of England and Wales*, 1595–1918 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.

speeded the popularity of the potato in the peasant diet, because it could be grown under the earth and was safe from the landlord and his bailiffs.[47]

Although these conditions have encouraged a certain amount of critical historiography about enclosure, enclosure also had its advocates. In 1649, for example, the Englishman Walter Blith published a lengthy treatise, *The English Improver* or a *New Survey of Husbandry*, that advanced a rosy vision of what enclosure might realize for an English farming community:

> "… Go tell the world of wealth that's got with ease
> Of certain profit (gain most men doth please)
> Of Land's improvement to a treble worth,
> Believe, a tenfold plenty's here held forth
> The greedy land-lord may himself suffice
> The toiling tenant to Estate may rise,
> The poor may be enriched, England supplied,
> For twice so many People to provide,
> Though this a paradox may seem to you,
> Experience and reason proves it true
> By floating dry, and purging Boggy land
> The plough-old pasture betters to your hand
> Directions to enclose, to all men's gain
> Minerals found out, land riched with little pain
> Woods ordered so, in a few years yield such store
> So large, so good, as you'll desire no more." [48]

In the (prose) treatise that followed, Blith explained that enclosure could facilitate the use of innovative farming methods, such as convertible husbandry (in which pasturage and the planting of nitrogen crops like clover were utilized to keep land at maximum levels of fertility) and the drainage of marshy areas. This, Blith maintained, would even allow for the production of surpluses that might be used to feed the poor: "When men have their lands enclosed," Blith wrote, "and at their own command, I fear not but most men will convert to Husbandry every acre so well, as it may yield forth the utmost fruit it is possibly able to produce."[49]

In a chapter entitled "On Property" in his *Second Treatise on Government* (1690), the English philosopher John Locke would articulate an argument in defense of private

47. See Kain, Chapman and Oliver's discussion, 34–43, of J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Village Laborer* (London, 1911); and J. S. Cohen, and M. L. Weitzman, "Enclosures and Depopulation: A Marxian Analysis," in *European Peasants and Their Markets* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 161–178. For sharecropping in France and Italy, see Duplessis, 16–24; and Philip T. Hoffamn, "Sharecropping and Investment in Early Modern France," *The Journal of Economic History* 42, no. 1 (1982): 155–159.
48. From Walter Blith, *The English Improver or a New Survey of Husbandry* (London, 1649), 2, available at Early English Books Online (London, 1994), http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home.
49. Ibid., 71.

property, which, incidentally, justified the now century-old trend toward enclosure, but also attempted to wrestle with the implicit conflict between private property and unequal distribution of wealth by suggesting, if not stating explicitly, that property owners should be limited to that property that sufficed for their needs:

> "Sec. 27. Though the earth, and all inferior creatures, be common to all men, yet every man has a property in his own person: this no body has any right to but himself. The labor of his body and the work of his hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever then he removes out of the state that nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his labor with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property. It being by him removed from the common state nature hath placed it in, it hath by this labor something annexed to it, that excludes the common right of other men: for this labour being the unquestionable property of the laborer, no man but he can have a right to what that is once joined to, at least where there is enough, and as good, left in common for others.
>
> "Sec. 28. He that is nourished by the acorns he picked up under an oak, or the apples he gathered from the trees in the wood, has certainly appropriated them to himself. No body can deny but the nourishment is his. I ask then, when did they begin to be his? when he digested? or when he eat? or when he boiled? or when he brought them home? or when he picked them up? and it is plain, if the first gathering made them not his, nothing else could. That labor put a distinction between them and common: that added something to them more than nature, the common mother of all, had done; and so they became his private right. And will any one say, he had no right to those acorns or apples, he thus appropriated, because he had not the consent of all mankind to make them his? Was it a robbery thus to assume to himself what belonged to all in common? If such a consent as that was necessary, man had starved, notwithstanding the plenty God had given him. We see in commons, which remain so by compact, that it is the taking any part of what is common, and removing it out of the state nature leaves it in, which begins the property; without which the common is of no use. And the taking of this or that part, does not depend on the express consent of all the commoners. Thus the grass my horse has bit; the turfs my servant has cut; and the ore I have digged in any place, where I have a right to them in common with others, become my property, without the assignation or consent of any body. The labor that was mine, removing them out of that common state they were in, hath fixed my property in them.
>
> "Sec. 29. By making an explicit consent of every commoner, necessary to any one's appropriating to himself any part of what is given in common, children or servants could not cut the meat, which their father or master had provided for them in common, without assigning to every one his peculiar part. Though the water running in the fountain be every one's, yet who can doubt, but that in the pitcher is his only who drew it out? His labor hath taken it out of the hands of nature, where it was common, and belonged equally to all her children, and hath thereby appropriated it to himself.

"Sec. 30. Thus … amongst those who are counted the civilized part of mankind, who have made and multiplied positive laws to determine property, this original law of nature, for the beginning of property, in what was before common, still takes place; and by virtue thereof, what fish any one catches in the ocean, that great and still remaining common of mankind; or what ambergris any one takes up here, is by the labor that removes it out of that common state nature left it in, made his property, who takes that pains about it. And even amongst us, the hare that any one is hunting, is thought his who pursues her during the chase: for being a beast that is still looked upon as common, and no man's private possession; whoever has employed so much labor about any of that kind, as to find and pursue her, has thereby removed her from the state of nature, wherein she was common, and hath begun a property.

"Sec. 31. It will perhaps be objected to this, that if gathering the acorns, or other fruits of the earth, &c. makes a right to them, then any one may engross as much as he will.

"To which I answer, Not so. The same law of nature, that does by this means give us property, does also bound that property too. God has given us all things richly, 1 Tim. vi. 12. is the voice of reason confirmed by inspiration. But how far has he given it us? To enjoy. As much as any one can make use of to any advantage of life before it spoils, so much he may by his labour fix a property in: whatever is beyond this, is more than his share, and belongs to others. Nothing was made by God for man to spoil or destroy. And thus, considering the plenty of natural provisions there was a long time in the world, and the few spenders; and to how small a part of that provision the industry of one man could extend itself, and engross it to the prejudice of others; especially keeping within the bounds, set by reason, of what might serve for his use; there could be then little room for quarrels or contentions about property so established.

"Sec. 32. But the chief matter of property being now not the fruits of the earth, and the beasts that subsist on it, but the earth itself; as that which takes in and carries with it all the rest; I think it is plain, that property in that too is acquired as the former. As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product of, so much is his property. He by his labor does, as it were, enclose it from the common. Nor will it invalidate his right, to say every body else has an equal title to it; and therefore he cannot appropriate, he cannot enclose, without the consent of all his fellow-commoners, all mankind. God, when he gave the world in common to all mankind, commanded man also to labor, and the penury of his condition required it of him. God and his reason commanded him to subdue the earth, i.e. improve it for the benefit of life, and therein lay out something upon it that was his own, his labor. He that in obedience to this command of God, subdued, tilled and sowed any part of it, thereby annexed to it something that was his property, which another had no title to, nor could without injury take from him.

"Sec. 33. Nor was this appropriation of any parcel of land, by improving it, any prejudice to any other man, since there was still enough, and as good left; and more than the yet unprovided could use. So that, in effect, there was never the less left for others because of his enclosure for himself: for he that leaves as much as another can make use of, does as good as take nothing at all. No body could think himself injured by the drinking of another man, though he took a good draught, who had a whole river of the same water left him to quench his thirst: and the case of land and water, where there is enough of both, is perfectly the same.

"Sec. 34. God gave the world to men in common; but since he gave it them for their benefit, and the greatest conveniences of life they were capable to draw from it, it cannot be supposed he meant it should always remain common and uncultivated. He gave it to the use of the industrious and rational (and labor was to be his title to it), not to the fancy or covetousness of the quarrelsome and contentious. He that had as good left for his improvement, as was already taken up, needed not complain, ought not to meddle with what was already improved by another's labor: if he did, it is plain he desired the benefit of another's pains, which he had no right to, and not the ground which God had given him in common with others to labor on, and whereof there was as good left, as that already possessed, and more than he knew what to do with, or his industry could reach to.

"Sec. 36. The measure of property nature has well set by the extent of men's labor and the conveniences of life: no man's labor could subdue, or appropriate all; nor could his enjoyment consume more than a small part; so that it was impossible for any man, this way, to entrench upon the right of another, or acquire to himself a property, to the prejudice of his neighbor, who would still have room for as good, and as large a possession (after the other had taken out his) as before it was appropriated. This measure did confine every man's possession to a very moderate proportion, and such as he might appropriate to himself, without injury to any body, in the first ages of the world, when men were more in danger to be lost, by wandering from their company, in the then vast wilderness of the earth, than to be straitened for want of room to plant in. And the same measure may be allowed still without prejudice to any body, as full as the world seems: for supposing a man, or family, in the state they were at first peopling of the world by the children of Adam, or Noah; let him plant in some inland, vacant places of America, we shall find that the possessions he could make himself, upon the measures we have given, would not be very large, nor, even to this day, prejudice the rest of mankind, or give them reason to complain, or think themselves injured by this man's encroachment, though the race of men have now spread themselves to all the corners of the world, and do infinitely exceed the small number was at the beginning. Nay, the extent of ground is of so little value, without labor, that I have heard it affirmed, that in Spain itself a man may be permitted to plough, sow and reap, without being disturbed, upon land he has no other title to, but only his making use of it. But, on the contrary, the inhabitants think themselves beholden to him, who, by his

> industry on neglected, and consequently, wasted land, has increased the stock of corn, which they wanted. But be this as it will, which I lay no stress on; this I dare boldly affirm, that the same rule of propriety, (viz.) that every man should have as much as he could make use of, would hold still in the world, without straitening any body; since there is land enough in the world to suffice double the inhabitants, had not the invention of money, and the tacit agreement of men to put a value on it, introduced (by consent) larger possessions, and a right to them …"[50]

Assessment Questions

- What does John Locke argue are the conditions that justify ownership?
- What division of resources does Locke perceive as ideal?
- How does Locke defend his assertions?
- Who is Locke's intended audience and what are the likely interests of that audience in the issue of enclosure?
- Construct an argument against Locke's assertions. Under what circumstances might these arguments be considered?

The process and pace of enclosure in England may be documented through a series of enclosure maps, many of which have been inventoried in a recent scholarly study, and some of which may be studied on the Internet.[51]

Enclosure Maps

Website of the Badsey Society Enclosure Map Project at http://www.badsey.net/enclosure/.

A 1796 Enclosure Map for Sherington in the town of Buckingham Sherington Hisorical Society, at http://www.mkheritage.co.uk/shhs/encmap.htm.

VII. "Re-Serfdom" in Eastern Europe

In Eastern Europe, the process that historians have termed "neo-serfdom" was driven by rising grain and food commodity prices, coupled with the relative strength of the aristocracy vis-à-vis the monarchy in Poland, Russia and the Holy Roman Empire, and the relatively thin population density in Eastern Europe — with often no more than 20 people per square kilometer in Poland — and three per square kilometer in Russia. These conditions created a situation where Eastern European aristocracy were in need of labor

50. This passage is available from the full copy of the work available at http://www.constitution.org/jl/2ndtr05.htm.
51. Roger J. P. Kain, John Chapman, and Richard B. Oliver, *The Enclosure Maps of England and Wales, 1595–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1–9. See also J. R. Wordie, "The Chronology of English Enclosure, 1500–1914," *The Economic History Review* 36 no. 4 (1983): 483–505; see also Cameron, 168.

to grow profitable grain crops, and in a position to compel it from peasants who could not appeal to other authorities for redress.[52] While Eastern Europe had been characterized by a free peasantry until 1500, by the beginning of the 16th century, nobility in Poland, Russia, Bohemia and the German provinces sought to extend their *Gutscherrschaft*, or direct rights over the land, by compelling peasants to observe more substantial obligations to perform *robata*, or feudal due work, in order to place more land under cultivation — although generally, the mode of cultivation utilized on these estates deviated little from traditional medieval methods of farming with three fields, one of which was left fallow each year.[53] The historian William Wright describes the process:

> "… At the turn of the fourteenth century … the Bohemian peasant was most frequently a nearly independent small holder who paid his rent and discharged his obligations to his lord by money fees and who had access to a wide market through the agency of the local bourgeoisie … peasant laws enacted between 1487 and 1500 signaled a return to serfdom which bound the peasant to the soil and subordinated him to manorial jurisdiction. … Enterprising noblemen began to pay attention to their demesne lands with a view to increasing their production for the market … The lords began slowly to increase their demesne holdings by engrossing peasant-held lands through various means which ranged from fair purchase to forceful, illegal seizure. They also conducted programs of internal colonization, settling peasants on newly acquired lands. Both procedures encouraged the lords to tighten their controls over the peasants, to begin to enserf them. With their enlarged holdings, the lords needed more and more robata for their demesne lands, and to that end they needed controllable peasants to colonize the new lands. In addition, the spread of more intensive crop cultivation, such as viniculture, hops, fruit, and flax, which brought greater profit, also placed a premium on labor and encouraged landlords to draw closer their control over the rural population. …"

Wright emphasizes that this process was gradual but intensified within those parts of the Holy Roman Empire where the Counter-Reformation resurgence that closed the Thirty Years' War caused land to change hands, such as Bohemia. Thereafter,

> "… Obligations that rested upon the peasant were of two types: payments in kind or money, and services. Fees were exacted not only for the use of land but for the use of pasture, woods, bake-ovens, mills, justice, and market access, and for permission to marry, to learn trades, to exchange or devise land, or to be excused from some service obligation. … Demanding fees was

52. Parker, *Crisis in Europe*, 20–21; see also Anthony F. Upton, *Europe: 1600–1789* (Oxford, 2001), 228–229.
53. Even three-field cultivation was not always used; see Hans-Jürgen Nitz, "Introduction from Above: Intentional Spread of Common-Field Systems by Feudal Authorities through Colonization and Reorganization," *Geografiska Annaler*, Series B, Human Geography 70, no. 1, Landscape History (1988): 149–159.

> not only a means of obtaining income for the lord, but it was also often an all-important symbol of the peasant's subjection as well. …"[54]

László Makkai summarizes the development this way:

> "… In the final analysis, the basic reason for the appearance of *Gutscherrschaft* and neo-serfdom was the change that took place in the market structure. Between 1450 and 1750 serious changes occurred in the European market's balance between supply and demand as well as its magnitude. The prices of agricultural products, compared with their previous decline, were at first stabilized after 1450. Then, after 1500, they began to go up rapidly, especially compared with the slower price increases of industrial goods. The resulting "price scissors" favored either those who disposed of marketable agricultural products or those who were not forced to buy them for cash. The price increase started in Western Europe probably because the agricultural sector operating with the traditional agrarian technology was unable to satisfy the demands of the population for food and industrial raw materials, especially when this dependent population was increasing because of both the higher rate of demographic growth and the steadily increasing number of those leaving the agrarian sector of the economy. This situation gave Eastern Europe the possibility of a large-scale agrarian export business based on the increase of imports of industrial goods from the West. This export trade could not be handled by an agricultural economy that operated mainly to satisfy its own needs without forcing *Gutscherrshaft* and neo-serfdom on the producers." [55]

One document that represents an attempt on the part of Eastern European peasants to resist this trend of "re-serfdom" is the *Twelve Articles of the Peasant's Revolt of 1525***.**

Notice how Article Two addresses the monetization of the tithe and the transfer of tithe titles to owners (merchants or nobility), who had paid for it in case, and were prepared to extort larger amounts to make good on their investment.

Article Two

Second, since a just tithe has been established in the Old Testament, and fulfilled in the New (as the whole Epistle to the Hebrews says), we will gladly pay the just grain tithe to the full — but in the proper way. It should be given to God and distributed to his people, paid to a pastor who clearly proclaims the word of God (Psalm 109, Genesis 14,

54. William E. Wright, "Neo-Serfdom in Bohemia," *Slavic Review* 34, no. 2 (1975): 239–252, esp. 241–248; available at JSTOR; see also Jerome Blum, "The Rise of Serfdom in Eastern Europe," *American Historical Review* 62, no. 4 (1957): 807–836; and Sheilagh Ogilvie, "Germany and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis," in *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith (New York: Routledge, 1997), 57–86. See also Parker, 20.

55. László Makkai, "Neo-Serfdom: Its Origin and Nature in East Central Europe," *Slavic Review* 34, no. 2 (1975): 225–238, 237, available at JSTOR.

Deuteronomy 18 and 12). We are willing that henceforth our churchwardens, chosen by the congregation, collect and receive this tithe. From it they shall give the parson, who has been elected by the whole congregation, enough to maintain himself and his family modestly, according to the determination of the whole congregation. And whatever is left over should be distributed to the destitute people of the village, according to their circumstances and the determination of the congregation (Deuteronomy 26). What is left over after this should be retained, in case travel is necessary for the sake of the territory. So that no land tax may be imposed on the poor, travel expenses should be taken from this surplus. (I Timothy 5, Matthew 10, and I Corinthians 9).

Also, if one or more villages, because of some necessity, have sold the rights to their tithe — and this can be proved to the villages — the tithe owner should not be paid by the whole village. Rather, we will reach an agreement with him in a proper manner according to the circumstances, and redeem the tithe rights for a reasonable amount and in a reasonable time. (Luke 6 and Matthew 9.) But if someone personally has not bought tithe rights from a village, but has inherited them from his forefathers, we shall not be, should not be, and are not obligated to pay him anything more, except what is needed to maintain our elected pastor, to change the pastor if events warrant it, and to distribute to the needy, according to Scripture. (One should not take anything from another.) This shall be the case regardless of whether the owners of rights to the tithe are spiritual or temporal lords. We will not pay the "small tithe" at all. Since the lord God created cattle freely for mankind (Genesis I), we regard it as an improper tithe which has been contrived by people. Thus, we will no longer pay it.

Articles three, six–eight, ten–eleven all protest the reimposition of serfdom, citing the egalitarian Christian concerns of the Reformation, including the limiting of rights that peasants had traditionally enjoyed in the commons, the new imposition of old medieval duties, and:

Article Three

Third, until now it has been the custom for us to be regarded as a lord's personal property, which is deplorable since Christ redeemed us all with the shedding of his precious blood — the shepherd as well as the most highly placed, without exception. Thus, Scripture establishes that we are and will be free (Isaiah 53, I Peter I, I Corinthians 7). Not that we want to be completely free, with no authority over us. God does not teach us this. (Romans 13, Wisdom 6, 1 Peter 2.) We should live according to his commandments, not according to free, carnal whim (Deuteronomy 6, Matthew 4). Rather, we want to love God, acknowledge him as our lord in our neighbor, and we want to do everything gladly that God commanded us to do at the Last Supper (Luke 4 and 6). Although we should live according to his commandments, they do not teach us that we should not be obedient to authority, and not only to authority; rather we should humble ourselves before everyone. (Matthew 7, John 13, Romans 13). They also show that we should gladly be obedient to our elected and established authorities (if established for us by God) in everything that is proper and Christian (Acts 5). Without a doubt, as true and just Christians, you will also gladly release us from serfdom, or show us from the gospel that we should be serfs.

Articles Four and Five discuss the restriction of peasant access to commons, a phenomenon that could also be noted in the "enclosure movement" that was particularly pronounced in England:

Article Four

Fourth, until now it has been the custom that no poor man has been allowed the right to hunt game or fowl or to catch fish in flowing water. We think that this is completely improper and unbrotherly; rather, it is selfish and not compatible with the word of God (Genesis I, Acts 10, I Timothy 4, I Corinthians 10, Colossians 2). The authorities in some places also maintain game [for their own hunting], to our sorrow and great detriment. And we must tolerate it that dumb animals (which God has let grow for the benefit of people) uselessly consume our crops. And we must keep silent about this, which is contrary to God's will and the needs of one's neighbors. When the lord God created man, he gave him power over all animals, birds in the air, and fish in the water. Thus it is our wish that, if someone has a body of water, and he can adequately prove in writing that the water was unknowingly sold to him, it is not to be taken from him with force. Rather, one must have Christian insight about it for the sake of brotherly love. But if someone cannot produce adequate proof of his possession, he should inform the community of this in the proper manner.

Article Five

Fifth, we also have grievances concerning the use of woodlands. For our lordships alone have appropriated all the woods, and when the poor man needs wood, he must buy it at double the price. It is our conviction that, regardless of the kind of woods involved — whether possessed by spiritual or by temporal authorities who have not bought it — it should revert to the whole community (as is shown in the first chapter of Genesis). And, in the appropriate way, a community should be free to permit anyone in need to take wood home for burning without paying for it, or to take it for required building without paying. But this must be done with the knowledge of those elected by the community to supervise such matters. (Officials should see that this does not deplete the woods.)

If, however, the only woodland available is that which has been legally purchased, agreement should be reached with the owner in a brotherly and Christian way. But if originally the property was simply appropriated by some individual, and then sold, an agreement should be reached according to the circumstances of the case and of our knowledge of brotherly love and holy Scripture.

Article Six

Sixth, we have a serious grievance concerning labor services, which increase from day to day. We want to be granted some understanding, and accordingly not to be so severely burdened. Rather, we should be shown gracious understanding, for our forefathers served only according to the word of God (Romans 10).

Article Seven

Seventh, henceforth we no longer want to be burdened by a lordship; rather, if a lordship has been bestowed on someone correctly, he should receive his lordship through an agreement between lords and peasants. Lords should not force or compel their peasants, seeking to get more services or other dues from them without payment. The peasant should he able to use and enjoy his property in peace, without being burdened (Luke 3, I Thessalonians 4). But if the lord is truly in need of services, the peasant should he at his disposal willingly and obediently, but at an hour and season that are not to the peasant's detriment, and the peasant should be properly paid for his services.

Article Eight

Eighth, we are aggrieved, especially those that have their own land, because these lands cannot sustain the payments on them, and because these peasants must then forfeit the land and are ruined. [We demand] that lords let honorable people inspect these pieces of property and establish a payment that is equitable, so that the peasant does not work for nothing. For every laborer is worth his wage (Matthew 10).

Article Ten

Tenth, we are aggrieved that some have appropriated meadowland as well as fields which belong to the community (as above, Luke 6). We will take these properties into our hands again, unless they have in fact been legally bought. But if someone has bought them unfairly, the parties involved should reach a benevolent and brotherly agreement, according to the facts of the case.

Article Eleven

Eleventh, we want the custom termed heriot to be completely abolished. For we will never accept that the property of widows and orphans should be taken from them so shamelessly, contrary to God and honor, and that they should be robbed, as has occurred in many places (and in many forms). Those who should protect and defend us have clipped and sheared us. If they had even a slight sense of what is right, they would have realized that God will no longer tolerate it, and that the custom must be done away with. Henceforth no one should be obligated to pay the heriot, whether the amount is much or little (Deuteronomy 18, Matthew 8 and 23, and Isaiah 10). …[56]

Assessment Questions

- What are the grievances that the peasants describe?
- How do the peasants defend their identification of these changing conditions as "grievances"?

56. Michael G. Baylor, ed., *The Radical Reformation* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 231–238.

- How would you connect the grievances the peasants identify here to what historians have called "The Radical Reformation"?
- How would you connect the grievances the peasants identify here to the conditions of the "16th–/17th– century crisis"?
- Can you identify conditions of "enclosure"?
- Can you identify conditions of "re-serfdom"?
- In the document, can you identify individuals who might be profiting from the changes in the economy that the peasants are identifying as "grievances"?
- Based upon your review of this document, do you believe there was a "crisis" in the early modern economy?

Serfdom would remain the norm throughout Eastern Europe in the 17th century, where laws enforcing servile conditions were promulgated in Hungary (1608), Courland (1632), Prussia (1633), Mechlenburg (1645), Pomerania (1645), Muscovy (1649) and Brandenburg (1653).[57] In Austria-Hungary, modification of these land-use patterns would ultimately be imposed by Maria Theresa and Joseph II, who, acting as "Enlightened Despots," abolished feudal subjection in 1781, and redefined a peasant's rights.[58] In Brandenburg-Prussia, by contrast, serfdom persisted into the 19th century, as the Hohenzollerns looked to consolidate their power by granting the Junkers control over the serfs.

VIII. The "Putting-Out System" and Proto-Industrialization in Europe

Rondo Cameron and others have referred to 16th- and 17th-century "proto-industry," discernable in such government-launched production sites as the Arsenal of Venice, or the shipyards of the Dutch republic; as well as the organization of mines. While these arrangements arguably set the stage for later "industrial" production modes, the large pools of labor created in the rural areas by the dispossession of the peasant also worked to undermine the organization of *urban-situated guild labor* in wool production, especially after 1650. In the cities, the status of journeyman gradually became established as a fixed condition, which encouraged the formation of some of the first organizations for wage workers in the German cities. By the 17th century, entrepreneurs in Western Europe were assigning different stages of textile production to rural workers, who looked to supplement their income as farmers with carding and spinning, weaving, fulling and dyeing. This process of assigning stages of textile production to "cottage industry" was known as the "*putting-out system*." Although the merchant-entrepreneur who assigned these tasks might endure some delays because peasants worked in their homes and

57. Parker, 20–21.
58. Wright, 252.

combined their textile work with agricultural labor, he gained the economic advantages of flexibility in production and lowered labor costs.[59] Meanwhile, peasants pressed by the changing rural landscape might, find in the putting-out system a means to earn, and husband, their own capital resources, which, by the 18th century, might be invested not only in the tools of labor (such as a loom), but in movable assets, such as a suit of clothes, furniture or cooking utensils.

A source for the felicitous effects of the putting-out system is Daniel Defoe's description of Hallifax, in *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–1729).

> "… The near we came to Hallifax, we found the houses thicker and the villages greater … not only so, but the sides of the hills … were spread with houses, and that very thick, for the land being divided into small enclosures, that is to say, from two acres to six or seven acres each, seldom more; every three or four pieces of land had a house belonging to it … not a Beggar, not an idle person to be seen, nor is the health of the people lessen'd, but help'd and establish'd by their being constantly employ'd, and as we call it, their working hard; so that they find a double advantage by their being always in business. This business is the clothing trade … [450] among the manufacturer's houses are likewise scattered an infinite number of cottages and small dwellings, in which dwell the workmen which are employed the women and children of whom are always busy carding, spinning, etc. so that no hands being unemployed all can gain their bread, even from the youngest to the ancient. …"[60]

IX. Mercantilism

Another strategy for the increase of domestic economy and commercial wealth was the 16th-century economic philosophy of *mercantilism*. Mercantilism may briefly be defined as "economic nationalism." Mercantilists urged:

- A standardized national currency
- The aggrandizement of the economy at the expense of other nations, through the maintenance of a *favorable balance of trade*, in which *exports* exceeded *imports*
- The accumulation of a national store of gold and silver, or *bullionism*

59. Note Jan de Vries, *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis*, *1600–1750* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 106–107.
60. Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain,* Vol. III (1724–1729), 97–102, 115–121, reprinted in *English Historical Documents*, edited by D. B. Horn and Mary Ransome (New York: Routledge, 1996), 448–450. See also the discussion of this passage by Roger B. Manning, "Rural Societies in Early Modern Europe: A Review," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 17, no. 3 (1986): 353–360.

Mercantilism stressed the need for governmental intervention to increase the wealth and power of the state. Mercantilism postulated that a nation should be as economically self-sufficient as possible and that colonies should be exploited for the gain of the ruling country. Each European nation sought to export more than it imported, and colonies provided ready-made markets for the finished products of the ruling country. Thus, for example, Spain sent wines and finished goods to its colonies in New Spain but forbade the colonists to produce goods that would compete with those produced in Spain. Linked to mercantilism was bullionism, a doctrine that stressed the importance of accumulating previous metals. One way to do this was controlling the mines (as in the Spanish colonies of Central and Latin America) or by raiding the shipping lanes that held transport of specie (gold & silver), the province of 16th- and 17th-century pirates and buccaneers. The best way to accumulate this reserve, however, was to foster a "favorable balance of trade" in which a nation's exports were greater than its imports, so that foreign consumers would be obliged to pay for their purchases in precious metals. In some instances, monarchs or civic governments granted royal charters of monopoly to companies to promote an industry or trade that would encourage the home production of manufactured goods, or the cultivation of foreign markets; protective *tariffs*, meanwhile, were imposed to discourage the consumption of foreign goods.

The most systematic exposition of a mercantilist philosophy of a favorable trade balance was elaborated by the English merchant and East India Company veteran Thomas Mun (1571–1641) in *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade* (1630–1664).

> "… Although a Kingdom may be enriched by gifts received, or by purchase taken from some other Nations, yet these are things uncertain and of small consideration when they happen. The ordinary means therefore to increase our wealth and treasure is by Foreign Trade, wherein wee must ever observe this rule; to sell more to strangers yearly than wee consume of theirs in value. For suppose that when this Kingdom is plentifully served with the Cloth, Lead, Tin, Iron, Fish and other native commodities, we do yearly export the over plus to foreign Countries to the value of twenty-two hundred thousand pounds; by which means we are enabled beyond the Seas to buy and bring in foreign wares for our use and Consumptions, to the value of twenty hundred thousand pounds: By this order duly kept in our trading, we may rest assured that the kingdom shall be enriched yearly two hundred thousand pounds, which must be brought to us in so much Treasure; because that part of our stock which is not returned to us in wares must necessarily be brought home in treasure… ." [61]

61. From: Thomas Mun, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade* (London, 1664), scanned by Jerome S. Arkenberg, California State Fullerton. The text has been modernized by Arkenber. The excerpt below is public domain, from Paul Halsall's Internet Sourcebook at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1664mun-engtrade.html. The entire text, for instructors who wish to read it, is available at http://socserv.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/mun/treasure.txt; see also Cameron, 98.

In France, the financial minister to Louis XIV, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), articulated a similarly competitive view of commerce:

> "… Commerce is a perpetual and peaceable war of wit and energy among all nations. Each nation works incessantly to have its legitimate share of commerce or to gain an advantage over another nation …"[62]

Colbert particularly singled out the Dutch as the most prosperous people of the 17th century, and those with whom his own kingdom of France must compete:

> "… As for trade by sea, whether among French ports or with foreign countries, it is certain that, even for the former, since in all French ports together only two hundred to three hundred ships belong to the subjects of the King, the Dutch draw from the kingdom every year, according to an exact accounting that has been made, four million Uvresi for this carrying trade, which they take away in commodities. Since they absolutely need these commodities, they would be obliged to pay us this money in cash if we had enough ships for our own carrying trade …"

X. Early Modern Urban Life: Amsterdam in the Golden Age

Instructors who discuss the history of the early modern period will need to address its growth throughout the 16th through 18th centuries. By the end of the early modern period, most major cities throughout Europe had doubled or quadrupled their population. London, for example, rose from 25,000 people to 575,000.[63] Seville's population, as Dr. Ruth Pike has shown, tripled between 1500 and 1600, until there were nearly 150,000 people living there.[64] On December 15, 1540, the Venetian Alvise Cornaro wrote:

> "… The population of Venice has increased so far that, where as 30,000 staia of corn would once have supplied it for a month, 45,000 are now not enough. … Furthermore, those deadly outbreaks of plague which used to carry off 1/5 of population every 8-10 years have ceased … Another cause of growth in population in the new way of making war, whereby they no longer fight the pitched battles that used to carry off 25,000–30,000 persons at a stroke …."[65]

62. From Jean-Baptiste Colbert, *Lettres, Instructions et Memoires de Colbert,* Vol. 2, edited by P. Clement (Paris: Librairie Imperiale, 1863), 263, 268–71. Translated by Ruth Kleinman in *Core Four Sourcebook* and reproduced, with permission, in Paul Halsall's Internet Sourcebook at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1664colbert.html.
63. Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith eds., *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 9.
64. Note Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), available from the library of Iberian resources online at http://libro.uca.edu/aristocrats/aristocrats1.htm.
65. Chambers and Pullan, 107–108.

Yet, of all the cities of 17th-century Europe, **Amsterdam** may be taken as most representative of the way in which some Europeans did not necessarily experience the early modern period as a crisis. Dutch records supply evidence of an even more forceful trend of population growth than could be observed in such southern European cities as Seville or Venice:

> 2532 hearths in 1514;
> 2935 hearths in 1546;
> 4943 hearths in 1557;
> 5728 hearths in 1562;
> 16,051 hearths in 1632;
> 26,035 hearths in 1732;
> 41,561 hearths in 1747[66]

The Urban population was unusually dense in Holland, where half of the population lived in towns, and Amsterdam was the largest of them. The city had 50,000 inhabitants in 1600; 100 years later, it had 200,000, four times its earlier size. The 17th-century Dutchman R. M. Dekker described Amsterdam society this way:

> "… four sorts of people in seventeenth-century Amsterdam … gentlemen of the government … distinguished substantial and rich merchants … shopkeepers, master craftsmen and artisans, and the common people … ordinary people are beneficiaries in the service of the town such as weigh-officials, wheat-carriers, bargemen, and peat-beer-carriers … these are 'not among the most discrete and civilized sort …'"[67]

By the early 17th century, Amsterdam was not only the largest and most dynamic port in Europe, but the center of an important money market, the Amsterdam Bourse, within which stocks were traded in the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (the V.O.C. or Dutch East India Company, established 1602) and the West-Indische Compagnie (WIC or Dutch West India Company, founded 1621), the two autonomous *joint-stock companies* that managed Dutch trade in the Far East, and the Americas, respectively, as well as a spectrum of land development and reclamation projects. Witnesses from the first half of the 18th century reported somewhere between 2,000 and 8,000 vessels in the harbor from all over Europe.[68] By 1609, it was home to the first European "national" bank, the Amsterdam *Wisselbank*.[69] Amsterdam was also well situated geographically, to profit both from its proximity to the Atlantic axis of overseas trade in Indonesian spices (which arrived via Lisbon via the west coast of Africa), and the more localized trade in Baltic herring and Eastern European grain.[70] Richard Unger has

66. Peter van Kessel and Elisja Schulte, eds., *Rome/Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth Century Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997), 74.
67. Ibid., 191.
68. See also Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World: Civilization and Capitalism*, Vol. 3, translated by S. Reynolds (New York, 1984), 182.
69. Parker, 25.
70. Musgrave, 143–151; see Maria Bogucka, "Amsterdam and the Baltic in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," *The Economic History Review* 26, no. 3 (1973): 433–447; and Parker, *Europe in Crisis*, 21.

described the wealth of Amsterdam's fishing industry, which particularly thrived as the Dutch developed a technique for curing and salting herring at sea, allowing fishing expeditions to fish further offshore for longer periods of time. "O what a golden industry is created for us by that food, the royal herring," wrote Joost van den Vondel, a 17th-century Dutch poet. "How many thousand souls, thank God, live by this trade and earn their living from it."[71]

Woodruff D. Smith has emphasized that Amsterdam's importance as a commercial center also resided in its importance as a site for "information exchange."[72] This last could be linked to Amsterdam's importance as a diverse cultural center, where Jews, fleeing their expulsion from the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, settled between 1492 and 1505; Flemish merchants fleeing war-torn Antwerp in 1566, French Huguenots who was expelled by Louis XIV in 1685, and even Catholics were welcome, notwithstanding the city's own allegiance to the Dutch Reform Church. As Violet Barbour, has written:

> "… Amsterdam profited by the dissemination of skills and techniques brought by exiles fleeing religious persecution, war, or war taxation …"[73]

Amsterdam's robust economy constitutes a contrast to the growth in poverty treated in the preceding topic.[74] While Amsterdam, like Venice, was a city built of canals, the Dutch entrepôt may be contrasted with its Adriatic counterpart, as an example of the way in which Europe was shifting from a Mediterranean to an Atlantic economy by the 17th century. The French historian Fernand Braudel (1902–1985), quotes the 18th-century Spanish economist Ustariz, who described the Dutch Republic in 1724:

> "…Half the country is underwater, explains the serious Spanish economist Ustariz in 1724, "or is land that can produce nothing, and scarcely one quarter of it is cultivated in any one year; so several writers assure us that the country's harvest barely yields a quarter of the food consumed there."[75]

Other contemporary witnesses confirm that (a) the land flooded regularly every winter, and (b) the tiny land could not produce enough to feed its people. Contemporary witnesses nevertheless likewise confirmed that "windmills" were used to drain the land, and the ingenuity with which the Dutch developed drainage technology, although utilized in many parts of Europe, was impressive. And the Dutch learned to make the most of what they had:

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71. Quoted by Richard W. Unger, "Dutch Herring, Technology, and International Trade in the Seventeenth Century," *The Journal of Economic History* 40, no. 2 (1980): 253–280, esp. 253, note 1. See also Braudel, *The Perspective of the World*, 3: 189–190; and Cameron, 154.
72. Woodruff D. Smith, "The Function of Commercial Centers in the Modernization of European Capitalism: Amsterdam as Information Exchange in the Seventeenth Century," *The Journal of Economic History* 44, no. 4 (1984): 985–1005.
73. Violet Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1950), 11–12.
74. Note Ivo Schöffer, "Did Holland's Golden Age Coincide with a Period of Crisis?" in *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Parker and Lesley Smith, 87–107; and Romano, 186.
75. Braudel, *The Perspective of the World,* 3:177.

> "… Since land was scarce, both agriculture and animal husbandry had to stake everything on productivity. The stock was better fed here than anywhere else. Cows gave as much as three pails of milk a day. Agriculture had become close to gardening, and invented ingenious methods of crop rotation, achieving higher yields than elsewhere by the use of manure, including refuse from the towns. Sufficient progress had been made by 1570 for agriculture to play a role in the early stages of the country's economic takeoff …"[76]

The Dutch "Flutes" or *fluit* or *vlieboot*, capacious vessels that were used for carrying a wide range of commodities, were the envy of French and English contemporaries.[77] The French also marveled at how,

> "… In Holland, the interests of the State in matters of commerce serves that of the private individual, they go hand and hand. Commerce is absolutely free, absolutely nothing is forbidden the merchants, they have no rule to follow but that of their own interests …"[78]

In 1693–1694, the Dutch republic was at war with France. Dutch merchants nevertheless took advantage of the critical famine of those years to ship Baltic grain from Holland to France, utilizing Swedish and Danish vessels as middlemen — an example of the way in which the Dutch defied the paradigms of mercantilism in building their trade economy. The "Dutch miracle" was further enhanced by the importance of the Amsterdam bourse, where public stocks, with yields of about 2.5 percent, could be traded on the market for good profits. As another witness, quoting Accarias de Sérionne, said:

> "… If ten or twelve businessmen of Amsterdam of the first rank meet for a banking operation, they can in a moment send circulating throughout Europe over two hundred million florins in paper money, which is preferred to cash. There is no sovereign who could do as much. This credit is a power which the ten or twelve businessmen will be able to exert all over the states in Europe, in complete independence of any authority. …"[79]

Braudel indicates that Amsterdam rose on the ashes of Genoa (which enjoyed its last great age as banker to Philip II of Spain) and Antwerp, which was destroyed in the "Spanish Fury" of 1576 and to whom Amsterdam's architects would look for a model in urban design. With Amsterdam's rise, as Braudel has written, "The North was reasserting itself over the South — this time, for good."[80]

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76. Ibid., 178.
77. Ibid., 3:190–191; Barbour, 19; Friedrichs, 94.
78. Ibid., 3: 206.
79. Jacques Accarias de Serionne, *La Richesse de la Hollande* (1778), quoted by Braudel, 3:245.
80. Braudel, 175–187. For the influence of Antwerp's architecture on Amsterdam, see relevant chapters in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and London*, edited by Patrick O'Brien, Derek Keene, Marjolein't Hart and Herman van der Wee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), as well as the introduction, 16.

While many European peoples did not immediately discover new ways to exploit the soil, the Dutch meanwhile experimented with convertible husbandry — a more sophisticated system of crop rotation that improved on the old three-field system by having pasture animals manure and pasture in the fallow field — and saw felicitous results in a rich market in fresh fruit and vegetables that fed the city and became a landmark of the city's prosperity and higher standard of living. The city of Amsterdam also derived plentiful revenue from the consumption levels of the town's inhabitants. This included the *Heere Geld*, a tax on domestic servants, a little over five florins for each servant, a 1 percent income tax, huge commercial taxes, taxes on every kind of commodity and food, as well as supplies from soap to marble. A memorandum of 1689 writes:

> "… there is no kind of foodstuff which does not pay the excise or consumption tax; that which is levied on milled grain and beer is so heavy that it is always equal to the value of the goods at normal prices; they have even found a way of making beer dear … for in order to prevent a given product being sold in their country, when their commitments do not allow them openly to prevent it crossing the border, they tax consumption of the product in their country so heavily that no private individual wants to bring in any for his own consumption, nor any merchant for sale, for fear of finding no custom."[81]

The city also boasted an active art market, which stimulated a "Golden Age" of Dutch painting that often derived inspiration from scenes of daily life in Holland's urban centers. Several contemporary diarists describe Holland generally, and Amsterdam specifically. James Howell (1594–1666), a visitor from Wales, commented upon the relative lack of poverty in the streets of Amsterdam, because civic houses and local religious associations provided so effectively for the poor:

> "… It is a rare thing to meet with a beggar here, as rare as to see a horse, they say, upon the streets of Venice. And this is held to be one of their best pieces of government, for besides the strictness of their laws against mendicants, they have hospitals of all sorts for young and old, both for the relief of one and employment of the other, so that there is no object here to exercise and act of charity upon. …"[82]

In his *Diary and Correspondence* (1620–1706), the English traveler John Evelyn similarly described seeing a number of poorhouses in the city of Amsterdam, which he compared to comparable institutions in London.[83]

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81. Braudel, 3: 200, quoting from the National Archives, Paris, 1349, no. 132, fol. 215.
82. James Howell, *Familiar Letters* (May 1, 1619), edited by J. Jacobs, I:30 (London, 1890), quoted by Parker, *Europe in Crisis*, 15.
83. John Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn* (1620–1706), available at http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2000.01.0022, quoted by Parker, 15. For similar observations instructors might also wish to use William Carr's *Travels through Holland, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark by an English Gentleman* (London, 1691), also available at Early English Books Online.

Sources such as *The Strange and Terrible News from Holland and Yearmouth* (Robert Wood, 1651), also available as an e-text through Early English Books online, demonstrate the importance (and genius) of Amsterdam's system of dikes, the danger of being overwhelmed by the sea, and the dependence on animal husbandry that characterized Amsterdam and its outlying areas:

> "… On the fifth of March, there happened a marvelous inundation of waters in this city and other parts of Holland and Friesland occasioned by the overflowing of the South Sea … the like hath not been known in these provinces. The wind blowing hard northwest, caused an extraordinary Flood, which at first were regardeth not, but the wind, keeping that corner, drove the water so excessively into the city that it overflowed the bourgwals and broke into cellars and warehouses to the utter ruin of divers people, especially on the south side of the city, who were forced to take to their chambers for refuge … breaking through Saint Anthony's Dike, and drowning the Diemer-meer, Bildmer-meer, destroying men, women, and children, beasts and cattle. …"[84]

Simon Nicholas Arnauld de Pomponne (1618–1699), who served as Louis XIV's ambassador to the Hague from 1669–1671, described the Dutch economy this way:

> "… It must be granted that this little republic can now be numbered among the mightiest powers of Europe. In this we have reason to admire the fruits of industry, shipping, and trade, for these are the sources from which all their wealth flows with an abundance with is all the more remarkable because until now the skill and ability of Holland have kept this flow almost completely away from other nations of Europe. …
>
> "Having struck down the Portuguese, the Dutch were for many years the sole masters of the Indies trade. The English had indeed established some trading posts after the Dutch example, but were content to confine their establishments to the lands of the princes with whom they traded, and their profits were moderate: hence the Dutch felt little rivalry with them. Since then, the Royal East India Company which has been formed in London has grown larger; its ships now return in great numbers and with rich cargoes, and the trading establishments which it has already made in various places in the Indies, and to which it seeks to add cause the Dutch much anxiety. This trade, to which both nations aspire equally, was the real cause of the war which broke out in 1653–1654 between Cromwell and the States General; it also caused the war between the Dutch and the king of England in 1665, which ended with the treaty of Breda; and in the future, it will be a constant source of friction and disputes between them. …

84. *The Strange and Terrible News from Holland and Yearmouth* (Robert Wood, 1651), also available as an e-text through Early English Books Online.

"In addition to the earnings which they make upon the goods which they bring to us in Europe, the Dutch also make very large profits from the goods which they sell within the Indies, where they are the merchants and the carriers for all nations just as they are on our own coasts. They sell in one land what they buy in another, and the freight of their vessels contributes a large part of their profits, as it does in our own waters … The wares which they bring back are distributed upon their arrival among the cities of Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland where the Company has its chambers. One part is sold publically on days which are carefully publicized by notices distributed to the merchants of all Europe. The rest is kept in storehouses, and the Dutch shrewdly draw out only as much as other nations need, but not so much as would reduce prices. …

"The same cleverness which prompts this policy of restriction sometimes results in their selling wares in profusion. When another country, such as Spain, or England, received the same wares which they sell, the Dutch release their stores at a very low price, although they suffer considerable loss in doing so. They are satisfied if the loss is shared by those whose expansion in trade they fear, whom they compel to sell at the same price as themselves. They soon make good the loss which they suffer, and by discouraging competitors who do not have the same great wealth or the same head start as themselves, they remain the masters over a trade which others abandon to them.

"The same desire to avoid a fall in the prices of their wares from the Indies as a result of oversupply has repeatedly caused them to throw overboard whole cargoes of pepper and to burn great piles of cinnamon, cloves and nutmeg which would have met the needs of all Europe for several years.

"The profits from the sale of these goods provides the funds for refitting the ships which they send to the Indies. Apart from some cloth and brandy, they bring few wares from Europe. Trading there is conducted almost solely by means of gold, and as great quantities of gold are shipped there and little of it returns, we may say that with the passage of time the larger part of the gold which comes from America and Peru will pass on to the East Indies.

"Once the company has met its expenses, the remainder of the profits are distributed among those who share in its ownership. These dividends are greater or lesser depending upon the value of the returning fleets and on whether or not wars, such as the last one with England (1665–1667) have prevented them form undertaking the voyage. During the time of my stay in Holland, I saw dividends amounting to 12–40% upon the shares in the Company.

"'Shares in the Company' is the name given to the sums which were originally invested in the initial capital of 6,400,000 livres on which the company

was established. These shares vary in size according to the individual contribution, but none is less than 1,000 crowns. Dividends are issued upon the basis of this original investment, but since the Company has become much wealthier, shareholders have received large profits from their first investments. Depending upon whether the returning fleets seem to promise a greater or lesser dividend, the shares rise or fall in price, and trade in them constitutes one of the largest activities on the Amsterdam Exchange. In 1669, the year I arrived in Holland, the shares which had declined greatly during the war with England returned, peace having been made, to 450 crowns; this means that a man who owned, let us say, 100 crowns in the first capital of 6,4000,000 livres could now sell this share for 450 crowns. The fleet which came in with a rich cargo not long after my arrival soon produced a dividend of 40% and during the next year, 1670, the return of 19 vessels increased the price of shares to 510.

"This increased wealth is assuredly large for those who were original investors in the Company. But today almost all the shares have come into the market and no longer remain in the hands of their first owners, so that wealth of this kind, acquired at a higher price, does not produce such great profits, and is today a kind of gamble in which those who buy and sell are betting upon whether the returning fleets will be rich or poor.

"Thus I have heard Pensionary De Witt say that when he struck an average of the price of shares between 1643–1668, and of the dividends which had been made, he found that the price of the ordinary share came to 338 livres and the dividend to 15 lives 19 sous, so that those who had bought and received earnings over all this time had not made 4 per cent interest upon their money. But although it is therefore true to say that those who now invest their money in the Company receive a very moderate profit, the advantage for the state as a whole is very great, and there is not a year in which it does not bring in 10–12 million livres which are then distributed to all the provinces. …[85]

Assessment Questions

- What are the components of the Dutch economy as described in this passage?
- How does the Dutch East India Company operate?
- How are the financial markets of Amsterdam described in this passage?
- How would you compare the operation of the Dutch economy to mercantilist policies?

85. Simon Nicholas Arnauld de Pomponne (1618–1699), *Relations de mon ambassade en Hollande* 1669–1671, in *Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, 4th series, no. 2 (Utrecht, 1955), 36, 39–42, trans. Herbert H. Rowen, in *From Absolutism to Revolution: 1648–1848* (Macmillian, 1963), 88–91.

XI. The Problem Revisited: Was There Really a Crisis?

One source of evidence that the conditions of the early modern economy were perceived as a "crisis" in their own time are the debates over the causes of the price revolution that occurred during the 16th century, between the French jurist and philosopher Jean Bodin (1529–1596) and Jehan Cherruyt de Malestroict. In an essay published in 1566, Malestroict argued that the increase in prices was due to a practice known as "clipping": removing some of the actual gold or silver from a coin. (It was to detect this practice that coins were often weighed in premodern times.) The rise in prices did not reflect any changing standard of value, Malestroict insisted. It was simply that the "clipped" coins that were being used to pay for items were worthless.[86]

Jean Bodin's response was an essay entitled *A Discourse on the Dearness of Things* (1568) in which he wrote:

> "… I find that the dearness we observe comes from four or five causes. The principal and almost only one ... is the abundance of gold and silver, which is much greater in this kingdom today than it was four hundred years ago. … The second cause of dearness comes … from monopolies. The third is scarcity, which is caused as much by exports as by waste. The fourth is the pleasure of kings and great nobles, who raise the prices of the things they like. The fifth is the price of money, debased from its old valuation. …"[87]

A *Discurso*, attributed to Jaime Caresmar (1707–1791), a Catalan cleric and historian, preserved in the Biblioteca Central de Barcelona, MS, 143b, and dated to 1780, looked back on the two previous centuries, and offered this analysis:

> "… The conquest of America caused wars to rise from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the price of foodstuffs having, at an estimate, quadrupled in the course of the century for Charles V and Philip II. Since other countries had not increased the mass of their money, their wages did not rise to any great extent, and they could develop their industry happily, while ours declined. Spain gained momentary wealth in currency, but lost her manufactures and gradually her treasure also migrated to those areas where we find those articles which are consumed, and then produced again for consumption. …"[88]

By the 18th century, economic thinkers known as the Physiocrats had began to alter their thinking about the market where it concerned poverty. Enlightenment philosophes, and

86. Screpanti/Zemagni, 29.
87. Jean Bodin, *Discourse on the Dearness of Things*, in *The Viking Renaissance Reader* (New York, 1953), 202–203.
88. Quoted by Vilar, 18, 35.

contributors both to Diderot's *Encyclopedia*, François Quesnay (1694–1774) and Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (1727–1781), were advocates of allowing the market to operate without intervention, an approach that would be termed "laissez-faire." Turgot served 13 years as administrator of the district of Limoges and tried to improve the system of tax collection, construct new roads, provide new facilities for the grain trade, and establish a system of poor relief and schooling.[89] In his *Reflections on the Formation and Distribution of Wealth* (1766), Turgot tackled directly the issue of unequal distribution that Locke had circled:

> "… If the land were so distributed among all the inhabitants of a country that each of them had precisely the quantity of it necessary for his support and nothing more, it is evident that, all being equal, no one would be willing to work for others. No one, besides, would possess anything with which to pay for the labor of another; for each, having only as much land as he needed to produce his subsistence, would consume all that he had gathered, and would have nothing that he could exchange for the labor of the others. …"[90]

By 1776, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* would argue for an "invisible hand" in the disposition of the market, that, deriving from man's natural urge to make a profit, and the quality of goods and services, would ultimately accord wages and profits in a manner most beneficial to all. In Book IV, Smith argued against mercantilism with these words:

> "… To give the monopoly of the home-market to the produce of domestic industry, in any particular art or manufacture, is in some measure to direct private people in what manner they ought to employ their capitals, and must, in almost all cases, be either a useless or hurtful regulation. If the produce of domestic can be bought there as cheap as that of foreign industry, the regulation is evidently useless. If it cannot, it must generally be hurtful … If a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them with some part of the produce of our own industry, employed in a way in which we have some advantage. The general industry of the country, being always in proportion to the capital which employees it, will not thereby be diminished … but only left to find out the way in which it can be employed with the greatest advantage, when it is thus directed toward an object which it can buy cheaper than it can make … Nations have been taught that their interest consisted in beggaring all their neighbors. Each nation has been made to look with an invidious eye upon the prosperity of all the nations with which it trades, and to consider their gain as its own loss. Commerce, which ought naturally to be, among nations, as among individuals, a bond of union and friendship, has become the most fertile sources of discord and animosity. … Hence the high duties and prohibitions upon all those foreign manufactures which can come into

89. See the introduction in *Masterworks of Economics*, Vol. 1, edited by L. D. Abbott (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 31–33.
90. Ibid., 34.

> competition with our own. Hence, too, the extraordinary restraints upon the importation of almost all sorts of goods from those countries with which the balance of trade is supposed to be disadvantageous … The wealth of a neighboring nation, however, though dangerous in war and politics, is certainly advantageous in trade … in a state of peace and commerce it must … enable them to exchange with us to a greater value … A nation that would enrich itself by foreign trade is certainly most likely to do so when its neighbors are all rich, industrious, and commercial nations … Every town and country, on the contrary, in proportion as they have opened their ports to all nations, instead of being ruined by this free trade … they have been enriched by it. …"[91]

Assessment Questions

- What were the arguments by which authors defended mercantilism?
- How did each of these authors construct arguments from analogy to the condition of individuals?
- What sorts of restrictions did mercantilism place upon trade? The manufacture of goods?
- How did these measures reflect the philosophy of mercantilism?
- What were the criticisms advanced against mercantilism?

While William Godwin (1756–1836) would argue, in *Inquiry Concerning Political Justice*, for a more equitable society to end poverty, the Reverend Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834) viewed the increase of a population beyond what a society could reasonably support as the inevitable source of crisis, as he explained in his *First Essay on Population* (1798):

> "… Population, when unchecked, increases in a geometrical ratio. Subsistence increases only in an arithmetical ratio … We will suppose the means of subsistence in any country just equal to the easy support of its inhabitants. The constant effort towards population, which is found to act even in the most vicious societies, increases the number of people before the means of subsistence are increased. The food therefore which before supported seven millions must now be divided among seven millions and a half or eight millions. The poor consequently must live much worse, and many of them be reduced to severe distress. The number of laborers also being above the proportion of the work in the market, the price of labor must tend toward a decrease, while the price of provisions would at the same time tend to

91. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Origins of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), available at http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/17761800/adamsmith/wealth01.htm and http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/1776-1800/adamsmith/wealth02.htm.

> rise. The laborer therefore must work harder to earn the same as he did before. During this season of distress, the discouragements to marriage, and the difficulty of rearing a family are so great that population is at a stand. In the mean time the cheapness of labor, the plenty of laborers, and the necessity of an increased industry amongst them, encourage cultivators to employ more labor upon their land, to turn up fresh soil, and to manure and improve more completely what is already in tillage, till ultimately the means of subsistence become in the same proportion to the population as at the period from which we set out. The situation of the laborer being then again tolerably comfortable, the restraints to population are in some degree loosened, and the same retrograde and progressive movements with respect to happiness are repeated. …"[92]

By the 19th century, Karl Marx would be considering the origins of the Price Revolution in *Wage Labor and Capital* (1847):

> "… In the sixteenth century the amount of gold and silver in circulation in Europe increased as a result of the discovery of the American mines, richer and easier to exploit. The result was that the value of gold and silver diminished in relation to that of other commodities. The workers continued to be paid the same money-wage for their labour power. Their *money-wage* remained stable, but their *wage* had fallen, for in exchange for the same amount of money, they now received a smaller amount of goods. This was one of the factors which favored the growth of capital, the rise of the bourgeoisie in the sixteenth century. …"[93]

John Maynard Keynes would similarly look to the "crisis" of early modern Europe in formulating the theories on monetary policy that he would refine in his seminal influential work of 1936, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money.* [94]

During the 20th century, the influence of Marx and Malthus combined to support historians like Robert Brenner, who argued that the early modern period was characterized by crisis and class struggle over the elements of feudal structure that persisted in 16th- and 17th-century Europe.[95] Earlier considerations of the causes of

92. From Thomas R. Malthus, *First Essay on Population* (London: Macmillan,1926), i, 11–17, 26–31, 37–38; quoted in the Internet Modern History Sourcebook, at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1798malthus.html. The full work is available at the site of the Library of Economics and Liberty at http://www.econlib.org/library/Malthus/malPlong.html.

93. Karl Marx, *Wage Labor and Capital* (1847), available at http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/wage-labour/ch06.htm. See also the discussion of this passage by P. Vilar, "Problems of the Formation of Capitalism," *Past and Present* 10 (1956): 15–38, esp. 18.

94. John Maynard Keynes, *A Treatise on Money* (1930), 2: 150–151, quoted by Vilar, 19–20.

95. Note Robert Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe," in *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe,* edited by T. H. Aston and C.H.E. Philpin (Cambridge, 1985), 10–63. See also Paul A. Slack, "The Reactions of the Poor to Poverty in England, c. 1500–1700," in *Aspects of Poverty in Early Modern Europe*, II, edited by Thomas Riis (Odense: Odense University Press, 1986), 19–29; and, in the same volume, Jean-Pierre Gutton, "Les pauvres face á leur pauvreté: le cas français, 1500–1800," 89–104; see also Duplessis, 11.

the Price Revolution also supported the analysis of 20th-century historians like Earl J. Hamilton, who first studied the ratio between the Price Revolution and the influx of Spanish silver from the Americas in the 1920s and 1930s; Eric Hobsbawm; Geoffrey Parker; and others who have stressed the human misery of early modern Europe.

Over the last decade, however, some elements of this "crisis" have undergone reexamination, as scholars have pointed out that European experience was far from uniform during the early modern period, and therefore arguments for uniform "crisis" may require reevaluation. In his article "The Economy of the Seventeenth Century," R. C. Nash summarizes the scholarly debate over the early modern economy in this way:

> "… Since the 1950s, historians have seen the seventeenth century as a period of economic stagnation, decline, and even of "general crisis," one that contrasts with the rapid economic growth characteristic of the centuries on either side. Originally, such a decline was explained by the tailing off of silver imports from Spanish America after 1610, monetary-fuelled growth thus giving way to deflation and recession. The key problem with this explanation is that it now seems that the fall in silver imports was restricted to the years from 1630-1650, and that, in fact, imports after 1660 exceeded levels set at the start of the century. Then, in the 1960s and 1970s, under the influence of Malthusian demographic theory, historians explained the crisis of the seventeenth century as the outcome of the population growth of the previous century. Population growth eventually outstripped the supply of food, which given the failure to innovate in agriculture, led to subsistence crises which, in turn, destabilized the wider economy. A Marxist inflection of this theory stresses that this failure to innovate was itself the product of the social limits on growth imposed by a society of peasant farmers and urban craftsmen, petty producers of village and town who were hostile to economic change.
>
> "The major problem with the idea of a 'general crisis' is that it is impossible to identify a period in which all or most of the European economy was simultaneously gripped by a depression. In Spain, for example, economic and population decline was at its worst from 1590 to 1630, a period in which, however, the Dutch 'economic miracle' reached its height. Likewise, when Spain embarked on a fragile economic recovery after 1670, the Low Countries, Southern France, and much of eastern Europe tumbled into a deep and protracted economic recession. This diversity makes it impossible to reduce to a certain formula a series of regional economic crises which, while exhibiting certain similarities, varied widely in their timing and intensity. … the defining feature of the crisis is now seem as the divergence, rather than convergence in the economic performance of Europe's major economic regions. First, there was the diverse character of the regional cycles of growth and depression spread over the period 1590–1720. Second, the divergence between the

> economic development of western Europe, whose economy was based upon free labor, and eastern Europe, where serfdom was greatly extended in the seventeenth century. Third, in western Europe, economic recession in the Mediterranean contrasted with economic expansion in north-west Europe, although even in the north-west there was a divergence between France, where cycles of growth alternated with deep agrarian recessions; and England, where the crisis was conspicuous by its absence.
>
> "These divergent regional developments are central to the approaches adopted by historians since the 1970s to explain economic developments in population, agriculture, and in trade and industry. First, research on population has identified that demographic trends in north-west Europe, where population grew quite rapidly 1600–1650 and then stagnated, contrasted with the rest of Europe, where population fell sharply to 1650, and then regained its former levels by 1700. Historians have vigorously debated the relative weight which should be given to 'Malthusian positive checks,' (mortality crises) and 'Malthusian preventative checks' (late marriage and low fertility, the so-called 'European marriage pattern'). Second, historians have explained divergences in regional economic development in terms of the differing outcomes of rural class struggles between landlords and peasants. Thus, in Eastern Europe, landlords imposed the economically crippling system of serfdom whereas in much of western Europe the state protected peasant communities against predatory landlords …"[96]

In *The Early Modern European Economy* (London: Macmillan Press, 1999), Peter Musgrave has gone on to challenge both the notion of the early modern period as one of crisis, and the contention that this was the era in which capitalism first becomes evident, an idea that Musgrave particularly attributes to Braudel (1902–1985):

> "… In older interpretations … the early modern period was that period of history which saw the replacement of feudalism as the leading form of economic organization by bourgeois or commercial capitalism. It was the period in which the economic and social system was dominated not by the owners and controllers of land, but by the owners and controllers of capital which was employed in small-scale industrial production, in international and regional trade and in finance and in banking. This change was seen as an inevitable and necessary part of the transition to modern industrial capitalism … [yet] the development of the economy was not the inevitable working out of impersonal and universal economic laws, but rather the result of an almost infinite series of small-scale decisions taken by individuals and groups within the framework of their perceptions ... of what was possible … and acceptable … as well as what was likely to be the outcome. … The early modern family had a wide range of choices, and hence a wide range

96. R. C. Nash, "*The Economy of the Seventeenth Century,*" edited by Joseph Bergin (Oxford, 2001), 11–13.

> of possible strategies open to it … At the most basic level was the choice of the form and pattern of agriculture to adopt: should it be as a tenant or as an owner? If a tenant, what sort of tenant? Should it be paying a fixed money renter, as a sharecropper, paying a fixed portion of production? Should the holding be centralized or dispersed?"[97]

Students might be invited to evaluate and critique Musgrave's interpretation, which arguably assumes a level of agency that might not be appropriate to assign, for example, to peasants in Eastern Europe. And yet, there were choices to be made. Peasants who stayed in control of their family lands and thrived in the new, dynamic economy created by the introduction of money, did so by engaging in what Musgrave has called "multi-tasking," in which peasant families augmented their cultivation of the soil with piece-work for the cloth industry (the putting-out system) or other market activities. Another area where some Europeans *do* appear to have made choices in light of current economic circumstances was in the adoption, particularly among Northern Europeans from Great Britain to the Holy Roman Empire, of what historians have termed the *European Marriage Pattern*. Statistical evidence indicates that the average age of first marriage went up significantly by the mid-17th century to about 25 years of age for women; 27–30 for men. Married couples limited their fertility by marrying late, with significantly fewer children, and some evidence, by the 18th century, of limited contraceptive practices. Parents sent children off to the cities to work in the burgeoning domestic service industry; young people postponed marriage to accumulate capital for a successful economic partnership, and incidentally lowering the number of children they might be responsible for feeding and supporting. Ten percent of women did not marry at all; and although 2 to 5 percent of births were out of wedlock, the vast majority of these women appear to have remained single and childless, supporting themselves either through work in the urban market economy, or in domestic service, as an entry of 1695 from the burial register of Schwäbisch Hall, a town in the Holy Roman Empire, near Nuremberg, describing the life of a woman named Catherina Ickermann, documents:

> "… Catherina, legitimate daughter of the late Bartholomaus Ickermannn, shoemaker, and his wife Catherina Firckin, was born about 97 years ago in Perleberg in the New Mark of the Electorate of Brandenburg, and was given in holy baptism, raised as a Christian, and sent to church and school; after the death of her beloved parents at fifteen years of age, she went into service and worked at an inn in Weissenburg, an hour from Perleberg, for twenty years; then in Hamburg at a confectioner's for ten years, then in Konigsberg in Prussia for Herr Johan Adam Hocheicher for ten years; then in Bünincken in Würtemberg in an Wimpfen for ten years; and then here for the late Herr Josias HerSigelin, innkeeper at the *Sign of the Eagle* for four years, always serving well, honestly and industriously … until … she … passed away. …"[98]

97. Peter Musgrave, *The Early Modern European Economy* (London: Macmillan Press, 1999), 3–5; 46.
98. Quoted in Friedrichs, 134.

Assessment Ideas

- Depending upon the time allotted for this, what might be recommended here would be a debate: either pairs of students or two "teams" of students, defending/arguing against mercantilist policies, or alternatively, historiographical views of the early modern economy. If the instructor wished to make the assignment a bit more comprehensive and synthetic, it might make sense to assign each student a particular thinker (Thomas Mun, Josiah Child, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Adam Smith, or even Weber and Musgrave), and let them defend their thinker's, or scholar's, position.
- As an alternative, instructors might wish to divide students into small groups, and assign each team a country — France, Great Britain or the Dutch Republic, for example — whose economic policies and interests they might trace through the pre-Revolutionary period.
- In *Europe in Crisis*, *1598–1648,* Geoffrey Parker quotes *Don Quixote*: "My grandmother," Sancho Panza remarks in Chapter 20, "used to say that there are only two families in the world: the haves, and the have nots."[99] Discuss the validity and point of view expressed in this statement.
- Do you believe this is an accurate way of describing early modern European society?
- Which analysts — either as contemporaries of the period, or as historians — would agree and which would disagree?

99. Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis*, *1598–1648* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 10–11.

XII. More Assessment Ideas: Early Modern Europe in Art

From the Internet sites at which early modern art may be viewed, which are listed below, students can collect and discuss the way in which various paintings and material objects reflect the social and economic conditions of early modern Europe. Below please find a few examples of images instructors might wish to utilize to elicit class discussion. Depending upon instructional needs, other examples might well be substituted.

Compare these images and discuss the variations between court, country and urban experience in early modern Europe. How may these paintings be related to the "discovery of childhood" as well?

This scene, painted by the Spanish artist Diego Velázquez, court painter to King Philip IV, is entitled *The Maids of Honor* (1656), from the Prado Museum in Madrid.

Velázquez's depiction of aristocratic children at court may be contrasted with this painting, entitled *Street Musicians at the Doorway of a House* (1665), by the Dutch painter Jacob Ochtervelt (Art Museum of St. Louis).

How does the image below, *A Little Beggar and a Woman Spinning*, by the Italian artist Giacomo Ceruti (1698–1767), contrast the experience of a child in poverty with the depictions in the preceding Ochtervelt painting? How does Ceruti depict the experience of vagrancy, poverty and female textile labor?[100]

Finally, how does this image, by the Dutch painter Hendrick Avercamp (1585–1634) illustrate the European experiences of the Little Ice Age?[101]

100. Gregori, *Giacomo Ceruti* (Bergamasco, 1982); the painting is in a private collection, Senigallia, Italy.
101. Hendrick Avercamp (1585–1634), *Winter.* Oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. In the "Masterpieces of the Golden Age" series at http://www.essentialvermeer.com/.

Assessment questions for a study of Dutch, Spanish, French or Italian art from this period might include:

- What do these paintings tell us, generally, about court life? About prosperity in urban and agrarian settings? About the division of labor between groups and genders?
- How did people spend their leisure time?
- What is the role of literacy in these paintings?
- How would you connect them to the religious confession of the Dutch versus that of the French or Spanish?
- What role do animals/pets play in these paintings?
- What about the representation of sickness — does this have the same resonance that it does when we observe paintings of the poor in France or Italy?

Another approach might be to organize the class into small groups and invite them to use maps, art, material objects, and literature and document sources available on the Internet to trace daily experience in the life of a family or an individual, or alternatively, the progress of a family over one or two generations, based variously in:

- Early modern London
- The English countryside
- Agrarian France
- Paris in the 18th century
- Spain
- The Italian peninsula
- Berlin
- Vienna
- Poland
- A Russian estate
- Amsterdam in the 17th century
- Venice
- Naples

Instructors might also wish to use art websites and material objects to focus upon particular cities of importance (such as Amsterdam or London) in a particular century,

assigning different groups of students with responsibilities to report on various integrated aspects of life at that time (politics, literature, scientific developments, etc.), including the economy. Instructors may wish to use different approaches — using cities, either as modules to address different course themes or as the basis for student assignments, in which students might be asked to divide into groups to prepare reports and/or presentations on either single thematic aspects of one city or on several cities.

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(NOTE: Teachers may wish to watch the film, which Davis served as a historical consultant for, and which is very entertaining — not sure it is appropriate for minor students, however.)

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Internet Resources

The Internet Modern History Sourcebook, at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook01.html.

http://eudocs.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Main_Page (This has a page with an index to a variety of primary sources online, organized by European polity).

http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/ (The Proceedings of London's Criminal Court from 1674 to 1834, with a variety of teaching resources, background material and Web links)

http://www.essentialvermeer.com/ (A website of 17th-century Dutch art)

http://www.artcyclopedia.com
(There's also a website for the 2006-07 exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum entitled "At Home in Renaissance Italy," which might be worth consulting for images, at http://www.vam.ac.uk/vastatic/microsites/1487_renaissance/.)

The website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, http://www.metmuseum.org, is an exceptionally rich source of images for material culture, furniture, and paintings of early modern Europe, as well as the market in consumer goods that would emerge by the 18th century.

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