

4. From Alexander Pope, "An Essay on Man," 1734

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;
That chang'd thro' all, and yet in all the same;
Great in the earth, as in th' ethereal frame;
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glow's in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,
Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspert;
Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part;
As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart;
As full, as perfect, in a vile Man that mourns,
As the rapt Seraphim that adores and burns:
To him no high, no low, no great, no small;
He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.

Cease then, nor Order Imperfection name:
Our proper bliss depends on what we blame.
Know thy own point: This kind, this due degree
Of blindness, weakness, Heav'n bestows on thee;
Submit.—In this, or any other sphere,
Secure to be as blest as thou canst beare:
Safe in the hand of one disposing Power,
Or in the natal, or the mortal hour.
All Nature is but Art, unknown to thee;
All Chance, Direction, which thou canst not see;
All Discord, Harmony not understood;
All partial Evil, universal Good:
And, spite of Pride, in erring Reason's spite,
One truth is clear, WHATSOEVER IS, IS RIGHT.

THE PROBLEM

Chapter 3 gave us a glimpse into the intellectual currents circulating among the educated upper classes of eighteenth-century Europe. Such groups have left historians ample evidence of their intellectual milieu in the works of figures like Voltaire as well as copious records of their lives and activities in correspondence, autobiographies, and other written sources. As a consequence, historians have been able to describe in great detail both the thought and the daily routine of Europe's opinion molders and governing classes. No matter how much influence these groups wielded, however, ultimately they represented only a small minority of the total population of their countries.

Most Europeans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were illiterate, or barely literate, and they left none of the conventional written records that have long provided historians their raw material in reconstructing the world of the privileged classes. Moreover, the majority of the population was rural, earning its living from the land, far from London, Paris, Venice, Vienna, and the other great urban centers that traditionally have attracted the research efforts of historians. Consequently we know a great deal about Voltaire as a member of the European elite, for example, but very little about the many peasants who worked his estate at Ferney—or about any other peasants, for that matter.

Only relatively recently have historians developed the methodological skills to penetrate the world of the majority of early modern Europe, the nonelites who left no written records of their own. Twentieth-century French scholars led the way in research in this area, and consequently the largest body of materials now available is devoted to France. Here two groups of French scholars have advanced our knowledge. One school associated with the historical journal *Annales: Economies, societies, civilisations*,

attempts to write "total history." Their search to understand the entirety of human existence, not just the actions of generals and kings and the thought of the great philosophers, has led them into many interesting lines of research, including studies of climatic changes and of literacy.¹ Because the ability to read and write largely defines the relationships an individual or a group forms with the wider world, the presence or absence of literacy is a fundamental issue in studying historic populations. Based on the frequency with which persons were able to sign their names to such documents as marital registers and court records, these historians have reconstructed the literacy pattern of western Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A more literate north and a less literate south characterized western Europe at this time, a regional difference that can be attributed partially to religious factors: northern European countries like England and Sweden were Protestant and emphasized individual reading of the Bible as an integral part of religious practice. Throughout Europe a direct relationship existed between the ability to read and write on the one hand and personal wealth and social class on the other.

A second school of French researchers has focused attention on historical demography, that is, the

1. The journal *Annales* espoused this approach to history from its founding in 1929 by the French historians Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre. The influence of this approach to historical study grew immensely after World War II.

historical study of population.² Because regular census data on populations is largely a nineteenth-century development, these historians have reconstructed the past by means of other data, as you will see.

The picture that emerges from these statistical studies is one of deep poverty for Europe's farming majority, a poverty that left them utterly at the mercy of nature. This is how the French demographic historian, Pierre Goubert, draws on his many years of study to describe the lifestyle of poorer French peasants in the late seventeenth century:

The humble day-labourer, with a garden, a plot of land, a couple of sheep, working seasonally for other people, spinning or woodworking at home, would live in the classic cottage, the *chaminée enjannée* (smoky cottage) spec-

2. Historical demography is a relatively new field of study, too. The major early works of the French pioneers in the field date only from the 1950s.

ified by La Fontaine,³ and these would certainly have been the commonest dwellings in France at that time. Made of stone or daub, depending on the region, but always with a solid chimney, stone surrounds for door and windows, it would be built around a simple frame of local wood, and roofed with reeds, rye straw, heather, or fern, topped with some large stones to protect the thatch from the wind. Inside there would be a single room, square or elongated (sometimes with a stable at one end). Beneath its occupants' bare feet (they put clogs on to go out) would be a floor of trodden earth, sometimes strewn with reeds or branches, all pretty well soaked with rain, damp from the walls, and chicken urine and droppings. The "hearth," the heart of the house, usually had a hook and a pot; there they warmed themselves, when the door was not open to make the chimney draw. Wind, rain, small animals, and every sort of parasite—creeping, scratching, jumping—came in all the time. Apart from cold (which they could protect themselves from by means of old cloaks, flea-ridden blankets, and *poches* [sacks]), their chief enemy was *mrsh*, fire.⁴

NAME

- ① What is the irony of "Ferney?"
- ② Who defines "groups"?
- ③ Who was the real "controller" of peasant lives?
- ④ Describe the peasant home by La Fontaine.

line graph -
 wheat
 Kivete Glavko

Combined Yield Ratios of Wheat, Rye, and Barley, 1500-1820

Period	Zone I ^a	Zone II ^b	Zone III ^c	Zone IV ^d
1600-1650	6.71	—	4.51	1.61
1650-1699	9.3	6.21	4.1	3.8
1700-1749	—	6.3	4.1	3.5
1750-1799	10.1	7.0	5.1	4.7
1800-1820	11.1	6.2	5.4	—

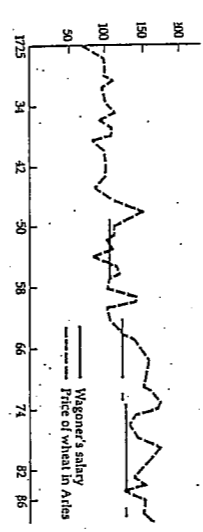
^a Zone I: England, Low Countries.
^b Zone II: France, Spain, Ireland, Scandinavia.
^c Zone III: Prussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary.
^d Zone IV: Russia, Finland.

modern U.S. "breadbasket" yield ratio = 40:1

which area of Europe are most productive?

least 4?

Contrast Between Fixed Salary of a Typical Agricultural Worker and Price of Wheat in Base-Provence, France, 1726-1789



What do you observe about long term salary trends?

Epidemics: The Plague in Southern France, 1720-1721

Place	Approximate Population	Date of First Appearance of Plague	Number of Deaths	Percentage of Population Killed
Marseille and env ¹	90,000	20 June 1720	39,331	43.7
Arles	770	2 August	210	27.3
Avignon	470	15 August	42	8.9
Septems	940	26 August	200	21.3
Gap	500	4 September	29	5.8
Nans	500	27 September	125	25.0
Auril	3,200	3 October	1,319	41.2
Villars Frances	300	9 October	12	4.0
Manigues	6,000	1 November	2,200	36.7
Arles	22,000	26 November	9,400	42.7
Oron	1,700	29 December	105	6.2
La Valade	1,600	20 February 1721	1,068	64.3
Trinquetaille les Arles	1,157	11 June	80	6.9
St. Nazaire (Genay)	1,200	1 July	51	4.2
La Roquebussane	997	14 August	201	20.1

What % of French children would die to age 10?

Infant and Child Mortality in France: Children Living to the Age of 10 Years

Brittany:	580 of 1,000
St.-Aubin (1748-1789)	510 of 1,000
La Guerche (1720-1790)	463 of 1,000
Saint-Méen (1720-1792)	463 of 1,000
Biswerve (Southwest and Normandy):	645 of 1,000
Tiretek (1747-1782)	639 of 1,000
Azerck (18th century)	627 of 1,000
Crahi (1674-1742)	627 of 1,000

What % of French children would die to age 10?

A Nutritional Balance Sheet

Protein (in grams)	Lipids (in grams)					Glucides (in grams)			Trace Elements (milligrams)			Calories			
	Bread	Cheese	Total	Bread	Butter	Cheese	Salt Lard	Total	Bread	Cheese	Total		Phosphorus	Calcium	Iron
1 45.93	1.64	47.57	5.74	4.99	1.76	10.14	22.63	287.01	0.02	287.03	1,070.62	386.26	17.26	1,576.07	89.80
2 48.00	5.01	53.01	6.00	10.14	5.37	15.21	36.72	300.00	0.71	300.71	1,171.28	486.49	18.10	1,665.51	83.20
3 67.19	4.17	71.36	8.40	12.49	4.47	30.43	55.79	420.00	0.59	420.59	1,521.65	609.79	26.15	2,359.04	82.10
4 36.55	1.97	38.52	4.55	5.99	2.11	8.11	20.76	227.83	0.02	227.85	860.10	324.65	14.20	1,195.20	88.10
5 36.77	1.97	38.74	4.59	5.99	2.11	5.99	18.68	279.87	0.02	279.89	863.85	325.90	14.34	1,386.00	80.25
6 54.30	2.05	56.35	6.78	7.60	2.21	20.28	36.87	339.43	0.03	339.46	1,230.45	418.22	20.45	1,861.28	84.10
7 61.44	1.97	63.41	7.68	5.99	2.11	12.17	27.95	384.00	0.02	384.02	1,418.70	510.85	23.09	1,955.60	90.81
8 68.08	6.82	74.90	8.51	20.28	7.30	20.28	56.37	425.50	0.97	426.47	1,607.18	683.35	26.12	2,487.01	83.04
9 63.36	1.97	65.33	6.33	10.14	2.11	20.28	38.86	396.04	0.02	396.06	1,052.79	389.12	17.86	2,163.69	86.92
10 84.75	3.94	88.69	10.59	10.14	4.22	15.21	40.76	529.71	0.04	529.75	1,979.25	735.54	32.68	2,816.25	90.60
11 61.42	2.50	63.92	7.67	7.60	2.68	15.21	33.16	383.96	0.04	384.00	1,438.39	527.66	23.71	1,998.75	93.70

ideal - 40% protein from animal origin
 necessary input ~ 1,500 cal.
 ~ 2,400 cal.
 1/3 g. of protein / 1 kg. of weight

1 pic charts

European Population Chisis of 1740-1744

INDEXES OF ANNUAL NUMBER OF DEATHS IN EUROPE, 1735-1744 (1735=1744 = 100)

Location	1735	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741	1742	1743	1744
England	89	94	102	92	93	106	118	124	98	85
Scotland	88	96	109	88	93	122	116	107	90	91
Ireland (Dublin)	93	89	94	106	93	140	119	99	93	72
France	80	93	93	96	109	123	116	111	94	83
Low Countries	83	83	95	102	93	97	99	149	98	84
Germany	84	116	114	99	98	112	110	96	92	78
Austria (Vienna)	88	112	108	118	98	111	105	105	87	69
Switzerland	86	100	115	84	85	108	100	123	112	87
Italy	94	115	96	87	86	100	107	112	108	95
Sweden	70*	82	102	92	93	108	98	118	131	76
Finland	64	75	104	85	97	157	95	136	112	74
Norway	68	74	88	83	83	92	149	187	100	83
Denmark	81	102	114	100	96	114	112	103	95	83
Unweighted average	82	96	103	94	94	115	115	117	101	81

In what year did a real crisis occur?

end: what could have allowed peasants to escape from natural famine forces? (your opinion)