

*M.A. HISTORY (First Semester)*

*Course- HIST 104*

# *Aspects of Society and Culture in Early Modern Europe, C.1450-1700*

*Lessons- 1-11*

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**Syllabus**  
**Aspects of Society and Culture in Early Modern Europe, c. 1450-1700**  
**Course-HIST 104**  
**First Semester**

**Course Description**

The fifteenth to seventeenth centuries are often claimed by historians to represent the transition between the medieval and modern world. The aim of this course is to examine this notion that the early modern era witnessed the rise of modernity. It will do so by discussing the core transformations, including the Renaissance, Reformation, Scientific and Industrial revolutions, but also those aspects of the period which do not seem that modern, like the Witch hunts and the 'bad' changes of Industrialization. Through lectures, tutorials and a particular emphasis on case studies, students will be challenged to consider just what constitutes modern and medieval thoughts and practices. Moreover, the notion of 'big events' in history and how aptly labels like 'renaissance' periodize our study of the past will be considered. In addition, commercial, agricultural and price revolutions will bring this fascinating period of history alive.

**Course Learning Outcomes Students will be able to demonstrate**

- a. A broad knowledge of the history of early modern Europe and the ways in which historians have interpreted and explained this history.
- b. Identify and use effectively a wide variety of secondary sources relevant to the study of early modern European history, and in particular to understand and critically to evaluate the arguments of historians.
- c. To comprehend the simultaneous 'distancing' of Europe from other civilizations and the modified reproduction of Europeanness in other regions of the world through colonization.
- d. To understand the transformation of Europeans manners and morals, their changing understanding of relations between divine and human orders and between natural laws and supernatural powers.
- e. To understand some implications of the association of Europe with modernity (e.g., scientific method).
- f. To become acquainted with types of historical investigation (methods) that have been used by historians of early modern Europe and that have been applied or could be applied to the study of other times and places.

**Unit-I**

1. Introduction to Early Modern Europe' and the Idea of 'Early Modernity'.
2. Renaissance: Its social roots; Humanism in art and literature: Rediscovery of classics; Developments in science and philosophy: Renaissance in Italy and beyond.
3. Protestant revolt and the Catholic reformation: European reformation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century: Catholic church at the opening of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; Protestant revolt; Lutheranism; Calvinism, Anglicanism. Catholic reformation and the counter reformation.

## Unit-II

4. Economic developments in the 16<sup>th</sup> century: Shift of economic balance from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.
5. Commercial revolution; Price revolution; Agricultural revolution and the enclosure movement.
6. Ideas and practice of Mercantilism

## Unit-III

7. Scientific Revolution of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries.
8. Revolution in Printing and Informatics.
9. European Witchcraft 'craze' of the 14<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries.

## Unit-IV

10. Transition from feudalism to capitalism.
11. Debates on the emergence of capitalism.
12. Industrial revolution and social changes.

## Essential Readings

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- Cameron, Euan (ed.), *Early Modern Europe An Oxford History* Oxford; Oxford University Press. 2001.
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### **Suggested Readings**

- Anderson M.S., *Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, New York: Holt. Rinehart and Winston. 1961.
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**Students are encouraged to access the following web pages relating to topics of this course:**

[www.library.utoronto.ca/crrs/Databases/WWW/Bookmarks.html](http://www.library.utoronto.ca/crrs/Databases/WWW/Bookmarks.html).

[www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook1.html](http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook1.html) and

[www.fordham.edu/Halsall/sbook.asp](http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/sbook.asp)

[www.earlymodernweb.org./resources](http://www.earlymodernweb.org./resources) wess.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Medieval\_and\_Renaissance\_Studies

[www.uffizi.org/artworks/](http://www.uffizi.org/artworks/)

[www.artlex.com](http://www.artlex.com) 'Northern Renaissance Art'

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# UNIT-I

## CHAPTER-1

### THE IDEA OF 'EARLY MODERNITY' AND RENAISSANCE

#### **Structure:**

- 1.1 Objective
- 1.2 Introduction
- 1.3 The idea of 'Early Modernity'
- 1.4 Renaissance
- 1.5 The social roots of the Renaissance
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 Self-check exercise
- 1.8 Glossary
- 1.9 Suggested Readings
- 1.10 Terminal Questions

#### **1.1. Objective:**

The objective of this chapter is to get an insight into the Early Modern Europe. We will first try to understand what all nations constituted the early modern Europe and how these nations were during the Middle Ages. The nations that were part of the early Modern Europe has been constituted together in this paper in order to see a wholesome picture of the Europe from the Middle Times. By the end of the chapter students should get acquainted with the ideas of Early modernity. The aim of the chapter is to make ourselves aware of the challenges and the social-system that was prevalent in the Europe. In this chapter the Renaissance has been discussed in wide details so that we can understand the effects of the Renaissance on the society and see the changes that were brought in due to the Renaissance in Europe.

#### **1.2 Introduction:**

The course titled 'Aspects of Society and Culture in Early Modern Europe c. 1450-1700' highlights the social, economic, political and intellectual developments in the western European societies between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. The Early Modern Europe has been marked as such to understand the changes, revivalism and innovations that happened in any one of the European country, which subsequently spread out to the neighbouring territories. As the revivalism, reformation and new innovations were not limited by the territories thus, their effect was felt throughout the Europe and through this paper we attempt to understand the geographical entity of Early Modern Europe as an economic, cultural and social unit in which chain reaction for revivalism and reformation and innovations was happening.

The national monarchies of modern Europe developed between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century. During these times the church and the feudal nobility was either destroyed or absorbed by the royal administration. Gradually, the central governments were growing and at the expense of the local governance and with the support of nobility Absolutism was getting established in certain parts of Europe. Spain, France and England were leading monarchies of Europe.



Spain had great geographical diversity. Charles V (1516-1556) and Philip II (1556-1598) tried to unite Spain politically with Madrid as the capital. The Atlantic powers (Castile and Portugal) which earlier belonged to the Mediterranean region were gained when the balance of trade shifted from Mediterranean to the Atlantic in the sixteenth century. During fifteenth century Castile became a dynamic and expanding society. The significance of Seville port grew and its Cantabrian fleet expanded importance of Castile's in international trade.

Similarly, the France of fourteenth century was growing in the territory and it was much larger than the twelfth century France. Philip V's right to crown was contested by Edward III of England which resulted in the Hundred Years' War (1338-1453). At end of the War, the English were driven out of the whole of France except Calais. Gradually, the lands of semi-independent vassals came under French control and the centralized government of France came in the hands of the crown. The rivals of crown such as the House of Burgandy were destroyed. The end of Black Death in the second half of the fifteenth century and early sixteenth century led to demographic recovery which brought agrarian expansion.

In 1485, the British Isles was a part of the Latin Christendom and Pope presided over it. Entire Europe faced general crisis during the 1350s to 1450s, which was leading to decline of population, massive migrations, rise in wages, and shortage of labours, changes in orientation of trade, internal conflicts, and violent revolts in rural and urban areas. From 1450s, transformation of the organisation of landholdings had far reaching results and it paved path for capitalist development of England. The development of the English wool trade led to the development of capitalism in England. Wool was the most important industrial raw material and it was first industrial occupation to transform parts of Europe in to specialised manufacturing region. Thus, the entire Europe was under transformation during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the contemporary social, cultural and economic developments were paving way for an industrialist Europe driven by the capitalist forces.

The emergence of large scale slave trade was another offshoot of the Age of Exploration. During the last half of the fifteenth century, each year about a thousandslaves were taken to Portugal. Before thisthe slaves served as domestic servants. However, with the discovery of the Americas in the late fifteenth century and the establishment of sugarcane plantations the demand for slaves changed considerably. Cane sugar was introduced to Europefrom Southwest Asia during the Middle Ages. During the sixteenth century,plantations, large agricultural farms, were set up along the coast of Brazil and onislands in the Caribbean to grow sugarcane. This increased demand forlabour. The small indigenous or Ameri-Indian population had been wiped out due to epidemic diseases imported from Europe. Thus, African slaves wereshipped to Brazil and the Caribbean to work on the plantations. In 1518, a Spanishship carried the first boatload of African slaves directly from Africa to theAmericas. During the next two centuries, the trade in slaves multiplied and becamepart of the triangular trade that marked the emergence of a new world economy.The pattern of triangular trade connected Europe, Africa and Asia, and theAmerican continents. European merchant ships carried European manufacturedgoods, such as guns and cloth, to Africa, where they were traded for a cargo ofslaves. The slaves were then shipped to the Americas and sold. Europeanmerchants then bought tobacco, molasses, sugar, and raw cotton and shippedthem back to Europe to be sold in European markets. An estimated 275,000African slaves were exported during the sixteenth century. Two

thousand went every year to the Americas alone. In the seventeenth century, the total climbed to over a million and jumped to six million in the eighteenth century. By then the trade had spread from West Africa and central Africa to East Africa. Altogether, as many as ten million African slaves were brought to the Americas between the early sixteenth and the late nineteenth centuries. This immense rise in the slave trade indicates that the demand for the labour in the plantation and other labour intense activities was ever growing and it paved way for institutionalization of the slave trade which was considered natural until Quakers, (a group of Christian reformers) began to oppose it.

### **1.3 The idea of 'Early Modernity':**

The idea of early modernity is an entry point to understand the Early Modern Europe. In 1970s the term 'early modern' gained currency in historiography. 'Early modern' is the term used by historians for the period between the end of the Middle Ages and the start of the nineteenth century. Historian Peter Burke [*Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1972) and *Economy and Society in Early Modern Europe* (1978)] and Natalie Zemon Davis [*Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (1975)] popularized the use of this term in their works. It aimed to solve the problem of periodisation. Generally, historians see it as a long period of constant change and continuity between Middle Ages and the Rise of Modern West. It was also an effort to understand the transformations in the society, culture and economy of that shaped the Europe. During the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries the 'Renaissance' attained the centre stage due to the revival of European art and literature under the influence of classical models. Many scholars objected to the use of term as it is elitist and indicates to the literary and artistic connotation as the term was rarely used by England, Germany and France. On the other hand, 'Reformation' (a religious reform movement) was another phenomenon, which engulfed and spread over large geographies of Europe. Reformation was truly European in nature, in comparison to the 'Renaissance' which was limited to certain countries. The economy and society evolving under the Renaissance' and 'Reformation' was becoming basic facts of life for the majority of Europe's people. During these centuries the religious and intellectual unity of western culture fragmented and dissolved under the impact of new ideas. In politics modern attitudes and techniques of governing emerged and examined the rise and fall of empires. Throughout these centuries the Europe witnessed transition from feudalism to capitalism, from handcrafts to mechanized industrial production, use of animate form of energy to inanimate fossil fuels, from religious uniformity to secularism, from dark ages to scientific rational age, from decentralized polities to centralized nation-states and empires and from restricted, elite dominated politics to notions of natural rights, freedom, equality, popular politics and creation of a 'public space'.

The economic expansion of the High Middle Age in Europe ended with the beginning of the fourteenth century. In between 1310 and 1340s the growth of population and increase in the agricultural production was brought to end. It was a period of scarcity and was followed by the spread of the Black Death- a catastrophic plague which spread over Europe from Constantinople and eastern Mediterranean (1347) to Italy, Spain, France, followed by Switzerland, Austria, Germany in 1349, and finally in Scandinavia and Poland in 1350. The average loss of population was estimated at forty percent. The agricultural crisis caused by the Black Death resulted in a relative increase of towns and cities. The mass exodus from the

countryside led to the emergence of significant towns like Antwerp, Florence, Venice, Barcelona, London, Lyons and many others. Many trading organisations like Hanseatic League and Merchant Adventurers were also formed. Overall, the Europe of fifteenth century was divided into different regions on the basis of its geographical features. The various relief measures and policy changes allowed for expansion of economy. The absence of desert made large tracts available for purpose of agriculture. The abundance of iron and coal (two most important mineral wealth's) facilitated the industrial growth. The advantage of mid-land position being surrounded with water on all the sides was also connecting it with the other countries of globe by sea. With economic expansion the European countries strengthened their navy and reached distant lands. In these lands they were successful in establishing the economic and political supremacy.

During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries many elemental changes occurred in the Europe. Speaking linguistically, we may also say that the 'early modern' was the period when 'modernity' was introduced and assimilated into English usage. *Arithmetical Military Treatise* (1579) was the first publication which included a long section on 'modern military' matters. In the field of ideas, this time saw a rekindling of interest in the writings of scholars from ancient Greece and Rome. During this time the observation also became basis of knowledge. In the early modern period the new way of observing nature and experimenting with them as tool of knowledge also emerged, though in rudimentary form. During this time Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) proposed the model of the solar system with the sun at the centre while the planets revolved around it. The development of printing press aided the spread of new ideas. The development of printing using movable type was devised by Johannes Gutenberg (c.1398–1468) in the 1450s. During these centuries in religion, the power of the Catholic Church was challenged through criticism of its theology and practices, which ultimately led to the emergence of new Protestant churches. Around the same time, Europeans discovered cultures beyond Europe; the best-known voyage was led by Christopher Columbus (1451–1506). This series of development was called the Renaissance- new ideas of liberal humanism.

#### **1.4 Renaissance:**

The term Renaissance is an Italian word that simply means 're-birth'. The beginning of Renaissance can be traced from the 'Black Death' or early fourteenth century. Its end can be marked in the early sixteenth century. The origin of this term goes back to the writings of Giorgio Vasari (1511-74), an Italian art theorist, who used the term *rinascitato* to describe the proceedings of two centuries. Renaissance created the condition for the making of a new world. In historical context, it implied a momentous cultural movement marked by revival of interest in the classical age of the Romans and the Greeks. These two centuries witnessed grave political turmoil, ravages from incessant warfare and natural calamities, but in certain parts of Europe it was period of culture. The Renaissance was marked by the emergence of a new culture with roots in Italian humanism and revival of the cultural accomplishments of the classical period. It marked the remarkable outpouring of intellectual and artistic energy and

talent that accompanied the transition of Europe from the Middle Ages to the modern epoch. The Renaissance was one of the most significant movements in European history as it effected a change in man's attitude towards the problem of human existence. Its period ranges between 1330-1530 AD. The contributions of Renaissance to the emergence of modernity in early modern Europe has been for many years an appropriate entry point to the history of the modern world. In sixteenth century Europe a new view of man as a creative individual possessing the power to shape his destiny without depending upon god became a major inspiration for social thinking and political action. This spirit shaped the idea of renaissance humanism. Michelangelo's painting of the creation of Adam in the Sistine Chapel, in an artistic sense was a celebration of newly discovered greatness of man. The idea of a free and creative man was not a consequence of renaissance thought process. Reformation that followed Renaissance made a distinct contribution to the spirit of self-consciousness by privatizing the religious practises and Protestantism.

The Italians believed that the Middle Ages were times of unrelieved darkness, blind faith, economic stagnation and constant fighting. They also upheld the belief that during this time art and literature had fled Europe which marked death of high culture of the past. Thus, through Renaissance they sought to transform all aspects of life like social, cultural, political and intellectual. The scholars of Renaissance were critical of intellectual movement called Scholasticism that preceded Renaissance. Alister E. Mcgrath observed that scholasticism was probably one of the most despised intellectual movements in human history. Scholasticism was an academic movemet that flourished between 1250-1500 AD. The University of Paris became its main centre, although it also spread into other parts of Europe. The scholastic writings that developed during this movement were usually long and argumentative, based on logic, philosophy and theology.

The writers of the Enlightenment described the medieval period as a period of blind faith and superstition that was brought to an end by the rationalistic spirit of the Renaissance. Voltaire highlighted the intellectual content of the Renaissance and believed that it promoted the spirit of independence and brought about the re-birth of vernacular literature and fine arts. In *Essays on Manner*, Voltaire wrote that the sixteenth century was a time when nature produced some extraordinary men in almost all the fields. As per Peter Burke, the writers of Enlightenment gave two reasons for this phenomenon, primarily liberty and opulence of the Italian states. The Enlightenment writers believed that liberty encouraged commerce that in turn encouraged culture and commerce and all form of arts. Despite criticism, *Die Kultur des Renaissance in Italien*(1860) of Jacob Burckhardt is still the best analysis of the Renaissance. He credits Renaissance for relating culture to society. Karl Marx and Engels saw the Renaissance as a relation between the art and economy. They suggest that the base economy shaped the cultural superstructure and that is the relationship between cultural production and material production. Writers namely, E. Garin, Michael Baxandall, Hans Baron, Friedrich Antal and Paul Oscar proposed a social interpretation of Renaissance.

### **1.5 The social roots of the Renaissance:**

In Middle Ages the society mainly consisted of three major social orders, namely- the clergy, the nobility and peasants, serf-cultivators and artisans constituted the lower flank of the society. This hierarchy and unequal ranking was legally recognised by the religious-normative order. Nobility was differentiated from within which included kings with big estates, various castles and the minor nobles had single houses with estates. During the early modern period the groups of traders, merchants and manufacturers grew in number and importance but they were of no significance during the middle ages as they are not included in the stratification of the society. The nobles continued to dominate the the social elite in the early modern western society due to their landed property, political position and influence. Merchants and bankers also joined the league of these nobles during the early modern times. The wealth was shifting out of the hands of nobles and some merchants and bankers were richer than the nobles. These changes were pushing the society towards slow and long transformations. With theses the institute of serfdom also weakened and no longer were peasant cultivators a homogenous group. The society was also dividing along the gender lines. The early modern west was a patriarchal society, where men dominated the world of trade and politics and women were confined to the domestic arenas. Elite women also performed similar type of services with large battery of servants who were hired to render the services. At times the elite women were entrusted with the duties of managing the estates while the male owner of estate was away for war or business.

Renaissance was mainly a product of an urban environment. It grew and prospered in the regions that had important cities and towns. Renaissance products and culture was the product of an interesting and curious world of Italian city states. Italy became the centre for spreading out of Renaissance due to its exceptionally large number of towns in the Northern and Central Italy. Its urban life was more dynamic and sophisticated in comparison of any other European country. Renaissance was work of hundred of artists and gifted men, but it remained strongest in the four cities of Florence, Milan, Rome and Venice. Florence produced remarkable number of gifted artists, while Rome and Milan patronised these artists being wealthier. The social structure of these towns was egalitarian. The Renaissance flourished in Italy due to the support and patronage of the Popes, princes, cardinals and merchants. Fifteenth century Italy was rich enough to support an extravagant and self-indulgent merchant aristocracy. The high degree self-consciousness and economic buoyancy possessed by the urban centres of Northern Italy reflected in construction of churches and public buildings and the emergence of universities as centres of learning. This urban society was based on individual property and private contract. The lawyers and notaries were the most important groups as they were educated and dealt with the commercial and industrial activities due to their mastery of Roman law and Latin (language). They quoted from the classical and Christian authors and, also developed interest in language, literature, customs of antiquity and institutions.



The principal social groups mainly consisted of three categories. The *nobli, principali, grandi* or 'the first citizen' were the richest man at the top of the social strata. Being the first citizens they monopolised political power and kept all the principal official posts with themselves. These people were widely travelled and well educated who lived in magnificent houses in the heart of the city. The next strata was called *mezzani* which consisted men of moderate means such as shopkeepers, bankers, wine sellers, druggists, artists, lawyers, civil servants and teachers. The *mezzani* were people with resources but their role and participation in the government was limited. Manual labour and domestic servants constituted the largest section but they were excluded from the political power.

Religion still occupied important place and the art of the times reflects that the Christianity was still the traditional faith of artists. The society was still aristocratic and it offered economic, intellectual and political opportunities to only a few. Reminder of the great past provided by the ruins of temples and villas served the reason for Italian origin of Renaissance. Rome was the centre of it. For centuries these were destroyed but in the fifteenth century the pope ordered their excavation and preservation and appreciated these classical remains. Italians looked back nostalgically to the classical world of Rome and Greece. Brunelleschi (the greatest architect of Renaissance) frequently travelled to Rome to measure the ruins of temples and palaces. The cultural and intellectual activities in Italy were greatly influenced through the sources of antiquity which were transmitted from the Byzantine Empire through the scholars, theologians and the merchants of Venetia and Genoa. This paved for the grand union of Roman and Greek cultures. The penetration of Greek into Italy happened through various direct (commercial links with Byzantine empire) and indirect sources (envoys, scholars).

The Renaissance Italy was not only obsessed with power and war but also with furtherance of art. Merchants, prince and despots were competing for the services of the great artists- architects, sculptors, painters and scholars. Many cultivated a princely style and spent generously to popularise their patterns and rule. The patrons also spent to attain popularity and benefit their community. The governments of city states built city halls to promote civic pride. In the same spirit, the town councils built and renovated streets, public squares, lodges and public buildings. To communicate the political idea the city of Siena demonstrated the use of art. This competition of wealth ended up in building of chapels and commissioning of public works of art. In this flow many sculptures, hospitals, guilds, churches were designed. The interior were decorated with beautiful paintings, portraits, gem collections and their libraries displayed a vast collection of ancient manuscripts and famous works. Many patrons treated sculptors and painters as men of mechanical skill or merely skilled artisans. Cosimo de Medici considered them as men of genius. Gradually, the artists gained reorganization due to the large number of recruitments from the middle-class for major projects. As the patronage became competitive the art became costlier. The renaissance society was meant for rich men, rich cities, and rich popes. Thus, to maintain the expanses of a costly society an active trade and profitable commerce was essential. The people of Florence especially revered the wisdom, grace, philosophy and literature of antiquity. The wealthy people of Venice, Florence, Milan

and Rome nurtured the genius. The presence of wealth in Italian towns was an important factor of heavy and intense investment in culture which led to the emergence of the Renaissance. By the thirteenth Century, the Italian economy because of its large scale commercial activities became the most prosperous region in the whole of the Europe.

The merchant banker and craftsmen organised their political and social life around the economic activities. A lot of new families arose as a result of the expansion of trade and commerce. Apparently they started demanding a share in the political power and it became cause of disunity amongst the old rich and new wealthy groups. This rift converged into popular revolts in which the growing class of small shopkeepers, and skilled artisans also participated. In some places temporary dictatorship also emerged due to the support of the victorious *popolani*. After these developments Florence and Venice developed into large territorial states.

During the fifteenth century most of the Italian states became victims of the hereditary rule of the princely families and the princely aristocracy monopolized the patronage. Hereafter, Renaissance flourished only in the courts of Italian rulers and in the Papal courts. From the late fifteenth century, the Renaissance pope began to implement specific ideological programmes to emphasise their role not only as spiritual leaders of Christianity but also as temporal lords of the central Italian state. At the same time a few cities were war-torn and both trade and population were declining. The constant unrest turned the Renaissance historians and philosophers into supporters of tyranny as it ensured peace and order.

The states of fourteenth and fifteenth century hired mercenaries to fight their wars. The *Condottieri* commanded these mercenaries and sold their services to the highest bidder. War for profit was their business. Later these mercenaries failed against the national armies of Spain and France due to the inability of Italian city states to unite and provide self-defence against the foreigners. Milan, the capital of Lombardy was located in the fertile and prosperous plains. It was war torn due to invasions. Milan developed wool, cotton, fustian, velvet and silk industries. The neighbouring satellite cities of Lombardy and Verona provided metallurgical goods. The three dukes of Milan created a state, equal in power and wealth to Florence and Venice. Thus it became epitome of the Renaissance state. The prosperity of Florence was depending upon commerce, industry and banking. It was mainly a money market. Textiles and banking provided Florence its economic character. Its wool industry was huge and mainly an export industry. *Arti* (guilds) was source of wealth and strength of Florence which drew merchants and skilled craftsmen together. The fine cloth manufacturer merchants, wool merchants, silk weaver banker, notaries, druggists and furriers were main guilds. The city state of Venice was the core state of a smaller Mediterranean regional economy and was centre of trade, finance and textile production. Venice also had an imperium stretching into the Adriatic Venice was well connected to other regional centres of economy like Bruges in Flanders, by an overland trade route via the Rhine and the Alps. Its merchant's fleets serviced the Mediterranean transportation. Its navy provided defence against the rivals. Venice was a thriving metropolis and the fall of Constantinople didn't affect it negatively. The decline of Venice set in when the European centre of trade shifted from the Mediterranean and the Baltic to the Atlantic. Genoa

was a city of sea like Venice and it possessed a commercial empire in eastern Mediterranean. Genoa mainly influenced the Black sea region. Genoa possessed Corsica and Sardinia in west Mediterranean and had bases all along the Barbary Coast. Gradually, they moved towards the Atlantic. Their inventive spirit led to the maritime insurance and the great joint stock company. Venetians and Genoese also developed the ship building industry. Genoa lost its independence during the sixteenth century. It is important to note that the political and military power of the Genoa declined however, its oceanic navigation continued to grow but with a different partnership.

It is evident that the commercial revolution of the late Middle Ages had a profound impact on the society. The rise in the numbers of fairs, physical expansion of cities, enhanced output of books, and growth of urbanisation and population are some evidences to highlight it. The commercial revolution was not simply expansion of trade. It also ensured inventions, diffusions, perfection of holding companies, introduction of cashless transactions using bills of exchange, contracts for marine insurance, advanced book-keeping techniques, accounting, expansion of the long distance trade, international banking, commercial and industrial partnerships. The facility of multiple party payments in distant locations helped in faster execution of the orders. The financial inventions, virtues and facilities allowed the merchants to come together and form companies to make trade much more profitable in order to enrich themselves.

Institutions have always played important role as an underpinning factor in any social change. The economic transformation of the region also facilitated the establishment of the first university in Bologna in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Many more universities were established in the coming centuries. Huff argues that the European university was an institution that was uniquely suited to promote technical education and it was a turning point in the history of European science. Gradually, University graduating degree became a marker of professional elite and the graduates engaged in cure of souls, legal practise, government administration, medical care and education. Universities of the Early Modern period provided education in arts, theology, law and medicine. With these changes the formal expansion and development of the legal institutions and state administrative systems became the demand of the time.

In fifteenth century the European economy was coming out of the shackles of the middle ages. The effect of the 'Black Death' which devastated the continental Europe in the previous century was still having a massive impact. The urban centres formed new associations and entered new markets. In the last decade of the fifteenth century saw the Portuguese discovered the routes across Cape of Good Hope in to the Asia's markets and the discovery of Americas was another adventure of the times. Before the explorations and discoveries of routes, the ships still sailed within the sight of the coast. A gradual rise in the number of vessels and volume of trade became possible with the discoveries of the fifteenth century. The better use of sail power was becoming possible with the increased number of masts and development of cartography which helped in eliminating the errors and lowered the risks of navigation. This gave rise to the use of Atlantic seaboard which gradually broke the dominance of the Mediterranean sea route.



## 1.6 Summary:

This unit has attempted to explain the 'idea of Early Modernity' as it was shaping in the Europe and the various developments around it. It has also highlighted the Renaissance and the different ways in which Renaissance created conditions for making a new and different world. The renaissance is seen as a period of revival of antiquity, and vast range of human pursuits from literature, education, writings of history and art, architecture, music and civic virtues. The social roots of the Renaissance were the cause for success of the renaissance as we have studied in this chapter. In the next unit we, will read about the Humanism and its various aspects.

## 1.7 Self-check exercise:

1. What do you understand by the Early Modernity?

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2. How can you define the Early Modern Europe?

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3. What is Renaissance?

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4. Define the social-root of Renaissance and how far do you think they were effective?

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5. What were the elemental changes in Europe during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century?

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### 1.8 Glossary:

- *Condottieri*: Italian Captains in command of mercenary companies during the Middle Ages and of multinational armies during the early modern period. Notably, they served the Popes and the other European monarchs on payment basis. They were also active during Renaissance and the European wars of religion.
- *Grandi*: were the 'the first citizen' and the richest man who were at the top of the social strata. Being the first citizens, they monopolised political power and kept all the principal official posts with themselves. They were also called *nobli* and they were most widely travelled and well educated people and had magnificent houses in the heart of the city.

### 1.9 Suggested Readings:

- Hale, J. R., *Renaissance Europe: The Individual and Society, 1480-1520*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1971.
- Burckhardt, Jacob, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1981.
- Johnson, Paul, *The Renaissance*, London, 2020.
- Kekewich, Lucille (ed.), *The Renaissance in Europe: A Cultural Enquiry (The Impact of Humanism)*, Oxford, 2000.
- Munck, Thomas, *The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History*, London, 2000.
- Kramer, Loyd and Sarah Maza (eds.), *A Companion to western Historical Thought*, Oxford, 2002.

### 1.10 Terminal Questions:

1. What was the role of the Institutions in Renaissance?
2. Discuss the social-roots of the Renaissance?
3. Critically examine the idea of early Modernity?
4. What social changes were mobilized by the Renaissance?
5. How can you define the Early Modern Europe and its Middle Ages?

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## **CHAPTER-2**

### **HUMANISM AND REDISCOVERY OF CLASSICS**

#### **Structure:**

- 2.1 Objective
- 2.2 Introduction
- 2.3 Humanism
- 2.4 Humanism in Art and Literature
- 2.5 Humanism: A movement within Renaissance
- 2.6 Rediscovery of Classics
- 2.7 Development of science and philosophy
- 2.8 Renaissance in Italy and beyond
- 2.9 Music
- 2.10 Summary
- 2.11 Self-check Questions
- 2.12 Glossary
- 2.13 Suggested Readings
- 2.14 Terminal Questions

#### **2.1 Objective:**

This unit will explain the coming of the Humanism. It will also attempt to show the development of Humanism in Art and Literature. We will also try to understand Humanism a major happening of the Early Modern Europe and how it made long term effect on the society and the culture of Europe. The Principles that developed during the humanism guided the Europe till late nineteenth century. Humanism also paved the way for the individualism and the expression of self. The overall aim of the unit is to get an understanding about the Humanism and its effects into the art, literature and Music. Expression has dominated the humanism and it created a social milieu which became the learned group of the Europe and they set a new social life for the Europe. The unit will also highlight the reach of Humanism outside Italy and its major contributions to England, France and Netherlands.

#### **2.2 Introduction:**

The Italian Renaissance had two important phenomenon's, first was a renewed interest in classical Latin and Greek and second was the visual arts. These interests were not limited to the men of Renaissance. And they were also not confined to Italy. Humanism as a cultural movement was involved with the rediscovery and study of the ancient Greek classics and Roman texts. The humanists wanted to restore and interpret these classics. They were also eager to collect and assimilate the ideas that were derived from the classics. The humanists had wide range of academic interests and a huge community of them was inclined towards the

art, literature and music. Various developments guided the humanists. The Italian humanists had a different status in comparison of the other country members of humanist movement. All these factors will be discussed in unit ahead.

### **2.3 Humanism:**

The word humanist is derived from the Latin word *humanitas*, used by Cicero and other mainly for the values that were derived from liberal education. The renaissance in Italy consisted of two important phenomena: a renewed interest in classical Latin and Greek which was associated with humanism and the visual arts that attained glory during this time. Burckhardt and George Voigt saw Renaissance humanism as a phenomenon linked to the Italian politics and society. Scholars like P.O. Kristeller and others saw detached from social context. They considered it an academic group which was mainly concerned with the traditional humanist subjects. An academic jargon *unamistaw* was used by the Italians to describe a teacher or a student of the classical literature and arts. Soon it attained the nature of academic movement of the educated elite and the intellectuals and was known as Humanism. Gradually, Humanism became a vehicle of cultural transformation in the western Europe.

The primary characteristic of Humanism was the new pattern of historical consciousness. The sense of being deeply engaged in the restoration of the true civilization after many centuries of barbarianism was first promoted by the leading poet Petrarch. The other leading personalities of the times were writers like- Salutati, Poggio, Valla, Ficino. A certain consciousness of the novelty of their time turned the great figures of renaissance into believers in progress. No doubt poet Petrarch was the first great figure, the real founder of new culture, who tried to bring back to life the inner spirit of ancient Roman Civilization. His love for ancient Latin literature was dovetailed with a reputation of the inherited medieval culture.

### **2.4 Humanism in Art and Literature:**

Petrarch's dream of a cultural and moral regeneration of Christian society was the union of eloquence and philosophy which had important implications on the education. In late medieval and renaissance Italy, there were three types of schools other than the universities and schools conducted by religious orders exclusively for members of their own order. The teachers taught those subjects to the students for which their parents paid. They were mainly tuition-fee paying pupils. Many towns in Northern Italy also organised community schools, in which the local government selected and hired a school master, who was bound by very special contract to teach certain subjects up to a certain level. Communal Schools also appeared in the thirteenth century. Despite the growth of Humanism in the fourteenth century the syllabus/ curriculum in the schools didn't change much. This medieval curriculum aroused the contempt of Petrarch and virtually all later humanists, who attacked this curriculum on the ground that most of its content was inadequate and that its moral indoctrination had no relevance in the lives of the citizens of Italian cities. Leonardo Bruni acknowledged that it was Petrarch who had outlined a programme of study by which the classic idea will be achieved. The humanists also insisted on the mastery of the classic Latin and Greek, so the ancient authors can be studied directly rather than with the support of the medieval commentary.

The interest in classical literature was neither confined to Italy nor to the Renaissance. Nicholas Mann pointed out that the twelfth century French Culture was permeated by classical material and even vernacular literature came to bear its influence. By the end of the century three romances namely *Roman de Thebes*, *Eneas* and *Roman de Troie* and many other short stories were published that were based on the ancient text. The efforts of John of Salisbury an outstanding English scholar of the times didn't bear any results because the feudal and agrarian economy was the greatest obstacle to the development of the intellectual movement. The themes that were popularised by John of Salisbury initially were later popularised amongst the Italian Humanist. The Italian states had a large urban population consisting of educated laymen, lawyers and civil servants. It was this class that promoted the ideas of Humanism. The Italian humanists used their knowledge of classical literature to raise the standard of eloquence. Rhetoric served them as an art of public speech. It was used for writing business and official letter. The humanists held influential positions as teachers, secretaries, chancellors to rulers and communes, diplomats of state. As an elite class they wielded great influence over state matters. Largely they were secular and many of them were laymen. There were many centres of humanist learning all over Italy. Florence, Padua, Vicenza and Verona were most popular centres. France was also a great centre for humanist activities that had bearing of Italian humanism. Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) represented the transition in literature from the medieval to the Renaissance period. His extraordinary work *Divine Comedy* was full of wit and subtle criticism of the contemporary society. Although his life was rooted in religion, however his writings reflected deep interest in all the aspects of human life. Dante was eminent scholar. He could write in Latin, French and German, but he choose to write in Italian in order to expand the cultural horizons of the humanistic world. Though Petrarch was a great admirer of Dante, however he choose to develop craze for the classical authors.

The humanists taught in a variety of ways. Some found their own school where students could study the new curriculum at both elementary and advanced level, some humanists managed to find their way into universities where teaching continued to be dominated by law, medicine and theology and the humanist curriculum had a peripheral presence. Majority of these teachers attained their mission by teaching in grammar schools. Formal education was not the only way through which they shaped the minds of their age. The other modes for transmission of humanist ideas were literature, art and drama.

## **2.5 Humanism: A movement within Renaissance:**

This new culture has been known as humanism since the nineteenth century. Though it appeared nowhere in the writings of the Renaissance period. The term *humanistic studies* did exist implying academic subjects favoured by humanists. In the first half of fifteenth century, the term 'humanistic' designated masters who taught academic subjects like grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, archaeological studies, philological studies of written records, philosophy of epic poems of past, translation and commentaries of original manuscripts, creative and visual arts, jurisprudence, medicine, mathematics and moral philosophy. Renaissance humanism was conceived as 'a new philosophy of life' or a glorification of human nature in secular terms. The interest of humanists ranged in and various other branches of the social sciences.

The school masters did a lot to grow the influence of Latin grammar. Latin grammar schools in Italian towns did much to establish humanism as the major force in Italian culture. Another source for growing dominance of humanism was the new art of printing. By 1500, many classical texts were printed in Italy mostly in Latin. With the printing technology the production of texts enhanced, standardised editions of the classics also became possible and it also eased the dissemination of the new editions. Standardization typeface made reading an easier activity because reader no longer had to deal with idiosyncrasies of another person's handwriting. The frequent errors made by the scribal copyists were eliminated and thus thousands of people could had access to the error-free standard editions. As the printing increased the number of books, thus the cost of the books also fell which exposed students to a new kind of learning instead of solely depending on lectures. The printed books with new ideas easily reached a large number of readers. Idea, opinions and information moved more widely, rapidly and freely than ever. No doubt in the fifteenth century, the Printed books was one of the main reasons for the spread of humanistic culture rapidly across the Alps. What changed in the Early Modern West was the arrival of the Gutenberg Printing Press and movable prints. With this literacy became mass phenomena. Roger Chartier has traced the social history of book. With the innovation of the printing press new categories of 'author', 'book' and 'work' came into being and helped in creating communities of readers and 'libraries'. The geographical extent of the literacy was high in North and North-west Europe.

The renaissance also promoted the secular opening. It was an important feature of Renaissance. With renaissance the religions was loosing control over the human life. Thus it created conditions for the emergence of the secular ideology. The secular opening of humanism basically challenged the Christian faith or the Catholic orthodoxy. Scholars of humanism themselves doubted the spirituality of the religion. However, many of them never shunned Christianity or never declared themselves atheist. Petrarch, objected to the Italian scholasticism on the grounds that it was too religious and materialistic and at times subversive of the teachings of church. Salutati did ensure active secular life for most of the people and followed that course in his life, but he himself respected the monastic ideals. During these times, Italians were attracted to wealth, power and glory even then the people in the towns of Italy supported the secular morality. FranscecoBarbaro, a Venetian humanist of first generation wrote attract concerning marriage which repudiated the traditional ideas of poverty and defended acquisition of wealth as virtue. BraccioliniPoggio (1380-1459) also defended acquisition of wealth and even advocated for usury that has always been condemned by orthodox Christianity. MatteoPalmiry upheld the superiority of an active life over one of contemplation. All these supporters of secular ideas regarded marriage, wealth and politics as natural and worthy of pursuit. But they were yet not anti-Christian. The glorified presentation of the secular life was more a literary reflection of the changing social attitude. These classical studies have contributed to the glorification of human nature, even though thee humanists were aware of the fragility of human nature.

The humanist programme was propounded by Petrarch and it developed under Coluccio Salutati, along with a group of intellectuals led to the ideology of civic humanism. Cicero served as a source of inspiration in the development of civic humanism. These scholars believed that an active life in civic matters does not put hurdles in the development of intellectual strength but it actually stimulates it. As per them through participation in state affairs an individual grows to maturity, both intellectually and morally. As preparing men the civic humanists saw promotion of public virtues as their task and make the government and administration promote republican qualities.

## **2.6 Rediscovery of Classic:**

Petrarch developed craze for the classical authors. He mastered the art of rhetoric from ancient works and developed love for poetry. This learning's had a great bearing on his writings. He promoted secular world and remained active in public life as a politician and diplomat. His passion for classics influenced subsequent generations of scholars and here onwards study of texts became one of the chief activities for all the humanists. Giovanni Boccaccio was friend and disciple of Petrarch. The later also influenced him. *Canzoniere* is Petrarch's best known vernacular poetry and sonnets. His reputation as a humanist rests on his Latin works. He revealed great love for learning and unbound enthusiasm for classical studies. He regularly criticised the society in which he lived and was disgusted with the war and urban violence. He popularised the expression 'Dark Ages' that separated his times from classical age. He considered and highlighted the classical literature as a vehicle of reforms. For him the study of classics was a way to means not an end itself. He suggested series of changes and reforms in the classical and ancient values and style. His reforms greatly inspired the Italian intellectual life and apparently contributed for its transformation.

Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444) recreated the history of the Roman Republic in his writings and suggested for adoption of the virtues of the Roman state by Florence. During the period of High Renaissance the interest was growing in classical models of literature and arts. A few classical works of Plautus, Terence, Seneca and Horace were copied and adapted. Ludovico Ariosto emerged as the greatest literary genius. He wrote in both, Latin and vernacular. His satire revealed grace, elegance and simplicity. A romantic epic titled *Orlando Furioso* is his greatest work. Count Castiglione was another outstanding prose writer of high renaissance. He wrote *Book of the courtiers* that became extremely popular amongst the ruling class. He wrote in Latin as well as Italian. Most of the humanists had a deep insight into human behaviour. Despite their differences they all laid stress on the elegance of writing, speech and morality and stressed on the uniqueness of man, his feelings and his potential. Many humanist writers adopted Latin because of its beauty of expression; on the other hand Greek was used more for conveying ideas. In comparison of Latin Greek studies developed little later. The experts of Greek stressed the need for the Greek studies which include the writings of Plato, Sophocles, Euripides, Thucydides etc. Famous humanist intellectuals Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Mirandola helped Cosimo de Medici in Florence to set-up the Platonic Academy. This academy made significant contributions to ideas and activities in the public sphere. Members of this society



celebrated Plato's political ideas and translated his works. Marsilio Ficini translated Plato's work into Latin in context of Christian traditions by highlighting the dignity of man. For him everything was hierarchical from the lowest matter to God. The academy helped to legitimize the position of Medicis and offered justification for increasing professionalism in government. For the humanist scholars the ancient Greek literature represented an ideal wisdom. The growing enthusiasm for Greek Philosophy was not confined to Plato and Aristotle but also included the Stoics, Epicureans and Eclectics. The revival of the classics was one single platform that united all the humanists.

Revival of antiquity is one of the most significant contributions of the humanists. They recovered and restored the oldest classics literature in purest form and made it available for the seekers. They tried to recover the classics that have been ignored by the medieval scholars. The popular scholars who searched the classics single mindedly during renaissance were Niccolo de Niccoli, Lorenzo Valla, Braccionlini, Guarino de Verna, Giovanni Aurispa. Humanists introduced the concept of periodization of history. They also made major contributions in the writings of history. The humanists rejected the concept of universal history. They introduced the idea of natural causation in history and the Italian humanists established modern historical scholarship. The creation of the idea of liberal education led to the foundation of disciplines like numismatics and epigraphy. Many humanist scholars wrote history works the most popular amongst them are the works of Leonardo Bruni (*History of the Florentine People*) and Francesco Biondo (*History Since the decline of the Romans*). The vernacular literature developed in the middle Ages but in limited form. The influence of Latin has elevated and purified the vernacular writings/literature. Still, the role of the humanist in the developing the vernaculars was significant. Petrarch was writing in both Latin and vernacular. It was his works (*Africa* and *The Second Punic War*) that marked the emergence of Italian as language of people. Italian as a language has evolved from old Tuscan language. Thus, a strong interest in the Tuscan language in the Florentine academic circle in late fifteenth century transformed it into Italian language under influence of Lorenzo de Medici and his court as it gained greater acceptability. With this revival Petrarch's poems became accessible to his admirers as he also expressed his ideas into Tuscan. A very high quality Italian vernacular literature emerged in later half of the fifteenth century.

For humanists education was an important means to propagate a new view of man. As per them rhetoric was a good training for the political life. Humanist introduced certain changes in the education curriculum and produced treatises on educational theory. Poggio Bracciolini discovered a treatise on education in 1416. These changes were also not confined to Italy. Many private, municipal and provincial schools adopted the educational programmes of the humanists. The reforms in handwriting were another introduction by the humanists. They also emphasised on physical education as they believed in the idea of a sound mind in a sound body. However, the greatest shortcoming of these education programmes was that the girls were not included in it, although the Italian humanists had been propagating the idea of freedom for the fullest development of individual personality.



The new vision of man as imagined by the renaissance was presented by artists. The birth of archaeology in the fifteenth and sixteenth century was an important development. Numerous works of art were discovered in the ruins of ancient Rome. Its result was the perfectly proportioned men and women as a multitude of paintings and sculptures. New ideal type human being was created which has captured imaginations throughout the ages. Early in the fourteenth century life like fresco of Giotto Bardi has brought about significant changes in the artistic visualization of human figure breaking away from the mechanical style of the Middle Ages. The nude figure of David made by Italian sculptor Donatello in 1416 broke new ground. Another well known work on the same subject was made by Michelangelo in 1503. During these times Leonardo da Vinci painted Mona Lisa which has remained an outstanding symbol of the female beauty in modern times. Besides secularism and individualistic aspects the age of Renaissance was also realistic. The paintings prepared during Renaissance attempted to represent everything as it appeared. During fourteenth and fifteenth century, in the first phase of humanist culture, the painters attempted to reproduce reality casting off preconceived ideas about what is morally and religiously accepted. The paintings incorporated distance, depth and colour in order to make them more realistic. In sculptures people were individualized with recognizable faces. The body represented in sculpture and painting now represented an independent and free personality, displaying certain pride in the beauty of body. Sculpture of St. George bronze copy of a marble statue by Donatello made in 1415 is a remarkable example of it. Now women were also seen as individual personas. The paintings and sculptures that served the religious purposes were also made to arouse an appropriate devotional reaction in the viewer, like Madonna with a child created by the Italian painter Raphael. The huge frescos, mosaics and statues that adorned walls and ceilings and cupolas in churches are other significant contributions of the times.

Overall it can be proposed that the Italian humanism emphasised on individualism, dignity of man to realise individual potentiality, secularism, revival of Latin and Greek, promotion of vernacular literature, study of history and new approach to philosophy.

## **2.7 Development of science and philosophy:**

The age of Reason marked a sharp break from the past. The enlightened men were not irreligious nor atheist but they bitterly opposed the intolerance of the institution of Christianity. They challenged them by articulating a conception of man, history and nature that relied heavily upon the discoveries made in natural sciences. The thinkers of enlightenment aspired and expressed optimism that came with the advancement of material and scientific knowledge. The popular writers who progressed the thought that freedom, liberty and happiness will prevail over all else were Voltaire, Diderot, Alenbert, Condorcet, Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, David Hume, Christian Wolff, Immanuel Kant and Marchese di Baccaria. The scientific discoveries of Copernicus, Kepler and Newton and their applications by Galileo led them to believe that human beings could fully understand functioning of universe and gain an unprecedented degree of control over their natural and physical environment. This sentiment was further reinforced

by the changes that were taking place in traditional organisation of life. The theorists of the enlightenment were convinced about the achievements and superiority of their age as they have seen the shift from dark middle ages into modern times. More specifically, the philosophers of France (*Philosophes*) were claiming that there has been a tangible and undeniable advancement in every sphere of life since the reformation. For Chastellux, the rise in population, growth of knowledge, advancements and progress in agriculture, trade and industry are all indicators of the increase in felicity. According to Kant, Civilization provided a setting in which men can test and prove their freedom. However, happiness was not the main issues as it varies as per the aspirations of the person. The belief that man had advanced from the barbarous rusticity to the politeness of our age was the characteristic of the enlightenment.

The enlightenment focused on her and now and saw unprecedented growth, accompanied by moral and intellectual liberation of man. Scholars like Johnson and Dugald Stewart have also contributed to the thought of enlightenment. Technological innovations that accompanied capitalism meant that a man was released from the bondage of mechanical labour and free to cultivate the mind. Thus, the age of enlightenment was seen as an age of progress where unprecedented advance in every sphere of life was evident. The reason was considered the key to the earthly utopia. It was an instrument that individuals could use not only to interrogate all received forms of knowledge but also to lead a virtuous, rational and happy life. For the *Philosophes*, reason was an ally of experience.

The growth of scientific knowledge during the enlightenment had provided optimism for the present and future. The spokesmen of the enlightenment asserted that the civilization is moving in the right direction and it must continue to move on. The sense of achievement through the application of mind was reflecting into the progress which indicated the enhanced ability of the individuals to control their natural and social environment. Thus, it created an ideal world in which individuals could strive to combine the virtues of knowledge with liberty. The following three principals were emphasised by the enlightenment thinkers:

1. Knowledge is linked with natural sciences.
2. In their view, the method of systematic observation, experimentation and critical inquiry used in physical sciences were the only viable ways to arrive at truth.
3. Knowledge must be demonstrated and must be backed with proof.

Further, the leading scientists shared that the secrets of the universe could be apprehended completely by men and they were convinced that the sensible experimentation and demonstration can give individuals complete understanding about the intelligibility of the universe. The innovations and scientific studies allowed them to present a very new and different picture of man and universe. The study of cause and effect relationship was central to enlightenment conception of science. The discoveries increased the control of man over the natural and social environment. Working with the conceptions of knowledge the enlightenment thinkers attempted to observe and systematically explain the world around them. Montesquieu highlighted the connection between political and civil law of a country and its physical

characteristics like climate, temperature and demography. Adam Ferguson and David Hume undertook a scientific analysis of the mind by examining empirically the process of socialization. For the theorists of enlightenment, the increasing degree of control over the physical and social world, and the success of technological application indicated progress and truth. Technical success was favoured for the sake of improving human condition. The aim of the enlightenment thinkers was to attain the twin goal- explaining and controlling the natural and social environment that will enable individuals to construct a world that will be full of happiness and comfort. Hume stated 'happiness was the end to which all human life was directed and as society provides me with these ideas which made life intelligible and happiness possible, men can find happiness in society'.

For the enlightenment, science was more than a method of enquiry. It was synonymous of a rationalist orientation. The enlightenment thinkers criticised the religion understanding that religion had been a source of oppression in history. It was basis of hate and intolerance amongst individuals. Thus, it was harmful to the happiness of the state and holistic mind of men. Scholars like Voltaire and Diderot criticised religion and stated that the religion of humanity is the natural religion. The enlightenment also destroyed the Heavenly city of St. Augustine, they denied the possibility of miracle happenings but continued to believe in the perfectibility of the human species with faith in rationalist will and humanist pride in the capacity of human being to overcome all hurdles. The theorists of enlightenment cherished liberty and freedom. They regarded the democratic government with three separate wings (each putting check on other) as important institution for giving power to the individuals. Adam Smith stated 'even though individuals seek to use freedom for their own private gains, nevertheless the pursuit of self-interest is likely to promote the interest of society as a whole.

## **2.8 Renaissance in Italy and beyond:**

As explained above the renaissance in Italy was of a distant character. Its spread also followed the path which nearly touched every section of the society. The prosperity of the Italian cities and the strength of the urban centre kindled a spirit that created favourable environment for promotion of art and literature. Therefore, the Italian humanism was much border in scope and range of humanist activities. The printing press played an important in spread of the new learning. From 1450s the print culture rose in Europe and provided a practical way to produce books. It is estimated that by 1500, Europe had more than one thousand printing presses. Johann Gutenberg developed printing press at Mainz (Germany) and printed two hundred copies of the Bible in the 1452-3. The Psalms, scriptures, devotional books, abridged collections of lives of the saints, theological texts, classical writings and popular literature were other type of books that followed the printing of Bible.

In England, France and Spain the humanism remained a movement for new learning and educational reforms that was guided by leaders of church and important scholars. Thus Italian Humanism was distinct in character due to participation of various actors. In the Western Europe the humanism programme continued within inherited framework of church and society

but in Germany it developed an anti-roman character. Germany lacked an effective central authority and in every state the church enjoyed economic and political strength. The golden age of medieval universities came quite late in Germany. The strong scholastic tradition that developed in universities influenced the intellectual and religious life. The progress of the German humanism is linked to the spread of reformation and the role of secular authorities. The German humanists had closer connection with the university life. However, the emergence of humanism in German states had converted the universities into battlegrounds between scholastic and humanistic ideas. With the coming of Martin Luther, the Germany was already a centre of religious controversy. This was followed by the civil war, which sharpened the conflict between scholastics and the supporters of humanism. The University of Heidelberg became the centre of humanist learning and here the humanist models of reforms were introduced. Here, two important branches of intellectual activities developed. Johannes Reuchlin led the first one at Wurttemberg and the second was led by Johannes Pfefferkorn, a priest who opposed Reuchlin's use of Jewish traditions in the study of Christian theology. Konrad Mutian was led a group of humanist at the University of Erfurt. A large number of humanists were trained at this university. These humanists did not involve in formal teaching but they created critical attitude towards the church establishment.

The humanists of the Northern Europe were different from Italian civic humanism. The cities of northern Europe were considerably rich and prosperous and they involved in international trade. They had the autonomy as the cities of Florence and Venice. The northern Europe remained subordinate to state authority due to which they could not enjoy the civic pride. The dominant status of the state also enhanced the control and role of church in social life. The church was centre and patron of education and could tolerate reforms of specific nature. Thus, the northern humanism specialised in scriptural and theological studies. The educational institutions that were built were more interested in promoting learning in accordance with local customs and history. Burgundy was another important centre where Renaissance culture developed. During the mid fifteenth century a number of courtiers, artists, musicians and scholars visited this court. The Dutch sculptor- Claus Sluter (1350-1406) was commissioned to decorate the convent of Champmol. Jan van Eyck was another popular artist of this court who was known for portrait paintings. He was not concerned with perspectives as were the Italian artists, even then the Italian artists appreciated his work.

Netherlands was another centre of art and Hieronymus Bosch and Rembrandt van Rijn were popular artists of this centre. Albrecht Durer was another great artist of northern Renaissance. He displayed amazing gift for drawing and specialised in woodcut illustrations and landscapes. He also influenced the Italians for engravings and woodcuts. He painted beautiful water colour paintings of animals and plant lives. His art is blend of northern and southern tradition. His famous paintings are *virgin and child*, *Adam*, *the fall of man*, *the feast of the rose garden*, and *the self portrait*. In France Renaissance assumed a distinct character. Louis XII and Francis I were outstanding patrons of art and scholarship. Francis invited large number of artist and architects. Francis commissioned various Italian painters- Andrea delSarto,

Benvenuto Cellini, Il Rosso and Francesco Primaticcio- to decorate the walls of his palace. The royal palaces of Louvre in Paris and Fontainebleau near Paris were magnificent examples of Renaissance structures. During Renaissance attention was paid to gardening and horticulture. The first botanical garden was made at Pisa in 1543 AD. Although the art of gardening developed in Italy, but it attained perfection in Holland. The new plants were introduced in the garden of Leiden in 1577 for which the captains of the outward bound ships were directed to bring seeds and plans from all parts of the world. This garden housed six thousand species of plants.

## **2.9 Music:**

Music was another form of art. The development of music in northern Europe set up new standards. Composers like Francesco Landini and Guillaume Machaut did pre-renaissance period experiments in Italy and France and they created a school of music called *Ars Nova*. The Flemish masters developed the technique of polyphonic during the second half of fifteenth century. Jacob Obrecht and Jean Ockeghem were famous names of the Flemish school. In England, music flourished and developed during the sixteenth century. Henry VIII and Elizabeth I provided patronage to music with great enthusiasm. The English musicians not only adopted music from Italy but they also perfected the art of music in the form of songs and instrumental creations. William Byrd (1543-1623) was famous master in England who could be compared with the great composers of the Netherlands and Italy. Rome and Venice were two centres of music in Italy.

## **2.10 Summary:**

The first part of this chapter, the Middle Ages and their conditions have been explained and later the chapter grows to highlight the Humanism and its significant commercial, socio-cultural and literary developments that changes Europe. As we have discussed above these changes happened between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. The unit has presented that the Renaissance was marked with the emergence of a new culture whose roots were attached in Italian humanism. The culture of Italian humanism was a by-product of a set of unique social, social and economic conditions that were prevalent in various parts of Europe during the Middle Ages. The changes that happened during the Renaissance brought significant changes and important shifts in the political power (from nobility to merchants and bankers), emergence of new social groups (lawyers), novel ideologies, innovations in services (banking and usury), new technologies (printing) and together these transformed the political, economic and socio-cultural landscape of Europe.

## **2.11 Self-check Questions:**

1. What do you understand by Humanist movement?

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2. How did Humanism influenced Art and Literature?

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3. What were the significant contributions of humanism movement to the music?

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4. How would you define rediscovery of classics?

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#### 2.12 Glossary:

- *Euro-centric view*: a way of looking at history and the world that pkaces Europe and its history at the centre.
- *Oligarchies*: a small group of people in control of state power. This term was generally used for the rulers of the city-states in the medieval Europe.

#### 2.13 Suggested Readings:

- Knecht, R. J., *Renaissance, warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996.
- Sinha, Arvind, *Europe in Transition from Feudalism to Industrialization*, Manohar, Delhi, 2014.
- Black, Robert (ed.), *Renaissance Thought: A Reader*, Routledge, London and New York, 2001.
- Gilmore, M., *The World of Humanism 1453-1517*, Harper Colophon, New York, 1952.
- Gombrich, E. H., *The Story of Art*, Phaidon, New York, 1951.
- Ruggiero, Guido, *A companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2002.

### **2.14 Terminal Questions:**

1. Was humanism a movement within Renaissance?
2. What were the major changes in science and philosophy during the fifteenth and sixteenth century? How do the thinkers understand the relationship between science and religion?
3. How England and French population reacted to the Humanist movement?
4. How the development of trade and commerce did created conditions for the Renaissance?
5. What were the contributions of Netherlands and Northern Europe to the humanism?

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## **CHAPTER- 3**

# **THE PROTESTANT REVOLT AND RELIGIOUS REFORMATIONS**

### **Structure:**

- 3.1 Objective
- 3.2 Introduction
- 3.3 European Reformation in the 16th century
- 3.4 Catholic Church at the opening of the 16th century
- 3.5 Protestant Revolt
- 3.6 Lutheranism
- 3.7 Indulgences
- 3.8 Calvinism
- 3.9 Anglican
- 3.10 The Radical Reformation
- 3.11 The Catholic Reformation
- 3.12 The Counter Reformation
- 3.13 The Council of Trent
- 3.14 Summary
- 3.15 Self-check Questions
- 3.16 Glossary
- 3.17 Suggested Readings
- 3.18 Terminal Questions

### **3.1 Objective:**

This unit is focusing on the religious movements that happened in the Europe during the sixteenth century. The topics that will be discussed are Protestant Reforms, influence and contributions of Luther to the Protestant movement, the various causes that created conditions for the rise of the protest movement. The protestant reforms led to the emergence of various religious groups and communities who tried to concentrate on the relationship between the god and human rather than on the church and clergy. These revolts were significant for Europe as they not only finished the authority and control of the Rome over the Christian community but they also challenged the methods of the church like confession, indulgences and the role of the clergy to evade the sin. It is not that the Catholic Church accepted the revolts quietly. They also reacted which gave rise to another movement. This unit will highlight all the changes that happened in the religious life of Europe during the sixteenth century.



Thus, let us get on the task and see how the Europe came out of the traditionalism and achieved a society in which religion became a private affair which was earlier a public matter that too strictly guided by the clergy and their dogmas.

### **3.2 Introduction:**

The Christian church was effectively unified till the mid-eleventh century. Gradually the western and central Europe came under the control of Pope while the Byzantine church grew under the influence of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Roman Catholic Church was very powerful both politically and spiritually in Western Europe. But there were other political forces also like the Holy Roman Empire- largely made up of German speaking regions that were ruled by princes, dukes and electors, the Italian city-states, England, unified nation states of France and Spain. The power of the rulers of these areas had increased in the previous century and many were anxious to take the opportunity offered by the Reformation to weaken the power of the office of the Pope (Papacy) and increase their own power in relation to the Roman Church and other rulers.

The Catholic Church faced institutional problems in the fourteenth and fifteenth century due to the failure of Papal authority. The economic problems of the church led to an increasing separation between the upper and lower clergies. The higher officials like cardinals, archbishops, bishop and abbot came from nobility and accumulated huge wealth. The lower clergy remained poor and came from the commoners. Social discontent grew amongst the lower clergies as avenues of their growth were blocked. The discontent was growing against the various church officials, their arrogance and poor quality priests.

To understand the Protestant Reform movement, we need to go back in history to the early 16th century when there was only one church in Western Europe - what we would now call the Roman Catholic Church - under the leadership of the Pope in Rome. Today, we call this "Roman Catholic" because there are so many other types of churches for example, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anglican.

### **3.3 European Reformation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century:**

Throughout the sixteenth century, Europe underwent a lot of changes. The changes were not only limited to the education and sciences that happened through the Renaissance. The religious life of Europe also underwent lot of changes and shifts during the sixteenth century. The changes on the religious front were many and as per the supporters of the revolutions and religious reforms the names were attributed to these movements and revolts.

### **3.4 Catholic Church at the opening of the 16<sup>th</sup> century:**

In 1500s, the Protestant Reformation was a religious reform movement that swept through the Europe. Its result was the creation of a branch of Christianity called Protestantism. Protestantism is a name that was used collectively to refer to many religious groups that separated from the Roman Catholic Church due to differences in the doctrine. The Protestant Reformation began in Wittenberg (Germany) on October 31<sup>st</sup> 1517, when Martin Luther (a teacher and a monk) published a document called *Disputation on the Power of Indulgences*,

or *95 Theses*. This document was a series of 95 ideas about Christianity. He invited people to debate with him. These ideas were controversial as they directly contradicted the teachings of the Catholic Church's. Luther's statements challenged the Catholic Church's role as intermediary between people and God, specifically when it came to the indulgence system, which in part allowed people to purchase a certificate of pardon for the punishment of their sins. Luther argued against the practice of buying or earning forgiveness, believing instead that salvation is a gift God gives to those who have faith. Luther's objections to the indulgence system paved the way for other challenges to the Catholic doctrine throughout Europe. For example, John Calvin in France and Huldrych Zwingli in Switzerland proposed new ideas about the practice of Holy Communion, and a group called Anabaptists rejected the idea that infants should be baptized in favour of the notion that baptism was reserved for adult Christians. The earlier attempts of the Reformation have failed, but the efforts made in the sixteenth century succeeded in bring about the Reformation because of the following three reasons:

1. After the feudal crisis, strong centralised state began to emerge in several parts of Europe. The Roman Catholic Church lost its hold and the anti-roman feelings were growing in all parts of Europe with the Lutheran Reformations.
2. The Reformation become possible due to the technological innovations like the printing press and it helped in creating an intellectual climate.
3. The third factor that contributed was the rise of Renaissance humanism.

Broadly speaking, most of the challenges to the Catholic Church revolved around the notion that individual believers should be less dependent on the Catholic Church, and its pope and priests, for spiritual guidance and salvation. Instead, Protestants believed people should be independent in their relationship with God, taking personal responsibility for their faith and referring directly to the Bible, the Christian holy book, for spiritual wisdom.

### **3.5 Protestant Revolt:**

The Protestant revolt was the most decisive revolt of the sixteenth century. Its significance lies in the fact that it didn't limit to the nation of its emergence. It was so powerful, that soon it engulfed the entire Europe. It had far reaching effects on the social and cultural life of the Europe. It was capable of challenging the authority of the Pope and the city-states. It also gave rise to various other religious reforms and movements that made significant changes in the lives of the European nation.

### **3.6 Lutheranism:**

Martin Luther (1483-1546) was from a peasant background. His father provided him good education and wanted him to become a lawyer. While pursuing Law, Luther showed strong religious inclination and in 1505 he decided to become a monk and enrolled in the monastic order in Erfurt much against his father's wishes. Luther was a professor of Theology at the University of Wittenberg and showed keen interest in education, displayed flair for language and had good knowledge of history. His primary concern as a monk was focussed on the assurance of salvation. Luther's protest in 1517 was not aimed against the main fabric

of the established church and its doctrine, rather it was against the elaborate religious dogma. Luther sparked the Protestant Reformation in 1517 by posting his “95 Theses” on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, Germany. These ‘Theses’ were a list of statements that expressed Luther’s concerns about certain Church practices - largely the sale of indulgences. Before we go on, notice that the word Protestant contains the word “protest” and that reformation contains the word “reform”—this was an effort, at least at first, to protest some practices of the Catholic Church and to reform that Church.

### **3.7 Indulgences:**

The sale of indulgences was a practice where the church acknowledged a donation or other charitable works with a piece of paper called an indulgence- that certified that your soul would enter heaven more quickly by reducing your time in purgatory. If you committed no serious sins then indulgence guaranteed your place in heaven. And if you die before repenting and atoning for all of your sins, then your soul went to Purgatory - a kind of way-station where you finished atoning for your sins before being allowed to enter heaven.

Pope Leo X granted indulgences to raise money for the rebuilding of St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome. These indulgences were being sold by Johann Tetzel not far from Wittenberg, where Luther was Professor of Theology. Luther was gravely concerned about the way in which ‘getting into heaven was connected with a financial transaction’. But the sale of indulgences was not Luther’s only disagreement with the institution of the Church.

After progressing theologically he rejected the claim that the pope was the sole institution to interpret scriptures. When Pope issued a bull of excommunication, Luther publicly burned it. He published series of pamphlets in which he openly condemned the Pope and his organisation. In *The Freedom of the Christian Man* (1520) Luther advocated true spiritual freedom through faith in Christ. In 1521, the Holy Roman Emperor asked Luther to appear before Diet at Worms to face trial. Here, Luther refused to recant his position, thus he was outlawed by the highest civil authority in Germany. Throughout his life he lived under a sentence of death. However, the Elector of Saxony shielded, protected and supported him. While in hiding Luther translated the New Testament. The supporters of his view were called Protestants or Lutherans.

Luther’s reformation began to question what an individual must do in order to be saved. His doctrine was justification by faith. He also criticised the Catholic Church on seven sacraments (baptism, the Eucharist or mass, marriage, penance, confirmation, holy order and extreme unction). His follower Professor Melancthon gave a organisational structure and definite shape to Luther’s religion. He helped Luther to prepare three tracts and establish a new sect of Christianity, where the supremacy of the faith was most believed factor and the superiority of the priest was destroyed and hierarchy of church officials was abolished. For Luther each individual was to be his own priest. The protestant movement gained widespread success in Bohemian lands during the sixteenth century. Ulrich Zwingli, a contemporary of Luther carried out religious reforms in the Swiss confederation of Zurich. His reforms were based on humanist

views. His actual reforms started in 1520 and were completed within five years. The reformation of Zurich had a great social impact. Due to which the monasteries were abolished and monastic charity became a communal concern. There were some similarities between the Lutheran reformation and that of Zwingli.

### **3.8 Calvinism:**

Thanks to the innovation of the printing press, Luther's message is quickly disseminated throughout Europe. Zwingli was pastor at Zurich Cathedral, the most significant church in the Swiss city. Like Luther, he preaches against everything that he regards as "unbiblical"- the Church's abuse of power, the sale of indulgences, but also the vow of celibacy, the prescribed unmarried state of the priesthood. For him, only the words of the Bible mattered. Like Luther, Zwingli made the Holy Scripture the centre and guiding principle of his religious doctrine.

Zwingli convinced the City Council about his doctrine. Citizens and parishes now become a single unit. In 1523, the city authorities also supervise the spiritual order of the community. This drastically changes people's lives, intruding into the very family circle; for the citizens of Zurich must now live godly and virtuous lives. On the street and at home, prohibitions pervade everyday life. Cursing, playing cards and dice, ostentatious jewellery and a life in luxury, public festivals like carnival were no longer permitted. In Church, Zwingli only allows the word of God, rejecting all else - music, song and images were prohibited. He proposed that nothing shall distract from the true faith. While advancing it the reformatory iconoclasm led to the total destruction of countless paintings, sculptures and church windows.

In 1529, a religious discussion happened between Luther and Zwingli. There are many similarities, but apart from the iconoclastic controversy, there was one irreconcilable conflict about Holy Communion. For Zwingli, it is only commemoration of the Last Supper before the crucifixion of Jesus. Luther, on the other hand, insists that in the celebration of the Communion in bread and wine, Jesus is truly present - and not just symbolically. This is a key theological point that leads to schism within the protestant movement. Thus, since the 16th century, the Lutheran and the Swiss Reformed Church have gone their separate ways.

John Calvin was from second generation of the reformers. He was more radical than Luther. Calvin proclaims his doctrine in the Church of St. Pierre. He is convinced that, prior to birth only, God has already either chosen or rejected every soul. He was greatly influenced by Erasmus, St Augustine and other humanists. Calvin had great influence over entire Europe due to his learning and logical brain. He was an extraordinary leader and organiser who sent missionaries to France, Netherlands, Scotland and other parts of Europe to carry forward his reforms. He described god as omnipresent and argued god is without any limitation of time or place. He declared sacraments merely external signs of faith. His biggest contribution to reformation was through his views on church structure and discipline. His structure of Genevan church had four major institutions. The doctrine of Predestination constituted the most important element of Calvin's social thought. The main function of this doctrine was to emphasis on the grace and lore of god. Calvin linked economic activity to the needs of the community. Later, Calvin found his own academy, in order to train clerics according to his concepts. As preachers, the trainees carry Calvinism into France, England and the Netherlands.

Till the spread of Calvinism there was no famous figure in France to prepare the ground for reformation. The early phase reformers of France owed a great deal to Strasberg. The attitude of French king was hostile towards reformation. They feared anarchy and civil war as had happened in Germany. Thus, law was tightened and rigidly enforced to drive out the French Protestants called the Huguenots. Protestantism arrived late in France. Their spread in France was prevented by the rulers. The Lutheranism was a threat to the privileged position of the rulers. Calvinism succeeded them and began to divide then society on religious grounds and their progress was best in France. Later, Calvin was exiled out of France due to religious prosecution. The real legacy of the French Wars of religion was perhaps the rise of absolute monarchy under Louis XII and Louise XIV during the seventeenth century.

The Calvinism got popular in Scotland in short time through the efforts of Patrick Hamilton. He prepared the ground for Protestantism in Scotland. On orders of Charles Beaton he was burnt alive at stake for spreading new ideas which were contrary to the belief of existing church. Another Protestant preacher George Wishart made journeys all over Scotland and influenced important landed nobles. John Knox became most important leader of Scottish reformation. Knox was influenced by the idea of Calvin. Knox's activities extended to the English court of Edward VI. He became a leading Protestant preacher and aroused popular passion against Rome. In England he helped Cranmer in the preparation of *42 Articles of Religion* and *The Second Prayer Book*. In 1550s, Calvinism penetrated into Netherlands through French speaking population. Calvinism also spread into central and eastern Europe. In German states both Lutherans and Catholics opposed Calvinism. Frederick III, the elector of Palatine in Germany was converted to the Calvinist faith in 1563. It was a great achievement for Calvinists. The popularity of Calvinists also increased amongst the nobles of Poland, Lithuania, Hungary and Bohemia.

### **3.9 Anglican:**

The origin of English reformation can be traced back to the Middle Ages. Some scholars suggest that the Reformation in England was political in character. As the movement was not initiated by any religious reformer but by the king himself with the support of the parliament. The reform in England began with Henry VIII in 1534, who was strong critic of Martin Luther's reforms. His work *Defense of the seven Sacraments* earned him the title '*Defender of Faith*' from Pope Leo X. Henry wanted to divorce his wife but the pope didn't grant permission for the same as the divorce was not allowed in the Catholic Church. After waiting for three years Henry became desperate and decided for himself on the matters. Subsequently, King Henry rejected the Pope's authority, instead creating and assuming authority over the Church of England, a sort of hybrid church that combined some Catholic doctrine and some Protestant ideals. Through a subservient Parliament he closed all relations with the pope and under the guidance of the Thomas Cromwell, the parliament passed several acts against the authority of Papal. The act of Appeal removed the English church from the jurisdiction of the Papal Court. In 1534, with parliament's approval Henry declared himself the supreme head of the English church. The six articles of Religion of Henry retained all the Catholic doctrines and practises

but denied Papal supremacy. Whosoever of the Catholics and Protestants, tried to deny the authority and supremacy of Henry were severely punished. Thomas More, the famous humanist was punished for same reason.

Over the next 20 years, there was religious turbulence in England as Queen Mary (1553–1558) reinstated Catholicism in England while persecuting and exiling Protestants. The reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603) began with the threat of religious war in England. The fear of Spanish invasion and Papal threat allowed to build a sense of national identity. Elizabeth's religious settlement established the Anglican Church in England. Hers was a midway approach bordering on conservative Protestantism. *Book of Common Prayers* was adopted again with slight changes. *Forty two Articles of Religion* were replaced by *Thirty nine articles*. The celibacy of clergy was rejected, two sacraments of baptism and Eucharist were retained and the Episcopal system was adopted. Church attendance was made compulsory and the offenders were punished and fined heavily. The nature of this Protestantism (English) became an issue of dispute. Richard Hooker in his work titled *Law of Ecclesiastical Polity* has analysed the advantages of the Elizabethan settlements. Some English citizens did not believe Queen Elizabeth's efforts to restore England to Protestantism. These citizens fell into two groups, both labelled Puritans by their opponents. The first group, known as separatists, believed the Church of England was so corrupt that their only choice was to leave England, separate from the church, and start a new church. They called this the English Separatist Church. Around 1607 or 1609, some of the separatists tried to start the new lives they imagined in Holland and Netherlands. Ultimately, this endeavour failed due to poverty and the sense that the children were assimilating too much into Dutch culture, has made many of the separatists to return back to England. By 1620, members of the English Separatist Church were ready for a second try by starting a new life and church. Those who set sail aboard the *Mayflower* for New England and eventually landed near Plymouth, Massachusetts, would, in time, were known as the Pilgrims. The other group of English citizens who did not believe Queen Elizabeth's reform efforts went far enough and were called non-separatists. Over time, the term "Puritan" would become synonymous with the non-separatists. They did not seek to leave the Church of England; they wanted only to reform it by eliminating the remnants of Catholicism that remained. In terms of theology, most of them were Calvinists. Although they did not desire to separate from the Church of England, some Puritans saw emigrating to New England as their best chance at true reform of the church and freedom to worship as they chose. In 1630, a decade after the Pilgrims embarked on a similar journey for similar reasons, the first Puritans travelled to the New World and established the Massachusetts Bay Colony in Boston, Massachusetts. Though the separatists and non-separatists disagreed about whether to sever ties to the Church of England, both groups of early North American colonists shared dissatisfaction with the church and a mindset that they were free to establish a church more in alignment with their spiritual views. Perhaps predictably, this freedom to practice religion according to one's beliefs led to the creation of countless different churches, denominations, and doctrines in the colonies. Equally predictable, throughout history this diversity has led to disagreements. However, this



diversity of religious thought has also become a core part of the identity of the United States. Thus, the Bill of Rights explicitly forbids establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. Over 400 years in the making, this belief in personal empowerment and independence in religious matters, with its roots in the Protestant Reformation, has become an enduring part of the American mind-set.

As the English Reformation was achieved through political means, so the puritans attacked the crown and the Anglican Church by using parliament as a political stage. During the reign of James I (1603-25) their opposition intensified and was reinforced by theoretical denunciation of absolutism in the times of Charles I (1625-49). Thus, the religion became an important issue with many separate grievances causing civil war in England (1642-9). Overall the reformation helped in creating a national church and strengthened the English monarchy. Christopher Hill said that the Reformation not only subordinated the national church to the king but it also subordinated parishes to squires. Gradually, the English monarchs increased their privileges, powers and prerogatives that were independent of parliamentary control. The reformation in England created a distinct protestant literary tradition which became evident during the radical phase in the reign Edward VI. William Tyndale, Simon Fish, John Bale were first generation scholars of Protestantism. The idea was also evident in writings of Edmund Spenser, John Donne, George Herbert and Milton. John Foxe wrote *Book of Martyrs* which gave a touching account of the religious martyrs. Thus, we can say that the English reformation was quite different from other countries. The Anglican Settlement was a way to avoid the extremes and adopt a middle path between Protestantism and Catholicism.

### **3.10 The Radical Reformation:**

Apart from the Protestant Reformation in different parts of Europe various splinter groups of religious order advocating radical reforms such as Anabaptists, Spiritualists, Antitrinitarians and other religious orders. Anabaptists were the biggest threat to the Orthodox Church. They rejected the doctrine of infant baptism and believed that the true Christians is one who was re-baptized as an adult. Luther, Calvin and Zwingli all believed that infant baptism had its origin in the Bible and the unbaptized cannot enter the heaven. Anabaptists refused to participate in the civil government, denied to take oath of allegiance, serve in military and refused to pay taxes. As per them a true Christian shall never use sword nor shall go to the law court for performing magisterial functions. They reflected the aspirations of the poor people and wanted social reforms in all the institutions in preparation of Christ's second coming. Some of the Anabaptists regarded the private property as a social evil and argued for communal property. Wherever Anabaptists settled, they were prosecuted by the local rulers. Protestants drowned them and the Catholics burned them alive. Despite all the sufferings the Anabaptists settled in small groups in Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Hungary and Poland. Their principal leaders were Balthasar Hubmaier and Jacob Hutter, who were subjected to torture and death.

Many contemporaries consider the Anabaptist rule to be a complete reversal of all order. Catholics as well as Protestants vehemently denounce the Anabaptist doctrine. The

prince bishop of Munster, the actual sovereign, lays siege to the town, seeking to exterminate the “den of iniquity”. Under his siege, the Anabaptist kingdom was transformed into a hideous regime. Those who offer resistance were imprisoned - including women who do not choose to marry. For 16 months, the entrapped citizens resist attacks, despite erupting famine. A state of emergency prevails in the town. The bishop was able to retake the city only in 1536. A gruesome end awaited Jan van Leiden and other Anabaptists. Their tongues are ripped out with red-hot tongs, their bodies flayed. After hours of torture, they are stabbed to death and their corpses publicly displayed in cages on the tower of the Lamberti Church As a warning for the people, and food for the animals. The three iron cages still hang at the Lamberti Church in Munster in which the Anabaptist leaders were tortured to death and displayed. They are the originals, which were badly damaged in World War-II and had to be restored.

Another group in the Anabaptist tradition was the Society of Friends. George Fox founded this society in England during seventeenth century. Commonly, they were called Quakers. They held informal meetings without priests. Initially they were active in Western Europe and later became popular in United States of America.

### **3.11 The Catholic Reformation:**

The Catholic Church was always criticised for its institutional degeneration and corruption. Wycliff and Hus were treated as heretics. In the beginning of the sixteenth century serious efforts were made to reform the church from within. There was an acute shortage of priests and many bishops didn't reside in their diocese. The religious masters were becoming administrative officers with more political powers and some of them became chancellors and prince. In late fifteenth century, an attempt was made to bring a wide range re-organisation of the Spanish religious order. Jimenaz de Cisneros was the main patron who initiated it. His reforms were combination of piety and humanism. He tried to convince the clergy to explain the gospel to the parish population and to instruct the children in church doctrines. Franciscan order was his own religious house that was asked to initiate reforms. In 1517, the Oratory of Divine Love took up the task of remedying the deficiencies of the regular clergy. Catholic reformation started around the same time as Protestant Reformation, only later it was pushed ahead at an accelerated speed by the protestant challenge and came to be known as the Counter Reformation. The Catholic Church became conscious of its disintegration and took immediate action to reform itself and a century later the picture was reversed. The Catholics re-conquered territories that were lost earlier by showing vigour and dynamism that was lacking in the orthodox Protestantism.

In the sixteenth century, Catholics seemed to revive on two aspects. Firstly, they wanted to eliminate the well-known abuse that had given rise to the Protestantism. These internal reforms were known for the spiritual revival or institutional improvement and these were called the Catholic Reformation. The second aspect was reflecting in the military character through which they recovered the lost grounds and succeeded in revitalizing the Catholic region. This aspect was known as the ‘Counter Reformation’.



### **3.12 The Counter Reformation:**

The Catholic Church was slow to respond systematically to the theological and publicity innovations of Luther and the other reformers. The Council of Trent, which met off and on from 1545 through 1563, articulated the Church's answer to the problems that triggered the Reformation and to the reformers themselves. The Catholic Church of the Counter-Reformation era grew more spiritual, more literate and more educated. New religious orders, notably the Jesuits, combined rigorous spirituality with a globally minded intellectualism, while mystics such as Teresa of Avila injected new passion into the older orders. Inquisitions, both in Spain and in Rome, were reorganized to fight the threat of Protestant heresy.

### **3.13 The Council of Trent:**

In 1545 the Church opened the Council of Trent to deal with the issues raised by Luther. The Council of Trent was an assembly of high officials in the Church who met (on and off for eighteen years) principally in the Northern Italian town of Trent for 25 sessions.

Following are the selected Outcomes of the Council of Trent:

1. The Council denied the Lutheran idea of justification by faith. They affirmed, in other words, their Doctrine of Merit, which allows human beings to redeem themselves through Good Works, and through the sacraments.
2. They affirmed the existence of Purgatory and the usefulness of prayer and indulgences in shortening a person's stay in purgatory.
3. They reaffirmed the belief in transubstantiation and the importance of all seven sacraments.
4. They reaffirmed the authority of scripture and the teachings and traditions of the Church.
5. They reaffirmed the necessity and correctness of religious art.

At the Council of Trent on Religious Art the Church also reaffirmed the usefulness of images - but indicated that church officials should be careful to promote the correct use of images and guard against the possibility of idolatry. The council decreed that images are useful "because the honour which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent" (in other words, through the images we honor the holy figures depicted). And they listed another reason images were useful, "because the miracles which God has performed by means of the saints, and their salutary examples, are set before the eyes of the faithful; that so they may give God thanks for those things; may order their own lives and manners in imitation of the saints; and may be excited to adore and love God, and to cultivate piety."

The Reformation was a very violent period in Europe, even family members were often pitted against one another in the wars of religion. Each side, both Catholics and Protestants, were often absolutely certain that they were in the right and that the other side was doing the devil's work.

The artists of this period - Michelangelo in Rome, Titian in Venice, Durer in Nuremberg, Cranach in Saxony - were impacted by these changes since the Church had been the single largest patron for artists. Now art was being scrutinized in an entirely new way. The Catholic Church was looking to see if art communicated the stories of the Bible effectively and clearly (see Veronese's Feast in the House of Levi for more on this). Protestants on the other hand, for the most part lost the patronage of the Church and religious images (sculptures, paintings, stained glass windows etc) were destroyed in iconoclastic riots. It is also during this period that the Scientific Revolution gained momentum and observation of the natural world replaced religious doctrine as the source of our understanding of the universe and our place in it. Copernicus up-ended the ancient Greek model of the heavens by suggesting that the sun was at the center of the solar system and that the planets orbited around it. At the same time, exploration, colonization and (the often forced) Christianization of what Europe called the "new world" continued. By the end of the century, the world of the Europeans was a lot bigger and opinions about that world were more varied and more uncertain than they had been for centuries.

Through the activities of institutions and individuals the process of revival through inner regeneration gained momentum in the sixteenth century. Besides the Oratory of Love in Rome, a large number of new orders like the Capuchins, the Barnabites and the Ursulines came into being in Italy. St. Ignatius Loyola led the field in Spain. He propounded his activities through the Society of Jesus and its members were known as Jesuits.

St. Ignatius Loyola was born in a wealthy noble Spanish family. He was injured in war and while convalescing he underwent a spiritual transformation. He began reading on the life of Christ and spent a year in a cave at Manresa. He undertook long journey in Europe and in the Holy Land in 1523. He suggested that in order to reach God, spiritual exercise were needed to train and discipline the human will. He proposed that the private judgement must be set aside in favour of the order. The greatest strength of Loyola's reforms was its flexibility of approach and method which attracted men of character and calibre.

The Spanish Inquisition was imported in Rome in 1542. It also rejected any form of conciliation and suggested stringent measures against heretics. Lutheranism was wiped out of Italy and strict control was established on the publication of religious and secular literature from the printing press. In 1559, Paul IV published an Index of Prohibited Books and prevented Catholics from reading heretical texts. The Jesuits played important role in re-establishing Papal supremacy. Their intellectual discipline and powerful organisation provided a strong challenge to the Calvinists. In Europe, the policies of enlightenment education, effective preaching, impressive church buildings, persecution of dissenters and vigorous censorship brought back thousands of people in Germany and Bohemia back to the catholic faith. In Europe, the Jesuits were regarded as the greatest teachers. Under them the catholic faith became aggressive and dynamic.

N.S.Davidson puts forward that when the Catholic Council of Trent first met in 1545, it didn't intend to achieve reconciliation with the Protestants. Its main objective was to secure Catholicism in Italy, where the Protestants were yet not well established. Before the Council of Trent, liberal section of Catholics tried to reach a doctrinal compromise to win back the Lutheran converts. When these attempts failed coercion was adopted. This was the main feature of the Counter Reformation.

### 3.14 Summary:

Along with the religious consequences of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation came deep and lasting political changes. Northern Europe's new religious and political freedoms came at a great cost, with decades of rebellions, wars and bloody persecutions. The Thirty Years' War alone may have cost Germany 40 percent of its population. But the Reformation's positive repercussions can be seen in the intellectual and cultural flourishing it inspired on all sides of the schism—in the strengthened universities of Europe, the Lutheran church music of J.S. Bach, the baroque altarpieces of Pieter Paul Rubens and even the capitalism of Dutch Calvinist merchants.

The spread of the Reformation seals the end of the Catholic Church as the only universal church of western Christianity. Within just 40 years, the Reformation has conquered large swathes of Europe, reaching its farthest expansion around 1570. But then there is a turning point. The papal church goes on the offensive. In Rome, a new authority takes up the fight against the "evangelical heresy" - the Inquisition. Reformatory writings are soon on the index, a list of forbidden books. Obstinate and recidivist heretics risk ending up at the stake. Those who do not recant, who do not profess to the true Catholic faith, must risk prison and the death penalty.

### 3.15 Self-check Questions:

1. What was the role of the Catholic Church in the life of people before the sixteenth century Reformation Movement?

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2. What conditions paved way for the protestant revolt?

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3. Discuss the role of the Calvinism in the Europe and how did they differed from the Lutherans?

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4. Write a brief note on The Council of Trent.

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### 3.16 Glossary:

- Indulgences: a practice where the church acknowledged a donation or other charitable works with a piece of paper called an indulgence- that certified that your soul would enter heaven more quickly by reducing your time in purgatory.
- Purgatory: in the Catholic Church is an intermediate state after death, it is a place or state of suffering inhabited by the soul of sinner who are expiating their sins before going to heaven. This is a place of temporary sufferings.
- Papal: the word comes from the Latin word *papa*, which means father. He is also the head of the Vatican, the sovereign city-state in Rome.

### 3.17 Suggested Readings:

- Cameron, Evan, *The European Reformation*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991.
- Burke, Peter, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Harper, London, 1978.
- Elton, G. R., *Reformation Europe 1517-1559*, Fontana, London, 1968.
- Davidson, N. S., *The Counter Reformation*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1987.
- Hsia, R. Po-chia (ed.), *Cambridge History of Christianity: Reforms and Expansion 1500-1600*, vol. 6, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006.

### 3.18 Terminal Questions:

1. Discuss the Catholic Reformation and its effects?
2. What made conditions for the rise of the Counter Reformation?
3. What were the differences between the Radical Reformation and the Counter Reformation?
4. Write an essay on the contributions of the Protestant Revolts.
5. How do you see the role of Luther in the Protestant Revolts?

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## UNIT-II

### CHAPTER-4

### THE EUROPE IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY

#### Structure:

- 4.1 Objective
- 4.2 Introduction
- 4.3 Europe in the sixteenth century
- 4.4 The Urban Economy
- 4.5 Economic Development in the sixteenth century
- 4.6 Shift of economic balance from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic
- 4.7 Rise of Antwerp
- 4.8 Dutch Shipping Industry
- 4.9 Summary
- 4.10 Self-check Questions
- 4.11 Glossary
- 4.12 Suggested Readings
- 4.13 Terminal Questions

#### 4.1 Objective:

Through this unit we will try and understand the economic changes that happened in the Europe during the sixteenth century. The sixteenth century was a century of great change in Europe in terms of trade and commerce due to the various new discoveries and inventions. The discovery of the new metals and the sea routes was the most pertinent happening in the Europe of sixteenth century. The new commercial relationships paved way for exploring the new lands and nations that further helped the economy to expand. The slave trade, plantation and the American silver were the major factors that were influencing the Europe. Along with these this unit will also try to bring forward the decline of the old sea routes and trade centres and will try to give some insights into the development of the Atlantic routes and the Dutch shipping industry which was the most crucial trade carrier during the sixteenth century.

#### 4.2 Introduction:

The feudal society was established in the eleventh century and then has passed through various stages. The organisation of production and extortion of surplus was mainly carried forward for the benefit of the landlords. The steady rise in the wages, rents and profits was the most remarkable economic feature during the period of 1000-1250 AD. Gradually, the Feudal social relationships were replaced by market relationship based upon exchange. The rise of market society therefore became the central theme in the overall transfer of power from the aristocracy to the bourgeois. The economic revolution from which the factors of production emerged came as an end product of a political convulsion. Carlo Cipolla in his book *Before the*

*Industrial Revolution* has pointed out that during the thirteenth century certain bottlenecks had manifested as the demographical pressure steadily increased, thus eventually the economic law came into being. The law of supply and demand inevitably pushed rents up and real wages down. From the fourteenth century things changed drastically mainly due to two following factors:

1. The dreadful plague epidemic of 1348-51.
2. War and Revolutions like Hundred Years War (1337-1453), the War of Roses (1455-85).

The drastic decline in the population cut down the effective labour force leading to a rise of real wages. The long journey of capitalism was continuing with the extension of trade and domination of world scale, the development of technology transportation and production, introduction of new modes of production and emergence of new attitudes and ideas. The production was mainly through guilds. The merchant guilds were often very powerful controlling trade in a geographic area, the craft guild, regulated wages, quality of production and working conditions for apprentices. Due to the changing trade and work conditions the guild system declined from the sixteenth century. The composition of the international trade between the East and West indicates that Europe attained superiority in the trade only in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The watermill was the reason for the success of European in the paper and textile industry. The supremacy of Europeans in the technical field helped them to do geographical explorations and subsequently economic, political and military expansions. With sea voyages the discovery of America, Mexico and Peru was major consequences which were rich deposits of gold, and silver. Economic historians have labelled the period (1500-1620) as the 'Price Revolution'. Bodin writes 'the principal and virtually sole cause' of the rise in price was 'the abundance of gold and silver which is greater today than it has been during the four previous centuries...the principal cause of a rise in price is always an abundance of that with which the price of good is measured'. In net, the banking bourgeoisie and merchants gathered strength. During this time significant progress in the field of trade and commerce took place. This led to the accumulation of immense wealth and this stage was called Commercial Revolution. England was able to do a massive accumulation of wealth in the first stage of the industrial revolution because of the previously accumulated capital. The commercial capital flowed in through agriculture, mining and manufacture.

#### **4.3 Europe in Sixteenth Century:**

The economic change in the sixteenth century was shaped by the conjunction of prolonged population growth with the limited supply of land and limited technology. The expansion that begins in the sixteenth century lasted till the beginning of the seventeenth century when another period of economic contraction and demographic decline set in. From the age of invasion in about 1000 AD, which lasted till the early years of the fourteenth century, Europe experienced a long period of economic expansion. There was an overall growth of wealth during this period. This period overcame the traditional barriers of low consumption

and high distribution costs. The enormous expansion of business activities and commercial transactions brought changes in the structure and organisation of trade. During the sixteenth century, the European agriculture didn't undergo any significant change in most parts of the Europe. In general impression it was an un-progressive venture that changed little from the fourteenth century. Wheat was considered the best bread crop but it was meant for a very small segment. It was cultivated in Rhineland, the Limagne, in Central Europe and in parts of Spain. Its substitute called dinkel was cultivated in Southern Europe and in the Low Countries and it replaced wheat in the region. For majority of population rye was the basic food crop.

In the Alps, the Pyrenees and the higher mountains of Eastern Europe Pastoralism was the main occupation. Beyond the territories of crop-producing belt, animal rearing was main occupation. Sheep and cattle farming became more organised in England, in French Alps and certain regions of Italy and Spain. According to Fernand Braudel, agriculture in Mediterranean not only assured the people their everyday livelihood but provided a range of expensive goods for export, such as saffron, cumin, raisins, olives, oil, raw silk, citrus fruits and wine. However, no definite pattern of agriculture evolved in the Mediterranean. In words of Braudel it remained 'a world of rigid structures' between the peasants and landlords, and a large percentage of the agricultural product remained outside monetary economy. During the sixteenth century large numbers of books were written on agriculture in Italy, England, France and Germany.

#### **4.4 The Urban Economy:**

The early sixteenth century is considered as a decisive period for the expansion of urban industry. There were intimate links between agriculture and industry. Coleman has pointed out that much of the industry of the time consisted of the direct processing of agricultural products to meet the basic needs of life. Rather than capital-intensive the industries were labour-intensive. The vigorous growth was only in certain parts of Europe, particularly in the production of metal and minerals. Iron production expanded enormously and with the introduction of blast furnace it promoted many other industries such as armaments, brass and copper ware and glass. Throughout sixteenth century the textile industry employed large number of people. Woollen industry developed in France and Low countries during middle ages and linen production was going on in central Europe. Northern Italy, Tuscany and Catalonia were other major textile centres. Many of the Italian city states were known for their cloth industry and had market all over Europe. Silk-industry formed an important part of manufacturing. It was popular in Italy and Spain. Silk weaving areas developed in other regions like Geneva, Basil, Tours and the northern areas of France. State sponsorship played an important role in the emergence of the silk industry.

#### **4.5 Economic development in the 16<sup>th</sup> century:**

The medieval "commercial revolution"—was simple expansion of trade. Its invention, diffusion, or earliest perfection of holding companies, of cashless transactions by using bills of exchange, contracts for marine insurance, and advanced book-keeping techniques including



“double entry”, accounting practices etc facilitated the expansion of long distance trade, international banking, and commercial and industrial partnerships. The desire for merchant credit and decreased transaction costs in long distance trade led to the use of moneys of account and the creation of the earliest instruments of international finance. The bill of exchange was the most fundamental of the latter which facilitated a multi party payment order that was executable in a foreign currency in the distant locations. This was invented in Northern Italy, and by the fourteenth century it was widespread and was largely unchanged until the eighteenth century. Cashless exchanges had occurred at the fairs, on the basis of obligatory letters. The bill of exchange was revolutionary because the issuer could thereby order a distant third party to pay the debt in another currency, which allowed the bills to circulate widely and function as instruments of both credit and transfer in international trade. This allowed the merchants to pool capital and share risk to enrich themselves and their polities, utilizing the infrastructure and markets that they helped to make, and creating new legal and financial instruments to facilitate their ventures.

Export trade underwent significant changes between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. Wool and food grains played larger role in English exports but from the mid sixteenth century textile began to replace agricultural products. The trade depression of 1550 brought about this change. By the sixteenth century England witnessed a spurt in its export trade. Nearly two-third of English export reached Antwerp while the remaining portion reached to France and the Iberian Peninsula. The growth of trade led to the emergence of a new form of chartered companies. Many of these companies were granted monopolies by the state. These included the Muscovy Company, the Levant Company, the Hudson Bay Company and the East India Company. These companies were regulated or joint stock companies that played crucial role in the expansion of trade and development of colonial empires.

The Commercial Revolution was very important economic event of the sixteenth century. It mainly happened due to the transformation of the European trade that occurred as a result of the overseas expansion and influx of bullion. The major changes in the trade were end of regionalism, growth and expansion of trans-oceanic trade and international trade, growth of markets and commercial organisations. These developments also knocked various forms of banking and exchanges, especially in Holland and England; this was mainly the Commercial Revolution. The main feature of this growth was accumulation of wealth and intensification of the investments that led to the generation of more commercial capitalism. By the end of fifteenth century the banking was spread into Germany and France. During this time, Fuggers of Augsburg was the leading firm of north. Bank of Sweden (1657) and Bank of England (1694) were the leading banks. Gradually, the growth of Commercial Revolution led to the replacement of craft guilds with the industries of mining, smelting and woollen industry. The putting out system was the most typical form of industrial production in the period that developed in the woollen industry. In the seventeenth century it was replaced with the joint-stock company. This further led to the growth of a more efficient money economy. Hereby, a standard system of money was adopted by every important state to be used for all transactions within its borders. Thus, the creation of a national currency was a real achievement of the commercial revolution.

During the sixteenth century the profits of trade and commerce led to the rise of the commercial capitalism. The noted French Historian Fernand Braudel, thinks that it was mainly the long-distance trade that played a leading role in the genesis of merchant capitalism. Challenging the views of Braudel, Jacques Heers, stated that there were large number of short-range traders, instead of long distance trade, the greatest traffic being in grain, wood and salt. Taking this forward Peter Mathias has also established that England's foreign trade on the eve of industrial revolution was considerably smaller than her domestic trade. Historians have worked with statistics to show that in the sixteenth century, inter-regional trade within Europe was hundred times greater than the exchange between Europe and New world. Braudel further proposed that the import-export merchants introduced themselves into the circuits of the artisans and the distant raw materials like wool, silk and cotton. They interposed themselves between the finished product and its marketing and producing centres that were located in distant places. The products of the far-off lands also entered the export and import trade circuits, like silk from china, cinnamon from Ceylon, pepper and textiles from India, and this made the long distance trade great and so its profits. According to Braudel, the long list of long distance trade shows that distance alone could create ordinary everyday conditions profiteering.

Commercial capitalism took different forms in different countries. In Spain, the growth of commercial capitalism was not very successful for various reasons. Even after possessing all the stimuli necessary for industrial growth like gold and silver from New World, rise in population, a class of affluent consumers it failed in growth of industry and commerce. The putting out system didn't grow except in some rural areas. Moreover, permission to the entry of foreign goods and prohibition of the export of domestic products dealt a heavy blow to the domestic industry of Spain. The defective taxation system was another hurdle in its economic growth. So soon Spain became a country that was importing finished goods and exporting the raw material. In sixteenth century, Europe was obtaining huge treasures of gold, silver, precious stones and food from America. With this Seville (important trade centre and port on the river Guadalquivir, in Spain) became one of Europe's major port. Quickly it became important centre of international trade. Inhabitants engaged in trading- buying imported foreign items for their own needs rather than setting up the industries for manufacture. Agricultural base of Spain was equally poor, due to it became major grain importing country. In France and England the situation was different in fifteenth and sixteenth century the trade developed in France. Italy was France's only major foreign supplier. Italy supplied silk, spices, drugs and dyestuff to France and in 1536 silk industry of Lyons was setup which gradually made France self-sufficient. Ports of Normandy and Brittany had old established fisheries and after 1520 they were turned into Newfoundland Fishery. Salt was sent to Netherlands and Baltic. Bordeaux and Rochelle exported great quantities of wine to England and Netherlands. Goods like linen, woollens, corn, wood, ironware, paper and other goods were sent to Spain. France developed because it adopted the putting out system.

In the sixteenth century, England was on the periphery of European trade with marginal use of technology in industry and agriculture. The putting out system developed in the manufacturing units. Mainly two types of industries developed in England- large industries of coal, iron etc and small scale industry of independent craftsmen who gradually lost independence at the hands of merchant capitalist. Primarily, England traded with Ireland, Normandy, Brittany, South western France, Northern Spain etc and obtained wine, oil, dyestuff, salt and iron. England traded with America in sixteenth century mainly to establish colonies and to procure the raw material and the woods. A. Isenberg in his work *The Destruction of Bison* has highlighted that the introduction of European colonies and the European settlers has destroyed the natural vegetation and the Fauna of the North American plains. With the establishment of the colonies, England found flourishing markets in the New Worlds for her factory manufactured products. By the mid of the seventeenth century, with the shift of the focal point of trade from Mediterranean to Western Europe, England attained the central position in the world trade. The Dutch commercial capitalism was dependent upon the Northern trade. Special ships were developed for this purpose and soon Dutch shipping industry became the best one. In 1661, Amsterdam had sixty refineries and Holland was prime producer of sugar. Soon the ship-building industry and textile-industry became its chief sources for earning capital.

As stated above during this time the system of manufacture was widely through guilds. Merchant guilds were often very powerful and controlled the trade in a geographic area. The craft guilds regulated the wages, quality of production and working conditions for apprentices. During the sixteenth century due to the changing trade and work conditions the guild system declined and this led to the putting out system. The reason for superiority of Europe in trade during thirteenth and fourteenth century was due to the technical advancement. Commercial capitalism mainly resulted in growth of markets and the towns, rise in the demand for consumer and capital goods like textile, wine, weapons, equipment's, development of the navigation and shipping industry and various scientific instruments like compass, maps etc. the price revolution led to the rise of the bourgeoisie class which emerged to form a powerful force in society. The rules and regulations of merchant capitalism led to the organization of business and industries. With all these consequences the commercial capitalism accelerated the pace of the coming of Industrial capitalism. Overall it brought drastic change in the entrepreneurial attitude and paved the path for the Industrial Revolution- a landmark in human history.

#### **4.6 Shift of economic balance from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic:**

By the end of the fifteenth century, the Mediterranean was the most developed area. By the end of the sixteenth century it declined and the economic balance of Europe shifted to the northwest area, on the Atlantic coast. The type of commerce also changed with the shift and growth of trade. During the sixteenth century the flow of spices from east to west and the bullion from west to east was important. Gradually, with coming up of new forms of industries, the consumption patterns grew and changed to accommodate the products of new varieties. With the growth of commercialism indigo from the east, porcelain from china, coco from America,

tea and coffee from Far East became commodities of prime importance. Large amount of bullion went to India from America and the black population was transported to America for supply of the slaves. European manufactured goods were dumped into distant markets. Refining of sugar and preparation of tobacco was another industry that was contributing immensely to the trade and apparently to the commercial capitalism. All these shifts and growths passed the maritime dominance from Mediterranean to the Atlantic shipping, due to the development of cheaper forms of sea transportation by the Dutch and the English. The dynamic changes taking place in economy and society of northern Europe by fifteenth century found expression in several vivid modes of outward expansion. These had important consequences for India and the remainder of Africa and Asia. Throughout fifteenth century, the Portuguese state displayed its remarkable organisational capacity in the systematic discovery, conquest and exploration of coastal states and ports from west Africa to Japan.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries due to the diverse factors the shift occurred in the economic centres from Mediterranean to the areas bordering the Atlantic coast. The Italian cities of Venice and Genoa, Marseilles in France and Barcelona in Spain declined along with the Baltic cities. According to S.J. Woolf, the fundamental reason for the decline of Venice was the transference of most of Venetian capital attention to land, because of population growth, high food prices and shortage of food supplies. The Venetians also mis-invested their capital in un-productive and non-revenue generating undertakings. Maurice Dobb proposes that the expanding late medieval cities of Northern Italy were perfectly consistent with the feudal mode of production. The economic expansion of Venice and Florence remained dominant by mercantile capital rather than industrial capital. Manufacturing capital was constricted with little possibility of enlarged production and competition became of freer, rurally located industries in North-western Europe and their lowest cost of production, which eventually brought about the ruin of the Italian industries. E. J. Hobsbawm believed that for capitalism to triumph, social structures of the feudal and agrarian society must revolutionize and the social labour must be radically redistributed from agriculture to industry. Before the fifteenth century, Mediterranean was the economic centre of Europe but by the sixteenth century the Atlantic became a high road to America and the African coasts. This overseas expansion of the Atlantic Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was mainly due to the technical power. The expansion of Europe, introduction of new products in Europe, import of vast amount of American bullion, increase in liquidity, increase in international trade, marked developed in shipping and metal industry was the by product of this shift and expansion. As discussed above favourable conditions for the economic growth set in.

With the development of trade the financiers also evolved and this helped in the growth of the commerce and business. Slowly, the usury became a normal part of the business life. Usury was mainly common amongst the jews since the eleventh century. The prohibitions against usury by the church meant nothing for the jews, as they were not Christians. Thus, the merchant capitalism and commercial activities continued to grow even within the feudal system. Adam Smith coined the term mercantilism and defined its significant role that led to the evolution

of commercial capitalism. Mercantilism was a state controlled economic policy which aimed to regulate the trade and commerce of the nation, factories and through this control it aimed to concentrate and wield political power by building fleets and equipping army. It varied from nation to nation. Its basic features were paternalism, imperialism, economic nationalism, and bullionism. The period between sixteenth to the eighteenth century has been called the period of mercantilism as it was a period of economic growth, increased use of money, sharp rise in the volume of trade and acquisition of colonies for protecting the trade benefits. Jean Baptiste Colbert, a French minister gave immense boost to the commercial capitalism by adopting a vigorous mercantile policy such as prohibition on money export, levying heavy tariff on the imports of the foreign manufactures and extending bounties to the French shipping. Christopher Hill proposes that the mercantilism of the Tudor monarchs of England was positively pro guild and restrictive towards the putting-out system. A series of acts like the Weavers act, the Enclosures commission etc were mainly aiming to flourish the putting out system.

#### **4.7 Rise of Antwerp:**

The rise of Antwerp, was an important cause for the shift of economy from Mediterranean to Atlantic. There were several contributing factors for the rise of Antwerp. During the sixteenth century, the city came to be described as the 'commercial capital of the world'. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the boom for Antwerp began when the Venetian merchants lost their monopoly over the spices trade of Asia. The first sign of it could be seen in 1501, when the Portuguese ship laden with pepper and cinnamon reached Antwerp. In 1508, the Portuguese rulers established a branch of Lisbon's *Casa da India* at Antwerp. In order to sustain the spice trade with Asia, the Europeans began paying for this trade in gold and silver. Antwerp gained from its close links with German traders and bankers. The rise of Antwerp was also because it was an extremely important centre of banking and commercial activities. S.T. Bindoff has mentioned four main conditions which governed the conduct of international trade at Antwerp: the technique of trade itself, the conditions on which various nations were admitted, the regime of the two town fairs and the state policy. As per Braudel, the rise and growth of Antwerp passed through three significant phases- Portuguese participation in the region, the Spanish participation and the supply of silver from America and last phase is the return of peace after Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis (1559) and growth of industry in Antwerp and the Netherlands. From here onwards the focus shifted to industry and it resulted in expansion of some industries such as linen, tapestry making and textile. Antwerp specialised in the finishing and dying of cloth, in sugar refining, soap making and in production of glass and majolica ware. It was also an important centre of printing industry. Throughout the period of sixteenth century Antwerp was enjoying international status with powerful group of merchants. Throughout its rise the foreigners such as Hanseatic and English traders, German commercial firms and the merchants from France, Portugal, Spain and Italy dominated Antwerp and the city didn't have any powerful navy to defend it. It succeeded in attracting merchants from diverse regions and faiths because of the tolerance on the religious fronts. Overall, the rise of Antwerp took place largely because of the Portuguese and German connections and later because of Spanish trade. And its sudden decline happened due to the economic, political and social factors.

The fundamentals shift in the balance of political and economic power was result of colonization of America. In the first three quarters of the sixteenth century the balance of power shifted from Mediterranean and Central Europe, firmly in favour of the Iberian peninsula. The stranglehold of the Ottomans on the medieval overland trade routes to the Far east, led to the decline of Italian ports. Spain and Portugal who established new oceanic routes gained. By the end of the sixteenth century and first half of the seventeenth century, the balance of power shifted away from the Iberian peninsula to North-western Europe to the advantage of England, France and Netherlands. It was due to the economic strangulation of the Spain and the involvement of Spain in the Thirty Year war and steady commercial rise of the countries like France and England. Consequently, Mediterranean Europe became a peripheral area specializing in high cost industrial products (silk) and credit and special transactions, which led to sharing-cropping as the mode of labour control in agricultural arena and little export to other areas. Historians Henri Pirenne and Paul Sweezy believe that the demand for luxuries was most significant factor in the expansion of European commerce.

The Mediterranean of the sixteenth century has been defined as a world theatre or world economy by Fernand Braudel. Despite political, social and cultural divisions the region of Mediterranean had certain economic unity. As per Braudel, this economic unity went beyond the frontiers of empires-Turkish and Spanish. The Christian merchants couldn't be found in Syria, Egypt, Istanbul, and North Africa, while the Levantine, Turkish and Armenian merchants reached Adriatic Sea. These transactions led to large volumes of currency and commodity transactions which led to prosperity. By the mid-seventeenth century the domination of the Mediterranean state came to an end and they were pushed out of the main networks of world economy. Even Antwerp lost its importance to Amsterdam. To understand this economic transformation, it is important to investigate the history of Spain. J. H. Elliott suggests that the Spanish decline cannot be viewed in isolation. He says the decline of Spain was not drastic one because even in the mid-seventeenth century Spain was the largest military power. However historians Carlo M. Cipolla and Henry Kamen have rejected this thesis. Some historians suggest that it was not general decline of Spain but it was actually the decline of only a few states of Spain. J. H. Israel argues that in the state of Valencia, the pattern was one of growth and expansion in the sixteenth century followed by stagnation and decline in the seventeenth century. This was also the case with Castile. Kamen, argues that the state of Catalonia showed distinct development during this period and that it was not the decline of Spain but only of Castile. Thus, the general decline of Spain was not set in but the decline of regions led to the losing of capitalist race in the seventeenth century by Spain. Earl J. Hamilton suggests that the silver imports from America played a major role in rise of Spain and when the volumes of import declined from 1620s, her decline also began. He adds that Spain couldn't have maintained and expanded vast empire without American silver and the illusion created by the American silver and gold in the age of mercantilism was primarily responsible for an aggressive foreign policy, a love for luxury and extravagance, and contempt for manual crafts which led to the economic decay of seventeenth century. He criticised the scholars for over-stressing external factors, while ignoring the internal



weaknesses of the Spanish economy. Historians have also worked on the various other factors such as decline of Spanish population, agrarian policies, shortage of industries, Spanish rule and revolts of Netherlands etc to highlight the causes for decline of Spain. Similarly, the decline of Italy has been explored to investigate and to find out the causes for shift of economy from Mediterranean to the Atlantic.

#### **4.8 Dutch Shipping Industry:**

The developments in the Dutch shipping industry made the Dutch the best sea transporters. From 1595, the Dutch started whale harpooning. The monopoly of fishing was granted to northern company in 1614. Whale fishing provided enormous profits not only to fisherman but also to the other manufacturers as its oil was needed to light lamps, to treat cloth and to prepare soaps. Hundred of fishing boats were attached as feeder to the large vessels. According to Braudel, during the seventeenth century 12000 fisherman caught 3,00,000 tons of fish. The herring trade contributed to the salt trade as the fish can be preserved for long by applying salt. By 1570s the Dutch developed new vessels called *flyboat* which were sturdy, round-sided ships with enhanced capacity. The pace of Indian Ocean commercial development fastened after the rise of north-western Europe to industrial and commercial primacy in place of the Italian city-state. Goa, was never centre of the entire system and the residence of the viceroy of the *Estada da India*.

In the Baltic trade till 1660, the Dutch dominated the commercial sphere in shipping owing to cheap freights and control of a sufficient supply of silver for export. They also showed willingness to buy more grain than the English Eastland company and also their ability to sell fish at very low price. Silver acquired from Spain and others through productive efficiency in shipping and textile helped. In Baltic trade the Dutch gained more in comparison to English due to the 'ready money' they had to export. The Dutch could undersell Baltic goods in England more cheaply. The Dutch trade with the Christian Mediterranean and Northern Italy which needed grains from the Baltic was significant from the late middle ages. North Italian textile was replaced with Dutch manufactured cloth, while the Dutch shipping replaced the Venetian. In the late sixteenth century the English, the French and the Hanseatics competed along with the Dutch for the Mediterranean trade. But, the Dutch controlled the largest share due to their technical superiority in the ship designing and commercial organization. The Dutch obtained most of the North Italian trade as well as the Venetian trade with Levant. Though the northern commerce gave strength and its most distinctive character to the Dutch economy, the Dutch ships were seen throughout Europe and beyond. The Dutch also controlled most of the trade of Western France till the mid of the seventeenth century and the French Baltic trade for much longer. Spain and Portugal depended upon Dutch shipping for their imports of Baltic produce and much of Spanish silver was carried to Amsterdam. Emergence of Amsterdam as the capital market of Europe was the most important factor that was responsible for the Dutch hegemony. The stock exchange at Amsterdam reached sophistication and refinement through speculative trading. Initially, only the Dutch East India Company traded its stock here but later



other stocks were also dealt here and loans were arranged in no time, which made Amsterdam an attractive place for finalizing international loans. With this began the trading in money and shares which gave rise to brokers. As per an Italian traveller, the stock exchange of Amsterdam was busiest even in 1782. Amsterdam Bank was another commercial institution. The bank deposit in Amsterdam increased from 10,00,000 florins (1610) to 80,00,000 in 1640. Proprietorial trade (handling goods on behalf of other and charging commission on it) was another noteworthy aspect of the Dutch economy. The person who gave order was known as the *commettant* and the person who received the order was called *commissionnaire*. As the Dutch merchants handled the trade on large scale thus these methods facilitated the trade. Through such means Amsterdam was able to establish Dutch supremacy over the financial markets of Europe. The seventeenth century conjuncture between India and Europe was closed by the interaction of three centralized, large-scale, rationalized organizations: the Mughal Empire, the Dutch East India Company and the British East India Company.

The Dutch traded up the Rhine waterway to Cologne and Frankfurt and beyond into central Europe, carrying Dutch and English cloth and colonial goods like sugar, spices and tobacco in return for wines, iron wares and zinc. The Atlantic trade to the Western Hemisphere and West Africa was very important to the heart of the Dutch commercial network. It contributed greatly to the growth of the European economy. The two great Dutch companies were V.O.C or the East India Company and the West India Company. In the sixteenth century, by virtue of their geographical position and commercial acumen, the Dutch, made their country and Antwerp the entre-port for the spices of the East and the treasury of America. The North sea herring trade with Portugal and Mediterranean brought them profitable commercial trade, while their Baltic trade in timber, flax, tar and fur made them indispensable to the other states of Europe specially, England. They also helped the English, the French and the Scot to set up colonies settlements in America. They launched sugarcane plantation in Brazil. They conducted serious slave trade in order to flourish the manpower for the sugar plantation. In 1675 AD they lost this to the English with the establishment of the Royal African Company. The Dutch expelled the Portuguese from their stronghold of Elmina in 1637 and Axim in 1641. Thus, by monopolizing the grain trade and carrying to Europe the accumulated wealth, the Dutch outdid the others in Baltic, the Iberian Peninsula, Asia, America and Africa. The Dutch hegemony over European trade contributed to the rise of Holland. Holland was the biggest province of the Dutch Republic of the northern Netherlands. It was most populous province consisting of a little less than half of the total population of the northern Netherlands, i.e. 6,70,000 out of the total population of 14,00,000 in 1622. By 1680, the Dutch population had gone up to 8,83,000 out of a total population of 19,00,000. Between 1514 and 1622, the population increase was about 145 percent.

This expansion of the Dutch lasted till the middle of the seventeenth century. After it the Dutch economy was seriously affected by the navigational wars and the protectionist measures adopted by the neighbouring states against the Dutch. The navigational laws passed by English parliament were aimed at destroying the Dutch fleet and their oceanic trade. The navigational

laws of France aimed at replacing the Dutch supremacy over sea. The French also fought three wars with the Dutch in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Some recent works have highlighted that the naval attacks of England and France in the second half of seventeenth century didn't completely destroy the Dutch monopoly. The gradual decline of the Dutch industries was accompanied by a shift from trading and industrial activities to the commercial sphere of banking and finances. C.R. Wilson says 'in this way, Dutch houses came to act as paymasters, transferring capital from one part of Europe to another.

#### **4.9 Summary:**

The expansion of the Dutch industry throughout the sixteenth century was quite marked. Industrial development was closely associated with the scientific explorations which tremendously progressed due to the two great sources of energy-heat and wind. This shift away from the continental power towards the sea power was a significant development of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. It is evident that the North Sea and the Baltic Sea regions developed their trade in the products of mass consumption while the Mediterranean continued to dominate the traditional trade in spices and luxury goods. The Dutch revolutionized the sea trade by adopting the inter-continental trade to modern requirements and to the exchange of bulk goods. The re-routing of the sea routes in the sixteenth century was not accidental. It mainly evolved due to the rapid commercial expansion which was triggered by the commercial mercantilism.

#### **4.10 Self-check Questions:**

1. What do you understand by the term urban economy in terms of the sixteenth century Europe?

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2. Highlight the significant features of the shift of economic balance from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.

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3. Critically access the rise of the Dutch Shipping industry.

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4. Define Commercial Revolution.

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5. Discuss the F. Braudel's opinion about the economy of the sixteenth century.

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#### 4.11 Glossary:

- *Commercial institution*: This term refers to the banks which work as the financial institutions that accept cheques, deposits, offer checking amount service and make loans along with various other facilities that minimize the hand exchange of the currency and promotes the payments across institutions.
- *Commissionaire*: the person who received the order from a commettant was called commissionaire. These both were essential components of the Dutch trade network.
- *Commercial Revolution*: this defines the creation of the European economy that was based on the trade. Its inception was in the eleventh century and it lasted until it was succeeded by the Industrial Revolution.

#### 4.12 Suggested Readings:

- Burke, Peter (ed.), *Economy and Society in Early modern Europe: Essays from Annals*, Harper and Row, New York, 1972.
- Davis, Ralph, *Rise of Atlantic Economics*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, Ithaca, 1973.
- Kiernan, V. G., *State and Society in Europe 1550-1650*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1980.
- Aymard, Maurice (ed.), *Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism: Capitalisme hollandaise et Capitalism mondial*, Maison des Sciences de L'homme, Paris and Cambridge, 1982.

- Martin, John E., *Feudalism to Capitalism: Peasants and landlords in English Agrarian Development*, Macmillan, London, 1983.

#### **4.13 Terminal Questions:**

1. What were the effects of the commercial revolution on the economy of the sixteenth century Europe?
2. Was commercial revolution responsible for the fall of the Mediterranean trade? Discuss.
3. How is the growth of the Atlantic and rise of the Dutch Shipping industry connected?
4. Define the economic conditions of Europe that were responsible for the rise of the commercial revolution.

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## **CHAPTER-5**

### **THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION**

#### **Structure:**

- 5.1 Objective
- 5.2 Introduction
- 5.3 Commercial Revolution
- 5.4 Causes of Commercial Revolution
- 5.5 Price Revolution
- 5.6 Origin of the Price Revolution
- 5.7 Silver Influx and the Quantity Theory
- 5.8 The rise of Demography
- 5.9 Summary
- 5.10 Self-check Questions
- 5.11 Glossary
- 5.12 Suggested Readings
- 5.13 Terminal Questions

#### **5.1 Objective:**

This unit explains the coming of the Commercial Revolution in the Europe. It also attempts to show the ways in which the life of the European countries was influenced by the different phases of the Commercial Revolution. Even those who thought that they are not part of it were also engaged with it either indirectly or unknowingly. In this unit we will try to see how the Commercial Revolution has acted as a social force and touched nearly every body's life in Europe. The merchant community rose significantly due to the Commercial revolution and they emerged as the most powerful group in the European economy. This unit will limit to the Commercial Revolution and the various views that historians have propounded in order to understand the growth of the commercial revolution. Price Revolution was another very significant aspect of the Commercial Revolution, in this unit we will also try to understand its aspects and effects.

#### **5.2 Introduction:**

The sixteenth century was a decisive period for the expansion of urban industry, intimate links between agriculture and industry, rise of new ports (Antwerp, Holland etc.), decline of Italian states, emergence of England, formation of colonial empires, expansion of the oceanic routes, shift of trade belts from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic coast, rise of capitalist agriculture, commercialisation of agriculture, expansion of manufacturing activities; primarily textiles started replacing agricultural products, expansion of trade, rise of the Dutch shipping

industry, expansion of trade and industry. The economic decline of the Netherlands from the mid-seventeenth century was mainly due to the British Navigational Laws and the French mercantilist measures. The gradual decline of the Dutch industries was accompanied by a shift from trading and industrial activities to the commercial sphere of banking and finance. The availability of abundant capital made the transition from international trading and commission business to credit banking rather smooth. The rapid commercial expansion overseas, gave an additional stimulus to the economic growth of the metropolitan centres at the hub of the system. All these conditions of the sixteenth century facilitated the growth of the Commercial Revolution. It was an important economic event in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

### **5.3 Commercial Revolution:**

The Commercial Revolution was a very important economic event in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries when the transformation of the European trade occurred as a result of the overseas expansion and the influx of bullion. The discovery of new trade routes, combined with the bullion, determined the nature of the trade, economy and business methods in the sixteenth and the subsequent centuries. Growth in inter-regional trade, ending of regionalism, trans-oceanic trade, growth of market and new kinds of commercial organisations were most important changes in the trade. The development in the international trade and the various means of banking and exchange between 1550 and 1700, especially in Holland and England can be termed as the 'Commercial Revolution'. The demographic growth created demand for consumer goods and increased market transactions. The rigidity of rural life was breaking down and overseas expansion was widening the commercial world of Europe. To handle these ever-growing economic transactions, the importance of commercial instrument was realised. The use of commercial instruments in business speeded-up the process of modernization and hastened the transition from feudalism to capitalism.

The commercial revolution permeated every sphere of the urban life and indirectly contributed to the development of capitalism. By the end of the fifteenth century, in Western Europe, the Mediterranean was the most developed area. But by the end of the sixteenth century this area declined and the economic balance of Europe shifted to the North-West area, on the Atlantic coast. As a result of the overseas expansion and colonization, the influx of Spanish bullion comprising gold and silver, into the Spanish and then later the European economy had drastic results. It led to the 'Price Revolution' and inflation which led in turn to the 'Commercial Revolution' or changes in the modes of transacting business. There were changes in the type of commerce with the shift and growth of trade. In the sixteenth century, the flow of species from the East and the bullion from the west were important. But gradually new overseas products became staples of consumption in Europe and grew in commercial importance- indigo from the East, porcelain from China, cocoa from America, tea and coffee from the Far East and the Near East etc.

The growth of trade between the continents resulted in the introduction of European goods and manufacture in the distant land, increased existing industries, and even created new one. With the expansion of towns in the later middle ages and in response to the needs of their trades and industries, the money economy had everywhere become more pervasive. The various forms and methods of capitalism had developed earlier but they were constrained by limited opportunities of a self-dependent and conservative Europe. The new era of expansion gave a tremendous stimulation to capitalism. The crucial financial techniques like credit, banking, and book keeping had developed much earlier and became common in the sixteenth century. The evolutionary interpretation of the sixteenth century was due to the revived economic and commercial growth.

#### **5.4 Causes of the Commercial Revolution:**

The expansion of the trade was one of the major reasons for the commercial advancement. The trade routes that were closely associated with the market force experienced significant advancement in the management and organisation of trade. Many regions were integrated because of trade. With the emergence of the colonial empires of Portugal and Spain, some regions of Europe were linked to the emerging port cities of north-western Europe. Sea routes became popular because of the risks to the internal trade routes caused by increasing religious, political and social disturbances in Europe. Trade via shipping became popular because it was faster, cheaper and easy to handle. Widening trade benefits due to the increasing demand of food items to feed the increasing population made trade organizations complex and brought about profound changes in the trade structures. From the sixteenth century the demand for the consumer goods increased, which in the previous century was limited to the luxury goods. The rise of the middle class and their growing prosperity changed the patterns of trade which stimulated the trade and industry. With this numerous urban centres emerged and size of towns began to grow and it created conducive environment for new commercial instruments and greater skills and expertise. This further helped in the expansion of global commerce during the sixteenth and seventeenth century and was mainly responsible to bring about the Commercial Revolution. Price Revolution was another parallel economic movement in the sixteenth century. The demographic pressure and availability of increased quantity of silver resulted in a steady rise in price.

In sixteenth century certain special elements of commerce emerged in the common transactions of business. Availability of capital was the first basic requirement of the commercial world. In the late fifteenth century the colonial enterprises were carried out by the funds that were supplied by important merchant bankers of the period. The expansion of trade needed capital investments for a longer duration. The possibility of profit made many bankers and entrepreneurs to invest their capital in trading ventures. In absence of the modern banks, the banker families performed this function of accumulating capital. The Fuggers of Augsburg and the Medici family of Florence were the most notable example of this. The modern banking systems developed only in the middle of the seventeenth century, till then banking operations were performed by private bankers. During sixteenth century several new bankers emerged in



France, Holland and England. The tie-up between government financing and banking was significant in sixteenth century. Gradually, the private and public banks were taking shape. The public banks attracted the surplus money by offering a safe place for deposits and rendered valuable service in the transfer of money. The rise of banking was accompanied by the adoption of different methods of financial transactions. The new credit facilities and instruments were important in the coming of the commercial revolution.

The European businessmen not only popularised these methods but they also perfected the techniques of handling credit instruments and this facilitated the capitalism. Other forms of credit instruments like promissory notes that were payable to bearer also came in use in Holland, Antwerp and France. Negotiability was another important feature of these credit instruments and was chief feature of the commercial transactions of the banking operations. With the banking system and the growing use of credit instruments the concept of insurance came into being. It was mainly to cover the risk of trans-oceanic ventures. Maritime insurance emerged as commercial practise against risks of oceanic trade which was managed by bankers. Thus the sixteenth century was a time of great financial progress in North-West Europe. The development of cash-keepers' business and the discounting of writing obligatory and of bills of exchange prepared the way for modern discount banking.

The improved forms of communication also helped the trading activities to certain extent. The trade began to reach different commercial centres with the introduction of the postal services. By the sixteenth century postal services were established in Spain, France and England. The markets, organization of fairs, peddler trade became permanent features of the coastal towns. The increasing volume of trade and the expansion of the commercial economy transformed the form of organisation. The regulated company was changed into a new type of organisation called the joint stock company. It was compact and wider in scope. The actual shareholders entrusted the functioning of the company in the hands of the directors and shared the profits and losses in proportion to the amount they had invested. The joint-stock companies offered several advantages. These companies secured much larger capital than any other form of partnership. With the passage of time the joint-stock companies assumed permanent character. The formation of the stock exchanges in the commercial cities was an interesting aspect of the commercial revolution. According to Braudel, a stock exchange was the meeting place of bankers, merchants and businessmen, dealers and banker agents, brokers and investors. The commercial revolution also contributed to the growth of money economy. All the above stated trends became important aspects of the Capitalist Economy. This unprecedented commercial growth naturally led to immense accumulation of capital and is referred as the Commercial Revolution. In nut shell the term 'Commercial Revolution' has been used to make sense of the scale of economic growth and changes witnessed within the functioning and evolution of economic and commercial institutions, in the Early Modern centuries, particularly the sixteenth and the seventeenth. These changes are said to have laid the foundations for the development of capitalism and its institutions in the subsequent centuries. The Commercial Revolution later helped to bring about the Industrial Revolution.

### **5.5 Price Revolution:**

Economic historians have labelled the period from 1500-1620 as the 'Price Revolution'. It was an extraordinary phenomenon of the sixteenth century. Its cumulative impact was so profound that the economic historians have termed it as 'the Price Revolution'. The economic and social consequences of the price revolution have drawn the attention of several historians from different countries and their explanation helps us understand the role of economic forces in social transformation of pre modern Europe. In the sixteenth century, Europe witnessed a phenomenal rise in prices of essential commodities. This price rise appears significant when analyzed and compared to the prices of the earlier centuries. Although the fluctuation in prices remained within 2% or 3% of the earlier prices, it was significant enough to cause ruptures and break in the existing social-political and economic structures. The impact of the price rise or inflation in cost of commodities has been considered by some scholars to be transformative as it laid the foundations for the capitalist society and later new economic system. The term 'price revolution' has been used to signify the same. Due to rising cost of commodities, the rise in cost of living was first noticed in English and French sources. It was mainly in the commodities like food grains, especially cereals. The increase was minimal in case of manufactured items as textiles and metal products. The English, French and the Alsatian sources indicate that the steepest rise was in the price of arable farm products followed by livestock farm products. In south Netherlands and Norway, the price of grains escalated faster than that of fish and cheese. In Sweden the price of barley and rye went much higher than that of butter, cloves, pepper and iron. The town of Speyer (Germany) experienced phenomenal price rise between 1520-1621. In France, the prices of the grains have increased ten times and of cattle eight times from the end of fifteenth century till the beginning of the seventeenth century. According to Hamilton, between 1601-10, the Spanish price level had gone up 3.4 times.

Despite prolonged occasional dissent amongst the scholars about the use of term-Price Revolution, the term is still continues. Scholars consider that the price rise theory is an exaggeration as the price level of the sixteenth century is compared with the long static prices of the fifteenth century. The price rose very rapidly in the sixteenth century after a prolonged price stability in the fifteenth century. This was succeeded by the hundred years of unstable price. The increased supply of bullion expanded European World economy. The use of bullion also prevented the fall in prices. Many historians propose that the revolutionary price rise in the sixteenth and seventeenth century was due to the influx of American silver and gold. Braudel has pointed out that the coincidence of the curve of influx of precious metals from America and the curve of price throughout the sixteenth century seems so clear that there seems to be a physical and mechanical link between the two. Everything was governed by the increase in the stock of precious metals. E.J. Hamilton has attempted to establish a direct correlation between the import of Spanish America in treasure and increase in Europe in price by stating that, changes in the price level are directly proportionate to changes in the quantity of money in circulation. The price rise was felt in Cadiz and Seville, ports from where the American silver arrived and from where it spread to other countries of Europe. Contemporary writers have explained this price rise as being due to bad crops, monopolies, frauds of foreigners, speculations, high taxes, high wages, decreased population, excessive luxury and debasement of coins.

The monetary explanation of the price rise is unable to explain- why the food prices rose faster than industrial prices. Monetary explanations of the price revolution suggest that the inflation stimulated economic growth, price rose faster than the wages and rents. The rise in price were mainly due to the cost of production, caused profits to rise and thus provided incentives for new entrepreneurs, enterprise and funds to finance it. All over the Europe, the wages earners suffered due to the rising prices. The prices of goods produced on land were rising and other goods were also getting costlier. Thus, the landlords tried to raise their rental. Historians have attempted to explain the fall of real wages in comparison of the grain prices. French scholars trace the cause back in the mid-fifteenth century when the state authorities levied tax on earning. But different situations existed in different countries for the wage-lag. In England, enclosures were blamed for agricultural unemployment and the lowering of wages. Schmoller, has emphasized on the debasement of coinage as a major trend for price rise of food grains. In comparison of the food grains, the price of the animal products didn't rise much.

### **5.6 Origin of the Price Revolution:**

Historians have provided various theoretical explanations on the origin of the price revolution. Theologians and preachers had blamed the creation of individual wickedness as the reason for the price rise. They also attacked the monopolists and the usurers. The German Diet blamed the Fuggers and other merchant bankers for it. Thomas More in *Utopia* blamed 'the unreasonable covetousness of a few 'for 'the great dearth of victualles'. He called sheep man-eater, as the supply of food were becoming short because the greedy landlords were turning their lands into sheep farms to make profits out of the sale of wool. In England, grain merchants and rack-renters were blamed for price rise.

### **5.7 Silver influx and the Quantity Theory:**

Professor Martin de Azpilceuta suggested that the price rise was due to the increasing availability of bullion. During the sixteenth century the English government debased its coins thrice (1520, 1546 and 1551) and the silver content was reduced to one-sixth. In between 1543 to 1546, the silver content of a shilling was reduced from 100 to 40 grains. Jean Bodin, has offered several explanations based on his observations and he considers the influx and silver as the main reason for price rise. Later, Richard Cantillon and Adam Smith also shared his views. In the late eighteenth century, Adam Smith stated that the discovery of the mines in America seemed to have been the sole cause of diminution in the value of silver in proportion to that of corn. In the twentieth century, Fernand Braudel and E.J. Hamilton gave historical confirmation to this theory and it was known as Quantity Theory of Money. Miskimin and R.S. Lope have accepted the role of American bullion in causing the price revolution in general sense. According to Cipolla, the most important reason for the rise of price in Italian states prior to 1570 was the country's work of reconstruction after the prolonged war. He also agreed that the American silver bullion inflow created a floor below which the price could no longer fall.

## 5.8 Rise in Demography:

The demographic explanation has been used as an alternative to the quantity theory of money. Scholars like Peter Kriedte and Ralph Davis have suggested that it is likely that other non-monetary factors unleashed the price revolution and the Spanish silver only provided a secondary role. The steady rise in the population in the second half of the fifteenth century accompanied the steady rise in urbanization which led to the moving of people to the urban centres. In 1500, there were only five large cities in Europe (Constantinople, Naples, Venice, Milan and Paris) each with a population of over 1,00,000 inhabitants. By 1600, nearly eight new cities emerged like Rome, Palermo, Lisbon, Seville, Marseilles, Messina, Antwerp, London, Amsterdam and Moscow. A number of smaller towns also expanded such as Vienna, Lubuck, Augsburg, Danzig, Straasburg etc. According to Julius Beloch, in around 1600, the most populous regions were in Germany, France and Italy. It is evident that, in the sixteenth century a steady rise in population in every part of Europe was happening and this rise in the population had created greater demand for food, fuel and clothing. This placed a heavy burden on the agricultural production and land as the agricultural production technology didn't change much. In Netherlands and England, urbanization speeded up rather sharply from the mid sixteenth century coinciding with the period of Dutch hegemony followed by England's economic ascendancy. Thus, several factors were responsible for price rise in the sixteenth century.

The impact of the Price Revolution was felt by entire Europe. Hamilton has asserted that there was not only a price rise but also a wage lag. It deprived the laborers of a large part of income and diverted this wealth in the hands of manufacturers and middlemen. Thus, rent and wages lagged behind. The price revolution led to few changes in the manufacturing sector in the form of new methods and inventions in the preparation of soap, glass and sugar refineries. The textile manufacture shifted from guild controlled urban centres to the rural areas to escape municipal control. Some historians believe that the price revolution provided a major incentive to economic transformation in Western Europe and resulted in partial collapse of the manorial system of agriculture. In England the price revolution brought about the rise of gentry. The small peasants suffered during the price rise and the landowners started substituting feudal cash rents into service rents. The cheap labour was raised to carry out farming work. The long-distance trade in food items provided profits to the middleman or to those who controlled trade. The social impact of the price revolution was disastrous for some sections. It intensified the poverty as a social concern which forced the kings to solve the problem and in England a series of Poor Laws was enacted and were codified in 1601. Thus, the price revolution set in motion a series of economic and social changes in Europe and it contributed to the commercialisation of agriculture, expansion of market structures and promoted manufacture activities. On the other hand it strengthened the control of nobility over the land and expanded serfdom and feudal order in Central and Eastern Europe.

## 5.9 Summary:

The rise in the trade and commerce activities during the sixteenth century was not limited to one single country. All the countries were adopted various ways and means to enhance their trade benefits. Later, some emerged as dominant economies. No doubt, some nations lost the race of the commercial capitalism but it cannot be denied that the commercial revolution touched nearly every aspect of the European nations. Through constant participation in the trade activities the European nations tried to use a large variety of both domestic and foreign goods. European traders believed that all trade was beneficial both to the trader and to the public. The significance and the force of this revolution was felt in Europe till late. As we have seen above it was the revolution which triggered the significant aspects of the economy such as price, mercantilism etc. the effect of this revolution was felt till the late nineteenth century. In the next unit we will read about the internal and external changes that were initiated due to the Commercial Revolution.

## 5.10 Self-check Questions:

1. What do you understand by the Commercial Revolution?

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2. How the Commercial Revolution and the Price Revolution are related?

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3. Define the Silver influx and its features that changed the dimension of trade.

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4. Was rise in population a reason for the Price Revolution?

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### 5.11 Glossary:

- Price Revolution: it is sometime known as the Spanish Price Revolution. It was also a series of economic events that occurred between the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century and most specifically linked to the high rate of inflation.
- Silver influx: it was global silver trade between America and Europe. It genuinely marked the beginning of the global economy.
- Joint-stock companies: these were companies that were type of business organization wherein the risk and cost of doing business is mitigated through the sale of shares. Most famous joint stock companies were created in Europe for the purpose of conducting long-distance overseas trade.
- Commercial agriculture: is basically growing of the crops that are intended to sell for profit-making. It was a significant feature of the commercial revolution.

### 5.12 Suggested Readings:

- Pettegree, Andrew, *Europe in Sixteenth Century*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 2002.
- Van Hotte, J. A., *An Economic History of the Low Countries, 800-1800*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 197s7.
- Martin, John E., *Feudalism to Capitalism: Peasants nd Landlords in English Agrarian Development*, Machmillan, London, 1983.
- Vsan Bath, Slicher, *The Agrarian History of Western Europe, A.D. 500-1850*, Elward Arnold, London, 1964.

### 5.13 Terminal Questions:

1. What are the various views on the origin of Price Revolution?
2. What were the major changes that were introduced with the commercial Revolution?
3. Lay down the causes of the Commercial Revolution.
4. What was the impact of the Price Revolution in Europe?

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## **CHAPTER-6**

# **AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION AND THE MERCANTILISM**

### **Structure:**

- 6.1 Objective
- 6.2 Introduction
- 6.3 The Agrarian Revolution
- 6.4 The enclosures Movement
- 6.5 The Seventeenth Century Agrarian Crisis
- 6.6 Idea and Practice of Mercantilism
- 6.7 English Mercantilism
- 6.8 French Mercantilism
- 6.9 Summary
- 6.10 Self-check Questions
- 6.11 Glossary
- 6.12 Suggested Readings
- 6.13 Terminal Questions

### **6.1 Objective:**

The seventeenth century was a significant century for Europe as it witnessed many agrarian reforms that subsequently enhanced the Agrarian productivity. This enhanced productivity of the crops- both cash and cereals had a direct impact on the trade, which reduced the dependency of the European nations on the Mediterranean grain supplies. This change along with the Commercial Revolution paved way for the shift of entire overseas business, from the hands of the Chinese and Arabian merchants in favour of the English trade factors. In this unit we will read all the agrarian reforms that happened in Europe and with special reference to the England and France. The Mercantilism was another very significant aspect of the seventeenth century which grew rapidly due to the support received from the agrarian reforms. In this unit we will also study the specifications of the mercantilism and would specially try to understand the mercantilism of France and England.

### **6.2 Introduction:**

The Western Europe in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century was mainly marked by two major events, the decline of Spanish economy and a rapid rise of England. Many factors were responsible for these developments like, the economic, religious and dynastic wars, changing conditions of growth and decline, new mode of production etc. According to Ralph Davis, a decisive shift in economic strength towards the countries of North-Western Europe took place during the first half of seventeenth century. It was movement away from



Italy and towards Holland. France was also facing the effects of these changes in the form of rising population. A new international division of labour was generating in which the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Spanish and the Atlantic lands were supplying primary products for the industrialized society of Europe.

Plantation economies evolved and emerged in the Atlantic world during the course of the late 16th and the 17th centuries. Establishment of large-scale plantations and farms, supported by a large labour force mainly constituting of imported slaves from West African coast were chief characteristic of early colonial economic investment. In the seventeenth century, the Baltic was known as granary of west and it supplies timber, iron, hemp, flax, pitch and tar to them. The countries bordering the Baltic and Mediterranean got their supplies of wool and linen from the Netherlands, France and England. The ships mainly built in England, Holland and Hamburg supplied these goods. The markets of London and Amsterdam provided the commodity and capital for these trades. The Agricultural Revolution many involved innovations in farming that led to a dramatic increase in food production. For example, Charles Townshend's idea of crop rotation allowed farmers to grow more food, while JethroTull's seed drill allowed faster and more efficient farming practices. While these were important features of the Agricultural Revolution, there was another that also had a big impact on the Industrial Revolution.

### **6.3 The Agrarian Revolution:**

During the seventeenth century the agriculture rose marginally, but it was not sufficient to feed the increasing population. It did bring down the dependence on the Baltic grain imports but in general it prepared way for acceptance of agricultural innovations that were essential to support the renewed growth. Vast majority of population was engaged in agricultural industry. The small pieces of lands were the nucleus of property and 75% of the French peasants were cultivating on small lands. The tools of agriculture were primitive. The specialization in marketable goods like wine helped to raise the standard of living. The small farmers were poor and the owners of medium size holdings employed the draught animal to increase production. Many members of the professional and mercantile class bought and exchanges land plots from the peasants to establish farms of reasonable size. For cultivation of large plots it was necessary to have equipment's, livestock and entrepreneurial skills. The big undertakings devoted to the grain production, while the smaller ones did mixed farming.

The necessity of growing grain was determining the cultivation patterns. Additional crops were grown only when the circumstances permitted. During seventeenth century two broad systems were practised in France. Under crop rotation, in the Northern and Southern France during this period one cycle involved an autumn crop (wheat and rey) and the second one was a spring crop (barley, oats etc.) and the land lay fallow in the third year. In the south France up till the valley of Louvre, there was only one harvest of a bread cereal followed by a fallow year. Chestnuts were grown in central France and olives and mulberry in the southern France. Fields were cultivated temporarily by burning of stretches of moorlands. Generally,

two to three crops were grown on the ashes before the soil attained back its natural state. The peasant's preoccupation with the corn growing was a central problem of agriculture in the thickly populated areas. Corn was the basic foodstuff thus its demand was almost fixed. When the fluctuations occurred in the production then the prices shifted accordingly. The frequency and violence of fluctuations in corn prices discouraged peasants from investing their savings in the cultivation of other crops. In the early seventeenth century, along with the conversion of land to corn, there was a move towards widespread introduction of peas and beans to feed cattle on land by marling, and the spread of the practice of seed selection. In England the flooding of uplands was used to produce abundant hay. Slowly, England reduced import of Baltic grain and France was able to dispense the corn imports in the end of the seventeenth century. During the seventeenth century the cereal cultivation was main concern of agriculture in France. During this time animal husbandry was also a problem because there was shortage of natural pastures. Sheep was the main livestock in all the grain growing areas, providing manure on fallow lands. Cows were used for ploughing rather than milk. Ewes and goats were used for milk and pig for meat supplies. The hides and wool were the most important by-products of livestock breeding which were providing lucrative trade and material for rural industry. Wine making was fundamental in the life of the French peasantry. According to Pierre Goubert, the rising trend of production reached its peak in North around 1630 and to south in later 1670.

Despite agricultural innovations, France went through food crisis in 1680s, from 1693 to 1694 mainly due to the reluctance of the French peasantry to change. France was generally self-sufficient and it exported products like wine, spirits, salt, grains and cloth. The sale of agricultural produce was an important part of the both internal and external commerce, but the export of grains was usually forbidden to meet the internal requirements. Some products like wine, fibres, natural dyes, flax, hemp, saffron, wood, oil and tobacco were regularly exported with official authorizations. In France, the struggle over the land rights went in favour of peasants in peasant landowning areas and they became owners. But largely, the peasants in France paid higher rents to the lords for use of mills and ovens.

#### **6.4 The Enclosure Movement:**

Due to the internal policy and agricultural changes, there was a continuous upward trend of improvement in England from 1660s. In the seventeenth century England was predominantly rural and agricultural. Agriculture virtually provided all the food and drinks and the bulk of raw material that was used in industry. The English farmers followed the example of the farmers from the Low Countries and took up animal husbandry. On the other hand the English government aided the farmers by banning import of competing products from Ireland. The slow and steady growth of the large estates is one of the basic phenomena of the modern capitalism. Enclosures of commons were the principal method in England for increasing concentration. Money and efforts were constantly required to create such estates. The judicial form of strict settlement in England prevented the heir either from selling or mortgaging his property. Brenner has stated that in England, the agrarian advancement was possible because

the landlords were able to engross, consolidate and enclose through which they created large farms and leased them to capitalist tenants who could afford to make capitalist investments. England was leader of woollen textiles in Europe. The growth of population accompanied with urbanization and increase in the wage earning class led to an increase in the home demand for the agricultural goods. In the sixteenth century, prices of food rose faster than the wages as 50% of the population of towns was wage earner and it depended on the markets for food. Facing the rising demand the farmers of England raised the production with traditional means and organisations. New lands were brought under cultivation and new techniques were also applied. Up and down and convertible husbandry was introduced in sixteenth century. Drainage of excessive fens, marshes, fencing and salting along the coastline resulted in procuring more lands for cultivation. The reclaimed lands were improved by sheep grazing. Introduction of new crops like carrots, turnips, legumes and improved grasses like sainfoin, rye, clover etc. indirectly improved the fertility of soil.

In England, most of the land was owned by the Crown, the Church, the secular landlords, gentry and freeholders. During the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries the crown land decreased due to bad management and inflation. They also sold their lands that were bought by the capitalists. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries most of the grain growing farms were small. In the later seventeenth century they became large due to enclosing and engrossing. The rich peasants created large farms by enclosures and consolidation of farms. Enclosure, also spelled Inclosure, the division or consolidation of communal fields, meadows, pastures, and other arable lands in Western Europe into the carefully delineated and individually owned and managed farm plots of modern times. Before enclosure, much farmland existed in the form of numerous, dispersed strips under the control of individual cultivators only during the growing season and until harvesting were completed for a given year. In England the movement for enclosure began in the 12th century and proceeded rapidly in the period 1450–1640, when the purpose was mainly to increase the amount of full-time pasturage available to manorial lords. Another important feature of the Agricultural Revolution was the Enclosure Movement. In the decades and centuries before the 1700s, British farmers planted their crops on small strips of land while allowing their animals to graze on common fields shared collectively. However, in the 1700s, the British parliament passed legislation, referred to as the Enclosure Acts, which allowed the common areas to become privately owned. This led to wealthy farmers buying up large sections of land in order to create larger and more complex farms. Ultimately, this forced smaller farmers off of their land. Having lost their way of life, many of these farmers went to local towns and cities in search of work. Much enclosure also occurred in the period from 1750 to 1860, when it was done for the sake of agricultural efficiency. By the end of the 19th century the process of the enclosure of common lands in England was virtually complete.

By the seventeenth century the landlords were providing fixed capital along with the working capital to be used on the farm. They also influenced the farming methods by adopting the leasing policies. The landlord was ready to exploit the estate for incomes and they were

also willing to invest in agriculture. In first half of the sixteenth century, the wool growing industry was encouraged and it was followed by the grain production. The pastoral farming became the mode of economy as the demand for meat, dairy products and industrial raw material was constantly increasing. Urbanization encouraged the market gardening, industrial expansion led to arboriculture and cultivation of dyeing and finishing material for textile industry. Gradually, the English trade in wool, leather, grains, hops and mineral grew out due to the capacity of its farms and lands. The uninterrupted growth of river and coastal traffic was contributing vitally to England's economic life. There was no systematic policy regarding the overseas trade. The export duty on the wool rose significantly during sixteenth century which prohibited the export of raw wool. England made decisive move towards commercialization of agriculture. Kriedte has defined proto-industrialization as the development of the rural regions in which a large part of population was self-sufficient that lived entirely on agricultural produce. The rural industries also expanded in many places.

### **6.5 The Seventeenth Century Agrarian Crisis:**

The seventeenth century agrarian crisis in the southern and eastern parts of Europe led to the widening gap between the two zones of Europe. The agricultural innovations appeared in both England and France during the third decade of the seventeenth century but both attained different results. The eastern and the central-eastern Europe witnessed an extension and tightening of serfdom and England and Netherlands moved away from feudalism and went on the way of capitalism. Legally, even after paying higher taxes, the French peasant was more independent in comparison of the English peasant, who paid no personal taxes. In the end of the seventeenth century, the method of crop rotation was practised in the England and Netherlands. The commercial agriculture grew rapidly, which made the forge crops like clover and turnip popular. On an increasing scale, the Norflok system of four-yearly sequence was introduced in England. These methods led to improved soil fertility and increased yield on the per unit of land which gradually led to the partial dissolution of the older types of communal agriculture.

### **6.6 Ideas and Practice of Mercantilism:**

The discovery of new items, operations of merchants and new trade routes changes the fortune of the European states. It is difficult to give an exact meaning of mercantilism as none of the European states adopted uniform or identical policies. Several generations of economic historians have attempted to fit the evolutions of the economic life (from sixteenth to eighteenth century) under the term mercantilism. Adam Smith coined the term in 1776 to refer to the commercial policy that was followed by the European states in the seventeenth century. Maurice Dobb describes it as a system of state regulated exploitation through trade. Eli Heckscher, interprets this policy as a tendency towards the economic unification of the nation states. Mercantilism contained many interlocking principles in which precious metals, such as gold and silver, were deemed indispensable to a nation's wealth. If a nation did not possess mines then the precious metals was obtained by trade. It was believed that trade balances

must be “favourable,” meaning an excess of exports over imports. Colonial possessions should serve as markets for exports and as suppliers of raw materials to the mother country. Manufacturing was forbidden in colonies, and all commerce between colony and mother country was held to be a monopoly of the mother country. Several definitions have been provided to define the term- mercantilism. The definition provided by Cole and Clough has been considered as the most appropriate. Many aspects of mercantilism have been studied by scholars like Adam Smith, Gustav Schmoller, Eli Heckscher, J. M. Keynes, G. N. Clark. However, T.W. Hutchinson has suggested that the historians shall get rid of the term mercantilism as it is the vaguest and most irritating. Whereas Richard S. Dunn observed that mercantilists were always patriots.

The theory of mercantilism aims to explain the growth that was attained along with the role of money, commerce, production and rise of colonies. Briefly, mercantilism both in theory and practice was economic state building and the use of the state to enhance the interest of policy maker- public or private entrepreneur. A strong nation, according to the theory, was to have a large population, for a large population would provide a supply of labour, a market, and soldiers. Human wants were to be minimized, especially for imported luxury goods, for they drained off precious foreign exchange. Sumptuary laws (affecting food and drugs) were to be passed to make sure that wants were held low. Thrift, saving, and even parsimony were regarded as virtues, for only by these means could capital be created. In effect, mercantilism provided the favourable climate for the early development of capitalism, with its promises of profit. Generally, mercantilism helped the capitalists by putting the power of state behind him. The mercantilists demanded a state that is strong enough to protect the trading interests and to break down the barriers of trade.

As stated above the mercantilist idea emphasised on government stimulation, supervision and protection of the state economy. It aimed to increase the power of state and the efficiency of the national government. For them wealth was not an economic concept but was a means to reinforce the strength of the state. Every mercantilist state had its own brand of mercantilism- the Portuguese mercantilism was based on spice trade, Spanish mercantilism was related to the American silver, the Dutch focused on the shipping and cargo trade, the English concentrated on manufacturing and colonial regulations and France paid attention to their industry, colonies and navy. Bullionism was one of the most important trends of mercantilism. The availability of bullion was the real reason behind the glory of the Spanish empire. The balance of trade was an important feature of the mercantilism and it was ensured through numerous treaties, memoirs, negotiations, custom calculations, legislative measures. The emphasis on mines, manufacture and industry was a mechanism to nurture and protect industry. Policies like incentives for technology transfer, encouraged production through organisation and modifications were means to achieve self-sufficiency and to have surplus for export. The colonies had great role to play in mercantilism as it developed mainly due to the markets that was available in the colonies. The new colonies like America and Caribbean provided silver and sugar, the chief sources of new wealth. The colonies were also source of employment and the bases to deport the increasing population.



### **6.7 English Mercantilism:**

The features of the English mercantilism continued to shift from the fifteenth to the late eighteenth centuries. The emphasis was on bullionism, balance of trade, regulation of domestic industry and manufacturing industries and activities, navigational laws and finally colonial regulations. The first Tudor king (Henry VII) tried to enrich the royal treasury through trade and bullion. The statutes of Artificers (1563) were implemented to bring together a number of earlier laws to regulate employment and check transfer of industry. The Weavers Act (1555) checked the putting out system. Export of wool and leather was forbidden in 1559. Importance was given to monopolistic institutions and seven monopolies were granted the production rights. The Joint Stock Mines Royal Company was formed in 1568 to exploit copper and iron mines. Select merchants were given rights to manufacture salt, soap, wine and coal dealing. In 1613, royal inspectors were appointed to control the production of silk. The Poor Laws were passed to check the increase of undesirable elements in towns. A series of laws were passed in 1536, 1563, 1572 and 1576 and all these were combined in an important Act in 1601. Pauper children were given training in some useful trade. In 1581, the parliamentary law forbade the export of any coins and bullion. The Tudor law also insisted that English goods shall be shipped only on English vessel. The goods brought in foreign ships paid higher duties. The East India Company was created in 1600 based on a charter from Queen Elizabeth. The foreign trade brought honour to the Crown. During Oliver Cromwell's time mercantilism policies were followed with great vigour. The Navigational Act of 1651 established supremacy of English over the waters. Under the guidance of Sir George Downing, the trade between England and colonies was strongly enclosed, protected and channelized in English ships. Thus, it is evident that English mercantilism changes with time.

### **6.8 French Mercantilism:**

In France a close relationship between the mercantilism and absolutism was established and the resistance of mercantilism also took absolutist character. The national policies of France were similar to those of England. The size, wealth and geographical position of France also influenced the French mercantilism. The constant interaction between the French rulers, economists and scholars and the ideas and actions made France confident of the European hegemony. Thus, the French mercantilism developed slowly from the middle ages and in the pre-modern world the national economic policies showed concerns on different subjects. French monarchy tried to regulate, direct and control the economic life of people through mercantilist methods. Regulations were made in fifteenth century to attract gold and silver. The restrictions on the luxury goods were implemented with the idea that the consumption of luxury goods outflows money. Edicts of 1485 were followed by several other banns that prohibited common people from wearing gold, silver or silk cloth. The estate general suggested for production of own clothes to stop the outflow. The edits of 1571 regulated the manufacture of woollen cloth. The ordinance of 1581 provided for the organisation and supervision of guilds in all types of industry and commerce. Montchretien has expressed the French mercantilism well. In his work *Treatise of Political Economy* he has explained an indispensable relationship between the economic and political elements. And considered the kings right to enact laws in economic sphere as an encouraging feature to build up a prosperous, strong and self-sufficient France.

Through the effort of Laffemas, the Commission of Commerce was created in France in 1601. The commission stimulated the economic life of France by promoting mulberry cultivation. It also encouraged the skilled craftsmen to settle in France. In mid-seventeenth century, Chief Minister Richelieu adopted a strict mercantilist policy towards commerce and manufacture. As per him royal edicts were best means to stimulate growth. Later, under Jean Baptist Colbert, French mercantilism achieved its glory and he followed an orthodox path. As per him it was solely the monetary wealth of the state that determined its greatness and power. For him manufactories were not only source of wealth but they also provided the social stability. To encourage commercial expansion he established several royal companies like French East India Company (1664), the West India Company (1664), the Northern Company (1669) and the Levant Company (1670) and these helped in creation of French colonial empire. Besides these various economic measures like heavy import duties, reducing number of festivals, control of quality, appointment of inspectors and protection against competition etc were also adopted.

### **6.9 Summary:**

The mercantilism of the Netherlands, Sweden, Austria, Dutch and Portuguese was also rising during the sixteenth century and they also adopted various ways and means to enhance their trade benefits. Later, mercantilism was severely criticized. Advocates of laissez-faire argued that there was really no difference between domestic and foreign trade. According to them all trade was beneficial both to the trader and to the public. They also maintained that the amount of money or treasure that a state needed would be automatically adjusted and that money, like any other commodity, could exist in excess. They denied the idea that a nation could grow rich only at the expense of another and argued that in reality the trade was a two-way street. Laissez-faire, like mercantilism, was also challenged by other economic ideas.

### **6.10 Self-check Questions:**

1. What was the agrarian crisis of the seventeenth century?

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2. Describe the changes that were introduced in England with the enclosures Acts.

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3. Compare the agrarian reforms of France and England.

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4. What were the chief features of the English Mercantilism?

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#### 6.11 Glossary:

- Bullionism: it was the monetary policy of the mercantilism. It called for national regulation of transactions in foreign exchange and in precious metal (bullion) in order to maintain a favourable balance in the home country.
- Norflok System: it was a four-course system method of agriculture that involved crop rotation. It basically marked by an absence of a fallow year.
- Baltic trade: the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are often called as an 'era of the Baltic trade'. The great geographical discoveries at the end of the fifteenth century changed the network of main transport route following which the big shift in the trade from Mediterranean to the Atlantic and Baltic sea developed.
- Mercantilism: the economic theory that trade generates wealth and it stimulated by the accumulation of profitable balances, which a government should encourage by means of protectionism.

#### 6.12 Suggested Readings:

- Biltz, R. C., 'Mercantilist Policies and the pattern of Trade, 1500-1750', *Journal of Economic History*, 27, 1967, pp. 39-55.
- Coleman, D. C. (ed.), *Revisions in Mercantilism*, Methuen & Co., London, 1969.
- Heckscher, Eli F., *Mercantilism*, Macmillan, New York, 1955.
- Magnusson, Lars, *Mercantilism: The shaping of an Economic Language*, Routledge, London, 1994.

#### 6.13 Terminal Questions:

1. Highlight the features of the agrarian crisis of the seventeenth century.
2. Describe the features of the French Mercantilism.
3. What were the efforts of Laffemas and how did they help France?
4. What do you understand by Agrarian Revolution?

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# **UNIT-III**

## **CHAPTER-7**

### **SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION OF THE 16<sup>TH</sup> AND 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES**

#### **Structure:**

- 7.1 Objective
- 7.2 Introduction
- 7.3 Intellectual Environment
- 7.4 Phases of the Scientific Revolution
- 7.5 Growth of the Scientific Revolution
- 7.6 Technological Improvements
- 7.7 Institutionalization of science
- 7.8 Science and Religion
- 7.9 Revolution in Printing and informatics
- 7.10 Social Context of Printing
- 7.11 Summary
- 7.12 Self-check Questions
- 7.13 Glossary
- 7.14 Suggested Readings
- 7.15 Terminal Questions

#### **7.1 Objective:**

The aim of this unit is to understand the shift of Europe from the religious setting to the scientific investigations. During the sixteenth century the Europe underwent a lot of scientific overhauling, which challenged the existing beliefs. They people engaging in the scientific studies even challenged the classical theories of heaven and universe. The inventions, scientific inquiry improved on basis of the experimentation system that was followed by the scientist of the time. We will also get to know that many scientists were punished with death sentences due to their discoveries. Even then the committed community of the rational thinkers continued to work and research to find the rational answers for exploring the hidden aspects of the nature. We will also get to know the specific contributions of the scientists. We will also try to understand how the printing helped the scientific community to circulate and disseminate their discoveries.

#### **7.2 Introduction:**

The scientific revolution was one of the most decisive factor and a great turning point in European History. Between the Renaissance and Newton, there was an intellectual revolution in which the ideas about nature and society underwent a radical transformation. During this time the traditional mode of thinking which was governed by the classical and ancient Greek and Roman world was dislodged and it was replaced by 'modern thinking' which implied scrutiny

of natural phenomenon by hypothesis and experiment which encouraged logical and rational thinking. The process by which the new views of universe and knowledge of science came to be established was called the Scientific Revolution. The great treatise of Greek sciences that were lost became available from the Islamic sources. By the end of the fifteenth century scholars like Robert Grossetest, John Buridan and Nicholas Oreseme were anticipating mathematical and physical ideas. Scientific revolution was contemporaneous of capitalism and Puritanism and the growth of modern state and democracy.

### **7.3 Intellectual Environment:**

In the seventeenth century man's perception of universe witnessed great change. An intellectual environment was created where the old earth centred concept of universe gave way to a new picture in which earth was only seen as one of the many planets that are orbiting the sun. It resulted in the demystification of the universe, re-thinking of the moral and religious matters and it resolved the intellectual crisis in Europe. In the seventeenth century, scientific learning and investigation began to increase drastically. The rise of science was known as natural philosophy and it was associated with intellectual triumph in mathematics, astronomy and physics.

### **7.4 Phases of Scientific Revolution:**

According to J.D. Bernal, the period of Scientific Revolution can be divided in three phases:

1. Phase of Copernicus: in which the geocentric view of the universe was replaced by the heliocentric concept.
2. In phase two a base was provide to this view by the thinkers like Tycho Brahe, Kepler and Galileo.
3. Phase of Isaac Newton and Rene Descartes: in which scientific societies were formed and science was becoming an institutional part of European society.

Technically, the scientific Revolution began by the end of the sixteenth century but the modern scientific insistence based upon observations and verifications occurred only in seventeenth century. Speaking historically, the period of scientific revolution tailed during the Renaissance, where part from the religious wars and Restoration, there were great navigational discoveries which brought about the subjugation of the Italy by France and Spain and finally led to the rise of Spain as a world power. Later, the opening of America and the East to the European trade resulted in influx of money, inflation, price rise crisis and finally colonization. The discovery of the New World, sea routes to East and success of the early voyages of discovery created enormous demand for the ship building industry and navigation. The demand of compass, maps and other instruments of navigational support also grew. These also grew the interest in the careful observations of the celestial bodies, so that more reliable tables could be drawn. Navigational schools were established in Portugal, France, England, Spain and Holland.

## 7.5 Growth of the Scientific Revolution:

The Ptolemaic Theory of Heavens which was based on Aristotelian view of universe was upset by the expositions made by Nicholas Copernicus about the solar system. Copernicus rejected the earth-centred cosmos of Aristotle. He made this revolutionary discovery on basis of the mathematical observations and calculations. Due to his observations he was condemned by the church for serious breach. His work *On the Revolution of the Celestial Order* was published only after his death. Telescope was the greatest scientific instrument of age and its discovery was by product of the manufacture of spectacles in Holland around 1600. Galileo Galilei was a professor of physics and military engineering, with the help of a telescope that he himself made, he completely destroyed the medieval picture of the heavens and later he was to stand on trial for it. Giordano Bruno was another exponent of the heliocentric theory and he was burnt at the stake of heresy. Tycho Brahe, a Danish scientist built the first scientific institute of the modern world from where he observed the position of the stars and planets. Observations of Tycho were developed by Johannes Kepler. Galileo and Kepler model of solar system was adopted by the astronomers. They achieved this because of the brilliant mathematics. Vieta developed algebra and trigonometry, which speeded up the calculations enormously. In the mid of fifteenth century Nicholas of Cusa (a famous theologian) argued that the universe was infinite and uniform both in its substance and in the laws of governing it. Simon Stevin represented the decimal system in 1568. He also laid the foundation of modern hydraulics. In 1614, Napier introduced logarithms. Leonardo da Vinci attempted quantitative mechanism. During his stay in Venice he spent most of his time in study of mathematics. He drew perfect maps as an engineer and was regarded as a marvel of scientific cartography. He anticipated the use of steam and sketched a cannon and designed paddles for ship. Everyone admired his genius as a man of wit, a singer, a poet, an excellent painter, a sculptor, an architect, a mechanic, military and civil engineer, a natural philosopher and a pioneer in many realms of science. He was the first to study the structure and arrangement of flowers and foliage and originator of the science of hydraulics and the camera obscura. William Gilbert published *De Magnete* in which he gave all the known facts about the magnetism. He concluded that earth was a magnet and it was the magnetic force that is holding the planets in their place. He founded the science of electricity and magnetism.

## 7.6 Technological Improvements:

Improvements in technology led to the advances in mining, metallurgy and chemistry. Water wheels were introduced in mining activities. The undershot wheel and the overshot wheel were used for damming the rivers and metal processing. It was also used in paper mills. The opening up of new mines led to the growth of chemistry, smelting of metals and developments in medicine. The artist of this period learned science as it was important for them to attain perfection. Alberti believed that no painter can paint without a thorough knowledge of geometry. He propounded that the knowledge of nature can be improved with the aid of the mathematics. Leonardo argued that painting and experiment is the only path of certainty. Piero Della Francesca, an intellectual painter had great passion for geometry and all his works were planned on the principals of mathematics.

Another factor which engaged the intellectual interest was magic. The magical inquiry had various dimensions. Alchemy was seen as a secret formula of nature while the theory of atomism suggested that all matters were made up of tiny particles whose composition can be changed. Theophrastus V. H. Paracelsus was the leading figure of Renaissance medicine. He was fonder of the new school of iatro-chemists. He challenged the Greek belief that illness is caused by imbalance of the four elements of body. Agricola was a physician and he wrote books on geology. Van Helmont performed the first experiment in plant physiology. Andreas Vesalius published the famous text titled *Fabrica Humani Corporis* on human anatomy which was based on the extensive dissections of human body. William Harvey tried to find the mechanical explanation for the circulation of blood in human body. His findings made little immediate impact but his discoveries laid the foundation for the rational physiology. Francis Bacon rejected the teleology but he expounded the scientific methods of experiment and observation and greatly popularized the experimentation. He was a strong advocate of the organised and collective research. He was one of the founders of the Royal Society. Bacon warned the experimental philosophers against the metaphysical considerations. Rene Descartes also believed in the practical possibilities of the new knowledge. He fought against the medieval system of thought and succeeded only by using logic. He considered human body machine and was first to formulate the philosophy of dualism, the sharp distinction between body and the soul. He liberated the scientists from religious hang-ups by dividing the universe as physical and moral. And he professed that the science shall only concern with the measurable. Thus, all these scientists worked and gave clarity about the discoveries and stressed on the need of rational knowledge which was evidence based and shall be away from the religious interference. The intellectual growth paved way for the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century. The experimentation and observation formed the basis for the scientific and rational inquiries. The theorization of the concepts was also leading to the formulations of thesis and development of the applied sciences. The scientific revolution paid attention to the technological aspect and this led to the inventions of mechanical clock, microscope, telescope, barometer, air pump, paddles etc. and this contributed immensely to the rise of modern science.

### **7.7 Institutionalization of science:**

Bacon and Descartes raised the status of experimental science amongst the non-scientists. The new means of natural philosophy were discussed widely amongst the middle classes that comprised of doctors, lawyers and people of means. Besides the virtuosi (middle class consisting of doctors, lawyers and people of means), there was public which was preoccupied with the science and they formed a large group that contributed to the scientific movement. This group mainly consisted of highly technical craftsmen like surveyors, metallurgists, military engineers, clock makers, industrial chemists and instrument makers. These craftsmen were educated and they wrote books and papers. They even wrote for the scientific journals like *Philosophical Transactions*. During the seventeenth century Robert Boyle worked on the vacuum and gas laws which facilitated the invention of steam engine in next

century. Rupert Hooke studied elasticity and discovered the Hooke law. He invented the balanced wheel and its use made possible the accurate watches and chronometers. The idea of inverse square law and universal gravity were his greatest contributions.

From the mid of the seventeenth century science became more institutionalized and the London Royal Society grew out of the informal meetings held amongst the scholars. Gresham College was first place where the informal meetings were organised and lectures in English and Latin were delivered through which geometry and astronomy was taught. This college was scientific centre of England. During the Civil War these meetings were held at Oxford and later the Royal Society of London came into being for promoting natural knowledge. The royal approvals were given to these societies as these helped in growing the trade and navigation. The scientific growth and education in England and Holland was mainly in the field of navigation. John Dee and Mercator were the popular educationist who drew the correct maps in the New Age. The Royal Society was collection of curious minds who were concerned with the knowledge and its use for practical purposes. This helped in construction of instruments and devising the technology that was required for commercial sector, manufacturing industries and agricultural sector. The members of this society collected curious objects from all over the world and corresponded with the foreign learned bodies. On the urging of Colbert, Louis XIV established the French Royal Academy in Paris. Both the societies (Royal Society of London and French Royal Academy) concentrated on the problems of pumping, hydraulics, gunnery and navigation. Even after various innovations and discoveries during the seventeenth century the special attention continued to exist on the planetary sciences or astronomy. The major invention of the age was the theory of universal gravitation which was proved by Newton. He influenced all the mathematicians and astronomers and set the norms and direction for scientific enquiry. Isaac Newton developed calculus to solve a great variety of mechanical and hydraulic problems. Newton's *Principia Mathematica* proved that all the heavenly bodies move according to the law of gravitation. This was the final stage of transformation from the Aristotelian picture of world.

There are various approaches that explain the origin of the modern sciences. The Marxist writers propose that the scientific revolution rose directly in response of the needs of the capitalism in order to support the trade and navigation. R. Hooylass says that the process of discovery was started by Portuguese navigators which finally culminated in the discovery of the New World. The discoveries of the new lands in Asia, Africa etc. was creating interest in the natural world. Thus, the rise of science was not only limited to the sciences, it also allowed new social classes to rise and ensured a direct relationship between the growth and inventions. Scholars like A. Koyre and Arthur Koestler have suggested that each event in the development of science was independent of society. According to them the development of modern science was the product of individual genius. Alexander Koyre has credited the unparalleled insight of individuals and it is impossible to define the scientific revolution. Arthur Koestler in his book *The Sleepwalker* suggested that the scientific development was essentially a sketch of great individuals whose achievements were governed by individual qualities rather than the demand

of the society. Herbert Butterfield has used the phrases such as 'an epic adventure' and 'a certain dynamic quality' to describe the scientific events and puts forward that the scientific revolution was ultimately inexplicable. He has emphasised on the role played by the technology in the development of scientific movement.

Some scholars have emphasised on the progressive aspects of science. According to them Galileo and the other scientists owe their success to the intellectuals of the ancient and medieval ages. As per them Aristotelian views were not the hindrances rather they were the initial important developments of science and shall be credited for the ground that they prepared for the modern growths. Charles Webster says that the science have a vast scope and by ignoring religious, political, economic and intellectual movements from the study of science, the scope of science could become extremely limited which will ultimately reduce the scope of history. Crombie has pointed out that modern science owed much of its success to the use of the inductive and experimental procedures, consisting of the so called experimental methods. As per him the scientists of the new age have transformed the Greek geometrical method into experimental science of the modern world. Marxist scholars have linked the development of the scientific revolution to the society. Boris Hessen links the scientific development to the needs of the bourgeoisie class. He says Newton's work was related to the needs of the English merchant class. Most of the Marxist scholars see the scientific revolution in context of the contemporary social change. Engels, believed that the science is a product of the social needs. As per him, if a society had a technical need then that helps the science to move forward. There the science performs the role of more than ten universities. Edgar Zilsel stated, the origin of science should be recognized as a sociological phenomenon. According to him, the beginning of science in Europe was greatly influenced by the achievements of ancient mathematicians and astronomers and medieval Arabic physicians. He relates the emergence of science to the needs of the capitalist society.

The introduction of new technology and technical innovation were directly related to the demands of the production and warfare. In early capitalism, economic success depended on the spirit of the enterprises and competition, something which was unknown to the feudal society. The feudal society was governed by the culture and tradition whereas the capitalism was ruled by the rationality. The critical scientific spirit could not have developed without economic competition. The urban society needed mathematics for keeping accounts and calculations, thus they provided necessary conditions for the rise of the scientific spirit. Thus, in between 1300 to 1600, the three factors that dominated the European society were universities, humanism and labour and they all contributed to the rise of the scientific spirit. A. R. Hall has emphasised the contributions of the diverse individuals to the rise of modern sciences. As per him these people who have contributed to the science during the sixteenth and seventeenth century were especially professionals, including the university teachers, professors of mathematics, anatomy and medicine. Christopher Hill has reinforced the sociological interpretation of the scientific revolution. He treated as a general social phenomenon that was linked with the rise of the bourgeoisie and the thinkers cannot be separated from their



social climate. According to him the science was also responsible for the English Civil War. He stated that the works of Bacon- *Advancement of Learning* and *Novum Organum* gave a blue print to 'forward looking' merchants and artisans of the early Stuart period. A new independence of the scientific enquiry was brought about in the seventeenth century due to the achievements of the modern sciences.

The scientific subjects like matter, motion, vacuum, magnetism and components of colour were also debated and studied. Margaret Cavendish was the famous natural philosopher of the seventeenth century. The Newcastle Circle became a gathering of distinguished scholars and scientists. The Academie des Sciences in France helped in promoting the products of mercantilist thinking and raised the technical proficiency. The Paris observatory was also established to conduct researches in the fields of natural philosophy. Around the natural societies, the scientific activities flourished in England and France to make the scientific researches more beneficial. The technical studies were not promoted which had direct bearing on the society and the fields of craft and industries.

### **7.8 Science and Religion:**

An important debate exists on the relationship between the Protestants reformation and the rise of the modern sciences. Some scholars put forward that the experimental science was the product of the protestant ethics. Whereas, another group of scholars suggest that the development of the modern sciences originated in the Catholic countries, especially Italy. Max Weber, R. K. Merton, S.F. Mason and Christopher Hill believed that the experimental sciences developed by the seventeenth century because of the new ethical considerations that were provided by the protestant thinkers. According to Weber, the Calvinism created a favourable atmosphere for experimental science. As per Robert K. Merton, the role of Puritanism was crucial for the emergence of the modern sciences. He further stated that we must turn to the religious ethos and not theology to understand the integration of science with religion in the seventeenth century England. S.F. Mason in his work titled *The Scientific Revolution and Protestant Reformation* ascribes a variety of factors to the growth of the scientific movements. He says, the new technical problems in the field of industry, navigation and war were the caused by the economic stimulus and throughout the sixteenth century the science was closely associated with the mercantile enterprises. The merchants were promoting sciences through sponsorship, scholarships and translations. As per him the first concordance between the Protestants and the modern sciences was occurring when the Protestants challenged the medieval world-view. Similarly, the anti-authoritarianism and individualism was common to the early Protestants and modern sciences.

Scholars like M.M. Knappen, M.H. Curtis, J. B. Cannott, T. K. Rabb, T. S. Kuhn, H. F. Kearney were the main critics of the argument that the rise of modern sciences was related to the spread of Protestant Reformation. Toby Huff presented another interesting view against the relationship that was proposed between the rise of modern sciences and Protestant Reformation. He stated that till the fourteenth century, China and Arab world was far ahead of

Europe in sciences, but in the subsequent century the situation reversed. As per him it was due to the cultural difference and the legal revolution that emphasised rational study of nature based on criticism was the key of the European progress. The autonomous legal corporate bodies that were needed for the free and objective thinking and investigation in nature were lacking in Arab and China which pushed them out of the capitalist race. The establishment of the large number of universities in Europe encouraged the independent thinking and free thought. Thus, it was not the cultural difference that prevented the further progress of China and Arabs but it was mainly the economic difference and the rise of the modern sciences should be placed against the dramatic shift from feudalism to capitalism that was taking shape from the sixteenth century.

In the seventeenth century the rationalists subscribed to the physio-theology in which attempts were made to explain god's natural world rather than seeing him through Bible. To mark this change, Roy Porter said God became more remote and Nature less sacrosanct. The differences amongst the scholars regarding the link between the reformation and Scientific Revolution were unresolved but it is concluded that the changing economic and social conditions were leading to an urban society and rise of the modern science is a by-product of urban society where individuals played a significant role in rational thinking which led to the inventions. Overall it can be said that the Scientific Revolution of seventeenth century marked triumph of mind and due to it many sciences underwent a fundamental reorientation both conceptually and component wise. Here onwards, the science began to occupy a permanent place in European culture and society.

### **7.9 Revolution in printing and informatics:**

In the medieval times European knowledge systems revolved around the scribal culture which basically consisted of hand written manuscripts that were copied and preserved for transmission. This was a limited enterprise and it also limited circulation of the copied manuscripts. Ultimately, the circulation was the only way to access knowledge. Moreover these manuscripts were scattered in libraries or monasteries and could be accessed only by a handful of people. The scattered nature of these manuscripts made the task of collating, comparing and analyzing the knowledge a difficult job. This again in turn meant that only a limited number of people could engage in the exercise of education. With the coming of print the opportunities of accessing these works expanded and new dimensions arose.

With the coming of the print revolution attempts were made to reconstitute the past systems of knowledge. However, now the new technology of printing was placed at the disposal of a dispersed community of scholars. As a consequence the reconstitution and communication about past works, lost languages and lost texts began 'to accumulate in an unprecedented fashion. As Eisenstein points out the trend towards individualism gains a fillip with the rise of print culture. Now biographies of saints and kings of the scribal culture began to be accompanied by biographies of ordinary individuals pursuing more 'heterogeneous' careers. The scribal culture had not been able to preserve copyrights of works with the print

culture it was now made possible. Moreover the print culture made the airing of private thoughts in the public domain a possible enterprise. The scribal culture due to its limitations had not been able to publicize the works of say the Florentine artists of Renaissance. With the oncoming of the print culture the publicity of these artists increased manifold and their individual contributions were highlighted on a large scale. Earlier, during the period of scribal culture mostly conjectural portraits of the artists were available, now with the introduction of print technology even scientific achievements or engineering feats were made available to the larger public.

In distinguishing the scribal phase of the Renaissance and the proliferation of communication that became possible with the rise of print culture indicate to two phases of Renaissance period. The first phase is that of the high achievements of the Italian artists and writers and with these developments Renaissance achieved its glory and the second phase started with the communication revolution that was brought about by the print culture that disseminated the achievements and the attitudes of Renaissance to far-off places. In fact the print revolution made the communication revolution a possible. The fact that the new printing technology was now placed at the disposal of the Renaissance, and it opened up the accessibility of the Renaissance to large masses which was initially limited to a closed circle. This in turn made the effects of Renaissance more lasting and permanent. Humanism encouraged the pursuit of classical studies for their own sake, but it sharpened the sensitivity to anachronism, and quickened curiosity about all aspects of antiquity; but it could not supply the new element of continuity that is implied by the term 'rise'. Findings relating to lost texts and dead languages began to accumulate in an unprecedented fashion not because of some distinctive ethos shaped in quattrocento Italy but because a new technology had been placed at the disposal of a far flung community of scholars. With the growth of printing this versatility could also be copyrighted and patented. In Venice in between 1469 and 1474, the development of laws gave legitimacy to the printed work and invention in terms of according them the right to patent. These laws transformed the anonymous artisan into the eponymous inventor, released individual initiative from the secretive cocoon of the guild, and rewarded ingenuity with the luster of fame as well as the chance to make a fortune.

It may be argued that along with these developments there also arose a new spirit of independence and new claims to shape one's own life distinct from one's background, parents and ancestors also gained ground. In contrast to the claims made by some scholars attributing this to the ethos of Italy recent studies have shown how this was helped by the print culture. There is a proliferation of 'do it yourself manuals' and 'self-help books'. These included manuals like, how to maintain one's own accounts, holding family prayers, easy steps to help in making your own drawings and pictures, mixing clay, surveying fields, design buildings and machines parts. These extended the opportunities for an individual to learn the new sciences and crafts by their own. These self-instructional literatures took the individual out of the classroom and provided them avenues for self-development. Many mastered new skills in this environment that was free from the prejudices of tutelage learning. These developments accompanied the transformation of the concept of library. During the scribal period, the library was a narrow

closed space where the manuscripts were housed within the narrow confines of a monastery or abbey. With the coming of print culture library was viewed as an open space where the multiple copies of printed works were available to more and more people. The multiplication of readership meant a greater access and a greater need for avenues to discuss the works. Thus, the library became a center for commenting, analyzing, discussing and dissecting the works, both orally and in print.

Eisenstein suggests that the move from the scriptorium (scribal Work shops) to the printers workshops were a factor of emergent capitalism or industrialization. The social relations of the printers' workshop were crucial in developing the notion of both heads and hands. Book learning and practical activities provided equally valuable sources of knowledge. Unlike the earlier scriptorium and editorial office, the print shop was a place where artisans and scholars worked side by side. The former learnt to appreciate intellectual issues while the latter developed a taste for manual labor along with editorial habits of mind. Thus the Renaissance notion of learning by doing emerged 'more from the printers' workshop than from the diffuse spirit of the age. Gilmore, the Renaissance scholar says, 'invention and development of printing with movable type brought about the most radical transformation in the condition of intellectual life in the history of western civilization. It opened new horizons in education and in the communication of ideas. Its effects were sooner or later felt in every department of human activity'. It may be pointed out here that this interaction in the printers' workshop created a new cross cultural exchange that was experienced initially by the new occupational groups that proliferated with the onset of printing. Even before a particular work came off the press there were constructive interchanges between the type founders, correctors, copy-editors, translators, illustrators and others who took the editorial work forward. The early printers read the works which were coming off their presses and also read the works brought out by other printers. This resulted in an invigoration of intellectual activities and led to further creative ideas. The emerging mode of book production also brought together bookworms and mechanics.

Consequently new forms of theory and practice in the printing world came up which were removed from the closed precincts of the monastic libraries in to the hustle and bustle of commercial establishments. Printed editions of works also facilitated a new the trajectory of knowledge generation. The job of sorting out of knowledge could now be done by a wider community of readers. Now they made coordinated efforts in comparing and collating the textual information. They came together for correcting errors, finding anomalies and to bring-in new information. A feedback process was developed which brought in emendations in the knowledge put forward by the texts. Learning changed from the process of recovery and promoted the scribal culture. The discovery of progressive strides was made from the efforts of copying texts to enhance the knowledge contained in them. This knowledge could then be further printed and disseminated facilitating further knowledge generation.

The studies of Renaissance often overlook the impact of the print culture, but it can hardly be missed. As Geoffroy Atkinson points out 'the Reformation was the first religious movement which had the aid of the printing press'. In fact the printing press played an important role in ushering in the Reformation. It may be further argued that the Reformation was the first movement to exploit press as a mass medium which aimed at arousing popular support for its cause. Luther himself pointed out that printing was 'God's highest and extremist act of grace, whereby the business of Gospel is driven forward'. The providential role to printing for the masses was reaffirmed by Johann Sleidan in 1542, he argued that 'as if to offer proof that God has chosen us to accomplish a special mission, there was invented in our land a marvelous new and subtle art, the art of printing. This opened German eyes even as it is now bringing enlightenment to other countries. Each man became eager for knowledge, not without feeling a sense of amazement at his former blindness'. Both the religious and secular (protestant and the enlightenment thinkers) have considered the printing as a marvelous device that ended the monopoly on learning of the priests, and it did away the ignorance and superstition, countered the popes and helped Western Europe to come out of the Dark Age.

#### **7.10 Social context of printing:**

With reformation came the Catholic-Protestant divide. This becomes the most important turning point in the history of Christianity in the West. It entailed re-examination of the biblical tradition and transmission of the Bible itself. It gave a fillip to the investigation of that tradition and large number of works started appearing. With the rise of Protestantism and the rise of new attitudes that are often linked to the culture of thrift and hard work and it led to the emergence of capitalism. Eisestein points out that here by drawing a contrast between life styles and work habits of scribes with the printers we may reach a more nuanced understanding of the emerging behaviors of the people of early modern Europe. The profit making printers worked to bring out devotional and theological works. To stay in business they were less likely to turn to orthodox theology or the Christian virtues as preached by the monks. The printers publishing the new volumes in fact basked in the reflected glory of the new trends in religion and reform. They invariably reinforced the impression that they were serving an elevated calling. But the emphasis was on their relatively autonomous status. On the one hand they fought against being relegated to a low and servile mercenary calling and on the other hand they struggled equally against being incorporated in to monkish or other religious prejudices. In that sense they tried to carve out an autonomy for themselves and often portrayed themselves as 'freemen working voluntarily at an excellent and noble calling'. Indeed they determined a work rhythm for themselves in the times when they were peculiarly vulnerable to work stoppages by strikes or theological infighting. Their pace of work was determined by the requirements of their relentless machines. Copying jobs were farmed out and the early printers even developed time and motion studies to keep their workers engaged all the time. In the process a work culture developed which discouraged idle chatter and subordinated friendship to impersonal efficiency. Moreover a culture of humor and satire developed which was directed at religious clericalism and inconsistencies of monkish way of life. As hand illumination was replaced by wood cuts and engravings new opportunities for anti-clerical themes developed. Gradually jokes and humor were converted in to public scandal directed against the clergy.

Gradually, a new culture of reading developed. John Hale hints out that the nobles who only focused on dueling and hunting and did not know how to handle books suffered a loss of prestige. Lawrence Stone pointed out that the royal councilors were increasingly called upon to 'think clearly, analyze a situation, draft a minute, know law's technicalities and speak a foreign language.' All these definitely required an ability to read and assimilate books on diverse topics. Thus to hold a position in court reading and education of different subjects was essential. Since the early sixteenth century nobles started acquiring private libraries leaving the nobility of the sword and the clergy behind. Learning by reading was now becoming as important as learning by doing. A legal bureaucracy sprang up which by the dint of its proficiency in reading and interpretation of rules, privileges etc. was carving out a space for itself.

This led to a new and different kind of schooling for the children. It was emphasized that 'when the king needs someone to reply to a foreign ambassador, he will turn not to the horn blowing gentleman but the educated rustic'. It is in this context that when the Spanish courtiers complained to Habsburg Emperor Charles V about his appointing a low born councilors he told them to see to it that their children were better educated. Eisestein points out that in the sixteenth century schoolmasters and text book publishers came in and this process in fact brought about the reconstruction of the European aristocracy. The rise of 'bookish education' spread to the scattered countryside. By now the aristocracy was reconstructed as men of letters. In fact they came up as freethinkers and libertines and also as connoisseurs, dilettantes and amateurs who were no longer impressed with pedantry and jargons and now they used vernacular rather than Latin language. Moreover the shift in book production from the abbeys to the printer's workshop contributed to the decline of ecclesiastical influence in the longer run. Similarly, the spread of printing workshops in Europe was also non stereotypical. On the whole the printing presses gravitated towards the protestant regions because it was affected by many different variables and concurrent changes. Eisestein hints to the role of wealthy religious refugees in providing the fillip to printing in Geneva in the 1550s. Following her it may be proposed that religion did play a role but in unexpected and paradoxical ways in the growth of printing centers so we shall not see the rise of printing purely in terms of catholic protestant divide.

### **7.11 Summary:**

The social penetration of literacy which came about with the expansion of bible reading also changed the character of group identity and fuelled rising expectations from education. Indeed as various historians have pointed out many 'low born' Londoners cited the importance of printing press and education in their lives. They engaged in book learning and brought out tracts and pamphlets proclaiming themselves as 'free born'. With education there also arose an informed political culture. Debates and political mobilization marked the rise of this new political culture. Changes in the position of the householders also occurred with the rise of the new printing culture.



### 7.12 Self-check Questions:

1. Discuss the growth of the Scientific Revolution. What was its effect on the society?

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2. What types of changes were introduced in the Printing during the scientific revolution?

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3. How do you define the institutionalization of science?

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4. Critically examine the intellectual environment that evolved during the sixteenth century.

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### 7.13 Glossary:

- Antiquity: it refers to the ancient past, especially the period of classical and other human civilizations before the Middle Ages.
- Celestial order: it refers to the traditional hierarchy of the angles to which the philosophers of the classical age use to refer.
- Rationalist: a person who bases his opinions and actions on reason and knowledge rather than on religious belief and emotions.

### 7.14 Suggested Readings:

- Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as Agent of Change*, Volumes 1&2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, London, 1979.



- Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge*, Volume-1, Polity Press, London, 2000.
- Bernal, J. D., *The Social Function of Science*, George Routledge, London, 1939.
- Hall, A. Rupert, *From Galileo to Newton*, Dover, New York, 1981.
- Butterfield, H. J., *The Origin of Modern Science 1300-1800*, Macmillan, New York, 1958.

#### **7.15 Terminal Questions:**

1. Discuss how the printing helped the scientific revolution?
2. What were social and institutional changes that were facilitated by the printing?
3. Discuss the challenges that science posed to the religion.

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# **UNIT-IV**

## **CHAPTER-8**

### **EUROPEAN WITCHCRAFT 'CRAZE' OF THE 14<sup>TH</sup> TO 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES**

#### **Structure:**

- 8.1 Objective
- 8.2 Introduction
- 8.3 Reformation and Society
- 8.4 Women and Religion
- 8.5 Social Order and Popular Culture
- 8.6 Witchcraft
- 8.7 14 and 15<sup>th</sup> century
- 8.8 Karmar's *Malleus Maleficarum*
- 8.9 The witch hunts
- 8.10 Estimates of execution
- 8.11 Catholic vs. Protestant Conflict
- 8.12 A feminist interpretation
- 8.13 Summary
- 8.14 Self-check Questions
- 8.15 Glossary
- 8.16 Suggested Readings
- 8.17 Terminal Questions

#### **8.1 Objective:**

After reading this unit we will be able to understand the changes that were happening in the lives of women of Europe all through the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth century. We will also engage with the various reforms and their effects over the popular culture and social order of Europe. The witch craft was one of the popular cultures in Europe and from fourteenth century onwards this culture underwent a lot of change both in good and bad senses. After finishing the unit we will be able to analyse the atrocities that were inflict upon the women in the name of witch hunting. Thus, this unit is crucial to get an insight into the dynamics of the European society which in contemporary times was also trans-versing through the scientific and commercial revolution that too after the Reformation.

#### **8.2 Introduction:**

The medieval world was a closed society, dominated by feudalism and the Catholic Church and its priesthood. The church was the focal point of life and touched nearly every aspect of person's life from birth to death. Despite shortcomings church determined the

predominant ideology. Its will was imposed by a mass of sanction and it maintained itself by a host of fiscal as well as spiritual demands. The rise of Reformation prepared ground for religious reforms in the Middle Ages. These political developments of the later Middle Ages led to a decrease in the institutional power of the church and it also led to the weakening of its pretensions. The reduction in the power of the Holy Roman Emperor, who was theoretically the temporal head, also weakened the papal estate. The growth of new political consciousness prepared ways for various social changes in Europe. Mainly, it was the Protestant Reformation that made immense effects on the different arenas of society.

### **8.3 Reformation and Society:**

In earlier unit, the Reformation and its developments have been discussed in great detail. In this unit the effort is to inquire in the European witchcraft that has dominated the social life of Europe from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The first consequence of the Reformation was the breakdown of the Catholic Church. Each community tried to establish its own identity that was highly organized and laid down strict norms for the political, moral and social behaviour. Indirectly, during this phase Protestantism contributed to the idea of political liberty. Both Luther and Calvin preached for the political freedom. Calvin separated the church and the state and assigned the state the role of maintaining peace and order. Whereas, Luther requested the subjects to obey the command of their rulers. Calvin also insisted that the subjects must follow the Biblical path rather than following the man. According to Calvin, the resistance was not to be attempted by private individuals but it shall be expressed through the representative assemblies. The Calvinists immediately justified it by rising in an armed rebellion against the rulers in France, Scotland, Netherlands and England. Calvin's ideas stirred the political revolutions and upheavals. In France the Huguebots and in the Netherland the Calvinists entangled religious matters with the political actions against the Catholic kings. In Flanders, the mobs assaulted priests and plundered churches. They also destroyed the symbols associated with the faith. In England, the Puritans forged a political bond against the government of Charles I. Some historians argue that Protestantism marked a mature development of European nation states. They not only helped in developing the territorial states but were crucial for the development of the political ideas such as liberty and individualism. Thus, we see that the religion caused discord and tension within the state-society relationship.

### **8.4 Women and Religion:**

In the Roman Catholic religion, marriage existed as a sacrament. But the abstinence and celibacy was regarded as a higher state of holiness. With Protestant Reforms, the Lutherans placed the family above celibacy and they started advocating the positive sides of family relationship. Luther himself married in 1525. Luther and Calvin suggested that celibacy shall be practiced by those who can control their desires. The marriage was given a new kind of divinity and it strengthened the traditional patrimony. The Lutherans stated that anything that helped the human community shall be considered a way of pleasing god. With these reforms, in the protestant world, the role of monastery as the route to heaven was gradually replaced by

the home and marriage. With reformation the religious practices shifted from public to the private sphere. The protestant reformers advised the men and women to read Bible together and engage in religious services jointly. Indirectly, these practices encouraged the education of girls. Luther encouraged the greater sharing between the men and women within the spheres of house but there is nothing that can be put forward to term that his reforms elevated the condition of women. During these times, the piety became increasingly associated with the social role of women. They were seen as pious wives, mothers and house-makers who were living under the authority of their husbands. Even the schools that were found to educate girls offered them education to be able to read the religious text and to train them in the household duties. In 1525, the city council of Zwickare established a girls schools but it was meant only for imparting moral education rather than any intellectual engagement. On the contrary the activities of the protestants and the Jesuit missionaries had an important impact on the rise of literacy in some parts of Europe. The destruction of the monasteries by the protestants meant the end of several women religious orders. Religion was one of the few occupational choices that women had during the sixteenth century. No alternative was suggested to these women. Only the Quaker women got the role as preachers in the late seventeenth century. In the Catholic Church, the women organizations like Ursulines were provided some chance to play an active role within the church organisations. Overall, it can be said that all these events and activities did support little to improve the position of women.

In certain parts of Europe, noble women provided strong appeal to the Protestant ideas. Marguerite of Navarre (1492-1549), created her own court in the southern France, in where both the Protestants and Humanists were patronised. Her poem 'Mirror if the Sinful Soul' became a great source of inspiration for women reformers. Even Elizabeth was greatly inspired by it and she got it translated into English. In Holy Roman Empire, a similar role was played by Mary of Hungary (1505-58). These women were exceptions as they were holding the resources. However, the ordinary women could not play such a role in the Reformation Movement.

With the introduction of Renaissance humanism the content of education had changed. The Protestants successfully used and implemented humanist methods in their schools and universities and catered to a wider population. Martin Luther advocated education for all children at the expanse of the state. He advised the cities and villages to contribute funds for the school in Saxony. His fellow reformer Melanchthon received the title 'The Teacher of Germany' for his education schemes. In Germany, the famous gymnasium (secondary schools) were established where liberal arts and humanist teachings were combined with religious instructions. Strasbourg school became model for others. Definite contributions were made by Luther and Melanchthon to the development of medical faculty at the University of Wittenberg. Calvin found the Genevan Academy and these schools were divided in seven classes, which eventually became a university and trained teachers to spread Calvinist ideas in Europe. National system of education was drawn up by John Knox and his followers in Scotland. All these efforts led to a rapid growth of education and a network of colleges arose between 1550 and 1630, when nine colleges were found in Bavaria alone. Jesuits used theatre as a popular tool for providing moral and religious

education. Music and dance was part of their curriculum. The reformation not only stressed the relationship between the God and the individual but it also generated the confidence of individuals. They not only arose interest in the religion but also in the history of religion. At this time, the comprehensive history of church was written for the first time in thirteen volumes under the general editorship of Matthew Flacius. In his work, *Magdeburg Centuries* he portrayed the pope in a negative light. Thus, these efforts put the European society on the path of individualism that was supported with the education.

### **8.5 Social Order and Popular Culture:**

During medieval times the religion played an important role in the life of the individuals and the clergy enjoyed moral authority as he was viewed as necessary institution for the salvation of soul. Thus, they monopolized the power of conducting sacraments and confessions. For any ordinary Christian a clergy was very important to achieve salvation. The popular religious festivals played important role in determining the daily lives and the year calendar included various religious holiday. The Protestants and the Catholics played important role in transforming the popular culture. Carnivals were the highlight of the popular culture, where masses ate, drank, tossed eggs and flour on each other, played games, performed plays, danced and enacted caricatures of nobles, clergy, kings and queen. During the sixteenth century, the European society also saw conflict between the carnivals and the church authorities. Many attempts were made by the clergy and the educated masses to reform and suppress many of the semi-religious popular festivities. Sometimes, the attempt was to suppress the traditional practice or at times it was to oppose it. Efforts were also made to purify culture. Certain forms of culture like mystery and magical plays, festivals on saints day cards, fortune-telling, sermons by laymen, dancing, gambling, bull-fight, drinking competitions and witchcrafts were opposed by the religious reformers and state officials. Most of these objectionable festivities were part and parcel of the carnivals hence the carnivals became the chief targets. This struggle between the tradition and the regulations commenced with the coming of the reformation. For centuries, religion and magic had remained closely interwoven in popular imagination. In medieval times, the clergy took part in these festivities but with the reformation they started maintaining distance from such activities and celebrations. A dance called the 'twirl' was banned in the southern France because it exposed the dancer's body when her partner tossed her up in the course of dance. In Italy, market place comedies were condemned. Nearly all dances and popular preaching's were under attack. The preachers were not tolerated as it was believed that they were using fictitious stories and were using crude colloquial language to entertain the audience. These preachers were also accused for making blasphemous comparisons of the divine subjects. The mockery of the sacrament of marriage in France was also banned as it was seen as pagan survivals that promoted superstition. Pagan gods and goddesses were considered as demons and were seen as opposition to the Christian faith. Magic was also considered as a form of pagan belief and attempts were made to get rid of charms and spells. The reformers attacked popular festivities on grounds of morality and alleged that the festivities were leading to moral degradation and causing sins as the participants were exposed to drunkenness and lechery. The two main objections to the carnivals were:

1. These contained traces of paganism and,
2. These were leading to over-indulgences.

Books were written to popularise the view of church and the reformers were attempted to separate the sacred religion from the popular culture. Peter Burke states that in the early modern period the Catholic reformers were fighting on two fronts. On one side they were fighting the Protestants and on the other side they were fighting the immorality and superstition of the traditional culture. The Catholics didn't indulge in total attack on the popular culture. They only opposed the aspects that they thought were excesses. They were not for abolishing the festivities but were mainly interested in purifying them. During this time sermons became important means of reaching out to the people and some visual aids were used to make them interesting. The views of the Protestants and the Catholics were not same on the popular culture. The Protestants tried to do away or abolish the popular culture whereas the Catholics tried to purify and modify them.

Jacques Le Goff has suggested that in the medieval Europe two cultures existed: one was the learned culture or the culture of clergy and the other was the folkloric culture of the popular culture. The two cultures were entirely different and even after the efforts of the church the popular culture could not be eliminated completely. In order to be acceptable to the general public the clergy has to accommodate certain aspects of the popular culture. The continuity is visible in the signs, rituals, prophecies, carnivals, feasts and to certain extent miracles. Magic dominated the imagination of the general public and for reaping its benefits people believed in charms, amulets etc.

### **8.6 Witchcraft:**

Another significant practice of the popular culture was the witchcraft. It is significant to highlight that the widespread practice of witchcraft was not new to Europe in the sixteenth century. It was also not part of the Reformation culture and its practise pre-dates the religious movements of the sixteenth century. The term 'witch hunt' implies a search for the scapegoat. It was mainly a way of finding pretext to blame someone else for a disaster. It was mainly practiced because in absence of the science man was not able to solve the mysteries of nature and treated every natural phenomenon (natural calamity) as the wrath of the god. In medieval world, people were apprehensive of many natural phenomenon and they lived in perpetual fear- fear of disease, famines, floods, storms, wars, taxes and unexplained deaths. The unknown diseases that came in from the New World were also a cause of anxiety. The family and reproduction problems like impotency, infertility, infant death were also contributing to this baggage. So for all these problems, the blame was put on evil spirit brought upon by witch craft.

The witches symbolized the superstitious mentality of popular religion. The European witch craze of from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries was a unique historical combination of accusations against people, especially women, of whom the overwhelming majority were probably completely innocent. The creation of a theological system made



witchcraft a phenomenon of central importance. During Middle Ages there was a store of folklore of superstitions among the peasants like spells, evil spirit, magic etc. and many of them believed that the witches have power to fly or change shape and they formed a part of the satanic conspiracy to undermine Christianity and its beliefs. During sixteenth century the witch craze grew alarmingly. Women both in Catholic and Protestant regions became victims of witch hunts. A large number of old and rural women were prosecuted. Many were put to death for practising witchcraft. In fifteenth century, Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger wrote a book *The Hammer of the Withces* with the support of Pope Innocent VIII. According to medieval writers, women were weak and had weak libidos due to which they were easily lures by the devil for sex and the devils have sex with them. They were definitely more prone to evil. Sex orgies were seen as part of witchcraft. Prosecutions for the crime of witchcraft reached a highpoint from 1580 to 1630 that was during the Counter-Reformation and the European wars of religion, when an estimated 50,000 people were burned at the stake, of whom roughly eighty percentage were women and most often over the age of forty. It is stated that nearly one lakh people were tried and about sixty thousand were executed for various stages of witchcraft.

Throughout the medieval era, mainstream Christian doctrine had denied the existence of witches and witchcraft, condemning it as pagan superstition. In 1233, a Papal bull by Gregory IX established a new branch of the inquisition in Toulouse, France, to be led by the Dominicans. It was intended to prosecute Christian groups that were considered heretical like the Cathars and the Waldensians. Eventually, the Dominicans evolved into the most zealous prosecutors of persons and accused them of witchcraft. Generally, the French inquisitors kept the records but the majority of these did not survive. Charles Molinier working in 1880, called the surviving records as 'only scanty debris'. Moliniernotes that the inquisitors themselves describe their attempts of carefully safeguard their records, especially when moving from town to town. The inquisitors were widely hated and would be ambushed on the road, but their records were more often the target than the inquisitors themselves. Often, the records seem to have been targeted by the accused or their friends and family, wishing to thereby sabotage the proceedings.

### **8.7 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century:**

In 1329, with the papacy in nearby Avignon, the inquisitor of Carcassonne sentenced a monk to the dungeon for life. The title page of Nicolas Rémy's work (1595), claimed that 900 persons wereexecuted for *sortilegii crime*. In the fifteenth century the witch trials grew immensely due to the growth of the heterodox view. The skeptical Canon Episcopi retained many supporters, and was even supported by the theological faculty at the University of Paris. He was never officiallyrepudiated by a majority of bishops, nor even by the Council of Trent, which immediately preceded the peak of the trials. But in 1428, the Valais witch trials, lasting six to eight years, started in the French-speaking lower Valais and eventually spread to German-speaking regions. This time period also coincided with the Council of Basel (1431–1437). After some time, a cluster of powerfulopponents of the Canon Episcopi emerged- a Dominican inquisitor in



Carcassonne named Jean Vinet, the Bishop of Avila Alfonso Tostado, and another Dominican inquisitor named Nicholas Jacquier. It is unclear whether the three men were aware of each other but their coevolution shared the common challenge that was the disbelief in the reality of demonic activity.

Nicholas Jacquier wrote a lengthy and complex argument against the Canon Episcopi in Latin. It began as a tract in 1452 and was expanded into a fuller monograph in 1458. Many copies seem to have been made by hand. Jacquier described a number of trials that he personally witnessed, including one of a man named Guillaume Edelin, against whom the main charge seems to have been that he had preached a sermon in support of the Canon Episcopi claiming that witchcraft was merely an illusion.

### **8.8 Kramer's *Malleus Maleficarum*:**

The most important and influential book that promoted the new heterodox view was the *Malleus Maleficarum* written by Heinrich Kramer. Kramer begins his work in opposition to the Canon Episcopi. Like most witch-phobic writers, Kramer had met strong resistance by those who opposed his heterodox view. This inspired him to write his work as both propaganda and a manual for like minded zealots. During this period, the Gutenberg printing press was invented along the Rhine River, and Kramer fully utilized it to spread his work. The theological views espoused by Kramer were influential but remained contested, and an early edition of the book even appeared on a list of the books that were banned by the Church in 1490. Nonetheless *Malleus Maleficarum* was printed thirteen times between 1486 and 1520, and after following a pause of fifty years that coincided with the height of the Protestant Reformation, it was printed again and this time sixteen editions were printed between 1574 to 1669. His work inspired many works and the most influential work was produced by Jean Bodin. It is unknown whether the alarm raised by Kramer against the extreme superstition and his anti-witchcraft views that were expressed in the *Malleus Maleficarum* have helped to prepare the ground for the Protestant Reformation.

### **8.9 The witch hunts:**

Historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth century find the European witch hunt a perplexing phenomenon as the period after Renaissance was a period of progress. Scholars from different disciplines have explained the phenomenon of witchcraft. The social-anthropologists see it as a consequence of emotionally grounded religious and mythical beliefs including the notion of magic. Caro Baroja suggested that in the early modern period, men and women suffered from collective fears and anxieties caused by social and cultural changes. The ones who practiced the witchcraft were basically irrational. The Psychologists see it as a product of collective psychological trauma and hallucination. A recent view suggests that it was growing in the sixteenth century mainly due to the impact of syphilis on the European society. For some scholars it was a cultural phenomenon based on social reality. Norman Cohn proposes that the witchcraft was based on the devil worship and didn't constitute the popular culture and it was confined to a small group of clerics.

The period between 1560-1630 seems to be the period of largest number of fatalities that occurred due to the European witch trials. Authors have debated whether witch trials were more intense in Catholic or Protestant regions. However, the intensity of persecutions had not so much to do with Catholicism or Protestantism as such, as there are examples of both intense and less intense witchcraft persecutions from both Catholic and Protestant regions of Europe. In Catholic Spain and Portugal for example, the numbers of witch trials were few because the Spanish and the Portuguese inquisition preferred to focus on the crime of public heresy rather than witchcraft, whereas Protestant Scotland had a much larger number of witchcraft trials. In contrast, the witch trials in Protestant Netherlands stopped earlier and were least in numbers in Europe, while the large-scale mass witch trials which took place in the autonomous territories of the Catholic prince-bishops in Southern Germany were infamous in the entire Western World. The Roman Catholic subjects, farmers, winegrowers, and artisans in the episcopal lands were the most terrified people, since the false witch trials affect the German episcopal lands incomparably more than France, Spain, Italy or Protestants. The mass witch trials which took place in Southern Catholic Germany in waves between 1560s and 1620s could continue for years and resulted in hundreds of executions of all sexes, ages and classes. These included the famous Trier witch trials (1581–1593), the Fulda witch trials (1603–1606), the Eichstatt witch trials (1613–1630), the Wurzburg witch trial (1626–1631), and the Bamberg witch trials (1626–1631). In 1590, the North Berwick witch trials occurred in Scotland and were of particular note as the king himself got involved. James had developed a fear that witches planned to kill him after he suffered from storms while traveling to Denmark. The king subsequently set up royal commissions to hunt down witches in his realm, recommending torture in dealing with suspects. Subsequently in 1597, he wrote a book about the menace that witches posed to society, entitled *Daemonologie*. The witch panic reached the more remote parts of Europe and North America in the late seventeenth century. The popular trials were the Salzburg witch trials, the Swedish Torsaker witch trials and the Salem witch trials of 1692 in New England. In England witchcraft was a crime against church and the Puritans were actively involved in hangings.

There had never been a lack of skepticism regarding the trials. In 1635, the authorities of the Roman inquisition acknowledged its own trials. In the middle of the 17th century, the difficulty in proving witchcraft according to the legal process contributed to the councilors of Rothenburg (German) to follow the advice of treating the witchcraft cases with caution. Although by the mid seventeenth century, the witch trials have begun to fade across most of Europe, but they continued on the fringes of Europe and in the American Colonies. The Nordic countries in the late 17th century saw the peak of the trials. The Salem witch trials of 1692 were a brief outburst of witch-phobia which occurred in the New World when the practice was waning in Europe. In the 1690s, Winifred King Benham and his daughter Winifred were thrice tried for witchcraft. Though later they were found innocent but they were compelled to leave Wallingford and settle in Staten Island, New York. In 1706, Grace Sherwood of Virginia was alleged being a witch and was tried by ducking and jailed. Rationalist historians in the 18th

century opine that the use of torture had resulted in erroneous testimony. Witch trials became scant in the second half of the 17th century, and their growing disfavor eventually resulted in the British Witchcraft Act of 1735.

Scholars state that in France with increased fiscal capacity and a stronger central government, the witchcraft accusations began to decline. The witch trials that occurred there were symptomatic of a weak legal system and “witches were most likely to be tried and convicted in regions where magistrates departed from established legal statutes”. During the early 18th century, the practice subsided. Jane Wenham was among the last subjects of a typical witch trial in England in 1712, but was pardoned after her conviction and set free. The last execution for witchcraft in England took place in 1716, when Mary Hicks and her daughter Elizabeth were hanged. Janet Horne was executed for witchcraft in Scotland in 1727. The Witchcraft Act of 1735 put an end to the traditional form of witchcraft as a legal offense in Britain. In Austria, Maria Theresa outlawed witch-burning and torture in 1768. The last capital trial, that of Maria Pauer occurred in 1750 in Salzburg, which was then outside the Austrian domain.

#### **8.10 Estimates of Execution:**

The scholars agree that the total number of executions ranged from 40,000 to 60,000. The number of individuals that would have died as result of the unsanitary conditions of imprisonment has not been accounted as there are no records and they can't be counted in executions because they were not executed. Notably, a figure of nine million victims was given by Gottfried Christian Voigt in 1784 in an argument criticizing Voltaire's estimate of “several hundred thousand” as too low. In the 19th century, some scholars were agnostic, for instance, Jacob Grimm (1844) talked of “countless” victims and Charles Mackay (1841) named “thousands upon thousands”. By contrast, a popular news report of 1832 cited the number 3,192 victims in Great Britain alone”. In the early 20th century, some scholarly estimates on the number of executions still ranged in the hundreds of thousands. The estimate was only reliably placed below 100,000 in scholarship of the 1970s. More than eighty percentage of those convicted and executed, often burnt alive were women. The Christian dogma and contemporary writings portrayed women as morally weak and the poverty of the common people particularly single women made them more vulnerable to the charges of devil's enticement and witches. By the late Middle Ages witches were seen as servants of devils. It was alleged that witches can cast misfortune, cause abortions and create havoc. Burckhardt in his work on the Renaissance has provided interesting information on magic and other forms of superstitions. According to him witchcraft had a German origin and it was commonly practiced in rural Italy.

#### **8.11 Catholic vs. Protestant conflict:**

The English historian Hugh Trevor-Roper advocated the idea that the witch trials emerged as part of the conflicts between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Early Modern Europe. Until recently, this theory received limited support from other because there is little evidence that either Roman Catholics were accusing Protestants of witchcraft, or that Protestants were accusing Roman Catholics. Furthermore, the witch trials regularly occurred in regions

with little or no interdenominational strife, and which were largely religiously homogenous, such as Essex, Lowland Scotland, Geneva, Venice, and the Spanish Basque Country. There is also some evidence, particularly from the Holy Roman Empire, in which adjacent Roman Catholic and Protestant territories were exchanging information on alleged local witches, viewing them as a common threat to both. Additionally, many prosecutions were instigated not by the religious or secular authorities, but by popular demands from within the population, thus making it less likely that there were specific inter-denominational reasons behind the accusations. A recent (2017) published in the *Economic Journal* argues that both Catholics and Protestants used the hunt for witches, regardless of the witch's denomination, in competitive efforts to expand power and influence. In south-western Germany, between 1561 and 1670, there were 480 witch trials. Of the 480 trials that took place in southwestern Germany, 317 occurred in Catholic areas and 163 in Protestant territories. During the period from 1561 to 1670, at least 3,229 persons were executed for witchcraft in the German Southwest. Of this number, 702 were tried and executed in Protestant territories and 2,527 in Catholic territories.

### **8.12 A Feminist interpretation:**

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, various feminist interpretations of the witch trials have been published. One of the earliest individuals to do so was Matilda Joselyn Gage, a writer who was deeply involved in the first-wave feminist movement for women's suffrage. In 1893, she published the book titled *Woman, Church and State*, which was criticized as "written in a tearing hurry and in time snatched from a political activism which left no space for original research". Being influenced by the works of Jules Michelet about the Witch-Cult, she claimed that the witches persecuted in the Early Modern period were pagan priestesses adhering to an ancient religion venerating a Great Goddess. She also repeated the erroneous statement, taken from the works of several German authors, that nine million people had been killed in the witch hunt. In the twentieth century the United States became the center for development of these feminist interpretations. In 1973, two American second-wave feminists, Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, published an extended pamphlet in which they put forward the idea that the women persecuted had been the traditional healers and midwives of the community, who were being deliberately eliminated by the male medical establishment. This theory disregarded the fact that the majority of those persecuted were neither healers nor midwives, and that in various parts of Europe these individuals were commonly among those who encouraged the persecutions. In 1994, Anne Llewellyn Barstow published her book *Witchcraze*, which was later described by Scarre and Callow as "perhaps the most successful" attempt to portray the trials as a systematic male attack on women. Other feminist historians have rejected this interpretation of events. Historian Diane Purkiss described it as "not politically helpful" because it constantly portrays women as "helpless victims of patriarchy" and thus does not aid them in contemporary feminist struggles. She also condemned it for factual inaccuracies by highlighting that the radical feminists adhering to it ignore the historicity of their claims, instead promoting it, because it is perceived as authorizing the continued struggle against patriarchal society. She asserted that many radical feminists nonetheless clung to it because of its "mythic significance" and firmly delineated structure between the oppressor and the oppressed.

An estimated 75% to 85% of those accused in the early modern witch trials were women, and there is certainly evidence of misogyny on the part of those persecuting witches as evident from quotes such as “[It is] not unreasonable that this scum of humanity, [witches], should be drawn chiefly from the feminine sex” (Nicholas Rémy, c. 1595) or “The Devil uses them so, because he knows that women love carnal pleasures, and he means to bind them to his allegiance by such agreeable provocations.” Scholar Kurt Baschwitz, in his first monograph on this subject (1948), mentions this aspect of the witch trials as “*a war against old women*”. Nevertheless, it has been argued that the supposedly misogynistic agenda of works on witchcraft has been greatly exaggerated, based on the selective repetition of a few relevant passages of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Many modern scholars argue that the witch hunts cannot be explained simplistically as an expression of male misogyny, as indeed women were frequently accused by other women, to the point that witch-hunts, at least at the local level of villages, have been described as having been driven primarily by “women’s quarrels”. Especially, at the margins of Europe, in Iceland, Finland, Estonia, and Russia, the majority of those accused were male.

Barstow (1994) claimed that a combination of factors, including the greater value placed on men as workers in the increasingly wage-oriented economy, and a greater fear of women as inherently evil, loaded the scales against women, even when the charges against them were identical to those against men. Thurston (2001) saw this as a part of the general misogyny of the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods, which had increased during what he described as “the persecuting culture” from which it had been in the Early Medieval. Gunnar Heinsohn and Otto Steiger, speculated that witch-hunts targeted women skilled in midwifery specifically in an attempt to extinguish knowledge about birth control and “repopulate Europe” after the population catastrophe of the Black Death.

### 8.13 Summary:

As the social and intellectual climate shifted in the seventeenth century this social practice died out, except few occasional cases of witch hunt in the eighteenth century. Many scholars have protested against this practice through their writings and many scientists also highlighted the irrationality of such practices. Voltaire in his typical style of satire ridiculed this practice and saw it as a means of alleviating the boredom of the nobility during the long winter nights. As per Noble, the witch hunts were both- the last chapter in the history of the Reformation and the first chapter in the history of the modern state that was governed by the rationality and experimentation.

### 8.14 Self-check Questions:

1. What is Malleus Maleficarum?

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2. Critically assess the estimates of the executions that were carried out during witch hunts?

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3. Write a short note on the popular culture of Europe.

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#### 8.15 Glossary:

- **Witch craze:** it was a unique historical combination of accusation against people, especially women.
- **Witchcraft:** it was a practice of magic in the early modern Europe and it was believed that they caused harm to others. The practitioners of witchcraft were called witches.
- **Popular culture:** the gatherings for celebrations of various holidays, dances and celebrating the religious holidays were mainly done in large gatherings where people ate, dance drank and engaged in the joyous activities. These were also the centers for various evil practices of the religion.
- **Clergy:** these are the people who have been ordained to conduct the religious duties, especially in the Christian Church. They were a very powerful group during the early modern Europe.

#### 8.16 Suggested Readings:

- Barry, Jonathan, Marianne Hester (eds.), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996.
- Bruke, Peter, *Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Harper, London, 1978.
- Clark, Stuart, *Language of Witchcraft, Narrative, Ideology and Meaning in Early Modern Culture*, Macmillan Press, London, 2001.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, Stanford University Press, California, 1975.

#### 8.17 Terminal Questions:

1. Define the feminist interpretation of the witch hunts. How far do you agree with them?
2. What was the role of the women in the European society during the fourteenth century?
3. What changes did Reformation bring in the condition of women?

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## **CHAPTER-9**

### **FROM FEUDALISM TO CAPITALISM**

#### **Structure:**

- 9.1 Objective
- 9.2 Introduction
- 9.3 General feature of Feudal Society
- 9.4 General feature of Capitalist Society
- 9.5 Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism
- 9.6 The Beginning of the Debate
- 9.7 Inter-contradiction Model
- 9.8 Market-centric Explanation
- 9.9 Demographic Explanation
- 9.10 The Class-Relation Model
- 9.11 E. J. Hobsbawn: Role of uneven Development
- 9.12 Japanese Feudalism
- 9.13 Perry Anderson and the transition Debate
- 9.14 Summary
- 9.15 Self-check Questions
- 9.16 Glossary
- 9.17 Suggested Readings
- 9.18 Terminal Questions

#### **9.1 Objective:**

After reading this unit, we will be able to understand the views of various scholars who have tried to understand the transition from feudalism to capitalism. We will also look into the terms of struggle that happened between different and how these helped in terms of forces of production. We will also get an insight into different opinion and the historical phases that evolved during the transition of feudalism into capitalism. We will also discuss the broader approaches of capital accumulation from colonies and their exploitation which brought forward a picture of uneven transition from feudalism to capitalism.

#### **9.2 Introduction:**

Rodney Hilton has stated that the essential feature of capitalism is the division of classes between the property less wage earners and entrepreneurs, who own capital. Marx believed that history of human civilization passed through different modes of production: primitive communism, slavery, feudalism and capitalism. He thought that dissolution of obsolete capitalism



will usher in communism. The *mode of production* of a society is the way that a society adopts for producing goods and services. Since no human society can produce things or necessities of life without human labour power and other productive tools (raw-material, machinery, land, plants and infrastructure etc.). Thus, these were called the *productive forces* of a society. But these productive forces are used and controlled in the context of property and rules regarding how productive assets are to be used. There are also social rules, laws, customs and power relations between individual and at the broader level between group of people or classes. These were designated as *relation of production* by Marx. As long as productive forces in a society are in tune to or are in sync with the relation of production, the society moves smoothly and economy grows but when there is tension (*contradiction*) between them, society is pushed into transition. The changes that started to take place in the Feudal mode or system of medieval Europe in 14th century gradually led to development of a capitalist economy. This period of transition is one of the most controversial. Scholars have argued on the nature of this process of transition depending on their perspective.

### **9.3 General features of Feudal Society:**

Every society has some general features and in order to understand the society in depth it is required that first its general features shall be acknowledged. The feudal system was primarily based on agrarian subsistence economy. The large tract of land was the center of the feudal system and it was owned by the feudal lord. This land was allotted to the feudal lord by the overlord or the king. The feudal lords, being the superior class, themselves did not engage in the cultivation activities. The land was mainly cultivated by serfs, who were tied to the landlords' feud. The serf was the actual tiller of the land who worked on the lord's land (*demesne*) and also on the small plots that were allotted to him.

The serfdom was based on use of *extra-economic coercion* for controlling the labour and fate of serf-cultivators. The feudal lords enjoyed legal and judicial power and privileges over serfs. The entire system worked on mutual obligation. The king allotted land to the nobles and in return the nobles were expected to provide money and soldiers to the king. Similarly, the feudal lords got the land grant and were supposed to provide protection and services to the overlords. Serfs were expected to till the feudal lord's land and his land (a small patch of land from the lord for the subsistence of his family) and in return the lord provided them protection and security. So in a feudal hierarchy, the king was at the top and the serf was at the bottom of the society. But apart from secular lords, the clergy or the priestly class also owned large tracts of lands and acted like feudal lords. The Catholic Church was the largest land lord of the medieval Europe which was equally oppressive despite its claim to work for the salvation of the people. In such society, access to social opportunities and status was determined by the accident of birth. The ascribed role or status of individual was assigned by virtue of factors outside his or her own control. This assigned role was rationalized as divinely ordained and natural and was legally recognized and approved by religious-normative order of the society. However, many towns also coexisted with manors in medieval Europe representing non-agrarian segment of

the economy. These towns were involved in manufacturing activities. The manufacturing in these centers was done by an association of artisans, craftsman and professionals called guild. The guild was responsible for the production and sale of commodities. The quantity and quality to be produced and the price was determined by the guild. The guild was also responsible for the socio-religious aspects of its members, and their lives. The produce of the guild was sold to manors and to long-distance markets.

In spite of the expansion of production, population and trade in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the main features of the old social and political framework remained unchanged until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

#### **9.4 General features of Capitalist Society:**

In order to understand the growth of capitalism, it is necessary to study its features, techniques and relation of production. Contrary to the feudal system, capitalism is an open market-oriented economy characterized by mass-scale commodity production and with high level of division and specialization of labour and use of machinery. So the products are not for subsistence, rather they are meant to be sold in market to earn profits. There is a separation of producer and consumers in time and space. The products and services are, therefore, exchanged through markets using money as a medium. Capitalism is an economic system based on private ownership. It is a determined historical phenomenon and an institutional order that developed in Western Europe. The means of production or productive assets are privately owned in this system and the owners of these private assets buy labour power to use in their production operations to produce for the market where they sell their products to earn profits. Production for profit or accumulation is the sole implicit purpose of all production under this system and it is characterized by individualism, acquisitiveness, maximizing behaviour of most of the economic agents. Most of the nineteenth century writers accepted the modern capitalism as a natural growth, which occurred purely due to economic factors like increased trade, technological advance and increased demand created by the growth of population.

#### **9.5 Transition from feudalism to capitalism:**

The transition from feudalism to capitalism that led to the development of the modern world is one of the liveliest debate amongst the scholars. This is called the 'Transition Debate'. It is an outcome of the divergent explanations that have been on the nature of the feudal relationship and moving forces that are responsible for decline of feudalism and birth of capitalism. The Marxist scholars have some fundamental differences on the concept of feudalism and capitalism and on the causes and nature of transitions from one mode of production into another. Thus, there is no single Marxist theory on the transition from feudalism into capitalism.

The controversy of the transition debate began with the publication of Maurice Dobb's work titled *Studies in Development of Capitalism*. Another Marxist scholar, Paul Sweezy challenged Dobb's theory vehemently and with this other scholars both Marxist and non-Marxist came in and participated to either support or condemn the views that were proposed by Dobb. Scholars like Rodney Hilton, Boris Porchnev, Christopher Hill, Kohachiro Takahashi came in favour of Dobb and not only supported his views but also elaborated on them.

## 9.6 The Beginning of the Debate:

The disagreements amongst historians which set in after the publication of Maurice Dobb's *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, in which he based his approach to the transition from feudalism to capitalism on Marx's notion of the mode of production. While he recognized that one mode of production dominated a given epoch, he also accepted that elements of other modes of production could coexist with the dominant mode. Dobb defines feudalism as a 'system under which economic status and authority were associated with land-tenure, and the direct producer was under obligation based on law or customary right to devote a certain quota of his labour or his produce to the benefits of his feudal superior'. Feudalism here consisted of social relations between feudal lords and peasants. Feudal lords ruled over peasants and their lands. The 'serfs' or kind of bonded cultivators utilized their small lands with their labour work and were required to allocate a part of their labour to the feudal lords. According to him, the decline of feudalism was the result of inner contradictions which were in the feudal mode of production. This explanation is generally described as the 'inner-contradiction model'. For transition from feudal to the capitalist mode, he laid emphasis on three key things – the crisis of feudalism in the fourteenth century, the beginning of capitalism in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Industrial Revolution.

The decline of feudalism and start of capitalism are separated by at least two centuries. It was from the latter half of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century that capital started penetrating into the production sector to a considerable degree. He argued that trade and merchant capital did not directly change the feudal economic system. The development of trade was closely related to the growth of division of labour, and that division of labour depended on rise of productivity of labour. According to him, capitalist development was brought about by the emergence of an urban setting. In his view, 'lord-peasant' class relations and the outcome of 'lord-peasant class conflict' were important to understand the growth of towns in the feudal society that led to the rise of commercial-industrial capital. During the period of the transition, development of towns in feudal societies was happening due to increased demand for weapons and luxury products. This was also the reason for growth of trade. As a result, there was rise of interest in exchanging peasant-produced food for luxury goods. Dobb's analysis on transition of feudalism to capitalism does at some point contradict itself.

## 9.7 Inner-contradiction Model:

To explain the decline of feudalism, Dobb laid emphasis on economic aspects. According to him, the feudal mode is defined as the extra-economic extraction by overlords of rents or services from a class of subsistence producers. The peasant producers largely controlled the process of production but they were legally not free. Feudalism and serfdom were termed as synonymous. The rise of the political and economic autonomy of the corporate towns that were immediately followed economic decline of the fourteenth century, marked the crisis of the

feudal mode. Dobb stated that the towns had some part in the decline of feudalism. The towns provided shelter to runaway serfs and served as the oasis of freedom in late medieval peasant revolts. But the antagonism and confrontation between peasants and landlords in the countryside was the main arena of class-struggle. At the end of the Middle Ages, serfdom had vanished while medieval forms of government and the class of landlords continued to exist. The peasantry as a class also grew stronger. The hired labor was an emerging class and it was subjected to a good deal of coercion. So the wage labour was still a supplement to earn a livelihood that came mainly from subsistence farming. The merchant bourgeoisie became more powerful. Most of the corporates were with the landlords. With the growth of the urban craftsmen and well-to-do and middle class, the peasants become independent of feudalism. Yet, the petty producers were not capitalists, but were certainly moving forward with the potential to become one. In Dobb's conception, this petty mode of production dominated the economy for last two hundred or so years that was between the beginning of the feudal crisis and the advent of the capitalist mode in the mid-sixteenth century.

Until Dobb it was generally assumed that the intensification of market exchange and the growing role of money brought about the decline of feudalism. On the contrary, Dobb demonstrated that money and exchange actually strengthened serfdom and feudalism. The emergence of merchant capital was fully compatible with feudalism. Rather it was the economic weakness of the feudal mode of production, coupled with the growing need of the ruling class for revenue, which was responsible for the system's crisis. The lack of economic incentive to work hard and the low level of technique placed a limit on peasant productivity. Feudal class demands on peasants increased inordinately due to the expansion of its numbers and due to growth of landlords' establishments and retinues. The burden on cultivators increased due to feudal landlords' demand for more and more luxury consumption and the exigencies of war and brigandage. The competition between leading nobles increased spending on feasts, luxury commodities, pageants and wars. All this increased economic pressure on producers. The result was economic exhaustion, flight from the land and peasant rebellion. Over-exploitation and stagnant productivity resulted in a decline in population after 1300. Subsequent labour shortages, peasant resistance or threat of flight led to widespread commutation of labour to money rent. The manorial system was further weakened by the thinning of the ranks of the nobility through war, the growing practice of leasing demesne, the emergence of a stratum of rich and middling peasants differentiated from the mass of peasant poor, and the growing use of wage labour. By the end of the fifteenth century, the economic basis of the feudal system had disintegrated. The late medieval social differentiation of the peasantry, a key theme of Dobb's work, prepared the way for the later dispossession of the mass of peasants. The emergence of this drifting population heralded the coming of capitalism, setting the stage for the emergence of capitalist wage labour. The role of the towns was above all to act as a magnet attracting the serfs fleeing from countryside. Dobb's perception on the role of the towns was later strongly contested.

## 9.8 Market-centric Explanation:

Paul Sweezy, another celebrated Marxist economist and co-founder with Paul Baran of the *Monthly Review*, was first to contest Dobb's viewpoint. Sweezy challenged Dobb's view on a wide range of issues. His position was supported by Immanuel Wallerstein and he also stressed on the changing character of market. Paul agreed with Dobb that serfdom was the dominant relation of production in Western feudalism but organized around the economically self-sufficient manor, feudalism. He rejected Dobb's view of internal contradiction for the decline of feudalism. This, in his views, can only be explained as arising from causes external to the system. Sweezy's view of an external prime mover was necessary to explain decline of a closed, self-sufficient system producing only for use. He disagreed that the prime mover of change was internal to the feudal system. Dobb for one rejected Sweezy's view that feudalism tended toward stagnation, and insisted that it had its own momentum based on its internal – especially class – contradictions. Class conflict between peasants and lords did not directly lead to capitalism. It only reduced the dependence of the petty mode of production upon feudal overlordship, which eventually freed the petty producer from feudal exploitation. In Sweezy's notion the trade-driven (external prime mover) society was the simple single cause that explains the decline of a complex social system.

Marxist economic historian Kohachiro Takahashi rejected Sweezy's conception of feudalism as a self-sufficient, closed economic system which produced only for use rather than exchange. He suggested that the contradiction between feudalism and capitalism is not the contradiction between 'system of production for use' and 'system of production for market' but between feudal land-property and an industrial capital. Commodities were produced and circulated in different modes of production including the feudal. It is important to know how products were produced. He insisted that the debate shall be widened beyond the English case to include the experience of feudalism in the Continental Europe. Takahashi strongly supported Dobb's view that the decline of feudalism was due to internal factors like class struggle rather than an external factor like trade. But according to Takahashi, Dobb's definition of feudalism was inadequate. He stated that just as Marx began his analysis of capital from the commodity, so likewise the analysis of feudalism had to begin from the fundamental social units of Western feudalism namely the *virgate* (cottage, small plot and collective rights), the village community and the manor (*seigneurie*). The manor dominated the other two and became the basis for the extraction of surplus from producers in the form of feudal rent and the mobilization of labour. Rodney Hilton also questioned Sweezy's view and argued that long-distance trade was not responsible for decline of feudalism. She stated that Sweezy's view was based on the so-called Pirenne thesis. Henri Pirenne (a Belgian historian of medieval period) claimed that the economic decline of the West coincided not with the fall of the Western Roman Empire but with the closure of the Mediterranean as a result of the Muslim occupation of the Eastern Mediterranean coast in the eighth century. Arguing against Pirenne, Hilton maintained that the decline of the Roman Empire in the West was the result not of the disruption of trade but of internal factors. The decline of production for trade and exchange in the Empire began

asa result of internal economic and demographic weakening and it was not due to the Arab intrusion into the Mediterranean. As the development of feudalism was due to the internal factors and mechanisms, its decline was also due to internal factors. Hilton, took forward and supported the idea of Dobb that the decline of feudalism was a result of internal class struggle. She highlighted that the nobility and princes also engaged in political competition with one another while striving to maximize their rental income. The resultant quest for increased rent at first stimulated technological innovation which led to the development of towns and commerce, and increased productivity and later it contributed to the decline of feudalism. The interaction of these factors, including growing production for the market, led to increased social and class differentiation among the peasants. The richer peasants increased the size of their landholdings and employed more and more wage labour. In the fourteenth century, the struggle over rent intensified and reached a peak.

Income from rent declined and the increases in state taxation, warfare and plunder, and commutation of rents into cash payments compensated partially. Feudal rent no longer remained an incentive to production, and landlords' dependent on it for income ultimately had to look to the emerging state power for existence. Overall, the legal claims of the lords over the persons of their tenants weakened. Money rent favoured the social stratification of the population of the manor into rich and poor. The sale and purchase of land begun leading to creation of a land market. The holdings of the rich peasants in the manor expanded at the expense of the rest. More peasants were forced to resort to wage labour. Rich peasants and lesser nobles were the most efficient producers in an increasingly market oriented economy, which started taking form of capitalist mode of production. With Hilton's vivid demonstration of the role of class struggle, the peasant social differentiation became the fundamental pivot around which debate of the transition revolved. Merrington argued that towns and trade were natural, built-in components of feudalism. They were not external capitalist forces, so, they did not play any significant role in the emergence of capitalism. For merchant capital did not create surplus value, it only redistributed it. While it played a key role in primitive accumulation of capital, it could not be a source of a permanent self-reproducing accumulation. Merrington's arguments were a powerful reinforcement of the role of class struggle and the internal logic of feudalism's decline.

### **9.9 Demographic Explanation:**

The decline of feudalism and rise of capitalism has been placed on the demographic factors. M. M. Postan and H. J. Habakkuk were the first to stress the role of population in the long-term changes in the economic structures. This model was also called Malthusian Model as it was based on the population theory of Thomas Robert Malthus, an English classic political economist. Scholars like W. Abel, A. E. Verhulst and Le Roy Ladurie have endorsed the importance of population in their studies of the Pre-modern Europe. Postan has asserted that in the medieval period, the market forces were far from automatic in bringing about the dissolution of serfdom. By citing the case of the seigneurial reaction, he insisted that rather



than leading the path of capitalism, it tightened the bondage on the peasants although in Western Europe it facilitated the capitalist development. The population played a determinist role in the Europe, as European feudalism underwent significant economic and demographic growth from about the eleventh century till the end of the thirteenth century. The constant pressure on agriculture and other natural resources caused declining trends, lowered productivity, fragmented the landholdings and increased rents with the lowered wages.

Habakkuk applied this model roughly between eight centuries starting from the tenth century onwards. The demographic crisis of the fourteenth century caused severe shortage of labour and it caused sharp fall in the incomes of landlords. This shifted the social balance towards the peasant. The lords changed their means and turned lands into pastures for sheep farming. The latter landlords were showing trends towards capitalist farming. This period also saw the emergence of wage labourers.

W. Abel assigned population an external role, when the prices fell in the fourteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a result of stagnation or reduction of population because of epidemics and wars. He suggests that the trend towards commercial production and trade in farms products was restricted by an increase in the rural population and because of the self-sufficient character of peasant agriculture. Emmanuel Le Roy Laurie not only supported the demographical model but also provided statistical data to the hypothesis and also included climatic factors in it. This model seemed to replace the market-centric approach with a cyclic dynamic trend as a key to the long-term economic change. The disharmony between the rapidly growing population and declining food supply due to the constant use of soil became a fundamental problem and it leads to natural occurrences such as disease, high infant mortality, famines and wars. These were referred as Malthusian checks. Brenner says the Malthusian models runs in difficulty as it doesn't address the trends in income distribution in long term. He was also not satisfied with Ladurie's explanation that the economic process is essentially the direct result of apparently autonomous process of technical innovation. Guy Bois accepted the role of demography in the decline of feudalism but criticized the writers of the demographic school for ignoring the role of many factors. He rejects the idea that economic mechanism alone was responsible for the demographic regression. As per him it was the fall in the seigneurial revenue that started the acute phase of crisis in feudalism. He further stated that the weight of the industrial and commercial activities suddenly rose and reacted strongly on the agricultural sector.

#### **9.10 The Class-Relation Model:**

Robert Brenner has attempted in redressing the short-comings of Dobb's account of origin of Capitalism. He has confronted the existing theory through critical synthesis. Dobb, Hilton and Anderson stressed upon the vital importance of class struggle in the decline of feudalism. But Brenner took forward the importance of agrarian class struggle a step further, arguing that as it unfolded in England in the late Middle Ages and it not only destroyed feudalism but also created a path that lead directly to the emergence of capitalism. So, in Brenner's view,



there was no conceptual and chronological divide between the decline of feudalism and the origins of capitalism. His thesis namely *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653*, didn't investigate the end of feudalism debate, but proved important to the controversy of the English Revolution.

In Brenner's view the conflicts between the lords and peasants arose from a crisis of peasant accumulation, productivity and ultimately subsistence provoked by overexploitation. Excessive landlord exploitation and the inherent conservatism of the peasant mode of production placed definite limits on the productivity of peasant agriculture. Brenner stressed that landlords used extra-economic coercion to extract more and more surplus. More specifically he demonstrated the inherent economic limits of the peasant subsistence mode within the constraints of the medieval manor. The economic objectives of peasants within the bounds of the manor were not to improve their holdings, maximize output or deepen their relation to the market, but rather to ensure the reproduction of the family unit of subsistence production. As a result a definite limit was imposed on economic growth. This difference led to the crisis and the survival of the mass of producers was put into question. Following the demographic collapse of the fourteenth century, intense class struggles revolved around the issue of serfdom and the control of land. Brenner tends to agree with Postan that demographic crisis was inherent in the medieval economy and the inability of a serf-based agricultural economy to innovate was the major problem. The outcome of these struggles in the different parts of Europe depended on varying historical and social circumstances. Brenner denied that trade or towns were important in the transition. Indeed, he rejected the idea that the towns in any way contributed to the dissolution of feudalism. On the contrary, it was the development of rural networks of solidarity and cooperation that was important to the varying outcomes of the late medieval class struggles, notably between West and East Europe.

In Eastern Europe the weakness of the peasantry with landlord power led to the strengthening of serfdom. In France, the peasantry not only consolidated its free status but was able to hold onto land and rights into the early modern period. Surplus extraction was sufficient to maintain the nobility. The local rents withered, royal taxes were employed to benefit the warrior and court nobility, amounting to a new system of centralized rent. The feudal system was perpetuated as a result. England represented a third way that led to agrarian capitalism. Peasants were able to win personal freedom but were less successful in the class struggle than their French counterparts. As a result English nobles were able to retain most of the cultivable land, and from the late fifteenth century onward, they began to rent their land to rich farmers on favourable terms of enhanced rents for profits. According to Brenner, with the peasants failure to establish essentially freehold control over the land, the landlords were able to occupy, consolidate and enclose cultivable lands. The capitalist tenants needed to improve productivity in order to meet landlords' demands for higher rents. In order to obtain higher rents landlords found themselves advancing capital to tenants. With this the accumulation of wealth was initiated. On this basis there emerged the classic threefold division of rural society into landlord/capitalist tenants/ wage labourers which transformed English agriculture in a capitalist direction.

By comparing the agrarian class relation in England and France, Brenner, explains how different class structures and their historical developments determined specific historical outcomes in transition to capitalism. By this comparison, he also highlights the role of state. The French medieval historian Guy Bois was the first to raise objections to Brenner's view on downfall of feudalism and objected to the sketchy and overly ideological manner in which Brenner introduced such conceptions. He argued that class should not be understood in narrow economic sense and insisted on the importance of the forces of production perspective that were understood as the material and non-material resources at the disposition of a class. Bois agreed that Brenner's has rightly pointed out political and social agency of class. He acknowledged Brenner's introduction of strong doses of class struggle into the historical account which was admirable as that was ignored in the past. Patricia Croote and David Parker consider Brenner's explanation of contrasting developments in England and France unsatisfactory. They also reject his lord centric approach. Heide Wunder stated that Brenner's study is full of inaccuracies as it was based on the secondary literature. Many of his critics say Brenner's rejection of Dobb-Hilton explanation of East-West difference and his own interpretation highlighting the contrasting features of rural class structure and nature of peasant resistance in the war regions as thoroughly overdrawn.

Chris Harman also engaged with Brenner and his followers and insisted that the social capacity of a class depends on the productive forces that undergird it. Such forces include the material, intellectual and political resources at its disposition. The capacity of a class to change the social relations of production depends on its ability to mobilize such resources. Historic change occurs when the existing social relations block the further development of the forces of production. In Harman's view Brenner turns these relationships upside down, subordinating the forces of production to the determination of class relations. He insists that the increases in the productivity of agriculture in the High Middle Ages both in England and on the European Continent and agricultural surpluses were marketed in the towns, manufactures were consumed not merely by nobles but also by peasants and townspeople, and this strengthened the commercial ties between producers in town and country sides. Wage labour was employed on a limited basis by embryonic capitalists and with this the social differentiation among the peasantry strengthened. The late medieval crisis confirmed rather than negated these economic and social advances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. During that period of difficulty the lead in opposition to the nobles was taken by those peasants and craftspeople who were in command of the forces of production that had developed in the previous period of prosperity. In other words, Harman considers the social upheavals of the fourteenth century throughout Western Europe to be a proto-capitalist revolution that was brought in by the development of the forces of production in the High Middle Ages and their fettering by the perseverance of feudal relations.

### **9.11 E.J. Hobsbawm: Role of uneven Development:**

Takahashi had pointed to the need to broaden the discussion on feudalism to include Continental Europe and Japan. This was part of a general trend in Marxism to extend the concept of feudalism in analyzing non-European pre-capitalist societies, rather than employing the problematical and Eurocentric concepts of communal and Asiatic modes of production. Feudalism, at least after Hilton's intervention, was seen as a progressive mode capable of evolving toward capitalism. Whereas, the other two categories of communal ownership of property and Asiatic mode of self-sufficient village economy discussed by Marx were seen as stagnant, unchanging. Thus, these were not in conformity with Marxist method of dialectical change in society. In a deceptively simple contribution, Eric Hobsbawm helped to free Marxist understandings from the problems associated with notions of Asiatic and communal modes of production, and reconnected them with ideas- uneven and combined development. Hobsbawm also stated that the forces that were making the economic development in Europe possible were also present elsewhere in the world. Japanese feudalism, in particular, resembled the European model of feudalism closely and the capitalism could have emerged there independently of European influence. He propounded that the intrusion of European imperialism ruptured a genuinely internal process of development in non-European societies. Having raised the possibility of non-European forms of capitalism, Hobsbawm insisted that the accomplishment of capitalism in Europe was unique and very special and on the world scale the transition from feudalism is highly on uneven development. At this time the concept of uneven development was not new and Marx mentioned it in his work. Moreover, uneven development is a fundamental feature of the capitalist form of development. With respect to uneven development in Western Europe, according to Hobsbawm, the crisis of feudalism involved the most advanced sectors of capitalist development within Western Europe.

As per Hobsbawm, the most remarkable thing about the 14th century crisis was not the collapse of large-scale feudal demesne agriculture, but the demise of the Italian and Flemish textile industries. Industrially, England advanced but the Italy and Flanders industries could not recover. Unevenness characterized not only the crisis of feudalism but also the emergence of capitalism itself. Overall European development from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries was marked by repeated crises in which regression in one place allowed progress elsewhere. West European advance came directly at the expense of Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. The process of West European transition to capitalist economy was accompanied by simultaneously turning other areas into dependent economies, dumping ground for manufacture produce and colonies for securing raw material to feed their industries. Seizing resources from advanced areas or later on from colonized regions became an inherent feature of West European capitalist development. In other words, the emergence of capitalism in Europe has to be understood in terms of an ongoing world-wide process of appropriation based on uneven development both within and outside Europe. Hobsbawm concluded that 'the net effect of European capitalism was the division of world in even more sharply into two sectors: the "developed" and the "under-developed" Countries. Technically speaking, the exploiting

and the exploited. In Hobsbawm's conception of the transition unevenness plays a vital part. Gain in one place is invariably at the cost of other places. Hobsbawm's contribution to the transition debate was a significant contribution.

### **9.12 Japanese Feudalism:**

Takahashi believed that Japanese feudalism was similar to that of the West, and its transition to capitalism was an internal affair in which threat of Western imperialism also played a role. The Meiji Restoration, or so-called capitalist revolution from above, was the outcome. Takahashi particularly credited the top-down nature of Japanese capitalism to the flexibility of its feudalism. When capitalism was growing in the West, the feudal regime consolidated itself in Japan. The Tokugawa Shogunate in the seventeenth century was based on very heavy rents-in-kind and personal serfdom. The economic aspirations of the petty producers in Japan were crushed by the weight of feudal rent and the development of usury. These burdens on the peasants stimulated the commercialization of the surplus. As a result, proto capitalist manufacturing and commercial agriculture based on wage labour emerged in the countryside. According to Takahashi, the dominant economic power of the urban merchants and financiers depended on the feudal state and great landlord magnates. Centralized collection of revenue made possible a high degree of commercialization and urbanization. It also ensured extreme level of peasant exploitation. On the eve of the Meiji Restoration, voice of middle peasants and small manufacturers against the merchant and financial monopolists tied to feudal magnates could be heard. Overexploitation of peasants by landlords led to increasing misery in rural areas and population decline. This demographic and economic crisis was a main reason for the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Yet Japanese feudalism proved much more robust than that of the states of the West, and its resilience fundamentally determined the nature of the capitalism that emerged.

Overexploitation created food shortages, peasant revolts and population decline. These Popular and proto-capitalist revolt acted as a catalyst. The popular anger was used by modernizing political elite to dismantle the institutions of the feudal regime while preserving the essence of landlord power over the peasantry. But revolt from below fundamentally failed to transform the feudal Japanese social and political order. The military power of the landlords was broken but they continued to control their tenants socially and economically. The political and economic freedom of the bulk of producers remained fundamentally constrained. As a consequence it was the state rather than the petty producers that was to take the lead in capitalist development. For Takahashi, the intrusion of the West was merely a catalyst which set off what was already the internal evolution of Japan toward capitalism.

Anderson dealt with Japanese feudalism in his book *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. He agreed with Takahashi that feudalism set the stage for a capitalist development and that the Japanese feudalism resembled the Western counterpart in many ways. Anderson also emphasized the gains in the productivity of Japanese feudal agriculture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This period was marked by increased commercialization, including the

spread of cash crops like sugar, cotton, tea, indigo and tobacco. The urban merchant class also expanded and became more influential. The potential for capitalist development was very much present. However, Anderson rejected Takahashi's idea that Japan could have abolished feudalism through the power of its own internal contradictions. The separation of Japan from the world market blocked its independent evolution from feudalism toward capitalism. The expansion of Western trade acted as an external catalyst for the fall of the feudal regime and led to the Meiji Restoration. Anderson argued that for capitalism to develop, connections to the world market and an appropriate set of social relations of production are both necessary.

### **9.13 Perry Anderson and The Transition Debate:**

As per Anderson, only Western European feudalism could have created capitalism. Anderson's view of feudalism and its downfall combines an emphasis on class struggle with acknowledgment of the significance of exchange relations. The emergence of the territorial state and expanding global market both provided very important foundations for emergence of capitalism. In feudalism the peasant producer was tied to the land by being legally bound to the soil as a serf. Agrarian property was privately controlled by feudal lords who extracted a surplus in the form of rent from peasants. Despite this feudal bondage, it provided the setting for an impressive boost in productivity during the High Middle Ages. In his view, the feudal crisis was not due to the over-exploitation of the producers. The pressure of increasing population forced clearing of increasingly marginal land, while necessary investments in improving the productivity of existing cultivated soil was not undertaken. This economic crisis provoked widespread peasant revolts. In short term the peasant revolts failed. However, the long-term impact of revolts was felt on the income and wages of the peasantry which improved and serfdom declined.

Anderson also insisted that urban commercial networks tended to weaken and erode feudal social relations. Towns served as potential refuges for fugitive serfs as well as artisans in peasant revolts. Indeed, the centres of the most significant rural revolts were located near towns. In the long term the noble lords' need for commodities produced in the towns led them to commute labour services of serfs into rents-in-cash. They also began to lease out demesne to peasant tenants. In England in the fifteenth century serfdom almost vanished and peasant incomes rose. Social differentiation increased in the villages, as a stratum of rich peasant emerged at the top and wage labour at bottom. Anderson acknowledged that trade was built-in the feudal mode of production. As per him, in continuation of Dobb's view the end of serfdom did not bring feudalism to an end. The consolidation of the territorial monarchies at the end of the Middle Ages modified the apparatus of feudal domination. The class power of the nobility had diminished as a result of the disappearance of serfdom to some extent. But it was reconsolidated with the emergence of the new territorial monarchies, which became the principal instruments for the maintenance of noble domination over the peasantry. Moreover, in so far as nobles blocked the emergence of a free market in land and peasants retained access to their means of subsistence, feudal relations persisted. In the medieval period political and economic control had been combined in the hands of feudal landlords. With the appearance of the territorial state in the early modern period, political power began to be separated from immediate control over the economy, allowing capitalist forces to emerge.

### 9.14 Summary:

While the society was getting oriented towards capitalist the political order remained feudal. The development of the territorial state bolstered feudalism and it also provided an enlarged political space within which capitalism could develop. In such a space lay the market and as per Anderson the capitalist market was a creation of the territorial state as a political and economic institution. Anderson's insight into the role of the state is critical to understand the debate of transition.

### 9.15 Self-check Questions:

1. What do you understand by Inter-continental Method?

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2. Discuss E. J. Hobsbawm's view on transition of Feudalism.

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3. What is Paul Sweezy's contribution to the transition debate?

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4. What are the general features of a feudal society? How they differ from a capitalist society?

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### 9.16 Glossary:

- **Capitalism:**an economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit.
- **Feudalism:**it was a dominant social system in medieval Europe, in which the nobility held the land from the crown in exchange for the military service and vassals were inturn tenants of the nobles.
- **Seigneurial:** it was an institutional form of land distribution that was established in France in 1627. It was officially abolished in 1854.

### 9.17 Suggested Readings:

- Dobb, Maurice, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, Routledge&Kegan Paul, NewYork, 1946 and 1963.
- Hilton, Rodney Howard (ed.), *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*, New Left Books, London, 1976.
- Holton, R. J., *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1985.
- Sweezy, Paul M., *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism: A Symposium* (articles by various writers from Science and Society). Fore, London, 1954.
- Wood, Ellen Meiskins, *The Origin of Capitalism*. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1999.
- Anderson, Perry, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism*, Verso, London, 1974.
- Anderson, Perry, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, Verso, London, 1974.
- Bois, Guy, 'Against the neo-Malthusian orthodoxy', pp. 107–18 in T. H.Aston and C. H. E. Philpin (eds), *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structureand Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/London, 1985.

### 9.18 Terminal Questions:

1. Discuss the Inter-contradiction model of transition Debate.
2. What are Perry Anderson's contributions to the transition debate?
3. What are the specific features of the market-centric explanation?
4. What is the class-relation model?
5. Define the Japanese Feudalism.

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# CHAPTER-10

## INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

### Structure:

- 10.1 Objective
- 10.2 Introduction
- 10.3 Origin of Industrial Revolution
- 10.4 English Revolution and Agriculture in Britain
- 10.5 Enclosures and the act of Parliament
- 10.6 Other countries and their Agriculture
- 10.7 Innovations in Industrial Sector
- 10.8 Summary
- 10.9 Self-check Questions
- 10.10 Glossary
- 10.11 Suggested Readings
- 10.12 Terminal Questions

### 10.1 Objective:

Until the last units we were attempting to understand the social and the economic life of Europe during the Early Modern times. This unit is focusing on the Industrial Revolution and its various aspects. After reading this unit we will be acquainted the happenings of the English Revolution and the agricultural reforms that were introduced to feed the industries as we all know by now that the agriculture was the main source industry on basis of which the mechanical industry was trying to boom. This unit will also draw our attention to the innovations that happened in the Industrial sector and how they impacted the production capacity of the Europe. A brief survey of England's industries is also provided in the unit to get a sense of the connectivity between the industries and the social groups that were involved in the mechanism of production. So let us get to read the much discussed happening of the modern times that is the Industrial Revolution.

### 10.2 Introduction:

Enlightenment was a desire for human affairs to be guided by rationality rather than by faith, superstition or revelation, a belief in power of human reason to change society and liberate the individual from the restraints of custom or arbitrary authority, all backed up by a world view that was increasingly validated by science rather than tradition or religion. Likewise, the later decades of the eighteenth century were also fully guided by the scientific explanation and due to the scientific Revolution the rational studies and experimentation became the way forward for the western European societies. The later decades of the eighteenth century saw

a great increase in the economic strength and dynamism of Great Britain. This growth was specially visible in the industry and it was a new kind of growth. Along with it the rapid growth of population, the marked increase in urbanisation and a spectacular growth in the internal communication were important development of the times. Many historians have cited various reasons for the growth of industrialisation in England. All the changes that knocked the Europe during the early modern times were significant to arrive at the great Industrial Revolution that not only revolutionised the industry of manufacturing but has also set the fast pace capitalism in full motion. The rapid growth of colonization during the eighteenth century was also triggered due to the industrial revolution which enhanced the production capacity of the Europe many fold and this pushed them to look up for new colonies where the factory manufactured goods can be dumped for higher profits.

### **10.3 Origin of the Industrial Revolution:**

The eighteenth century was a period of growth, expansion and transformation in agriculture, trade, commerce and industry. The European economy showed signs of progress after decline and stagnation in the various part of the continent during the seventeenth century. Between 1700 and 1780s, the English shipping doubled and trade became huge. There was a shift from the European markets to the colonial markets. The British control over the seas also aided it. The slave trade brought great prosperity to the British as it prevented the draining of English population to the plantations of sugarcane and coffee. The first Dutch war opened India and Far Eastern trade for English and the second Dutch war opened up West Africa and the slave trade. The great prosperity of Liverpool and Bristol in the eighteenth century was largely based on this trade. Other than these factors there were many internal changes that allowed for the origin and growth of the Industrial Revolution in England in the later eighteenth century.

Some historians believe that it was due to the developments in Britain, of an intellectual environment favourable for change, the diffusion of the scientific ideas and the more scientific attitude for the economic organisation that were responsible for the inception of the Industrial revolution. As all these conditions helped the inventions and the adoption of new machinery and process which were critical components of the industrial beginning. W. W. Rostow believed that Scientific Revolution laid part of the foundation for the industrial one by stimulating a permanent input of new inventions and technology in the economy. The silk throwing mill set up by Thomas Lombe at Derby in 1719 was a major breakthrough of an unprecedented kind. The view of Rostow was not accepted well as during this time France made more scientific discoveries and works that were related to the industry and the official encouragement was also available to the community of scientists. T.S. Ashton argued that England achieved advancement in innovations and subsequently Industrial Revolution because it had more flexible social structure and the vertical social mobility was easier. The business people in England also enjoyed higher social prestige. M. S. Anderson, disagreed with this view saying that in France, neither guild registration was an obstacle to the economic and technological changes as supposed nor the ruling class was indifferent to the business communities as have been perceived by Ashton.

Most of the economic historians explain the rise of industrial revolution in England mostly in terms of the economy and as per them the growth of England's overseas trade with its colonies was the main reason for the industrial transformations in England. As this trade generated two way profits, as the colonies were supplying plentiful capital for investment and at the same time they were powerful markets that were generating increased demand for the British manufactured goods. Contesting it Anderson stated that Britain's export trade in 1780s expanded only 5 to 7% of her gross national product. So, it was the growth of the domestic market rather than the foreign demand which has significantly contributed to the economic growth of Britain. Besides it, a rising population, growth of real wages and a series of good harvests were the combined factors to produce large and permanent widening of the home market for the manufactured goods. Subsequently he stated even though a flourishing foreign trade was a necessary condition for an Industrial Revolution but it was not sufficient. He took example of Dutch Republic and stated that in 1700 the Dutch Republic had import and export in proportion to its population that were five or six times as great as those of Britain, but its later industrial experiences were totally different from that of Britain and France. Similarly, the possession of colonies as it was with Spain did not necessarily lead to the expansion of the state.

During the eighteenth century the population grew beyond what Europe had seen ever before. One view is that the development of modern science accounted for a fall in the death rate. The rise of the food-production in the seventeenth century and the growth of the industrial sector corresponded the rise in population. This economic expansion led to urbanization and increasing number of people created demand for the manufactured goods. Hereon, Mercantilism intensified the competition amongst the states thus the production was restructured. From the latter half of the eighteenth century the governments actively encouraged the agriculture, commerce and industries. Thus, hereby the process of Industrialization gained momentum. Rapid industrialization radically changed the economic, political and social relationship between industrial Europe and the non-industrial world of Asia, Africa and Southern America. Britain became the first and most industrialized nation. Subsequently, it became the most dominant imperial power at least till the late nineteenth century. The expansion of agriculture contributed immensely to the rise of industry. It generated wealth that was invested in industry and infrastructure. The accumulation of wealth in the hands of the landed class made rich agriculturists who invested in better seeds, fertilizers, canals, roads, and in the new methods of agriculture.

#### **10.4 English Revolution and Agriculture in Britain:**

In mid seventeenth century, the English Revolution introduced significant changes in agriculture. It marked the advent of capitalist agriculture and promoted a rational and scientific attitude towards the agrarian problems. The feudal trends ended and the greater organizational and technological changes were introduced. A large portion of the English population was dependent on agriculture even during the first half of the eighteenth century, but this showed

declining trends during the end of the century. Interestingly, the declining agricultural force was able to feed the increasing population of England and this led to a big shift of labour and resources towards the industry. E. J. Hobsbawm stated that agriculture held an important position in England, primarily due to the indispensable foundation of agriculture for industry and secondly, the landed interests dominated the British politics and social life. Phyllis Deane has highlighted four salient features of the British agrarian revolution:

1. Farming in large consolidated units instead of the open-field cultivation as practiced during the medieval times.
2. Extension of arable farming over heaths and commons and the intensive livestock husbandry.
3. The British agrarian revolution signified that the transformation of a village community of self-sufficient peasants into one of labourers who depended more on the condition of national and international markets than on local factors.
4. Lastly, a big increase in the agricultural productivity.

According to Robert Brenner, in the sixteenth century the agriculture in England started shifted decisively. He stated that the English ruling class was the most highly self-organised one in Europe and it was bale to exploit the peasantry efficiently. In long run it implied that by the eighteenth century, the English lords were able to dispossess the peasantry by bringing in enclosures of land effectively. The retention of the property rights proved decisive as it enabled the lord to undermine the customary rights and copyhold of the peasantry in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and it allowed them to farm their own holdings on capitalist lines. The technological advances greatly helped to improve agriculture. The only problem of the time was the loss of fertility of the soil due to the constant use of the land. The system of leaving land fallow helped in restoring the nitrogen of the soil. JethroTull was the first innovator in the field of agricultural productivity, which was largely traditional till the late seventeenth century. Tull designed a horse-drawn hoe and a mechanical seeder. His invention allowed the farmers to sow in a straight line, which made the harvest easier. Lord Townsland demonstrated the value of using turnips, clover and other field crops in rotation. Thomas William Coke introduced the use of field grasses and the new fertilizers like oilcake and bone manure. He also laid down the principles of efficient estate-management. Robert Bakewell talked about improvements in breeding and greater specialization in the methods of livestock raising. Arthur Young wrote *Annals of Agriculture* in 1784 to popularize new agricultural ideas. He also established farmer's clubs and organised competitions amongst the farmers. The scientific farming became fashionable during the eighteenth century. King George III established his model farm at Windsor where merino sheep farming was introduced. Norfolk earned special name in high farming. East Kent and Worcestershire were developing hop fields and orchards. West County produced cider and Sussex and Surrey became popular for geese and capons.

Another distinct feature of the agrarian change was enclosure. To use new methods for making agriculture profitable the farmers consolidated their lands. The open-field system

dominated English countryside since the Middle Ages as was the case with many other countries. Even the biggest landlords had scattered landholdings and due to the use of the traditional methods of agriculture it was not possible for any landlord to use the land as they wished to use. It was impossible for any lord to grow grass on his field for his cattle when the neighbour was growing wheat. In this scenario the village community played a significant role and the common meadows were used for grazing cattle and in the same way the forest woods were distributed. Overall, the open fields were a hindrance in the way of new technology, thus the farmers who wanted to use the new technology had felt the necessity of enclosing the landed property. Since late fifteenth century private enclosures were used in England. In the eighteenth century the enclosures became the common method of consolidating landholdings through the acts of Parliament. The Tudor government did not encourage the enclosing of land. Hence the enclosing was closely checked till the end of the seventeenth century.

### **10.5 Enclosures and the act of Parliament:**

The cost factor and common law both dissuaded the fencing of the small landholdings. To make enclosures profitable it was essential to enclose all the village land which required agreements with all the members of the village. It was impossible to attain the voluntary enclosures. Thus, an Act of Parliament provided an alternative- as a general principle and showed its willingness to pass the necessary Act as long as the owner of four-fifth of the land and of the ecclesiastical property supported the petition. Parliament passed the Enclosures Act in response of a petition and the enclosing of the fields was carried out despite opposition. The first act of parliament that carried out the enclosures of villages was registered in 1710 and the number of such acts increased only after 1760. Between 1750 and 1760, the parliament passed 156 Acts of enclosures and the number of these acts went up to 906 by 1810. Historians have debated the economic and social importance of the enclosures act in the history of England. Some believe that enclosures enforced through acts formed the most dramatic aspect of the agrarian change in England. One group of historians considers the act of enclosure as a precondition to the industrialization. They propose that due to the act, the English agriculture was able to meet domestic needs and even produced significant surplus for exports. After the 1750s, favourable conditions, including a steady rise in food prices accompanied the demographic expansions that stimulated the capitalist farmers and landlords to raise agricultural output by expanding arable land and through intensive use of land. New technologies were also adopted to enhance the productivity.

The Enclosures Acts were not doing all good. It also had many negative effects on the society. It slowly eliminated the small landholders and many of them were left with tiny and unprofitable plots which they were forced to sell to their richer neighbours and seek employment as landless labourers. Many migrated to the urban centres to look for employments in the factories. Phyllis Deane argues that in the second half of the eighteenth century the standard food consumption deteriorated for the rural poor. Their diet was reduced mainly to bread and cheese because the system of enclosures had taken away their pastures from where they

collected wood for cooking the meals. The enclosures also closed the reach to the ponds from where they collected fish for their diet. With these acts the social landscape and the physical appearance of the English countryside underwent a major transformation under which a rural England was transformed into an urban and industrialized society.

#### **10.6 Other countries and their Agriculture:**

Territorially, France is larger than England and it is almost four times the size of England. Primarily it can be divided into two geographical areas- the Northern France and the southern France. The Northern France specialized in cereal production and the southern France was popular for production of wine. The possession of colonies by France in Asia, Africa and the West Indies led to the urbanization and economic growth of the coastal belt, whereas the interiors of France hardly changed. In France, the peasants constituted a stratified social group. And most of the French peasants were extremely poor. The French peasants owned small pieces of land and generally worked on lands of others. They performed the remunerative tasks and as the crisis knocked, they were often pushed to ranks of the wage earners. *Haricotiers*, the middling sort of peasants formed the next social strata and they were little better off. They worked with the livestock and the mules. *Gros Fermiers* were the best equipped and wealthiest substantial peasant farmers. The feudal structure of France remained strong and was protected by the absolutist rulers. The seigneurial surplus extraction by extra-economic coercion prevented any major breakthrough in the French agriculture. The agrarian transformation in France was brought to an end in the late medieval period when the peasant's right to land property was protected by the state. This placed a check on the transfer of landed property to the big landlords and ensured a wide base for the state taxes by keeping the peasants within their villages. During the eighteenth century, some changes were introduced in rural France such as discernible in the land clearances, contraction of fallow land, increase in yield ratio, introduction of new agricultural techniques and changes in agrarian organizations. However, these changes were limited and slow. France didn't have the agrarian revolution like England. Analysing the French agriculture, Michel Morineau said that the expansion of the French agriculture in the eighteenth century was a development within stagnation.

The rise of professional managers was another important change in France. These managers were capitalists who generally functioned as collectors of seigneurial dues and ecclesiastical tithes and sometimes controlled the disposable produce of several estates. Most of the French peasants worked on the land under a system similar to the open field arrangement called *Vaineapature*. This required the owners of land to follow the same routines of cultivation as their neighbours and it's was the village that determined the rights of its members on common lands. From the middle of the eighteenth century some individuals approached the state demanding enclosure of their land and the division of communal properties. The French monarchy didn't adopt the enclosure as a national policy. According to A. Soboul, it was the persistence of land property rights that prevented proper restructuring of the French agriculture. Increasing food grain prices and the growing population pressure led to a seigneurial reaction



and it marked intensification of feudal obligations. The landlords introduced the harvest dues and casual taxes on property taxes. Lis and Soly had pointed out that in the eighteenth century peasantry had to surrender a significant portion of their net production to a small minority of feudal lords that constituted about 25 to 30 percent of their income. Nearly 25 percent of farmers had only 1 hectare of land to cultivate. Due to these small holdings and surplus extraction the introduction of improvements in land management and technology to raise productivity was not introduced in France. The introduction of new concentrations of landholdings worsened the condition of peasantry. Historians are in disagreement over the economic and social evolution of the French countryside in the second half of the eighteenth century. The main controversy is over the question of production- either it increased or stagnated. Jean Claude Toutain argues that the agricultural production increased whereas Michel Morineau stated that it decreased. Overall, it can be stated that the domination of the small peasants proprietors prevented any major agrarian transformation because they didn't have the resources to use the modern technology and the small farmers were always vulnerable due to various factors like, inflation in food prices and harvest failures.

The agrarian condition in Germany was same as it existed in France before the revolution. The economic and social developments in Germany contributed to a slow transformation of the agrarian society. The growth in population was recorded in the eighteenth century along with the industrial production. The constantly rising demand of grains and raw material enhanced the agrarian growth in Germany. Its external market also evolved due to the rise in population. The emergence of towns and urbanization put a pressure on the rural economy. The growth of the agrarian sector was associated with the growth of population as it was in England. But, the changes happened in Germany much later. The introduction of 'improved three-field system' and the spread of alternative crop rotation increased yield per acre which was required to feed the increasing population. Maize was the new crop plant that was introduced to supplement the traditional food supplies and it was cultivated in Baden, the Palatinate and Wurttemberg. The potato cultivation also proved beneficial mainly in the regions where the land was not suitable for grain cultivation. In 1770-71, the potato cultivation proved to be the life saver when the grain harvest drastically failed. Other than these many commercial and specialized crops were also planted as they contributed to the industrialization. These crops were flax, hemp, chicory, tobacco, hops and wine grapes. The another notable and interesting feature of the German agriculture was the expansion of meadows as it provided increased animal husbandry and larger amount of manure. The improvements in the land productivity and grain cultivation were significantly enhanced through the use of innovations like planting of nitrogen fixing plants of fallow land and the better care of the meadows and animals.

During the eighteenth century, the landlords of Netherlands resolved their agrarian problems by adopting new techniques and methods of farming. The enclosures and the crop-rotation was the most significant of these changes. Flanders and Brabant attained the highest yield ratio in Europe through the high labour-intensive farming, improved technique of fertilization,

well developed methods of crop-rotation and cultivation of fodder and commercial crops. Stock-farming and potato cultivation were done on the poor quality soil. Except Holland, entire Netherlands was into the cereal cultivation. Crop rotation contributed to intensive cultivation.

### **10.7 Innovations in Industrial Sector:**

The commencement of the Industrial Revolution was closely linked to a number of innovations, beginning in the second half of the 18th century. By the 1830s the following gains had been made in important technologies:

**Textiles:** – Mechanized cotton spinning powered by steam or water increased the output of a worker by a factor of around 500. The powerloom increased the output of a worker by a factor of over 40. The cotton gin increased productivity of removing seed from cotton by a factor of 50. Large gains in productivity also occurred in spinning and weaving of wool and linen, but they were not as great as in cotton.

**Steam power:** – the efficiency of steam engines increased between one-fifth and one-tenth. The adaptation of stationary steam engines to rotary motion made them suitable for industrial purposes. The high-pressure engine had a high power to weight ratio, making it suitable for transportation. After 1800, Steam power underwent a rapid expansion.

**Iron making:** – the substitution of coke for charcoal greatly lowered the fuel cost of pig iron and wrought iron production. Use of coke also allowed larger blast furnaces that resulted in economies of scale. The steam engine began being used to power blast air in the mid 1750s, enabled a large increase in iron production by overcoming the limitation of water power. The cast-iron blowing cylinder was first used in 1760. It was later improved by making it double acting, which allowed higher blast furnace temperatures. The puddling process produced a structural grade iron at a lower cost than the finery forge. The rolling mill was fifteen times faster than hammering wrought iron. Hot blast greatly increased fuel efficiency in iron production in the following decades.

**Invention of machine tools:** – The first machine tools inventions included- the screw cutting lathe, cylinder boring machine, and the milling machine. Machine tools made the economical manufacture of precision metal parts possible, although it took several decades to develop effective techniques.

The technological advancements of the eighteenth century were leading the path to Industrial Revolution. The connectivity ensured by improved means of transport was another significant contributor. No doubt, the advent of the steam power was the most important technical innovation of the early industrial revolution. The spread of innovations can be seen from the number of patents that were granted in England from 1760s onwards. Further, the support from the government and the monarchy was proving beneficial to carry forward the production and innovations based on the scientific and technological experimentation that were becoming a regular feature of the universities in the eighteenth century.

### 10.8 Summary:

After reading this unit we are now aware that the industrial Revolution was not only limited to the industry. It was also channelizing the changes in the various other industries that were mainly the feeder industries of the machines. We saw that various acts of Parliament were also implemented in order to motivate and force the stagnant society which was not ready to change the mode of agricultural production. Other than this, the changes that were introduced were not in favour of the poor and small peasants and they ultimately lost the race and converted into the wage-earners who shifted to the industrial towns creating huge slums and unhygienic living conditions. In next unit we will read the social impacts of the Industrial Revolution.

### 10.9 Self-check Questions:

1. What were the specific features of the English revolution?

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2. What were the Agrarian Reforms that were initiated due to the Industrial revolution?

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3. Highlight the various innovations that were happening in the industry during the Industrial Revolution.

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### 10.10 Glossary:

- **Demography:** Study of population trends in a given period.
- **Fixed Capital:** Capital invested by an enterprise on machinery etc. is regarded as fixed cost of the enterprise.

**10.11 Suggested Readings:**

- Berg, Maxine, *The Age of Manufacturers 1700-1820*, Fontana Press, Glasgow, 1985.
- Hartwell, R. H., *The Causes of Industrial Revolution*, Methuen & Co., London, 1967.
- Flinn, M. W., *Origins of the Industrial Revolution*, Longman, London, 1966.
- Sinha, Arvind, *Europe in Transition From Feudalism to Industrialization*, Manohar, Delhi, 2014.

**10.12 Terminal Questions:**

1. What were the changes that Netherlands adopted during the phase of Industrial Revolution?
2. What was the three field system?
3. What were the agrarian conditions in France and Germany in the late seventeenth century?

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## **CHAPTER- 11**

### **THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION**

#### **Structure:**

- 11.1 Objective
- 11.2 Introduction
- 11.3 Opinions on the emergence of the Industrial Revolution
- 11.4 Social Impact of the Industrial Revolution
- 11.5 Factory System and working conditions
- 11.6 Child labour
- 11.7 Standard of living
- 11.8 Food and Nutrition
- 11.9 Housing, water-supply and sanitation
- 11.10 Literacy and Industrialization
- 11.11 Clothing and Consumer goods
- 11.12 Effect on women and family life
- 11.13 Factories and Urbanization
- 11.14 Luddites
- 11.15 Cotton and the expansion of Slavery
- 11.16 Effect on Environment
- 11.17 Nation and Nationalism
- 11.18 Summary
- 11.19 Self-check Questions
- 11.20 Glossary
- 11.21 Suggested Readings
- 11.22 Terminal Questions

#### **11.1 Objective:**

This unit aim to provide us an understanding about the social impacts of the Industrial Revolution. Both immediate and far reaching effects, of the Industrial Revolution over the society have been included in the unit to build up a wholesome understanding about the topic. Overall, the impact of the Industrial Revolution cannot be categorised as good and bad but definitely it had touched every rank of the society in some or the other way. Thus, the understanding about the Industrial Revolution will not be complete without knowing it's social impacts. So let us come and read the unit to get an insight in the aforementioned topic.

## **11.2 Introduction:**

The emergence of the Industrial Revolution has been a topic of debate amongst the historians. The main line of argument is whether it was evolutionary or revolutionary. They also debate that it happened as an evolutionary process, which was consequence of a long period of slow economic growth. The rapid growth in British imports and exports from the 1780s occurred because of the resumption of trade with North America. Later, it was interrupted by the War of American Independence. This growth was recorded as being sharp only because it started from a low point. Indicators of economic change occurring before and after 1815-20 suggest that sustained industrialization was to be seen after rather than before these dates. The decades after 1793 had experienced the disruptive effects of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

## **11.3 Opinions on the emergence of Industrial Revolution:**

In 1896, Gibbon described it as being a revolution which began in 1760 and occurred due to the great inventions. Ashley in 1912 argued that the industrial revolution was a continuation of the changes which had occurred for long before. For J. U. Nef and T. S. Ashton, 1780 is the date for starting of the industrial revolution, while P. Deane and W. A. Cole consider 1740 as the date of revolution. As per W.W. Rostow, the industrial revolution was a decisive breakthrough and it took place quickly. In order to emphasis the fastness of the pace he invented the phrase 'the take off' for referring to the emergence of industrial revolution. Hartwell in 1967 mentioned that there was an important turning point in the rate of growth of industrial output in 1780s. For Charles Wilson 1660 was the turning point in the economic growth ad as per him it was mercantilism that influenced the economic growth.

Industrialization is associated with a growing investment of the country's wealth in 'capital formation', or building infrastructure and installing new machinery, and with raising the levels of efficient use of these facilities, and with raising productivity. Productive investment, in these senses, grew steadily only after 1820, as did levels of productivity. The cotton, iron and engineering industries had accounted for less than half of the industrial output until the 1840s. Technical progress was not limited to these branches, but was visible in other branches too, like agricultural processing and pottery. The Industrial Revolution, the period in which agrarian and handicraft economies shifted rapidly to industrial and machine-manufacturing-dominated ones, began in the United Kingdom in the 18th century and later spread throughout many other parts of the world. This economic transformation changed not only how work was done and goods were produced, but it also altered how people related both to one another and to the planet at large. This wholesale change in societal organization continues today, and it has produced several effects that have rippled throughout Earth's political, ecological, and cultural spheres.

## **11.4 Social effects of the Industrial Revolution:**

Any revolution that happens and touches the sections of society leaves long term effects over it. These changes are called as the social effects. The social effects of the Industrial



revolutions could not limit to the industry as the entire society ranging from the nobles, royals, capitalist, landlords and peasants all were involved with it at some or the other stage. The following are the social effects of the Industrial Revolution that became evident in the European society:

### **11.5 Factory System and working conditions:**

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, most of the workforce was employed in agriculture, either as self-employed peasants as landowners or tenants or as landless agricultural laborers. It was common for families in various parts of the world to spin yarn, weave cloth and secure their own clothing. Households also spun and wove for market production. At the beginning of the Industrial Revolution India, China, and regions of Iraq and elsewhere in Asia and the Middle East produced most of the world's cotton cloth while Europeans produced wool and linen goods.

In Britain by the 16th century the putting-out system, by which farmers and townspeople produced goods for a market in their homes, often described as *cottage industry*, was being practiced. Typical putting-out system goods included spinning and weaving. Merchant capitalists provided the raw materials and paid workers as per the pieces. the capitalists were responsible for the sale of the goods. Embezzlement of supplies by workers and poor quality were common problems. The logistical effort in procuring and distributing raw materials and picking up finished goods were also limitations of the putting-out system. Some early spinning and weaving machinery, such as a 40 spindle jenny for about six pounds in 1792, was affordable for cottagers. Later machinery such as spinning frames, spinning mules and power looms were expensive and this shifted the centers of production to factories and it gave rise to capitalism.

The majority of textile factory workers during the Industrial Revolution were unmarried women and children, including many orphans. They typically worked for 12 to 14 hours per day with only Sundays off. It was common for women to take factory jobs seasonally during slack periods of farm work. Lack of adequate transportation, long hours, and poor pay made it difficult to recruit and maintain workers. These developments changed the social relationship of the factory worker compared to farmers and cottagers was viewed as unfavorable by Karl Marx.

### **11.6 Child labor:**

Child labor existed before the Industrial Revolution but with the increase in population and education, it became more visible. Many children were forced to work in relatively bad conditions for much lower pay than their elders. They were paid 10–20% of an adult male's wage. Reports were written detailing some of the abuses, particularly in the coal mines and textile factories, and these helped to popularize the children's plight. The public outcry, especially among the upper and middle classes, helped stir change in the young workers' welfare. Politicians and the government tried to limit child labor by law but factory owners resisted; some felt that they were aiding the poor by giving their children money to buy food to avoid starvation, and others simply welcomed the cheap labor. In 1833 and 1844, the first

general laws against child labor, the Factory Acts, were passed in Britain. Under these children younger than nine were not allowed to work, children were not permitted to work at night, and the workday of youth under the age of 18 was limited to twelve hours. Factory inspectors supervised the execution of the law, however, their scarcity made enforcement difficult. About ten years later, the employment of children and women in mining was forbidden. Although laws such as these decreased the number of child laborers, child labor remained significantly present in Europe and the United States until the 20th century.

### **11.7 Standards of living:**

Some economists, such as Robert E. Lucas, say that the real effect of the Industrial Revolution was that “for the first time in history, the living standards of the masses of ordinary people have begun to undergo sustained growth ... Nothing remotely like this economic behavior is mentioned by the classical economists, even as a theoretical possibility”. Others, however, argue that while the growth of the economy’s overall productive powers was unprecedented during the Industrial Revolution, living standards for the majority of the population did not grow meaningfully until the late 19th and 20th centuries. In many ways workers’ living standards declined under early capitalism. The average height of the population declined during the Industrial Revolution, implying that their nutritional status was also decreasing. Real wages were not keeping up with the price of food. During the Industrial Revolution, the life expectancy of children increased dramatically. The percentage of the children born in London who died before the age of five decreased from 74.5% in 1730–1749 to 31.8% in 1810–1829. The effects on living conditions of the industrial revolution have been very controversial and were hotly debated by economic and social historians from the 1950s to the 1980s. A series of 1950s essays by Henry Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins later set the academic consensus that the bulk of the population, that was at the bottom of the social ladder suffered severe reductions in their living standards.

### **11.8 Food and nutrition:**

Chronic hunger and malnutrition were the norms for the majority of the population until the late 19th century. Until about 1750, due to malnutrition, the life expectancy was about 35 years in France and about 40 years in Britain. The United States population of the time was adequately fed, much taller on average, and had a life expectancy of 45–50 years. Food consumption per capita also declined during industrial revolution. Food supply in Great Britain was adversely affected by the Corn Laws (1815–1846). The Corn Laws, which imposed tariffs on imported grain, were enacted to keep prices high in order to benefit domestic producers. The Corn Laws were repealed in the early years of the Great Irish Famine. In Britain and the Netherlands, food supply increased before the Industrial Revolution due to better agricultural practices; however, population also grew. This condition is called the Malthusian trap, and it was finally overcome by improvement of means of transportation like canals, improved roads and steamships. Railroads and steamships were also introduced near the end of the Industrial Revolution.

### **11.9 Housing, water-supply and Sanitation:**

The rapid population growth and the shifting out of people to the manufacturing cities were the critical factor and the private renting from housing landlords was the dominant tenure during Industrial revolution. People moved in so rapidly that there was not enough capital to build adequate housing for everyone, so low-income newcomers squeezed into increasingly overcrowded slums. Clean water, sanitation, and public health facilities were inadequate. Thus, the death rate was high, especially infant mortality, and tuberculosis among young adults. Cholera from polluted water and typhoid were endemic. Unlike rural areas, there were no famines such as the one that devastated Ireland in the 1840s. F. Engels in his work, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* has described the backstreet sections of Manchester and other mill towns, where people lived in crude shanties and shacks, some not completely enclosed, some with dirt floors. These shantytowns had narrow walkways between irregularly shaped lots and dwellings. There were no sanitary facilities. The population density was extremely high. However, not everyone lived in such poor conditions. The Industrial Revolution also created a middle class of businessmen, clerks, foremen, and engineers who lived in much better conditions. Conditions improved over the course of the 19th century due to new public health acts which regulated the things like sewage, hygiene, and home construction.

In *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, Engels has described the untreated sewage and awful odors that turned the rivers green in industrial cities. In 1854 John Snow traced a cholera outbreak in Soho in London to faecal contamination of a public water well by a home cesspit. Snow's findings that cholera could spread by contaminated water took some years to be accepted. Pre-industrial water supply relied on gravity systems and pumping of water was done by water wheels. Pipes were typically made of wood. Steam-powered pumps and iron pipes allowed the widespread piping of water to horse watering troughs and households.

### **11.10 Literacy and Industrialization:**

Modern industrialization began in England and Scotland in the 18th century. There the levels of literacy were relatively higher. This permitted the recruitment of literate craftsmen, skilled workers, foremen, and managers who supervised the emerging textile factories and coal mines. Much of the labour was unskilled, and especially in textile mills children as young as eight proved useful in handling chores and adding to the family income. Indeed, children were taken out of school to work alongside their parents in the factories. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, unskilled labor forces were common in Western Europe, and British industry moved upscale, needing many more engineers and skilled workers who could handle technical instructions and handle complex situations. Literacy was essential to be hired. A senior government official told Parliament in 1870: 'Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity. It is of no use trying to give technical teaching to our citizens without elementary education; uneducated laborers'. The invention of the paper machine and the application of steam power to the industrial processes of printing supported a massive expansion of newspaper and pamphlet publishing, which contributed to literacy and enhanced political participation of masses.

### **11.11 Clothing and consumer goods:**

With the falling prices the consumers benefited and household articles such as cast iron cooking utensils, stoves for cooking etc. were used by large masses. Coffee, tea, sugar, tobacco, and chocolate became affordable to many in Europe. The consumer revolution in England from the early 1600s to roughly 1750 had seen a marked increase in the consumption. With improvements in transport and manufacturing technology, opportunities for buying and selling became faster and more efficient than previous. The expanding textile trade in the north of England meant the three-piece suit became affordable to the masses. Founded by Josiah Wedgwood in 1759, Wedgwood fine china and porcelain tableware was starting to become a common feature on dining tables. Rising prosperity and social mobility in the 18th century increased the number of people with disposable income for consumption, and the marketing of goods for individuals, as opposed to items for the household that started to appear. With the rapid growth of towns and cities, shopping became an important part of everyday life. Window shopping and the purchase of goods became a cultural activity in its own right, and many exclusive shops were opened in elegant urban districts. Prosperity and expansion in manufacturing industries such as pottery and metal ware increased consumer choice dramatically. Where once laborers ate from metal platters with wooden implements, ordinary workers now dined on Wedgwood porcelain. Consumers came to demand an array of new household goods and furnishings: metal knives and forks, for example, as well as rugs, carpets, mirrors, cooking ranges, pots, pans, watches, clocks, and a dizzying array of furniture. Thus, the age of mass consumption had arrived.

Increased literacy rates, industrialization, and the invention of the railway created a new market for cheap popular literature for the masses and the ability for it to be circulated on a large scale. Penny dreadful were created in the 1830s to meet this demand. *The Guardian* described penny dreadful as “Britain’s first taste of mass-produced popular culture for the young”, and “the Victorian equivalent of video games”. By the 1860s and 1870s more than one million boys’ periodicals were sold per week. Labeled an “authorpreneur” by the *Paris Review*, Charles Dickens used innovations from the revolution to sell his books, such as the powerful new printing presses, enhanced advertising revenues, and the expansion of railroads. His first novel, *The Pickwick Papers* (1836), became a publishing phenomenon with its unprecedented success sparking numerous spin-offs and merchandise ranging from *Pickwick* cigars, playing cards, china figurines, Sam Weller puzzles, Weller boot polish and joke books. Nicholas Dames wrote in *The Atlantic* that Literature is not a big enough category for *Pickwick*. It defined its own, a new one that we have learned to call “entertainment.

### **11.12 Effect on women and family life:**

Women’s historians have debated the effect of the Industrial Revolution and capitalism generally on the status of women. Taking a pessimistic side, Alice Clark argued that when capitalism arrived in 17th-century England, it lowered the status of women as they lost much of their economic importance. Clark argues that in 16th-century England, women were engaged

in many aspects of industry and agriculture. The home was a central unit of production and women played a vital role in running farms, and in some trades and landed estates. Their useful economic roles gave them a sort of equality with their husbands. However, Clark argues, as capitalism expanded in the 17th century, there was more and more division of labor with the husband taking paid labour jobs outside the home, and the wife reduced to unpaid household work. Middle- and upper-class women were confined to an idle domestic existence, supervising servants; lower-class women were forced to take poorly paid jobs. Capitalism, therefore, had a negative effect on powerful women.

In a more positive interpretation, Ivy Pinchbeck argues that capitalism created the conditions for women's emancipation. Tilly and Scott have emphasized the continuity in the status of women, finding three stages in English history. In the pre-industrial era, production was mostly for home use and women produce much of the needs of the households. The second stage was the "family wage economy" of early industrialization; the entire family depended on the collective wages of its members, including husband, wife, and older children. The third or modern stage is the "family consumer economy," in which the family is the site of consumption, and women are employed in large numbers in retail and clerical jobs to support rising standards of consumption. Ideas of thrift and hard work characterized middle-class families as the Industrial Revolution swept Europe.

### **11.13 Factories and urbanization:**

Industrialization led to the creation of the factory. The factory system contributed to the growth of urban areas, as large numbers of workers migrated into the cities in search of work in the factories. Nowhere was this better illustrated than the mills and associated industries of Manchester, nicknamed "Cottonopolis", and the world's first industrial city. Manchester experienced a six-times increase in its population between 1771 and 1831. Bradford grew by 50% every ten years between 1811 and 1851 and by 1851 only 50% of the population of Bradford was actually born there. In addition, between 1815 and 1939, 20 percent of Europe's population left home, pushed by poverty, a rapidly growing population, and the displacement of peasant farming and artisan manufacturing. They were pulled abroad by the enormous demand for labour overseas, the ready availability of land, and cheap transportation. Still, many did not find a satisfactory life in their new homes, leading 7 million of them to return to Europe. This mass migration had large demographic effects. In 1800, less than one percent of the world population consisted of overseas Europeans and their descendants and by 1930, they represented 11 percent. The Americas felt the brunt of this huge emigration, largely concentrated in the United States.

For much of the 19th century, production was done in small mills, which were typically water-powered and built to serve local needs. Later, each factory would have its own steam engine and a chimney to give an efficient draft through its boiler. In other industries, the transition to factory production was not so divisive. Some industrialists themselves tried to improve factory and living conditions for their workers. One of the earliest such reformers

was Robert Owen, known for his pioneering efforts in improving conditions for workers at the New Lanark mills, and often regarded as one of the key thinkers of the early socialist movement. By 1746 an integrated brass mill was working at Warmley near Bristol. Raw material went in at one end, was smelted into brass and was turned into pans, pins, wire, and other goods. Housing was provided for workers on site. Josiah Wedgwood and Matthew Boulton (whose Soho Manufactory was completed in 1766) were other prominent early industrialists, who employed the factory system.

#### **11.14 Luddites:**

The rapid industrialization of the English economy threw many craft workers out of their jobs. The movement started first with lace and hosiery workers near Nottingham and spread to other areas of the textile industry. Many weavers also found themselves suddenly unemployed since they could no longer compete with machines which only required relatively limited labor to produce more cloth than a single weaver. Many such unemployed workers, weavers, and others turned their animosity towards the machines that had taken their jobs and began destroying factories and machinery. These attackers became known as Luddites, supposedly followers of Ned Ludd, a folklore figure. The first attacks of the Luddite movement began in 1811. The Luddites rapidly gained popularity, and the British government took drastic measures, using the militia or army to protect industry. Those rioters who were caught were tried and hanged, or transported for life. Unrest continued in other sectors as well in 1830s the agricultural laborers were in disturbance thus, the threshing machines were a made target, and hayrick burning was another popular activity. However, the riots led to the first formation of trade unions, and they furthered the pressure for reform.

#### **11.15 Cotton and the expansion of slavery:**

Cheap cotton textiles increased the demand for raw cotton. Previously, it had primarily been consumed in subtropical regions where it was grown, with little raw cotton available for export. Consequently, prices of raw cotton rose. British production grew from 2 million pounds in 1700 to 5 million pounds in 1781 to 56 million in 1800. The invention of the cotton gin by American Eli Whitney in 1792 was the decisive event. It allowed green-seeded cotton to become profitable, leading to the widespread growth of the large slave plantation in the United States, Brazil, and the West Indies. In 1791 American cotton production was about 2 million pounds, soaring to 35 million by 1800, half of which was exported. America's cotton plantations were highly efficient and profitable, and able to keep up with demand. The U.S. Civil War created a "cotton famine" that led to increased production in other areas of the world, including European colonies in Africa.

#### **11.16 Effect on environment:**

Levels of air pollution rose during the Industrial Revolution which sparked the first modern environmental laws to be passed in the mid-19th century. The origins of the environmental movement lay in the response to increasing levels of smoke pollution in the atmosphere during the Industrial Revolution. The emergence of great factories and the concomitant immense



growth in coal consumption gave rise to an unprecedented level of air pollution in industrial centers; after 1900 the large volume of industrial chemical discharges added to the growing load of untreated human waste. The first large-scale, modern environmental laws came in the form of Britain's Alkali Acts, passed in 1863, to regulate the deleterious air pollution (gaseous hydrochloric acid) given off by the Leblanc process, used to produce soda ash. An Alkali inspector and four sub-inspectors were appointed to curb this pollution. The responsibilities of the inspectorate were gradually expanded, culminating in the Alkali Order 1958 which placed all major heavy industries that emitted smoke, grit, dust, and fumes under supervision.

The manufactured gas industry began in British cities in 1812–1820. The technique used produced highly toxic effluent that was dumped into sewers and rivers. The gas companies were repeatedly sued in nuisance lawsuits. They usually lost and modified the worst practices. The City of London repeatedly indicted gas companies in the 1820s for polluting the Thames and poisoning its fish. Finally, Parliament wrote company charters to regulate toxicity. The industry reached the US around 1850 causing pollution and lawsuits. In industrial cities local experts and reformers, especially after 1890, took the lead in identifying environmental degradation and pollution, and initiating grass-roots movements to demand and achieve reforms. Typically, the highest priority went to water and air pollution. The Coal Smoke Abatement Society was formed in Britain in 1898 making it one of the oldest environmental NGOs. It was founded by artist Sir William Blake Richmond, frustrated with the pall cast by coal smoke. Although there were earlier pieces of legislation, the Public Health Act 1875 required all furnaces and fireplaces to consume their own smoke. It also provided for sanctions against factories that emitted large amounts of black smoke. The provisions of this law were extended in 1926 with the Smoke Abatement Act to include other emissions, such as soot, ash, and gritty particles, and to empower local authorities to impose their own regulations.

#### **11.17 Nations and nationalism:**

In his book *Nations and Nationalism* (1981) philosopher Ernest Gellner argues that the industrial revolution and economic modernization spurred the creation of nations. Other than these the increase in population, organization of labor, shift in production centers, urbanization were other major social effects of the Industrial revolution.

#### **11.18 Summary:**

Thus, the Industrial revolution that has been understood as a simple economic phenomenon is just not limited to the demand and supply and manufacture of the products in the factories. It had many deep sociological, historical, economic and cultural effects on the society of the Modern Europe, which were not limited to the territories of Europe. These effects reached to the far flung areas mainly to the colonies that were governed by the capitalists of the Industrial revolution.

#### **11.19 Self-check Questions:**

1. Briefly discuss the factory system of the Industrial Revolution.



2. Was there any relationship in the agrarian reforms and the social factors of the Industrial Revolution
3. How were the Industrialization and literacy related?
4. What do you understand by luddites?
5. Discuss the standard of living and the food and nutrition condition of the urban towns.

#### 11.20 Glossary:

- **Luddites:** a person who oppose the new technology. It was a band of English workers who destroyed machinery, especially in cotton and woollen mills.
- **Imports:** imports were the foreign goods that were received by the non-producing or low producing areas during the industrial revolution.
- **Industrialization:** when a country develops its industry on a wide scale by putting in huge sums of capital and putting together advanced machinery, in order to enhance its profits that phase is called industrialization.

#### 11.21 Suggested Readings:

- Mathias, Peter, *The First Industrial Nation: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1914*, Charles Scribner & sons, New York, 1969.
- Hobsbawm, E. J., *Industry and Empire: An Economic History of Britain since 1750*, Weidenfield and Nicolson, London, 1968.
- Berg, Maxine, *The Age of Manufacturers 1700-1820*, Fontana Press, Glasgow, 1985.
- Hartwell, R. H., *The Causes of Industrial Revolution*, Methuen & Co., London, 1967.
- Flinn, M. W., *Origins of the Industrial Revolution*, Longman, London, 1966.
- Sinha, Arvind, *Europe in Transition From Feudalism to Industrialization*, Manohar, Delhi, 2014.

#### 11.22 Terminal Questions:

1. Discuss the condition of the children and women in the factories?
2. What were the living conditions of the wage-earners in the urban towns?
3. Was the expansion of cotton trade adding to the slavery?
4. What effect did the Industrial revolution had on the natural environment and nations?

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**Assignments (Compulsory) ICDEOL, H.P. University**

**M.A. History 1st Semester**

**Course-HIST 104**

**Aspects of Society and Culture in Early Modern Europe, c.1450-1700**

**Maximum Marks =20**

**Note: Attempt four (04) questions in total. One question is compulsory from each unit. All questions carry equal marks.**

कुल चार प्रश्न कीजिए। प्रत्येक इकाई से एक प्रश्न करना जरूरी है। सभी प्रश्नों के अंक समान हैं।

**UNIT-I**

1. How can you define the Early Modern Europe and its Middle Ages?  
आप आरम्भिक आधुनिक यूरोप और उसके मध्य युग को कैसे परिभाषित कर सकते हैं?
2. What were the difference between the Radical Reformation and the Counter Reformation?  
कट्टरपंथी सुधार और काउंटर सुधार के बीच क्या अंतर थे?

**UNIT-II**

3. Define the economic conditions of Europe that were responsible for the rise of Commercial Revolution.  
यूरोप की उन आर्थिक स्थितियों को परिभाषित करें जो वाणिज्यिक क्रांति के उदय के लिए जिम्मेदार थीं?
4. What were the various views on the origin of Price Revolution?  
मूल्य क्रांति की उत्पत्ति पर विभिन्न विचार क्या थे?

**Unit-III**

5. What were social and institutional changes that were facilitated by the printing?  
वे कौन से सामाजिक और संस्थागत परिवर्तन थे जो मुद्रण द्वारा बनाए गए थे?
6. What was the role of women in the European society during the fourteenth century?  
14वीं शताब्दी के दौरान यूरोपीय समाज में महिलाओं की क्या भूमिका थी?

**Unit-IV**

7. Highlights the various innovations that were happening in the industry during the Industrial Revolution.  
औद्योगिक क्रांति के दौरान उद्योग में हो रहे विभिन्न नवाचारों पर प्रकाश डालिए।
8. Discuss the condition of the children and women in the factories.  
कारखानों में बच्चों और महिलाओं की स्थिति पर चर्चा करें।

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