

# Coming of age in a corporate society: Capitalism, Pietism and family authority in rural Württemberg, 1590–1740

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Among the commonplaces of social history is the idea that early capitalism made the family (and indeed all of society) more authoritarian and more patriarchal. The Protestant Reformation, we are told, was both an instrument and an expression of this process. This view, here starkly oversimplified, is loosely associated with the names of Marx and Weber, but has passed into common currency.<sup>1</sup>

In recent years, research addressing quite different issues has incidentally thrown doubt on the view that capitalism increased authority in the family. The work of recent historical demographers and social historians has undermined the idea that the repressive 'bourgeois nuclear family' dates back only to the onset of capitalism.<sup>2</sup> The authority of husbands over wives was real, but often contained elements of bargaining or compromise, and certainly predated early capitalism.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, recent contributions to the history of parent-child relations have concluded that 'there was considerable continuity and homogeneity in methods of discipline' of children between 1500 and 1900.<sup>4</sup>

However, differences between areas of Europe make this apparent refutation of the old view far from clear-cut. Cultural historians continue to argue that the Protestant Reformation, throughout the parts of Europe affected by it, led to a reinforcement of patriarchal values and of the power of parents over children. Thus Thomas Robisheaux argues that in

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Hohenlohe, an area of southwest Germany, 'the Reformation meant that family elders renewed rural patriarchy'.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Lawrence Stone, writing of seventeenth-century England, maintains that 'in the newly sanctified [Puritan] conjugal marriage the duty of the wife and mother was to assist her husband in the task of the repression of their children'.<sup>6</sup> But whereas the applicability of this view to England has been seriously questioned<sup>7</sup>, its relevance to continental societies remains unresolved.<sup>8</sup>

To complicate matters, a diverse group of economic historians has recently developed a comprehensive theory of the relations between capitalism, family, and authority in early modern Europe that directly challenges the old assumptions. Their new theory of 'proto-industrialisation' makes the introduction of widespread cottage industry to rural society responsible not for the revival, but for the *break-down* of paternal authority in the peasant household.<sup>9</sup> By altering age-specific mobility, rural industry is supposed to have caused a decline in life-cycle servanthood and a later age of leaving home.<sup>10</sup> It is also supposed to have brought about greater peer-group socialisation,<sup>11</sup> 'a lower age of sexual activity',<sup>12</sup> an increase in illegitimacy,<sup>13</sup> earlier and uncontrolled marriage,<sup>14</sup> a 'greater number of co-residing children',<sup>15</sup> and greater exploitation of child labour.<sup>16</sup>

Empirical work surrounding this new theory has once again revealed geographical differences. Whereas D. C. Coleman has convincingly shown the irrelevance of 'proto-industry' to England,<sup>17</sup> many continental writers continue to employ the theory in their analyses.<sup>18</sup> Despite dissenting voices,<sup>19</sup> it appears that the applicability of the theory to continental societies remains an open question.

The apparently paradoxical conclusion emerges that although both the old 'capitalist patriarchalism' view and the new 'proto-industrial' view of the relation between capitalism and familial authority are false for England, neither has been decisively refuted for Central Europe or other parts of the Continent.

This paper will resolve the paradox by showing that the old and the new theories are not mutually exclusive. Though attention will mainly be focussed on Central Europe, the argument presented here will have the incidental effect of explaining how both theories can simultaneously fail, as they appear to do in the case of England.

It will emerge that both theories omit the underlying structure of market relations (or what Marx would have called production relations) from their purview. This structure, when more closely examined, can be seen to be quite different in England and (most of) the Continent during the early modern period. English society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was, according to Keith Wrightson,

...deeply permeated by the ethos of agrarian and commercial capitalism. Inequality of wealth and opportunity was nothing new. Beneath the rhetoric of contemporary ideals of commonwealth was concealed the cold reality of a harsh, competitive contract society. Within the flexible structure of the neighbourhood there already flourished a cultural emphasis on the interests of the individual nuclear family which was a powerful enough stimulus to override traditional social obligations where there was gain to be made.<sup>20</sup>

The picture that will emerge of Central-European society during the same period (in section II below) is so fundamentally different that the term 'capitalism', if it is to retain any meaning at all, cannot be applied to it. But the 'proto-industrial' theorists are oblivious to this critical difference in market relations; they give all their attention to its technological and organisational symptoms. Instead of concentrating on the 'base' of production relations, they are distracted by the technological 'super-structure', and equate rural industry with rural capitalism.

In Central Europe, it will be argued, dense rural cottage industry did not affect production relations. Far from changing, the corporatist institutional structure digested the new technology and work organisation with scarce a hiccough. Instead of diluting parental and social authority, rural industry was assimilated into an existing structure of family and social relations. Family authority was maintained (or even strengthened, perhaps, by the religious revival) *despite* proto-industrialisation.

So although the cultural historians' connection of Protestantism and authority may have some validity for Central Europe, the theory of proto-industrialisation is shown to be seriously flawed. In terms of the relations among capitalism, Protestantism, and authority, it is shown that while capitalism may (in England, or elsewhere) be sufficient for an increase in social and parental authority, it is certainly not necessary.

## II. WÜRTEMBERG INSTITUTIONS

The former Duchy of Württemberg in southwest Germany provides a good testing ground for the predictions of these two sets of theories positing a significant relationship between the economic transition to capitalism and the social transition from peasant 'patriarchal domination'<sup>21</sup> to bourgeois paternalism ('the informal constraints of bourgeois domesticity').<sup>22</sup>

The Nagold Valley, southwest of Stuttgart, particularly the town and villages of the Wildberg district, experienced rapid expansion of the rural industry of New Draperies weaving, beginning in the 1590s. Upon the weaving of these new, lighter, more easily dyed and finished woollens, called *Engelsaite* or *Zeuge*, depended the livelihood of a considerable

proportion of the rural population until the end of the eighteenth century. By 1736 more than 40 per cent of households in the small town of Wildberg (population about 1300), and on average 18 per cent of households in the nine main villages of the district (total population approximately 3,000) reported *Zeugmacherei* as at least one source of their livelihood; in the town it was in most cases the only source.<sup>23</sup> Despite the expansion of dense rural industry, however, the district did not experience many of the socioeconomic changes predicted by the theory of proto-industrialisation. This can largely be ascribed to the strength of certain institutions of rural Württemberg society. These institutions, both formal and informal, exerted more systematic control over people's actions than was, for example, the case in England in the same period.<sup>24</sup> Outstanding among these institutions were the local community, with its strict citizenship requirements and dense network of officials and court meetings; the rural guild, with its regulation of mastership, apprenticeship, output, and industrial practice; and the Lutheran congregation, with obligatory communion, catechism, and church and school attendance, its careful record-keeping, and its own church 'convent' or court to enforce these and other obligations.<sup>25</sup>

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, local communities continued to exert strong exclusionary policies on settlement, occupation and demography through the institution of *Bürgerrecht* (citizenship). A dense network of communal officials presided over and reported to frequent meetings of local courts, at which temporal or ecclesiastical bureaucrats (owing allegiance primarily to the Ducal territorial government in Stuttgart) oversaw the interests of the central state and placed its authority behind court decisions. In the small district town of Wildberg no fewer than five separate courts met and kept their own court records during this period.

First, the town court (*Gericht*), presided over by the twelve-man town council and the Ducal district official (*Keller* or *Vogt*), met to try civil cases (*Bürgerliche Sachen*) involving residents of the town or villagers of the Wildberg district where the village court had not been able to resolve the case. Here also were heard cases involving formal charges (other than capital cases) preferred by local Ducal officials against town residents. Analogous to this court on the village level was the village *Gericht*, manned by the twelve-member village council and *Schultheiss* (mayor) which tried civil cases among and Ducal charges against villagers; however, a considerable proportion of these outgrew village jurisdiction and went on to appear before the town *Gericht* in Wildberg.<sup>26</sup>

On the infrequent occasions when capital cases (witchcraft, murder, sodomy) occurred, a separate court for the trial of *Peinliche Sachen* was

called in the town. It was presided over by much the same personnel as the court for *Bürgerliche Sachen*. Most capital cases were, however, taken to central courts in Stuttgart (the territorial capital) or Tübingen (where the Duke held periodic *Hofgerichte*).<sup>27</sup>

Underlying these courts for formal trial of cases were three further levels of regulatory or administrative courts which met to hear conflicts and complaints that had not yet become formal *Sachen*. Each of the three regulatory or administrative courts kept a separate minute book. There was considerable overlap between the sort of cases heard by the three, which often did not matter greatly, since by and large the same people presided. The *Verhörstag* was presided over by a subset of the town council and at least one of the three mayors (*Burgermeister*) or the Ducal official. It heard cases involving orphans, mild offenses against regulations, and informal family and neighbourly conflicts,<sup>28</sup> and was more active in the first half of the seventeenth century than later; in 1696 its minutes were consolidated with those kept for civil cases. This may be ascribed at least partly to the fact that beginning in 1645 the *Kirchenkonvent* (church court), newly formed under the influence of the Duke's Pietist advisers in Stuttgart, began to take over the functions of the *Verhörstag* and expand them greatly, becoming more involved, in particular, with the regulation of marital and parental behaviour within the family. The *Kirchenkonvent* was presided over by the Lutheran pastor, a subset of the town council, and sometimes the Ducal *Keller*.<sup>29</sup>

A further layer of administrative or regulatory court was the *Vogtgericht*, a mass meeting each year under the aegis of the *Vogt* (district governor), at which the male adults of each community were called together and each citizen and unmarried male asked in turn if he had something to bring before the *Gemeinde* (community). This practice survived at least until 1784. At this same meeting the many local offices were filled by co-option; in Wildberg in 1717 approximately one-fifth of male household heads were appointed to local offices, mainly inspectorships over craft and agricultural activities in the community. Between the annual *Vogtgerichte* in each town and village were held quarterly *Rüggerichte*, to which citizens reported many of the same kinds of offenses that they reported at the yearly meeting: offenses against customary rules for common lands, communal agricultural policy, collective licensure of domestic industry, as well as moral and familial offenses.<sup>30</sup> In the second half of the seventeenth century, separate minutes were also kept by the *Feldrügtag*, which tried offenses against communal agricultural regulations.<sup>31</sup>

This dense network of local institutions was strongly reinforced by Ducal officials and supported by voluntary reports from the citizenry at

large.<sup>32</sup> This was no mere 'theatre' of regulation, but rather a dynamic and integral component of rural society, which profoundly shaped market relations in the countryside.

The New Draperies industry (*Zeugmacherei*), employing 20–40 per cent of the population, figured largely in the regulatory system. In addition to this external regulation, however, the industry possessed two 'internal' corporate groups, the weavers' guild and the company of merchants and dyers, both of which had vested interests in regulating industrial practice in the countryside. Almost as soon as the new form of weaving arose in the Nagold Valley in the late sixteenth century, the *Engelsait-weberhandwerk* (later *Zeugmacherhandwerk*) — New Draperies weavers' guild — arose around it. From the beginning this guild had jurisdiction over, and enjoyed the active loyalty of, weavers in both the villages and the town. The dyeing and selling of the draperies was open to weavers as well as dyers until 1650, when a group of wealthy merchant-dyers in the nearby town of Calw formed a company, to which the central state granted a monopoly over dyeing, and a legal monopsony that forced all weavers in the Nagold Valley to sell all their cloths to the new company. For the next 150 years this company, the *Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie*, retained and strengthened its monopoly, and became a financial and political power in the territory.

Contrary to the theory of proto-industrialisation, these two corporate groups were not feudal vestiges, exercising merely formal powers. They were newly created by participants in the new 'proto-industry'. With the state behind them, the two corporations grew stronger as 'proto-industrialisation' progressed. The disasters of the Thirty Years War and the Ducal monopoly, granted to the company and merchants and dyers in 1650, did not cause the rural weavers' guild to collapse, but rather appear to have increased its revenues and expenditures. In 1654 the guild stepped up its financial demands on its members, and for the next century and a half collected approximately two days' earnings each year from each master weaver. This the guild used to finance a campaign of lobbying the Ducal councils to issue legislation protecting weavers against the merchant company, journeymen, spinners, and unregulated encroachers on guild privilege. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the guild began to hold regular mass meetings of all the weavers in the district at least once a year. As late as the mid-eighteenth century attendance at the annual meetings was very near 100 per cent. On at least three occasions the guild financed mass marches to Stuttgart to demonstrate for weavers' interests before the Ducal Chancellory.

The guild carefully controlled entry to rural industry, requiring a three-year apprenticeship and at least three years 'tramping' as a journey-

man, and levying fees on new masters and on both incoming and outgoing apprentices. Far from expanding uncontrollably, as the theory of proto-industrialisation predicts, the yearly admissions of new masters declined over time. The geographical and occupational backgrounds of new masters and apprentices narrowed as time passed.

The guild exercised strong disciplinary control over weavers, often through reports to the guild or to communal courts by neighbours or fellow-weavers. Guild finances and guild ordinances were administered with the help of the local bureaucracy and enforced by the dense network of rural officials and courts, backed up by the grass-roots support of the ordinary weaver and citizen.

Over the two centuries of 'proto-industrialisation' in the Nagold Valley, the Wildberg district chapter of the weavers' guild was increasing its powers to discipline and exact fines and contributions from its members; it was spending increasing amounts on lobbying the state to defend its privileges; it was restricting admission of apprentices and new masters to an ever narrower group of applicants; and village weavers were as much under its control as were those of the small district town.

Although the weavers' guilds and the merchant company were corporate rivals for the legislative favour of the central state, they also co-operated in regulating journeymen, apprentices and spinners, in inspecting looms, and in enforcing the increasingly stringent output quotas both corporations regarded as essential to their interests. Although, therefore, the Nagold Valley experienced certain symptoms of 'proto-industry' (the rapid expansion of dense, export-oriented cottage industry in the countryside), it did not experience a transition to early capitalism. Nor, incidentally, did it experience the demographic changes predicted by the theory of proto-industrialisation.<sup>33</sup>

The Nagold Valley also corresponds superficially to the symptoms of strict Protestantism cited by the cultural historians as a prerequisite for changes in the structure of familial authority. From the second half of the seventeenth century the valley was a hotbed of early Pietism, with powerful church 'convents' to enforce the norms of the godly. Johann Valentin Andreae, often identified as the father of Württemberg Pietism and the initiator of the church 'convents', had in the 1630s been pastor in Calw, the seat of the *Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie*. Close social and family ties bound together the merchant-dyers' company and the circle of Calw Pietists throughout the heyday of both.<sup>34</sup>

Certainly the Lutheran church exercised strong and effective coercion over a wide range of social, familial and moral choices on the local level. However, it will emerge below from the examination of controls exercised on the young that this coercion was not an autonomous symptom of

'Pietism', but rather was deeply integrated into the local structure of market relations in the countryside.

What shape did familial authority take in this society? Inter-generational authority is perhaps the most sensitive litmus test for alterations in the capacity of any social or familial system to reproduce its norms. In particular, therefore, how did the exercise of authority over the young change from the 1590s to the 1740s, in a society supposedly experiencing the onset of early capitalism and the Pietist internalisation of repression? This essay seeks the answer to this question in the resilient and peculiarly integrated structure of the local institutions described above.

A key to understanding familial authority over children in rural southwest Germany in this period is contained in the seventeenth-century Württemberg proverb 'Aus de Kinder werdet au Leut' ('Children also become people').<sup>35</sup> Children became adults, and adults must become able to make a living and to co-exist with others in the framework of institutions. Alongside the 'universal' parent-child behaviour – support, love, altruism, disobedience and self-seeking – which some historians recently have argued may be found in any society<sup>36</sup>, were forms of behaviour toward children which were fairly specific to the institutions of Central Europe.

Three institutions were particularly important: the corporate community, the rural craft guild, and the Pietist Lutheran congregation. The child had to achieve membership in the village or town through the institution of 'citizenship', membership in the congregation of the godly in a Pietist church, and, for rural craftsmen, membership in a craft corporation or guild. Each of these three powerful institutions was supported for its own purposes by the state; each set a series of rites of passage or entry barriers, some official and some informal, through which any child had to pass to attain the rights of an adult. The form of these barriers, so unlike the informal institutions of mobile and unregulable English rural society, and the authority exercised to channel children through them, tell us a great deal about the options of children, and of adults, in Central-European society.

### III. THE CHILD IN THE CORPORATE COMMUNITY

Every Württemberg baby was supposed to be born a member of a village or town. His or her life long, the individual had a claim on that community for shelter and a share of support. Upon marriage he or she became a full citizen or citizen's wife, with decision-making powers in the community. Although one could change one's citizenship, the transaction and

pecuniary costs were high. The relatively low levels of mobility (by comparison with England, for example) observed among inhabitants of Württemberg towns and villages are testimony to the deterrent effect of these costs.<sup>37</sup>

Underlying its stringently enforced citizenship requirements, the Württemberg community had a multitude of corporate customs, regulation of common resources, and rigid demarcation from neighbouring communities.<sup>38</sup> Each separate village in a district had a different set of rights, privileges and freedoms, enshrined in its *Dorfbuch*. Just as each village had a slightly different system of weights and measures, a slightly different law prevailed in each community.<sup>39</sup>

Access to common resources and community freedoms, to the right to live and practise economic activities in the community, was regulated by the institution of *Bürgerrecht* (citizenship). When deciding whether to admit an applicant, the community took into consideration the number of citizens of that occupation already in the community,<sup>40</sup> whether the applicant owned property,<sup>41</sup> the size of the applicant's family,<sup>42</sup> and his reputation previously and during the first, conditional, year of admittance.<sup>43</sup>

Legitimate birth and freedom from serfdom were prerequisites; in one case, in 1636, a man whose home community in Baden would not provide him with his *Mannrecht* (record of legitimate birth) or any of his property had to petition the government in Stuttgart to intercede for him with the Margrave of Baden to obtain it, before he could be admitted to citizenship in the district of Wildberg.<sup>44</sup> Catholics who wished to become citizens in Württemberg villages had to petition the Duke, solemnly affirming their earnest desire to be allowed to convert to Lutheranism.<sup>45</sup> A child born to a new resident who had not yet been granted citizenship in the village could be refused citizenship there on reaching majority.<sup>46</sup> This contrasts sharply with seventeenth-century England where church court depositions and consecutive censuses reveal that 'most country people had lived in more than one settlement in the course of their lives'.<sup>47</sup>

Nor did membership in the community become less important as the seventeenth century passed. The bonds of community were still so strong in the late seventeenth century that a Wildberg craftsman could describe his journeyman as being 'a foreigner, but an honourable fellow'<sup>48</sup> – a 'foreigner', that is, not to Württemberg, but merely to the district of Wildberg!

Citizenship was a central consideration in the calculations of young people in the eighteenth century. In 1725 when a son of a Wildberg citizen was asked by the church court whether he would marry a woman from a village in the district of Tübingen whom he had made pregnant, he

TABLE I  
*Illegitimacy ratio for Wildberg, 1646–1771*

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Baptisms</i>	<i>Illegitimate</i>	<i>Illegitimate (%)</i>
1646–1650	259	4	1.54
1651–1660	510	6	1.18
1661–1670	468	3	0.64
1671–1680	584	16	2.74
1681–1690	637	13	2.04
1691–1700	525	15	2.86
1701–1710	538	21	3.90
1711–1720	548	23	4.20
1721–1730	609	9	1.48
1731–1740	535	13	2.43
1741–1750	488	22	4.51
1751–1760	559	18	3.22
1761–1771	697	23	3.30

Source: PAW Taufregister I & II, 1646–1771.

replied, 'if she can attain to citizenship here, he will keep her; but otherwise not, because he will not for her sake give away his citizenship'.<sup>49</sup>

### *Legitimacy*

The requirements of the community, therefore, loomed very large in the expectations and the upbringing of young people. Among these requirements was the necessity of legitimate birth. Although the theory of proto-industrialisation argues that proto-industry caused a loosening of political and patriarchal controls on sexuality,<sup>50</sup> the illegitimacy ratio in Wildberg (which was highly proto-industrial) was still very low, at 1.5 per cent, even in 1646, after the great disruptions of the Thirty Years War (see Table 1).<sup>51</sup> Certainly this illegitimacy ratio subsequently more than doubled, but after 1720 it levelled off at about 4 per cent. Even at its height, in the second decade of the eighteenth century, Wildberg illegitimacy did not reach the 5 to 10 per cent illegitimacy found in the English 'proto-industrial' village of Colyton from 1690 onward. From 1721 to 1771 Colyton illegitimacy did not fall below 7 per cent, whereas in the same period in Wildberg it did not rise above 5 per cent.<sup>52</sup>

At least some of the apparent increase in this ratio may be ascribed to an increasing tendency to *record* illegitimacy, owing to an intensification of sanctions against illegitimate children and those who produced them. As the seventeenth century progressed, Pietist pastors and church elders increased controls and penalties on pre-marital sexual activity and un-

licensed births. Beginning in 1645, Pietist church convents in every village and town in Württemberg met about once a month to try moral offenses. By the late seventeenth century all illegitimate births were entered upside-down in the Wildberg baptismal register, presumably in order to be easily distinguished from legitimate births. Children born less than 36 weeks after marriage of the parents were noted in their parish register as 'conceived in concubinage'. Couples marrying when the woman was pregnant were called *Frühe Beischläfer* ('early sleepers-together'), and were wedded in a special penitential prayer meeting rather than a normal church service; this too was recorded beside the entry in the marriage register. In the early eighteenth-century censuses, *Unehelich* (illegitimate) was included as part of an individual's census identity, even if the child had subsequently been legitimised by the parents' marriage, and even after it reached adulthood.

Breaking down the high illegitimacy of the second decade of the eighteenth century by occupation,<sup>53</sup> one finds that although illegitimacy was more than 4 per cent for the population as a whole, it was only about 2 per cent for births to mothers with any connection with proto-industry, either through their own or their family's occupation, or through that of the father of the child. Thus the proto-industrial population was not more but less likely than average to produce illegitimate children. Regulation of sexuality appears to have become not less, but more strict as proto-industrialisation progressed.

This can be associated with the corporate property and production relations of the society. Illegitimate children could not inherit, they were unwelcome as citizens of town or village, and they could not be apprenticed to a craft. They were thus denied access to most forms of economic activity, including proto-industry.

A dense network of local officials in the countryside kept track of illegitimacy, assisted by many villagers and townsmen who saw an illegitimate child as another potential burden on the poor rate. In 1627, for instance, a non-Württemberg Free Imperial Knight wrote to the Ducal official in Wildberg informing him that a widow from his district had given birth to an illegitimate child on one of the knight's estates; at the same time he wrote to inform the mayor of the widow's village.<sup>54</sup> In 1626 a Wildberg man reported at the regulatory court that the orphan daughter of a citizen had given birth to an illegitimate child in a village in a neighbouring district, prompting the court to write to the neighbouring district town for more information.<sup>55</sup> Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries good citizens routinely reported cases of illegitimacy, which might have escaped the notice of the authorities or the rest of the community, at the yearly meetings of the *Vogtgericht* when they were asked for such reports.

Serious penalties were visited upon those who burdened their community with unsupported children. Unmarried pregnant girls were, in the last years of the sixteenth century, routinely thrown out of town.<sup>56</sup> Begetting an illegitimate child could be grounds for subsequently being refused citizenship by a community, as happened to an applicant for Wildberg citizenship in 1597.<sup>57</sup> It could also mean the loss of community office; one man told the unmarried girl carrying his child that 'she shouldn't tell, otherwise he would be put out of the village council'.<sup>58</sup>

Both illegitimate children and those who bore them were kept track of and penalised by the community and the state. In 1619 a Wildberg locksmith petitioned to be relieved of the penalty visited on him ten years earlier for begetting an illegitimate child in adultery: he had been forbidden public drinking, the carrying of weapons, and public society. The penalty had evidently been effective, for he was going to considerable trouble and expense to petition the Duke for the restitution of his honour.<sup>59</sup> Communal memory of sexual immorality could be long. In 1652 a villager was accused before the church court of having 'about ten years ago committed immorality with Sibilla Georg Götz's widow, for which he has not yet been punished'.<sup>60</sup> Far from accepting his excuse that the offense was long in the past, and could have no practical effects now, the court summarily threw him into prison.

In 1739 the community resolved to write and ask that a woman who had born two illegitimate children be accepted in the Ducal workhouse in Ludwigsburg. Although the woman was a citizen's daughter and had lifelong right to live in the town, the community would be happy to be rid of her.<sup>61</sup>

Of course an illegitimate child had little chance of being accepted as a citizen. An illegitimate son of a Wildberg citizen, who tried to become a citizen himself in 1598, was sent roundly away by the court who told him that 'as he was brought into existence in Gültlingen and not here, one was not of a mind to let him in here'.<sup>62</sup> A young man, whose application for citizenship in 1603 was eloquently supported by the town pastor because of his conversion to Lutheranism, was rejected, despite his having grown up in the town, on the grounds that there were always too many foreign New Draperies' weavers applying for citizenship, and that he was 'not legitimately born'.<sup>63</sup> Here the moral stain of illegitimacy was made the practical basis of denial of entry to the corporate community, despite the acceptability of the individual to the Lutheran church. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all applicants for citizenship were required to present their *Geburtsscheine* (certificates from their community of origin attesting their legitimate birth) to the town or village court.

Illegitimate children were suffered to grow up on the margin of the

community until they were 14 or 15, subjected to casual abuse and imminent expulsion for poor behaviour. In 1623, for instance, a witness in a defamation case recounted how 'the bastard living in Hannß Göttisheim's house fell into a squabble with the children in the lane; Johan Rempffer shouted to ask what was going on, and added that this bastard could well be put away in some other community'.<sup>64</sup> 'The bastard' was as a matter of course distinguished from the other children. His right to live in the community was constantly questioned.

A similar state of affairs still prevailed in the eighteenth century. At the age of 14 or 15, illegitimate boys disappear from the 1717 and 1722 censuses and illegitimate girls become servant-maids. Generally illegitimate males ended up going off as soldiers as soon as it came time to take an occupation, for there was no room for them in a corporate society.<sup>65</sup> The girls had little chance of marriage, and generally remained servants all of their lives, making up a large part of the 15 per cent of female servants over the age of 35.<sup>66</sup>

### *Work*

One of the most frequent reports made to church courts, regulatory courts, governor's courts, even civil courts throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was that children were being brought up to be a burden to the community through not being taught to work. Sometimes the admonishments to parents to bring a child up to diligence originated with the courts, but often reports originated with neighbours, relatives, or fellow-citizens.

In the second decade of the seventeenth century a Wildberg weaver charged with beating a youth protested that 'he is astonished that he is supposed to have committed an offense, for the lad has behaved very badly... he [the weaver] may have given him a clip, he punished him as a cousin, hopes not to be found guilty of the charge'.<sup>67</sup> In defence of his cousinly right to hit the boy the weaver called a witness who deposed that 'the mother has said it was her will that her lad should be disciplined by no matter whom'.<sup>68</sup> Another witness deposed that 'this boy learned the craft from him, could do it well, but has an evil tongue and liked to play, to swear, and showed himself loose in other ways'.<sup>69</sup> Such evidence was sufficient: not only was the cousin declared innocent, but the community took measures to put the boy (and his unoffending brother) in the right course of life: 'Hans Lantz's lad, on account of his wilfulness, shall immediately be put in the stocks for 2 days and 2 nights, and in order that both Hans Lantz's lads shall be brought up in good discipline and fear, Laup Steck and Martin Fölmlin are appointed guardians to them, to have careful watch over them'.<sup>70</sup> As soon as the case of an ill-disciplined boy

'who likes to play' was brought before the court, the judgment of neighbours was confirmed by the community, for to instill work discipline was in the public interest.

A father could be gaoled for bringing his small school-aged son up to idleness. In 1623 a Wildberg man reported to the governor's court that 'Hannß Wagner's lad is conducting such wilfulness with fishing and idleness that with time bad things are to be feared on his behalf... the boy is becoming so stiff-necked that it is not to be believed, neither father nor mother send him to school'.<sup>71</sup> As well as punishing the boy with incarceration in the stocks, the court ordered that the father be put in gaol for two days and nights 'for his negligence and omissions'.<sup>72</sup>

Even a child with a living father was often appointed an official guardian who would keep an eye on his upbringing on behalf of the community. At the governor's court in 1663, for instance, one such reported that 'David Ruoff's older children, whose guardian he is, are being badly brought up in control and discipline, he should be admonished concerning this'.<sup>73</sup> The communal designation of guardians was thus another way in which, far from permitting the dissolution of control over young people, this 'proto-industrial' society ensured its continuance and consistency.

In 1668 when a citizen complained of a number of young boys fishing, the town's reaction was summary:

It is viewed with great disapproval that these listed persons are daily practising fish-catching and indeed contrary to the ordinance, and are thus giving themselves over to sloth which leads to their injury and ruination; it is therefore hereby ordered that... no fishing contrary to the ordinance shall take place, and no more shall be caught than what is required for the use of the household, and on the contrary they shall diligently do their jobs.<sup>74</sup>

Once again the network of local courts provided a forum for neighbourly and community concern over children not adequately preparing to support themselves in adulthood.

Mentally deficient children, too, were subjected to much the same supervision of their vocational education. In 1675, one official guardian brought before the church court the case of his ward whose master 'on account of his simplicity and unhandiness no longer wants to keep him, wherefore another master for him must be found'.<sup>75</sup> The court's solution was to appoint the boy's uncle as his guardian, and to order him as his first priority 'to bring this young Gauß to a master again'.<sup>76</sup> A month later a citizen complained again that these guardians 'took such bad care of their ward, are obtaining no master for him'.<sup>77</sup>

Mothers, too, held strong views about rearing children 'to hold good household' and not to be 'prodigals'. A quarrel brought before the yearly governor's court in 1662 centred around two married women criticising the rearing of one another's children. One woman said 'if her children were

so badly brought up she would do such and such with them, whereupon Geckhlin's wife said her children had not yet squandered or whored anything, as many had...'.<sup>78</sup> For these mothers at least, the two worst forms of ill rearing which children could show were prodigality and sexual immorality, in that order.

It was even possible for one village woman to complain of laziness in a married son with whom she shared a house: 'he does not want to work at all, lies with his wife in bed until 7 or 8 o'clock'.<sup>79</sup> In a village where partible inheritance dictated that widow and child might continue to own shares in the same house, a child could not evade parental expectations even in marriage.

A married adult son, as late as the mid-eighteenth century, could be punished by the church court for idling, leading a godless, unruly and prodigal life, and treating his father disrespectfully ('ruining' him). The church court gaoled the son for three days and nights, and admonished him to work better, to earn a living honourably for his wife, 'also above all to treat his father better and more fittingly and hold him in honour'.<sup>80</sup>

It may appear that the corporate authority exercised over the working education of children was appropriate chiefly to young boys. But girls, too, were seen as being better off in service than living at home causing trouble. As the usual complaint about undisciplined boys was laziness, the usual complaint about girls was contentiousness in the family. In 1597 the administrative court proclaimed that 'Jacob Staimlin's daughter Barbara is graciously permitted still further, albeit upon good behaviour, to be at home at her father's, but if she is quarrelsome or contentious and does not behave well, she shall instantly be ordered out of the house and the previous regulatory court decision be in effect'.<sup>81</sup> The regulatory courts acted to compensate for the deficiencies of parental discipline: notwithstanding the presence of a father, some teenage girls were seen as requiring control by the community at large.

Again, neighbours were frequently responsible for bringing offending daughters and their parents to the notice of the regulatory courts. In 1627 a neighbour reported to the regulatory court that 'Hannss Bach's widow has three daughters living with her, who carry on such a hellish squabble with one another that it is dreadful; they get into such fights that they even rush at one another with bare knives, and curse by hail and other things'.<sup>82</sup> The court's response was not to reprove the family for fighting or cursing, but to go to what it saw as the root of the problem: '[the widow] shall put the daughters to service'.<sup>83</sup>

In the villages, as well, any adult coming to the attention of the church court on another matter might suddenly be admonished to put his or her daughter to a master. In 1653 a village midwife was given redress for

defamation by the church court, but in the last line of the court's decision was admonished, 'and incidentally she shall put her daughter from her to a master, lest she give cause for serious investigation, because great complaints come in concerning her'.<sup>84</sup>

But might it not be argued that these communal constraints on children (and adults) were more characteristic of a town, even such a small and agricultural town as Wildberg, whereas villages were more open and unregulated? Not at all. In the corporate villages of the Nagold Valley, agriculture, too, was governed by norms of community custom involving land-holding, inheritance, and farming practice. A house or piece of land offered for sale by a townsman or a villager had to be offered (three times, in public, at the church door) to members of the community before it could be sold to an 'outsider'. Sometimes the village *Gericht* would refuse *Fertigung* (official recognition of the transaction) even if this procedure had been followed, preventing the sale.<sup>85</sup>

Agriculture was under the control of community-appointed officials – one male householder in five held local office. These officers were supposed to ensure that the local customs associated with the *Dreifelderwirtschaft* (three-field system of crop rotation) were observed, that each man served his corvée of wolf-hunt and deer-watch, and that common lands were not built upon or over-grazed.<sup>86</sup> The territorial government (by means of its *Vogt- und Rüggerichte*) could also get into the regulatory act. It could prevent peasants from using their property in certain ways, e.g. forbidding (in 1717) 'the planting of "Turkish corn", beans, and such like, in the vineyards'.<sup>87</sup> Each year under the aegis of the *Vogt* (district governor), the male residents of each community were called together to the *Vogtgericht* and each asked in turn if he had something to bring before the *Gemeinde* (community).<sup>88</sup> On this occasion each year, offenses against customary rules for common lands, communal agricultural policy, or collective licensure of domestic industry and other economic activities were brought forward.<sup>89</sup>

In the corporate communities of the Nagold Valley, the right to buy land depended on the customs governing feudal tenure in each community. Various parties had prior rights to buy real property before it was put on the market. This affected the options of youths as well as of adults. Thus a younger brother who sold his share in a family house outside the family (though within the village community) when his siblings would not purchase it from him at the offering price, could be charged, in court, with departing from 'häusliche Ehre' ('house-holding honour'), and the court could prevent the sale:

Hans Schrotbolz along with his father-in-law from Aitlingen brought before the court that since his brother Conrad has sold and given up his [Conrad's] share of the house, in which he [Hans] also has a third share, to a stranger, so his [Hans's] plea is that my lords [of the

communal court] will arrange with his brother Conrad, that he [Conrad] shall give him [Hans] back the said house; [Hans] will give him [Conrad] his [Hans's] other house in exchange for it; if that will not cover it, he [Hans] will give him [Conrad] money on top of that, in order to obtain the said house, which descends from his beloved parents.<sup>90</sup>

When the seller persevered, the court decided that

since Conrad Schrotbolz, despite a great deal of persuasion, will not accept any solution by which he might remain in a state of house-holding honour, the sale which he has arranged with Philipp Fritz will not be officially ratified until he gets another house and pays for it properly, for the following reasons: namely that if he got his hands on the money from the house which he is selling, he would waste it and then he would not be able to get any other house.<sup>91</sup>

There were thus serious pressures which might be brought to bear on a man by his family and community not to dispose of his own property as he pleased. Bureaucratic procedures – in this case the *Fertigung* – could then be used to enforce such family and communal pressures.

These pressures affected not only young adults, but also children. The custody of orphans after a father's death often reflected, in a complex way, the transmission of the father's property. As various parties had prior but customary and sometimes ill-defined rights to buy the property before it was put on the market, competitive bidding for the right to buy frequently took place before the sale. In this bidding, custody of orphans could become a central issue. Parties eager to get the right to buy land would offer to take on the surviving minor children, whose inheritance it was, in return for a lower price on the land. Indeed, as soon as the father died, according to one account, 'because there was still a small unreaired child about, ways and means were sought whereby this child might be put [to foster] with one who bought this field'.<sup>92</sup> The community strove to maintain established ties between property and persons.

Parties competing for the right to buy evidently reasoned that they might find more favour in the eyes of the village court if the offer took the burden of an orphan off the community. In one seventeenth-century case, the court upheld the claim of a villager unrelated to the previous owner of the land, but who had succeeded (against competition by several other villagers) in gaining possession of land and child. Thus the child ended up spending the remainder of its dependent period (five years) not with relatives (of which, according to the plaintiff, there were some present and willing to take it in), but rather, according to village custom, with the man with the best right to buy his father's land.<sup>93</sup> Similarly in 1642 a house in Wildberg was sold not for money but exchange for a commitment to foster for 20 years (and send to school) the orphan whose inheritance it was, to whom the buyer of the house was apparently not related.<sup>94</sup>

Sometimes the obligations of community were expected to overrule

those of family. A man was reported by a fellow-citizen at the yearly governor's court in 1625 because he 'has his mother living by him, who otherwise has citizenship in Gültlingen, and who causes visible damages in the fields to hedges and pastures'.<sup>96</sup> The fact that she was a citizen's mother made no difference to the fact that as a non-citizen she was living without permission in the town and competing for communal resources. The court ordered that she 'shall immediately on Ducal command be sent back into her home village and be given no further shelter'.<sup>96</sup> The fact that his mother was a member of a different corporate community prevented the man from offering her shelter in old age. On the one hand, therefore, the interests of town or village could reinforce coercive pressures within families, as when the courts strengthened discipline of children or prevented the sale of family property; but on the other, where family authority and communal interests conflicted, the latter triumphed. The place of family authority in this society was thus subordinated to the whole network of social controls over market relations in the countryside.

### *Community rights*

Besides a proscriptive concern about children being reared to idleness, communities had a prescriptive concern with socialising the young to knowledge and protection of communal resources. At the yearly governor's courts, in the second half of the seventeenth century, older citizens repeatedly brought up matters on which they thought the youth of the community should be informed.

Indeed, this was a 'grass-roots' concern among citizens which the authorities did not always share. In 1655 an older citizen suggested that 'the young citizens should be connected around the tithes, so that they also become acquainted with the town boundaries'.<sup>97</sup> The authorities were not so concerned: 'As it took place only a few years ago, it is found to be unnecessary for the present, but shall take place again very soon and the matter not be neglected'.<sup>98</sup> Although the Ducal officials were less concerned than ordinary citizens, it is evident that the procession of youths around the boundaries was a periodic ritual. Eight years later a citizen brought up that 'the marking stones are not observed as carefully as they might, they should be shown and pointed out to the young men also', which the court ordered be done the following spring.<sup>99</sup>

Four years after that an older citizen recommended that 'the youth should be conducted around the town boundaries again in the spring, considering that the villages are beginning to be very wicked and sharp on the town and besides the old people who have knowledge of the boundaries are dying off'.<sup>100</sup> The court agreed that the following spring this recommendation should be put into effect, yet the next year the

complaint recurred. The proper socialisation of young men to communal norms was seen as essential to guarding the community against the inroads of other communities.

In 1669, several citizens made similar recommendations, one that 'it is highly needful that next spring the youth be conducted around the tithes and the beast-trails, and shown the stones and how far the town rights go'<sup>101</sup>, and another that 'the neighbouring villages are moving too far in on the town boundaries, something could easily be prejudiced by this, it is necessary to conduct the youth around the boundaries'.<sup>102</sup> Thereafter this became a yearly ritual, another of the ways the community had of marking stages of admission to membership and responsibilities.

In surveying the relations between authority over children within the family and authority over both adults and children by the community, therefore, there emerges a consistent picture of a network of market relations in the countryside held strictly in check by the interests of communities. The expansion of rural industry was not accompanied by a transition to early capitalism, if by that is meant breakdown of traditional social obligations and their replacement, as in England, by unregulated market transactions. Rather, there seems to have subsisted an effective and explicit system of co-operation and mutual information between various organs of control. Where the authority of a particular family might begin to break down, the neighbourhood or the community would see that the matter was put in stronger hands.

#### IV. THE CHILD AND THE GUILD

From the many cases in which villages or towns, through the medium of the courts, enforced guild discipline upon the young, it is apparent that the socialising and disciplinary interests of the community and its constituent occupational corporations overlapped considerably. It was in the interest of the community that children be brought up to learn the craft carefully and work hard, so that they would be provided for as adults and would not burden the poor rate. This was the internal mechanism which paralleled the external mechanism of limiting intake of new citizens. It was in the interest of the guild that the quality of work in the craft, and the corporate *Ruf* (reputation) of the guild, be maintained, for it was on this that the guild based its arguments and (at least the 'proto-industrial' weaving guild) its ceaseless lobbying of the central state for restrictions on entry of outsiders to the craft. The guild could only defend its monopoly rent against the attacks of rival interest groups and excluded individuals by demonstrating that members in possession of the license to practise were

living up to the moral and economic expectations of the community and the state. Throughout the seventeenth century, and well into the eighteenth, communal courts enforced guild discipline on adults and children, sometimes even explicitly in terms of corporate 'investment' in individuals.

*Handwerke* (craft guilds) in Württemberg were of widely varying size and independence, but shared certain corporate ethics relating to *das Handwerk* and its rights.<sup>103</sup> Even the *Tagelöhner* (day-labourers) were recognised as a species of *Handwerk*, at least by towns, which charged them a yearly tax on their *Hantierungen* (businesses or practices). Agriculture was not exempt: in 1723 the powers and privileges of the Württemberg *Schäferzünfte* (shepherds' guilds) were considerably widened, and three years later 'a concession fee for those keepers of sheep who have not been properly apprenticed as shepherds' was instituted.<sup>104</sup> Farming itself was organised like a *Handwerk* throughout much of southern Germany. To have the right to work the land, one had to belong to the village corporation, whose entry procedures and requirements were not unlike those of a guild. Actual *Bauernzünfte* (farmers' guilds) were not unknown in southwest Germany in the eighteenth century.<sup>105</sup> Certainly during the Thirty Years War, the peasants of communities in southern Germany formed *Verbände* (associations) to fight off the marauding soldiery.<sup>106</sup>

The community could not provide for children without the co-operation and consent of the groups with monopoly licenses over various forms of economic activity. This was true throughout the Empire until well into the eighteenth century. Klaus Deppermann describes the experience of the Pietist August Hermann Francke in his fruitless clashes with the intransigent Halle guilds (in northern Germany) over apprenticing illegitimate orphans to town crafts. Despite the personal favour of the Elector, Francke failed to apprentice his orphans to trades, in the face of guild claims that such apprenticeships would destroy their reputation among other guilds in the Empire. When Francke induced one Pietist braidmaker of Halle to defy the guild and take on an orphan from the Pietist orphanage without the customary proof of legitimate birth, the guilds petitioned the government in Berlin. When the government supported Francke, all the *Gesellen* (journeymen) left town in a solidarity strike against Francke. One Pietist journeyman did not do so, and was set upon by the other journeymen; the constable refused to intervene, and when a passing coach rescued the victim, the journeymen stoned the coach. Eventually Francke was forced to relinquish the attempt to by-pass the guild regulations, despite the fact that he had the support of the Elector.<sup>107</sup>

Examples of this same symbiosis between corporate community and craft corporation abound for Württemberg. For instance, one New

Draperies weaver appeared before the yearly governor's court in 1630 announcing that he 'has the desire and wish to take on the dead Geigerlin's lad and to teach him the craft, if he were to be given a fee of eight *Gulden* or so for it'.<sup>108</sup> The town authorities would have been glad to have the orphan provided for, but their response reflected the fact that the guild must first agree: 'he shall put this his desire before the foremen and sealers; their view shall be brought back before the orphans' court'.<sup>109</sup> Not just the agreement of one master but that of the whole guild was necessary before the community could provide for an orphan's future through apprenticeship.

In the Nagold Valley legitimate birth, prerequisite for admittance to the community, was also stringently required by rural craft guilds. To be taken on as an apprentice, a boy had to present certificates attesting his legitimate birth and freedom from serfdom.<sup>110</sup> Even so, he was not assured entry. Although it runs absolutely counter to the predictions of the theory of proto-industrialisation, this was particularly true of boys in rural industry.<sup>111</sup> As the seventeenth century progressed, fewer and fewer boys who were not weavers' sons were admitted to the New Draperies weaving guilds in the district of Wildberg. By the early eighteenth century more than 95 per cent of all apprentices and new masters registered by the guilds in this district – in villages and town alike – were themselves sons of masters. Over the century the number of his sons that a master could teach as apprentices was restricted, first to two and then to one.<sup>112</sup>

Master weavers were admonished not to have so many children, for they would not be able to provide for them.<sup>113</sup> Restricted guild openings for new weavers caused the number of children per family to decline. Between the census of 1626 and that of 1722, the mean number of resident children per household in Wildberg declined from 2.11 to 1.82. Almost all of this seems to have been owing to the proto-industrial weaving population, among whom, in 1717, the mean number of resident children per household was 1.74, compared to the non-weavers' 2.10.

With such cautious and exclusive policies among rural artisans, the fate of someone who had neither inherited land nor been apprenticed to a craft was precarious. This may be seen, for instance, in a seventeenth-century petition by an immigrant from Thüringen settled in one of the Nagold Valley villages, who had devised for himself a strange livelihood collecting and exporting deer-antlers. The man asked for a public patent which would 'graciously permit this business to him alone, who could otherwise earn nothing, for he was no farmer and had been apprenticed to no craft, in order that he could remain by householding honour'.<sup>114</sup> The implication was clear: Württemberg society was, even in the villages, divided into those who had land to farm and those who had been licensed to practice a craft.

Others must invent peripheral livelihoods in the interstices of this corporate economy; and even then must fear for their ability to remain householders unless they, too, enjoyed an officially enforced monopoly. How crucial it was for a boy to go through an apprenticeship is shown in a father's petition of 1633, asking that his son, who had fallen into the first conscription levy, be let off 'until he learns a craft'; afterwards, the father said, he would 'gladly give him into the levy'.<sup>115</sup>

Parents were held responsible for keeping children to the demands of the craft. In the second decade of the seventeenth century the town fisherman complained before the civil court that a joiner's son had been fishing in the river counter to the fisherman's monopoly. The court's response was summary: 'as the defendent's lad wrongly went fishing, with his father's approval, both father and son shall be put in gaol for a day and night, furthermore Michel Früeß [the joiner] shall bring up and direct his sons to the craft and not thus to idleness'.<sup>116</sup> Idleness, therefore, was to be counteracted not just by diligence, but through upbringing to corporate forms of discipline.

Neighbours, friends and relations would report to the communal courts children they thought were not being brought up to support themselves in the guild system. For instance in 1623 one man reported to the regulatory court that 'the deceased Thoma Walumb's step-son lies about at his mother's, occupying himself only with fishing. . . . It is to be feared that a right idler might come of him; it would be better if he followed his craft, which he [the man bringing the report] as his the boy's friend desired hereby to bring to public attention'.<sup>117</sup> The community was in complete agreement with this concern: 'He is ordered to follow and further his craft, also so to learn the same that he may be provided for'.<sup>118</sup> The purpose of enforcing diligence in children was explicit: to make sure that they were 'provided for'. On the one hand, both communities and rural guilds tried to limit entry by restricting the numbers and quality of citizens, apprentices and masters. On the other hand, once an individual had been admitted it was important that he be able to support himself, for otherwise he would become a charge on the group. The intense concern in this society to prevent both adults and children from deliberately acting in ways that would injure their own future livelihoods can be traced directly to the comprehensive claims which they had on the community when their livelihood was injured through misfortune.

Even during the most mobile period of adolescence, the *Wanderschaft* (the years of being 'on the tramp' as a journeyman), the discipline of being bound to a master was seen as necessary for a youth's moral welfare and for his chances of growing up to be a responsible member of society. In 1630 a man from one of the villages in the district of Wildberg brought

before the yearly governor's court that '8 days ago Hannß Döttlinger's lad got so (saving reverence) drunk, that he was lying down there by the Rabbit Gate after midnight until one o'clock, as if he were dead'.<sup>119</sup> Once brought to its attention, the court did not treat this as a case of drunkenness, but as a case for comprehensive concern about the boy's life: 'It is recalled that this youth was ordered to go on the *Wanderschaft* on his butcher's trade, and also that he has not done so; Thus it is decided that he shall on account of this drunkenness go into gaol for 3 days and 3 nights, and shall obtain a master'.<sup>120</sup> The conclusion reached by the court suggests that it ascribed the boy's drunkenness to his masterless state and the fact that he was not sufficiently diligent in pursuit of his craft. Young guild journeymen without masters were likely to get into ways of life that would ultimately unfit them to earn a living. The interests of community and guild coincided.

In 1654 when it was brought before the church court that a widow 'allows her son to stay with her and to forget his craft',<sup>121</sup> the court summoned the widow, her representative, and the boy's guardian and 'earnestly instructed them within 8 days unfailingly here or elsewhere to get him a master and to keep him to diligent working'.<sup>122</sup>

Neighbours, too, reported youths who did not go on the *Wanderschaft* after their closely-regulated years of apprenticeship in their master's household were over. In 1656, for instance, a neighbour recommended to the regulatory court that 'Davidt Pistor's locksmith's son should be told to go on the *Wanderschaft* on his craft'.<sup>123</sup> As it happened, this boy had an excuse to be at home, an injury, but his guardians were admonished to get it cured as quickly as possible, 'whereupon the ward shall be sent on the *Wanderschaft* once again'.<sup>124</sup> It was against the interests of the community that boys be allowed to live in idleness. Going on the *Wanderschaft* evidently did not imply a carefree, mobile and relatively idle phase after the closely regulated apprenticeship under the roof of the master, but rather the discipline of continually seeking work and demonstrating diligence to strange masters.

Well into the eighteenth century, the two corporate institutions of guild and community co-operated with one another in controlling behaviour in young people which they regarded as counter to the interests of the group. This is illustrated by a case in 1721, in which a widow petitioned to have alms for clothing given to her son who was apprenticed to a Wildberg New Draperies' weaver. The court refused the petition, on the grounds that the apprentice in question had lost the support of the community by offending the rules of the guild, 'in that he ran away from his master'.<sup>125</sup> The church court had already once previously granted the boy money for clothes from one of the charitable foundations, but this offense had shown the court

that 'such sum had been poorly invested'.<sup>126</sup> Communal aid dispensed by the church court was not a matter of Christian charity alone, but a calculated investment on the part of the community. The investment could be withdrawn even from a child if he did not yield the expected returns, in the form of diligence and submission to guild discipline, an implicit commitment to become a productive adult member of community and guild in his turn.

#### V. THE CHILD IN THE CONGREGATION

The tendency of Pietist Lutheran church courts to amplify paternal authority over children should not, as the preceding case shows, be viewed as an isolated artifact of the Pietist intellectual heritage. With the exception of the pastor, church courts were manned by a subset of the same twelve village councillors, and the Ducal officials, who presided over the other communal courts. Christian charity and admonition was often inextricably bound up with notions of communal 'investment' in the proper socialisation of children. Just as neighbours would complain to the temporal courts of youthful idleness or immorality in the same breath, so they reported to the church court children failing in godly obedience, filial respect, and work discipline.

##### *Discipline*

In 1629 one citizen reported to the regulatory court a widow's two sons of eight and twelve for godlessness and disobedience: 'when she the mother tells them to do anything they run out of the house...when the mother tries to punish them they give the mother evil words'.<sup>127</sup> The authorities punished the boys with the stocks, and appointed a guardian who was instructed to report further indiscipline.

Indeed, obedience was a factor in the community's judgement of what claims children had on parents. There was a range for interpretation of the law and custom regulating parent-child relations, and the community used this range to regulate children's behaviour. One Wildberg youth who appeared before the administrative court claiming that his father was refusing to pay him a promised 'Zuogeltt' (a sum of money given upon leaving home) received an unfavourable decision: 'he [the father] shall not be obliged to give his son a Zuogeltt, because he was a disobedient son and had spoken wicked words against his father; unless he [the father] does so out of good free will'.<sup>128</sup> A father might ordinarily owe his son a 'Zuogeltt', but not if the son did not render obedience. *Inter vivos* transfers could favour one child over another, even under partible inheritance, but

blasphemous rebellion against this was punished. A boy, who in 1624 complained in the street that 'his father wanted to make the one son rich and ruin the other', and cursed his father and brother, was reported to the yearly governor's court by a householder who overheard him.<sup>129</sup> Even though the boy was not in town at the time of the hearing, the case was not forgotten, and nine months later he was gaoled for the offense.

Beginning in the eighteenth century, the church court began from time to time to function as a forum for making public the penalties visited on filial disobedience, when a parent would ask the court to impose a penalty on an erring child additional to that already visited upon him by the parent. In 1707, for instance, the church court put a boy in the correction house for a day and a night for swearing, for which he had already been 'well greased' by his father.<sup>130</sup>

It is possible that the territorial state encouraged the increase in the number of such cases. A very severe judgement was handed down by the Ducal consistory in Stuttgart via the Wildberg church court in 1712 in which an older son was punished for wicked speech against his father and stepmother (apostrophised as 'disobedience' in the decree) by being sentenced to labour in public works for three months.<sup>131</sup> A much younger son who cursed his widowed mother and refused to let her into the house was gaoled by the church court and fed on bread and water for five days.<sup>132</sup> An adult son who spoke evil of his mother was put in gaol for two days.<sup>133</sup>

A father, one of the town mayors, who was sworn at by his son when he paternally reproved him for drunkenness, appeared before the church convent in 1736 reporting the case and saying 'even though he [the son] had already asked his forgiveness, he [the father] did not feel he ought to keep it from the church convent, in order to make of this son and of other refractory children an example'.<sup>134</sup> The convent asked the mayor-father himself to pronounce sentence on his son, which he did, fining him one *Gulden* for drunkenness and 43 *Kreutzer* for swearing, gaoling him for three days and three nights for 'all the other insolent and disrespectful behaviour to his parents', and in addition requiring a public apology in court to the father, and a private apology at home to the stepmother in the father's presence.<sup>135</sup> In this case, the church court was used as an instrument to demonstrate in public the authority of the father and the reconciliation of the family, before the whole community. To diagnose this simply as a symptom of Pietism would be to over-simplify. The theatrical and public quality of this particular triumph of paternal authority was unusual enough to be traceable back to the position of authority held by the father. Rebellion against the father was in this case also rebellion against the highest-ranking representative of the community, and defense of the prestige of communal authorities may account for the theatre of

patriarchal authority. The unification of the power of the community, the Church, and the individual father point to the remarkable coalition of interests which kept children – at least male children – in submission well into early adulthood.

Such submission was not required only of male children, however. Where boys were admonished to learn the work discipline and productive norms of a highly regulated economy, girls were expected to submit to expectations of their reproductive and familial roles. As late as 1739, accusation of a daughter by her mother was enough to spur the community to send the daughter to the Ducal workhouse in Ludwigsburg ‘on account of her rude conduct toward [her mother]...also in the rest of her conduct of life, since she has already born 2 illegitimate children’.<sup>136</sup>

### *Education*

In addition to these *ad hoc* responses to particular cases of moral indiscipline, the church court had more systematic ways of trying to bring the youth of the community under its discipline: school, for children between 7 and 15; entry into communion, usually at 14 or 15; and Sunday school combined with Whitsun examinations, for youths in their older teens, apparently obligatory until the youth achieved the age of 24, the passing of the exam, or marriage.<sup>137</sup>

School attendance, if only of minimal duration, began in the late seventeenth century to be seen as essential for the moral and ritual, if not the practical, education of *all* children. The school was operated by the Church, and although an important part of his income depended on school fees paid by parents, the schoolmaster was employed and appointed by the central church administration in Stuttgart. Thus, much of what was taught to children in school was relevant to the socialising aims of the godly community, beginning in the 1680s apparently increasingly dominated by Pietists. It was less relevant to parents anxious that their children should learn what was needed for worldly business, as is apparent from the records of 40 parents between 1706 and 1725 who were fined or gaoled for not sending their children to school (Table 2, column 3). There is no documentary evidence about what contribution parents were supposed to make to their children’s education, although presumably it was not a sizeable proportion of their income. By far the major cost of sending a child to school was the opportunity cost of the child’s time spent in paid or unpaid employment.

In the mid-seventeenth century, however, the problem of low school attendance appears to have been considerably worse than in the early eighteenth century. In 1641 the pastor of Wildberg exhorted the ‘general

TABLE 2  
*Control of school and Sunday school attendance by the  
 Wildberg church court, 1706–1725*

Year	Punished for missing Kinderlehr		Punished for not sending child to school	Granted school fees
	Male	Female		
1706	17 <sup>a</sup>	2	—	—
1707	2	3	—	—
1708	—	—	—	—
1709	—	—	—	—
1710	— <sup>b</sup>	—	1	3
1711	6	—	— <sup>f</sup>	3
1712	—	—	2	2
1713	—	—	1	3
1714	11	1	1	5
1715	3	—	—	—
1716	9 <sup>c</sup>	5	8	—
1717	5	—	8	—
1718	18 <sup>d</sup>	2	—	1
1719	2	—	—	—
1720	1 <sup>e</sup>	4	9	3
1721	—	—	6	2
1722	2	—	—	—
1723	—	—	4	—
1724	1	1	—	3
1725	13	2	—	7
Total	90	20	40	32

Source. PAW KKP IV 1706–1725.

<sup>a</sup> At one meeting just 'unterschiedliche junge leüth' ('various young people').

<sup>b</sup> Just 'vnterschiedliche Persohnen' ('various persons').

<sup>c</sup> At one meeting also 'vnd Andere' ('and others').

<sup>d</sup> Two names crossed out because excused.

<sup>e</sup> At one meeting just 'einige ledigen Purschen' ('several unmarried youths').

<sup>f</sup> Just 'Vnterschiedliche Burger' ('various citizens').

citizenry here' at the yearly governor's court 'to send their children to school more diligently, for with so numerous youth hardly 20 children go to school'.<sup>138</sup> Considering that this was the last, terrible decade of the Thirty Years War, that only six years before in a single year 636 people had been buried in a community of less than 1,400, and that in 1641 itself long-term malnutrition, disease and war would claim five per cent of the

population (a death rate more than double the norm), it is not surprising that the parents of less than one-tenth of the youth between 7 and 15 (the church visitation counted 268 'catechists' in the town that year) could afford to send their children to school.

Fifteen years later, school attendance was considerably higher, according to a list presented to the 1656 regulatory court,

of those children whose parents, out of trivial dishonourable profit-seeking, keep them out of school towards winter because the school fees are higher on account of the heating costs, whereby the schoolmaster loses not a little in his school fees, and the children are unjustifiably neglected: If someone enjoys the town's common good in the summer, then [they should] help to maintain it also in winter.<sup>139</sup>

The list contains 40 names, 18 boys and 22 girls. According to the church visitation there were 372 catechists (children between 7 and 15) in the town that year. Just the number of those taken *out* in winter equals more than one-tenth of the number of children of school-going age.

Although school attendance had risen since the Thirty Years War, it still at this period divided the boys of the community into two warring groups, as a report to the same regulatory court testifies: 'The boys who do not go to school and who stand behind the school boys, behave very poorly in church, with gossiping and other things'.<sup>140</sup>

A report to the yearly governor's court two years later amplified this description of the demeanour of the non-scholars: 'The young boys who have been taken out of school are no longer admitted to the singing but rather told to go up into the choir, whereby they forget what they have learned'.<sup>141</sup> Here the interests of the schoolmaster diverged from those of the community, for he had no interest in educating those boys no longer paying fees, whereas in the eyes of the community it was important that education have a lasting effect. This divergence of interest was gradually to be resolved over the following decades in favour of the community, as a larger proportion of the population of children was drawn into schooling.

However, in the 1660s there was still corporate ill-feeling between the scholars and those who did not attend school. At the governor's court of 1669 a citizen reported that:

the following boys (who do not go to school) practise the following malicious acts in church: they sit down on the floor behind the schoolboys, and during the whole sermon chatter, rough up the schoolboys, write on the latter's coats with chalk, eat nuts and snacks, drive the schoolboys out of their places, make (saving reverence) all sorts of unpleasantness on the benches that the schoolboys sit on, wipe their shoes on these, besides which they push up against the pews so that hardly an honourable citizen can come to his seat, when anything is said or warned to them they reply with such wild speech that it pains the heart... [he] asks that something be done about ending this terrible state of affairs.<sup>142</sup>

There follow the names of more than twenty boys, all sons still living with their parents, who evidently felt strongly the distinction between those who went to school and those who did not.

By the early eighteenth century, however, although the number of 'catechists' (children between 7 and 15) was falling with the declining birth rate, the school was being expanded. In 1711 the schoolmaster asked the church court 'because the school-room had been enlarged, and more [fire-]wood must be used, to come to his aid with some wood from the town at large'.<sup>143</sup> This expansion of the school premises, and the agreement of the court that he should be provided annually with two cords of free firewood, can only be explained if more children were actually attending school.

There is other anecdotal evidence that this was the case. By 1707 it was normal to include a provision about schooling in apprenticeship contracts. A weaver taking on an orphan as an apprentice for six years in 1707 'promised to teach him the craft and to go on sending him to school', in exchange for four pounds of bread a week to feed him.<sup>144</sup>

But even as the Church and church convent expanded the school, parents' complaints multiplied, although it is hard to say whether as a result of rising expectations or declining performance. In 1712 the schoolmaster brought a woman before the church court: she had come into the school and upbraided him for beating her boy with a stick and shaking him around by the hair. Although the woman was reprovved for using insulting language, the schoolmaster was instructed 'from now on only to punish the children with the rod, and not to take them by the hair or to hit them hard with the stick'.<sup>145</sup> A month later the schoolmaster was again called before the court and told that 'complaints are coming in that he is considerably relaxing his diligence in the school, he should pay attention and from now on be as diligent as possible, so that there be no further cause to complain of it'.<sup>146</sup>

From an application made by the schoolmaster to the church court in 1715, it appears that the whole nature of the school had changed since the 1670s when (at least among boys) the scholars and the non-scholars had formed such separate groups. The schoolmaster asked that he too be paid the annual 15 *Gulden* which had begun to be paid to Wildberg schoolmasters in 1669-70, but had apparently in the mean time been discontinued. He was refused on the grounds that 'at that time there were many Latin scholars here' but now 'the school here has few Latin scholars'.<sup>147</sup> We know, however, that in the mean time the schoolroom had been extended, which suggests that the school now accommodated a larger number of children but, apparently, a smaller number of advanced pupils.

When two months later the schoolmaster had elicited a Ducal command that he was after all to be paid the disputed 15 *Gulden*, the church court, made up as it was of many of the same people that sat on the town court and council, brought forward a whole range of general complaints about the schoolmaster's teaching: 'that Mr schoolmaster teaches very badly and only informs the Latin scholars and not at all the German; begins too late and stops too early; should show himself more diligent'; to which the schoolmaster answered 'that he expends the greatest possible diligence, he can make no *doctores* from unlearning heads'.<sup>148</sup> What the community and the Pietist church convent hoped to gain from the widening of the schooling base was not what the university-trained 'preceptor' was giving them.

As can be seen from the fines imposed on parents who 'unauthorisedly kept their children out of school',<sup>149</sup> some (unknown) minimum period of attendance was in the first decades of the eighteenth century becoming mandatory for all children, and parents were simply expected to find the fees. One woman, asked by the convent why she did not send her children to school, answered that 'she has already sent her boy to it for 5 years, but he isn't learning anything more; he can read and write; but she is not able to scrape together the school fees'.<sup>150</sup> Even someone who found the school fees hard to pay was by 1717 sending a child to school for five years, yet the church court was requiring longer attendance than this. The woman seemed to be saving on the fees by keeping the boy at home to teach his eight-year-old sister, who was too ill to attend. The authorities decreed that both children should be sent to school diligently for one year, and that for one of them at least half a year's fees should be paid.

Sometimes applications to have the fees paid by the community were refused, for example on the grounds that 'he [the father] is still a young man'.<sup>151</sup> But the majority of applications for school fees to be paid were granted without question, and often outstanding past fees were also paid off at the same time.<sup>152</sup> Parents who sent their children to school and ended up not being able to pay the fees knew there was always the chance of an amnesty, as occurred in 1720 when the church court declared that seven *Gulden* of school fees from poor parents, owing between St Jacob's and Martinmas, should be paid by the municipal charitable foundation. By that year, the concept of godly socialisation even included the illegitimate. A woman who applied to the church court in 1720 for the school fees for her illegitimate child was granted them<sup>153</sup>

By 1716 it seemed to be accepted that citizens in general were obliged to send their children to school. On 23 December 1716 the 'citizens' bell' was rung to summon the 'citizenry as a whole', who were then told:

to send their children to school more diligently than hitherto: and not so late. Whereupon several excused themselves with one excuse or another, especially that it was only the schoolmaster, on account of the school fees, who wanted to compel the children; which, however, His Majesty's district officials would not accept, but rather warned again against undiligent attendance: and expressed a desire that children not be taken out of school before the time, just as the parents themselves do not desire to send their children before their 7th year.<sup>154</sup>

By 1720 a parent could not take a child out of school before 'the examinations' without the pastor's consent, as appears in the church court minutes several times that year. One was a petition by a widow, asking 'because she recently, with the fore-knowledge of Mr pastor, took her son out of school *priora examinave*, to accept her little daughter in his place and to have her school fee paid by the foundation'.<sup>155</sup> Another was a list of nine parents who were admonished in June 1720 'to send their children to school, and not to take them out without their having undergone the examination'.<sup>156</sup>

However, the level of attainment may not have been very high, or very satisfactory. It is apparent that the official school functioned not for the imparting of skills, but largely for oral, religious and ritual socialisation. In 1715 it was ordered that the 'school-servers' (presumably advanced pupils) should be paid extra when a wedding took place on a day that was not an ordinary day for a service; and should be paid only 30 *Kreutzer* on an ordinary day, from which the school boys at weddings should get one *Kreutzer* each. This illuminates the oral and ritual nature of at least some of the education children were getting at school: they were learning to sing hymns and to take active part in church services. The 1717 proclamation concluded, 'Mr praeceptor and Mr deacon shall remain at the school a second time during the church service: and if the children do not come to the praying and singing in the school they shall have authority to chastise them'.<sup>157</sup> School, it appeared, was to be universal, but to emphasise mainly religious and oral activities.

Thus while socialisation in the official school was, by the first decades of the eighteenth century, becoming more inclusive, it was not necessarily providing what parents and children desired. Small wonder that some families preferred to send their children to a private night-school, run by a weaver, which must either have imparted more practical skills, or have taught them more efficiently or conveniently.

The private school first appears in the records in 1717 after a decade of continual conflict between the community and the schoolmaster. A man ordered to send his boy back to school 'because the boy is not yet really properly instructed in reading, as it turns out' responded that 'he needs him at home because he has no-one, he sent him to H. Martin Roller, where he learned to write well, which the writing sample which he produced

shows'.<sup>158</sup> This was adding insult to injury for the official educators: the man was ordered 'to send him to school for another quarter, no matter how good the school at H. Martin Roller's is'.<sup>159</sup> It was only after some consideration that a woman who refused to send her 11-year-old boy to school on the grounds that he 'went to school at Hs Martin Roller's and can show a good writing sample' was finally let off having to send the boy to the official school.<sup>160</sup>

By the following year public complaints against the official school had multiplied, and the night-school was still in operation. In December 1718 the schoolmaster and the *Provisor* were told to stay in the choir during the sermons and Sunday schools and watch over the school-boys to prevent misbehaviour. They were also admonished to 'keep the school hours diligently from now on'.<sup>161</sup> With complaints coming from the community about the official school, it is hardly surprising that, with its emphasis on singing, praying, and Latin, and its bored and inattentive master, it was being threatened with competition from outside. At the same church convent meeting 'Hanß Marten Roller was commanded to cease until further notice from holding his night-school'.<sup>162</sup>

But in the decades that followed references to this night-school, held by an under-employed 'proto-industrial' weaver, continued to turn up in the church court minutes. In the population that needed to be reproved so constantly for not sending children to the official school and that voiced such unceasing criticisms of the official schoolmaster, there was evidently a demand for education. This did not agree with the objectives of the Pietist church convent. In November 1719, less than a year after the first command to close down, Roller was again 'ordered to cease from holding night-school in future in the winter-time'.<sup>163</sup>

The defense of the monopoly of education by the church school also extended to home teaching, for in 1723 a coppersmith who asked 'to be allowed to keep his 2 children at home and to teach them himself' was refused, and told to send his children back to school that winter. As for the Catholic fuller – the only Catholic in town, and married to a Lutheran wife – who sent his children to Mass across the border to Rohrdorf, the church convent fined him one *Pfund* (several days' earnings) in 1727; and again four years later, whereupon he declared that 'he had never promised not to bring his boys up to the Catholic Religion, he lives after all under the Emperor's protection in the Hereditary Lands of the Emperor, and this here was nothing other than a Reformation'.<sup>164</sup> Family and Lutheran church conflicted over the education of children, but given the institutional strength of the Church, the family had little room for manoeuvre, other than outright disobedience.

People continued to patronise the 'black-market' night-school, which

was still being run sporadically by the same man fifteen years after its first mention in the church court minutes. A new schoolmaster complained to the church court in 1732 that 'the field-ward here, Hannß Martin Roller, holds a night school to the prejudice of the ordinary town school, whereby he [the schoolmaster] suffers a loss, asks that he be helped'.<sup>165</sup> The church convent decided 'that the field-ward shall in future take on no-one more, who does not bring a note from His Dignity Mr. pastor proving their legitimacy; and no-one shall be allowed these except 1. those who still attend the school by day, but also want to have a repetition lesson; and 2. those who really have grown out of the ordinary school, but still want to practise writing better'.<sup>166</sup> The socialisation of the population was to be left to the official church.

In a number of respects, therefore, socialisation into the godly congregation through the medium of schooling was becoming a greater priority of the Pietist church courts between the late-seventeenth and the early-eighteenth century. The school-room was expanded, school fees were being granted to most parents who applied, the emphasis had shifted from the Latin teaching of the 1670s to the mainly vernacular and religious schooling of the first decades of the eighteenth century, and an alternative school, which drew children away from the official school (surely not the first such private night-school in the community's history), was coming under repeated prohibition and regulation. Thus, on the one hand, the supply of schooling in the community had increased, whilst on the other, this official supply did not altogether meet the qualities demanded by parents and children.

The supply of education in this community increased and changed in nature between the mid-seventeenth and the early-eighteenth century. What was happening meanwhile to the demand for education? The official supply certainly did not wholly satisfy it. School attendance, and information about the ages at which children of various backgrounds entered and left school, would tell us something of the factors which may have contributed to the demand for education, but the documents are lacking. However, one document does supply a proxy for age of schooling, which is the age of making the transition from 'infant' to 'catechist', and from 'catechist' to 'communicant'. On the one hand, communion was a measure of maturity: in one court case a servant-maid was rejected as a witness on the grounds that she was 'still too young, has not gone to the Holy Supper'.<sup>167</sup> Until one had attended communion one's word held no legal weight. On the other hand, participation in communion did not begin automatically upon reaching a certain age, for adolescents of the same age were recorded by the church as being of different religious status: some were communicants, some were catechists, and some were still recorded

TABLE 3  
*Girls' religious education by age, Wildberg 1717 and 1722*

<i>Age</i>	<i>Infant</i>	<i>Catechist</i>	<i>Communicant</i>	<i>Simple</i>	<i>Non-Lutheran</i>	<i>Total</i>
4	14	—	—	—	—	14
5	24	—	—	—	—	24
6	27	—	—	—	—	27
7	12	6	—	—	—	18
8	4	10	—	—	—	14
9	6	21	—	—	—	27
10	1	35	1	1	—	38
11	—	18	—	—	—	18
12	1	22	—	1	—	24
13	—	22	2	—	—	24
14	1	10	12	1	—	24
15	2	14	15	—	1	32
16	—	7	18	—	—	25
17	1	1	20	1	—	23
Total	73	167	68	4	1	332

Source: WHSA A573 Bü 6965–6966, Wildberg Seelenregister 1717 and 1722.

TABLE 4  
*Boys' religious education by age, Wildberg 1717 and 1722*

<i>Age</i>	<i>Infant</i>	<i>Catechist</i>	<i>Communicant</i>	<i>Simple</i>	<i>Non-Lutheran</i>	<i>Total</i>
4	16	—	—	—	—	16
5	29	—	—	—	—	29
6	18	—	—	—	—	18
7	17	14	—	—	—	31
8	3	19	—	—	—	22
9	—	17	—	—	—	17
10	5	18	—	—	—	23
11	—	31	—	—	—	31
12	1	27	—	—	—	28
13	—	21	2	—	—	23
14	1	16	5	—	1	23
15	—	15	11	—	—	26
16	—	2	26	—	1	29
17	—	1	21	—	—	22
Total	90	181	65	0	2	339

Source: WHSA A573 Bü 6965–6966, Wildberg Seelenregister 1717 and 1722.

as 'infants'. David Sabeau has emphasised the seriousness with which the rural population took the concept of communion, and the role it played in community conflict and popular culture.<sup>168</sup>

Throughout Württemberg the Lutheran pastors often kept *Kommunikantenregister* (communication registers) or *Seelenregister* (soul registers), which listed the population according to the stage which each individual had reached in the church: infant, catechist, communicant. Two 'soul registers' were drawn up by the Wildberg church in 1717 and 1722 for the purpose of keeping track of religious status. These registers list all the inhabitants by household and age, and beside each name is noted whether the individual was a 'communicant', 'catechist', 'infant', 'simple', 'Calvinist', or 'Catholic'. Transition from one stage to the next was not an automatic step which took place at a given age, but rather something that varied from individual to individual, as is apparent from Tables 3 and 4. The transition from infant to catechist began at the age of seven, but was drawn out over the following four years, with the bulk of the transition taking place among those aged seven and eight. Similarly, the transition to communion began at 13, but then was drawn out over the next five years or so, with the bulk of the transition taking place among those aged 14 to 15.

There is no indication in the records what characteristics of the child or the Church were responsible for determining the age of transition to catechism and communion. We do know that by 1716 seven was the official minimum age for beginning school<sup>169</sup>. From the soul registers themselves we know that the age at which children started going into service in this community was 14 for boys and 15 for girls. This suggests that the mid-teens was the age at which both sexes started to enjoy serious employment opportunities, and thus experienced considerable opportunity costs from attending school (see Tables 5 and 6). Even though in this community most adolescents in their late teens continued to live with their parents, it is likely that from the age of 14 or 15 mounting costs in terms of foregone earnings were drawing them away from school. Much of what was taught at the official school was religious in orientation. It seems probable that variations in the age of transition to catechism or communion reflected variations in the demand for (official) education on the part of child or family. Catechism can certainly be seen as a proxy for the age of coming under the socialising authority of the Pietist community, perhaps even for the age of beginning school. The transition to communion, more problematically, might be seen as the age of leaving school (although not escaping from religious socialisation), or of beginning to function as a young working adult.

It is therefore of overwhelming interest to see which characteristics did

TABLE 5  
*Girls' household status by age, Wildberg 1717*

Age	Offspring of head or lodger	Servant	Relative of head	Related servant	Foster- child	Total
5	19	—	—	—	—	19
6	15	—	—	1	—	16
7	11	—	1	—	—	12
8	16	—	—	—	—	16
9	19	—	—	—	—	19
10	18	1	1	—	—	20
11	9	—	—	1	—	10
12	18	—	—	—	—	18
13	5	1	1	—	—	7
14	15	—	—	—	—	15
15	16	2	—	—	—	18
16	6	2	—	—	—	8
17	5	—	—	—	—	5
18	9	3	—	—	—	12
19	13	4	—	—	—	17
20	19	6	1	—	—	26
Total	213	19	4	2	0	238

Source: WHSA A573 Bü 6965–6966, Wildberg Seelenregister 1717 and 1722.

influence these religious–educational transitions and which did not. The two soul registers list 671 children between the ages of 4 and 17. However, it is apparent from Tables 3 and 4 that the number of children in the age-groups during which most of the transition took place is smaller (at most 20 to 30 per year of age). Once the population begins to be divided up according to characteristics such as wealth, occupation, office-holding, etc., the results of cross-tabulations begin to be based on meaninglessly small numbers of cases, and there is little possibility of isolating the effect of any given influence holding other possible influences constant. A more efficient way of simultaneously using all the information available on the backgrounds of the children making these transitions is to use multiple regression. The analysis which follows employs the technique used by David Galenson in investigating the determinants of literacy in pre-industrial England, nonlinear least-squares using the probit transformation.<sup>170</sup>

Nine possible determinants of religious-educational transition were chosen as independent variables: age; sex; whether the child had left home; whether the child's household was 'proto-industrial'; whether the child's father was an office-holder; the taxable wealth of the child's household;

COMING OF AGE IN A CORPORATE SOCIETY

TABLE 6  
*Boys' household status by age, Wildberg 1717*

Age	Offspring of head or lodger	Servant*	Relative of head	Related servant*	Foster- child	Total
5	9	—	—	—	—	9
6	13	—	—	—	—	13
7	15†	—	—	—	—	15
8	13†	—	1	—	—	14
9	11	—	1	—	1	13
10	18	—	—	—	—	18
11	12	1 (c)*	—	—	—	13
12	14	—	—	—	1	15
13	15†	—	—	—	—	15
14	11†	4 (aacc)	—	—	—	15
15	5	1 (a)	—	4 (aaaa)	—	10
16	11	4 (aacc)	—	1 (a)	—	16
17	2	2 (aa)	—	2 (ab)	—	6
18	11	4 (abcc)	—	—	—	15
19	5	5 (abbcc)	—	—	—	10
20	6	3 (ccc)	—	—	—	9
Total	171	24	2	7	2	206

Source: WHSA A573 Bü 6965–6966, Wildberg Seelenregister 1717 and 1722.

\* Servants are categorised according to status: (a) apprentice, (b) journeyman, (c) general servant.

† Includes 1 lodger's child.

the order of the child in the resident sibling group at the time of the census; the size of the child's resident sibling group at the time of the census; and whether the child lived in a female- or a male-headed household.

To select which of these had any significant effect on religious-educational transitions, each of the binary dependent variables were regressed on age, sex and, separately, each of the seven remaining independent variables. On children's transition to catechism, office-holding, wealth, and the sex of the household-head had no effect that was significant at the five per cent level. Age, sex, whether the child had left home, the occupation of the parent, and sibling group order and size did have significant effects. On children's transition to communion *none* of the independent variables other than age had any effect that was significant at the five per cent level.

Since there were, however, five independent variables which did seem to have some effect on the transition to catechism, two multiple regressions were run, the results of which are reported in Tables 7 and 8. The principal

TABLE 7  
*Nonlinear least-squares estimates: dependent variable: beginning catechism<sup>a</sup> (Wildberg 1717 and 1722)*

Independent variable	Estimated coefficient	Asymptotic standard error	Asymptotic 95% confidence int.		$\frac{d\hat{\beta}}{dx_i}$	Sample mean
			Lower	Upper		
Age <sup>b</sup>	1.238	0.165	0.913	1.564	0.447	7.27
Sex <sup>c</sup>	-0.654	0.225	-1.096	-0.212	-0.236	0.49
Occupation <sup>d</sup>	0.505	0.224	0.065	0.946	0.182	0.65
Order in sibling group <sup>e</sup>	-0.089	0.112	-0.310	0.132 <sup>f</sup>	-0.032	2.43
Size of sibling group <sup>f</sup>	0.239	0.102	0.037	0.441	0.086	3.67
Constant	-9.221	1.278	-11.736	-6.706	—	—

$R^2 = 0.782$ .  $F = 168.022$ .  $N = 289$ .

Source: WHSA A573 Bü 6965-6966, Wildberg Seelenregister 1717 and 1722.

<sup>a</sup> Infant = 0, catechist = 1.

<sup>b</sup> Regression observations included all children aged 4.00-10.99.

<sup>c</sup> Male = 0, Female = 1.

<sup>d</sup> New draperies' weaver = 0, non-new draperies weaver = 1.

<sup>e</sup> Ranged from 0 (only child) to 7 (seventh-eldest resident offspring).

<sup>f</sup> Ranged from 1 to 9 resident offspring.

<sup>g</sup> Confidence interval covers zero: estimate not significant at 95% level.

<sup>h</sup>  $d\hat{\beta}/dx_i$  evaluated at the sample means of all independent variables.

determinants of transition to catechism turned out to be age, sex, proto-industrial occupation (or some factor associated with it), and the size of the child's coresident sibling group. Among them, these variables explained 78 per cent of the variation in beginning catechism. The column of Table 7 headed  $d\hat{P}/dX_i$  indicates the marginal change in the probability that a child would make the transition to catechism resulting from a unit change in the value of the given independent variable, with all other characteristics held constant (in this case at their sample means).

Thus holding sex, occupation, and size and order of sibling group constant, every year of age meant that the child was 45 per cent more likely to begin catechism. Holding age, occupation, and sibling group constant, a girl was 24 per cent less likely to be a catechist than a boy. Holding age, sex, and sibling group constant, the child of a 'proto-industrial' weaver was 18 per cent less likely to be a catechist than a child whose parents had another occupation. Holding other variables constant, order in resident sibling group had no effect on the probability of being a catechist. However, each additional coresident sibling meant that a child was 9 per cent more likely to be a catechist at a given age, sex, and occupation. Each of these relationships was statistically significant at or above the five per cent level (i.e. there is better than 95 per cent probability that these coefficients reflect an underlying empirical relationship and not just a random configuration of the data).

Given these strong relationships between at least some measurable characteristics of the children, and their beginning catechism, it is all the more striking that, as we see in Table 8, nothing but age had any significant effect on beginning communion. The five independent variables explained only about 65 per cent of the variation in beginning communion. Even age did not have such a strong effect as it had on beginning catechism: holding other factors constant, every year of age made it only 26 per cent more likely that the child would be a communicant. Thus the transition to communion was a much more long-drawn-out process than the transition to catechism. Sex of the child had no significant effect, although the coefficient was positive, indicating that if anything girls were *more* likely than boys to become communicants at a given age, occupation, and so on.

This unresponsiveness of communion to any of the suggested socio-economic variables carries interesting implications. The earlier entry to boys into catechism may suggest that girls aged 7 to 10 were more useful to their parents (for child-care, errands, and herding, which seem to have been the main forms of work for children of that age) than boys were, but by the age of 14 or 15 children of both sexes had similar opportunities in the world of 'communicating' adults. The cross-tabulations in Tables 3 and 4, however, show girls entering communion earlier than boys (52 per

TABLE 8  
*Nonlinear least-squares estimates: dependent variable: beginning communion<sup>a</sup> (Wildberg 1717 and 1722)*

Independent variable	Estimated coefficient	Asymptotic standard error	Asymptotic 95% confidence int.		$\frac{d\hat{\beta}}{dX_i}$	Sample mean
			Lower	Upper		
Age <sup>b</sup>	0.723	0.094	0.538	0.907	0.257	14.19
Sex <sup>c</sup>	0.130	0.170	-0.206	0.466 <sup>d</sup>	0.046	0.50
Occupation <sup>d</sup>	0.103	0.176	-0.244	0.451 <sup>e</sup>	0.037	0.59
Order in sibling group <sup>e</sup>	0.003	0.085	-0.163	0.170 <sup>f</sup>	0.001	1.87
Size of sibling group <sup>f</sup>	-0.007	0.057	-0.119	0.106 <sup>g</sup>	-0.002	3.70
Constant	-10.896	1.446	-13.744	-8.048	—	—

$R^2 = 0.646$ .  $F = 78.476$ .  $N = 265$ .

Source: WHSA A573 Bü 6965-6966, Wildberg Seelenregister 1717 and 1722.

<sup>a</sup> Catechist = 0, Communicant = 1.

<sup>b</sup> Regression observations included all children aged 11.00-17.99.

<sup>c</sup> Male = 0, female = 1.

<sup>d</sup> New draperies weaver = 0, non-new draperies weaver = 1.

<sup>e</sup> Ranged from 0 (only child) to 7 (seventh-eldest resident offspring).

<sup>f</sup> Ranged from 1 to 9 resident offspring.

<sup>g</sup> Confidence interval covers zero: estimate not significant at 95% level.

<sup>h</sup>  $d\hat{\beta}/dX_i$  evaluated at the sample means of all independent variables.

cent of 14-year-old girls were communicants, compared to 23 per cent of 14-year-old boys). However, complete transition to communion within the age-cohort took place later among girls than among boys (28 per cent of 16-year-old girls were still not communicants, compared to only 7 per cent of 16-year-old boys). The experience of girls was thus more heterogeneous than for boys, with some very early entrants to communion and some very late. This may be explained by the more intense social controls exercised upon boys, and by the more homogeneous occupational opportunities open to them, as described above.

Similarly, the proto-industrial weavers, with significantly smaller households than the rest of the population, may have had greater use at home for their 7- to 10-year-olds than did families of other occupations with their larger households: '[I] needs him at home because [I] have no-one else', protested one New Draperies' weaver against mandatory school attendance in 1717.<sup>171</sup> However, by the mid-teens such differential usefulness of children had disappeared, suggesting not that the 'proto-industrial' households used labour more intensely than the others (by all accounts most such households were seriously underemployed in the eighteenth century),<sup>172</sup> but that they had a use only for very *young* children, possibly because of the guild regulations limiting apprenticeship even of masters' sons, and because weavers' households had fewer members overall.<sup>173</sup>

And finally, the effect of sibling group size suggests that at the mean group size (3.67 siblings between the ages of 4 and 17), parents used school (or other, unknown activities to do with catechism) as a baby-sitting service for their eldest, but no longer needed such a service when the eldest had reached its mid-teens and could care for younger siblings at home.

That few of the obvious socioeconomic variables had a significant effect on beginning catechism and communion has interesting implications for the issue with which this paper opened: the question of the relationship between capitalism, Pietism, and family authority. There is little question that the Pietist church of the early-eighteenth century was concerned to socialise the child into the norms not only of the godly congregation, but of the corporate community. It was seen above how the church convent used public charitable funds to 'invest' in a child; and the form of 'return' in terms of diligence and obedience to community and guild it exacted from such children. A family also uses education to invest in its children; when education does not vary significantly with socioeconomic background, it suggests that the system of educational institutions does not enable parents to calculate and allocate these investments very precisely or effectively. A community in which education does not vary with socioeconomic factors suggests a community which is not seriously stratified (at least not with respect to investments in children's

education); or one in which education is determined mainly by its suppliers, in the case of Wildberg the Pietist church.

This was a community in which age of beginning catechism varied chiefly with the 'personal' characteristics of age, sex, and sibling group size; the only measure of wider economic or social status which also affected beginning catechism was 'proto-industrial' occupation, and that possibly because of smaller household size. The two stratifying variables, wealth and office, had no effect: it seems that the Pietist view of the godly congregation, in which everyone was to be socialised to a common set of strong norms, was being realised, at least in the official education system. The two variables which may measure parental authority, whether the child was living with its parents, or with only one parent, had no effect on beginning catechism, suggesting again that it was the authority of the Pietist church and not that of the parent which determined whether the child was schooled. The Pietist church convent seems to have been achieving a fairly homogeneous educational saturation of the community by the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that only age and, presumably, differences between individual children independent of background, affected transition to educational and religious adulthood (communion). By the only measure we have of the church's educational success, it was more or less equally successful with all subgroups of the population.

Indeed, the attention paid to detecting and fining youths in their older teens who missed the *Kinderlehr*, a form of advanced Sunday school obligatory for unmarried youths and girls up to the age of 24, suggests that the church was not content with reaching all levels of the population merely in the younger age-groups. An average of five young people every year were fined for missing the *Kinderlehr* (or the Whitsun exams associated with it) between 1706 and 1725. The level of the fines (15 *Kreutzer*, or about 2.5 per cent of a servant's annual wage, for a first offense), the fact that they were marked off in the minutes as 'paid', and the fact that the convent demanded excuses from those who missed (instead of merely taking for granted that it was something that most youths did) suggests that the church was seriously controlling absenteeism among the unmarried youth of the community, and not just occasionally imposing token fines on gross offenders. From an excuse given by one absentee in the seventeenth century, it appears that the *Kinderlehr* consisted primarily of recitation: the youth had stayed away 'because he didn't know his assigned Psalms'.<sup>174</sup>

The *Kinderlehr* represented yet another of the rites of passage or entry requirements which this society imposed upon its youth. From 7 to 14 one went to school, or was supposed to; after 14 one was obliged to attend

the *Kinderlehr* until one married, passed an exam, or reached the age of 24 (the mean age at marriage was 26). Until one's mid-twenties, unless one married, one was treated by the Church and the community as still being in the process of socialisation, and one failed to comply at one's own expense.

Authority within the family was neither straightforwardly determined by, or unambiguously independent of, Protestantism or rural market relations. Pietist church courts provided an institution on which parents, neighbours, or the community at large could call when authority within the family seemed to be being undermined. Similarly, the network of temporal local courts and local officials provided a source of financial support and bureaucratic enforcement for the church courts. Common to the interests of Church, community and state alike was the perceived necessity of rearing children to religious and work discipline and active participation in the process of self-regulation on which rural market relations in this society depended.

#### VI. CONCLUSION

Both the theory of proto-industrialisation and the theory of Protestant and early capitalist patriarchy suffer from the failure to consider the underlying structure of market relations and social institutions in the Central-European countryside. Each concentrates unduly on an aspect of superstructure, and neglects the base.

The theory of proto-industrialisation concentrates on the technological and organisational symptoms of dense rural industry, and predicts a breakdown of familial and parental authority, failing to recognise the power of rural social institutions. Rural Württemberg society, unlike rural England, was organised into corporate groups: communities, guilds, and congregations. 'Proto-industrialisation' does not seem to have broken down these corporate groups; on the contrary, it strengthened some of them. In turn, these corporate groups tended to reinforce the strict regulation of all unruly social elements, adults as well as children.

The theory of Protestant rural patriarchy concentrates on the doctrinal and cultural symptoms of a religious revival. Strict Protestantism is seen as an instrument and an expression of early capitalism, and the theory predicts an unambiguous intensification of familial authority because of changes in belief (e.g. from traditional peasant moral economy to Protestant maximisation). However, in rural Württemberg, it has become clear, Lutheran Pietism could never have exercised such local control had it not adapted itself to the prevailing corporate structure. Conversely, one

could see it as the *expression* of the prevailing structure. The organs of strict Protestantism often enforced the socialising norms of the corporate community or the guild in which the commercial ethos of unregulated market transaction associated by intellectual historians with 'early capitalism'<sup>175</sup> is conspicuously absent.

In addition to strong corporate groups, there was also a strong bureaucracy on the local level. For many reasons the state bureaucracy, the Church, and the local corporations worked together to their mutual advantage.<sup>176</sup> The greatest, if not the only, sufferers were outsiders: foreigners, the mobile, the illegitimate, the marginal, the unmarried, and the young. The kind of mobility and heterogeneity we associate with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England was completely missing.

The young were in the relatively favourable position of being expected to become 'insiders', members of the corporation, in the course of time. But each of the corporations had strong norms concerning the socialisation of children, and extensive powers to enforce these norms. These norms were both positive and negative. Negatively, the community, the guilds, and the church convents punished indiligence, indiscipline and immorality which they saw as harming group interests. Positively, each corporation had its own set of rites of passage or entry barriers for children on the way to becoming full members of society. The community held the spring ritual of conducting teenagers and young men around the agricultural boundaries, the annual taking of the Oath of Allegiance for boys who had reached their mid-teens, the formal admission of the newly-married to citizenship and full membership of the community. The guild imposed apprenticeship, the *Wanderschaft*, and the achievement of master craftsman status, which took place only upon marriage in the mid-twenties. And the church imposed the transitions to catechism and communion, the *Kinderlehr*, the right to one's own pew in church instead of standing with the unmarried.

Earning the rights of adulthood is part of the upbringing of any child in any society. However, the institutions governing these rights in rural Württemberg were very explicit, and enforced efficiently. They predated the advent of rural industry, and survived its assimilation. 'Early capitalism' was evidently not necessary for the enforcement of family or of social authority.

These institutions resulted in great advantages for those who could fulfill the requirements of the corporations; correspondingly great disadvantages for those who could not; and an immobility and educational homogeneity of children in German rural society very different from the mobility and autonomy of youth in parts of Europe where the rural market operated under a different institutional structure.

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## ENDNOTES

- 1 This view is more often assumed than argued. However, the *locus classicus* is M. Horckheimer, 'Autorität und Familie', *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* (1936); repr. in *Traditionelle und kritische Theorie; Vier Aufsätze* (Frankfurt/Main, 1968). For a more recent example, without however explicit reference to the family, see D. Hay, 'Property, authority and the criminal law', in D. Hay et al., *Albion's fatal tree: Crime and society in eighteenth-century England* (Harmondsworth, 1978), 17–65.
- 2 P. Laslett, 'Mean household size in England since the sixteenth century', in P. Laslett and R. Wall, eds., *Household and family in past time* (Cambridge, 1972); N. Goose, 'Household size and structure in early Stuart Cambridge', *Social History* 5 (1980); K. Wrightson and D. Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village: Terling, 1525–1700* (New York, San Francisco, London, 1979), 39–42.
- 3 See, e.g., the evaluation of the exercise of authority of men over women in early modern society in C. L. Powell, *English domestic relations 1487–1653: A study of matrimony and family life in theory and practice as revealed by the literature, law and history of the period* (New York, 1917; repr. 1972); and the early modern diaries quoted by K. Wrightson, *English society 1580–1680* (London, 1982), 89–104.
- 4 L. Pollock, *Forgotten children: Parent-child relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge, 1983), 202; see also similar conclusions reached for Germany by S. Ozment, *When fathers ruled: Family life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge Mass., 1983).
- 5 T. Robisheaux, 'Peasants and pastors: Rural youth control and the Reformation in Hohenlohe, 1540–1680', *Social History* 6 (1981), 282.
- 6 L. Stone, *The family, sex and marriage in England 1500–1800* (London, 1977), 126.
- 7 L. Pollock, *Forgotten children*.
- 8 On the other hand, S. Ozment, *When fathers ruled* argues that the Reformation left the German family unaffected in many ways; but on the other, M. Walker, *German home towns: Community, state, and general estate 1648–1871* (Ithaca/London, 1971), and H. Moeller, *Die kleinbürgerliche Familie im 18. Jahrhundert: Verhalten und Gruppenkultur* (Berlin, 1969), discern important differences in social behaviour between Protestant and Catholic Germany.
- 9 This theory was first put forward in F. Mendels, 'Proto-industrialisation: The first phase of the industrialization process', *Journal of Economic History* 32 (1972), 241–61. It received some empirical support for England in D. Levine, *Family formation in an age of nascent capitalism* (London, 1977). It was reformulated into a general theory of the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Europe as a whole in P. Kriedte, H. Medick, and J. Schlumbohm, *Industrialisierung vor der Industrialisierung* (Göttingen, 1977), translated as *Industrialization before industrialization* (Cambridge, 1981).
- 10 P. Kriedte, H. Medick and J. Schlumbohm, *Industrialization before industrialization*, 54.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 70.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 63.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 70.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 55–6.

- 15 *Ibid.*, 54.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 55.
- 17 D. Coleman, 'Proto-Industrialization: A concept too many', *The Economic History Review* (2nd series) 36 (1983) 435–48.
- 18 See, for instance, the 48 papers collected in *Eighth International Economic History Congress 'A' Themes* (Budapest, 1982); P. Deyon, 'La diffusion rurale des industries textiles à Flandres française à la fin de l'ancien régime et au début du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle', *Revue du Nord* 51 (1979); or J. Schlumbohm, 'Seasonal fluctuations and social division of labour: Rural linen production in the Osnabrück and Bielefeld regions and the urban woollen industry in the Niederlausitz, ca. 1700 – ca. 1850', in M. Berg, P. Hudson and M. Sonenscher, eds., *Manufacture in town and country before the factory* (Cambridge, 1983).
- 19 For instance, R. Houston and K. Snell, 'Proto-industrialization? Cottage industry, social change, and industrial revolution', *Historical Journal* (1984) 473–92.
- 20 K. Wrightson, *English Society 1580–1680* (London, 1982), 223.
- 21 P. Kriedte, H. Medick, and J. Schlumbohm, *Industrialization before industrialization*, 56.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 70.
- 23 Württembergische Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (hereafter WHSA) A573 Bü 6967 *Seelentabelle* ('soul table') 1736.
- 24 Compare the rural mechanisms of social control (largely arbitrary and dependent on the co-operation of local élites) reported in, for example, K. Wrightson and D. Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village*.
- 25 For a fuller discussion of the operation of these institutions, especially in relation to rural industry, see S. Ogilvie, 'Corporatism and regulation in rural industry: Woollen weaving in Württemberg 1590–1740' (Cambridge PhD diss., 1985), chapter 2 and *passim*.
- 26 The minutes of this court, the *Gerichtsprotokolle in Bürgerlichen Sachen*, survive for the town of Wildberg in WHSA A573 Bü 1–2 and 6–22 (1566–1696). Its minutes were united with those of the *Verhörstag* in 1696 and continue in WHSA A573 Bü 35–79 (1696–1819).
- 27 These minutes, the *Gerichtsprotokolle in Peinlichen Sachen*, are sporadic, but survive from 1572–1671 in WHSA A573 Bü 3–5. After 1671 some other arrangement for capital cases was evidently made, which did not involve keeping minutes on the local level. It is possible that the minutes were kept but do not survive; however, considering the apparent completeness of the four other series of court minutes, this seems unlikely.
- 28 Separate minutes for this court were kept in the *Verhörstagsbuch* from 1596–1696 in WHSA A573 Bü 23–34, at which time the minutes were united with the *Gerichtsprotokolle in Bürgerlichen Sachen*.
- 29 The church court minutes, the *Kirchenkonventsprotokolle*, were kept by the ecclesiastical administration and are stored in the local parish archive: Pfarrarchiv Wildberg (hereafter PAW) Kirchenkonventsprotokolle (hereafter KKP), I–V, 1645 ff.
- 30 This is the earliest systematic series of court minutes surviving for Wildberg, the *Vogt- und Rürgerichtsprotokolle über Erbhuldigung und Besetzung der Ämter* from 1554–1810, WHSA A573 Bü 81–108.
- 31 WHSA A573 Bü 113, *Feldrütags- oder Schützenzüngungsprotokolle* 1652–1699.
- 32 This issue is discussed more fully in S. Ogilvie, 'Corporatism and regulation in rural industry', chapter 2 and *passim*.
- 33 The demography and household structure associated with rural industry in the Nagold Valley are discussed in S. Ogilvie, 'Corporatism and regulation in rural industry', chapter 6; and in S. Ogilvie, 'Proto-industrialization and the family in a corporate

- society', a paper presented to the 'post-field-work' seminar in the Department of Social Anthropology, Cambridge, in May 1985.
- 34 First indicated in the seminal nineteenth-century study of the merchant company by W. Troeltsch, *Die Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie und ihre Arbeiter* (Jena, 1897), the connections between Pietism and 'capitalism' (or, rather, merchant corporatism) in the Nagold Valley have been more recently traced in a sub-Weberian study by H. Lehmann, 'Pietismus und Wirtschaft in Calw am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte* 31 (1972), 249–77.
- 35 W. Fischer, *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch*, 3, 374.
- 36 This is the tendency of the arguments advanced, for example, in K. Wrightson, *English society* 108–18; and in L. Pollock, *Forgotten children, passim*.
- 37 See S. Ogilvie, 'Corporatism and regulation in rural industry', chapter 6 and *passim*.
- 38 The intense state regulation and the considerable internal regulatory powers of Württemberg villages are discussed in D. Sabeen, *Power in the blood* (Cambridge, 1985), chapter 1.
- 39 For instance, in the seventeenth century each village in the *Amt* (district) of Wildberg possessed different customs and rights concerning payment of the Ducal *Umgeld* (excise tax) on wine. Before the Duke could change the law, he had to write out to his bureaucrats in the *Ämter* to discover what privileges he would be injuring, and which groups he would be alienating, in each locality. See WWSA A573 Bü 1147 fos 42v–44r.
- 40 E.g. WWSA A573 Bü 124, fo. 61r, 23.4.1625.
- 41 E.g. WWSA A573 Bü 24, fo. 30r, 6.8.1603.
- 42 E.g. WWSA A573 Bü 126, fo. 77r, 11.10.1630.
- 43 E.g. WWSA A573 Bü 24, fo. 32v, 29.10.1603.
- 44 WWSA A573 Bü 128, fo. 15r, 30.9.1636.
- 45 E.g. WWSA A573 Bü 129b, fo. 22v, 28.3.1657.
- 46 E.g. WWSA A573 Bü 127, fo. 58r, 20.10.1632.
- 47 K. Wrightson, *English Society*, 42.
- 48 WWSA A573 Bü 92 Vogt-Rüggericht (hereafter VRG) 3 Nov 1671: 'seye ein frembder doch Ehrlicher gesell'.
- 49 PAW KKP, 7 Sep 1725, fo. 401r 'wann Sie Können Alhir zum burgerrecht gelangen wolle Er diesselbe behalten; sonsten aber nicht, weil Er um ihretweg sein burgerrecht nicht vergeb. werde'.
- 50 P. Kriedte, H. Medick and J. Schlumbohm, *Industrialization before industrialization*, 70.
- 51 Unfortunately the first baptism register was destroyed in the last years of the Thirty Years War, and we only have baptisms after 1646.
- 52 P. Laslett *et al.*, *Bastardy and its comparative history* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 96.
- 53 It is possible to do this with almost complete accuracy, as almost 100 per cent of individuals named in the parish registers after the 1670s have occupations associated with them, and illegitimate births were invariably documented in much greater detail than legitimate ones.
- 54 WWSA A573 Bü 85, fo. A6v, 23 Dec. 1627.
- 55 WWSA A573 Bü 86, fo. 48r, 17 Mar. 1626.
- 56 WWSA A573 Bü 23, fo. 1v, 13 Nov. 1596.
- 57 WWSA A573 Bü 23, fo. 16v, 29 June 1597.
- 58 WWSA A573 Bü 14, fo. 136v, 'sie sols nit sagen, der kom sonst. vß.m Gericht'.
- 59 WWSA A573 Bü 122, fos 40r–40v, 7 May 1619.
- 60 PAW KKP I fo. 73v, 1 June 1652, 'habe vor vngevaehr 10 Jahren mit Sibilla Georg Götz wüth vnzucht getriben, warumben Er noch nicht abgestrafft worden seye'.
- 61 PAW KKP IV, 13 Feb. 1739, fo. 455v.

- 62 WHSA A573 Bü 23, fo. 42r 'weil er zu giltlingen und nicht alhie zuweg gebracht werden seye mann alhie Ine einkommen zulassen nicht gemaint'.
- 63 WHSA A573 Bü 24, fo. 23v, 17 Jan. 1603, 'nicht ehelich geboren'.
- 64 WHSA A573 Bü 85, fo. 20v, 8 May 1623, 'der Inn Hannß Göttsisheimen Hauß entgegne Bastardt, mit den Kündern Uff der Gaßen zu zanckhen kommen, habe Johan rempffer, herauß gerueffen waß dz seye, und man köndte disem Pastert, auch wohl in ein and. orth verschaffen'.
- 65 See, for example, WHSA A573 Bü 124, fo. 55r.
- 66 This compares with only 10 per cent of male servants over the age of 35.
- 67 WHSA A573 Bü 15, fo. 293v, 'Es nem Ine frembd vnd wunder dz er gefrevelltt haben solle, dan der buob sich bißhero gahr ybel gehalten....hab er Ime böße wort geben, möcht er Ime ein huschen geben, Hab Ine Als ein vetter gestrafft, verhof vmb die Clag nichs Zethuen schuldig sein'.
- 68 *Ibid.*
- 69 *Ibid.*, fo. 294r, 'dißer buob hab das handwerck bej Ime gelernt, Könd solches wol, hab Aber ein böeß Maul, vnd gehrn gespülht, geschworn, vnd sonsten leichtferttg erZaigdt'.
- 70 *Ibid.*, 'deß hans Lantzen Buob, seins Muottwillens wegen Alberaitt 2 tab vnd 2 Nächt Ins Narreheüßlin gseztt werden solle, und damit deß Hans Lantzen bede Buoben, In guetter Zuchtt und forchtt vferZogen werden, So seyhen Inen Laup Steck, und Martin Fölmlin Alberaitt Zue Pfleger geordnet, Ir vleißigs vfsehens Zehaben'.
- 71 WHSA A573 Bü 86 Jahresvogtgericht (hereafter JVG), fo. 9v, 1 Dec. 1623, 'Hannß Wagners bueb, fahe ein solchen Muetwillen an, mit fischen, und faullentzen, dz seinerseits mit der Zeit ein Anders Zubefahren...der Knab werde so gar halß sterig, dz es nit zu glauben, schickhe Ihne auch weder Vatter noch Muetter Inn die schuol'.
- 72 *Ibid.*, 'umb seiner fahrleßigkeit, Und versaumnus'.
- 73 WHSA A573 Bü 91 Rüggericht (hereafter RG) 27 Apr 1663, 'deß david ruoffen ältere Kinder deren Pflieger Er seye, werden übel in der zucht vnd *disciplin* auffgezogen, solte Ihme vndersagt werden'.
- 74 WHSA A573 Bü 92 VRG, 1 Dec. 1668, 'Mit großem mißfallen v.nimbt man, daß sich diß *Specifizierte* Personen deß alltäglich. visch fangens vnd Zwar wid. die ordnung vnderfang. vnd also deß Faullenz. sich ergeben, welches Zue Ihren v.derb. vnd schad. geraicht, würdt deroweg. hiemit bevohlem daß man...wider die Ordnung sich deß vischens nicht bedinen vnd weiter nicht alß was zuem haußbruch erfordert würdt fangen: vnd hergeg. Ihren geschäftten fleißig abwartten sollen'.
- 75 PAW KKP I, 13 Nov. 1675, fo. 28.5v, 'wegen Seiner SimPLICITät vnd vnartigkeit nicht mehr behalt. wolle, dahero Ihme nach einem andern maister Zue sehen seye'.
- 76 *Ibid.*, 'dißen Jungen Gaußen wider Zue einem Maister Zuebringen'.
- 77 PAW KKP I, fo. 35r. 17 Dec. 1675.
- 78 WHSA A573 Bü 91 VRG, 3 Nov. 1662, 'gesagt wann Ihre Kind. also vngezog. weren, so wolte Sie Ihnen diß vnd das thuen, darüber Gecklins waib v.meldt, Ihre Kind. hab. noch nichts v.thon od. v. huerth, wie maniches'.
- 79 PAW KKP I, fo. 121v, 28 Feb. 1655, 'über daß begehre Er gar nichts Zue schaffen lige mit Seinem weib biß vmb 7 vnd 8 vhren im beth'.
- 80 PAW KKP IV, 21 Oct. 1738, 'auch vornehmlich seinen Vater beßer und gebürlicher tractiren und in Ehren haben'.
- 81 WHSA A573 Bü 23 fo. 19v, 29 July 1597.
- 82 WHSA A573 Bü 86, fo. 68r RS, 11 July 1627, 'Sie die Bechen hette drei döchtter ob Ihr Ligen, die so ein hell winß mit einander führten dz es zue erbarmen, würden manchmahlen so fere ohneins, dz sie auch mit blösen meß. yber einander Lieffen, haagel

- und anders schwerten'. Cursing using the words 'Hagel' (hail) or 'Donner' (thunder) was viewed seriously both popularly and by the authorities.
- 83 *Ibid.*, 'Solle die döchter verdingen'.
- 84 PAW KKP I, fo. 90r, 11 Feb. 1653, 'Vnder dessen sollte Sie Ihr Tochter von Ihr zu einen Meister thun, weil grosse klagen wider Sie einkommen, vnd zu ersten einsehen nicht vrsach geben'.
- 85 Records of sales of land in the town and villages of the district of Wildberg recorded in the *Protocollum Commune der Stadtschreiberei*, WHSA A573 Bü 122–29, contain either a marginal note 'gefertigt', or are crossed through with the comment 'nit gefertigt', sometimes (but not invariably) accompanied with a note of the reason the *Gericht* had disapproved the sale.
- 86 The lists of levies for the *Hirschhut* (deer-guard) and of names of those exempted for various reasons (age, office) from the *Wolfjagen* (wolf-hunt) survive into the eighteenth century for the district of Wildberg, the former in WHSA A573 Bü 84–94 and the latter in WHSA A573 Bü 6684. In addition there was a special book of minutes of the 'Feldrütags- oder Schützenrügungsprotokolle' (minutes of the court for offenses related to fields and the guarding of crops), WHSA A573 Bü 113.
- 87 A. Reyscher, *Sammlung der württembergische Gesetze* 14, 1120, 'das Pflanzen von Türkenkorn, Bohnen und dergleichen in den Weinbergen'.
- 88 W. Grube, 'Dorfgemeinde und Amtsversammlung in Altwürttemberg'. The lists of names for Wildberg survive in the minutes of the *Vogt- und Rüggerichte* from 1554 to 1784 (see next note); the names are marked with either 'O' or an account of the charge or complaint brought up by that person.
- 89 These offences are noted in detail, often verbatim as presented to the gathering by the citizen in question, in the minutes of the *Vogt- und Rüggerichte* for Wildberg from 1554 to 1784, in WHSA A573 Bü 81–94.
- 90 WHSA A573 Bü 23, fo. 35v–36r.
- 91 *Ibid.*
- 92 WHSA A573 Bü 15, fo. 529r, 'Weillen aber noch ein Kleines Vnerzogenes Kindt enthalben, hat man Nach Mittell Vnd Weg getrachtet, wie solches Kindt einem, so dißen Acker erkaufft, Zu Uerdingen sein möcht'.
- 93 *Ibid.*
- 94 WHSA A573 Bü 128, fo. 66v, 27 May 1642.
- 95 WHSA A573 Bü 86 JVG, fo. 36r, 19 Oct. 1625, 'sein Muetter so sonsten zue Gültling. verbürgert, bei sich hab, Welche im veldt An hägern, Und wißen, Merckhlichen schaden tuet'.
- 96 *Ibid.*, 'Soll Aiß balden bei der herrschafft In Ihr Burg.recht wießen, und Ihr ferer kein unterschlauff geben'.
- 97 WHSA A573 Bü 91 VG, 19 Nov. 1655, 'die iunge burger solle man vmb den Zehenden führen, damit ihnen der Statt Zwäng vnd bän auch bekant würden'.
- 98 *Ibid.*, 'Weil es eerst vor wenig Jahren beschehen, befindet man solches dißer Zeitt noch für ohnnothig soll aber baldest wid. bescheh. vnd dißorths nichts versaumbt w.d.'.
- 99 WHSA A573 Bü 91 VRG, 3 Nov. 1663, 'werden die Merckhstein nicht zum fleisigsten observirt, solte den Jungen Männern auch gezaigt vnd gewisen werden'.
- 100 WHSA A573 Bü 92 VRG, 29 Dec 1667, 'die Junge Mannschafft wolte vff den Früeeling wider vmb der Statt Marckhung. gefüehrt w.dn, angesehen. die dörffer beginnen gar böeß vnd scharpff vff die Statt Zue werden vnd beneb. die Alte leüth so vmb die Marckhung. wißenschafft haben, absterben'. Then, the following year: WHSA A573 Bü 92 VRG, 1 Dec. 1668, 'die waidstain solten wid. *Renoviert*, vnd die Junge burger vnd gesellen hinauß gefüehrt werden, die benachparte Fleckhen d. Statt sey gar genaw weg. d. waid

- gegen der Statt' ('the pasture marking stones should be renewed again, and the young citizens and journeymen conducted around them; the villages neighbouring on the town are very precise against the town concerning pasture').
- 101 WHSA A573 Bü 92 VRG, 1 Nov. 1669, 'were eine hohe notturfft, daß vff nechst kunfftig. Frueling die Junge Mannschafft vmb d. Zehend. vnd vich triben gefüehrt, die Stein: vnd wie weith die gerechtigkeit gehe, geZaigt würde'.
- 102 WHSA A573 Bü 92 VRG, 1 Nov. 1669, 'die benachparte Fleckh. greiff. der Statt zu weit in die marckhung, khöñne leüchtlich etwas *praejudiciert* w.d., were nöthig die Junge Mannschafft vmb die Marchkhung zu führen'.
- 103 The word *Zunft* (guild) was rarely used by the Nagold Valley New Draperies' weavers, even in formal ordinances: the guild was simply called *das Handwerk* (the craft), an illustration of the virtual conceptual identity of the economic activity and the corporate group to license access to it.
- 104 A. Reyscher, *Sammlung der württembergische Gesetze*, 14, 1,240; *Ibid.*, 14, 1,289, 'eine Concessions geldes für diejenigen Schafhalter, welche keine gelernte Schäfer sind'.
- 105 F. Weber, *Ehingen: Geschichte einer oberschwäbischen Donaustadt*, 178, writes of a *Bauernzunft* in the (non-Württemberg) Upper Swabian town of Ehingen as late as the nineteenth century; I am grateful to Friedrich Wollmershäuser for bringing this to my attention.
- 106 I. Bog, *Die bäuerliche Wirtschaft* (Coburg, 1952).
- 107 See K. Deppermann, *Der Hallesche Pietismus und der Preußische Staat* (Berlin, 1956), 114–16.
- 108 WHSA Bü 86, fo. 144v JV, 29 Nov. 1630, 'hette lust unnd liebe, des Geigerlins see: bueblin Anzunehmen Unnd Ihne das handntwerckh zu lernnen, Wann mann Ihme ein gld Acht zu lohn gebten'.
- 109 *Ibid.*, 'dieses sein begehren, soll Er für die obleutt, Unnd Sigler pringen; was derselben bedecken sein wirdt, das soll widerumb für ein weißen Gericht'.
- 110 See S. Ogilvie, 'Corporatism and regulation in rural industry', chapter 4.
- 111 On the supposed unimportance of guilds and guild restrictions to workers in rural industry, see P. Kriedte, H. Medick and J. Schlumbohm, *Industrialization before industrialization* (Cambridge, 1981), 51–2.
- 112 W. Troeltsch, *Die Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie und ihre Arbeiter* (Jena, 1897).
- 113 *Ibid.*
- 114 WHSA A573 Bü 129b, fo. 29r.
- 115 WHSA A573 Bü 127, fo. 73r, 9 Sept. 1633, 'biß er ein handtwerckh erlernne, wolle Ihne hernacher gern ein die Waal geben'.
- 116 WHSA A573 Bü 14, fo. 26r, 'dieweyll des uorbeclagtten buob, uf sein gehaiß, wider die gebür geuschet, daß, deßwegen Uatter vnd Suhn ein tag vnd ein Nacht Inn thurn gelegt werden: Mitt dem Anhang, daß er Michel Früeb seiner Sühn zum handtwerckh, vnd nicht Also zum Müeßiggang ziehen, vnd weißen solle'.
- 117 WHSA A573 Bü 86, fo. 23r RG, 8 May 1623: 'Thoma Walumbs nachgelassener Stüeff Sohn, lige ob d. Muetter, befiesse sich nur deß Visches...seye zu besorgen, es miechte ein rechter faulentzer uß Ime werden, were bösser Wann er sein handtwerckh nachziehen thette deß er dusß, Alß sein knaben freündt hiemit Anzaigen wolte'.
- 118 *Ibid.*, 'Ist Ime Ufferlegt seinem handtwerckh nach: und fort zuziehen, Auch selbiges Also zulehnen, damit man mit Ime versehen seye'.
- 119 WHSA A573 Bü 86, fo. 145v JV, 29 Nov. 1630, 'Vor 8 tagen hette sich Hannß döttlinges Bub R: so vollgesoffen, daß Er biß nachmitternacht umb ein Uhren drunden bei dem has. Thor gelegen, alß Wann Er todt were'.
- 120 *Ibid.* 'Mann waist sich Zuerinnern, daß disem Jungen Ufferlegt worden seinem Mezger

- Hanndtwerckh nach zu Wannd.n, Unnd ein solches Auch nicht gethan, Als ist beschaiden, daß Er zugleich umb dises Umb dises [*sic*] Vollsaufens wegen, in Thurn stellen solle, 3 tag unnd 3 nacht, Unnd soll ein Meister bekhomen'.
- 121 PAW KKP I, fo. 113v, 11 Aug 1654, 'Ihren Sohn bey Ihren. laße, vnd sein handwerckh v.gesße'.
- 122 *Ibid.*, 'vnd Ernstlich vfferlegt word., dem Sohn Innerhalb 8 tag. vnfehlbar Alhie oder einen Andern orth einen Maister Zue bekommen, vnd Zuem fleißig. schaffen an Zue halten'.
- 123 WHSA A573 Bü 91 RG, 11 Aug. 1656, 'davidt Pistors schloßers sohn solte angehalten werd., dz er auff seinem handtwerckh wandern sollt'.
- 124 *Ibid.*, 'alßdan der pffegsohn wid. auff die wanderschaft geschickht werden solle'.
- 125 PAW KKP IV 8.10.1721, fo. 374r, 'indem Er von seinem Meister geloffen'.
- 126 *Ibid.*, 'solches übel Angelegt'.
- 127 WHSA A573 Bü 86 QR, fos. 121v–122r, 3 Aug. 1629, 'wan Sie die Muetter Ihnen etwas berede, lauffen Sie zuem hauß hinauß... Wann die Muetter sie begehrt zue straffen, geben sie Ihren Mutter böse Wortt daran'.
- 128 WHSA A573 Bü 23, fo. 52v, 16 Aug. 1598: 'daß er seinem sohn, kein Zuogeltt, weil er ein ungehorsamer sohn, und böeße wortt gegen seinem vattern außgegossen, zugeben schuldig sein solle, Er wölle dann solches mit guettem freyhem willen thuen'.
- 129 WHSA A573 Bü 86 JVG, fo. 26r, 19 Nov. 1624, 'sein vatter wölle den einen Sohn, reich machen, und den Andern verderben'.
- 130 PAW KKP IV, 28 Jan. 1707, fo. 261v, 'wohl abgeschmiert'.
- 131 PAW KKP IV, 18 July 1712, 289r, 'dißer vngehorsams weg'.
- 132 PAW KKP IV, 6 Aug. 1714, fo. 311v.
- 133 PAW KKP IV, 21 May 1731, fo. 424v.
- 134 PAW KKP IV, 4 Jan. 1736, fo. 440r, 'ob er ihne doch schon um verzeyhung bitten wolle Er es doch E: löbl.: Kirchen *Convent* nicht verhalten könnte, um [inserted: an] disem seinem Sohn sowohlen als andern widersezlich. Kindern ein *exempel* Zuthun'.
- 135 *Ibid.*, 'Um der übrig insolenten und irrespectlichen aufführung willen aber gegen seinen Eltern'.
- 136 PAW KKP IV, 13 Feb. 1739, fo. 455v, 'wegen ihres schnöden bezeügens gegen Sie... auch in ihrem übrigen Lebenswandel, da sie schon 2 ohnehle Kinder gebohren'.
- 137 PAW KKP IV, 2 Oct. 1716, fo. 337r.
- 138 WHSA A573 Bü 86, fo. 225r JV, 1 Nov. 1641, 'Gemeine Burgerschaft alhir'; 'Ihre Kinder fleißiger zue Schuol zue schickh. dann bey so starckher Jugend, nicht Wohl 20 Kind. zue Schuol gehen'.
- 139 WHSA A573 Bü 91 RG, 11 Aug. 1656, 'VerZeichnuß der Jenigen Kinder, Welche von Ihren Eltern gegen dem winter wegen höhren Schulgelts, so vmb einheitsens willen geschicht, auß liederlichen ohnerbarer vortheilhaftigkeit ausser der Schuol behalten, dardurch dem *p.ceptori* daß Schuolgelt nit wenig geringert, die Kind. aber ohn verantwortlich verabsaumbt werden. Genüesst jemand deß Gemeinen Stattguts im Sommer d. helffe es auch im winter erhalten'.
- 140 WHSA A573 Bü 91 RG, 11 Aug. 1656, 'die bueben so nicht in die schuel gehen vnd hind. den schueler bueben stehen, halten in der Kirch sich so ohngebührlich mit schwätzen vnd anderm'.
- 141 WHSA A573 Bü 91 VRG, 25 Oct. 1648, 'die Junge Knaben so auß d. Schuel genommen: werden bey dem Gesang nicht mehr *admittiert*, sondern hinab in Chor gewiß., derowegen Sie vergesß. was Sie gelernt'.
- 142 WHSA A573 Bü 92 VRG, 1 Nov. 1669, 'Volgende Knaben (welche nicht in die Schuel gehen) Verüeben Volgenden muethwillen in der Kürchen, benanntlichen setzen Sie sich

- Vff den boden hinder die Schueler, die gantze Predig durch, schwätzen, ruppen die Schueler, Schreiben den selben mit Krieden Vff die Mäntel, Essen nuß Vnd Coßten, Vertreiben die Schueler auß Ihren örtern, machen C: V: allerhandt Vnflath Vff die bänckhe warauff die Schueler sitzen, wischen rev: die Schuech an der selben ab, beneben tringen sich an das geliener hinan, daß nit wohl ein Ehrlicher burger Zu seinem standt Kommen Kan, wann etwas Zu Ihnen gesagt oder geandet würdt, so geben Sie solche böeße reden, daß einem das Herten darüber wehe thüe...Pette solchem Vnheil VorZukommen Vnd solches abzustellen'.
- 143 PAW KKP IV, 27 Feb. 1711, fo. 279r, 'weilen die Schuel stuben, erweitert worden, vnd notwendig mehrer holz erfordert wirt, Ihme mit etwz holz Gemainer Statt weg. zue Hilff zue kommen'.
- 144 PAW KKP IV, 28 Jan. 1707, fo. 262r, 'dz selbe daß Handwerckh Zue lehrnen Zue gesprochen dz selbe noch in die Schuel Zue schicken'.
- 145 PAW KKP IV, 26 Aug. 1712, fo. 289v, 'firter die Kinder allein mit der ruethen zue straffen, vnd solche nicht beyn haaren zue nemmen order mit dem steckhen hart zue schlag.'
- 146 PAW KKP IV, 16 Sept. 1712, fo. 291v, 'dz Clagen vorkommen, dz er, mit seinem Fleiß in der Schuel zimlich nachLaße er solte sich in acht nemmen vnd seinen fleiß so guet miglich firterhin an wenden, dz mann nicht vrsach habe sich vber solchen zue beschweren'.
- 147 PAW KKP IV, 19 Dec. 1715, fo. 324r, 'zue selbiger Zeit vihl Lateinische *discipule* alhie gewesen'; 'hiesige Schuel mit wenigen Lateinischen *discipolis* versehen'.
- 148 PAW KKP IV, 17 Jan. 1716, fo. 325r, 'daß h. *Praeceptor* gar schlecht: und nur die Lateiner: die teütsche hin gegen gar O *informire*, fahe zu spat an: höre zu bald auf: solte sich fleißiger bezeugen'; 'daß Er allmögichsten fleiß anwende Er könne aus ohngelirmigen köpfen keine *doctores* machen'.
- 149 PAW KKP IV, 26 Aug. 1712, fo. 289v, 'aigenmächtig auß der Schuel behalten'.
- 150 PAW KKP IV, 17 Feb. 1717, fo. 340r, 'Sie habe Ihren bueben schon 5 Jahr in die selbe geschickht, Er lerne aber nicht weiter, Er könne lesen und schreibe, Vermöge aber dz Schuelgelt nicht auf zu bringen'.
- 151 PAW KKP IV, 13 Mar. 1722, fo. 378r, 'Er noch ein jung. Mann ist'.
- 152 E.g. PAW KKP IV, 11 July 1726, fo. 406r.
- 153 PAW KKP IV, 11 Nov. 1720, fo. 366v.
- 154 WHSA A573 Bü 36, fo. 397, 23 Dec. 1716, 'dato wurde nach gelaütteter burgerglockh die gesambte burgerschafft durch Eine ordentl. proposition Erjnnert Ihre Kinder fleißiger als bißhero geschehen, in die Schuel: und nicht so spath Zu schicken. worüber Einige sich mit ein und andern auß red. entschuldigten, sonderl. dz nur Praeceptor um des Schulgelts willen die Kind. nöthig. wolle, welches aber Ein löbl. Oberamt nicht acceptiren: sondern weg. ohnfleissig. besuchung hiemit nochmalen geandet: und dises haben wolle, daß man die Kind. nicht vor der Zeit auß der Schul nemmen solle, wie dann die Eltern selbsten Ihre Kind. vor Ihrem 7den Jahr nicht Zuschickhen begehren'.
- 155 PAW KKP IV, 16 Aug. 1720, fo. 362v, 'weylen Sie Kurzlich Ihren Sohn mit des herrn Specialij Vorwißen *priora examinave* Aus der Schuel genommen, An deßen Statt ihr töchterlen einzunehmen u: vor daselbe das Schuelgeld vom Stifft bezahlen zulaßen'.
- 156 PAW KKP IV, 10 June 1720, fo. 360r, 'Ihr Kind in die Schuel zuschickhen, und ohne vorläufiges *examen* nicht daraus zunehmen'.
- 157 *Ibid.*, 'H. Praeceptor und Provisor sollen ein and. mal und. dem gottes dienst bey den Schuel v.bleiben: und wan die Kind. nicht Zue dem betten und sing. in die Schuel kommen sollen Sie mach haben die selbe zu castigiren'.
- 158 PAW KKP IV, 17 Feb. 1717, fo. 340v, 'weil dißen bueb des lesens doch noch nicht zuem

- besten berichtet, wie sich solches ergeben'; 'Er brauche Ihn zue hause, weil Er Niemand. habe, Er habe Ihn Zuem h. Martin roller gesant, wo Er gut schreiben gelernet, dz die hdschrift, so Er producirt gezaigt'.
- 159 KKP IV, 17 Feb. 1717, fo. 340v, 'Ihn noch 1 Vrtel Jahr in die Schuel send. wann die Schuel beim h Martin roller gar seye'.
- 160 PAW KKP IV, 17 Feb. 1717, fo. 341r, 'bej hs Martin roller in die Schuel gang., und Ein gute hdschrift gezaigt'.
- 161 PAW KKP IV, 22 Dec. 1718, 'firter hin fleißig die Schuel stunden Zue halten'.
- 162 PAW KKP IV, 22 Dec. 1718, fo. 351r, 'Hanß Marten rollern wurde befohlen mit haltung der Nacht Schuel biß vff anderwertige verordnung in Zue halten'.
- 163 PAW KKP IV, 17 Nov. 1719, fo. 355v, 'vntersagt sich deß Künfftig. Nacht Schuel haltens zue wüntters Zeithen Zuebemüßig'.
- 164 PAW KKP IV, 4 Apr. 1731, fo. 423v, 'daß Er nicht versprochen, daß Er seine buben nicht zu Cathol.: Relig: erziehen wolle; Er lebe ja unterm KeyBerl. Schuz in Keyl.: Erbland., u: dieses seye nichts anders als eine *reformation*'.
- 165 PAW KKP IV, 21 Nov. 1732, fo. 430r, 'daß hisiger feld Schüz hannß Martin roller eine Nacht schuel Zu *praesjudiz* der *ordinari* Statt Schuel halte, wor durch Ihme Abbruch geschehe'.
- 166 PAW KKP IV, 21 Nov. 1732, fo. 430r, 'daß der Schüz Künfftig hin Keinen mehr annehmen solle, der nicht ein *billiet* von Ihro *Dig*: herrn *Speciali* bringen; und sich behörig *legitimiren* werde und solle demselben niemand erlaubt werden, als 1. die so in die Schuel nach gehen, und deß Tags uber *frequentiren*, gleichwolen aber ein *repetitions* Stunde halten wolte; 2. die jenige, die würllich der Ord: Schuel entwaxen, gleichwol aber im Schreiben sich besser *exerciren* wollen'.
- 167 WHSA A573 Bü 14, fo. 281v, 'noch Zu Jung, sej nit Zum Nacht mahls gangen'.
- 168 D. Sabean, *Power in the blood*, chapter 2.
- 169 WHSA A573 Bü 36, fo. 397, 23 Dec. 1716.
- 170 D. Galenson, 'Literacy and age in preindustrial England: Quantitative evidence and implications', *Economic development and cultural change* 29 (4), July 1981, 813–29. I am grateful to David Galenson for suggesting this technique and helping me apply it, and for fruitful discussions of the issues raised by the results; to Dan Levy, who did the computing; and to Edward George for his lucid exposition of probit analysis.
- 171 PAW KKP IV, 17 Feb. 1717, fo. 340v.
- 172 See W. Troeltsch, *Die Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie und ihre Arbeiter* (Jena, 1897).
- 173 The possibility cannot be rejected that 'proto-industrial' occupation vs. other occupations was simply, given data quality, a more sensitive division of the population according to wealth than the taxable wealth figures used, which were derived from a tax list of 1711, and were thus 6–11 years out of date, and missing altogether for some children, especially the younger ones. In that case the 18 per cent advantage of non-proto-industrial children would simply be an artifact of the greater wealth of their families.
- 174 PAW KKP I, fo. 47r, 7 Sept. 1649, 'die weil Er seinen fürgeheben pselmen nicht gewisst'.
- 175 See for instance J. Appleby, *Economic thought and ideology in seventeenth-century England* (Princeton, 1978).
- 176 See the discussion of the regulations between state and corporate groups in Württemberg society in S. Ogilvie, 'Corporatism and regulation in rural industry', conclusion and *passim*.