

This is to certify that the  
thesis entitled

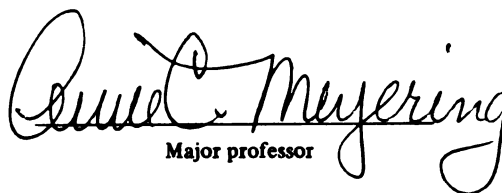
Poverty and the Enlightenment

presented by

Patricia Elisabeth Smith

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in History

  
Major professor

Date March 6, 1979



OVERDUE FINES ARE 25¢ PER DAY  
PER ITEM

Return to book drop to remove  
this checkout from your record.

--	--

POVERTY AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

By

Patricia Elisabeth Smith

A THESIS

Submitted to

Michigan State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of History

1979



## ABSTRACT

### POVERTY AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

By

Patricia Elisabeth Smith

Intermittent or chronic poverty threatened a growing proportion of the working people of eighteenth-century France as population grew faster than agricultural production, and as income inequalities were aggravated by long-term economic trends. The response of the thinkers of the Enlightenment to this growing social problem was closely linked to their novel secular modes of social analysis and to their new conceptions of morality, social justice, and social responsibility. Their conclusion was that poverty was the product of "unnatural", unjust, and inefficient social institutions, and that it was therefore amenable to solution by human action. This represented a radical departure from traditional fatalistic conceptions of the causes and cures of poverty. The articulation of these notions formed the analytic and normative basis for the -- much later -- development of modern public welfare systems.

This work is dedicated  
to my grandmother  
Lisa Rudinger,  
a faithful and energetic servant of Humanity and Reason

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my mother, Chitra Smith, for moral and intellectual help beyond all measure; Howard M. Solomon, for exciting my interest in historical "nuts and sluts" and for indulgence at a critical time; and Anne Meyering, for stimulation and encouragement.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
PART ONE	
THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE . . . . .	2
1. THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF POVERTY . . . . .	2
2. POOR PEOPLE: HISTORIANS' DEFINITIONS AND TYPOLOGIES. . .	.14
PART TWO	
THE ENLIGHTENMENT RESPONSE. . . . .	.31
1. SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ANTECEDENTS . . . . .	.31
2. THE ENLIGHTENMENT . . . . .	.41
A. The philosophes and the People. . . . .	.41
B. The Economists and Poverty. . . . .	.49
C. Prescriptions for the Reform of Poor Relief . . . . .	.57
NOTES. . . . .	.68
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	.77

## INTRODUCTION

Historical writing on eighteenth-century France abounds with excellent works of scholarship on the social and economic realities of the age on the one hand, and on its great intellectual achievements on the other. This essay is a modest attempt to articulate the two with respect to a single topic: it tries to join together the history of poverty with an account of Enlightenment thinkers' perceptions of it and responses to it.

The spread and deepening of poverty was one of the dramatic developments of the age, and it coincided with the no less dramatic intellectual and moral efflorescence of the Enlightenment. The philosophes are best known to posterity for their thought on many other matters, but they were deeply concerned about the poverty of the common people. Their study of the problem led them to radically new understandings of its sources, and thence to policy proposals of exceptional relevance and comprehensiveness. An analysis of their responses to poverty adds a new dimension to our understanding of the practical meaning of "Enlightenment" in the face of an immediate and pressing social problem.

## PART ONE: THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

### 1. The Economic Context of Poverty

Just as there is no altogether satisfactory and unambiguous definition of poverty existing today, there can be no clear definitions of historical poverty. This is especially true of times and places where the great majority of the population live at or near subsistence level and are subject to unpredictable and uncontrollable fluctuations in resources. A simple monetary definition of a poverty-line would be particularly misleading if applied to an economy like that of eighteenth-century France, in which only a small minority of the population received their entire income in money, and in which the prices of essentials varied regionally, and fluctuated frequently and widely. Definitions based on levels of food consumption are likely to be less misleading. Some eighteenth-century observers distinguished the poor, who managed to feed themselves, from the indigent, who could not -- but attempts to define "feed" are also problematic; even severely malnourished populations -- for example, those that eat virtually nothing but potatoes or chestnuts -- can survive and even increase in size.

Historians of the poor, poverty, and poor relief in eighteenth-century France are unanimous in their conclusion that it is impossible to estimate the numbers of the poor with any degree of reliability.

"On doit renoncer ... à connaître le nombre des pauvres, la nature et le degré de leur indigence." (Camille Bloch, 1908)<sup>1</sup>.

"La question la plus urgente, et la plus évidente, qui se présente à l'esprit est celle du nombre des pauvres. C'est aussi, indiquons-le

d'emblée, la question pour laquelle aucune réponse satisfaisante ne peut être donnée." (Jean-Pierre Gutton, 1970)<sup>2</sup>.

"...[The] approach to a study of poverty must predominantly be a qualitative not a quantitative one. There is no such thing as a graph of human suffering." (Olwen Hufton, 1974)<sup>3</sup>.

This is so not only because there is no workable and consistent definition of poverty, but also because the necessary eighteenth-century economic and demographic data are spotty and unreliable. Fiscal records do not reveal the number of people who did not have enough to tax, and they are frequently inaccurate records of the resources of those who did. The records of relief institutions, where they exist at all, provide more information about the resources of those institutions than about the extent of poverty -- although they frequently contain invaluable information on the occupations, ages, infirmities, and sex of relief recipients. Police and court records provide statistics and some biographical information on the poor who resorted to illegal expedients such as vagrancy, theft, or smuggling in order to survive; but they give us no idea of the number of poor people who did not break the law, or of those who did but did not get caught. The governmental and ecclesiastical enquiries into the poverty problem conducted under Turgot in 1774 and by the commissions intermédiaires of the provincial assemblies after 1787 yielded substantial data on charitable resources, but the light they shed on the poor themselves illuminates the quality of poverty far more clearly than its extent.<sup>4</sup>

The greatest obstacle to counting the poor of eighteenth-century France lies in the fact that the proportion of the total population living in poverty was very unstable and almost infinitely expansible. People or families who were normally self-supporting could be driven rapidly into indigence by a bad harvest or a series of bad harvests, by an increase in the price of bread, by a decrease in the demand for labor, or by illness. Probably the chief defining characteristic of the eighteenth-century French poor was their inability to accumulate reserves for hard times. This resulted in extreme vulnerability to even moderate changes in prices, wages, and employment. By this definition, it seems likely that a very substantial proportion of the population of France in the eighteenth century were poor, in the sense that even temporary and minor adversity could lead to indebtedness in the best case or, at worst, to physical deterioration or actual starvation. Olwen Hufton suggests that more than 30 or 40 percent of the population fit this description by the end of the ancien regime.<sup>5</sup>

Because the definition of poverty is itself so problematic; because a very substantial proportion of the poor were only destitute some of the time; because the ecclesiastical and governmental authorities generally only felt moved to count them when things were worse than usual; and because methods of counting them were so primitive, it is reckless to estimate their numbers in anything more than very gross figures. There is a good deal of evidence, however, which suggests strongly that the number of poor people -- and quite possibly their proportion in the population -- increased as the century

progressed.

The eighteenth century produced an apparent paradox: a population growing to unprecedented size while the standard of living of a substantial proportion of its members progressively deteriorated from a level that had been very near to subsistence to begin with. In a sense the population increase was due to a long run of meteorological and epidemiological good luck. The murderous subsistence crises and catastrophic pandemics which had decimated the undernourished population in the seventeenth century abated after the early decades of the eighteenth. The last demographically disastrous nation-wide crop failure followed the bitter winter of 1708-1709, and the bubonic plague disappeared from France after a last major outbreak in the south in 1720. Harvest failures and epidemics continued to cause extreme hardship locally, but gradually improving transportation and marketing arrangements probably helped to reduce the severity of regional food shortages.<sup>6</sup> People in crisis-stricken areas went hungry and became easy prey for the diseases which attack the undernourished; but they no longer starved to death by the thousands as they had during the worst of the seventeenth-century crises. In a sense, the shortages were better distributed. The local killer-crises of the seventeenth century were replaced gradually by a more generalized chronic, attenuated hardship. Under these circumstances "it was fully possible for relative emancipation from famine and plague to produce a greater number of poor than ever before ... A starving population, generally speaking, cannot reproduce itself; an undernourished one has no

difficulty in so doing."<sup>7</sup>

Small but persistent annual excesses of births over deaths produced a very substantial growth in population during the course of the century, from nineteen or twenty million in 1700 to twenty-five or twenty-seven million in 1790. The increase started slowly in the 1720's, continued until the 1740's (when the decimated generation of 1710 reached reproductive age just as several poor harvests followed one another), and resumed at an accelerated rate during the 1750's and 1760's.<sup>8</sup> Between about 1725 and 1770, Goubert argues, demographic growth and economic expansion more or less supported each other during a more or less benign period of generally good harvests. After 1750 population growth began to snowball as the large cohorts born after 1710 or 1720 reached their peak reproductive years. Economic growth did not accelerate correspondingly. The stranglehold of France's traditional vicious circle of agricultural inefficiency and poverty (low crop yields leading to reluctance to use precious crop-land for pasture, leading to manure shortage, perpetuating low crop yields) was aggravated by increasing population pressure.<sup>9</sup>

Goubert believes that developments well documented in Brittany may have been an extreme case of something happening all over France. In Brittany the population expanded to the absolute limit of the economy's carrying capacity. As long as harvests were good and the domestic textile industry prospered, the swollen population managed to stay above the starvation line. When general economic recession set in all over France in the early 1770's (partly as a result of poor harvests) large numbers of people who barely managed to survive

in the best of times finally began to starve, or to drop dead in the epidemics that attacked the starving; or they picked up whatever they had left and trudged off to join the growing masses of vagrants who knew they would starve if they stayed at home, and who thought they might avoid or postpone starvation by going somewhere else.<sup>10</sup>

It remains a matter of debate among economic historians whether aggregate increases in food production kept pace with population growth over the course of the eighteenth century. Goubert seems to doubt it. Labrousse estimates tentatively that agricultural production may have increased by one-fourth to one-third between 1730-39 and 1780-89 -- a growth rate which would very roughly balance Goubert's estimate of a 20 to 40 percent increase in population between 1700 and 1790.<sup>11</sup>

In any case, the pauperization of the lower levels of the French peasantry did not begin abruptly in the 1770's when population growth began in many areas to overtake agricultural production. The fruits of the substantial economic growth which had taken place during the four decades before 1770 were unevenly distributed. Population growth may not have produced an absolute decline in per capita product, but the distribution of the aggregate product became increasingly unequal as the eighteenth century progressed. A significant proportion of the population lived better than ever before, but successive generations of the lower ranks of the peasantry edged in the direction of starvation. Labrousse's Esquisse du mouvement des prix et des revenus describes an important concentration of wealth as land rents increased faster than agricultural prices, and agricultural prices increased faster than



wages.<sup>12</sup> Large landowners and the sellers of large quantities of agricultural products profited from these long-term developments, while those who rented the land they farmed and those who bought the food they ate suffered. The eighteenth century witnessed

d'une part, une paupérisation radicale mais limitée, d'autre part une pauperisation générale mais atténuée, de la masse de la population. Le travailleur proprement dit subit la première, d'autant plus fortement que son niveau de vie est plus bas. Le petit propriétaire et le métayer subissent seulement la seconde.<sup>13</sup>

Peasants who rented some or all of their land found their profits (if they made any) shrinking, or found that what they grew would no longer pay the rent and feed them too. Labrousse estimates that the cost of living increased by about 62 percent between 1734 and 1789, while wages rose by only 26 percent; the drop in real income for those who lived on wages alone was on the order of 25 percent.<sup>14</sup> This figure may well overstate the deterioration in living standard resulting from these secular movements of prices and wages, since only a small fraction of all French families derived all of their income from wages, and since many laborers received at least a portion of their wages in kind.

But although most French cultivators were not totally landless, only a minority owned or held enough land to support a family or to accumulate reserves for years of deficient harvests.<sup>15</sup> At the time of Louis XIV between 50 and 90 percent of all rural households, depending on the region, did not farm enough land to feed themselves and to pay their taxes.<sup>16</sup> Most rural families depended on a variety of sources of income to supplement the inadequate product of their land: men hired out as agricultural laborers if work were available

near home, or as migrant workers if it were not; their wives spun thread or made lace at home; their sons might ease the pressure on the family holdings by looking for work as valets de ferme somewhere in the neighborhood; and their daughters might leave for a nearby town to work as domestic servants for room and board and a small wage. Those with the smallest landholdings, who depended on wages for a relatively large proportion of their livelihood, and who had to buy a relatively large proportion of their food, suffered most from the long-term lag of wages behind prices.

Increasing numbers of small landowners and sharecroppers were forced to turn to wage labor precisely during a period when the purchasing power of wages was declining. Labrousse suggests that many peasant families may have avoided pauperization by working more as the value of their wages dropped, and as the product of their landholdings was eaten away by rising rents, taxes, and seigneurial dues.<sup>17</sup> But many did not have that option. The increase in population far outstripped the increase in land brought under cultivation, and even the progressively more labor-intensive exploitation of land already under cultivation could not absorb -- or feed -- the millions of additional people.<sup>18</sup> By the 1740's and 1750's there was already substantial chronic rural unemployment in the pays de petite culture, and the problem gradually spread through much of France.<sup>19</sup> The rapid growth of domestic textile production provided some additional part-time employment for rural families in most regions,<sup>20</sup> but rarely enough to take up the slack in employment caused by rural

overpopulation: indeed, the growth of the rural textile industry may have encouraged population growth by providing a supplementary means of subsistence to families which could not have survived -- or could not have grown -- without this source of income. "Certes", observes Labrousse, "l'abondance des tisserands n'est pas habituellement signe d'opulence, surtout au niveau paysan."<sup>21</sup> The poverty of the agricultural population was in turn a serious obstacle to the industrial development which alone could have provided employment for the surplus rural population.

The combination of growing population, declining wages, and rising prices and rents accelerated the subdivision of already-small peasant landholdings. More and more small cultivators let their leases expire or sold bits of their holdings. If an extra child survived to adulthood the heirs to what was left of the family property were faced with having to scrape some sort of living out of an even smaller "micropropriété". The number of exploitants-travailleurs (small proprietors who also did wage labor and were therefore affected by the declining purchasing power of money wages) increased, especially during the second half of the century.<sup>22</sup> This resulted in a gradual, inexorable downward movement in the standard of living and security of a substantial proportion of the peasant population. The degree to which a peasant family was pauperized by secular trends in wages, prices, rents, and population growth -- and the rate at which this took place -- depended upon many variables, including among others the proportion of the family landholdings which was rented; the proportion of the family's income which came from its land; the availability of work

in the area; the state of the textile industry; the weather; the number of children born and the number who survived.

Those who started out the poorest -- those who held the least land or who rented everything they farmed -- suffered the most. Some of those who held just enough land to feed themselves at the beginning of the century managed not to lose ground; they might pay the extra taxes and rents and dues by doing a bit of wage labor on the side; and, if they were lucky, not too many of their children would survive to subdivide the family holdings. They might weather crises by mortgaging some of their land on terms that might enable them eventually to get it back again. If, on the other hand, a few years of bad harvests followed one another, or if the local sources of employment dried up, or if the head of the family died of smallpox, or if an extra child or two survived infancy, the family economy could easily begin to crumble into pauperism. The barely self-sufficient peasant might sink into intermittent or permanent indigence. The long-term economic trends of the eighteenth-century probably made recovery increasingly difficult for those who went under.

As a larger and larger number of people were pushed toward the edge of indigence, the "traditional" cyclical and seasonal periods of economic hardship became an increasingly serious threat to ever more people. In the short term as well as in the long run, the intensity of economic pressures was inversely proportional to wealth, since marginal changes in the cost of living were the most serious for those with the smallest margins. Seasonal and cyclical fluctuations in prices affected the poorest the most seriously for a number

of reasons. The cost of food, which was the largest single element in the budget of the classes inférieures, increased faster in the eighteenth century than most other prices. Further, the amplitude of fluctuations in food prices was generally the greatest for the cheapest foods. In times of shortage the prices of inferior grains increased more than the price of wheat, as people who normally could afford wheat resorted to rye or barley; and the price of legumes -- the staple of the poorest -- rose more than the prices of the cheapest grains.<sup>23</sup> Periodic increases in the cost of living were therefore greatest for those people whose standard of living was the lowest to begin with.

If high prices were the result of a poor harvest, as they usually were, the pressures on the poor were compounded. Tithes, dues, and rents levied on crops proportionally and in kind became grossly regressive when the harvest was short. Families whose land normally yielded just enough for their support would need to buy food to compensate for the deficient harvest, and families which normally had to buy some of their food would need to buy more. More people therefore entered the labor market just when the diminished size of the crop reduced the demand for agricultural labor. Under these circumstances the totally landless suffered first and worst; they could find no work and they had no other income. But the position of the micropropriétaire who could only extract a few cabbages or a couple of bushels of beans from his little plot was not significantly better. He might be able to forestall starvation for a few weeks longer than the landless travailleur. Or he could sell his lopin de terre, eat for a

while on the proceeds, and spend the rest of his uncertain life as a travailleur himself.

Through most of the eighteenth century harvest failures were fairly localized and generally not severe. But by the 1760's such a large number of people had moved so close to the border of indigence that they were acutely vulnerable to even very small economic upsets. And the series of widespread harvest failures of the 1770's and the industrial and commercial crises which soon followed were a great deal more than small upsets. The crisis was bad enough to reduce, or to halt, or in some areas even to reverse population growth.<sup>24</sup> Curés and bishops started writing agonized reports to intendants about the masses of people in their parishes or dioceses who were starving to death much faster than usual. Peasants, municipal governments, and the State began to panic about the growing hordes of vagrants and beggars invading the cities and terrorizing the countryside. Theft and organized banditry increased. During the last decade of the ancien regime forty thousand babies were abandoned every year.<sup>25</sup> Poverty had suddenly taken on a new and appalling aspect.

## 2. Poor People: Historians' Definitions and Typologies

Even the most sophisticated eighteenth-century observers did not have sufficient data to construct the graphs of price and wage movements and of demographic evolution which illuminate our understanding of the poverty problem. They based their analyses and judgements of the poor on what they saw -- or thought they saw -- in the streets and the countryside. Recent social historians have learned a great deal about what they saw -- and also about what they failed to see. Their findings about the characteristics of the poor population are indispensable to an informed analysis of eighteenth-century responses to poverty.

Camille Bloch was the first historian to do a comprehensive study of the rationales for the development of government assistance to the poor in eighteenth-century France.<sup>1</sup> He was more concerned with the nature of institutionalized state assistance and with the evolution of its intellectual justification than with the precise identification and classification of its recipients, and his account centers almost exclusively on those aspects of the poverty problem which provoked concern among the agents of the State. Late in the eighteenth century increasing begging and vagrancy spurred the royal government to assume increasing responsibility for the poor, Bloch argued. He attributed this "mendicité exubérante foisonnante" to general economic pressures (land parcellation and rising taxes, dues, and rents) which weighed ever more heavily upon small cultivators as the century progressed.<sup>2</sup> He indicated that these pressures were worst for day-laborers and sharecroppers, but he made no attempt to be more specific about the

economic characteristics or the numbers of the poor, about thresholds of poverty, or about the line between struggling self-sufficiency and the resort to begging or vagrancy. Bloch's treatment of the poor as an administrative problem was characteristic of the approach taken by historians of the poverty problem until the last couple of decades, when social historians started to dig more deeply in an effort to identify and analyze the classes inférieures.

In 1963 François Furet proposed a method for differentiating among the menu peuple who had been lumped together by their grander eighteenth-century contemporaries, and who had remained lumped together in much of the quantitative demographic and social history which was by then being produced.<sup>3</sup> Since the birth of the social sciences in the eighteenth century, Furet complained, social scientists and historians had overemphasized the importance of wage levels in their definitions of the classes inférieures and had exaggerated the significance of the economic dividing line between property-owners and wage-earners. He suggested a multivariate analysis of the lower orders which would take into account sociological data as well as data on wages and consumption levels. None of these factors, he argued, was by itself adequate to identify the classes inférieures and to differentiate between groups within them. Accurate measurement of wages and consumption is difficult: there are no uninterrupted series of national or regional wage statistics; and even where data are available they may be misleading because workers frequently received a substantial but variable and unknown proportion of their pay in kind. Official occupational designations can also



obscure enormous differences in activities and standards of living -- a maître-menuisier, for example, could be a substantial entrepreneur employing several dozen compagnons, or a lone carpenter with no employees and little to insulate him from fluctuations in food prices or in the demand for cabinets. The former did not belong to the classes inférieures; the latter did. But careful examination of notarial records (marriage contracts and inventaires après décès, for example) can illuminate the personal economic realities too often obscured by excessive concentration on wage and price data, or by inflexible adherence to nominal differences in socioprofessional status.

A definition which used both economic and socioprofessional criteria and checked them against each other, Furet argued, would show that the urban classes inférieures -- those susceptible to sudden pauperization -- extended above the level of propertyless wage-laborers and domestic workers, well into the ranks of property-owning artisans and shopkeepers.<sup>4</sup> Within the classes inférieures, the proportion of classes flottantes (the poor who were so poor that they had no domicile) varied with long-term demographic changes and with short-term conjunctures of prices, employment, and wages.

Most recent historians of the pre-industrial French poor have used the variety of sources recommended by Furet, and their studies have confirmed his expectations about the nature of the poor population. Unfortunately, Furet's method is more fruitfully applied to the urban poor than to the rural poor -- and more easily to the domiciled urban poor than to the homeless urban underclass or to the hordes of rural immigrants who flocked to towns seeking work or hand-outs. Wage and price statistics are more abundant for urban than for

rural areas, and are more likely to reflect accurately the real standard of living of town dwellers, whose incomes generally included a larger proportion of cash wages than did the income of rural workers. Wage data are scarcest for the least skilled occupations; the occupations, that is, of the poorest, and frequently the occupations of the rural immigrants who did not stay in town long enough to make it into any other historical documents. The countryside was the major source of poor people in the eighteenth century, and because of the relative shortage of economic and sociological data on the rural classes inférieures the major sources and forms of poverty in the ancien regime remain understudied. However, several excellent and detailed monographs illuminate the nature and extent of poverty among the urban working classes.

Jean-Pierre Gutton's study of the poor of Lyons and the Lyonnais<sup>5</sup> provides a comprehensive analysis of the degree and composition of urban poverty. Gutton argues that the economy of the Lyonnais was sufficiently varied to produce most of the kinds of poverty which existed in eighteenth-century France: it included some isolated and some heavily-travelled rural areas, two major manufacturing cities, (Lyons and Saint-Etienne) and a number of smaller towns. Most of Gutton's data come from Lyons itself, however, which was in a number of ways atypical: it was the second largest city in the kingdom, and it had an unusual single-industry economy (silk manufacturing). It was exceptionally well provided with municipal and ecclesiastical charitable resources, and this probably affected the composition of the city's floating population as well as the fate of the indigenous poor,

since the hope of appealing to urban charity was a powerful magnet to the rural destitute. Poverty in Lyons had different sources and took somewhat different forms from poverty in cities which were smaller, less industrialized, and less well-endowed with resources for relief. Nonetheless, Gutton's typologie des pauvres is extremely informative, and describes patterns of poverty which were similar to those in many cities.<sup>6</sup>

Gutton observes that in the language of the Ancien Regime the word pauvre denoted anyone who had to work for a living. The "poor" had to work to live; the "indigent" were those of the poor who could not live on what they could earn. For les indigents begging was not a measure of "dernière extrémité", but a normal source of supplementary income; indeed, "mendiant" was often used as a synonym for "indigent". The resort to vagrancy represented a much more serious break from "normal" life, although it was just one short step beyond beggary as an expedient for survival. Vagabonds, unlike pauvres and mendiants, were outside the boundaries of the social order; they had cut their ties to patron and place; they were masterless, rootless individuals below the bottom line of a society based on connections to corporate groups.

Going beyond the imprecise terminology of eighteenth-century observers, Gutton distinguishes what he calls "pauvres structurels", who were perpetually indigent because they were unable to work, from "pauvres conjoncturels", who were normally self-supporting, but who were liable to slide into indigence as a result of unfavorable long-term economic trends, or with any crisis of the local or the family

economy. The pauvres structurels were the traditional impotent poor: those who could not work because they were too young or too old, or too sick, too crippled, or too blind. Victimes de la solitude were also pauvres structurels -- a large proportion of these were widows, who were frequently unable to support themselves -- much less their children -- on the inferior wages paid to women. These were the classic "deserving poor" -- the people most likely to receive charity when charity was available. The pauvres conjoncturels formed a much larger and more elastic group. Indigence crept gradually up the socio-economic scale when bread prices rose faster than wages -- as they tended to do during much of the eighteenth century. Different groups were swallowed up at different rates: the real wages of unskilled workers shrank faster than those of skilled workers.<sup>8</sup> The frequent crises of the Lyonnais silk industry could suddenly drive the majority of the working population -- including unskilled workers, artisans, and small shopkeepers -- from poverty into indigence. The birth of a child or the illness of a wage-earner could act as an unfavorable conjoncture in the family economy. A disabling injury or the death of an income-earning spouse could convert a pauvre conjoncturel -- or a family of pauvres conjoncturels -- into pauvres structurels.

Using a variety of sources, Gutton has identified the socio-economic groups most likely to be or to become indigent. For the city of Lyons he started with the lists of "passive citizens" compiled in 1791. Those heads of households who could not afford to pay the equivalent of three days' wages in direct taxes were so classified, and their names, addresses, and occupations were recorded. According to

the documents they constituted about 8 percent of the population of Lyons. Gutton warns that these figures are inaccurate and unreliable, and tend to underrepresent the extent of poverty. The quartier of the Hôtel-Dieu, for example, which housed hundreds of ailing indigents, listed only eight passive citizens. The poorest and most unstable members of the population -- beggars and vagrants, among others -- were usually not counted. In the whole city only twenty-six beggars and fifty-seven "pauvres" made it into the registers of passive citizens, although the city fathers were constantly complaining about the presence of beggars in the streets. Of the 2,493 passive citizens who were listed, 733 were journaliers (a term which subsumed a wide variety of unskilled manual occupations); 530 were ouvriers en soie, and 245 more were dévideuses de soie (semiskilled women silkworkers). Of the remaining 985, most were artisans (especially chapeliers, tailleurs, and cordonniers), and street vendors. A few bourgeois, marchands, and religieux convers fill out the list. The accuracy of these numbers is suspect, but the occupational composition of this poor population is repeated in lists of the recipients of municipal bread distributions, and in lists of the parents of the beneficiaries of a dowry-fund established by a pious bourgeois for the poorest girls in certain parishes of Lyons. Over half of the recipients of municipal bread (in the parishes for which records remain) were ouvriers de textile; nearly a third of these were dévideuses. Of the rest, over half were artisans et gens de métier (including large numbers of cordonniers and chapeliers) and a somewhat smaller number were domestiques and affaneurs (who, like manoeuvriers, picked up any



manual labor they could find). A few miscellaneous transport workers (voituriers and bateliers), a few cultivators (vignerons and jardiniers) and a few street vendors complete the registers. Of the 478 parents of the dowry recipients, about half were artisans and petits marchands, 192 more were textile workers, and 31 were affaneurs or manoeuvriers. In the city of Lyons the poor were recruited above all among the workers in the dominant industry, among semiskilled and unskilled workers, and among small artisans.<sup>9</sup>

Some indication of the individual circumstances which could drive people into indigence exists in the registers of passive citizens. Nearly 22 percent of them were widows, and an additional 17 percent were single women or women separated from their husbands. Women were particularly vulnerable "victimes de la solitude", as their wages were substantially lower than those of men. The composition of the population of vieillards admitted to the Charité de Lyon (the municipally operated charity hospital which housed several varieties of impotent poor) illustrates the fineness of the line between pauvreté conjoncturelle and pauvreté structurelle. More than half of them were ouvriers du textile -- a category which included substantial maîtres-marchands-fabricants as well as maîtres-ouvriers and compagnons. (Unfortunately, the information in the registers does not differentiate these different socio-economic groups clearly.) Chapeliers, cordonniers, and tailleurs were also well represented. Small artisans and shopkeepers appeared regularly on the registers, although in much smaller numbers than textile workers.<sup>10</sup> Many of the old people who ended up in the Charité had been self-supporting

members of the classes inférieures, but they had not been able to accumulate sufficient reserves to keep them from sinking to the status of pauvres structurels when they became too old to work.

Gutton also examined the records of charity hospitals in other towns and villages in the Lyonnais. As in Lyons, the majority of relief recipients were artisans and journaliers. The composition of the poor artisan population usually reflected the dominant artisanal activity of the town; in Saint-Etienne the poor artisans were mostly armuriers, cloutiers, and couteliers. Saint-Symphorien-le-Châtel specialized in making shoes for the army, and most of the local poor artisans were cordonniers. The smaller towns generally counted among their poor larger numbers of agricultural laborers (manoeuvriers) than did Lyons, but Gutton refuses to estimate the numbers of the rural poor.<sup>11</sup> They left little documentary evidence of a quantifiable sort in the countryside, and it is impossible to know how many of them came to towns seeking alms -- and what proportion of the ones who did come made their way into the records of the local charities. Agricultural laborers -- whether or not they owned a small piece of land -- constituted a very important proportion of the rural poor, but Gutton gives only a brief qualitative description of their precarious hand-to-mouth existence. His typology of the poor casts a great deal of light on the occupations and condition of the urban groups susceptible to rapid pauperization, and on the tenuousness of the distinction between bare self-sufficiency and destitution, but it does little to illuminate the enormous problem of rural poverty.

Cissie Fairchilds adopted Gutton's distinction between pauvreté



structurelle and pauvreté conjoncturelle for her analysis of poverty and charity in Aix-en-Provence, and she added the significant observation that these two categories corresponded quite closely to "the poor of the charities" and "the poor outside the charities".<sup>12</sup> In the view of the directors of Aix's municipal and ecclesiastical charities, the "structural poor" -- the aged, the ill, and the very young -- were "good" poor and deserved help. The able-bodied poor were generally not eligible for assistance. Although the authorities recognized the problem of seasonal unemployment, especially among agricultural workers, they generally assumed that the able-bodied indigent were poor because they would not work -- or would not work hard enough.<sup>13</sup>

Aix was a much smaller town than Lyons, with a population of roughly 29,000 (Lyons had about 150,000 inhabitants by the end of the eighteenth century). It was primarily an administrative center for the church and the state, it had no important industry, and it engaged in no important commerce. The working population consisted mostly of the tradesmen and artisans who served the officers of the courts and the church, but it also included a substantial number of agricultural workers -- both small proprietors and wage-laborers.

In order to determine which groups were most susceptible to extreme poverty, Fairchild compared the proportions of different occupational groups among those admitted to Aix's major charity hospital with their proportions among the menu peuple of the city as a whole. (Extreme poverty and some sort of disability were conditions of admission, since these hôpitaux corresponded more closely to

poorhouses than to hospitals in the modern sense.) Cultivators constituted about one fourth of the menu peuple of Aix, but almost 40 percent of the people entering la Charité. Among cultivators resorting to charity, the proportion of travailleurs (landless day-laborers) was by far the highest. Members of the building trades, and craftsmen dealing in food, lodging, and transportation entered la Charité roughly in proportion to their representation in the population; but textile and leather workers, who made up about 13 percent of the menu peuple, accounted for almost 22 percent of the hospital's entrants. Nearly a third of the menu peuple were domestiques. (This term included both household servants and live-in production workers. Unfortunately the data include no estimates of their respective numbers.) In spite of its prominence among the working people of the city, the servant group supplied only a little over a tenth of the hospital entrants. Apparently most households in Aix managed to care for their employees even during hard times.<sup>14</sup>

The impotent poor of Aix's charities were not, for the most part, congenitally helpless -- they had not always been disabled and destitute. Most of them had had an occupation and had been self-supporting, but had become pauvres structurels as they became too old to work, or they had succumbed to the illnesses that preyed upon the malnourished and those who worked in unhealthy conditions, or as their spouses had died or deserted them, or as their children had multiplied beyond their earning power.

For her analysis of the pauvres conjoncturels or "the poor outside the charities", Fairchild had to turn to documents which record the

occupations of two groups of poor people who were probably not altogether typical: arrested beggars and convicted thieves. Three-quarters of the beggars arrested between 1724 and 1733 were from outside Aix.<sup>15</sup> The wide-ranging geographical origins of the arrested beggars attest to the high mobility of the poor: they came to -- or through -- Aix from all over France. Of the beggars whose occupations were identified (a third of the total), about 40 percent were urban artisans, and about 35 percent were agricultural workers. Most of the artisans were probably looking for work, Fairchild's argues, and had only begged to tide themselves over until they found it. The rural poor who came to Aix to beg came largely from the countryside around the town or from elsewhere in Provence, victims of land parcellation, underemployment, and the inflation of food prices.<sup>16</sup> The people who were convicted of theft in Aix came overwhelmingly from the same occupational groups as the city's charity recipients and the beggars: of 165 sentenced between 1773 and 1790, 92 were agricultural workers (81 of them day-laborers), and 46 were artisans and craftsmen (24 of these were textile workers).<sup>17</sup>

The poor of Aix who qualified for municipal relief, the poor of Aix who did not qualify, and who eked out a subsistence by begging or by stealing an occasional pigeon or some apricots, and the poor of other areas who had come looking for work or alms and who got themselves arrested in Aix -- all these came from the same social and occupational groupings as the poor of Gutton's Lyonnais. Small artisans, textile workers, wage laborers, landless rural day-laborers, and the owners of tiny plots of land were liable to find themselves

sinking from uncertain self-sufficiency into indigence with any disturbance in the regional or family economy.

Olwen Hufton's studies of Bayeux and of the French rural poor reveal even more clearly than the works of Gutton and Fairchild the infinite degrees and varieties of impoverishment.<sup>18</sup>

Hufton estimates that about 1,800 of Bayeux' population of 10,000 were dependent on some form of outside assistance, and that another 3,000 lived on the brink of poverty. As in Aix and in the Lyonnais, the poor were chiefly laborers and small artisans, and a very large proportion of charity recipients and beggars were single, deserted, or widowed women, and their children.<sup>19</sup>

Hufton's typology of the poor of Bayeux adds a critically important third category to Gutton's dichotomy between structural and conjunctural poverty. She too describes people who were chronically indigent because they could not work and people who were intermittently indigent because they could accumulate no reserves; but, in addition, she focusses attention on those who were always indigent, no matter how hard they worked, even if they had regular employment. Her two main analytical categories are the unemployed and the employed poor. The unemployed included the impotent poor who were unable to work, and also the able-bodied who could not or would not find work. The employed poor included the pauvres conjoncturels, who managed to scrape by most of the time, and also the working poor who simply could not make ends meet even in the best of all possible conjonctures. Hufton adds to the personal and economic crises which beset Gutton's pauvres conjoncturels the unremitting pressures of chronic

underemployment and sub-subsistence wages which prevented a substantial proportion of the working population of Bayeux from ever rising above the ranks of the indigent, even to the level of the tenuously self-sufficient pauvres conjoncturels.<sup>20</sup> The different kinds of beggary in Bayeux reflected the different kinds of poverty which afflicted or threatened nearly half of the city's population. Mendiants de profession did nothing but beg for a living -- some of them begged because they were unable to work, and some were professional vagabonds. The unemployed, the underemployed, the chronically underpaid, and the pauvres conjoncturels only begged occasionally or part-time to supplement their inadequate earnings.

Gutton and Fairchilds confined their discussions of the rural poor mostly to those who ended up in urban jails for begging or vagrancy and those who were lucky enough to receive some urban charitable support. Hufton has examined systematically the origins and manifestations of poverty in the countryside.<sup>21</sup> She does not establish a typology of the rural poor; the lines between self-sufficiency, poverty, and indigence were even more unclear in the country than in the city. The causation of rural poverty was more complex because of the mixed nature of the rural family economy (income in both cash and kind from domestic industrial, artisanal, and agricultural labor, as well as some from the family's own land). A little poaching, access to the village commons, receipt of occasional wages in kind rather than in cash, or the cultivation of a miniscule garden plot might stave off or postpone (or prolong) starvation in hard times. Hufton argues that the slide from poverty into indigence tended to be more

gradual for individuals or families in the country than in town -- largely because rural economic crises did not usually bring productive activity to a sudden and complete standstill as urban economic crises were apt to do. Rural families dependent partially on income from spinning thread, for example, might be able to compensate for the income lost during a textile slump by working a few more hours for the laboureur down the road or by gathering a few more edible weeds from neighborhood hedges. The urban spinner who was laid off during the same slump had few if any alternatives. In the countryside landless day-laborers were the most susceptible to sudden and absolute pauperization, but Hufton emphasizes that the ownership of a small piece of land was no guarantee of protection from misery as desperate as urban indigence.

Because documentary evidence about the urban poor is relatively more abundant, most historical study of the poor has focussed on urban poverty, even though the vast majority of the eighteenth-century French poor were rural. Although the rural poor remain relatively less well-studied, it is clear that the patterns of urban and rural impoverishment were similar.

At rock bottom in both town and country were the "impotent poor". Without property, and physically unable to work because of age or infirmity, these people were utterly dependent for survival on alms or institutional charity. One did not have to be born blind or crippled: illness, an accident, or simply advancing age could throw a self-sufficient worker into this category.

A step above the impotent poor in economic terms, but still extremely insecure, were propertyless wage-laborers. Unskilled and semiskilled urban workers and rural day-laborers were dependent on others for their income, and were at the mercy of variations in prices, wages, and employment. The long-term economic developments of the eighteenth century pressed hardest on this group, as the real value of their wages declined and competition for scarce jobs increased. Able to accumulate no reserves at all, wage-laborers were reduced almost instantly to beggary when food prices rose suddenly or when work was unavailable.

By the end of the century, the impotent and the propertyless constituted a small minority of the very poor. Above them was an enormous mass of poor people, able-bodied and owners of property, who often found themselves in rags and without enough food to sustain reasonable health. Eighteenth-century documents from the diocese of Tours refer to "mendiants-propriétaires".<sup>22</sup> The line between the poor and the non-poor in the countryside was not the line between the landless and the propertied, but the highly mobile line between those who owned too little land to feed themselves, and who were therefore vulnerable to fluctuations in food prices and dependent in part on wages, and those who owned enough land to feed themselves even when harvests were short. There was of course an intermediate range of people who were self-sufficient in good years and poverty-stricken in bad years. The urban equivalent of the poor peasant proprietor was the independent artisan operating on too small a scale to accumulate reserves for bad times. A weaver who owned his own loom

and worked in his own shop might make ends meet when food prices were stable and the demand for cloth adequate; but if either of these conditions took a turn for the worse (as they both did at once when harvests were bad) he and his family could be reduced to beggary almost as quickly as dependent wage-laborers. The long-term pressures of inflation and population increased the size and vulnerability of this third level of poor people.

Many of the vagrants arrested in towns were found to have deserted their poverty-stricken farms and families.<sup>23</sup> Many destitute silk-workers in Lyons dropped their children off on the orphanage steps and disappeared into the countryside.<sup>24</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century there was a heavy two-way traffic in indigence between town and country. Many of the poor of both city and country thought that the grass had to be greener -- or at least more abundant -- somewhere else.



## PART TWO: THE ENLIGHTENMENT RESPONSE

1. Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Antecedents

The eighteenth century introduced and developed ideas about the origins of poverty and about appropriate responses to it which were radically different from earlier conceptions, but several important aspects of eighteenth-century thought on these subjects grew directly out of beliefs which originated and matured in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

From the end of the Middle Ages the term pauvre had represented two distinct and contrary images.<sup>1</sup> Christian theology exalted poverty. Traditionally the poor were membres souffrants de Jésus Christ; they had a special kinship to God, whose Son had especially identified with them. Those among the poor who accepted their condition with humility and resignation were holier than the rich, and their very existence provided the spiritually disadvantaged rich with opportunities to perform sanctifying acts of charity.

As social and community ties weakened, a very different image of pauvres and mendiants began to emerge. As the numbers of the destitute grew, and especially as they became more mobile, they came increasingly to be regarded as dangerous, and their poverty as a degrading punishment for sin and vice. While the earlier tradition retained some vitality up to and even after the French Revolution, the negative element in the image gradually gained ground from the late twelfth century onward.<sup>2</sup> By the sixteenth century, growing numbers of desperate beggars had been driven into

cities by the disruptions of prolonged civil war. These poor were strangers, and they carried disease, they stole, and they rioted.<sup>3</sup> In the cities, at any rate, poverty came to be perceived and discussed in increasingly secular terms -- not as a condition whose victims were beloved of God, but as one that posed a social danger and a public policy problem.

Traditionally, private alms were the primary source of succor for the poor. In addition, countless tiny hospitals, run by the Church or founded by pious laymen, were scattered across the countryside. These cared primarily for the sick, but they also provided hospitality to the pauvres passants in whom they recognized the holiness of the pilgrim or the sanctity of the itinerant beggar.

Changes in attitude toward the poor were accompanied by changes in the organization of charity -- or at least of urban charity. Innovations introduced by municipal authorities throughout France in the sixteenth century generally followed the plan outlined in 1526 by Juan Luis Vives in his influential book De Subventionem Pauperum. Vives' frame of reference was profoundly religious, but his ideas about the poor and the proper organization of assistance departed radically from the traditional view of the pauvres membres de Jésus Christ and from the tradition of individual alms. Vives elaborated the distinction between the good poor and the bad poor which was to become ever more complex and ever more important during the next two centuries. The bad poor feigned sickness and disability, they created disturbances in churches during mass, and then they squandered on drink and debauchery the alms which they had extorted

by these means. When one reproached them for their evil habits they would respond insolently that they were "the poor of Jesus Christ", although Christ, of course, would never have recognized as his "des pauvres si éloignés de ses mœurs et de la sainteté qu'il nous enseigne."<sup>4</sup> The pious, humble, and orderly poor were deserving of charity; the rest were not.

Charity remained a Christian duty, Vives repeated the classic argument: God had entrusted the rich with stewardship of His bounty, and they had an obligation to distribute it to the needy -- but not, he insisted, in the traditional form of casual alms. Poverty was a matter of public order as well as of morality. The municipal authorities should therefore be charged with responsibility for collecting, recording, and distributing rationally the alms contributed voluntarily by the faithful. The city should conduct a census of the sick, the beggars, and the vagabonds. It should then banish indigent outsiders with a passade (a small gift of bread or cash), distribute alms to the local impotent poor, and provide work for its able-bodied beggars both to reform their morals and to keep them off the streets.

During the sixteenth century the municipal governments of most major French cities founded bureaux des pauvres or aumônes générales organized along the lines of Vives' plan.<sup>5</sup> Most of their funds continued to come from charitable donations, and their conceptions of charity remained Christian; but three important new principles guided their operations: the moral legitimacy of differentiation between good and bad poor; the responsibility of secular authority for the

rational administration of poor relief (or charity); and the positive moral value of extracting work from the able-bodied poor in return for the charity they received.

Changes in perceptions of the poor were not confined to city fathers concerned with the maintenance of law, order, and public morality. They were reflected also in the development of the picturesque littérature de la gueuserie which became popular in the sixteenth century. In these "documentary" publications the poor -- especially beggars -- were depicted as deceitful and dangerous; they cynically feigned illness to win the sympathy of the charitable; they belonged to vast organized networks of professional beggars and cheats with a weird and incomprehensible argot of their own.<sup>6</sup> This representation of the poor, whether or not it was accurate, was a far cry from the traditional image of the holy pauper meekly and gratefully accepting the crusts offered by his wealthier Christian brother. Some pictorial representations of the poor (especially in art produced for the lower social levels) continued to show classically deserving beggars receiving alms from classically pious almsgivers; but new artistic representations also appeared which portrayed the poor as ugly, shifty, threatening, and violent.<sup>7</sup>

Sixteenth-century humanists disparaged the spiritual benefits of poverty, arguing that poverty was a terrible obstacle to the full cultivation of human potential on earth, and that a moderate degree of material comfort made possible a level of spiritual and intellectual development foreclosed to those burdened with poverty. Even the Church contributed to the ideological desanctification of poverty:

the Council of Trent adopted a hard line against mendicant religious orders and itinerant begging priests, and declared work to be a greater act of piety than mendicancy.<sup>8</sup> By the seventeenth century the sanctification of work had begun to edge out the sanctity of poverty. Work assumed, in the eyes of the religious authorities, the nature of prayer, in Catholic France as well as in Protestant countries.<sup>9</sup> Idleness came to be "mère de tous les vices". The exact nature of the causal connection between poverty and idleness remained somewhat ambiguous, but idleness certainly resulted in poverty, and the poor who owed their condition to idleness were also likely to succumb to the vices of the idle.<sup>10</sup> These notions in turn facilitated the spread of the conviction that the poor were poor because they were idle. Vives had distinguished the good poor from the bad on the basis of their moral qualities. In the seventeenth century the differentiation was based increasingly on their physical condition: the impotent poor retained their spiritual superiority, while the able-bodied poor were increasingly lumped together in the "bad" category.<sup>11</sup>

Once the urge to make the poor work had gained both secular and religious support, secular and religious impulses combined to produce the "grand renfermement des pauvres." "Renfermer" meant both "to enclose" and "to imprison".

Mercantilist theorists argued that France's economy was falling behind England's because of the relative stagnation of French manufactures. Beggars had no right to deprive the State of their work. If they could be institutionalized, trained, and forced to

work, they would cease to be a drain on the economy and they could contribute to the expansion of the wealth of the State. They would also be unable to engage in the disruptive vices of the idle. From the second decade of the seventeenth century on, the Crown made repeated (and largely ineffective) efforts to round up beggars and vagrants and set them to work -- generally by encouraging local authorities to do so. The religious concerns of the dévôts of the Catholic counterreformation gave a strong added impetus to the renfermement des pauvres. Their goal was not so much to increase the wealth of the State as to save the idle poor from the sins which lay in wait for them. The method they supported was the same as that favored by the municipal authorities concerned with law and order, and by the Crown with its concerns about law, order, and national productivity: lock up the beggars, keep them occupied with lots of work, and improve their morals with an almost monastic regimen of religious instruction and prayer.

Both the deserving and the vicious poor were to be "enclosed" in hôpitaux généraux, which were combination asylum-prisons. Although the Crown gave support and encouragement, most of the hôpitaux généraux founded before about 1675 were products of local initiative. They provided work relief for their inmates, and their officials were empowered to arrest and imprison beggars and force them to work. Most municipal hôpitaux généraux had their own police forces which patrolled the streets for beggars. They were financed in large part by private alms and were administered by local lay notables, who were given broad jurisdiction over all beggars in the city except those

suspected of serious crimes; they were left to the police. The goal was to abolish urban beggary by making work available to good paupers, extracting work by force from local beggars, and chasing nonresident beggars out of town.

In about 1675 the Crown enlisted the aid of three extremely effective Jesuit missionaries to urge city authorities to found more hôpitaux généraux. One of them, Père Chaurand, is credited with a personal part in the foundation of 126 hôpitaux généraux and bureaux de charité throughout France. In a series of sermons in Aix-en-Provence, he summed up current arguments in favor of renfermement as he campaigned (successfully) for the establishment of a municipal hôpital général: he invoked "the necessity of enfermement of poor as much for their temporal as their spiritual well-being, and also for the good and holy police of this town."<sup>12</sup> These arguments produced results. Between 1678 and 1686 one hundred four new hôpitaux généraux were founded.<sup>13</sup> By the middle of the eighteenth century, "all cities, all diocesan centres, and all towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants" had hôpitaux généraux,<sup>14</sup> and at the end of the ancien regime the Constituent Assembly counted 2,185 of them in France.<sup>15</sup>

A surge in the charitable impulse accompanied the French Counter-reformation, and religious and lay charitable orders proliferated and expanded. The Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement was instrumental in the foundation of many hôpitaux généraux and other charities, and numerous female orders devoted themselves specifically to charitable work. The newly current ideas about the optimal organization of almsgiving resulted in the channelling of donations into

institutional charities. The disorderly or socially dangerous poor -- vagrants and beggars -- were not the only poor to be enclosed. In addition to the numerous institutions founded at least in part to ensure public order, many hospitals and poorhouses were established to house specific categories of the deserving poor -- orphans, the blind, the disabled, the insane, and indigent priests, for example -- who hitherto had received alms from individuals or in the form of outdoor relief from bureaux de charité.

The grand renfermement des pauvres represented a second large step away from the indiscriminate almsgiving of the middle ages. The reform of the municipal charities in the sixteenth century had sought to institutionalize alms; the renfermement of the seventeenth century sought to institutionalize the poor.<sup>16</sup> The institutionalization of both alms and the poor made it possible to exercise closer surveillance and control over the morals of the beneficiaries of Christian charity, in order to insure that they behaved like membres souffrants de Jésus Christ and not like narquois, caïmands, and fain-éants.

A large proportion of the urban charities founded during the seventeenth century were organized and administered by laymen; some were municipal institutions, others were private foundations. Some towns levied "voluntary taxes" to finance their municipal charities, and some imposed obligatory poor relief taxes. Both municipal and private charities received income from a wide variety of fiscal privileges and exemptions granted by the Crown or by the city. Generally, however, one of their largest sources of income, regardless



of whether they were lay or religious, municipal or private, consisted of the voluntarily-offered alms and legacies of the faithful. The primary motivation of the donors was religious. Christian selflessness sometimes required a little extra prod: even at the height of the Counterreformation the appeal to the spiritual self-interest of the donor was strong. A fund-raising pamphlet for one of Aix's charities invited donors to invest in a "société d'action with God and the angels... Lands, buildings, banks return four or five percent; but one earns much more with charity, God being obliged to pay one hundred for one."<sup>17</sup> Apparently this sort of appeal was highly effective: in 1710 eighty percent of the wills registered in Aix included charitable donations.<sup>18</sup> Exploitation of self-interest notwithstanding, the arguments in favor of charitable donations still revolved around traditional Christian ideas about divine mercy, the imitation of Christ, and the sacred character of the Christian virtue of charity.<sup>19</sup>

The move toward the rationalization of charity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries represented a significant departure from the medieval ideal of alms freely offered with no strings attached. The increasingly tough-minded differentiation between deserving and undeserving poor, and the growing impulse to enclose them all in order to oversee their morals and their activities, signified a retreat from the medieval conception of the holiness of the condition of poverty. Nevertheless, the foundations of attitudes toward the poor remained profoundly traditional even at the end of the seventeenth century. Religiously-motivated

voluntary contributions were still the major source of income for relief establishments. The anger directed against the new class of "undeserving" poor was justified on the ground that these people abused the undisputed right of the virtuous pauper to Christian charity. The highly regimented and frequently punitive regimen of work and religious exercise inside the institutions of renferment was designed to force penance upon those who were poor through the vice of idleness, and to preserve the holiness of those who met the standards for virtuous poverty. Changes in the nature of the poverty problem had demanded new institutional responses, but Christian morality and ethics still provided the vocabulary for thought about the poor.

## 2. The Enlightenment

### A. The Philosophes and the People

Thinkers of the Enlightenment inherited and expanded upon a number of themes developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The earlier demystification of the condition of poverty evolved in the eighteenth century into a purely secular conception of poverty's origins and significance. The humanist belief that acute deprivation was a hindrance to human development rather than a useful step toward spiritual perfection was congenial to eighteenth-century thinkers who regarded poverty as a major obstacle to the diffusion of lumièrre. Sixteenth and seventeenth-century attempts to reconcile new perceptions of reality with traditional religious standards had led to the differentiation between deserving and undeserving poor. During the eighteenth century these conceptions underwent further change that improved their fit with an increasingly secular and utilitarian scheme of social analysis and prescription. Ideas about the optimal organization of relief for the indigent, also derived from sixteenth and seventeenth-century innovations, continued to be refined and elaborated accordingly. The movements toward the centralized control and the rationalization and consolidation of relief resources, and the concomitant criticism of casual alms and indiscriminate charity, continued and accelerated, as did the desire to offer work rather than provisions to the good poor and to punish the wilfully idle.

In spite of the continuity of these themes, the secular, environmental, and systemic conceptions of poverty developed in the

eighteenth century represented a crucial break with earlier religious and moral orientations, and Enlightenment prescriptions for poor relief took on a new tone and significance in the context of the eighteenth century's redefinition of the poverty problem.

Eighteenth-century France used a varied and colorful vocabulary to describe les pauvres and to differentiate them in terms that took intricate account of their economic, moral, physical, and occupational characteristics. There were vrais pauvres, mauvais pauvres, pauvres valides and invalides; pauvres honteux, misérables and nécessiteux; gueux, béâtres, caïmands, narquois, and drilles. Beggars came in a number of varieties: mendiants en permanence, mendiants volontaires, and mendiants de profession; mendiants de bonne foi, mendiants sédentaires, and mendiants sédentaires vagabonds. Those caught mendiant avec insolence could be sent to the galleys. The itinerant poor ranged from pauvres passants and pauvres passants mendiants (not to be confused with pauvres passants qui mendient, who were not wandering beggars but itinerant workers who occasionally begged) to the more suspect vagabonds, mendiants vagabonds, and errants vagabonds. There was no plural for errant: two or more were vagabonds. Worst of all were vagabonds brigands.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the existence of this elaborate descriptive vocabulary, the use of the word pauvre was remarkably imprecise. For many of the people who concerned themselves with the definition of social categories, le peuple and les pauvres were virtually synonymous. They shared three characteristics: they had no property, they had

to work in order to survive, and no amount of effort could remove them far from the brink of indigence.

"J'entends par peuple la populace qui n'a que ses bras pour vivre," wrote Voltaire in 1766.<sup>2</sup> Condorcet observed that these people were always susceptible to sudden pauperization: "Toute famille qui ne possède ni propriétés foncières, ni mobilier, ni capitaux, est exposée à tomber dans la misère au moindre accident."<sup>3</sup> For Necker, le peuple was "la classe la plus nombreuse de la société, et la plus misérable par conséquent, puisque sa subsistence dépend uniquement de son travail journalier."<sup>4</sup> Montesquieu wrote in the Encyclopédie that the ultimate source of poverty was not lack of property but lack of work: "Un homme n'est pas pauvre parce qu'il n'a rien mais parce qu'il ne travaille pas."<sup>5</sup> And Linguet observed that employment alone did not guarantee the worker a living: "[le peuple] renferme tous les hommes sans propriétés et sans revenus, sans rentes ou sans gages; qui vivent avec des salaires quand ils sont suffisants; qui souffrent quand ils sont trop faibles; qui meurent de faim quand ils cessent."<sup>6</sup>

Poverty was thus conceived as the normal and expected condition of the people. Indigence was the abnormal and distressing condition of some of the poor. The difference between pauvreté and indigence or misère was one of degree and not of kind; pauvres were all those who were susceptible to indigence. Diderot's artfully imprecise attempt to clarify the distinction tells us rather more about the attitudes of the non-poor than about the defining characteristics of the poor:

Poverty is a condition opposed to opulence; in it one lacks the pleasant things in life; one cannot emerge from it by one's efforts; it is not a vice in itself, but it is worse than that in the opinion of men. Indigence is nothing more than extreme poverty; in it one lacks necessities. Famine [disette] refers to food; need [besoin] and necessity [nécessité] are terms which would be completely synonymous to poverty and indigence, respectively, if they did not have some relation to the help one can expect from other men; need impels less than necessity; the poor are despised; the indigent are pitied; one avoids those in need, and one serves those in necessity. A poor man with a little pride can do without aid; the indigent must accept it; need forces one to ask for it; necessity makes one accept the smallest gift.<sup>7</sup>

Enlightenment thinkers gradually came to define as a social problem the ancient fact of life that "the people" were all poor. Conditions of indigence and mendicité, which alone had been perceived as the poverty problem in earlier times, were increasingly construed to be merely extreme manifestations of a much more pervasive social problem.

In the traditional scheme of things, some unspecified amount of poverty and indigence was assumed to be natural and inevitable. Questions about its origins did not arise: it had existed since the Fall; the need to labor was punishment for original sin, and the poor were expected always to be with us. God had His reasons for permitting both the famines and plagues and the individual disabilities which caused indigence. In cases where indigence appeared to flow from discernible human sources, it was the consequence of individual moral turpitude; in particular, the poor who lived lives of idleness and vice had only themselves to blame. Efforts to cope with the problem were shaped by this perception. Sinless poverty was to be comforted and sinful poverty was to be punished, but the existence of poverty was not an issue.

In the context of received ideas on the nature and meaning of poverty, the Enlightenment's treatment of the problem was strikingly novel. Enlightenment thinkers proceeded to examine and dissect the origins and manifestations of poverty as they analyzed and dissected so much else in their natural and social universe, in the expectation that knowledge and comprehension would reveal remedies for human and social ills previously thought to be unfathomable and hence uncontrollable. Their systematic study of social and economic structures and processes led them to believe that the specific sources and causes of poverty could be identified. They did not dispute the view that many of the poor were sinful or corrupt, but they did come to reject the assumption that sin and corruption were the primary causes of poverty. As Enlightenment moral philosophers, social critics and political economists grew more searching and sophisticated in their social analysis they gradually became aware that entire occupational groups and social strata were impoverished for reasons that had nothing to do with personal vice or other individual responsibility, and they ultimately came to believe that the poverty of the people was a consequence of faulty social and economic organization. The radical corollary to this argument was that the reorganization of society could bring about a substantial reduction in the incidence and severity of poverty.

The men of the Enlightenment were deeply ambivalent toward "the people" who had to labor to survive, who were susceptible to pauperization at any turn, and who had no access to the civilizing influences

of leisure and learning. They found the people very distasteful indeed -- credulous, ignorant, benighted, immoral, coarse, violent, and controlled by passions ungoverned by reason. On the other hand, they knew the people were useful. The philosophes, with their great appreciation for the worldly benefits produced by the useful arts, secularized the seventeenth century's reverence for work-as-prayer. Harry Payne observes that the Enlightenment's esteem tended to attach to Work rather than to workers, to Crafts rather than to artisans, and to Agriculture rather than to farm laborers.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, as the century progressed, the philosophes' appreciation of productive activity led them to a corresponding interest in adequate recompense for producers, and their preoccupation with the beastliness of the canaille gradually gave way to a concern that the most useful members of society were being systematically disadvantaged by various aspects of the social order -- and to the conviction that enlightened men had a responsibility to provide remedies for this unjust condition.

Among the secular moralists of the eighteenth century the religious impulse toward charity was transformed into the secular impulse toward bienfaisance. The former was rooted in the belief that kindness to the poor was a religious duty and improved the spiritual status of both donor and recipient. The moral equality of all men counted for more in the hereafter than in the here and now, and happiness would be the heavenly reward of the virtuous. There is no precise English equivalent for bienfaisance; "humanistic benevolence" comes close. It was often used as a synonym for "humanité",<sup>9</sup> which Kingsley Martin has called "an undeveloped form



of the principle of utility."<sup>10</sup> Bienfaisance denoted a deep, sympathetic concern for all men, and the desire to be of service to those in distress. It proceeded from a belief in the moral equality of all men here on earth, and, beyond that, from the belief in a natural right to earthly happiness.

Sensationalist psychology and epistemology also contributed to increasingly sympathetic attitudes toward the people: if the poor were bestial and immoral it was not because of any innate predisposition to bestiality and immorality (or because of original sin) but because they were brutalized by their environment. Correspondingly, the conviction that oisiveté was mère de tous les vices gradually yielded to the belief that misère was mère de tous les vices -- including oisiveté.

At the turn of the eighteenth century the military engineer and social statistician Vauban had been one of the first to describe the corrupting effects of misery. Not only did it make people feeble and sickly; it also made them

fainéants et découragez, comme des gens persuadés que du fruit de leur travail il n'y aura que la moindre et la plus mauvaise partie qui tourne à leur profit; [and] menteurs, larrons, gens de mauvaise foi; toujours prêts à jurer faux pourveu qu'on les paie, et à s'enivrer sitost qu'ils peuvent avoir de quoi.<sup>11</sup>

Six decades later Turgot described the demoralized state of artisans faced with the ever-present threat of pauperization. He wrote with sympathetic concern of

l'habitude de vivre au jour le jour, de ne rien prévoir, de l'indifférence et l'espèce d'apathie de ces hommes dans lesquels la continuité de la misère a presque éteint les desirs en leur ôtant jusqu'à l'idée d'un état meilleur,

enfin, je ne sais quelle méfiance vague d'un peuple qui craint tout parce qu'il ne voit rien, qui n' imagine pas qu'on puisse songer à lui faire un bien auquel il n'a jamais pensé et qui peut-être est devenu incrédule à force d'avoir été trompé.<sup>12</sup>

Early in the century, Vauban had voiced an important new insight when he identified misery as the cause of discouragement and indolence among the starving peasants of Vézelay. By the 1760's Turgot -- and many others -- were arguing that the mere presence of a chronic and inescapable threat of misery had profound debilitating effects.

Hardly any of the philosophes believed that the mass of the people could ever acquire enough leisure and resources to become truly civilized (indeed, some of them specifically argued against too much education on the ground that it would render the people useless as workers).<sup>13</sup> Nonetheless, they did come to believe that the populace could be made happier, more virtuous, and more productive if their privations were less acute.

By modern standards, the philosophes' conception of the quantum of happiness that could be made available to the suffering people was very modest indeed. What they generally meant when they talked about "happiness" for the people was freedom from the threat of starvation, and from the gross physiological and psychological consequences of malnutrition and hopelessness. But they did hold this bare minimum to be a natural right, and they believed it to be within the reach of human reason and action. And this was something new under the sun.

## B. The Economists and Poverty

The moral philosophy and humanitarian outlook of the Enlightenment led to the conclusion that some improvement in the people's lot was desirable. Enlightenment economic analysis showed that it was attainable.

The end of the reign of Louis XIV produced the first outburst of social criticism to include important secular and empirical analyses of poverty. Misery was abnormally acute and widespread during the last decades of the seventeenth century, when a long series of harvest failures coincided with a period of expensive wars and rising taxes. Formal inquiries into the economic condition of France, commissioned by the government in part to find out why people claimed to be unable to pay their taxes, revealed the startling extent of poverty.<sup>14</sup> Vauban concluded from his investigation that

près de la dixième partie du peuple est réduite à la mendicité, et mandie effectivement; que des neuf autres parties il y en a cinq qui ne sont pas en état de faire l'aumône à celle là parce qu'eux-mêmes sont réduits à très peu de chose près, à cette malheureuse condition; des quatre autres parties qui restent, les trois sont fort mal aisées et embarrassées de dettes et de procès.<sup>15</sup>

Others reported similar conclusions.

Most critics blamed the tax system for this mass misery. Fénelon, La Bruyère, and other moralists criticized the irresponsible expenditures of the Crown and the consequently crushing weight of the tax burden.<sup>16</sup> The more economically-minded attacked current methods of tax apportionment and collection. Vauban estimated that a fourth of the money collected for the taille never reached the treasury.<sup>17</sup>

A number of writers complained that fiscal privilege was unjust and uneconomic, and that the arbitrary system of assigning regional lump sums of tax liability for local apportionment was ruining the already shaky tax base, since those who could not afford to pay their share were deserting the countryside. A few exceptionally sophisticated analysts construed the tax problem as part of a larger economic problem: Pierre de Boisguillebert argued that heavy taxes on the poor reduced consumption, slowed the circulation of money, and thus impoverished the whole economy. Vauban also blamed the organization and operation of the army for the alarming state of the people. The forced recruitment of able-bodied rural men deprived the countryside of its most productive workers, and left their families without support. The irregularly-paid and undisciplined soldiers were a scourge upon the countryside, and retired soldiers and deserters swelled the ranks of vagabonds.<sup>18</sup>

Most of these early commentators produced simple explanations and offered simple (if sometimes radical) solutions. Their calls for reform produced no important practical results, but they continued to multiply in number and variety during the economically depressed period from about 1680 to 1730. During the 1730s and 1740s economic conditions improved substantially, and the volume and urgency of calls for fiscal reform abated correspondingly, but the newly acquired habit of regarding misery in empirical and economic terms did not. The collection and reporting of detailed economic information became one of the routine responsibilities of eighteenth-century intendants and served in turn to "raise consciousness"

further about the economic realities of life among the lower orders. During this fairly untroubled period "enlightened" thinkers generally focussed most of their attention on the physical sciences and leveled their social criticism primarily at the wickedness of the clergy.<sup>19</sup>

But in 1749 the "radical" tax program of the reforming Controller-General Machault d'Arnouville<sup>20</sup> revived far-reaching issues about economic and fiscal privilege and about the reasons for the desperate condition of the royal treasury. Enlightenment thinkers turned their attention to these issues, and also to broad questions of economic and social organization.

"More works on political economy have appeared during the last ten years in France than had appeared until then since the revival of letters," wrote an observer in 1759.<sup>21</sup> The habits of thinking developed in connection with the study of nature were now applied to the science of society: the philosophes sought natural social laws analogous in universality and comprehensiveness to the natural law of the physical universe. Unlike their mercantilist predecessors, who thought mainly in terms of increasing the riches of the State in the interest of national power, the economic analysts of the Enlightenment thought in terms of national wealth and productivity,<sup>22</sup> and most of them argued that a state could not remain powerful if major parts of the national economic system were unhealthy.

The most spectacularly (some would say ludicrously) systematic and comprehensive analysis of economics was contributed by the Physiocrats. Quesnay's Tableau Economique, first published in 1758,

purported to identify and explain all of the complex interactions of production, consumption and distribution. Its basic axiom was that agriculture was the source of all wealth, and that what was good for agriculture was therefore good for everyone. Agriculture would be best served by the elimination of artificial hindrances to the free operation of natural economic laws, including especially restrictions and regulations on trade, and all taxes except a single universally-applied tax on agricultural revenue. Enlightened government could also help to foster agricultural development by encouraging agronomic research and the dissemination of useful knowledge, and by improving roads and waterways to facilitate the flow of goods. Improvements in transportation and marketing facilities would in turn spur agricultural producers to invest more capital, energy and ingenuity in increasing output.

The Physiocrats subscribed to the belief that the individual pursuit of enlightened self-interest would work to the advantage of society as a whole. Their system provided above all for improvements in the welfare of the owners and cultivators of land; they would benefit most from the increases in agricultural prices which were expected to follow the abolition of artificial restraints on market forces.<sup>23</sup> This was only proper, they believed, since these people were the most productive members of society. But laborers were also expected to benefit, since increased production and improved transportation would reduce the sharp fluctuations in food prices which traditionally resulted from even local shortages, and since a complex economic mechanism guaranteed that the real income of wage

earners would rise faster than food prices.<sup>24</sup>

Nonphysiocratic economists took issue with physiocratic doctrine on many technical issues, and also attacked it on broader grounds, including its low estimate of the productive importance of industry, its tax program, and its blithe confidence in the impartial beneficence of the natural laws that would reign in an unregulated economy. At the same time, they shared with the Physiocrats some basic assumptions of critical importance to the emerging intellectual consensus regarding the poverty problem: first, they all shared a common premise that a reform of institutions could bring about substantial increases in productivity; and second, they shared a belief that a broader distribution of wealth would not only be good for the poor, but would significantly stimulate the economy as a whole. There was less agreement on a third physiocratic assumption: that the institutional reforms required to increase production would automatically improve the distribution of wealth.

Economists differed on the specific characteristics of the natural laws of economics, but they were agreed that such laws existed and that the economy was a system in which the functioning of each part affected all other parts. From this systemic view they derived their conclusion that an optimal ("natural") organization of the economy would not only permit but would actively encourage all the component parts to function at full capacity.

The Physiocrats were almost alone in their extreme conviction that a largely unobstructed pursuit of individual self-interest would automatically bring the economy into harmony with those beneficent

natural laws, but they spoke for most of the economic thinkers of the Enlightenment when they attacked the elaborate network of restrictive laws and practices that severely impeded the efficiency and growth of productive activities of all kinds. Among the most frequently criticized obstacles were guild restrictions on the freedom of labor, excessive governmental regulation of manufactures, fiscal disincentives to agricultural improvement, and the innumerable local and regional custom barriers. Many economists found these obstacles to be the roots of the immediate causes of poverty which included "economic inequality, concentration of landownership, absentee landownership, failure to cultivate all cultivatable land, lack of capital and inefficiency in agriculture ... inadequacies in the system of transportation and communication,"<sup>25</sup> and low wages.

Not all economists were as sanguine as the Physiocrats about the probability that removal of these obstacles would automatically result in substantial improvements in the condition of labor. Perhaps the hottest controversy over the advantages of freeing the economy surrounded the issue of free trade in grain. The Physiocrats and most other "enlightened" economists argued that freeing the grain trade from at least some of the tight governmental regulations in force would help to create a national market, stimulate production, and lessen the impact of local shortages. Their opponents insisted that a completely unregulated grain trade would be subject to uncontrolled speculation, monopoly, and artificial scarcity. It so happened that the government's attempts to institute free trade in grain in the early 1760s coincided with a series of bad harvests.



When shortages and panic ensued, many economists and philosophes shifted from the liberal to the conservative position. On this issue, where the very subsistence of the people was in question, most of the economists chose to support at least some market regulations in order to protect consumers.<sup>26</sup>

Similarly, few nonphysiocratic economists adopted Quesnay's argument that rising food prices would serve to raise real wages automatically. Most wage theories rested on the belief that wage levels were determined by the cost of subsistence, or by the decisions of employers, or by some combination of these two factors;<sup>27</sup> and that there was therefore no automatic economic mechanism which could increase real wages. But there was a growing inclination to argue that employers who really understood their own interests would raise wages above mere subsistence level. Mercantile theorists had held that subsistence-level wages encouraged hard work; but as sensationalist psychological theory and observation now demonstrated the enervating effects of hunger and hopelessness, and as the humane impulses of Enlightenment thinkers revolted against the exploitative implications of this theory, belief in the economic utility of poverty yielded to the belief that the prospect of comfort and the hope of gain were more effective incentives than the threat of starvation.<sup>28</sup>

French economists in general underestimated the role of the market in determining wage levels. A closely related question, on which virtually none of them even remotely grasped the contemporary realities, was the relationship between population growth and poverty. In a minimally capitalized economy a large labor force was of crucial

importance, and the mercantilists had refined an elaborate rationale supporting the view that densely populated states had an important advantage in international economic competition. In France, the economic and demographic disasters of the late seventeenth century had created intense concern about population decline. Long after the French population had recovered its former size and had begun to outgrow the supply of work, economists and sociologists continued to repeat the conventional wisdom: France was less populous than formerly, the countryside was deserted, French agriculture suffered because there were not enough hands to till the soil, and improved institutions could and should contribute to the desired increase in population. It is unclear why these convictions outlasted the realities for so long, or how these normally acute observers could believe that the countryside was deserted when it was crawling with underemployed peasants, vagrants, and migrant laborers seeking work.<sup>29</sup>

Whatever its cause, the general failure to perceive the existence or significance of population growth prevented them from recognizing population pressure as a key factor in depressing wage levels and as an important source of poverty. By the last quarter of the century some demographers -- most notably Moheau and Messance -- demonstrated that the French population had grown in the eighteenth century, but even they did not identify population pressure as a source of the mass misery which was by then attracting a great deal of attention. Although in this case the economists' empirical orientation did not save them from a gross misrepresentation of economic facts, their normative orientation led them to a more humane definition of the

optimum population. The mercantilists' emphasis on raw numbers yielded to the position that a medium-sized and relatively comfortable population was a more useful national resource than an enormous population of paupers. Again, considerations of justice and expediency were believed to coincide: workers were entitled to share more fully the fruits of their labor -- and they would produce more fruits if they were treated well.

Harry Payne points out that among economists "the overall perspective remained ... oriented to the needs of the state -- increased revenues, growing population, a favorable balance of trade. The problems of distribution, wages, and standard of living -- the people's share -- generally entered only circumstantially."<sup>30</sup> But these issues did arise -- if only "circumstantially" -- and the upshot of eighteenth century economic analysis was a newly humane and optimistic conception of what the people deserved and of what it was possible for a properly organized economy to give them.

#### C. Prescriptions for the Reform of Poor Relief

The philosophes' analysis of society was not dominated by economic mechanisms to nearly the same degree as that of the economists. They grappled with many of the same issues, but the philosophes had a much more vivid interest in the social structures and the power relations in which these issues were imbedded, and they had a much keener eye for associated questions of distributive justice. They came gradually to perceive that the institutions created by the powerful systematically oppressed and exploited the weak. Not only the indigent, but "the people" as a whole were

society's victims. Reforms in the system of social and legal privilege could help to restore to the people their basic human rights and dignity. At the same time, the Enlightenment's economic analysis produced optimistic estimates of the potential for improving economic productivity, and new arguments for the economic and social utility of improved distribution. These two streams of enquiry and reasoning converged to produce a fundamental alteration in conceptions of poverty: Enlightenment thinkers came to regard as unnecessary and intolerable levels of poverty which earlier generations had simply regarded as inherent in the nature of things.

The fundamental mission of enlightened leadership was to reform social institutions in order to bring them into conformity with the balance and harmony dictated by natural laws; to balance the interests of individuals and groups so that none could exploit the others; and to establish an institutional framework specifically designed to foster principles and practices of humanity, decency, reason, and justice. These lofty principles were not mere rhetoric; given the Enlightenment's understanding of the social origins of poverty, they meant that poverty -- or at least extreme poverty -- could and should be eradicated by enlightened social action. The philosophes have often been accused of having been merely smug critics of the status quo with little to offer by way of constructive alternatives. Their social ideals were often couched in grandiose terms that did not seem to address the immediate needs of the hungry and vermin-ridden masses. But it is also true that in the course

of the four decades leading up to the Revolution their understanding of the common people's plight became increasingly concrete and realistic, and their propaganda for the institutionalization of social decency grew correspondingly more urgent and, in many cases, more cogent.

Voltaire's ideological development with regard to these issues may be viewed as indicative of evolving Enlightenment thought. In 1751 he published a work on tax reform which focussed on efficiency in raising public revenues. His short story "L'homme aux quarante écus", published in 1768, also dealt with tax issues, but the focus had shifted to the peasant "battered on all sides by tax farmers, Physiocratic schemers, and monks".<sup>31</sup>

Turgot, who was both a leading philosophe and a first-rate administrator, provides another example of a major enlightenment intellectual learning from experience and modifying his policy positions accordingly. Before he embarked upon his term as intendant of the povertystricken Limousin, he was full of optimism about the intellectual capacities and moral qualities of the people. While he was still a magistrate in Paris he wrote:

Je crois que la nature a mis dans le coeur de tous la semence de toutes les vertus, qu'elles ne demandent qu'à éclore; que l'éducation, mais l'éducation bien adroite peut les développer et rendre vertueux le plus grand nombre des hommes.<sup>32</sup>

During his thirteen-year administration he grew disillusioned with the ignorant, inert, lethargic, and demoralized people. But he never wavered in his conviction that it was the people's misery that made them like that, and he never abandoned hope that fair treatment,

education, and liberation from indigence could ultimately make them happy and virtuous. He had expected to encourage civic virtue among the peasants by asking them to participate in the compilation of information upon which to base tax remissions, but discovered "avec douleur" that they were too illiterate.<sup>33</sup> He found himself obliged to draw up complex regulations to supervise peasant labor on corvée work because the peasants were not sufficiently "intelligent" to do the work right and would not finish anything unless they were constantly supervised.<sup>34</sup> He hoped to prevent grain riots by explaining to them rationally and "avec douceur" the theoretical advantages of free trade in grain, but was sorely disappointed.<sup>35</sup> As he administered them through insect plagues, epizootics, harvest failures, annual tax collections, and a major famine, his understanding of the forces pressing upon the people grew increasingly profound and realistic, and his programs for reform more specific and pragmatic.

Turgot always maintained that major systemic reforms -- especially free trade in grain and a proportional land tax -- were crucial to ameliorating the condition of the people. He was frustrated in his attempts to achieve these goals, but he continued to devote unflagging attention to immediate and practical efforts to lessen the burdens of the poor. An interesting example of this was his establishment of a make-work road-building program. Aware of the problem of rural unemployment and seasonal variations in the supply of work, Turgot designed this project to provide income for underemployed peasants. He painstakingly organized these

ateliers de charité to improve the performance and morale of the laborers in order to keep them from sinking into the lethargy of the chronically miserable and helpless.<sup>36</sup>

Turgot's ideology and activity reflect the best in Enlightenment responses to poverty: a clear understanding that structural economic reforms were necessary to increase the size of the economic pie and to equalize its distribution; a sympathetic and realistic appreciation of the individual, personal meaning of economic deprivation; and a clear awareness of the human problems that required immediate attention while the "system" was being reformed. Turgot was exceptional, both as a theorist and as a practical administrator, but the ideas and sentiments which formed the basis of his responses to poverty were widespread among his "enlightened" contemporaries. Few other philosophes had as much direct contact with "the people" as Turgot, but the continuing stream of intendants' reports and of special governmental inquiries into general economic conditions, the state of the harvests, the condition of the poor, and the effectiveness of the charity establishment provided an unprecedented volume of intelligence about the lives of the people; and this stream of concrete, systematic, empirical findings continually informed and enriched the Enlightenment's theoretical conceptions of humanity, economic laws, and social justice.

The philosophes' critique of poor relief institutions flowed from their understanding of the social and economic sources of poverty, their belief in the possibility of substantial economic

growth, and their conviction that society had a responsibility toward all of its members and hence a duty to guarantee certain rights to the poor.

The charitable institutions established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been intended to abolish beggary by relief to the deserving poor and punishment to the undeserving poor. These solutions had stemmed from the assumption that -- to the extent that earthly, human causes were involved at all -- poverty was the product of individual sloth, to be combatted by forcing the poor to work. The men of the Enlightenment no longer believed that poverty was partly decreed by God and partly due to individual moral failings. In a properly reformed society, they reasoned, the major causes of poverty would be eliminated, and poor relief would be needed only to care for the impotent poor and the victims of extraordinary natural disasters. Pending the necessary general reformation, the machinery of poor relief was to be rendered more responsive to the structural realities of the poverty problem as they had come to define it; and, at the same time, the institutions serving the poor were to be made generally more rational, efficient, and humane.

Many Enlightenment critics charged Catholic charitable practices with aggravating poverty; they opposed indiscriminate almsgiving on the ground that it encouraged indolence among the recipients, and they also argued that a large proportion of the tithes extracted from the laboring classes was being diverted to other uses from their only legitimate purpose: the relief of the poor.



Most of the philosophes were convinced that secular authorities -- especially the royal government -- could advance social welfare more effectively than either private institutions or the Church. Guided by secular principles of social utility and informed by an enlightened understanding of the nature and causes of poverty, the State was better equipped to allocate and administer available resources rationally and efficiently. Most of the philosophes thus welcomed royal efforts to increase the tutelary powers of the State over charitable institutions, while some, like Helvétius and Condorcet, went so far as to advocate the confiscation or nationalization of Church-owned charitable resources.<sup>37</sup>

The large charity hospitals, viewed hitherto as the great accomplishment of the seventeenth-century campaign against beggary, came under increasingly hostile attack both for being damaging to their inmates and for being needlessly expensive to operate; they were badly administered and constantly in debt, and promiscuous in herding together the good, the bad, the healthy, and the sick in a filthy environment that could not possibly improve, restore, or uplift anyone. Specific suggestions for reform abounded. For example, a commission of the Académie des Sciences, established in 1785 to develop proposals for the reform of the Paris Hôtel-Dieu, recommended that it be replaced by smaller neighborhood hospitals, and made many specific recommendations for improvements in the layout and equipment of hospital rooms; only one patient was to be assigned to each bed, the wards were to be spacious and airy, and were to be equipped with latrines and washing facilities and

with stoves for preparing food and infusions for the patients. DuPont de Nemours, the Physiocrat Baudeau, and others rejected even the principle of renfermement, and advocated instead publicly-funded outdoor relief for the sick.<sup>39</sup> Both humanity and economy would be better served, they thought, if most of the deserving poor were given outdoor relief at home and if hospitals were reserved exclusively for those of the impotent poor whose families were unable to care for them.

The local administration of outdoor relief would have advantages beyond humanity and economy. The construction of large hospitals had been an urban response to an urban problem. Turgot now urged in 1774 that the resources of local charity not be diverted to large centralized establishments because "les secours particuliers... ne sont jamais mieux employés que lorsqu'ils sont divisés, et distribués sur les lieux mêmes où la misère se fait sentir."<sup>40</sup> Rural bureaux de charité collecting and distributing outdoor relief locally would not only relieve poverty at its source, but would also help to prevent rural depopulation by keeping destitute peasants from deserting the land in search of urban charity.

Like the organizers of the seventeenth-century renfermement, the philosophes favored work relief over free handouts; but eighteenth-century proposals for work relief were infused with a new and different spirit. Enlightenment reformers were less interested in imposing therapeutic-punitive labor on the willfully idle than in providing work opportunities for those who wanted work but could find none. Enlightenment social morality postulated that productive

people were entitled to a decent living. Enlightenment social and economic analysis gradually revealed that unemployment and underemployment were built into the system -- that it was society itself that deprived the poor of opportunities to be productive. Various proposals for the invigoration of the economy as a whole were expected to reduce structural unemployment. Until proper economic reorganization was accomplished, however, it was the responsibility of the powerful and of the State to find or make work for those whom the labor market did not absorb. Voltaire set up a clock works at Ferney, and many beneficent notables established small industrial enterprises to provide work for the industrious poor.<sup>41</sup> Turgot took the position that a state which could not provide adequate employment had no right to prohibit begging.<sup>42</sup> His solution was the establishment of permanent, publicly-funded charity workshops. Unlike earlier public work relief projects, which were established only at times of acute and unusual economic crisis, Turgot's ateliers de charité were specifically designed to provide work and income to those whose underemployment was a chronic feature of an unhealthy economic system.

The Enlightenment's redefinition of the categories of deserving poor represented a radical shift away from the views developed in the previous two centuries and toward those conceptions which have since become the ideological foundations of modern public welfare systems. The Enlightenment did not abandon the category of undeserving poor altogether, as some more recent welfare theorists have been inclined to do. Their judgement of those whom they

considered to be willfully idle was extremely harsh; the most humane of philosophes advocated severe punishments for social parasites who preferred begging and vagrancy to productive labor. The criteria used for distinguishing between the willfully and the involuntarily idle were not altogether relevant; for example, the line was often drawn between the (good) domiciled poor and the (bad) itinerant poor - this condemned the growing ranks of work-hungry migrants to the "bad" category. But the fact remains that the Enlightenment perceived the existence of structural unemployment and of wage rates below subsistence levels as earlier generations had not, and accordingly insisted that the State had much more extensive obligations to much larger strata of the population than had ever been acknowledged before.

Hardly any of the Enlightenment's proposals for improving the conditions of the poor were implemented in eighteenth-century France, no matter how sane, realistic, and down-to earth their formulations had become. Fundamental obstacles remained insuperable: the sheer extent of poverty was becoming considerably greater than even the most concerned analysts realized in the absence of any grasp of patterns of population growth; the socio-economic structural critique and the humanistic moral code of the Enlightenment philosophers were by no means universally accepted; and even the most persuaded and willing of government officials were utterly unable to cut through the dense tangle of privilege and protection that obstructed both dynamic economic growth and any significant shifts in the

direction of more equitable income distribution. Evidently, two centuries of political upheaval, social emancipation, and -- above all -- previously unimaginable economic growth were needed before the welfare states of our own day finally demonstrated that the analytical theories and moral commitments of the Enlightenment were sound and practicable.

## NOTES

PART ONE

THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Notes to Pages 1 - 14

THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF POVERTY

<sup>1</sup>Camille Bloch, L'assistance et l'Etat en France à la veille de la Revolution (1764-1790) (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1908), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Jean-Pierre Gutton, La société et les pauvres: l'exemple de la généralité de Lyon 1534-1789 (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1970), p. 51.

<sup>3</sup>Olwen Hufton, The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1974) p. 7.

<sup>4</sup>Bloch, p. 395.

<sup>5</sup>Hufton, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 14-15.

<sup>8</sup>Fernand Braudel and Ernest Labrousse, Histoire économique et sociale de la France. Tome I: Des derniers temps de l'âge seigneurial aux préludes de l'âge industriel (1660-1789) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970) pp. 18-19, 75, 76.

<sup>9</sup>Perhaps the most cogent formulation of this complex problem is that of Robert C. Healey of Tufts University, who has observed that "The French just could not get their act together." (Oral communication, November, 1978).

<sup>10</sup>Braudel and Labrousse, pp. 78-79.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 80, 461-2.

<sup>12</sup>Ernest Labrousse, Esquisse du mouvement des prix et des revenus en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris: Librairie Dalloz, 1933) passim.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 613.

<sup>14</sup>Braudel and Labrousse, p. 672.

<sup>15</sup> Roger Price, The Economic Modernisation of France 1730-1880 (New York: The Halstead Press, 1975) p. 9. Price uses Albert Soboul's estimate that 40% of the French peasantry were landless at the end of the ancien régime.

<sup>16</sup> Braudel and Labrousse, p. 147.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 493.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 425, 486, 493.

<sup>19</sup> Hufton, p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> Braudel and Labrousse, pp. 64-65.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. 110-111.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 487. Labrousse hesitates to call this process "prolétarianisation"; he prefers to call it "salarisation". pp. 494-495.

<sup>23</sup> Labrousse, p. 306.

<sup>24</sup> Braudel and Labrousse, p. 77.

<sup>25</sup> Hufton, p. 318.

#### Notes to Pages 14-30

##### POOR PEOPLE: HISTORIANS' DEFINITIONS AND TYPOLOGIES

<sup>1</sup> Bloch, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 18-21.

<sup>3</sup> François Furet, "Pour une définition des classes inférieures à l'époque moderne." Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations XVIII (mai-juin 1963): 495-474.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 464.

<sup>5</sup> Gutton, op. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Gutton's study consists of two parts of roughly equal length: the first is a discussion of poverty, and the second is an analysis of attitudes toward poverty. The analysis of the poor is based mostly on eighteenth-century records, while the discussion of attitudes covers the period from 1534 to 1789. Gutton maintains that the causes of poverty and the groups of people who were poor remained more or less constant throughout this period, but he does not attempt to



determine whether the number of poor people or their proportion in the total population changed during two and a half centuries, or whether certain groups suffered more at some times than at others. His analysis of the manifestations and the meaning of poverty is vastly illuminating, but he presents a misleading synchronic image of the poverty problem.

<sup>7</sup>Gutton, pp. 9-10.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 39-45. The Aumône Générale of Lyons, which administered the bread distributions, was particularly solicitous toward silkworkers. The occupational composition of different quarters of Lyons varied widely, and the dowries were awarded only in certain parishes. This accounts for some of the differences in the relative proportions of semiskilled and unskilled workers and small artisans in the three sets of statistics.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-36, 40. Very few unskilled workers were listed. Gutton suggests that many of Lyons' unskilled workers were rural migrants who disappeared from the city before they got old enough to be admitted to the Charité or who did not meet the hospital's local residence requirement.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>12</sup>Cissie C. Fairchilds, Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence, 1640-1789 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976) p. 73.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 78-80.

<sup>15</sup>During this period a royal prohibition of begging was more or less enforced more or less nationally, and fairly complete records were kept.

<sup>16</sup>Fairchilds, pp. 103-107.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>18</sup>Olwen Hufton, The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France and Bayeux in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Social Study (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967).

<sup>19</sup>Hufton, Bayeux, pp. 84-86.

<sup>20</sup> Hufton does not present data separately for the underemployed and the underpaid -- which seems understandable in view of the stubborn methodological difficulties which modern analysts of poverty continue to encounter in imposing that distinction systematically on any but a small proportion of the data gathered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

<sup>21</sup> Hufton, The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France; "Begging, Vagrancy, Vagabondage and the Law: An Aspect of the Problem of Poverty in Eighteenth-century France." European Studies Review 2,2 (April 1972): 97-103; "Towards an understanding of the poor of eighteenth-century France." in French Government and Society 1500-1850. ed. J. F. Bosher (London: The Athlone Press of the University of London, 1973).

<sup>22</sup> Hufton, "Towards an understanding..." p. 151.

<sup>23</sup> Hufton, "Begging, Vagrancy, Vagabondage..." p. 117.

<sup>24</sup> Gutton, pp. 129-135.

PART TWO  
THE ENLIGHTENMENT RESPONSE

Notes to Pages 31-40

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ANTECEDENTS

<sup>1</sup>This account draws heavily on Gutton's discussion, pp. 216-349, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup>Gutton, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 231-233.

<sup>4</sup>Vives as quoted in *ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 256. Relief reforms like those recommended by Vives were by no means confined to France. Vives had lived in Bruges, and had observed the organization of a municipal relief system in Ypres in 1525. Cities in Flanders, Southern Germany, and France were quick to adopt similar measures. England took a bit longer to start organizing relief, but did get a good start on repression in the sixteenth century. Jean-Pierre Gutton, La société et les pauvres en Europe (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles), (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), pp. 104-105, 112-114.

<sup>6</sup>Gutton, Société et pauvres ... Lyon, pp. 240-243.

<sup>7</sup>Gutton concedes that the change may have been due as much to changes in artistic fashion as to changing attitudes toward the poor. Nonetheless, the simultaneous emergence of such striking negative images in both literature and art is unlikely to be accounted for solely by fluctuations in style.

<sup>8</sup>Gutton, Société et pauvres ... Lyons, pp. 239-240.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 340.

<sup>10</sup>A table compiled in 1628 by a jurist of Beaujolais listed the thirty-nine vices of which idleness was the mother. They ranged from fornication violente to Tese majesté divine, which subsumed sorcery, heresy, and simony. Gutton, Société et pauvres... Lyon, p. 315 and planche 4.

<sup>11</sup>Fairchilds, p. 31.

<sup>12</sup>Eyewitness quoted by Fairchilds, p. 36.

<sup>13</sup> Christian Paultre, De la répression de la mendicité et du vagabondage en France sous l'ancien régime (Paris: J. -B. Sirey, 1906) p. 235.

<sup>14</sup> Hufton, The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, p. 143.

<sup>15</sup> Hufton, "Towards an understanding..." p. 148. Figure is from the report of the Comité de Mendicité of the Constituent Assembly.

<sup>16</sup> This is Fairchilds' formulation (op. cit., p. 24). Fairchilds argues vigorously and, I think, persuasively, against Michel Foucault's influential thesis (Histoire de la folie, 1961) that the seventeenth-century renfermement of the insane, vagrants, and paupers was an attempt to separate them from society in order to prevent them from "'infecting' the healthy elements of the social body." (Fairchilds, p. 33). In Aix, at least, the municipal and private charities were an important part of the city's social and economic life. They were substantial employers and consumers, and they served as lending institutions for a considerable cross section of the city's population. Membership on the boards of rectors of the charities was a coveted social distinction. The inmates were full-fledged members of an important corporate body -- and they were even trotted out in their uniforms to take a prominent place in town processions. The religious and industrial regimen inside the charities was intended to rehabilitate the poor spiritually and morally. In a number of ways, Fairchilds concludes, renfermement was a means to the end of integrating the poor into society rather than of separating them from it. (pp. 68-69).

<sup>17</sup> 1689 pamphlet quoted by Fairchilds, p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> Fairchilds, p. 135. Figure is from Michel Vovelle, Piété baroque et déchristianisation en Provence au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les Attitudes devant la mort d'après les clauses des testaments, (Paris, 1973), p. 244, planche 43.

<sup>19</sup> Fairchilds, pp. 23-29.

#### Notes to Pages 41-67

#### THE ENLIGHTENMENT

<sup>1</sup> Hufton, The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, p. 18; "Begging, Vagrancy, Vagabondage...", p. 99; "Towards an understanding...", p. 149; Gutton, Société et pauvres...Lyon, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Pierre Léon in Braudel and Labrousse, p. 676.

<sup>3</sup>Sur les assemblées provinciales, p. 453, quoted by Furet, p. 460.

<sup>4</sup>Sur la législation et le commerce des grains, I, chap. XXV, quoted by Furet, p. 460.

<sup>5</sup>Encyclopédie, article "Hôpital", quoted by Bloch, p. 153.

<sup>6</sup>Annales, IX, p. 326, quoted by Furet, p. 460.

<sup>7</sup>Encyclopédie, article "Besoin, Nécessité, Indigence, Pauvreté, Disette," quoted by Harry C. Payne, The Philosophes and the People. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 146.

<sup>8</sup>Payne, pp. 36-37.

<sup>9</sup>Shelby T. McCloy, The Humanitarian Movement in Eighteenth-Century France. (n.p.: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), p.1.

<sup>10</sup>Kingsley Martin, French Liberal Thought in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of Political Ideas from Bayle to Condorcet, (ed. J. P. Mayer, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963. Reprint of third revised edition, London, 1962. Orig. pub. London, 1929), p. 119.

<sup>11</sup>La description géographique de l'élection de Vézelay pp. 280-281, quoted by Gutton, Société et pauvres... Lyon, p. 422.

<sup>12</sup>Turgot, Oeuvres de Turgot et documents le concernant (Ed. by Gustave Schelle, 5 vols. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1913-23), II, 235. (Fragment of a letter on a plan for the establishment of a mutual aid association).

<sup>13</sup>Voltaire, for example. Payne, pp. 96-97.

<sup>14</sup>Lionel Rothkrug, Opposition to Louis XIV: The Political and Social Origins of the French Enlightenment, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 235 et seq.

<sup>15</sup>Projet d'un dixme royale, quoted by Gutton, Société et pauvres ... Lyon, p. 422.

<sup>16</sup>Gutton, Société et pauvres... Lyon, p. 424.

<sup>17</sup>Martin, p. 58.

<sup>18</sup>Gutton, Société et pauvres... Lyon, pp. 423-424.

<sup>19</sup>Payne, p. 46.

<sup>20</sup>Machault attempted to institute an intensely controversial tax of 5% on all incomes.

<sup>21</sup>Marmontel, quoted by Payne, p. 47.

<sup>22</sup>Payne, p. 49.

<sup>23</sup>Joseph J. Spengler, French Predecessors of Malthus: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Wage and Population Theory, (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1942), p. 210.

<sup>24</sup>Payne, p. 143. This was possible, Quesnay argued in 1767, because wage levels were determined by food prices, and food prices rose faster than the prices of other necessities. If the price of food rose by 15%, wages would automatically rise by the same amount. But since part of the worker's budget was spent on commodities of which the prices would have risen by less than 15%, the wage increase would represent an increase in real income.

<sup>25</sup>Spengler, p. 309, n. 221.

<sup>26</sup>Steven L. Kaplan, Bread, Politics and Political Economy in the Reign of Louis XV, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), pp. 593-603, *passim*.

<sup>27</sup>Spengler, pp. 373-374.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 371-372.

<sup>29</sup>Many of the economists spent much of their time in cities. Perhaps they simply assumed that the vast hordes of rural people whom they saw pouring into their cities had not been replaced in the countryside. Some regions did lose population in the eighteenth century in spite of the aggregate increase in population -- perhaps the observers simply registered this evidence more clearly than they registered evidence which they were not predisposed to believe.

<sup>30</sup>Payne, p. 49.

<sup>31</sup>Payne, pp. 49-50.

<sup>32</sup>Turgot, I, 253.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 177.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 187.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 470.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., II, 229-232. Incidentally, these projects were also supposed to create an infrastructure of rural roads to facilitate commerce and invigorate the regional economy.

<sup>37</sup>Payne, p. 127.

<sup>38</sup>Bloch, p. 335.

<sup>39</sup>Bloch, p. 334 and Payne, p. 126.

<sup>40</sup>Turgot, IV, 264-265.

<sup>41</sup>Hufton, The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, pp. 167-168.

<sup>42</sup>Bloch, p. 191.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bloch, Camille. L'assistance et l'Etat en France à la veille de la Révolution (1764-1790). Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1908.
- Braudel, Fernand, and Labrousse, Ernest, eds. Histoire économique et sociale de la France. Tome I: Des derniers temps de l'âge seigneurial aux préludes de l'âge industriel (1660-1789). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970.
- Fairchilds, Cissie C. Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence, 1640-1789. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.
- Furet, François. "Pour une définition des classes inférieures à l'époque moderne." Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations XVIII (mai-juin 1963): 459-474.
- Gutton, Jean-Pierre. La société et les pauvres en Europe (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. La société et les pauvres: l'exemple de la généralité de Lyon 1534-1789. Paris: Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres," 1970.
- Huften, Olwen. Bayeux in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Social Study. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Begging, Vagrancy, Vagabondage and the Law: An Aspect of the Problem of Poverty in Eighteenth-century France." European Studies Review 2,2 (April 1972): 97-103.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France 1750-1789. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Towards an understanding of the poor of eighteenth-century France." in French Government and Society 1500-1850. ed. J. F. Bosher. London: The Athlone Press of the University of London, 1973: 145-165.
- Kaplan, Steven L. Bread, Politics and Political Economy in the Reign of Louis XV. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1976.
- Labrousse, Camille-Ernest. Esquisse du mouvement des prix et des revenus en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Paris: Librairie Dalloz, 1933.
- McCloy, Shelby T. The Humanitarian Movement in Eighteenth-Century France. n.p. University of Kentucky Press, 1957.

- Martin, Kingsley. French Liberal Thought in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of Political Ideas From Bayle to Condorcet. ed. J. P. Mayer. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963. (reprint of third revised edition, London, 1962. Orig. pub. London, 1929).
- Paultre, Christian. De la répression de la mendicité et du vagabondage en France sous l'ancien régime. Paris: J. -B. Sirey, 1906.
- Payne, Harry C. The Philosophes and the People. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- Price, Roger. The Economic Modernisation of France 1730-1880. New York: The Halstead Press, 1975.
- Rothkrug, Lionel. Opposition to Louis XIV: The Political and Social Origins of the French Enlightenment. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- Spengler, Joseph J. French Predecessors of Malthus: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Wage and Population Theory. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1942.
- Turgot, Anne-Robert-Jacques. Oeuvres de Turgot et documents le concernant. Edited by Gustave Schelle, 5 vols. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1913-23.

## GENERAL REFERENCES

- Adher, J. "L'assistance publique au XVIIIe siècle: l'enquête de 1775 dans le diocèse civil de Toulouse." La Révolution Française: revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine t. 70 (janvier-décembre 1917): 132-66.
- Balch, Emily Greene. Public Assistance of the Poor in France. Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. VIII. Nos. 4 & 5. July and September, 1893.
- Becker, Carl L. The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932.
- Behrens, C. B. A. The Ancien Régime. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967.
- Bosher, J. -F., ed. French Government and Society 1500-1850. London: The Athlone Press, 1973.
- Cassirer, Ernst. The Philosophy of the Enlightenment. Translated by Fritz C. A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrove. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1951. (orig. pub. Tübingen, 1932).

- Cavanaugh, Gerald J. "Turgot: the Rejection of Enlightened Despotism." French Historical Studies VI, 1 (Spring, 1969): 31-58.
- Chevalier, Louis. Laboring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century. Translated by Frank Jellinek, New York: Howard Fertig, 1973. (orig. pub. Paris, 1958).
- Cobban, Alfred. A History of Modern France, vol. 1: 1715-1799. 3rd ed. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963.
- Dakin, Douglas. Turgot and the Ancien Régime in France. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1939.
- Darnton, Robert. "In Search of the Enlightenment: Recent Attempts to Create a Social History of Ideas." Journal of Modern History 43, 1 (March 1971): 113-132.
- DePauw, Jacques. "Pauvres, pauvres mendiants, mendiants valides ou vagabonds? Les hésitations de la législation royale." Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine XXI (juillet-septembre, 1974): 401-418.
- Faure, Edgar. La disgrâce de Turgot, 12 mai 1776. Paris: Gallimard, 1961.
- Gay, Peter, The Enlightenment: An Interpretation. Vol II: The Science of Freedom. New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1977. (orig. pub. 1969).
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Party of Humanity: Essays in the French Enlightenment. New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1971., (orig. pub. 1964).
- Goubert, Pierre. The Ancien Regime: French Society 1600-1750. Translated by Steve Cox. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1973. (orig. pub. Paris, 1969).
- Gutton, Jean-Pierre. "A l'aube du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Idées nouvelles sur les pauvres." Cahiers d'histoire X, 1 (1965): 87-97.
- \_\_\_\_\_. L'Etat et la mendicité dans la première moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Centre d'Etudes Foréziennes, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Les mendiants dans la société parisienne au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle." Cahiers d'histoire XIII, 2 (1968): 131-141.
- Hampson, Norman. The Enlightenment. Baltimore: Pelican Books: 1968.

- Harouel, Jean-Louis. Les ateliers de charité dans la Provence de Haute Guyenne. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969.
- Hufton, Olwen. "Life and Death Among the Very Poor." in The Eighteenth Century: Europe in the Age of Enlightenment, ed. Alfred Cobban. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969. 279-310.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Women and the Family Economy in Eighteenth-Century France." French Historical Studies 9, 1 (Spring 1975): 1-22.
- Hubert-Valleroux, P. La charité avant et depuis 1789 dans les campagnes de France. Paris: Guillaumin et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1899.
- d'Hugues, Gustave. Essai sur l'administration de Turgot dans la généralité de Limoges. Paris: Guillaumin et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1859.
- Kaplow, Jeffrey. The Names of Kings: The Parisian Laboring Poor in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972.
- Lafarge, René. L'agriculture en Limousin au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et l'intendance de Turgot. Paris: A. Chevalier-Maresq & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1902.
- Lefebvre, Georges. The Great Fear of 1789: Rural Panic in Revolutionary France. Translated by Joan White. New York: Vintage Books, 1973. (orig. pub. 1932).
- Lough, John. An Introduction to Eighteenth Century France. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1970. (orig. pub. 1960).
- McCloy, Shelby T. Government Assistance in Eighteenth-Century France. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1946.
- Marion, Marcel. Dictionnaire des institutions de la France aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1923.
- Meek, Ronald, ed. Turgot on Progress, Sociology and Economics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1973.
- Morineau, Michel. Les faux-semblants d'un démarrage économique: agriculture et démographie en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1971. (Cahiers des Annales no. 30).
- Sée, Henri. Economic and Social Conditions in France During the Eighteenth Century. Translated by Edwin H. Zeydel. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1968. (orig. pub. 1927).

- Shepherd, Robert Perry. Turgot and the Six Edicts. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Vol. VXIII, No. 2. New York: Columbia University Publications, 1903.
- Solomon, Howard M. Public Welfare, Science, and Propaganda in Seventeenth Century France: The Innovations of Théophraste Renaudot. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Steinbicker, Carl R. Poor Relief in the Sixteenth Century. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1937.
- Tilly, Louise A. "The Food Riot as a Form of Political Conflict in France." Journal of Interdisciplinary History II, 1 (Summer 1971): 23-57.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. The Old Regime and the French Revolution. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955. (orig. pub. 1856).
- Wade, Ira O. "Poverty in the Enlightenment." in Europäische Aufklärung. ed. Hugo Friedrich and Fritz Schalk. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972. 311-325.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 03175 0239