Changing Expressions of Charity In Early Modern France: Some Hypotheses for a Rural Model*

DANIEL HICKEY

Concepts of charity and of what charity implies underwent considerable change between the 13th and 17th centuries. In the earlier period the praise of poverty as the Christian ideal and the denunciation of riches as the work of the devil is evident in everyday thought and actions; the open reception of poor vagabonds at the family table, voluntary contributions by the village community to nourish and sustain its more unfortunate families as well as the distribution of a 24th of the tithe to the needy are images which stand out in late Medieval studies.¹ On the other hand, the outlawing of beggars and vagabonds and the creation of bureaucratic structures to oversee newly created charitable establishments in the 16th and 17th centuries (the Aumône-générale and the hôpitaux de la Charité in France, the hospitals, workhouses, poorhouses and Elizabethan Poor Laws in England) testify to the breakdown of earlier forms of Christian charity and their replacement by institutions created by governments, by churches and more and more frequently by rich benefactors.

In recent years the reasons for this change have been discussed by W.K. Jordan, Michel Foucault, Marc Venard, Natalie Davis, William Callahan and Jean-Pierre Gutton.² Most of these authors note that the problem of population growth in the 16th century rendered the older forms of charity incapable of dealing with the larger and larger numbers of poor. From there, two distinct phases appear in the evolution of approaches toward charity. W.K. Jordan, Natalie Davis, Marc Venard and William Callahan interpret the creation of the new charitable structures as the work of enlightened Christian Humanism working

* A slightly modified version of this paper was delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society for Renaissance Studies held in Fredericton, N.B., in May 1977. It contains the working hypotheses for a larger study of Rural Charity in 16th and 17th century France which I am currently pursuing. This project has received a grant from the Conseil de Recherches of the Université de Moncton.

within the deteriorating socio-economic conditions of the 16th century to deal realistically with the sufferings of the poor. Callahan illustrates this preoccupation by the lengthy debate in mid-16th century Spain between Juan de Medina, a Benedictine monk, and De Soto, a Dominican. De Medina questioned whether it was desirable to continue the practice of indiscriminate charity, which encouraged paupers to think that they could live by alms and not by work. Instead he favored a distinction between the "true" poor, deserving assistance, and the "false" poor, who were capable of working to earn their livelihood. De Soto replied for the traditionalists, that what mattered was the act of charity which gave spiritual grace to its practitioners, and not the social effects of the act. He continued, complaining that the removal of the poor from the streets would deny the faithful of opportunities to practice charity.³

It took some time for De Medina's ideas to be accepted in Spain, but Jordan, Davis and Venard demonstrate that in France and England, under the impetus of the Christian Humanist movement, preachers, religious orders, town councils and wealthy citizens were actively working, from the 1530s, to organize charitable structures which would distinguish between "sturdy" and "sick" beggars (*pauvres "valides"* and "*invalides*"); charitable services were thus organized for the sick beggars and the sturdy beggars were encouraged and frequently forced to go to work.⁴ The Humanists, in this earlier period, succeeded in improving the efficiency of charitable structures despite the increasing fear and scepticism which the poor had begun to evoke in the society as a whole.

Foucault and Gutton have analysed the same movement toward the organization of charitable structures, but over a longer period of time. For them the 16th century movement led to the horrible "grand renfermement" of the 17th century — the clearing of the city streets and the herding of poor, orphans, beggars, vagabonds — "sturdy" and "sick" — into the hospitals, workhouses, poorhouses, etc. For Foucault "*le grand renfermement*" represents the triumph of the bourgeois and capitalist notion of attaining a "normal" world in which the poor, sick, retarded, handicapped, etc., would be eliminated from daily contact.⁵ For the city of Lyon, Jean-Pierre Gutton has confirmed the general tendency of the more philosophical Foucault argument, demonstrating that the increasing bourgeois fear of the poor as a social danger and a menace to public order resulted in the promotion of a series of increasingly restrictive measures to deal with them; from the Humanist-inspired *Aumône-générale* of 1534, treated by Natalie Davis, they proceeded in the early 1600s to the creation of various temporary

quarters to which undesirables could be committed and in 1622 public and religious donations brought the opening of l'Hôpital de la Charité in which 500-600 poor could be lodged.⁶ At the same time city and government legislation was enacted to forbid the entry of vagabonds within the city walls, to turn away poor, unemployed, lazy inhabitants of Lyon who had not resided in the city for more than seven years, to prohibit begging and to encourage citizens to report and turn over any beggars to the Charité.⁷

In this paper I would like to explore a third element of the transition in concepts of charity which will perhaps shed some light on the reasons for this urban evolution — it concerns the changes which took place in rural charity. Up to now most of the research done on this problem has been concentrated upon the evolution of city welfare organizations: the Humanist approach and the bourgeois-capitalist explanation are based on research done in Lyon, Venice, Madrid, Paris. Even Jordan, in his study of England, tends to concentrate upon urban models of charity under the pretext that they represent the change which was taking place. He is, of course, correct if one looks for radical transition, intellectual conflicts and discussion or evolution in the forms of charitable donation. Nevertheless, at the same time that rural communities give the overwhelming impression of being unchanging, they do give evidence of a certain number of slow and incoherent transformations which shed some light on the whole problem of evolving concepts of charity.

The rural model which I will be considering is based on data from the south-eastern provinces of France, notably Dauphiné and Provence. This area provides sufficient documentation on demographic evolution and on the attitudes of rural communities with respect to their poor population to permit a certain number of hypotheses to be drawn.

* * *

In terms of rural population movement, the edicts and ordinances issued and the pronouncements made during the 16th century give the impression that the countryside is being emptied to the profit of the cities. Edicts drafted by Francis I in 1545 and 1547 described the multitude of poor who flocked to Paris from all corners of the kingdom.⁸ In Grenoble in 1547, the *procureur* of the Dauphiné Estates claimed that because of the fiscal structures of the province, peasants were deserting the countryside.⁹ Certainly, the research done on the evolution of charitable structures in urban areas during the 16th century shows considerable migration from the countryside to the towns,¹⁰ but is it true that this population movement was, in fact, emptying the

TABLE IDEMOGRAPHIC EVOLUTION IN DAUPHINE AND PROVENCE

<u>DAUPHINE</u>	Inhabitants (based on 4 inhabitants/feu)				
	<u>1339-77</u>	<u>1447-76</u>	<u>1644</u>	<u>1698</u>	<u>1800</u>
Briançonnais	16,476	7,680		21,000	22,423
Chateau-Dauphin	1,948	1,208		2,300	3,499
Champsaur	28,640	8,600		24,590	30,201
Viennois-la-Tour	39,848	20,788		36,600	52,348
Grésivaudan	71,028	28,560		67,000	105,000
Diois (12 villages)		3,060	6,412		
Baronnies					
(5 villages)	1,108	592			
 <u>PROVENCE</u>					
	<u>1316</u>	<u>1471</u>	<u>1540</u>	<u>1765</u>	
Aix		1,084	2,576	7,900	
Draguignan	3,508	2,816	8,620	11,456	
Tarascon	1,592	596		5,256	
Digne	1,332	404	1,848	1,652	
Castellane	1,476	404	1,724	2,352	
Sisteron	1,524	460	1,400	2,092	

villages? The available data on demographic fluctuation in Dauphiné and Provence seem to negate this possibility. According to the studies of Edouard Baratier and Marc Fierro and my own research, the villages too were increasing their population and often at a dangerous rate (see table 1).¹¹ The arrival of the multitudes of poor vagabonds in the towns simply reflects the overflow of peasants whom the already strained economic and productive resources of the villages absolutely could not support. In fact demographic information on the vast majority of villages in the South-East shows that there was no substantial decline between the 14th and the 19th centuries.

It is evident, therefore, that rural areas, just like the towns, were feeling the pinch of a level of population which was over-extended in relation to productive resources. Numerous studies have demonstrated the increasing poverty level which resulted from this situation.¹² Therefore, to return to the problem of charity, the question may be posed as

to what was the reaction of rural welfare institutions toward the increasing number of poor.

A reply to this question can be attempted from two different approaches: from a global perspective it can be based upon information yielded by pastoral visits and certain aspects of contemporary legislation; from a more microscopic point of view, the existing archives of certain 16th century hospices demonstrate the possibilities and limitations of one important form of local assistance.

Pastoral visits, which are currently being analysed and coded for all of France, present a brief, but useful, glimpse of the problems which faced each parish in dealing with the increasing number of poor.¹³ An excellent example of such visits is provided from the dossiers compiled in 1644 by Jacques Leberon, Bishop of Die, as he made the rounds of his parishes in the South-Western portion of Dauphiné.¹⁴ Of the 150 parishes visited, information on poor relief is noted in 64 cases; generally they concern the 24th of the parish revenues which was to be distributed to the needy, but from time to time he mentioned the hospice, hospitalier revenues, or the traditional distribution of alms by various charitable organizations. It is possible that the Diois represents a region where changes in poor relief were accelerated by the effects of the Civil Wars or by the influence of Calvinism, for nearly every village contained a certain number of Huguenot families and in a good number of localities they far outnumbered the Catholics. In any case, a certain evolution is clearly apparent in the 64 cases cited by Leberon.

In only 19 villages was the 24th distributed in the traditional manner whereby the parish priest, often assisted by the Village consuls and the Seigneur, supervised the harvest and its distribution; the amount attributed to the poor represented, in theory, a 24th of the tithe (*dîme*) payments received from the peasants. In 25 parishes the harvest and distribution of the 24th had been taken out of the hands of the priest and was controlled by the Village consuls, often assisted by the Seigneur. It is also noteworthy that in a large number of these villages the amount distributed to the poor had been reduced and they no longer received a full 24th of the parish revenues. Finally, in 15 villages the 24th was no longer distributed at all; its revenues were used for such diverse purposes as to repair the church, to pay the bell-ringer and to pay a teacher who promised to educate the poor.

The same general tendency toward restricting services to the poor can be seen in comments on the operations of rural hospices, hospitalier groups and charitable societies. In numerous villages it was noted that hospitals were in ruin and their lands fallow, at other times that hospital revenues were not distributed in alms or that the directors of the institution refused the Bishop access to their financial statements. The

pastor and the prior of the parishes of Sinard and Avignonet were called before the bishop's court for having suspended the traditional distribution of bread to the poor from All Saints Day (Nov. 1) to the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24). These parishes possessed endowments which had been given to them in order to finance such assistance and the Bishop's report notes that the revenues from these holdings were being used to pay for a gigantic feast for the village elite.¹⁵

The same complaint about the misuse of charitable funds appears over and over in 16th century legislation. In the Edict of Fontainebleau of 1543, Francis I noted the widespread discontent over the management of hospital funds: the accusations of extortion, corruption and payoffs. As a result, he ordered the *baillis*, *sénéchaux* and other judges to oversee the administration of hospitals, hospices, *maladeries*, etc., with the power to replace any administrators who were abusing their positions.¹⁶ The fact that such abuses continued to be widespread is evident in the re-issuing of this edict ten times between 1544 and 1579.¹⁷

From such sources it becomes clear that despite the increasing number of poor in rural villages, charitable services and assistance generally declined. The archives of l'Hôtel-Dieu in the small town of Etoile provide some insight into one of the types of services traditionally offered to the poor inhabitants of rural areas in the South-Eastern part of France. Etoile contained a chateau and a garrison: it numbered 156 *feux* (around 624 inhabitants) in 1447 and had probably doubled by the 1640s.¹⁸ It was situated on one of the major land routes which descended the left bank of the Rhône. Its *hôpital* dated from the 13th century, although it received two considerable donations in the 16th century. The Chatelain, the Count of Poitiers, donated 356 ecus in 1546 to endow 13 beds to receive the "pauvres malades" from Valence, Livron and the surrounding area; and in 1564 Diane de Poitiers, mistress of Henri II, who had been named Countess of Poitiers and Chatelaine of Etoile, added 50 ecus to the endowment.¹⁹ Thus, although serving a distinctly rural area, the hospital in Etoile benefitted from a financial situation infinitely superior to that of neighbouring institutions.

In terms of its goals and functioning, however, Etoile seems typical of the medieval approach toward charity which was practiced in numerous similar institutions.²⁰ It sought to provide indiscriminate aid to the poor and its services were directed toward three different groups; beds, food and care were provided for the sick poor, bread distributions were organized in times of need for the village poor and alms were distributed to anyone in need ("les pauvres passants").

In looking more closely at these three forms of aid, however, it

becomes clear that the need far out-distanced the ability of the hospice to cope with the poor. Louis Tesserand, *procureur* for the hospice in 1603-04, kept a journal of all expenses connected with treatment of the sick or the distribution of alms; he listed the places of origin and professions of each beneficiary as well as the services dispensed to them. This document shows that from 9 March 1603 to 28 August 1604 the hospice received requests for aid from 148 "pauvres."²¹ Ten of them were lodged in the hospice for relatively short periods of time and others received alms. In order to receive such welfare payments, permanent residents of Etoile were required to present a written attestation of their need signed by a local dignitary and 52 of the 148 demands were accompanied by these attestations. It is interesting to note that among these local beneficiaries, over and above the sick poor whose professions were not identified, there were 7 "gentilhommes pauvres," 3 "pauvres marchands" and 2 soldiers from the garrison.²²

The same social categories were present among the 96 poor "foreigners" who received alms: there were 16 soldiers, 5 merchants, 6 poor gentlemen, 6 artisans and 8 pilgrims, priests or penitents.²³ The presence of such a wide range of professions and social origins among the recipients of charity at Etoile is typical of the traditional medieval approach to welfare. Distinctions between sturdy beggars, sick beggars, rich and poor were non-existent and the hospice was there to aid anyone in need.

Under the weight of economic difficulties during the last part of the 16th century, demands upon welfare organizations increased at the same time that assistance became more and more limited. This was apparent in Etoile where, of the 36 patients who were carried to the hospice to receive care, only 13 were granted lodging. In all the other cases the patient was given 2 sol and his bearer 2 sol with instructions to transport him to the hospice in Livron, Beaumont, Valence, La Vache or Vaison. Frequently the patient had already been directed to Etoile from one of the other institutions, yet the *procureur* did not hesitate to send him back on the road where the majority of such individuals must have ended their lives.

Similar restrictions can be seen concerning the distributions of bread in times of need. Frequently toward the end of winter, when the stocks of grain were low and the price exorbitant, charitable organizations supervised the distribution of bread to individuals listed on the village poor rolls. Records of such bread lists for Etoile show a considerable decline in the number of beneficiaries after 1574 (see Table).²⁴

This sharp drop in bread distribution probably resulted from two factors, a considerable number of deaths among the poor, and a reduc-

TABLE II

Number of poor listed on the bread distribution list of l'Hôpital de l'Etoile.

<u>Year</u>	<u>number</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>number</u>
1447	76	1574	181
1549	280	1580	67
1569	267	1597	76
1573	180	1601	113
		1602	119

tion in the income from endowments and charitable revenues. Besides the severe outbreak of plague in 1586-87, the poor of Etoile were also affected by the localized epidemics in the Rhône valley in 1577-78 and 1581-82.²⁵ Such outbreaks of disease must have severely reduced the number of poor, for it is well known that the undernourished and weakened segments of the population were generally among the first victims of epidemics.²⁶

The decline in charitable donations seems to be an equally evident reason for the reduction in assistance since the financial reports of the hospice for 1575-77 show a dramatic drop in revenues when compared with earlier reports. The normal income of 600-800 *livres*, 200-500 *septiers* of wheat and 200 *septiers* of rye for the 1550s and 1560s fell to 174 *livres*, 246 *septiers* of wheat and 141 *septiers* of rye between 1575 and 1577.²⁷ In the early 1600s when assistance was again extended, revenues had come back to, and even surpassed, the amounts received in the 1550s and 1560s.²⁸ The short-term decline in the 1570s, 80s and 90s reflects both the poor harvests on hospice lands and a reduction in donations by members of the village community. It becomes clear that the ability of rural communities such as Etoile to provide poor relief was closely linked with the economic conditions of its inhabitants. In the late 16th and early 17th centuries when the French countryside entered into a period of prolonged economic stagnation, the perspectives for the poor were considerably reduced.

It seems, then, that the rural approach toward charity did begin to change in the course of the 16th and early 17th centuries, but it changed without great soul-searching and as a function of the increasingly restrictive economic forces. The population rise, the continuing warfare and the decline in economic productivity all made it increasingly difficult for rural communities, let alone their poorer members, to survive.²⁹ Both the records of the pastoral visits and the archives of the *hôpital* at Etoile reflect the structural *blocage* which rural society had begun to experience after several centuries of sustained dynamism.

Some of the difficulties encountered by charitable institutions (corrupt administrations, lack of clear goals, lack of supervision and insufficient funds) were to be partially remedied by the change in attitudes caused by the administrative and pastoral reforms of the Catholic Reformation.³⁰ But the only long-term solutions for the increasing numbers of rural poor were mortality or emigration. From the 17th to the 18th centuries, numerous studies demonstrate that high levels of mortality were the fate reserved to the countryside and in the 19th century began the massive emigrations toward the urban centers.³¹

Université de Moncton

Notes

- 1 See descriptions of these attitudes in E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, Village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris, 1975), chapt. 25; Georges Duby, "Les pauvres des campagnes dans l'Occident médiéval jusqu'au XIIIe siècle," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* (1966); a number of papers presented at the seminar on "Pauvres et la pauvreté," held annually at the Sorbonne since 1962, have analyzed these attitudes; they are published under the title, *Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvreté (Moyen Age – XVIe siècle)*, ed. by M. Mollet, 2 vols. (Paris, 1974).
- 2 W.K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660* (London, 1959); Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la Folie à l'âge Classique* (Paris, 1972); Marc Venard, "Les oeuvres de Charité en Avignon à l'aube au XVIIe siècle," *Revue du XVIIe siècle*, nos. 90-91 (1971), 127-146; William J. Callahan, "Corporate Charity in Spain: The Hermandad del Refugio of Madrid, 1618-1814," *Social History*, IX, 17 (1976), 159-186; Natalie Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism and Heresy: The Case of Lyon," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 5 (1968), 217-75; Jean-Pierre Gutton, *La Société et les Pauvres, l'exemple de la généralité de Lyon, 1534-1789* (Paris, 1971); Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).
- 3 Callahan, p. 167.
- 4 Venard, pp. 139-40; Davis pp. 242-45.
- 5 Foucault, pp. 92-97.
- 6 Gutton, Book I, Chapt. IV and Book II, Chapt. II and A. Croze, M. Colly, M. Carle *et al*, *Histoire de l'Hôpital de la Charité de Lyon* (Lyon, 1934), p. 226.
- 7 Croze, Colly, Carle, *et al*, pp. 62 and 65.
- 8 Edit de St-Germain-en-Laye, 16 Jan. 1545, *Recueil Général des Anciennes Lois Françaises*, ed. by M. Isambert (Paris, 1828), XII, 900 and Edit de St-Germain-en-Laye, 9 July 1547, *Ibid.*, XIII, 23.
- 9 A Dussert, "Les Etats du Dauphiné de la guerre de Cent Ans aux Guerres de Religion," *Bulletin de l'Académie delphinale*, 5e série, 13 (1922) 287.
- 10 Richard Gasçon, "Immigration et croissance au XVIe siècle: l'exemple de Lyon (1529-1563)," *Annales (E.S.C.)*, 25, 4 (1970), 988-1-1. Monique Bonarel, "La population de Grenoble – Etude Socio-démographique," thèse de 3e cycle soutenu à l'U.E.R. Histoire de Grenoble 1975, chapt. II.
- 11 Edouard Baratier, *La Démographie Provençale du XIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1961); A. Fierro, "Un cycle démographique: Dauphiné et Faucigny du XIVE au XIXe siècle," *Annales E.S.C.*, 26 (1971), 941-959; and D. Hickey, "The Socio-Economic Context of the French Wars of Religion," unpublished Ph.D. thesis completed for McGill University, 1973, esp. Chapt. II.

- 12 Le Roy Ladurie in his study of Languedoc presents the late 16th century, after 1560-1570, as the point at which the economic expansion of the earlier years was broken. The resulting "mature" phase of the rural economy, from 1600 to the 1680s, was marked by a general stagnation, but not by the economic collapse noted by Pierre Goubert in Beauvais during the same period. René Baehrel, in his work on Lower Provence, tends toward a more complicated explanation with several "intercycles" indicating upward or downward tendencies for each sector of the economy, but he too sees the period before 1595 as generally depressed. In a recent article on the fiscal structure in rural Dauphiné, Bernard Bonnin demonstrated for the village of Beaumont the increasingly difficult financial situation of rural communities from the final years of the Wars of Religion; see E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Les Paysans de Languedoc* (Paris, 1966), 2e partie, chaps II-V. René Baehrel, *Une Croissance: La Basse-Provence Rurale (fin du XVIe siècle - 1789)* (Paris, 1961), pp. 84, 234-35, 356-57. Bernard Bonnin, "L'endettement des Communautés rurales en Dauphiné au XVIIe siècle," *Bulletin du Centre d'Histoire Economique et Sociale de la Région Lyonnaise*, no 3 (1971), 1-9.
- 13 Since 1968 an "enquête" to establish a standard repertory of pastoral visits has been directed by Dominique Julia and Marc Venard for the pre-Revolutionary period and by Jacques Gadelle for the period since 1789. A summary of the work accomplished up to 1971 was published in *The Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* (1971), pp. 311-15. The first volume of the alphabetical repertory of dioceses covers 29 bishoprics of the Ancien Régime (letters A and B) and is currently being printed by the C.N.R.S.
- 14 Chanoine Jules Chevalier (ed.), *Le diocèse de Die en l'année 1644, Procès-verbal d'une visite pastorale*. (Valence, 1914).
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 170-71.
- 16 Edit de Fontainebleau, 19 Dec. 1543, *Recueil Général des Anciennes Lois Françaises*, ed. by M. Isambert (Paris, 1828), XII, 841.
- 17 The Edit of Fontainebleau is reissued with few if any changes on 19 May and 17 June 1544; January 1545, 26 Feb. 1546, 12 Feb. 1553, 25 July 1560, Dec. 1560, April 1561, July 1566 and in 1579.
- 18 Arch. Dept. de l'Isère, Revisions de feux de 1447, B 2743, f. 109.
- 19 Arch. de l'Hôpital de l'Etoile, Document B9, Carton B5/B6.
- 20 Robert Favreau, "La pauvreté en Poitou et en Anjou à la fin du Moyen Age," in *Etudes sur l'histoire de la Pauvreté*, pp. 589-619. J.-P. Gutton, *La Société et les pauvres*, pp. 215-24.
- 21 Arch. de l'Hôpital de l'Etoile, "Journal que tient Loys Tesserand, doc. E7.
- 22 *Ibid.*
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 Arch. de l'Hôpital de l'Etoile, Rolle des noms . . . pour des livres du blé, 1549, G1; 1569, G1; 1573, 1574 E3; 1580, E5 1597, E6; 1601-1602, E6.
- 25 Jules Chevalier, *Essai historique sur l'Eglise et la ville de Die*, (Valence, 1909), II, 292. Baron de Coston, *Histoire de Montélimar et des principales familles qui ont habité cette ville*, 2 vols. (Montélimar, 1883), I, 408, 451.
- 26 Pierre Goubert, *Cent Mille Provinciaux au 17e siècle* (Paris, 1968), Chapt. III.
- 27 Arch. de l'Hôpital de l'Etoile, Accounts of Laurens Gentil, 1552-56, E2; Accounts of Guillaume Potier, 1575-77, E4.
- 28 *Ibid.*, Accounts of Marc Magat, 1603, E6.
- 29 J. Jacquart, "Réflexions sur la communauté d'habitants," *Bulletin du Centre d'Histoire Economique et Sociale de la Région Lyonnaise*, no. 3 (1976), 1-26.
- 30 There are a number of ideological divisions which mark the differing explanations of the incursions of the Catholic Reformation in the field of charity: Emanuel Chill saw the Reformers as part of a Parisian "Cabale" which aimed to aid and to control the poor through the system of the hopitaux de la charité while Jean Delumeau and Louis Perouas have stressed the interaction between pastoral reform and the needs of the local population. See Emanuel Chill, "Religion and Mendicity in Seventeenth Century France," *International Review of Social History*, 7 (1962), 400-25. Jean Delumeau, *Le Catholicisme entre Luther*

et Voltaire (Paris, 1971), and Louis Perouas, *Le Diocèse de la Rochelle de 1648 à 1724* (Paris, 1964). I plan to expand considerably upon these changes in attitude in a future article treating the evolution in rural charities during the 17th century.

- 31 Pierre Goubert has demonstrated the high level of mortality which affected most villages during the 17th century and the exodus of the 19th century has been eloquently described in *Histoire de la France rurale*, vol. III (Paris, 1976), section on emigration by Maurice Agulhon, pp. 472-81. Pierre Merlin, *l'Exode rural* (Paris, 1971). Henri Mendras, *Sociétés Paysannes* (Paris, 1976).