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*State corporatism and proto-industry* focusses mainly on the Württemberg Black Forest, where a dense, export-oriented worsted industry arose in the 1560s, and dominated the rural economy for the next 240 years. This is an example of what is known as a 'proto-industry': the export-oriented rural manufacturing which became a distinctive feature of the European economy between 1500 and 1800. Proto-industry is often regarded as having broken down traditional society and prepared the way for factories and capitalism. However, although the Württemberg worsted industry possessed all the features of a classic proto-industry, closer scrutiny of this rural industry casts doubt on basic assumptions about European proto-industrialization. Sheilagh Ogilvie shows that in Württemberg proto-industry did not break down traditional social constraints on economic and demographic behaviour. Until at least 1800, corporate institutions – communities, rural guilds and merchant companies – exercised enormous power over the lives of ordinary individuals. Ogilvie argues that this was because of 'state corporatism', a symbiotic alliance in which the expanding state granted privileges to corporate groups, in return for their fiscal, military and regulatory cooperation. She shows, too, that Württemberg was no anomaly; 'state corporatism' prevailed in many other European proto-industries. Ogilvie argues that this early modern European economy – and many others – remained stagnant and poor because privileged social institutions constrained micro-level decisions.

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# *State corporatism and proto-industry*

*The Württemberg Black Forest,  
1580–1797*

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SHEILAGH OGILVIE

*Faculty of Economics and Politics, University of Cambridge*



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**UNIVERSITY PRESS**

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 1580-1797  
 Sheilagh Ogilvie  
 Frontmatter  
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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
 Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press  
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)  
 Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521372091](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521372091)

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First published 1997  
 This digitally printed first paperback version 2006

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data*

Ogilvie, Sheilagh  
 State corporatism and proto-industry: the Württemberg Black  
 Forest, 1580-1797 / Sheilagh Ogilvie.

p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in population, economy, and  
 society in past time; 33)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 37209 7

1. Weavers – Germany – Wildberg (Baden-Württemberg) – History.
  2. Woollen goods industry – Germany – Wildberg (Baden-Württemberg) – History.
  3. Woollen and worsted manufacture – Germany – Wildberg (Baden-Württemberg) – History.
  4. Guilds – Germany – Wildberg (Baden-Württemberg) – History.
  5. Municipal franchises – Germany – Wildberg (Baden-Württemberg) – History.
  6. Industrialization – Germany – Wildberg (Baden-Württemberg) – History.
  7. Wildberg (Baden-Württemberg, Germany) – Economic conditions.
  8. Wildberg (Baden-Württemberg, Germany) – Social conditions.
- I. Title. II. Series.

HD8039.T42G46 1997

338.4'767731'0943464-DC20 96-34864 CIP

ISBN-13 978-0-521-37209-1 hardback  
 ISBN-10 0-521-37209-7 hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-02584-3 paperback  
 ISBN-10 0-521-02584-2 paperback

Cambridge University Press

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## *Acknowledgements*

The research and writing of this study would not have been possible without financial support from a Trinity College Research Studentship (1980-3), an IHS Claude R. Lambe Fellowship (1983-4), three ORS fee awards (1980-3), a Trinity College Research Fellowship (1984-8) and a visiting fellowship from the Centre for History and Economics at King's College and the Pew Trust (1994-5). I also gratefully acknowledge generous research grants from the Trinity College Rouse Ball Fund, the Trinity College Fellows' Research Fund, the Cambridge History Faculty Ellen McArthur Fund, and the Cambridge University Travel Fund.

In carrying out the research in Württemberg on which this book is based, I was fortunate in enjoying the advice and practical assistance of a number of historians and archivists. Manfred Thaller was very generous with time, energy and advice, both concerning my use of his computer system, Kleio, and on matters of hardware, software and data transfer between Germany and Britain. Hans-Martin Maurer, director of the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, was farsighted and liberal in permitting me to use a microcomputer in the archive in the early 1980s; the archive photographic department was very cooperative in approving and executing my large microfilm orders; and the archive staff provided consistently pleasant assistance. Dr Hermann Ott, of the Landeskirchliches Archiv in Stuttgart, introduced me to documents and literature I would not otherwise have found, and was instrumental in having the Wildberg parish registers and church court minutes temporarily transferred to Stuttgart. Friedrich Wollmershäuser, with his knowledge of Swabian dialect, culture and local records, also generously helped me in countless practical ways.

The stimulating atmosphere of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, at which doors stand always open

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*Acknowledgements*

for discussion and consultation, contributed a great deal to the present work. Peter Laslett, who supervised the original doctoral dissertation upon which this book is based, provided consistent encouragement and support over many years. Roger Schofield, Richard Smith, Richard Wall and Tony Wrigley provided stimulating suggestions and wide-ranging discussions on numerous occasions. Ros Davies, Jim Oeppen, and Jim Smith solved statistical and computing difficulties with patience and good nature. Ann Kussmaul introduced me not only to her method of analysing marriage seasonality but also to her just perspective on the early modern economy. Chapter 7 owes a great deal to conversations with Jeremy Edwards about Chayanov and micro-economic theory. Chapter 8 owes a great deal to the generosity of Kevin Schürer, who allowed data for the district of Wildberg to be used to test his computer utility for census analysis, CAMTAB, during its development in the mid-1980s.

I have learnt a great deal while writing this book from discussing its ideas and techniques with Gary Becker, Donald Coleman, Partha Dasgupta, David Galenson, Josef Ehmer, Bob Fogel, Ernest Gellner, Edward George, John Henderson, François Hendrickx, Wolfgang Mager, Hans Medick, Michael Mitterauer, Geoffrey Parker, William Peterson, Emma Rothschild, David Sabean, Jürgen Schlumbohm, Eckart Schremmer, Bob Scribner, Paul Seabright and Keith Wrightson; and from many participants at the lectures, seminars and workshops at which aspects of the research have been presented. Above all, I should like to express my very great thanks to André Carus, Markus Cerman, Jeremy Edwards and Tony Wrigley, who generously read and commented upon the entire manuscript of the book. Any errors and omissions which remain are due to my own stubbornness.

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## *List of abbreviations*

HSAS	Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart
LKA	Landeskirchliches Archiv Stuttgart
PAW	Pfarrarchiv Wildberg
KKP	Kirchenkonventsprotokolle
Bü	<i>Büschel</i> (archive parcel)
Bd	<i>Band</i> (volume)
fol.	folio
r	recto
v	verso
<i>Zettel</i>	loose piece of paper
<i>Rapiatbuch</i>	memorandum book of guild account-keepers

ins. followed by word(s) enclosed in square brackets (in document transcriptions) = these words were inserted after original text was written

c.o. followed by word(s) enclosed in square brackets (in document transcriptions) = these words are crossed out in original text

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## *Weights, measures and coinage*

### *Coinage*

1 *Taler* (Rtl.) = 1.5 *Gulden*

1 *Gulden* (fl.) = 60 *Kreuzer*

1 *Batzen* = 15 *Kreuzer*

1 *Kreuzer* (kr., x) = 3 *Pfennig* = 6 *Heller*

1 *Pfennig* (pf.) = 2 *Heller* (h.)

1 *Pfundheller* (lbhlr.) = 20 *Schilling* (sch.) = 43 *Kreuzer*

### *Weights*

1 *Pfund* (lb.) = 467.59 grams = 0.97 pounds

1 *Centner* (C.) = 100 *Pfund*

### *Cubic measure (grain)*

1 *Scheffel* (schf.) = 8 *Simri* = 1.77 hectolitres = 177.2 litres

1 *Simri* (sri.) = 22.15 litres

### *Land*

1 *Morgen* = 0.78 acre = 0.32 hectare = 3151.74 sq. metres

1 *Jauchert* = 1 *Mannsmahd* = 1 *Tagwerk* = 1.5 *Morgen* = 0.47 hectare

1 *Viertel* = 0.25 *Morgen*

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## Glossary

*Amt* administrative district

*Amtsflecken, Amtsdörfer* the villages in a district

*Amtsstadt* district town (capital of *Amt*)

*Ausschreibgeld* 'writing-out' fee, paid when an apprentice is registered by the guild as having completed his apprenticeship

*Bauer* farmer, peasant (full-time)

*Bauernbefreiung* peasant emancipation, abolition of feudalism or serfdom (nineteenth-century German agrarian reform)

*Beisitz = Beisitzrecht* permission to reside in a community without full citizenship

*Beisitzer* 'by-settler', associate, someone with permission to reside in a community but lacking full citizenship

*Beuteltuch* a coarse variety of worsted used to make sacks for grain (28 ells in length)

*Beuteltuchmacher = Beutelmacher* worsted-weavers who made *Beuteltuch* (a privilege restricted to 20 Wildberg weavers in the eighteenth century)

*Bürger* = citizen, someone with full citizenship in the local community

*Bürgermeister* mayor, chief financial officer (a community office-holder)

*Bürgerrecht* citizenship in the local community

*Bürgerschaft* citizenry, all citizens of a community collectively

*Cadis* a variety of worsted (32 *Gänge* x 42 ells)

*Calwer Moderation = Moderation* the regime of privileges and mutual obligations binding together the *Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie* and the worsted-weavers' guilds of a particular region of Württemberg; also the name given to this region

*Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie* Calw Worsted Trading Company (1650-1797), privileged Württemberg merchant company

*Centner* hundredweight



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*Glossary*

*Clag* complaint, report (e.g. before community court, at guild assembly)  
*Durchgang* lit. 'going-through', in which each person present (e.g. at guild assembly, *Vogt-Rüg-Gericht*) is asked if he has anything to report

*Dienstbote* servant

*Eehalter* servant

*Eigenbrötlerin* lit. 'own-breader' (female), pejorative term referring to unmarried woman who earns an independent living outside a household headed by a male relative or a master

*Einschreibgeld* 'writing-in' fee, paid when an apprentice is first registered with a guild

*Engelseit* 'English say', a variety of worsted (21.5 *Gänge* x 42 ells)

*Engelseitweber* worsted-weaver

*Engelseitweberhandwerk* worsted-weavers' craft or guild

*Fron* corvée labour service owed to tenurial lord, territorial lord, or local community

*Fürkauf* an act of regrating (buying up a good from its producer for resale to customers)

*Fürkäufer* / *Fürkäuferin* male / female regrater (often pejorative)

*Futter* fodder

*Gang* (plural *Gänge*) measure of width for worsteds, equal to 32 threads

*Gericht* community court, community council (consisting of twelve male citizens)

*Gerichtsprotokolle* minutes of the community court sittings

*Gerichtsverwandte* member of the community court or council

*Grobgrün* = *Grosgran* a variety of worsted (23 *Gänge* x 42 ells)

*Handwerk* craft, guild

*hausieren* to peddle (often used pejoratively)

*Hausmütter* lit. 'house-mother', female head of household

*Hausvater* lit. 'house-father', male head of household

*Heu* first cutting of hay

*Kammgarn* combing-yarn

*Kammwolle* combing-wool

*Kanzlei* ducal chancellery (in Stuttgart)

*Keller* ducal district bureaucrat (equivalent to *Vogt* for small districts such as *Wildberg* before mid-eighteenth century)

*Kerzenmeister* = *Obmann* = *Rechner* guild foreman

*Kirchenkonvent* = *Kirchenzensur* church court

*Kirchenkonventsprotokolle* minutes of the church court sittings

*Kleemeister* official knacker, appointed by ducal government, responsible for disposing of offal, carrion and suicides

*Kleewasen* lawn or piece of grassland belonging to the *Kleemeister* (in

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## Glossary

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Wildberg)

*Landrecht* national law code*Landschaft* the (parliamentary) estates*Leggeld* = *Umlag* guild dues*Lehrjunge* apprentice*Losung* redemption (on land sales)*Losungsrecht* right of redemption (on land sales)*Machaier* a variety of worsted (20 *Gänge* x 42 ells)*Marklosung* right of redemption on land sold to non-citizen of community*Meisterrecht* mastership status in a guild*Meisterschaft* mastership, all masters of a guild or craft collectively*Moderation* = *Calwer Moderation* the regime of privileges and mutual obligations binding together the *Calwer Zeughandlungskompanie* and the worsted-weavers' guilds of a particular region of Württemberg; also the name given to this region*Mundtod* in a state of civil death*Oehmd* second cutting of hay*Ordnung* ordinance*Rahm* frame for stretching worsteds (or woollens)*Rat* lower community council in a district town (in Wildberg, consisting of six male citizens)*Rathaus* town hall*Recess* = *Rezess* official agreement between two parties (often corporate groups) under the supervision of ducal officials*Rechner* = *Obmann* = *Kerzenmeister* guild foreman*Reskript* ducal edict or decree*Rüggericht* community regulatory court*Scheffel* measure of volume for fodder*Schultheiß* village bailiff, chief administrator of a village*Scoti* a variety of worsted (75 *Gänge* x 42 ells)*Sibner* 'seveners', auxiliary guild officers*Siegelbuch* sealing-book (record kept by guild cloth-sealers)*Siegler* guild cloth-sealers*Simri* measure of volume for grain*Stadtschreiber* public secretary (a ducal bureaucrat based in the district town)*Städtchen* 'townlet', very small town*Steuerbuch* tax register*Stodi* a variety of worsted*Stube* parlour, living room*Thurnstrafe* local gaol sentence

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*Glossary*

*Tuch* woollen cloth

*Tuchmacher* woollen-weaver

*Tuchmacherhandwerk* woollen-weavers' craft or guild

*Umlag* = *Leggeld* guild dues

*Vergleich* agreement (often official)

*Vogt* district governor (a ducal bureaucrat, chief district official)

*Vogtgericht* = *Vogtrüggericht* governor's court, governor's and regulatory court (periodic court of visitation by district governor)

*Walkmühle* fulling-mill

*Wasen* lawn, grassland

*Zehnbund* a variety of worsted (42 *Gänge* x 42 ells)

*Zelg* crop rotation category (in the three-field system)

*Zettel* a ready-prepared weft (in worsted-making); a loose scrap of paper (in documents)

*Zeug* generic worsted cloth

*Zeugmacher* worsted-weaver

*Zeugmacherhandwerk* worsted-weavers' craft or guild

*Zuchthaus* house of discipline

*Zug* combed wool

*Zunft* = *Handwerk* guild

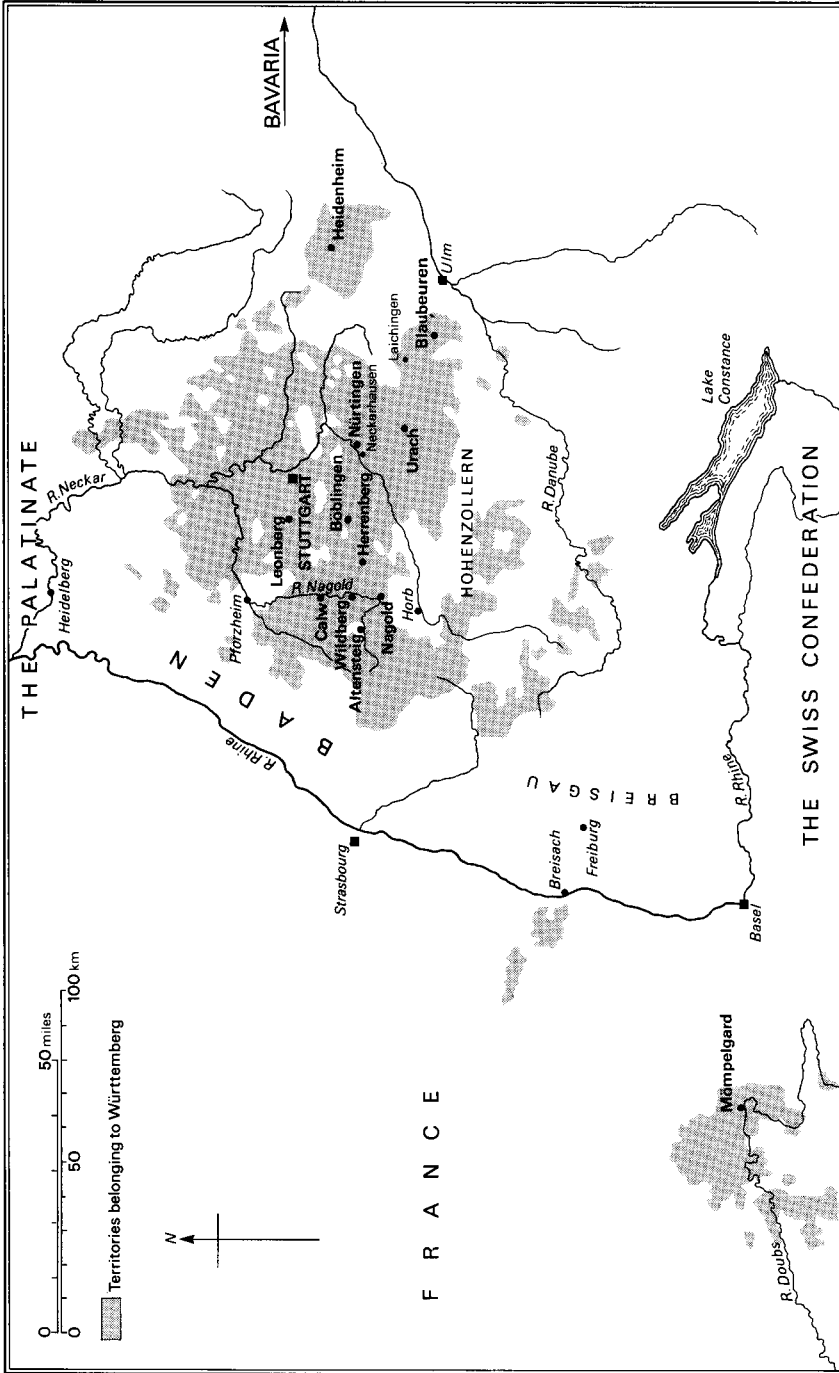
*Zunftsammlung* = *Zusammenkunft* guild assembly

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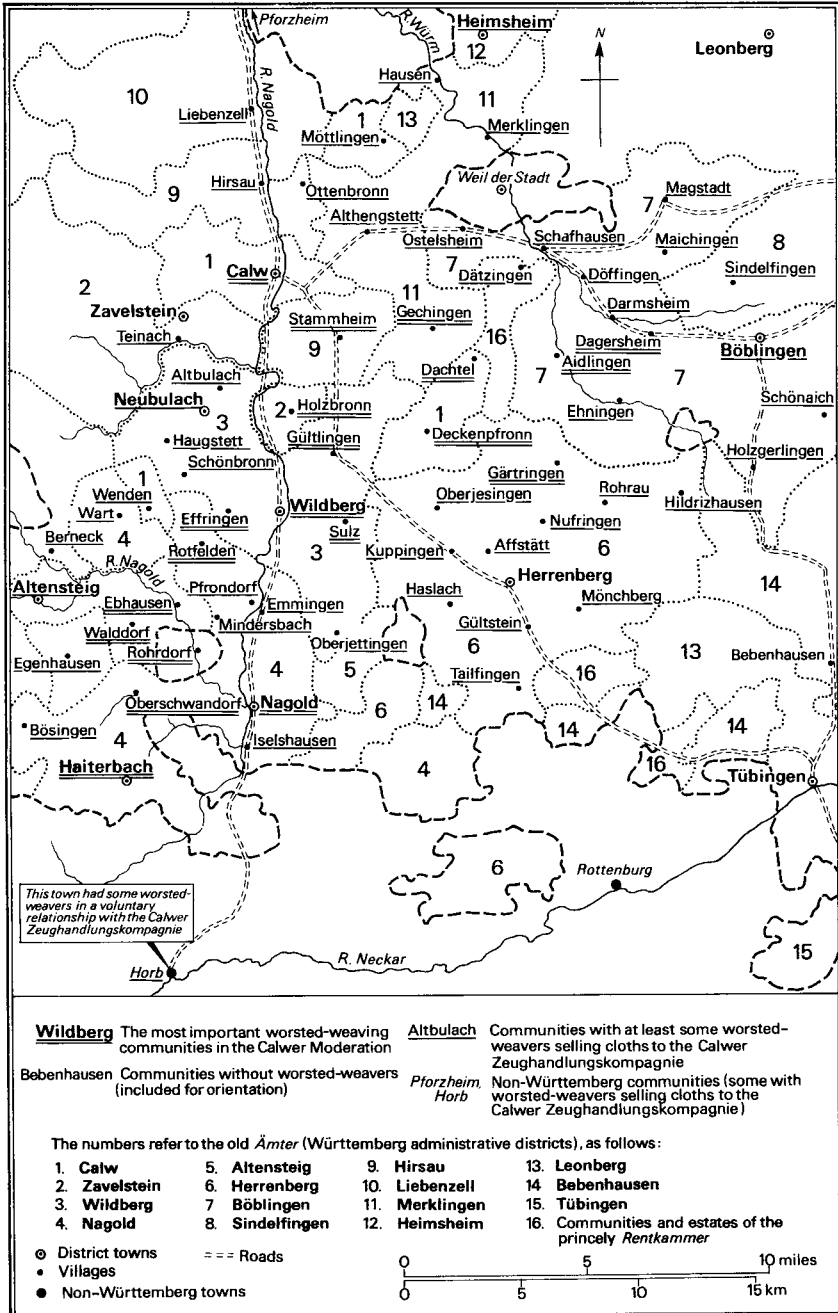
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The area of the Calver Moderation, 1650-1797

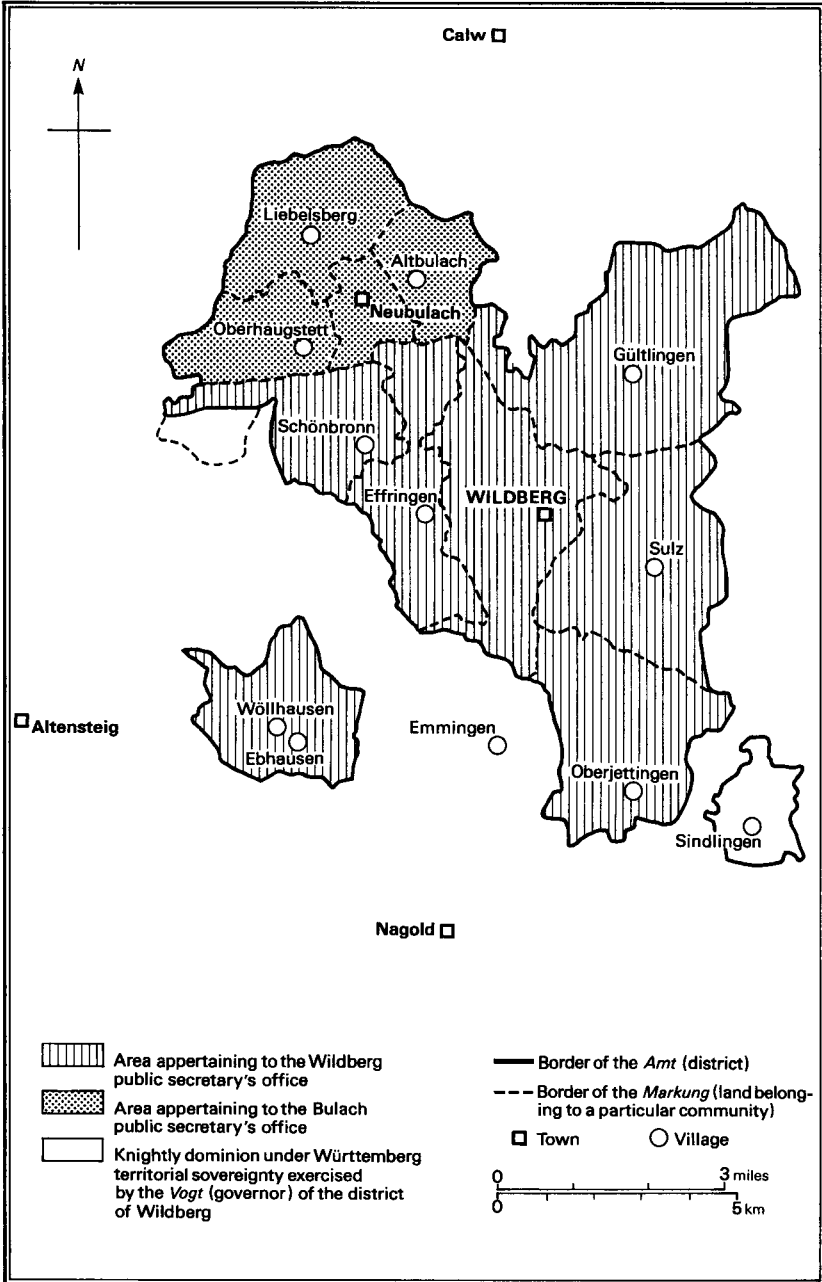
Source: W. Troeltsch, *Die Calver Zeughandlungskompagnie und ihre Arbeiter: Studien zur Gewerbe- und Sozialgeschichte Altwürtembergs* (Jena, 1897), facing p. 80.

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The district of Wildberg in the eighteenth century

Source: J. Klauf, *Wildberger Chronik: Efringen – Güttlingen – Schönbronn – Sulz am Eck – Wildberg, 1237–1987* (Wildberg, 1987), p. 62. Drawn by J. Knayer according to a sketch by W. Grube.