

1 Ordinary writings, extraordinary authors

The importance of writing

Writing was once an instrument of oppression and a cultural practice confined to social and political elites; but by the end of the nineteenth century it had become indispensable at every level of European society. Handwriting is now a lost art, but in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it served a range of essential functions. Writing by hand was essential for personal communication at a distance, for business transactions and for maintaining family networks. Faithful supplicants sent prayers to heaven in writing, while pastors and confessors recommended writing as part of the individual's spiritual development, so that self-writing became a crucial instrument in the examination of the Christian conscience. Subjects and citizens used writing to petition or insult their governments. Through writing, one managed family problems, conducted love affairs and tried to keep one's budget under control. In the twenty-first century, we are in danger of underestimating its importance, because the intense and widespread scribal culture of that period has all but disappeared. Today, personal writing has been relegated to a private and domestic universe of shopping lists and hastily scribbled mobile phone numbers. But in a world before telephones, emails and text messaging, writing sustained daily life and human contact. The résumés of today's job applicants list their skill and experience with the latest computer software programs; but their nineteenth-century equivalents had to demonstrate good handwriting as the essential professional asset for any clerical or professional employment. In the 1840s, for example, the future American novelist Herman Melville could not get a job in Manhattan because his handwriting was too poor.¹ Men away on business trips wrote home daily, soldiers in the trenches wrote almost as frequently to their relatives and

¹ Thomas Augst, *The Clerk's Tale: Young Men and Moral Life in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago University Press, 2003), p. 219.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01889-1 - The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860–1920

Martyn Lyons

Excerpt

[More information](#)

2 Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860–1920

loved ones, and emigrants across the oceans kept in contact with their family of origin through writing. Middle-class spouses even wrote to each other when they were *not* separated, the husband having notes delivered to his wife while she was busy in another room of their spacious residence.

Until recently, however, only the writings of educated people attracted the serious attention of cultural historians. The private correspondence of bourgeois families revealed their extended networks, their inner dynamics and the issues which concerned them. The study of letters has thrown new light on the different roles and responsibilities of middle-class men and women in sustaining family relationships.² Similarly, the proliferation of private journals in nineteenth-century European society helped to focus attention on the role of writing in the development of the individual personality. Feminist scholars were in the forefront of the study of diaries and *journaux intimes*, investigating the development of female individuality and gendered self-representation.³

These studies have usually been confined to the writings of social strata for whom writing came easily. For the educated middle classes, writing was a familiar cultural practice in which they had been well trained. They had mastered the technology of writing, its materials and instruments and the physical discipline required to make use of them. They knew how to manipulate a quill or later a steel pen, how to apply the ink without smudging the page, how to write in a straight line, how to construct sentences and paragraphs, and how to dry the ink later with sand or finely ground shell. Writing letters to other correspondents from various ranks involved social protocols in which they had been thoroughly educated. Rarely, until now, has the same spotlight been directed at the writings of the semi-literate and partly educated. Illiterate people, too, were writers with the help of intermediaries, and they also were part of the scribal culture of ordinary people.

² Cécile Dauphin et al., eds., *Ces Bonnes Lettres: une correspondance familiale au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1995).

³ Examples include Suzanne L. Bunkers and Cynthia A. Huff, eds., *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Diaries* (Amherst, MA: Massachusetts University Press, 1996); Harriet Blodgett, *Centuries of Female Days: Englishwomen's Private Diaries* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988); Lorely French, *German Women as Letter Writers: 1750–1850* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996). For different approaches which have more to offer the subject of my book, see Philippe Lejeune, *Le Moi des Demoiselles: Enquête sur le journal de jeune fille* (Paris: Seuil, 1993), and Jennifer Sinor, *The Extraordinary Work of Ordinary Writing: Annie Ray's Diary* (Iowa City, IA: Iowa University Press, 2002).

Clelia Marchi's bed-sheet

Ordinary people had always experienced writing as an accessory of power, the means by which monarchies and bureaucracies imposed taxes, enforced military recruitment, and justified their domination in law. But in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, people of modest status needed to find the right language and written forms to enable them to negotiate with an expanding and ever more intrusive bureaucracy. Writing tasks which were at first extremely challenging gradually became an integral and banal part of daily existence.

In the transition to full literacy, when written culture was present but still foreign to popular oral cultures, peasants sometimes attributed magical properties to writing. They invested the printed book with supernatural and religious powers, an attitude symptomatic of the fear it still inspired and of their failure to master it. Many nineteenth-century peasants believed that written charms and spells had great intrinsic power. They attributed healing powers to the Bible and, following an old medieval tradition, priests sometimes received letters from heaven containing binding instructions on how to live the Christian life. Faith in the magical powers of the written word, however, was a feature of societies which had not fully integrated written communication into the predominantly oral cultures of the poor. In nineteenth-century western Europe, however, such beliefs were vestigial. Writing was becoming mundane rather than magical. It could demonstrate its practical value in the lives of ordinary people, and it was becoming increasingly significant for a range of useful purposes, both private and public. Whereas writing had previously been an occasional chore to petition a local authority or sign an official document, now, in the second half of the nineteenth century, it was becoming an everyday necessity.

For untutored writers, pen and paper were unfamiliar and the task of composing (for example) a letter was often laborious and painful. In spite of some sporadic school education, they had never mastered the art of the quill or the steel pen which replaced it, and many lower-class writers preferred to write in pencil. Although the first Remington typewriter had appeared in 1872, and came into increasingly wide use in the first decade of the twentieth century, none of the writers discussed in this book ever used one. The typewriter was beyond their budget and not a normal part of their lives. When they picked up a pen, they found facing up to a blank sheet of paper intimidating. The fear of disappointing their correspondent – or arousing his scorn, especially if they were addressing some superior authority – was palpable. And yet these semi-literate writers knew that writing was an urgent necessity and that their

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01889-1 - The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860–1920

Martyn Lyons

Excerpt

[More information](#)

4 Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860–1920

lives depended on it. Why did so many ordinary and poorly educated people feel this urgency? What power did writing have for them, and what uses did it serve? How did they improvise and appropriate a written culture?

This book suggests some answers to such questions, and it opens up a window on the scribal culture of some extraordinary lower-class authors who, for the first time and often in exceptional circumstances, felt a desperate need to write. Soldiers in prisoner-of-war camps in Germany, for example, improvised notebooks out of paper from bags of cement.⁴ Matteo Russo, a soldier from Sicily, sent over eighty letters to his wife during the First World War even though he was almost completely illiterate.⁵ Anselma Ongari and her husband Guerrino Botteri bequeathed their children an *epistolario* of over 1,300 love-letters written between 1914 and 1920 (they were from peasant backgrounds but they were upwardly mobile and Guerrino was an elementary school-master).⁶ The peasant autodidact Luigi Daldosso produced a carefully constructed autobiographical text, absorbing and elaborating on previous drafts.⁷ Pedro Jado Agüero, a small rural proprietor from Santander, saw several family members emigrate overseas, and decided to keep, copy and record the entire family's correspondence, both ingoing and outgoing.⁸ For intimate and familial reasons, writing was central to the existence and identity of writers of humble origins and little formal education.

Clelia Marchi was another such writer. Clelia, if I may call her by her first name, was a peasant woman from a village near Mantua, born in 1912. She met her future husband Anteo threshing corn when she was fourteen. Within two years she was expecting the first of their eight children, of whom four died young. For forty-six years, she and her husband shared a life of hard agricultural work. When Anteo died in a road accident in 1972, Clelia experienced a personal crisis. Emotionally bereft, suffering from loneliness and insomnia, she took stock of her past life. 'I feel empty,' she wrote,

⁴ Quinto Antonelli, 'Escrituras extremas. Los diarios de los prisioneros de guerra', in Antonio Castillo Gómez and Verónica Sierra Blas, eds., *Letras bajo Sospecha* (Gijón: Trea, 2005), ch. 6.

⁵ Matteo Russo, *Lettere dal Fronte (1916–1917)*, Sebastiano Maggio et al., eds. (Catania: Cooperativa Universitaria Editrice Catanese di Magistero, 1993).

⁶ Rosalba Dondeynaz, *Selma e Guerrino: un epistolario amoroso, 1914–1920* (Genoa: Marietti 'Fiori Secchi', 1992).

⁷ Archivio della Scrittura Popolare (henceforth ASP) Trento, Luigi Daldosso.

⁸ Rosa Maria Blasco Martínez and Carmen Rubalcaba Pérez, *Para Hablarte a tan Larga Distancia. Correspondencia de una familia montañesa a ambos lados del Atlántico, 1855–1883* (Santander: Estudio, 2003).

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01889-1 - The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860–1920

Martyn Lyons

Excerpt

[More information](#)

finished, useless I spend my days crying, I would never have thought that after 50 years of married life we would be separated like that; all my sadness I write it out at night, because I sleep little; like a human being when it is in sorrow.⁹

In writing, she found a new reason to live. She took a black drawing-pen (*pennarello*) and wrote her autobiography on what came to hand – a large bed-sheet. As she explained:

One night I had no more paper left. My teacher Angiolina Martini had explained to me that the ‘Truscans’ had wrapped up a dead body in a piece of cloth with writing on it. I thought that if they did that, I can do it too. I could not wear out the sheets with my husband any more and so I thought of putting them to use for writing.¹⁰

Clelia Marchi wrote to fill her sleepless nights and to express her solitary anguish. Her sheet was less a tribute to her husband than a memorial to their long united life. She signed it with both of their names. She was not ready to give up, and writing was a reason to go on living.

Like many lower-class autobiographers, Clelia apologised for her poor handwriting and grammar and her lack of education, telling us that her formal education had never gone further than the second year of primary school. Her writing was characteristic of the ordinary writings of the semi-literate. It was improvised, it incorporated elements of local dialect, and her grammar and spelling were not always correct. The sheet itself was a *matrimoniale* – a double-bed-sheet that symbolised the conjugal life which had shaped and given meaning to her previous existence. Clelia called it her ‘Libro-Lenzuolo’ – her sheet-book. It is preserved today in the Archivio Diaristico Nazionale in Pieve Santo Stefano, where it is exhibited once a year, and where the text has been transcribed.

Historians have assumed too easily that the life and culture of ordinary peasants like Clelia Marchi are difficult to grasp, since they allegedly left so few written traces behind them. Instead, scholars have relied on the indirect sources which reveal something about the culture of the silent masses. These sources were often generated by institutions which attempted (usually in vain) to discipline the excesses of

⁹ Clelia Marchi, *Gnanca na Busia, 1912–1985* (Pieve Santo Stefano: Mondadori, 1992), p. 55: ‘mi sento vuota, finita, inutile passo le mie giornate à piangere, non l’avrei mai pensato, che dopo 50 anni di matrimonio separarci così; tutte le mie tristezze le scrivo di notte, che poco dormo; come un essere umano quando à dei dispiaceri.’

¹⁰ Ibid., back dust cover: ‘Una notte non avevo più carta. La mia maestra Angiolina Martini ma aveva spiegato che i ‘Truschi’ avevano avvolto un morto in un pezzo di stoffa scritto. Ho pensato che se l’hanno fatto loro, lo posso fare anch’io. Le lenzuola non le posso più consumare col marito e allora ho pensato di adoperarle per scrivere.’

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01889-1 - The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860–1920

Martyn Lyons

Excerpt

[More information](#)

6 Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860–1920

popular culture, expurgate its immoralities and superstitions or mould peasants and workers into republican citizens. The oblique approach to the lives of the poor, as Peter Burke called it, concentrated on the perspective of the Church, the law courts, the political authorities or the nineteenth-century folklorists who became interested in popular culture in the 1840s. They set about collecting fragments of that culture which they thought was in the process of extinction. However, their attitude to what they were collecting was curious and paternalistic at its best, and repressive at its worst.¹¹ The American historian Eugen Weber was equally guilty of neglecting the writings of peasants, in his important book on the nationalisation of the French peasantry under the Third French Republic. In his view, the nineteenth-century masses were illiterate and inarticulate, and so peasant life was best studied through the lens of various cultural manifestations, ritual practices, religious ceremonies and customs.¹² Similarly, Eric Hobsbawm associated grassroots history with demographic history, oral history and the history of labour movements.¹³ Thus even historians who were capable of enormous sympathy with the culture of ordinary people in the past seemed surprisingly unaware of the rich subterranean world of ordinary writings.

I too have resorted to the ‘oblique approach’, in using censorship records as an entry path to the correspondence of French soldiers in the First World War. But this approach alone is not enough. Peasants’ and workers’ writings are there if we care to look for them, as this book will fully demonstrate. Some forms of ‘ordinary writings’ are well known and well used historical sources, such as autobiography or private correspondence. Some obvious examples of this kind of literature from earlier periods include the autobiographical works of the sixteenth-century Swiss peasant family the Platters, the eighteenth-century Parisian glazer Jacques-Louis Ménétra, and the Lorraine shepherd-boy turned ducal librarian, Jamerey Duval.¹⁴ James Amelang and Margaret Spufford have analysed the autobiographical writing of workers and artisans in

¹¹ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978), ch. 3, ‘An elusive quarry’.

¹² Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford University Press, 1976), pp. xiii–xiv.

¹³ Eric Hobsbawm, *On History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997), ch. 16, ‘On history from below’.

¹⁴ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The Beggar and the Professor: A Sixteenth-Century Family Saga* (Chicago University Press, 1997); Jacques-Louis Ménétra, *Journal de ma Vie*, Daniel Roche, ed. (Paris: Albin Michel, 1998); Jean Hébrard, ‘Comment Valentin Jamerey-Duval apprit-il à lire: un autodidaxie exemplaire’, in Roger Chartier, ed., *Pratiques de la Lecture* (Marseille: Rivages, 1985), pp. 38–43.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01889-1 - The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860–1920

Martyn Lyons

Excerpt

[More information](#)

early modern Catalonia and England respectively.¹⁵ Susan Whyman has charted the rise of a letter-writing culture amongst merchant families and other non-elite writers, in eighteenth-century Derbyshire and northern Britain. A ‘popular epistolary tradition’, she claims, already existed in eighteenth-century England, especially amongst men.¹⁶

Peasants and artisans, as well as bourgeois and aristocrats, kept *livres de famille*, which chronicled the family, its economic life, assets, debts and creditors. There are commonplace books, miscellanies and *zibaldoni*, that is, the anthologies or notebooks in which Italian peasants wrote addresses, prayers, accounts of the vintage, wills and contracts. There are life-stories produced under duress, solicited by confessors or by the Inquisition, or by prison doctors seeking to rehabilitate violent convicts. Travel writing, to continue the list further, was composed by humble journeymen, pilgrims and conquistadors. The problem is not that ordinary writings are scarce and ephemeral: rather there is such an abundance of ordinary writing that the historian hardly knows where to begin.

Many of these genres just listed lie outside the range and period of my study; I cannot include, for example, the burgeoning field of prison writing or the study of children’s writing and their school notebooks.¹⁷ The autobiographies of (mainly British) workers in the nineteenth century, studied by David Vincent, Jonathan Rose and others, including myself, are not included here either.¹⁸ The British bibliography compiled by David Vincent and his colleagues lists 801 workers’ autobiographies published between 1790 and 1900.¹⁹ There was a long and unique tradition of spiritual autobiography in Britain, although a small number of workers’ autobiographies can also be found in continental

¹⁵ James Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford University Press, 1998); Margaret Spufford, ‘First steps in literacy: the reading and writing experiences of the humblest 17th-century spiritual autobiographers’, *Social History*, 4:3 (1979), pp. 407–35.

¹⁶ Susan E. Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers, 1660–1800* (Oxford University Press, 2009), e.g. p. 218.

¹⁷ Two superb examples of these emerging genres are Philippe Artières, *La Vie des Coupables. Autobiographies des criminels, 1896–1909* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000), and Verónica Sierra Blas, *Palabras Huerfanas, los Niños de la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Taurus, 2009).

¹⁸ David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: a study of 19th-century working-class autobiography* (London: Europa, 1981); Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001); Martyn Lyons, ‘La culture littéraire des travailleurs. Autobiographies ouvrières dans l’Europe du XIXe siècle’, *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 56:4–5 (2001), pp. 927–46.

¹⁹ John Burnett, David Vincent and David Mayall, eds., *The Autobiography of the Working Class: An Annotated, Critical Bibliography*, 2 vols. (Brighton, UK: Harvester, 1984–7).

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01889-1 - The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860–1920

Martyn Lyons

Excerpt

[More information](#)

8 Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860–1920

Europe. My own researches into the genre were based on twenty-two such autobiographies located in France.²⁰ These are significant precursors to the subject of this book: but even 800 worker-autobiographers are eclipsed in terms of quantity by the tens of millions of unpublished lower-class authors who emerged in the period of mass emigration and world war. The majority of worker-autobiographers, moreover, were skilled artisans and they formed an elite of working-class autodidacts. They struggled for intellectual emancipation in the face of poverty and other obstacles, both material and social, but they nevertheless belonged in the British context to an ‘aristocracy of labour’, and they often took pains to distinguish themselves from co-workers who showed little inclination for self-improvement. Only about ten per cent of them were female,²¹ and peasant autobiographies were even rarer than those written by women. A few peasant and artisan autobiographies were not entirely self-authored, but produced with the collaboration of an interviewer or intermediary.²²

These are interesting and significant precedents, but I argue in this book that something important changed between about 1860 and the 1920s. Firstly, the sheer volume of lower-class writings generated by enforced separation from one’s family multiplied exponentially. Secondly, lower-class writers were no longer confined to skilled craftsmen; they now included the peasant masses who were forced into the trenches in 1914–1918, or who chose the ‘America option’ of transatlantic migration. The democratisation of writing, in other words, took a quantum leap forward in this period. But it is time to locate the boundaries of my investigation, to outline its scope and ambition, and to suggest its coherence and also its limits.

Transitional literacy in France, Italy and Spain

My study focuses on the scribal culture of western European peasants, workers and artisans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in order to examine the context of lower-class writing, the forms it took and the functions it performed. This was a period of transition to

²⁰ Lyons, ‘La culture littéraire des travailleurs’; Mark Traugott, ed., *The French Worker: Autobiographies from the Early Industrial Era* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993); Mary Jo Maynes, *Taking the Hard Road: life course in French and German workers’ autobiographies in the era of industrialization* (Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina University Press, 1995).

²¹ Burnett, Vincent and Mayall, *Autobiography of the Working Class*, vol. 1.

²² For example, Marguerite Audoux, *Marie-Claire* (Paris: Grasset, 1987) – the autobiography of a peasant woman from the Sologne, first published in 1910 after she was ‘discovered’ by and became the protégé of the writer Octave Mirbeau.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01889-1 - The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860–1920

Martyn Lyons

Excerpt

[More information](#)

universal literacy, in which different societies took specific paths towards a situation in which over ninety per cent of the population could read and write. The route each country took was different and the pace at which literacy skills developed was uneven and varied in every case. In this period, however, even peasants confronted written culture on an everyday basis as they too became part of the democratisation of writing practices.

I have chosen three societies for investigation – namely, France, Italy and Spain. There are three main reasons for this. My selection is firstly dictated by the limits of my own linguistic abilities. I have used sources in French, Italian, Castilian Spanish and Catalan, but clearly the confrontation between predominantly peasant societies and written culture could be studied in other contexts, too, such as Greece or parts of Germany. But language barriers effectively limit my coverage in these cases. I have stopped, too, at the Portuguese frontier, because as far as I am aware, Portugal cannot yet boast the archives dedicated to popular writing which have made the investigation possible elsewhere. Ireland, perhaps, also awaits this kind of attention. Secondly, then, the chosen geography of this book reflects the existence, and indeed recent emergence of archives in these countries specifically dedicated to popular writing. The nature and politics of these archives of popular writing will be examined more fully in chapter two. Finally, France, Italy and Spain were all predominantly peasant societies in which illiterate and semi-literate people experienced the imperative need to write. They all offer the opportunity to examine the appropriation of written culture by the rural masses. My scope is not confined to the peasantry, however, for it also includes other members of the working classes, from dock-workers to bakers and bricklayers, for many of whom writing was only beginning to be a banal, everyday event. My subjects, whatever their precise occupation, had usually experienced only rudimentary schooling, and their literacy (if any) was recently and imperfectly acquired.

France, Italy and Spain therefore have common features. All three societies were experiencing different stages of the same process of modernisation, in which the democratisation of reading and writing practices formed an important part. In all three contexts, the acculturation of the lower classes to national priorities through reading, writing and education was a priority for elites, but proved difficult to achieve in practice at the grassroots. My view of modernisation is not deterministic. The widening access to writing took various routes and a homogeneous process is not assumed here. The uses of writing, and the cultural practices in which they were embedded, must be explained in their context of social and political relations, gender relations, relations between the literate

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01889-1 - The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860–1920

Martyn Lyons

Excerpt

[More information](#)

10 Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860–1920

and the illiterate and between the written and the oral. Examining the full range and vitality of writing practices is a critical undertaking for the understanding of nineteenth-century culture.

France, Spain and Italy were predominantly rural societies which thus shared some basic characteristics. But the differences between them are important, too, and a comparative dimension is implicit in this study of ordinary writing practices. Marc Bloch, who demonstrated the art of comparative history in his *Les Rois Thaumaturges*, recommended that in order to succeed, it should be

a parallel study of societies that are at once neighbouring and contemporary, exercising a constant mutual influence, exposed throughout their development to the action of the same broad causes just because they are close and contemporaneous, and owing their existence, in part at least, to a common origin.²³

In other words, there is no point in comparing fish with bicycles. One should rather compare societies which are similar and close in space and time. Although I am not specifically concerned with the influences which France, Spain and Italy may have exerted upon one another, the study meets Bloch's criteria of proximity and contemporaneity, while the question under investigation – the impact and uses of generalised literacy – is generated by social and cultural processes common to all three societies.

Popular literacy was most advanced in France, where universal literacy was achieved by the end of the nineteenth century. In the Third French Republic, the education reforms of Jules Ferry in the 1880s gave France a universal, free and compulsory form of primary education for the first time. These reforms, however, came *after* widespread literacy had already been achieved; they consolidated but did not on their own bring about mass literacy. In France, the period under investigation here stretches from the Guizot Education Law of 1833 up to the writing frenzy of the First World War.

In Italy, we need to focus on a slightly later period, from unification in 1861 up to at least 1918. At the moment of unification, Italy discovered that three quarters of its population were illiterate. By 1901, one half could officially read and write. On the eve of the First World War, the overall figure was thirty-eight per cent, but in the south, illiteracy

²³ Marc Bloch, 'A contribution towards a comparative history of European societies', in his *Land and Work in Medieval Europe: Selected Papers*, trans. J. E. Anderson (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967), p. 47; and his *Les Rois Thaumaturges: Études sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale, particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Paris: Gallimard, 1983, first published 1924), translated into English as *The Royal Touch: sacred monarchy and scrofula in England and France* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1973).