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The guilds of early modern Augsburg : a study in urban institutions.

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THE GUILDS OF EARLY MODERN AUGSBURG

A STUDY IN URBAN INSTITUTIONS

A Dissertation Presented

By

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ABSTRACT

THE GUILDS OF EARLY MODERN AUGSBURG:
A STUDY IN URBAN INSTITUTIONS
(September, 1984)
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This dissertation is a comparative study of guilds at a time when the guild system was supposedly in decline. It is not a study of decaying institutions, however, but of successful ones. It compares the structure and function of four guilds -- shoemakers, joiners, barbers and millers -- in the early decades of the seventeenth century. These guilds represent a cross-section of the small businessmen and artisans of Augsburg and reflect the variety of form and activity that existed in the city.

The dissertation is based on archival sources that are largely unknown and untouched. Most important of these are the petitions to the City Council written by or about guildsmen and guilds. These sources allow us to go beyond the tax books and guild regulations that form the principal sources for most guild histories. This study

also utilizes these traditional sources, but expands upon them with the petitions to examine how the guilds actually functioned on a daily basis (the four guilds produced fifteen to twenty petitions a month). The petitions are invaluable to the social historian, for they are among the few collections of documents in the pre-modern era that speak with the voice of the common man.

The guild system in the seventeenth century was not dead; it was not even ill. Contrary to nearly every pronouncement on early modern guilds, the evidence shows that city, guild and guildsmen generally understood one another and worked well together. The system did not work flawlessly or without friction, but it did function successfully. The success came from the ability of the guilds to adapt to changing circumstances, the ability of the city to concern itself with the minutiae of its business life, and the willingness of the guildsmen to communicate their problems and desires to the government. The guilds were a vital part of the city; they were not excessively conservative, they were not backward, they were not behind the times; rather, they were in close harmony with the urban environment that sustained them.

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ABBREVIATIONS

GSLM:	Geneaological Society Library Microfilm
JGOR:	Jahrbuch für Geschichte der oberdeutsche Reichsstädte (also entitled Esslinger Studien)
VSWG:	Viertel Jahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte
ZBLG:	Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The history of guilds no longer attracts much attention, nor has it for several decades. This is ironic in view of the fact that urban history and social history are both well established fields, receiving a great deal of attention, and that guild history has much to contribute to our understanding of both subjects. Guilds and guildsmen have been ignored for a variety of reasons, one of which is that they were not part of the social extremes of wealth and poverty. The rich and powerful have their historians, the poor and oppressed have theirs, but the merely average seem to inspire little interest. Further problems contribute to the lack of works on guilds and to the highly restricted topics covered in the few works that do appear. The study that follows discusses the misconceptions and limitations found in many guild histories, and seeks to rectify them by examining four different guilds in Augsburg during the early seventeenth century. Before entering on the subject proper, it is necessary to discuss what is meant by the word "guild": how it is understood generally, and how it is defined here.

We begin with what a guild was and was not. A guild was neither plant nor animal nor any other living organism. From this it follows that a guild was not born, did not mature or age, and did not die. There were no embryonic forms, no stunted growths, no transplanting or grafting of types. No guild was ever in its infancy, was ever vigorous or decrepit or ossified. The whole vocabulary of the organic metaphor, so often applied to guilds, is

fundamentally misleading, as is its close relative, the vocabulary of rise and fall.[1] I do not wish to excise this vocabulary completely; it has its uses and can be truly illustrative. I do wish to warn of the pitfalls involved in its use and to point out that its use has had unfortunate effects in the area of guild history.

The use of this vocabulary indicates a basic misunderstanding of guilds. Guilds neither rose nor fell, grew nor decayed; they were not organisms or hot-air balloons. They were institutions that began, changed, ended. Once a guild is defined as declining, by whatever standard, the efforts of scholars shift almost wholly to determining the causes of the decline and fall. This is unfortunate because it obscures whatever positive functions the guild may have had during its alleged decline. It also has the effect of removing the guild from its urban context. Connections with the society and polity of the city in which the guild existed are seldom considered when a guild in its decline is being studied, even though such connections may be illuminating and significant.[2]

The conventional chronology of the guilds is constructed around the model of growth and decay, and is predicated upon the idea that guilds were medieval in their very essence. Guilds were "born" in the high Middle Ages, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, according to this chronology. Guilds were at their "height" in the fourteenth century when, in many cities from northern Italy to the Low Countries, they attained a significant degree of political power by means of revolution. In Germany these revolutions resulted in the so-called guild constitutions (Zunftverfassungen).[3] The actual power

won by the common guildsman now appears much less extensive than it once did, but there were other signs of "vigor" as well, usually measured in terms of increased output and rising wages. The first signs of "decay", according to the traditional view, set in during the fifteenth century, as access to mastership was made more difficult by the requirement of a masterpiece.[4] The "decline" became precipitous in the sixteenth century, when guilds began losing markets to non-guild, largely rural, competitors. In response, the guilds issued more regulations, instituted more controls, and made it increasingly difficult become a master, in a vain attempt to forestall the future.[5] In doing so, they only ensured their death, as they became more rigid in a world that demanded flexibility. Modern forces were at work against which the guilds, not being modern, could not prevail.[6] The putting-out system, an early form of capitalism (Frühkapitalismus) exploited by the "rising" bourgeoisie, cut away the economic foundations of the guilds, while the "rising" nation-state, with its absolute kings, destroyed the guilds' political power. By the late seventeenth century, the guilds were insignificant in historical terms, mere havens of privilege for a small group of conservative, tradition-bound masters intent on endless lawsuits designed to protect their position.[7] The French Revolution swept even these away in France in 1791.[8] The progressive state of Prussia eliminated them early, while the rest of Germany had to await unification before the last vestiges were erased.[9] In this last phase, from the later eighteenth century on, guilds were--I am still speaking of the conventional picture--annoying obstructions, medieval survivals whose only historical function was to act as a drag on progress.[10] The fact that

guilds existed in Europe well into the twentieth century, as did the conviction that they were worthwhile institutions, is scarcely discussed.

The first criticism I would make of the conventional chronology is that it is absurdly long. From the time that the patient is diagnosed as terminally ill -- most commonly the fifteenth century -- until the actual death in the nineteenth century comes four hundred years of lingering illness. Even Rome did not take that long to die. Any fall of four centuries is simply not a fall, it is successful survival. To claim that a guild was declining in the early modern period simply because it no longer resembled its medieval predecessor is to ignore the very process of historical change. Moreover, any institution that lasts that long has surely undergone some major changes. The problem here is rooted in the deception of words. We have one term -- guild -- to describe a variety of corporate forms over the span of centuries. To a degree not often found in modern historiography, we have mistaken continuity of an institution for what in reality was mere continuity of vocabulary.

The second criticism is that this view lacks any conception of guilds as early modern institutions. A guild in 1600 or 1700 was not a medieval survival but was a contemporary institution.[11] It was a product of both past and present; indeed, it could not exist otherwise, for the guildsmen of these centuries used the guild on a daily basis to regulate their activity. A guild was never an anachronism; rather, such a judgment is itself anachronistic.

A third problem with many guild histories is their selection and use of evidence. It is not uncommon to mistake the craft for the guild, the

industry for the institution. A historical work may claim to discuss a guild, but in fact may provide only an economic analysis of a trade. The decreasing importance of a particular industry is thus taken to signify a decreased importance of the guild. In fact, in hard times a guild may have actually become more, rather than less important to its members and to the community. General histories of guilds, furthermore, are highly selective, drawing heavily on evidence from large cities and from a handful of crafts, primarily from the cloth industry. Cloth, however, had always been an industry unusually vulnerable to rural competition, to manipulation by merchants, and to internal unrest. This craft, like mining, is an area in which capitalist practices appeared early, but most towns were not centers of cloth production and even in those that were, other crafts remained for the most part untouched by the vicissitudes of weavers and dyers.

The fourth criticism concerns the organic metaphor which, by anthropomorphizing guilds so they can be born, age and die, has the effect of dehumanizing history. Growing old is an inevitable process, over which there is no control. By transferring the metaphor to institutions, ageing becomes an objective force outside human control and guildsmen become the victims of history, rather than its creators. Similarly, the vocabulary of decay or decline demeans the members of a guild and their actions, making them little more than symptoms discussed in order to illustrate the disease. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that human beings and not abstract forces make history.

To place the history of guilds on a new footing we must begin with a new definition; one that encompasses the major attributes of a guild. The definition I shall use is as follows: a guild was a corporation; a consciously created, sworn association invested with privileges by a public authority. It was a political corporation with civic duties and an economic corporation designed to regulate some craft or crafts.[12] Each element of this definition illustrates a different aspect of guilds significant for their general history.

Most basic is that a guild was the product of two wills: the men who sought incorporation as a guild, and the public authority that recognized them. By this definition there can be no "early" types of guilds, for the guild was always comtemporary and was always seen as a completed form. A guild existed at every point in its history only because both members and sovereign desired its existence, so in terms of a given community a guild can never be treated as unimportant. A guild always had functions, however circumscribed, and we must be very careful about labelling them as negative or frivolous. A guild was not only consciously created, it was continually being consciously shaped and reshaped, as both city and guildsmen adapted the institution to changing circumstances. The process of change did not stop until the guild was formally disestablished. This definition stresses the active role of human beings, consciously responding to actual conditions, and it denies to the guild any life independent of the community in which it existed.

The second element of the definition is that guilds were corporations, which is to say they were but one type in a whole range of corporate forms in early modern Europe. Clubs, brotherhoods, professional

associations, universities, city communes, monasteries, chapters, all might exist alongside guilds in a given town, each more or less directly affecting the craftsmen and their craft. Most guildsmen, in fact, belonged to other corporations. It should be remembered, too, that the lack of variety in English guild vocabulary tends to obscure the actual variety of guild forms that existed in early modern Europe. In Germany the principal terms were Zunft, Innung, Handwerk, Amt, and Gild, with Bruderschaft and Gesellschaft being very close relatives. These terms varied in meaning with time and place, but "craft" and "guild" in English must do the work of covering all the shades of meaning represented by the German terms.[13] Each form was distinct and important, and they can be grouped only with great care. A guild of bondsmen and a guild of freemen were not at all the same thing, though both might be concerned with the regulation of the same craft; nor should a political guild be confused with a craft-specific guild. By "guild" we must understand that we mean a range of corporate forms that need to be studied in terms of specific local conditions.

The final element of the definition concerns privilege. When speaking of the "privileged orders" of the Old Regime, the usual image is of aristocrats and priests, but the Third Estate was hardly without privilege. Every merchant had his commercial privileges, not to mention others won for his family or himself, if he were rich enough and so inclined to seek them. Every citizen of a city had his privileges and so too did every guildsman. By "privilege" we are not speaking of rights, of course, for that is a modern notion; privilege meant simply "private law", a law issued for the benefit of a

private person. Few guildsmen possessed such power and prestige as individuals -- individual privilege was indeed the special province of the noble -- but a corporation was a private person in legal terms, able to appear in court and to petition the sovereign, and as such a guild could and did possess privileges. Most guild privileges existed as ordinances elevated to the status of law by virtue of confirmation by the city council or other sovereign. These must not be viewed as being primarily economic in character. It is true that most guild regulations dealt with the regulation of the craft, but this is not prima facie evidence of the priority of economic concerns. Many regulations that appear to have been mainly economic had other aspects that were equally or more important. For example, the common principle that the guild should ensure an "income appropriate to one's rank" (ständesgemäßig Nahrung) was a moral rather than an economic ideal.

Privilege meant far more than mere economic advantage. It was privilege that gave guildsmen their place in society, their état, their Stand. Within an imperial city like Augsburg the great bulk of the citizens were theoretically equal; that is, they were all of the Third Estate, "common men".[14] A man might refuse to exercise the rights and responsibilities that came with citizenship or guild membership, but the social standing that these brought was inescapable. Within the body of citizens, guild membership marked the craftsman off from the patricians (Geschlechter) and from the poor (armen Leute). One had to be born a patrician, and patricians rarely joined a guild (at least not willingly). The poor people were by definition on the public dole. Guild membership thus defined one's place within urban

society.[15] It was in this sense irrelevant whether guild privileges were economic or political or social. The condition of being privileged in itself set a guildsman apart and gave him his status; the plain fact of privilege helped order society.

These, then, are the basic aspects of my definition: that a guild was the continuous product of two wills, that it was but one of many corporate forms, and that privilege--devoid of any special economic emphasis--was the reason for its existence. With these general points in mind it is possible to proceed to a consideration of details that will avoid the errors of determinism and anachronism that have plagued guild history.

This study is comparative in its approach, examining four guilds instead of the usual one guild. It would be too much to claim that any "comparative methodolgy" is employed here, for that implies a rigor of method that does not exist. Comparison lies, nevertheless, at the heart of both the research and the presentation, for it is one of my purposes to illustrate the variety of guild experience. To my knowledge no one has done such a comparison in any early modern town, for no one convinced of the decay into historical obscurity of early modern guilds would have any reason to undertake such work. There have been histories of all the crafts of a town; there have been histories of guild constitutions; there is even a study comparing the guild of two different towns, but a comparison of guilds within a given city has yet to appear.[16] Yet, without being aware of the variety that existed, how can we generalize about what was constant or universal?

What has been done, in fact, is to make generalizations from a handful of cases.

The comparative approach is based on an assumption that different trades require different corporate forms and are subject to different vicissitudes and opportunities. Some trades had many workers and few masters, others had the reverse. In some the journeyman did not journey, while in others they not only journeyed but were organized into clandestine brotherhoods. Some made things, others sold things; some had many civic functions, others few. Some were vital to the city, others were peripheral. In short, the needs of the industry directly affected the structure of the guild.[17]

A word is in order here about the choice of the time period covered. I have chosen the early seventeenth century for three reasons. One is that the guild records prior to the seventeenth century are very sporadic and uneven. The fourteenth century may have been the "height" of the guilds, but the plain fact is that the seventeenth century records outnumber the medieval records by factors of ten. There is more to be learned from the later records. The second reason is that the statistical sources for this specific period are exceptionally good, providing a solid foundation for interpretation based on other types of records. Finally, I had originally thought to study a system in its senescence, to learn the reasons why a city lost its vitality and began to decline by studying not the top but the middle layers of society. With that aim in mind, I focused on a century when, as I thought, the guilds were in undoubted decline. I discovered instead that the question was poorly put. The theme became not decline but change, and the

task was not to explain why the guilds failed but to show how and why they succeeded.

The guilds studied are these: shoemakers, joiners, barbers and bathers, and millers. The choice of these four over others that have been more extensively studied requires some explanation. The history of guilds, both general surveys and studies of particular crafts, have concentrated on a mere handful of types: weavers, butchers, goldsmiths, bakers, brewers. These dominate the literature while the dozens of other crafts that existed in early modern cities have been neglected. Many of the generalizations about guilds come from studies of these few. I wanted to avoid these guilds because of their wealth and power, and I wanted to discover if more modest trades would yield a different picture of guilds. I also sought to avoid those, such as the weavers, that were dominated by merchants, the putting-out system and other "proto-capitalist" cross-currents. The guilds chosen here, although little studied, are more truly typical than the guilds that have been studied extensively, in the sense that most guilds were not rich or powerful and most were not affected by early capitalist forms. Because my guilds are more typical, they provide a better basis for understanding the broad base of guild history.

The guilds chosen also provide the variety of organization in craft and guild that I wanted. The millers were a food processing industry, the barbers were a service industry, while the shoemakers and joiners were in manufacturing and retailing. The joiners were also a construction trade and could retail high-priced items whereas the shoemakers could not. This variety

allows comparisons to be made and conclusions to be drawn based upon more than one industrial form.

The state of research in regard to the guilds of Augsburg is typical of that of other cities. Weavers, brewers and goldsmiths have received the attention of several historians, while the rest of the city's guilds are almost untouched.[18] Neither shoemakers, millers, barbers nor joiners have been studied at all for Augsburg, although there is one nineteenth century article on the bathers.[19]

None of these guilds have received much attention in any German town. There is one long essay from the nineteenth century on shoemakers, nothing at all on millers, one recent work on cabinetmakers (another type of joiner), nothing on barbers (though histories of medicine do discuss barbering), and two works on bathhouse keepers.[20] Except for the work on the cabinetmakers of Alsace, none of these works were written after World War Two.[21] There very probably are local studies of which I am unaware. The abbreviated list of works on these guilds, however, compares to a list of dozens of works on weavers, smiths, butchers, bakers, brewers and the like. The fact is that, despite their importance and wide extent throughout Europe, the crafts of shoemaking, barbering, milling and joining have not caught the attention of historians. The present work will therefore contribute both to the social and economic history of Augsburg and will break fresh ground in the area of guild history.

This book is a social and economic study of four slices taken from the lower end of Augsburg's middle class. The aim is to show the variety of

form and function that existed among guilds, and to examine how and how well these institutions operated at a time when they were allegedly in decline. These aims are achieved by beginning with the fundamentals. I examine first certain aspects of the city itself, for Augsburg was the specific historical environment in which the guilds existed. Next I examine the crafts themselves -- what each craft's product was, how it was made, how it was sold. The economic conditions of the craft, particularly the market characteristics, are considered along with the technical aspects. I then examine the administrative structure of the guilds themselves. These three chapters provide the foundations of the work, for each element -- city, craft and guild -- is indispensible to a complete understanding of a given guild. The next two chapters examine the guilds in a particular decade (1610 - 1619) in terms of their actual membership and day-to-day administration. In other words, the final two chapters will show how the structural factors of city, craft and guild functioned -- at odds or in concert -- and produced "guild history".

NOTES

1. The language simply pervades the literature. To give only one example here, Georges Renard, Guilds in the Middle Ages (London, 1919), has two chapters on the "decay" of the guilds, and a third on their "death". These chapters make up over half his book.

2. There are two outstanding examples of historians who have recognized and investigated the connections between society and guild and city: Christopher R. Friedrichs, Urban Society in an Age of War: Nördlingen, 1580-1720 (Princeton, 1979); and Mack Walker, German Home Towns: Community, State and General Estate, 1648-1871 (Ithaca, NY, 1971).

3. The "guild constitutions" have been studied at great length. Judgment as to their significance has been varied. For examples of the best work done in recent years, consult Erich Maschke, "Verfassung und soziale Kräfte in der deutschen Stadt des späten Mittelalters, vornehmlich in Oberdeutschland," VSWG 46 (1959): 289-349; 433-476; Karl Czok, "Zünftkämpfe, Zunftrevolution oder Bürgerkämpfe," Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig 8 (1958/59): 129-143. See also Karl Czok, "Die Bürgerkämpfe in Süd- und Westdeutschland im 14. Jahrhundert," Esslinger Studien 12/13 (1966/67): 40-72. The relevant work for Augsburg in particular is Pius Dirr, "Studien

zur Geschichte der Augsburger Zunftverfassung 1368-1548," ZHVSN 39 (1913): 144-243. See also his "Kaufleutezunft und Kaufleutestube in Augsburg zur Zeit des Zunftregiments (1368-1548)", ZHVSN 35 (1909): 133-151.

4. Lujo Brentano, On the History and Development of Gilds and the Origin of Trade Unions (London, 1870), p. cxxxvii.

5. George Unwin, Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Oxford, 1904), p. 126.

6. Hermann Kellenbenz says it outright: guilds were "against progress" because they "defended the interests of their members against outsiders"; see his essay, "Technology in the Age of the Scientific Revolution 1500-1700", in the Fontana Economic History, ed. C. M. Cipolla, The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York, 1976), 2: 243. One must suppose that guilds that did not defend the interests of their members against outsiders would have been "for progress".

7. J- F. Bergier, "The Industrial Bourgeoisie and the Rise of the Working Class", Fontana Economic History of Europe, The Industrial Revolution 1700-1914, 3: 408.

8. Brentano, History and Development of Gilds, p. clxiii.

9. Brentano, History and Development of Gilds, p. clxiv.

10. Samuel Lilly, for example, in his essay, "Technological Progress and the Industrial Revolution 1700-1914", blames the guilds for being one cause of the backwardness of the Continent in industrializing, in Fontana Economic History of Europe, 2:222.

11. Mack Walker rightly takes historians to task for failing to recognize that early modern guilds were not the same as medieval guilds in his excellent book German Home Towns, p. 89, n. 21 and p. 90.

12. I owe the basis of this definition to William Sewell's fine book, Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848 (Cambridge, 1980). His definition is given on page 39 of that work: Guilds were "hierarchically structured and privileged bodies regulating the practice of different mechanical arts; moral and spiritual bodies expressing the brotherly solidarity of the trade; and publicly recognized bodies that were part of the constitution."

13. In Augsburg, for example, there was the Fergenamt of fishers under the bishop. In addition, up to 1548 there was the Fischerzunft, which became a Handwerk after that date, while throughout this period the fishers might be referred to as an Einung (Innung). For a discussion of this see Hans Wiedenmann, "Die Fischereirechte des Augsburger Fischerhandwerks im Lech

und in der Wertach und deren Nebenbächen in der Zeit von 1276 - 1806," ZHVSN 41 (1915): 27-127. A good study of the variety of terms used in northern Germany can be found in Ferdinand Frensdorff, "Das Zunftrecht insbesondere Norddeutschlands und die Handwerkerehre," Hansische Geschichtsblätter 13 (1907): 1-89. No similar study for southern Germany exists. H. Fischer, Schwäbisches Wörterbuch, 7. vols., (Tübingen, 1904), however, is an excellent resource that does explain many obscure terms.

14. See the definition by Robert Lutz, Wer war der gemeine Mann? Der dritte Stand in der Krise des Spätmittelalters (Munich, 1978), p. 119. The common man, according to Lutz, was non-noble, politically enfranchised, and not a part of the dishonorable sectors of society such as the poor, the Jews, and gypsies.

15. Both Mack Walker and William Sewell have clearly demonstrated the important social role played by guilds in early modern Europe.

16. Walter Hussong, Das Schneiderhandwerk in Frankfurt am Main und das Schneiderhandwerk in Heilbronn: Ein Vergleich (Gelnhausen, 1936).

17. It is the correlation of the function of the craft to the structure of the guild that has led some historians to speak of the craft as if

it were the guild. I do not deny the correlation, but the two must still be considered separately.

18. For the weavers, see Claus Peter Clasen, Die Augsburger Weber, (Augsburg, 1981); and V. Haertel, "Die Augsburger Weberunruhen," ZHVSN 64/65 (1971): 121-268. For the goldsmiths see Sylvia Rathke-Köhl, Geschichte des Augsburger Goldschmiedegewerbes vom Ende des 17. bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts (Augsburg, 1964); Anton Weiss, Das Handwerk der Goldschmiede in Augsburg bis zum 1681 (Leipzig, 1897); and Anton Werner, Augsburger Goldschmiede, (n.p., 1913). For the brewers see A. Vetter, Geschichte der Brauerei in Augsburg, Festschrift für den III. Bayerischen Brauertag in Augsburg, (Augsburg, 1903); and Hubert Klopfer, Die Entwicklung des Augsburger Braugewerbes, Diss. Masch.-schrift, (Würzburg, 1921).

19. R. Hoffman, "Die Augsburger Bader und das Handwerk der Bader", ZHVSN 12 (1885): pp. 1 - 35.

20. Hermann A. Berlepsch, Chronik der Gewerke, 9 vols., Chronik vom ehrbaren Schuhmachergewerk, (St. Gall, 1850-1853), 4:passim.

21. G. Zappert, "Über das Badewesen der mittelalterlichen und späterer Zeit", Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen 21 (1859); better is A. Martin, Deutsches Badewesen in vergangenen Tagen (Jena, 1906).

CHAPTER II

THE SOURCES

The primary sources used in this study consist of unpublished manuscripts located in the City Archives of Augsburg.[1] The sources used were principally guild records, supplemented by tax books and muster lists. The guild records of Augsburg, called Handwerker-Akten, include tens of thousands of documents covering a period of about three centuries. Also relevant are the extensive surveys done of the citizenry for military and tax purposes, the Muster Lists (Musterbüchern) and the Tax Books (Steuerbücher), located in the same archive. These sources form the foundations of the present study. Because they have been used so rarely, a discussion of their form and content is in order.

The guilds of Augsburg ceased their independent existence in 1549, after which time all records related to guild matters were kept by the city government. These were eventually collected in the City Archives under the heading of Handwerker-Akten. The most important types of documents in this collection are the guild regulations, petitions to the City Council regarding guild matters, and reports to the City Council from guild officials. There are also lists, letters, decrees, even newspaper clippings.

The most familiar type of guild document is the Ordnung or guild regulations. An Ordnung was drawn up by a committee and approved by the City Council (Rat). It provided the written rules for the guildsmen and the

basis for judging them. The city from time to time also issued statutes (Acta) in response to specific needs or problems. Moreover, unwritten custom played a role as well, for there were rules and procedures that were never recorded as formal regulations.

Complete sets of regulations exist in Augsburg for both the millers and the barbers. An Ordnung was issued for the Millers Guild in 1530 and another was issued in 1549, while the barbers had Ordnungen for 1549 and 1638.[2] There is no full set of regulations for the other two guilds. I have compiled the available articles (Articulen) for these guilds by culling the various other documents that comprise the Handwerker-Akten. Individual articles appear most frequently as addenda to petitions, presented as substantiating evidence for a petitioner's case or for some rebuttal. A search of these produced approximately 75% of the joiners regulations and about 25% of the shoemakers regulations.

Most Ordnungen were similar in their formal structure. An Ordnung always opened with a title, which included some statement that the articles therein had been adopted and approved by the City Council. The first few articles usually dealt in generalities, such as the reason for the formation of the guild. The regulations covering apprentice, journeyman and master then followed, nearly always in that order. There was seldom more than a few articles on apprentices, covering the conditions under which one could become an apprentice, and the fees he must pay. Journeymen received more attention, with additional articles on journeying and marriage. The section on masters normally dealt first with preconditions for admission to mastership,

then with the masterpiece, then with business practice, quality control and prices. Special regulations peculiar to the guild were most often the last articles listed. The sequence of presentation might vary with certain guilds, but this was the common order, and the topics themselves appeared in most Ordnungen.

In addition to the formally compiled Ordnung were various decrees issued by the City Council from time to time in response to specific situations. These had as much force as the Ordnung. In some cases, special documents were created that also were part of the body of rules governing a craft. Chief among these were the oaths taken annually by all guildsmen.

The Handwerker-Akten also contain documents called Supplicationen, or petitions. These were letters, addressed to the City Council and originating from anyone in the city, including foreigners. A petition was normally a short document -- between one and two pages -- and usually concerned a single specific complaint or request. Most followed a standard format: after a formal address, the petitioner described the circumstances or the abuse, along with the reasons why the situation should be rectified. This was followed by a formal closing that also contained the request for action -- the actual petition. Each document was signed, with the author giving his title where appropriate.

No petition, to my knowledge, has ever been published in complete form; indeed, few have ever been cited in a historical work. Because the subject matter they cover is so broad, and because their form and content are virtually unknown in the scholarly community, I shall present here a basic

typology along with some representative examples. Before proceeding to a look at the contents of the petitions, it will be helpful to examine for a moment their nature and the legal process involved. There are still many unanswered questions in this regard, but the outlines are clear enough.

Each petition was addressed to the mayor (Bürgermeister), the city officials (Stadtpflegere) and the City Council (Rat). For the period studied, an average of 15 to 20 petitions a month were received by the Council from these four guilds together.[3] Once a decision was handed down, the supplicant was free to petition again, as often as he liked. Anyone could petition, man or woman, guildsman or non-guildsman, citizen or foreigner. Most of the petitions were actually drawn up by notaries, but some do appear to be autographs, since the signature matches the text. The supplicant normally went to a notary whether or not he was able to write himself, told the notary what he wanted said, and the notary wrote the document, supplying the correct honorifics, openings, closings, and so on. Perhaps he even transmitted the document to the Council. The procedure was probably akin to the modern process of drawing up a will, where a lawyer is used even though the individual is perfectly capable of writing the will himself. Moreover, as with a will, we can be sure that the words accurately reflect the spirit and intent of the author.

A guild official called the Overseer (Vorgeher) normally read each petition and presented his recommendation on the matter to the City Council in a report called a Bericht. The Bericht usually recapped the main points of the petition, then gave the reasons why the petition should be accepted or

rejected, and closed with an explicit request that the petition be granted or denied. The Berichte are often the only reaction we have to the petition. On occasion, the Guild Deputies (the Verordnete -- a group of appointed officials consisting partly of guildsmen and partly of outsiders) were consulted, usually to render an opinion on some point of precedent. They, too, presented their opinion in a Bericht to the City Council, following a similar format.

It is not clear from the sources what portion of the Council heard the petitions and ruled on them. The opening of the petitions always addressed the entire government: the mayor, the "honored sirs", and the City Council. It seems unlikely that a very large body, such as the Great Council, would hear the dozens of petitions received daily, yet it is equally unlikely that the Small Council would trouble itself over such comparatively petty matters. Most probably, some committee of the Great Council was authorized to hear the petitions and to recommend action to the council at large. The one certain fact is that, when a petition was granted, the permission took the form of a Decretum in senatu, which was issued by the council as a whole.

This was the basic process that a petition followed. The form it took is represented by this sample, which is given in full, including the ceremonial opening and closing. Dated in 1549, the petition is one page long and reads:

> Noble, honorable, venerable, wise and
> respected Lord Mayor, city officials and
> Council of this beloved city of Augsburg:
> I am a poor man, by God's will. I have

> been in this praiseworthy city for ten years and diligently support my wife and child. I respectfully declare that I was employed by others as a cobbler for five years, was on my own for two, and have had a family for three. Now, just the other day, the Shoemakers came and forbade me to continue to work as a cobbler until I should make a masterpiece. I have never made a new shoe, nor am I able to; nevertheless, I have the Shoemaker's privilege from my father.
>
> So take into consideration my misfortune and grant my petition most honorable, respected, wise and venerable sirs, and decree that I may be exempted from the masterpiece, because I already have the privilege of the Shoemakers. For otherwise I shall not be able to support my wife and small child in my plight, but rather must live out of the poor sack in poverty. I ask again, under God's will, that you look favorably upon my plea. If you do not give a negative reply, my wife and I will pray our whole lives for your government to prosper.

It is signed, "The humble, obedient citizen, Coman Stauffer, cobbler on the Perlachstieg."[4] Although the subject matter contained in the various petitions varies widely, in its length, tone and structure Stauffer's petition is typical.

The opening (the first three lines on the above petition) was a standard formula, used in all petitions, Overseer's Reports and Deputies' Reports. It was so standard that the formula remained virtually unchanged over the course of two centuries, right down to the order of the honorifics, which were routinely abbreviated as EVFW (edel, vesst, fürsichtig und weißherrn). The opening was followed by a statement of the petitioner's situation or of his purpose in addressing the City Council. In longer petitions,

this could be further developed in several paragraphs. The argumentation, short or long, was concluded by a request for action on the part of the Rat. This was the formal petition and again employed the formulaic address (always abbreviated) to the government. Often the petitioner here repeated the grounds for his request in summary form. At the end of the petition was always some promise on the part of the petitioner -- at the least to respect and obey the government, but sometimes extending to a promise to pray for the government, to praise it, or to wish for its prosperity. All documents had a formulaic closing similar to Stauffer's, and all were signed by the author himself, who gave his profession, office or status.

Sometimes a petition would be directed not against the guild but against some individual. In this case the accused individual would present his side of the case in a Gegenbericht or counter-report. These were most common in the Barbers Guild, where a patient claimed poor treatment at the hands of the surgeon, while the doctor defended himself against the accusations.

The Handwerker-Akten do not usually indicate the results of these petitions, though occasionally there appears a Decretum granting some petition. Sometimes, though, we can tell that a petition was denied because the petitioner submitted a second or third petition, seeking to persuade the City Council to change its decision. This is an example of such supplementary documents:

> The Overseer has turned down my petition
> on the basis of Article 11 of our Guild

> Regulations, which states that no journeyman should be made a master who learned his craft in a village, but I interpret it differently, for I learned the craft from my father, who was not a foreigner. Moreover, I worked for Thomas Mayr of the Shoemakers Guild (Schuster Stube) for four or five years and he never asked me where I came from, yet he registered me every year. So grant my request, for I was not apprenticed to a foreigner but to my own father, who was an old master, and do not let the Overseer hinder me. For my part, I shall faithfully obey all the guild rules.[3]

Each subsequent petition called forth another Bericht; there appeared to be no limit to the number of petitions that a person could present.

Not all petitions came from individuals. The Guild Deputies and other guild officials could speak on behalf of the guild as a whole. This example dates from 1549 and is signed by fourteen masters of the guild.

> We have a rule in our craft that no master may have more than one journeyman and one apprentice. Now a few masters have taken on more journeymen than are allowed. . . . We are legally constituted with authority over this and other matters, and we desire a change. There is much work in the city and there are many journeymen and apprentices, but there are not enough masters to employ them; so fewer and fewer journeymen approach our guild for work, because they know that a master is allowed only one journeyman. But look at Nuremburg and other cities. There, the master may have more journeymen. At Nuremburg he may have four. We must not hinder native and foreign workers but rather help them. So grant our plea and allow each master two journeymen plus an apprentice, to live in his home and to build according to need. This will promote

> work and will support and improve the condition of ourselves, our wives and our children.[6]

These documents sometimes had a signature line that simply described the group, as in the above example, but other times each co-petitioner signed separately.

The language in the above example is plain and straightforward -- "businesslike" might be the best word. Sometimes, however, the topic of a petition was not business at all, and the sentiment expressed was more personal and touching, as in this example:

> The petition submitted on 22 February 1618 by the wife of Daniel Ziegler has been denied. I call upon Bürgermeister Stenglin and the honorable ruling men not to avoid the facts. Daniel Ziegler cannot travel, due to age and illness. He wants nothing more than to spend his final days in his native town, so he asks that the Hospital Keeper send out a cart and that he be allowed to die in the Hospital. This is an act of charity and will be rewarded greatly by God Almighty.[7]

One final example will suffice to complete the survey of the Supplicationen. This one is similar to the first, the petition from the cobbler Coman Stauffer, and asks the guild to allow him to sell second-hand shoes. I give the document untranslated, however, to give the reader a sample of the original German. After the formulaic opening, the document reads:

> Ich armer mann bin von den Schustern fur

> die Straffherren gefordert worden, von
> wegen des flickens, so die mir wollen
> woren so ich doch derselbigen gerechtigkait
> bin von meinem vatter her, und hab darauf
> gelernet, gleichwol meiner armut halben,
> nit furgeschnitten, dann ichs, nit vermag
> zuetreiben, anderst dann zueflicken, bitt
> derhalben Edel Vest Fursichtig und
> Weissherren wollen mir hierinn umb Gottes
> willen verholffen sein damit mir solliches
> nit abgestreckt werde, dann ich mir ain
> armer Tagwercker, und mich geren one das
> almusen wolte ernoren, so beger ich konnen
> zuemachen, hoff derhalben zue Edel Vest
> Fursichtig und Weissherren werden mein
> bitten und begeren gnedigclich erhoren,
> und ain genedige bewilligung verlerhen
> bin sollichs gwartende wa ich das umb
> Edel Vest Fursichtig und Weissherren
> kundte verdienen wer ich willig genaigt.[8]

Overseer's Reports and Deputies' Reports closely resembled the petitions in form. The following two example are respectively a recommendation that a petition be granted, and a recommendation for denial.

> In regard to Hans Kümmerlin's petition,
> we believe that the fine of four florins
> imposed on him is excessive. We also
> believe that, while he did go to the New
> Mill without authority and was working
> there illegally, he did so out of ignorance.
> Therefore, we ask that the fine be removed.[9]

> Our regulations require that a journeyman
> work for six years prior to applying for
> mastership, but this petitioner has worked
> only two years for master joiners -- the
> rest of the time he has worked for a
> clockmaker. For this reason he cannot
> know how to make a joiner's masterpiece,

> for that is peculiar to the joiner's craft, nor can he know our regulations and articles, for he can neither have heard nor read them. Therefore, we do not recommend acceptance of this petition.[10]

In a few cases, the decision of the City Council is included in the Handwerker-Akten. These decisions took the form of a decree called a Decretum in senatu. Normally quite brief, a Decretum simply stated that so-and-so should refrain from or be allowed to do some thing from that day forward. These were usually quite brief and often appeared as addenda to petitions. For example, the following decree was an addendum to the petition presented above from the fourteen master joiners.

> Any foreign journeyman who would become a master here must first have worked for one citizen master or two for six years. He must also pay 20 florins to the City Council for the guild privileges.[11]

The Handwerker-Akten also contain a miscellany of other useful documents. The most important of these are the various lists -- mainly lists of masters or of guildsmen who owed fines to the city -- and correspondence, mainly between guilds. There are also occasional imperial edicts and other communications from princes both secular and clerical. Finally there are occasional documents that are simply one of a kind: a diagram of the slaughterhouse and the owners of the stalls therein; samples of work done by book illustrators; a description of an invention for a new type of mill that would "do the work of a hundred men". Seldom can one make generalizations

from these small treasures, but they are fascinating in their own right and do in fact sometimes shed unexpected light on a problem.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the term Handwerker-Akten covers a wide variety of documents. It will facilitate an understanding of them to group them by type. The fundamental divisions are three: regulations and associated documents, petitions and associated documents, and miscellaneous documents. The first group includes Ordnungen, Decreta, and individual Articulen. The second includes Supplicationen, Vorgeher Berichte, Verordnete Berichte, and Acta. The miscellaneous group includes Briefe, Verzeichnisse, and a variety of random documents. Each group sheds light on a different area, but all are connected in some way to a specific guild.

The value of these sources should be immediately apparent. Here we have, as in the case of the cobbler Stauffer, a document directly from the gemeine Mann. The document tells us some of the circumstances of his life, tells us something about the Shoemakers Guild, and gives us a glimpse into the cobbler's mind as he tells why he feels the city should grant his petition. Where else may we find a source that speaks with a cobbler's voice? The traditional sources on the common man are all literary, and contain the bias inevitable in such records. In this petition, however, we have a cobbler, one step away from living on the public dole, speaking in his own words about his own life. Add to this document not merely a few, but literally thousands of others from artisans of every craft, and you have a chronicle of society of unparalleled value. Add to this social chronicle the reports from the guild

officials that accompanied the petitions, and you have a continuous record of guild and civil administration that runs the length of the early modern period. Nor are these sources unique to Augsburg. Occasional citations by other historians prove that the system of petitioning was used in other early modern cities, and that at least a few collections have survived. Yet, the sources have not to date formed the basis of a single major study of any type. One purpose of my study is to bring attention to their full potential.

The information contained in the Handwerker-Akten is supplemented nicely by the statistical data of the tax books and muster lists. The former have been used by several historians, because Augsburg possesses an unusually complete set, running from 1378 to 1717. They have also been used because they provide a convenient means for dividing the city into "classes" and doing a variety of social and economic analyses. The Muster Lists have been used rarely, for they are based on occupation rather than "classes" (that is, wealth). Only one historian has connected Tax Book to Muster List, and his aim was to classify occupations according to class.[12]

As an imperial city, the government of Augsburg levied its own taxes to finance itself and its administration of the city. There were three types of personal taxes paid.[13] There was a nominal annual tax called the Wachgeld, which was owed by every citizen and which went for the maintenance of the city's defenses. In addition, every citizen paid a capitation tax of 30 pennies once every seven years.[14] Beyond these basic taxes was a property tax, levied on cash-on-hand, immovable property, rent

income, brass, coal, wood, lead, livestock, grain, tools and other items connected with the workplace.[15] Specifically exempted from the tax were silverware, rings and other jewelry, all household effects, food for one year, two milk cows with their fodder and two horses for a gentleman.[16] Silverware and the like that was used for guests was taxed at one-half the regular rate, so one could not pass off too much wealth as "household effects".[17] Immovable property was taxed at 1/2 florin per 100 florins of value; for movable property the rate was 1/4 florin per 100.[18] There was no income tax. Anyone who paid the per capita tax and the Wachgeld but no property tax was called habnits -- literally, "have-nots". Each summer the Steuermeister (Tax Master) would oversee the levying of the taxes. A tax book was drawn up by the government that divided the city into 95 districts.[19] Tax agents then worked district by district, recording names and amount of tax owed by each head of household, based on that individual's sworn statement of assets.[20]

The Tax Books represent propertied wealth, not income. It would have been possible for a craftsman with little taxable property to have a large income and so live better than the Tax Books would suggest. Similarly, someone with much property and a high tax might have had little cash and so have lived close to poverty. Both of these were possible, but without independent sources to confirm level of wealth we cannot determine the direction or even existence of any bias in the data; we can only acknowledge its possibility.

The Tax Books provide an invaluable resource and have been utilized by a number of historians.[21] Tax information is extremely useful, as the works of these historians have shown, but tax data alone is of limited utility. When figures on wealth stand alone, there is no context, making interpretation of the numbers more difficult. Wealth is a more useful measure to the historian when it is coupled with other data. This other data is supplied, in the case of Augsburg, by the Muster Lists (Musterbücher). The two in conjunction yield a depth to the statistical description that is lacking in studies based on the Tax Books alone.

The Muster Lists were surveys of the citizenry conducted whenever the government felt compelled to do so. In the volatile atmosphere of the 1610's, the City Council commissioned three such surveys in the course of ten years: 1610, 1615 and 1619.[22] The list of masters in each guild was complete save for widows, who appeared on the Muster Lists only when they had sons or journeymen. City agents conducted the survey, working from a list of questions supplied them by the Rat.[23] In 1610 these questions consisted of name, age, type of arms possessed, and military experience. In 1615 and 1619 the questions about arms and military experience were dropped while questions about the number of sons, journeymen and hometown of the journeymen were added. "Sons" probably meant military-aged sons and not children. All journeymen were of military age. The place of origin, called the "Heimatort", was listed for each journeyman, but the names of the journeymen were not recorded.

A fourth survey was conducted in 1645, in the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War.[24] This Musterbuch was quite different from the earlier ones, listing name, number of people, district and religion. The heading "Personen" may mean household, in which case it would include resident apprentices and journeymen, or it may be restricted to family. Since the city will have been interested primarily in the number of able-bodied citizens, and as co-resident family members exclusive of non-related dependents was not a very meaningful social unit in pre-modern times, I am inclined to believe that "Personen" meant household. For the religion of these people there were two columns, one headed Protestant, the other Catholic. No other choices existed.

The information reported to the census takers was not consistent, particularly in the category of age. The difference in age from the 1610 to the 1615 Muster List was not always five years. Sometimes it was eight or two. Some individuals miraculously grew younger. The inconsistencies appear to have been random, so that the aggregate errors probably approximate zero. A second inconsistency was administrative. The city was divided into about 130 to 180 districts for the muster census, but the lines of division were different each time. The evidence for this is that so many individuals are found in a different district from one muster census to the next, we are forced to conclude either that there was an astonishing mobility rate in early modern Augsburg (over 50% in four years) or that the administrative boundaries shifted. Since the "move" most often was from one to an adjacent district, the latter conclusion is far more likely. Unfortunately, this makes it

impossible to derive a measure of geographic mobility within the city, which would have been interesting and worthwhile.

The Muster Lists have rarely been used and have not, to my knowledge, ever been used to analyze specific segments of the population. Yet with occupation, age, location and other vital statistics so readily available, it is a wonder why this should be the case. I have made full use of them in the present work to provide a detailed description of each Handwerk. The Muster Lists are the principal source of basic data on the middle classes of Augsburg in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When coupled with the Tax Books, they provide a solid descriptive framework for subsequent interpretive analysis. I have connected the two together in more extensive fashion to provide correlation between craft, wealth, age, size of shop, religion, location and a variety of other factors. My purpose is to analyze craft rather than class, for it is my conviction that, for the social historian, occupation is a more meaningful unit of analysis than class. Inasmuch as the craft belonged to a particular "class" (as measured by the Tax Books), then my conclusions are applicable to the class as well.

NOTES

1. The entire collection of guild records -- along with tax lists, muster rolls, citizenship records and other documents -- has been microfilmed and is available to scholars at the Genealogical Society Library in Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A. It is from this excellent and extensive microfilm collection that the documents used in this study are taken. All citations refer to documents whose originals are located in the Stadtarchiv Augsburg.

2. Genealogical Society Library Microfilm (GSLM)# 466,116 contains both the Ordnungen for the Millers Guild. It also contains the several editions of the 1549 Ordnung plus the Miller's Oath and other documents relating to the administration of the guild. The Bader und Barbierer Ordnung for 1549 is found on GSLM# 581,003, and the one for 1639 is on GSLM# 581,006.

3. The number of petitions submitted by a given guild varied greatly. Some guilds submitted ten or more petitions a month, while others might not submit a single petition all year.

4. Handwerker-Akten (H-A), Schuhmacher, Coman Stauffer, Supplication, 1549, GSLM# 469,607.

5. H-A, Schuhmacher, Matheiß Baur, Gegenbericht, 27 Jan. 1611, GSLM# 548,059.

6. H-A, Kistler, 14 "Geschworne Maistern", Supplication, 1550, GSLM# 534,604.

7. H-A, Barbierer und Bader, Daniel Schwarz, Supplication, 3 March 1618, GSLM# 581,005.

8. H-A, Barbierer und Bader, Paul Hirblinger, Supplication, 1549, GSLM# 469,945.

9. H-A, Müller, Veordnete Bericht, 21 July 1611, GSLM# 466,463.

10. H-A, Kistler, Verordnete Bericht, 1610, GSLM# 534,607.

11. H-A, Kistler, Decretum in Senatu, 21 July 1604, GSLM# 534,607

12. Friedrich Blendinger, "Versuch einer Bestimmung der Mittelschichte in der Reichsstadt Augsburg vom Ende des 14. bis zum Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts," in Stadtische Mittelschichten, eds. Erich Maschke and Jürgen von Sydow (Stuttgart, 1972), pp. 32 - 78.

13. The most important tax in terms of revenue, however, was the Ungeld, which was a tax levied on basic foodstuffs at the point of sale.

14. Explanation of monetary units its always difficult. The units of conversion are simple enough: 60 pennies -- Pfennige -- equalled one Kreuzer. 60 Kreuzer equalled one florin. What buying power these amounts represented is more difficult to ascertain, nor shall I attempt to do so here. Anyone wishing to convert the figures given in this book into buying power may refer to M. J. Elsas, Umriß einer Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Deutschland vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts, 3 vols. (Leiden, 1936-1949).

15. Clasen, Weber, p. 8.

16. Blendinger, "Versuch", p. 37.

17. Clasen, Weber, p. 9.

18. Blendinger, "Versuch", pp. 37 and 39.

19. Claus Peter Clasen, Die Augsburger Steuerbücher um 1600, (Augsburg, 1976), p. 15.

20. The tax books are on GSLM# 407,871.

21. Prominent among these are: Clasen, Weber; Blendinger, "Versuch"; Jakob Strieder, Zur Genesis des modernen Kapitalismus. Forschungen zur Entstehung der großen bürgerlichen Kapitalvermögen am Ausgang des Mittelalters und zu Beginn der Neuzeit, zunächst in Augsburg, 2nd ed., (Munich and Leipzig, 1931); Jakob Hartung, "Die direkten Steuern und die Vermögensentwicklung in Augsburg von der Mitte des 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert," Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft 22 (1898); Anton Mayr, Die grossen Augsburger Vermögen in der Zeit von 1618 bis 1717, (Augsburg, 1931).

22. Like the tax books, the muster lists were indexed, not only by name but by craft as well. The indices for 1610 and 1615 are on GSLM# 476,285, and the index for 1619 is on GSLM# 476,286. The actual lists are on GSLM# 476,288 (for 1610 and 1615) and GSLM# 476,289 (for 1619).

23. Paul von Stetten, Geschichte der Heilige Römische Reichs Stadt Augspurg, aus bewährten Jahr-Büchern, tüchtigen Urkunden und schriftlichen Handlungen gezogen . . ., 2 vols., (Frankfurt, 1743-1758), p. 818.

24. The actual muster list for 1645 has not survived, but the index can be found on GSLM# 476,286.

CHAPTER III

THE CITY

The beginning of an analysis of a guild must lie in the investigation of the historical environment in which the guild existed. This chapter is a brief survey of that historical environment, the city of Augsburg. The survey does not begin to cover the whole of what is known, for Augsburg was a great city and has been studied by many scholars. Rather, those aspects that were important to the guilds themselves will be stressed, with the aim of presenting the historical context, the immediate environment, in which the craftsmen lived and worked. The survey begins with a look at the geography of the city.

Augsburg is located near the foot of the Tyrol, in the Bavarian county of Swabia. The city is situated adjacent to the Lech River, a major tributary of the Danube River and one of the principal trade routes connecting Venice to northern Europe. As with most important medieval cities, Augsburg was favored both by geography and politics. As the first significant city north of the Brenner Pass, Augsburg became closely tied to Venetian trade and Venetian prosperity. Lying close to the land routes leading east into Austria and Hungary, the city also developed trading connections with those regions. Finally, Augsburg's proximity to the Tyrol permitted its merchants to take early advantage of that region's mining industry.

Augsburg's favorable geographic position indirectly influenced its political position. Emperor Maximilian I chose Augsburg as one of his favorite cities, and had a residence built there. The city was beautiful, participated fully in the Renaissance, and was conveniently situated. It was adjacent to Hapsburg territory, close to Italy, and not too far from the campaigns in the east against the Turks. Furthermore, Maximilian, who was in chronic need of money, became dependent upon loans from wealthy Augsburg families, and this may have influenced his choice. A similar combination of money and geography affected his grandson, Charles V, who chose the city as the site for several imperial diets. Charles was, if anything, even more dependent upon Augsburg money than was Maximilian, and the city's proximity to Italy, Hungary and Hapsburg lands was probably as attractive to the grandson as it had been to the grandfather.

The physical topography of Augsburg was determined by the historical development of the town. Augsburg was a Roman foundation, Augusta Vindelicorum, though there was little, if any, continuity between the Roman and the medieval city.[1] It was founded atop a hill that overlooked the convergence to the north of two rivers: the Lech, and the smaller Wertach. The medieval settlement grew up around the cathedral and a noble residence to the south. Broadly speaking, there were four historical districts, or Viertel, in the town. The cathedral district was in the north-central section of the city, atop the hill. This was at one time the Bischofsstadt, entirely enclosed by its walls. The southern side of these walls were, by the seventeenth century, penetrated by numerous streets and alleys leading from

the episcopal city to a merchant and tradesman's district. East was the Jacober Vorstadt, a major suburb that developed during the Middle Ages. To the north of the cathedral was another suburb, eventually referred to as the Weavers Quarter, but which at this time was divided into St. George's and St. Stephan's. These four districts -- the cathedral district, the Jacober Vorstadt, the Weavers Quarter, and the merchant's quarter -- comprised the basic physical divisions of the city (see Map One).[2]

The Lech River ran to the east of Augsburg, the Wertach River to the west, the two rivers meeting less than a kilometer north of the city. The Wertach was fished, but its waters were never diverted for use as canals. The entire Jacober Vorstadt, in contrast, was located on low-lying land and reached to within two or three hundred meters of the Lech. Canals led from the Lech into Augsburg at three points: a major canal, called the Lechkanal, entered the city at the Schwibboggen Tor just north of the Hospital and just south of the Hospital at the Rotes Tor (see Map Two). The southerly branch formed the Upper Lech canal, while the northern branch divided to form the Middle and Lower Lech canals, all running parallel to each other one block apart north through town. A second canal, called the Ochsenlech, built in 1445, entered the city at the Vogel Tor on the southwest side of the Jacober Vorstadt and ran north through that suburb. The two canal systems were joined by a small canal in 1495 on the northwestern side of the Jacober Vorstadt, where they exited the city to the north.[3] These canals powered most of the city's mills, which were under the supervision of the Master of the Lech (Lechmeister).[4]

The city was divided administratively in several different ways, and the lines drawn shifted regularly. The muster rolls normally divided the city into six districts: the two subdivisions of the Weavers Quarter mentioned above, plus the cathedral district, the merchant district, and the Jacober Vorstadt. The latter was large enough that it was subdivided into four sections, while the cathedral district and the merchant district were subdivided into two sections. Each section or district was divided again into neighborhoods or streets containing only one or two dozen houses on the average. These were the Gassen (streets) that formed the most immediate sense of community. Each Gasse had a neighborhood captain and lieutenant, and an assembly point to which citizens were to report in case of fire, war, or other alarm.[5] These boundaries for militia purposes were drawn differently than for tax purposes, and the militia lines shifted somewhat with each census. Both the tax and the military surveys, however, used six districts as the typical major administrative divisions.

The economic and social topography of Augsburg corresponded to these divisions. Land was expensive in the cathedral district, and most of it was owned by the Bishop of Augsburg. Those private citizens who resided in the district tended to be well-off, and there was a relatively low concentration of artisans here. The Weavers Quarter was poor and heavily populated, particularly in the two quarters of St. George and St. Stephan. The Heilige Kreuzer Viertel had a less heavy concentration of weavers in it. This was also the smallest quarter in Augsburg and may have been in some way a northwest extension of the Merchants Quarter. The heart of the city

was concentrated in and around the Perlach and the Rathaus. Here resided the Fuggers, Welsers, Paumgartners and other famous families. Here were the public buildings such as the Metzg, the Stadtmarkt, the Rathaus, the Zeughaus (see Map Two). Further south were the Hospital and the Poor House. The Jacober Vorstadt was populated mainly by artisans and small retailers.[6] The famous Fuggerei, a poor house founded by Jacob Fugger, was also located here. No one has ever done a study of occupational location for Augsburg, though the sources certainly exist for one. Judging from the data collected for the four guilds under consideration here, plus a purely subjective impression gained from researching those guilds, I would say that distribution of most trades was fairly even throughout the city. A high concentration of public or ecclesiastical buildings and restricted access to water power were the two main factors disturbing the evenness of this distribution. Such a spatial study is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but would provide valuable insights into the society and economy of Augsburg.

Augsburg's political history as an independent entity can be said to have begun in 1276, when it won free of the last vestiges of episcopal rule and became an imperial city.[7] In 1368 there occurred a Zunftrevolution, which was not so much a "guild revolution" as a coup carried out by a circle of merchants and their followers.[8] It was a bloodless coup and resulted in a new constitution (Zunftverfassung) for Augsburg, giving certain guilds direct representation on the City Council, where they now held a majority over the patricians. Far from bringing all artisans into the government, the Zunftverfassung provided representation to only seventeen guilds (Zünfte).

The Zünfte were not only craft guilds but were political units, representing the most influential groups within the city: great merchants (Kaufleute), weavers (Weber), local merchants (Kramer), bakers (Bäker), butchers (Metzger), shoemakers (Schuster), furriers (Kürschner), tailors (Gewandschneider), brewers (Bierbräuer and Bierschenken, or beer sellers), rough wool weavers (Loder, Geschlachtgewander), carpenters (Zimmerleute), leatherers (Lederer), shopkeepers (Hucker), smiths (Schmiede), turners (Schäffler), fishermen (Fischer), and salt and wine merchants (Salzfertiger, Weinschenken).[9] Although the commoners did not take over completely, power was nevertheless shared under the new constitution and the hold of the patriciate on the City Council was broken.

The guilds of this period were autonomous entities. They elected their own leader, the Zunftmeister, and a Council of Twelve (Zwölfern) to rule them. They also elected supervisors, inspectors and other officials as appropriate. They held an absolute majority on both the Inner Council and the Great Council that comprised Augsburg's government. It was this independence and political power that has led most historians to characterize this period as the "height of the guilds". It is important to understand the limits of this characterization. In the first place, several of the most powerful guilds represented merchant interests more than artisinal interests. The butchers, salt and wine guild, and the weavers were all dominated by merchants. Three of the guilds were specifically mercantile in nature: the Kaufleute (most powerful of all the guilds), the Kramer, and the Hucker (who

dealt in local distribution of agricultural products such and grain and timber). Moreover, most guilds had only a very indirect representation. Few guilds were powerful enough to form their own Zunft; namely, the bakers, butchers, brewers, shoemakers, furriers, weavers, and merchants (Kaufleute). Many guilds were not a part of the seventeen Zünfte at all. Many others were amalgamated. For example, the carpenters' Zunft included masons and other building trades, plus the millers. The turners included waggoners and others who worked in wood. The smiths guild included not only all who worked with forged metal (nailsmiths, coppersmiths, armorers, ironsmiths, etc.), but also glassmakers, painters, goldsmiths, engravers, and others. The Zunft, therefore, must be viewed as a political unit as much as an economic unit. Most artisans had little or no say in the decision-making process; indeed, many crafts were completely unrepresented.

During the next 150 years, the city grew enormously in size, wealth and prestige.[10] By the early sixteenth century, Augsburg was entering its economic golden age, but the Reformation brought religious strife and political eclipse. The majority of the citizens were Protestant, but many of the city's leading citizens were strongly Catholic. With no clear majority on the City Council, the government was torn between the demand of a majority of its citizens for church reform and the fear of reprisals from its Catholic lord and neighbors. The Rat consciously tried to steer a middle course between these two dangers, and succeeded for three decades, despite the problems arising from serving as host to two imperial diets while trying to placate the militant and vocal Protestant elements among the citizenry.[11]

Efforts at moderation failed in the volatile atmosphere of the 1540's. Led by the guildsman Jacob Herbrot, the militants took Augsburg into the Schmalkaldic League and into war. In 1548 Charles V laid siege to the city. Cut off from both food and markets, the great industrial and financial center soon capitulated, and imperial troops occupied the city. In a dramatic move that surprised nearly everyone, the Emperor called the Mayor and City Council to the main hall of the bishop's palace. At this meeting, the Imperial Vice-Chancellor read a statement from Emperor Charles to the effect that the City Council was dissolved, and that he was appointing a new one, which would be charged with redrawing the city's constitution.[12] The entire Council along with all city officials were thereupon relieved of their offices. The new City Council consisted of 21 patricians, three Mehreren (a position halfway between patrician and commoner), and seven commoners. Catholicism was fully restored in the city, and many leading Protestants were forced out.[13]

In 1549, following imperial instructions, the City Council drew up a new Workers' Ordinance, which dissolved the Zünfte. The Zunft master and the committees of the Twelvers were abolished, and each guild was placed under overseers (Vorgehern) appointed by the City Council. The plate and guild houses of ten guilds were confiscated, and the proceeds went to pay the large indemnity levied on the city as punishment for its resistance by Charles V. Guildsmen were forbidden to hold assemblies, openly or in private.[14] It was the end of the Zunftverfassung in Augsburg. Gone were the political guilds, the ZÜnfte, and representation on the Council was permanently

tipped in favor of the patriciate and the merchants, though commoners still had a minority representation. Charles had no complaints with guilds or the guild system. He simply was determined to remove the guilds from political power and to eliminate the possibility that guildsmen or other commoners could ever dictate policy. This he accomplished in 1549.

The political issues of the Reformation were settled in Augsburg in 1555. The city was Catholic in its foreign policy, but passively so; internally, it was staunchly neutral. A tacit policy of parity in government offices finally was enacted into law in 1648. The situation in the early seventeenth century was stable, therefore, and the city had not seen any serious political debate since the Kalendarstreit of the 1570's.

Demographic data provide a yardstick frequently used to measure a city's economy and society. The most complete study of Augsburg's demography was made by Aloys Schreiber. Although his estimates of total population are somewhat high, he provides the only extended discussion of the subject. His figures show that Augsburg's population was essentially stable from 1537 to 1619, varying no more than seven percent over the entire eighty year span.[15] During the terrible plague years of 1627-1628 and the Swedish Occupation (1632-1635), the city suffered enormous losses, which had reached over fifty percent by 1634. It did not recover its prewar population until the population boom of the nineteenth century.[16]

The years under consideration here were exceptionally stable. There was no plague in the 1610's. There were three epidemics of fever, but losses were not extensive.[17] The ratios of births to deaths to marriages were

very healthy and the city was enjoying a modest spurt of growth. The calamities of the Thirty Years' War were still a decade in the future, while no demographic crisis had befallen the town since 1607. Augsburg in 1610 was at the end of a period of rapid growth and had reached a historic high in population. The total taxed wealth of the city reached a level in 1618 that it never achieved again.[18]

The number of people in Augsburg doubled between 1475 and 1619, from around 15,000 to over 30,000. Certain crafts grew at an even faster pace: there were 96 tailors in 1475, 208 in 1619; there were 56 goldsmiths in 1529 and 189 in 1619.[19] By comparison, there were 90 shoemakers in 1536, 115 in 1615, and 130 in 1653. There were only three joiners in 1403, while there were 122 in 1615.[20] Most dramatic was the growth and decline of the weavers: 550 in 1475, 2,289 in 1619 and 660 in 1679. The city was ravaged by the Thirty Years' War and did not recover its pre-war population until well into the nineteenth century.[21]

Augsburg, for a time during the sixteenth century, was among the premier financial centers of Europe. Its mining companies were without peer, its trading companies operated on the largest scale, and its great families financed some of the most prestigious and powerful nobles in Europe. The city experienced its period of greatest economic growth in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, based on the weaving and mining industries together with international trade and finance. It was a European city of the first rank, and was generally considered the richest city in Germany.[22] A variety of factors put an end to the period of rapid expansion around the middle of

the sixteenth century. By 1600, Augsburg was no longer in the first rank of financial and trading centers, and was entering the period generally described as the "decline of Augsburg".[23] The causes for this decline have been assigned to various factors by a variety of scholars.[24] I will not discuss those interpretations here, except to point out that Augsburg's so-called decline was, in the early seventeenth century, not so much a decline as it was slow or zero growth. Augsburg on the eve of the Thirty Years' War was as rich as she had ever been, and still brooked no rivals within Germany. If cities like Antwerp were overshadowing her, what late-medieval center did not share the same fate? Some of her great families had suffered severe losses and even bankruptcy, but others had risen to take their place. If there were symptoms of decline, they were restricted and not readily visible to contemporaries. Augsburg's economy, while no longer expanding, was at full maturity, and contemporaries had no reason to think that Augsburg's "Golden Age" would not continue indefinitely.

There were two economies in Augsburg, as there were in every large city: an external economy, with production for export, international finance and foreign investments and agents; and an internal economy, with production confined to the domestic market and little involvement with economies outside the central place region. Most goods and services consumed by Augsburgers were produced and sold by Augsburgers within the city. Three industries, however, had significant involvement in international markets: cloth, meat and precious metals.

The weaving industry was the original basis of Augsburg's late medieval prosperity, and much of the city's demographic growth in the sixteenth century was due to the influx of weavers.[25] The guild was extremely influential politically prior to 1548, and was also the source of repeated disturbances among the populace. The weavers of Augsburg primarily produced wool and linen, with nearly three thousand weavers being employed at the industry's height early in the 1600's. In 1610, 43% of the artisans were weavers; and for the population as a whole, every fifth person was a weaver.[26] Many of Augsburg's great families made their original fortunes in the export of Augsburg cloth.

There were other industries in Augsburg that produced for export as well. Although the next largest guild in Augsburg was the Tailors Guild, with 196 members in 1610, its activities were strictly local. The goldsmiths, however, sold to an international market and were only slightly fewer in number (187 goldsmiths in 1610). This industry continued to grow after the Thirty Years War. In the eighteenth century Augsburg goldsmiths were among the most prominent in central Europe, selling their products to the courts at Munich and Vienna as well as engaging in money lending.[27] The meat trade was the third important area of production. The butchers purchased cattle from as far away as Poland and Hungary, slaughtered them in Augsburg, and sold the meat to western markets.[28]

The export business was one important segment of the second major area of activity in Augsburg's external economy -- trade. International trade formed the foundation of the wealth of the patriciate and was based not only

on Augsburg's wool and silk but also on spices and cloth from the Mediterranean, with the city acting as a distribution node for Venetian goods.[29]

Mining was the third foundation of Augsburg's wealth, particularly in silver and copper. The city was one of the prime agents in the mining boom in central Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Hungary, the Tyrol, Carinthia and Bohemia Augsburg families hired or formed partnerships with men who introduced major innovations in mining technology, producing enormous fortunes. In a single year the Fuggers mined 27,000 florins worth of silver and 121,600 florins of copper.[30] The profit alone for a seven year period from the Tyrolean and Carinthian Trade Company (a mining company, despite its name) was 921,518 florins.[31] Eventually overwhelmed by the influx of American silver, the mines of central Europe played out in the seventeenth century, and Augsburgers were not significantly involved in mining after the Thirty Years' War.[32]

These three areas of activity -- weaving, trade and mining -- formed the basis of family fortunes that were a match for any in Europe. There was so much wealth here that Augsburg families could act as financiers on an unprecedented scale. Each area was related to the other so that, as the European economy prospered, Augsburg's economy boomed. Conversely, when the international economy sagged, the city's patrician fortunes crashed, and some even went bankrupt. The history of the renowned Fugger family illustrates the relationships.

Around the year 1380 a weaver named Hans Fugger, from the village of Graben, entered Augsburg, and a few years later purchased citizenship. He was highly successful, leaving an estate worth 3,000 florins. For two generations in the fifteenth century his descendants followed the twin paths of weaver and cloth merchant. In 1459, Jacob Fugger was born. He was the second in the family with that name, though the nickname given him by contemporaries was "the Rich".[33] When he was only eighteen years old, he was the seventh richest man in the city in taxed wealth.[34] In 1480 Jacob and his two brothers invested in mines in the Alpine Bergbau and in others near Salzburg. In 1483 the Fuggers expanded into Tyrolean copper and in 1494 into Hungarian and Carinthian mines.[35] The family soon developed a way to expand its mining operations at a phenomenal rate. Using the income from existing mines, the Fuggers made loans to nobles of high rank, who in turn pledged one or more years' income from their own mines. The Fuggers then took over operation of these mines, increased their output with advanced techniques, and reaped windfall profits. As often as not, the nobles defaulted on their loans and the Fuggers obtained the mines outright. One of the family's best customers was Emperor Maximilian I, whose favorite residence was Augsburg and who was in chronic need of cash. In 1515, Maximilian pledged the income from his copper mines for four years.[36] The princely income from these mines put the Fuggers in a powerful position. When Emperor Charles V was maneuvering for the imperial election, he went through a vast quantity of borrowed money. There were three main sources of funds in the whole process: the Welsers (another Augsburg family of note),

who loaned 143,000 florins; the cities of Genoa and Florence, which together loaned 165,000 florins; and the Fuggers, who loaned nearly twice the amount of the others combined -- 543,000 florins.[37] The largest single loan ever made by the family was 560,000 florins; the largest loss absorbed was for 750,000 florins.[38] While few families operated on the scale of the Fuggers, there were many that had extensive business dealings in the three areas of weaving, mining and finance.

Besides being a center of industry, trade and finance, Augsburg was also the dominant city in Swabia. It was an administrative center even though it owned no land outside its own walls, for the Bishop of Augsburg administered many lands and jurisdictions.[39] Many of Augsburg's wealthier citizens, moreover, owned land outside the city, influencing life in those areas directly. In turn, these properties provided grain, wood and other vital supplies to the city. The holdings of religious institutions were especially important in the provision of goods.[40] Augsburg was the primary central place, with Kempten in the second rank, places such as Memmingen and Nördlingen in the third rank, and towns like Lauingen, Mindelheim and Wertingen in the fourth tier. All these towns fell within the effective reach of Augsburg's central place region; that is, within the range of forty to sixty kilometers.[41] The city was also a central place for communications such as mail, printing and news: the first post road was built through Augsburg in 1496; there were six Bibles printed between 1473 and 1490 alone; and the first newspaper, a Neue Zeitung, appeared in 1482.[42]

The internal economy of Augsburg in the early seventeenth century showed little or no sign of ailing health, despite the dislocations on the international scene. No one has written a history of Augsburg's domestic economy, so it is difficult to make an informed judgment in this regard, but the size of guilds (a relatively reliable measure of growth or decline) remained more or less constant for the years 1610 - 1619. Since the internal economy produced for the citizenry alone, growth would have been in direct relation to the size of the population, and the overall population of Augsburg had remained steady for decades. The reason for the divergent fortunes of the two economies is that the two really were quite unrelated. The flow of capital in the external economy was handled by a small coterie of great families whose investments, factors and interests lay outside the city walls.

The flow of capital in the internal economy was almost entirely confined within the city walls. Some guildsmen, such a butchers or goldsmiths, dealt directly with the outside world, but most guildsmen did not. They bought locally and sold locally; indeed, some were forbidden to do otherwise.[43] Consequently, dislocations in the one sector might not affect the other at all. The bankruptcy of the Welsers in 1610, for example, probably had little impact on the Shoemakers Guild. Conversely, problems in the Barbers and Bathhouse Keepers Guild would have had little effect on the Fuggers or the world of international finance. The two economies were not completely independent, of course. A strike by journeyman shoemakers in 1726 was extensive enough to provoke imperial reaction, and the runaway inflation around 1621, known as the Kipper- und Wipperzeit, had a devastating

effect on most craftsmen.[44] In the normal course of business, however, there were two distinct economies whose paths, as far as most craftsmen were concerned, never crossed.

It would be a mistake to view the craftsmen as utterly provincial because of the local focus of their economic activites, for they were not unaware of events on a larger scale. Their active participation in the Reformation controversies is sufficient proof of that.[45] Françoise Lévy-Coblentz, in a massive study of the joiners of Straßburg, has shown that even the common trade of furniture-making was sensitive to the artistic tastes and innovations of the Renaissance.[46] The Handwerker-Akten of Augsburg, moreover, reveal that letters were exchanged between guilds of different cities, discussing matters of common concern.[47] In other words, the horizon of the guildsmen was not so dominated by the city walls that they could not see beyond them.

The social structure of Augsburg was similar to that found in other German cities of the day. That is to say, it was a subtle, complex hierarchy baffling and, to the modern mind, seemingly full of contradictions, yet apparently understood readily by contemporaries in all its richness. An extended debate has been carried on for years over the best way to describe the structure of early modern society, centering on two approaches: Marxist and non-Marxist (or capitalist), the former arguing for "class" and the latter for "estate" as the correct social unit of analysis.[48] Taking my cue from the city I study, I shall take the via media and employ both with equanimity.

Most historians who analyze pre-modern class structure do little more than use tax records to construct a hierarchy of upper, middle and lower class, an approach that effectively makes class equal to the tax that an individual paid. Historians have used these categories to study change over time, tracing the rise and fall of various classes.[49] This approach is fine for examining secular change, or for examining who held wealth in a society, but it is not very helpful in itself for examining the middle and lower layers of society. Few studies attempt to distinguish among those who paid taxes of less than ten florins, making it impossible to examine the lower classes in any detail.[50] I have used tax data in the present study, and have made several divisions in that under-ten florin category, but other sources must be utilized to achieve a more correct understanding of the social relationships.

A second approach is the estate theory, which argues that pre-modern society was ordered according to estates, based on social status. "Estate" in German is Stand, which can also mean "status". Status is not so easily measured as taxes and studies of "estate" lack the mathematical precision of class analyses. Using only the three estates of noble, cleric and commoner is no help at all for urban societies, but sub-divisions are available. One advantage of analysis by estates is that one can employ social units that were actually used and understood by the people of the time. One source for such social units is the Kleiderordnung (Clothing Ordinance) of Augsburg, issued in 1735, which gives a fairly detailed accounting of the social strata of the time.[51]

Before examining the divisions made by the Kleiderordnung, we must take account of the fundamental division between citizen and non-citizen. The citizen had full rights and obligations. Some citizens held special status, the Immunität; these included imperial appointees, the clergy and some villagers. In 1730 there were 516 people who possessed this privilege. There were also the Beisitzer, residents but not citizens, who paid an annual fee for the right to live and work in Augsburg. In 1730 there were 374 Beisitzer. There were in the same year 5,614 citizens (Bürgerrechtsinhaber), of whom 3,096 were artisans. Additionally there may have been as many as 8,000 in the city with no legal status at all.[52] The Kleiderordnung applied to citizens only.

The Kleiderordnung divided the citizenry into five social groups, but in defining these five the document indentified other groups as well, allowing us to see who was on a par with whom. Group One was "the noble lords of the patriciate . . . as well as the society of the Mehrer" (der Adelichen Herren Geschlechter-Stuben. . . auch die von Mehreren Gesellschaft), plus Doctors and Licentiates. The Geschlechter were the patricians of the city, and status as a Geschlechter was difficult to achieve. To qualify, one's family had to have married for a long time in patrician families, to hold a patent of nobility (Adelsbrief), and to have over 20,000 florins in wealth.[53] The Mehreren were patricians-in-the-making. When a non-patrician married a patrician, the couple became Mehrer. Depending upon the era, patrician status was conferred either upon their children or upon their grandchildren. The patrician clubs (Stuben) served to identify the

patriciate publicly, as people could see who went to the clubs and who did not. The high status of the university-trained shows the enormous social impact these institutions had in early modern times. There were about 80 families in Group One in 1730.[54]

Group Two consisted of "common people who are elected to the City Council or the court" (Personen von der Gemeind, so bald in den Rath oder Gericht erwählet werden), including "High Officials" of the city (Ober-Officiales) and "Citizen Captains" (Bürgerliches Capitains) and the "Members of the Upper Faculty" of the schools (Litterati der Höcheren Fakultäten) -- about 250 families in all.[55] Here we have the highest stratum to which a commoner could aspire. It was achieved only through public service or education, and probably could not be reached from the level of a simple artisan.

Group Three was labelled as "the middle class" (mittleren Dienst), by which was meant "anyone active in exports and imports" (alle, so im Kauffen und Verkauffen importierliche Gewerb, Handlungen und Faktoreyen treiben). Note that even the great merchants were ranked at or below the educated and the upper governmental administration. Also in Group Three were those craftsmen who "excelled in their craft and are especially famous" (in der Stadt notorie in ihren Künsten excellieren und sonderbar berühmt synd), as well as the city officials who governed the Lech River, the city walls and public buildings. There were approximately 400 to 450 families in this group.[56] Group Three was the highest station a craftsman could hold, and even then he had to be more merchant than artisan, or he had to be a

maker of beautiful objects. As education could raise one's social status, so could artistic skill and fame in one's craft.

Group Four were the "incorporated people" (einverleibt Löbl): masters, city employees, shopkeepers, and servants of Group One. Journeymen were in the same social class as their masters. All the craftsmen covered in the present study were ranked in Group Four. It is important to note that it was the possession of guild membership that distinguished Group Four from Group Five. This provides direct evidence of the social significance of guilds. It should be further noted that guild membership was not ipso facto a bar to moving up to Group Three; rather, it was the nature of one's craft that presented the difficulty. There were roughly 2,300 families in Group Four.[57]

The lowest rung, Group Five, held everyone else: "all others, who are not merchants or artisans; also, day laborers, wage earners, carters and the like" (alle öbrige, die keine Handwerker oder Cramer sind; Item Lehen-Gutscher, Fuhr-Leute, Taglöhner und dergleichen). This group also included the unemployed, beggars and factory workers.[58] Here is another bit of evidence for the social significance of early modern guilds. One could be employed, but without a Handwerk one was considered to be of the lowest sort.

There was actually a sixth group, but its social status was so low that it did not merit official attention. The members of this group were the unehrliche Leute, the people without station in life -- Jews, gypsies, prostitutes, criminals, serfs, and people with dishonorable professions such as

the public executioner or grave diggers.[59] Some of these could still have been citizens, and so have a slightly higher standing than a similar person with no citizenship. Despite one's social standing in the city, one could always look down on the lowly peasants, trudging in from the countryside to the city's markets. Country people were regarded as a distinct step down the social ladder from city people.

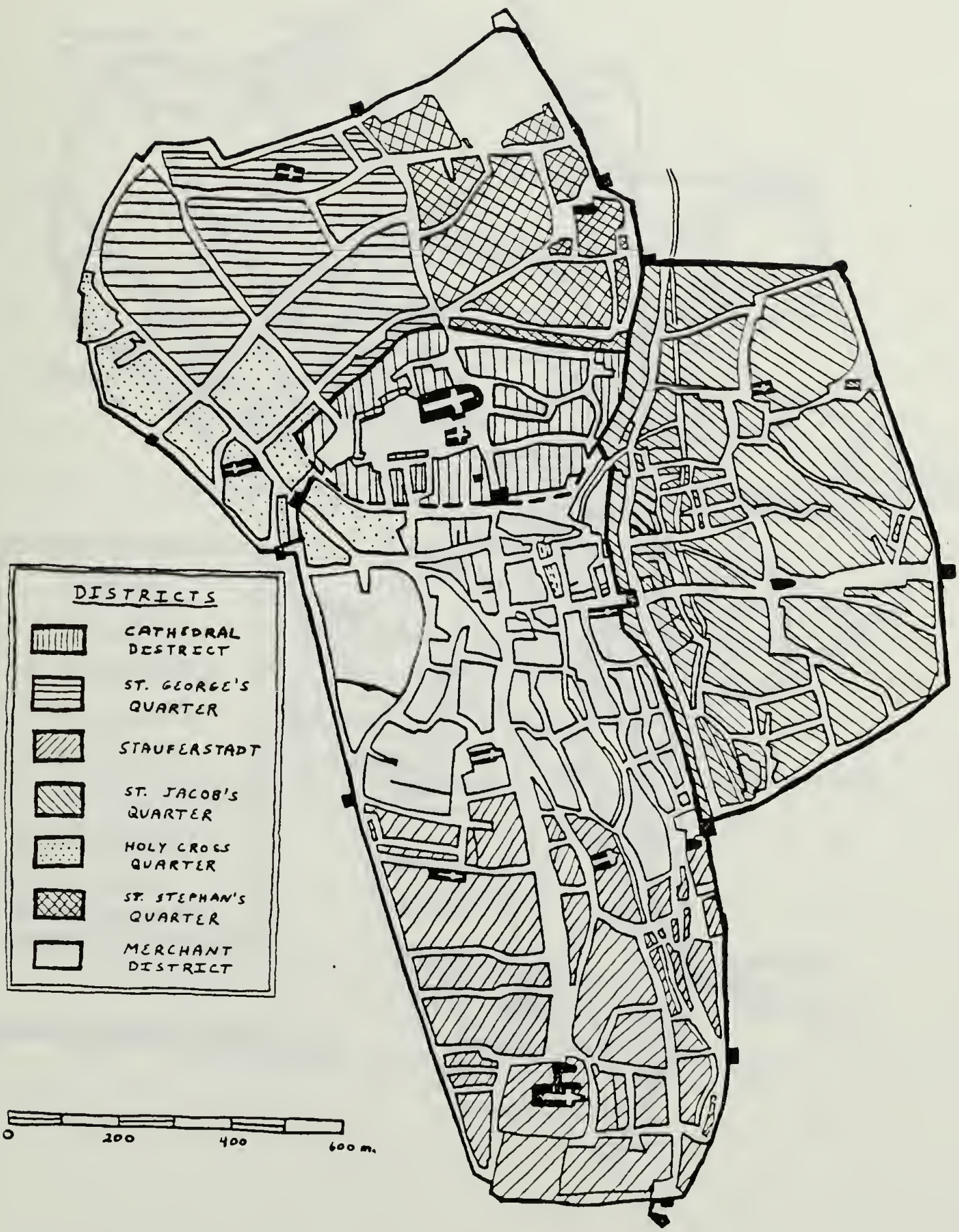
The social heirarchy described in the Kleiderordnung of 1735 represents the social order as perceived at the time. It shows a highly-striated society at the top, with the great mass of the citizenry lumped indifferently on the bottom two rungs. As sumptuary legislation, this document was mostly concerned with those having the resources with which to be sumptuous. It is worth noting, however, that this hierarchy differs from one based solely on wealth. For example, a class analysis would place the rich merchant among the power brokers of Group One.

According to a class analysis, all the guildsmen studied in the present work were lower class. According to status, they were of respectable station, of the Third Estate, middle class. According to the Kleiderordnung, they were Group Four — lower middle class. Regardless of the method of analysis, all agree in placing the guildsmen far from the centers of prestige and power in the social hierarchy. What is lacking in all three approaches is the ability to distinguish between the social standing of individual crafts. Yet, we know that some crafts had a higher prestige and a higher income than others. Placing the guilds in a hierarchy of crafts is one purpose of this study.

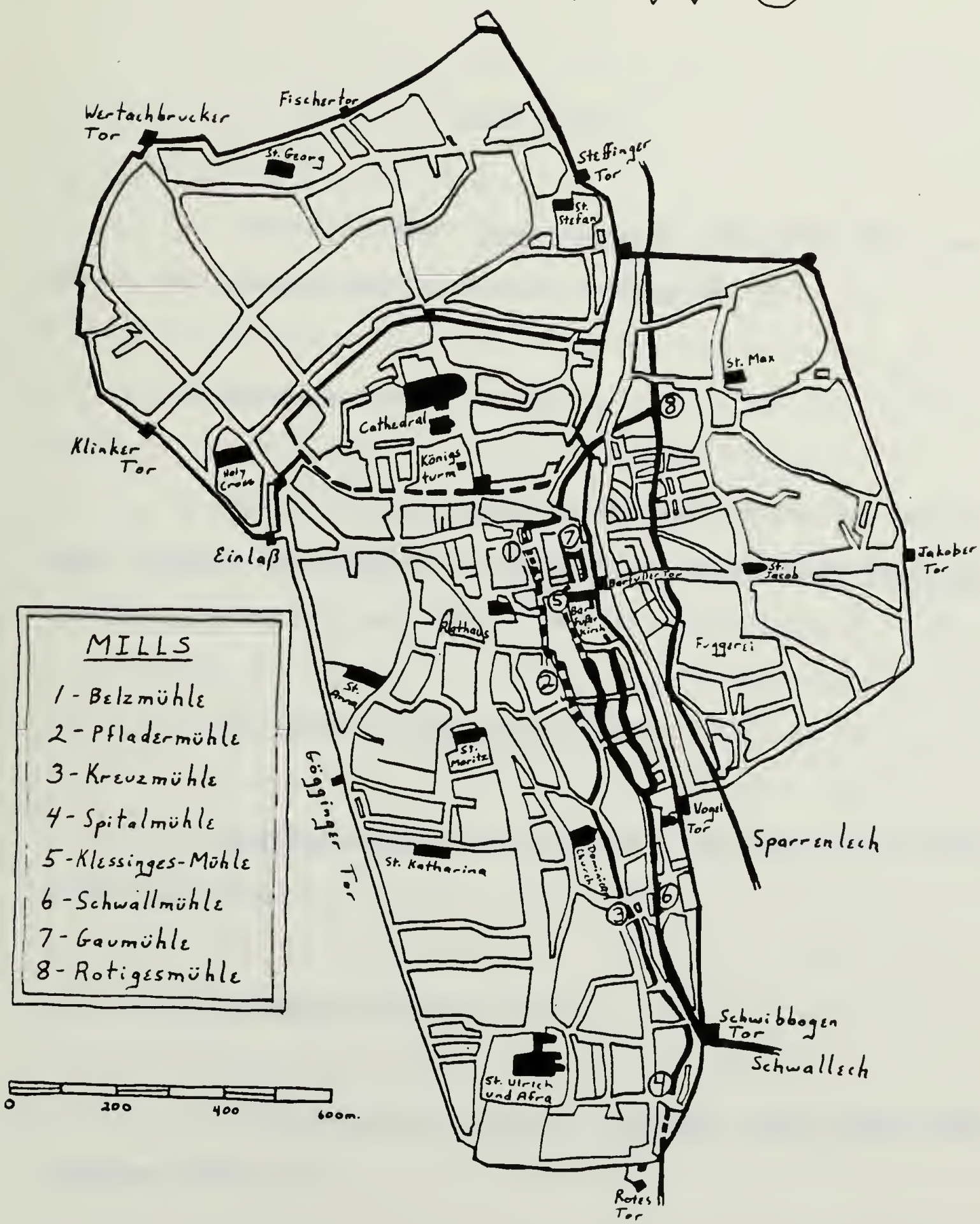
Guildsmen occupied the lower rungs of society, and the social structure was such that there was little hope of their ever moving up into the ranks of the wealthy (if one is class conscious) or the Mehrer and Geschlechter (if one is status conscious). Nevertheless, there was ample opportunity for mobility at the bottom: the master could slip back into the ranks of the poor, or he could see his children trained in higher trades and gain from that. Most guildsmen did not participate in foreign trade or finance, but were restricted to the internal, domestic economy. They had no political voice, and their guilds had no autonomy. They were not necessarily provincial and they certainly were not isolated, but their interests and activities were largely bounded by the urban environment.

That urban environment was generally stable and thriving. Augsburg in the early seventeenth century was a city facing problems, particularly in the areas of finance and mining, but few in the city would have believed that they lived in a century of crisis. Political relations with the outside world, as well as the situation internally, were both stable. This was a functioning city that was neither in transition nor in decline. Whether the problems it faced would have developed into crises is a question rendered speculative by the disastrous intervention of the Thirty Years' War, an event that was an unmitigated catastrophe for the city.[60] Prior to that event, however, the guildsmen could look at their world, their city, with satisfaction and pride.

MAP ONE


DISTRICTS
CATHEDRAL DISTRICT
ST. GEORGE'S QUARTER
STAUFERSTADT
ST. JACOB'S QUARTER
HOLY CROSS QUARTER
ST. STEPHAN'S QUARTER
MERCHANT DISTRICT
0
200
400
600 m.

MAP TWO


Wertachbrucker Tor
Fischertor
St. Georg
Steffinger Tor
St. Stefan
St. Max
Cathedral
Königs turm
Klinker Tor
Holy Cross
Einlaß
Jakober Tor
St. Jacob
Bertyller Tor
Rathaus
Fuggerei
St. Moritz
Gögginger Tor
Vogel Tor
Sparrenlech
St. Katharina
Dominican Church
Schwibbogen Tor
Schwallech
St. Ulrich und Afra
Rotes Tor
MILLS
1 - Belzmühle
2 - Pfladermühle
3 - Kreuzmühle
4 - Spitalmühle
5 - Klessinges-Mühle
6 - Schwallmühle
7 - Gaumühle
8 - Rotigesmühle
0
200
400
600m.

NOTES

1. Detlev Schröder, Stadt Augsburg, Historischer Atlas von Bayern, Teil Schwaben, Heft 10, (Munich, 1975), pp. 34 - 41.

2. Blendinger "Versuch", p. 33.

3. Schröder, Stadt Augsburg, pp. 99 - 101; and Paul von Stetten, Kunst- Gewerb- und Handwerks Geschichte der Reichs-Stadt Augspurg, 2 volumes (Augsburg, 1779 and 1788), 1: 138 - 141.

4. von Stetten, Kunstgeschichte, 1: 149.

5. Neighborhood captains were listed at the head of every section on the muster rolls.

6. Blendinger, "Versuch", p. 34.

7. Wolfgang Zorn, Augsburg: Geschichte einer deutsche Stadt (Augsburg, 1972), p. 79.

8. Pius Dirr, "Studien zur Geschichte der Augsburger Zunftverfassung 1368 - 1548," ZHVSN 39 (1913): p. 165, called the coup "eine augsburgisch gemütliche Revolution".

9. Zorn, Augsburg, 94 - 153 covers this period, which was not entirely free of class conflict, contrary to the assertion by Karl Bosl, Die wirtschaftliche und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung des Augsburger Bürgertums vom 10. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert (Munich, 1969), p. 33.

10. Phillip Broadhead examines these years in two essays, "Popular Pressure for Reform in Augsburg, 1524 - 1534" in Stadtbürgertum und Adel in der Reformation. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Reformation in England und Deutschland, ed. W. J. Mommsen (Stuttgart, 1979), pp. 80 - 87; and "Politics and Expediency in the Augsburg Reformation", in Reformation Principle and Practice. Essays in Honour of A. G. Dickens, ed. P. N. Brooks (London, 1980), pp. 55 - 70. For a discussion of the role played by the prominent Catholic families see H. J. Kirch, Die Fugger und der Schmalkaldische Krieg (Munich and Leipzig, 1915); for the Protestant party see Paul Hecker, "Der Augsburger Bürgermeister Jakob Herbrot und der Sturz des zünftischen Regiments in Augsburg," ZHVSN 1 (1874), pp. 34 - 98.

11. Friedrich Karl Gullman, Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg seit ihrer Entstehung bis zum Jahre 1806, 6 volumes (Augsburg, 1822), 4: 240 - 242.

12. Zorn, Augsburg, p. 191.

13. Zorn, Augsburg, p. 192; and Clasen, Weber, pp. 73 - 74.

14. Zorn, Augsburg, p. 220.

15. Aloys Schreiber, "Die Entwicklung der Augsburger Bevölkerung vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts," Archiv für Hygiene und Bakteriologie 123 (1939 - 1940), pp. 106 - 108 and 110.

16. Schreiber, "Augsburger Bevölkerung", pp. 112 - 117.

17. Dietrich Oeter, Sterblichkeit und kuchengeschichte der Bevölkerung bayerischer Städte von 1348 - 1870 (Cologne, 1971), pp. 45 - 46.

18. Mayr, Augsburger Vermögen, p. 9.

19. Blendinger, "Versuch", p. 56.

20. Schreiber, "Augsburger Bevölkerung," pp. 156 - 157.

21. Schreiber, "Augsburger Bevölkerung," p. 129.

22. A popular song celebrated Augsburg among the great cities of the world, with a distinct German bias:

Hatt'ich Venedigs Macht,
Augsburger Pracht,
Nürnberger Witz,
Straßburger Geschütz,
und Ulmer Geld,
so wär'ich der Reichste von der Welt.

Quoted in Zorn, Augsburg, p. 159.

23. Wolfgang Zorn entitles his chapter on the seventeenth century "Glanzvoller Neidergang", Augsburg, p. 198.

24. Christel Warnemünde, Augsburger Handel in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 16. Jahrhunderts und dem beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert (n.p., 1956), calls the period around 1600 a time of retreat (Rückgang), and blames a variety of factors including the religious wars, new business methods, and a loss of "capitalist spirit" -- pp. 215 - 217. Hermann Kellenbenz points to the "epochal change" of the rise of the Atlantic economy and the concommitant shift in historic trade routes: "Die Wirtschaft der

schwäbischen Reichsstädte zwischen 1648 und 1740", Esslinger Studien 11 (1965), p. 164. See also Mayr, Augsburger Vermögen, pp. 10 - 12.

25. Blendinger, "Versuch," p. 53.

26. Clasen, Weber, p. 23.

27. Blendinger, "Versuch," p. 55.

28. Zorn, Augsburg, p. 197.

29. See, for example, Alfred Weitnauer, Venezianischer Handel der Fugger, nach dem Musterbuchhaltung des Matthäus Schwarz (Munich and Leipzig, 1931).

30. Zorn, Augsburg, p. 156.

31. Zorn, Augsburg, p. 195.

32. Kellenbenz, "Wirtschaft der schwäbische Reichsstädte," p. 154.

33. Jacob Strieder Jacob Fugger the Rich, Merchant and Banker of Augsburg, 1459 - 1525, trans. Mildred L. Hartsough, ed. N. S. B. Gras (Hamden, Conn., 1931).

34. Strieder, Fugger, p. 60

35. Strieder, Fugger, p. 114; the Fuggers did not mine in the Tyrol directly until 1522, see p. 109.

36. Strieder, Fugger, pp. 127 and 131-132.

37. Strieder, Fugger, pp. 149 - 151.

38. Zorn, Augsburg, p. 184.

39. See Schröder, Stadt Augsburg, pp. 112 - 125 for areas controlled by the bishop, and 133 - 146 for the holdings of monasteries.

40. Rolf Kießling, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse der oberdeutsche Reichsstadt (Augsburg, 1971), p. 133.

41. Kießling, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft, p. 132.

42. Zorn, Augsburg, p. 158.

43. This was the case in the Joiners Guild, for example.

44. Rolf Wissell, Des alten Handwerks Recht und Gewohnheit, 2 volumes (Berlin, 1929) 1: 524 ff. discusses "Der Aufstand der Augsburger Schuhknechte"; for the inflation of 1620 - 1622 see Erich Redlich, Die deutsche Inflation des frühen siebzehnten Jahrhunderts in der zeitgenössischen Literatur: die Kipper und Wipper (Cologne, 1972).

45. The crowd that assembled outside the Rathaus on 6 August 1524 to protest the exile of a Protestant preacher was composed primarily of brewers, butchers and weavers — Zorn, Augsburg, p. 171.

46. Françoise Lévy-Coblentz, L'art du meuble en Alsace, Volume One, Du gothique au baroque 1480 - 1698 (Strasbourg, 1975), pp. 83 - 86.

47. See, for example, the letters sent to Regensburg and Nuremberg by the barbers and bathhouse keepers of Augsburg in 1638 -- H-A, Brief, April 1638, GSLM# 581,006.

48. Most prominent among the Marxist historians is Karl Czok, who redefined the social classes involved in the so-called guild revolutions of the

fourteenth century in his essay "Zunftkämpfe, Zunftrevolution oder Bürgerkämpfe" Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität 8 (1958/1959), pp. 129 - 142. Also important is Erich Maschke, "Verfassung und soziale Kräfte in der deutschen Stadt des späten Mittelalters, vornehmlich in Oberdeutschland," VSWG 46 (1959): 289-349 and 433-476; a detailed but typical example of the analysis of society by class and wealth is Erik Fügedi, "Steuerlisten, Vermögen und soziale Gruppen in mittelalterlichen Städten," in Städtische Gesellschaft, ed. I. Bàtori, pp. 58 - 96; on the other side of the ideological fence lies Roland Mousnier, who began the controversy by presenting a scheme of analysis based on estate rather than class; see Social Hierarchies: 1450 to the Present (New York, 1973). An attempt to analyze society according to the principles of sociology is made by Erdmann Weyrauch, "Über Soziale Schichtung" in Städtische Gesellschaft, ed. I. Bàtori, pp. 5 - 57.

49. Jacob Strieder was the pioneer of this approach for Augsburg. He was followed by Anton Mayr and Jacob Hartung and, more recently, Friedrich Blendinger.

50. Mayr defines any who paid under twenty florins as having "kleine Vermögen" - Augsburger Vermögen, p. 13. Schreiber, Augsburger Bevölkerung, p. 150 distinguishes between those who paid no tax (habnits, pauperes) and those who paid under ten florins. Blendinger takes a more useful approach by distinguishing between those who paid under three florins

and those who paid between three and ten florins. Even this approach, however, fails to capture most differences, as the bulk of the guildsmen still fall in the lowest group - over forty percent in most years; see "Versuch", p. 71.

51. Roland Bettger, Das Handwerk in Augsburg, beim Übergang der Stadt an das Königreich Bayern (1788 - 1818) (Augsburg, 1979), p. 33.

52. Bettger, Handwerk in Augsburg, pp. 33 - 34.

53. Gullman, Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg, p. 231.

54. Bettger, Handwerk in Augsburg, p. 35.

55. Bettger, Handwerk in Augsburg, p. 35.

56. Bettger, Handwerk in Augsburg, p. 36.

57. Bettger, Handwerk in Augsburg, p. 37.

58. Bettger, Handwerk in Augsburg, p. 38.

59. See Werner Danckert's excellent study, Unehrliche Leute, Die verfermte Berufe (Bern, 1963), one of the few detailed studies of this social class.

CHAPTER IV

THE CRAFTS

There are histories of virtually every craft ever invented. Most of these histories are concerned with the technology of the craft and pay little attention to the historical context. Tools and techniques are important elements in reconstructing the history of a craft, as I shall demonstrate in this chapter, but more is needed. Only a handful of crafts have received the attention of historians seeking to set forth how the craft fit into the society and economy around it.[1] The handful of histories that do stress the historical context, on the other hand, sometimes pass over the practical aspects of a craft with too light a hand. These dwell on regulations and economic records and literary evidence at the expense of discussing the physical and capital requirements of production. The present chapter strikes a balance between these two genres by showing how tool and shop affected, and were in turn affected by, the social and economic milieu. The emphasis throughout is on the pragmatic and tangible, with the aim of demonstrating how the internal and the external sides of the craft influenced each other to produce the historical reality.

Shoemakers

When one conjures a mental image of a medieval craftsman at work, that of a shoemaker at his bench is probably one of the most common and familiar. When Jobst Amman, a sixteenth century engraver who illustrated a

famous book on occupations, sought to depict the craft, he chose to show precisely this scene.[2] Shoemaking is a ancient craft and is, in fact, one of the oldest incorporated trades on record.[3] The maker of shoes, however, had another function, which was equally if not more important to his economic survival. The shoes, once made, had to be sold, and in this the manufacturer became a retailer. There were three types of manufacturers in Augsburg: those who, like the weavers, sold their product to merchants who then sold either to retailers or directly to the consumer; those who, like the joiners, manufactured only on demand; and those who made their product and stockpiled it, hoping to sell to the general public. The shoemakers fell into both the latter two categories. Some shoemakers had a large and wealthy clientele, who came to the shoemaker's shop and requested specific items, which the shoemaker then made. Other shoemakers made their shoes then sold them in the open market to the general public. Only in a city could this second type of enterprise be supported. Thirty thousand people was too large a market to operate using direct personal relations between maker and buyer; furthermore, the range of wealth was such that there were many who could afford only the plainest of shoes and could purchase them only at rare intervals. In either case, the shoemaker became a retailer as well as a manufacturer, and it was this element that set him apart from artisans like the weavers. The shoemaker was in direct contact with the consumer, while the weaver was several steps removed from the consumer.[4] Put another way, the shoemakers were at the end of a long vertical chain that began with the cattle rancher, progressed through the butcher and the tanner or tawer,

and terminated with the shoemaker (among other leather industries). The weaver was not at the end, but toward the middle of the producing and selling process.

While it may seem pedantic to point out that shoemakers made shoes, it is a necessary preliminary, for they did not merely make shoes, they made new shoes. This was the earliest distinction made in the craft: the Schuhmacher and the Schuhflicker were distinctly separate craftsmen.[5] Lines were carefully and explicitly drawn between the shoemaker and the cobbler in Augsburg, as well as in most other cities. The cobbler was allowed to work only with used leather, while the shoemaker worked only with new leather. The cobbler also took care of shoe repair. Shoemakers made other items of leather as well; most notably, wine sacks.[6] Another specialist was the cordwainer. The term is derived from "cordovan", which is in turn derived from Cordoba, the Spanish city with which the leather was long associated.[7] Cordovan is a fine calf leather that was very expensive. The expense and fine style associated with the leather and the finished shoe often required a market area larger than a single city, and cordwainers in some places became shoe merchants in much the same way that some weavers became cloth merchants. The term "cordwainer" does not appear in seventeenth century Augsburg, so presumably those who worked in cordovan, if any, did not form a separate entity.

The making of shoes required comparatively little skill and little capital investment. In the countryside, peasants could make their own shoes with household tools and leather from a family cow. At its most basic,

shoemaking consisted of cutting the leather, sewing the pieces of the upper shoe together (called "fitting"), shaping the upper to a last (a wooden block formed approximately into a foot shape -- this was called "lasting"), and nailing the sole to the shoe (called "bottoming").[8] Every shoe was made the same way; a shoemaker rarely made shoes especially for the right and left foot, and such handiwork was considered extremely tricky.[9] The tools necessary in this process consist of a knife, an awl, needles, pincers, a variety of lasts, a hammer, and a stirrup (used in the lasting). All except the last were perfectly ordinary tools, and the last was readily fashioned from plain wood.[10] A shoemaker might have many awls, needles, lasts, knives and so on, to work in various leathers, but the basic tool set stayed the same. Real variety came in non-leather items. Wood was used for soles or for entire shoes. Fine cloths, such as silk and velvet, were used for the uppers of expensive shoes. Here, choice of material was the important factor, for the shoemaker was not likely to have done the embroidery or brocade work himself.

The shoemaker's shop was most often his home as well, conforming to the usual image of a craftsman's place of business. His main capital investment was little more than a bench and some tools, everything else being inventory. Illustration 1 shows a shoemaker's shop as it may have appeared in the eighteenth century. This shop was a marketplace stall, for there is virtually no stock evident. The back wall holds samples of shoes for the convenience of customers. The master, who is sizing a gentleman's foot, has at least two assistants (left) and perhaps two others (toward the back),

making this an operation of notable size. Both of the obvious customers, the seated gentleman and the man standing at the back wall, are of respectable station well above the status of the shoemaker. Since no hides are visible, the shoemaker probably had a storeroom, either attached to this stall or in some other building.

The shop itself was small, its size being measured in the number of workbenches, or Stühle. In Esslingen, each shop was limited to three benches.[11] It is possible that a similar restriction was in place at Augsburg, though there is no surviving record of a regulation to that effect.[12] Besides a shop, some, perhaps most or all, shoemakers needed a stall in the city marketplace. These stalls provided a place to sell shoes to the general public. The existence of the stalls indicates that selling out of the workshop was probably limited to what in early modern America was called "bespoke work"; that is, work done to order for specific customers.[13] We have figures for seventeenth century Zittau, where there were thirty six stalls for shoemakers (Schuhmacherbänke) and sixteen for leatherers (Lederbänke) in the city market. Most stalls were valued around 400 Thaler, but some commanded as little as 315 Thaler or as much as 600 Thaler.[14] The shoemakers of Augsburg had their stalls in the city market, probably at prices similar to those in Zittau. The dual function of the shoemaker, as retailer and manufacturer, is reiterated here in the existence of two places of business, one for the making and the other for the selling of shoes.

The shoes made and sold included riding boots, formal shoes, house shoes, work shoes and boots, children's shoes, even elevated shoes that served

as golashes when inclement weather turned the streets to mud. In addition, they made all manner of leggings, for men and women. This was a craft that was strongly influenced by the whims of fashion. While a seventeenth century artisan did not have to respond to changes in the market with the alacrity of his modern counterpart, it was entirely possible for a shoemaker to be caught unprepared by a shift in taste and thereby lose customers. The Reformation introduced an era of fairly sharp breaks with traditional styles that lasted well into the seventeenth century.

Three basic shoe styles predominated. The Renaissance had produced the Schlappschuhe or Schwabelschuhe, a soft shoe with a curled and pointed tip that could reach preposterous lengths. Renaissance courts throughout Europe adopted this style. During the Reformation this shoe occasioned sharp criticism, and there were those who declared the shoe impious.[15] There were, of course, those who declared nearly every item of apparel impious at one point in the Reformation or another, but the style undeniably did lose favor during the sixteenth century. The Schlappschuhe gave way to the Ochsenmäuler (also, Entenschnäbel or Bärentazen), a shoe with a broad, rounded toe and narrow heel. By the seventeenth century, the basic dress shoe was the geschligte Schuh or Pludertracht. This was a soft shoe with slits or openings in the material, which could be silk or very fine wool.[16] An indication of the price range for shoes can be obtained from the following list, taken from seventeenth century Ulm:[17]

boots of Prussian leather, triple sole	2.5 - 3.5 Thaler
cordovan boots	3.5 - 4 Thaler
common coachman or farm boots	1 - 1.5 Thaler
cordovan boots of largest size	1 Thaler
ladies' shoes, triple sole	18 - 20 Mergengroschen
good men's shoes	12 - 15 Mergengroschen
doubled farm shoes with triple soles	20 - 26 Mergengroschen
doubled children's shoes	6 - 10 Mergengroschen
plain children's shoes	4 - 9 Mergengroschen

These prices placed a new pair of shoes beyond the reach of the habnits of the city, and thus of nearly half the population. The poor probably bought from cobblers, for it is likely that most habnits did not have the leather or the tools to make their own shoes, as the peasants did. The shoemakers made shoes for the wealthy, the middle class, and for common working men like themselves. Shoemakers almost never owned tanning vats, but went to the tanners for this service.

The market for shoes, it can be seen, encompassed the entire city, but the market for new shoes was somewhat more restricted. Some shoemakers probably had a smaller clientele and sold more expensive styles, while others probably tended to make their living from the marketplace. In any event, the fact that shoemakers supplied one of the basic needs of life accounts for the large size of their guild — eighth largest in 1610.[18] Demand for shoes was inelastic; supply was relatively so, as Augsburg's meat industry was exceptionally large. Profit margins were low due to the high number of shoemakers and the presence of the cobblers. There was little room under such conditions for expansion or innovation in either technology or business

methods. If the shoemakers were conservative and traditional, it was only because the market offered little opportunity for taking risks.

The most serious source of competition for a shoemaker was not the rural shoemaker or the cobbler, it was other shoemakers. There was probably little direct competition, as most guilds frowned upon the craftsman who stole a fellow-guildsman's customer, but indirect competition on prices occurred when two comparable shoes were sold at different prices. The open market and the large number of shoemakers combined to keep prices and profit margins low, keeping most shoemakers close to poverty. In addition to this, there was the very real factor of competition from rural shoemakers and city cobblers. In Augsburg the main concern in regard to rural competition centered on journeymen who did their training with village shoemakers. In an attempt to keep standards high and to prevent a tide of new masters coming in from the countryside, the guild required the journeyman's period of training be spent in cities. Rural journeymen were barred from presenting a masterpiece in the guild. Cobblers, on the other hand, were an immediate threat, for some did seek to expand into the manufacture of new shoes. This was strictly forbidden, but could not wholly be prevented, and many petitions in the archives complain of the problem. In an attempt to keep the cobbler in the second-hand shoe business, the Shoemakers Guild requested, and the city granted, an ordinance forbidding the cobbler from selling his shoes in the public market.[19]

Shoemaking was a respectable, though by no means prestigious, occupation. No fortunes were made here; it was not a Kunsthandwerk,

producing objects of great value and beauty. The avenues by which individual shoemakers could rise in prestige were all closed. Yet the guild was of such general economic and social importance that shoemakers everywhere were of respectable station. They also had a history of political activism, possibly due simply to their large numbers.[20]

Shoemakers did come in for their share of criticism and social censure. Most commonly they were accused of burning the soles of shoes to stiffen them and make them appear to be strong. The shoe would soon crack, and water would pour in through the openings.[21] The shoemakers were even criticized by Geiler von Kaiserberg, who pointed to them as an example of those artisans who cared nothing for quality but bragged about how many shoes they could make in a day.[22] The shoemakers also were faulted for laziness, in part because it was they who helped popularize Blue Monday -- the custom of not working on Mondays. Modern workers, on the other hand, can thank them for helping to invent the weekend. A poem that complains about the general level of activity in the shop alludes to the custom of Blue Monday:

> Monday is Sunday's brother
> Tuesday also do they play
> Wednesday they fetch the leather
> Thursday they return again
> Friday they cut it up
> Saturday they make pants and shoes.[23]

This complaint about low productivity may be a reflection of a demand that was higher than the supply. The figures on the number of shoemakers in Augsburg, given in Chapter VI, provide more indirect evidence for this theory.

Sylvia Thrupp once observed that a guild that could create an upper-class market with a product for which there was comparatively inelastic demand, would weather economic storms better than any other.[24] This was certainly the case with the shoemakers, though their market included the middle classes as well as the upper class. The number of shoemakers in Augsburg remained stable throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, save for the period of the Thirty Years' War, and the craft recovered more quickly than most in the wake of that catastrophe. This stability was not universal. In Eschwege there were 126 shoemakers and tanners (they were both in the same guild) in 1608, while in 1769 there were only 86, even though the total number of guildsmen in all trades fell only slightly (from 489 to 442). The shoemakers' decline was due to a loss of the export business that had sustained the craft in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[25] Augsburg, on the other hand, never had an export market in shoes and so her craftsmen avoided the ramifications of rapid change in the international economy.

The shoemakers of Augsburg manufactured for and sold to a strictly local market. There were enough wealthy patricians to support the full high-end market, and enough people at other levels of income to provide the demand for a full range of prices and styles. The retailing function of the

shoemakers was the more significant aspect historically, because it brought the shoemakers into the public eye and official attention. Their large size made any collective action of potential importance to the city. Despite what other historians have said, the greatest problem facing shoemakers was not competition.[26] It will be shown in a later chapter that the most serious problem was internal, and concerned the situation of the journeymen shoemakers.

Joiners

Joinery and shoemaking are the two crafts that most closely resembled one another, because in both crafts the master was engaged in making and selling. A master joiner made furniture and other objects of wood. The variety of items made, the range of necessary skills, and the prices the items could command, all were greater in joinery than in shoemaking. These practical and economic differences led to differences in form and function. More importantly, joiners also undertook construction projects on contract, and this resulted in most significant differences in the two crafts' demand for labor. Finally, certain joiners did important work for the elite of the city, which gave to the joiners a social standing higher than that enjoyed by the shoemakers.

There were five woodworking industries of significance in Augsburg: sawyers, carvers, turners, carpenters and joiners. Sawyers converted logs into planks in their sawmills and stockpiled them in lumber yards.[27] It was the sawyers who were the major importers of wood. Carpenters did the basic

wood construction work, today called "roughing"; i.e., framing, floors, foundations, walls. They also made rough furnitures such as workbenches and large tables. Carvers made a wide variety of items from wooden utensils to decorative work. Turners made whatever required lathe-work: chairs, tables, stools. To the joiner fell those tasks requiring his special skill -- joining two pieces of wood by means of a mortice and tenon joint. The most familiar form of this joint is the dovetail. The other technique that belonged to the joiners alone was the use of glue.[28] Together, joinery and gluing were applied to chests and boxes, desks, armoires, cabinets, beds, panelling, trellis-work, windows, doors, staircases, cupboards, pews, pulpits, altars, and even picture frames.[29] Some examples of beds and armoires are given by Illustrations 2 and 3. Joiners generally worked in hardwoods, though softwoods were used in certain cases.

The tools of a joiner mainly consisted of cutting and chopping tools.[30] As the name of the craft implies, joinery was the art of cutting and fitting, not of carving and shaping. Gouges and files were standard tools, as was the wooden mallet for setting joints in place. Axes, drills and knives, clamps and vises, all the familiar tools of woodworking belonged to the joiner.[31] The image of a joiner's shop does not spring to mind so readily as does a shoemaker's. Perhaps because joiners made works of beauty, we have many illustrations of their work but few of them at work.[31] Diderot's Encyclopédie has ensured that at least some representation survives (see Illustrations 4 - 6). The illustrations show that there were two distinct locations where a master joiner worked: his shop, in which furniture was

made, and on a construction site, where the joiner worked on windows, doors, ceilings and the like. Illustration 4 shows an interior which may not be a shop but a construction site. In particular, the windows appear to be unfinished. Even so, the work being done is obviously furniture-making, which was the type of work done in a joiner's shop. The illustration shows that the workbench was the center of activity around the which basic tasks of joinery were performed: sawing, measuring, drilling, gouging and shaping, and gluing (the steaming pot borne by the Knecht at the lower right contains glue). The contruction site shown in Illustrations 5 and 6 show that the joiner set up workbenches on the site and brought his tools there. The fine detail work, such as the patterned work being done by the worker at the left in Illustration 5 and grooves being gouged by the two workers in the center of the same illustration, are the type of jobs that could not be done by the carpenters who built the floors, frames and ceilings.

A joiner, like a shoemaker, had to be both manufacturer and retailer, making his wares and selling them. Like the shoemaker, too, a joiner made some items for general sale in the city market, while other work was "bespoken". Undoubtedly some joiners specialized in construction work, others in expensive custom work and still others in lower priced goods for general sale. Undoubtedly, too, there was considerable overlap and change, even during the career of an individual master. Unlike a shoemaker, however, a joiner sometimes had jobs that were so large that they required an agreement beforehand on terms and conditions -- in short, a construction contract. These were particularly common in the case of public or church buildings.[32]

The demand for labor was most frequent and critical on contract jobs, which were usually large enough to require several men. The shop itself could also employ a few men in addition to the master, if the joiner's business was large. The elasticity of demand and the temporary nature of contract work, made the joiner's need for extra hands inconstant.

A journeyman joiner, like a journeyman shoemaker, often travelled to several cities in the course of his training. With so many men on the move, there developed a place, known as a Herberg, to house the journeymen during their stay. A Herberg was an establishment -- sometimes simply the house of a master, sometimes a regular inn owned by the guild -- in which lived journeymen looking for work. A guild that used a Herberg was called a geschenkte Handwerk, after the Geschenk, a gift given to a journeyman when he departed for the next town. In a geschenkte Handwerk, masters could hire only at the Herberg. If a master needed a man, he informed the Zuschickmeister, the master who operated the Herberg (literally, "placement master"), who posted a list of openings each week. No journeyman was allowed to seek work, and no master was to seek a worker, except through the Zuschickmeister. This central labor pool allowed the guild to meet the fluctuating labor demands of the craft. The Herberg also provided a home for those journeymen who did not have a long-term relationship with a master and so had no residence. A journeyman was free to live where he pleased, but there were those who were unable or unwilling to find independent quarters. To these, the master of the Herberg was Vatter, his wife was Mutter, his children were Bruder and Schwester. Likewise, a fellow journeyman was

Bruder. I cannot tell if the journeymen joiners in Augsburg ever formed their own organization (a Bruderschaft).

As with the shoemaker, it is difficult to say how far down the economic scale the joiner's market extended. There is no doubt that they did work for the elite. There is a document from 1548 that can best be called an invoice. It details the work done item by item -- a prayer stool, work on windows and doors, trellis work -- with line item charges and a grand total. The work was done to prepare some rooms for the visit of Emperor Charles V. The bill is addressed to the Emperor himself.[33] At the other end of the scale, one presumes that the poor had little need of a joiner, and if they bought his wares it was only second-hand. Even so, a stool certainly cost little enough and could be purchased new by most anyone who did more than make ends meet. Another indication that joiners and shoemakers catered to a market of similar size is the fact that both guilds had about the same number of masters. Both served a market that consisted of about half the population of Augsburg, the other half being habnits.[34]

Joiners were of respectable social station, almost wholly contained within the confines of the lower middle classes. Some were highly skilled, influenced by Renaissance art and capable of works of great beauty. The wealth needed to make the transition into the patriciate, however, was never available to joiners. No matter how exquisite his armoire or ceiling might be, a joiner was still but a commoner, and the limitations of his market prohibited him from amassing the necessary wealth to overcome this. Nevertheless, some joiners did work for prestigious families and for institutions such as the

cathedral or the city. The contacts formed as a result of this work afforded an opportunity, not for the joiner himself, but for his son. A sympathetic patrician could see to it that the joiner's son received an education, for example, or apprenticeship with a merchant. By such means it was possible for joiners to achieve a modicum of upward mobility.

Despite the similarities between joinery and shoemaking, there was one difference of fundamental importance: demand for joined work was far more elastic than demand for shoes. The situation was most pronounced in the area of construction, an industry tied both to population and to general economic trends, but it existed in the furniture trade as well. Joiners in the 1610's were enjoying the last era of extensive building that Augsburg would know for generations. A century and a half of population growth was about to come to an end. The Thirty Years' War would leave over two thousand dwellings empty.[35] The collapse of the mining and weaving industries in Augsburg was well under way, and would send the wealth of the city plummeting.[36] Whereas the shoemakers soon replenished their numbers after the devastations of the war, the joiners never recovered. Their failure to recover had nothing to do with guild regulations or innovation or competition. It resulted from a sharp decline in their market.

The fact that goldsmiths did well after the war is a reflection of their more secure market. Selling almost exclusively to the wealthy, Augsburg goldsmiths extended their market to the south German nobility through superior craftsmanship and a legacy of excellent contacts at German courts made by Augsburg's great trading families. The joiners, on the other

hand, although likewise selling expensive items to the rich, were dependent upon the citizens of Augsburg for much of their income. When the size of that market was reduced drastically by war, disease and famine, it was impossible for most joiners to extend their business beyond the city walls, and thus their businesses could not survive.

Shoemakers faced competition from other makers of shoes. Joiners faced competition from other workers in wood and from workers in the decorative arts in general, especially those who did inlay and leaf. The difficulty was that a piece of furniture might be made by a joiner and then finished by a gold or silver smith and the finished product sold by a merchant (Kramer). The difficulty in regulating who had the right to sell any joined work resulted in a number of disputes.

Demand for joined work was not constant but variable, particularly in construction work, resulting in a highly irregular demand for labor. Because this demand was not constant, the master joiner could not simply take on a large number of Gesellen for five or seven years, under the usual guild regulations governing the treatment of journeymen. Rather, a master might need one journeyman this month and eight the next and none the month after that. The journeymen themselves were open to exploitation in such circumstances, and the master was vulnerable to labor shortages that could result in loss of work. The Herberg was a solution to both problems.

The special social position of joiners is also worth stressing. The shoemakers sold shoes to the very rich, certainly, for everyone needed shoes, but even the most expensive shoes did not cost more than a few florins and

entailed little contact between producer and buyer. The finishing work on a patrician's new home or, even more, the work on a public building or monument, would entail frequent contact between patrician and joiner and, considering the cost of such a project, a fair degree of confidence and trust. If, as seems probable, a joiner established a reputation for superior craftsmanship and was employed repeatedly by the elite, the bestowing of social favors on such a favorite would be natural. There were probably other crafts that likewise formed a kind of interface between the elite and the bulk of the middle class.

Millers

Milling was a different craft from shoemaking or joinery, because there was no retailing involved. Millers merely processed grain, turning it into flour or malt for a fee. The customer took care of both supply and demand; the miller concerned himself only with the maintenance and operation of his mill. Because grain was involved, the city regulated the industry heavily. This, and the high degree of market control exercised by the millers, set this craft apart from most others in Augsburg.

The primary market for the miller was the baker. The baker purchased the grain at the corn market from grain wholesalers, who brought the grain in from the countryside. He then physically brought the grain to the mill (or hired someone to do this for him), where workers took the sacks, marked them as to owner and type of milling to be done, and stored them. There were few ovens in the houses of the citizens. In contrast to the

countryside, where farmers grew or purchased their grain, brought it to the miller for milling, then baked their own bread, people in the city simply bought from the baker and had no contact with the city's millers. In the vital business of supplying the citizens of Augsburg with their daily bread, the millers were comparatively invisible to the consumer.

Besides bakers, there were three other types of customers who frequented the mills. Confectioners needed flour, usually of a higher grade. Brewers did not use flour, but they had a high demand for malt, which does require milling. In some places, at least, there was a mill specially devoted to the production of malt. Finally, there were private individuals and institutions who had ovens and did use the miller's services. There were prices set for each type of consumer.

In a sense, the shop and tool were one and the same for the miller, for virtually the entire edifice was one big machine. A mill was technologically very advanced; so advanced, in fact, that the techniques created in the Middle Ages would not be superseded until the nineteenth century. Modern grain mills use rollers rather than stones for the grinding process, and steam replaced water as the motive power, but the invention of these two techniques did not occur until the late eighteenth century. They were not combined until 1820, and gained no general success until the third quarter of the nineteenth century.[37]

A mill harnessed the motion of water, windmills being impractical in a city, and converted it to the rotary motion of a millstone by means of an advanced system of gears. The waterwheel alone, often measuring fourteen

feet in diameter, represented sophisticated engineering knowledge. Illustration 7 shows the complexity of this portion of the machinery. Different wheels were known to be appropriate for different types of stream flow; in the steady waters of the Lechkanal, most wheels probably were of the undershot type. Millers also knew how to arrange the gears so that the millstone actually rotated more quickly than did the waterwheel, yet not so quickly that the stones overheated and ruined the grain.

The stones themselves were from four to seven feet in diameter, eight inches thick, and weighed fifteen hundred pounds or more.[38] Their purchase represented the one major capital expense a miller faced, and their care and operation were his key concern and skill. The stone had to have particular qualities, and the miller would order from quarries that were hundreds of miles distant in order to obtain what he needed. The stones were usually shipped in pieces, then bound together with iron bands after delivery. Shipping added to the cost considerably, but the importance of getting the right stone made such cost unavoidable.[39] Next, the miller had to "dress" the stones. Dressing was the process of chiseling a pattern of grooves in the stones in such a manner that the grain was not only finely ground, but was moved steadily from the hub outward to the edge where it was fed into sacks (or into bins; see Illustration 8). The dress had to take whole grain at the hub, feed it steadily between the stones, grinding more finely at each pass. Each stone was dressed identically. When the one stone was placed over the other, then the patterns would run opposite each other, providing the necessary shearing effect. Once the stones were dressed and set in place,

they had to be balanced, which was accomplished by drilling holes in the top stone and filling them at selected spots with weights. Gears above helped regulate the space between the two stones (Illustration 7). The production of the fine powder we know today as flour had to await the multiple-pass, roller milling of modern times; but the delicacy of the adjustments in these stone mills, considering the tremendous forces and weights at work, was remarkable. A rule of thumb used in England was that the stones had to be capable of gripping a piece of brown paper at the center, newspaper further out, and tissue paper at the outer edge.[41]

The other major function of a miller was the supervision of his labor force. A miller was a comparatively large employer for a guild master. Three or four employees were common, and there were those who employed eight or nine. Although this seems ridiculously small by modern standards, many masters in other Augsburg crafts had no employees at all. Regulations and traditions in most guilds were based on the assumption of one apprentice and one journeyman per master, two at most. The Miller's need to supervise eight or nine Knechten was therefore an unusual problem.[41] One type of worker involved in the process was the Sacktrager, or sack carrier, who took the sacks of grain from the customer to the mill and returned again with sacks of flour. The Sackträger are listed in the city records as a separate occupation (Beruf), so it is likely that these, although working in the mill, were paid by the customer rather than by the miller. The Mühlknechten, on the other hand, were in fact the miller's employees. It was they who saw the grain through the production process, taking in the sacks, marking them,

pouring the grain into the hopper and storing the flour sacks until they were fetched by the Sackträger. It was important to keep straight which customer belonged to which sack, for the quality of grain varied widely. The responsibility for this lay ultimately with the master, but the actual mechanics of it probably belonged to the employees (see Illustration 9 for a view of the interior of a mill).

In milling, therefore, there was a division of labor unknown in the other three crafts. The actual production was in the hands of employees, while the miller took care of the financial end of the business and also was responsible for various technical aspects such as repairs, purchases and design. As a final example, it was the millers themselves who oversaw the implementation of the technological innovations of steam and rollers in the nineteenth century, although the financing of such projects was by then in the hands of entrepreneurs.

The mill itself, because it was so vital to the city's supply of bread, and because the capital expense of building one was so large, was not owned by the miller. Most of the city's mills were owned by the city, though some were owned by churches. In some cities, the miller leased the mill, and these leases became at least quasi-hereditary. Elsewhere, the city was free to appoint millers as it pleased. The latter seems to have been the case in Augsburg. Baking was never as closely controlled, probably because it was possible for an individual to start a bakery with a moderate or average capital investment. The cost of building a mill -- the waterwheel, the building itself, the machinery, the stones, and not least the cost of prime

waterfront land -- was so large that few private individuals could afford the cost; and with regulated prices, the potential for profit was so limited that a wealthy man's money was better spent elsewhere. Thus, it was essential for an institution like the Church or municipality to build the mill, even though it might later sell or lease the mill to a private individual.

There was no problem with competition in this craft, for the city precluded the possibility. Rural millers were closed out of the city by statute and as the grain market was the most closely watched of all, the prohibitions were generally effective. It was possible to encroach on the grain market itself, for we find regulations against such practices, but supply from bootleg sources would have been meager because of the close watch kept on this commodity. Moreover, the competitor could still sell only to the city's bakers, since few citizens had their own ovens, making illegal operations doubly difficult. The urban millers could not compete with the rural millers, because of transportation costs. Thus, milling was unique among the four guilds in that there was absolutely no competition except within the guild itself, and there was little problem here because prices were fixed and there were fewer than 20 masters in all.

The real threats to a miller's livelihood lay in the two related areas of weather and prices. Bad weather could lead to a bad harvest, driving up grain prices. This caused a shortage of grain and a consequent decline in the number of customers calling at the mill. Since his prices were fixed by law, a miller could not respond to crises the way that a grain merchant could. At this point one suspects that competition between millers, as well as cheating

the customer, became fairly widespread. If the crisis persisted, the millers usually went to the city to ask for some relief. It should be noted that the city itself was a major customer, but that the Stadtmühl was probably so named because it was the only mill to which the city grainery took its grain. Bad weather could also damage the mill itself, a potentially more serious occurence. Drought could dry up the Lechkanal to the point that the waterwheel would turn slowly or not at all. Likewise, flood could damage the wheel itself, especially in the spring when ice floes came down the river from the Alps. If his waterwheel was damaged, the miller had to endure his costs alone, wiping out profits even if he had plenty of customers. To prevent such an eventuality, millers perforce became knowledgeable in the area of flood control and hydraulics, seeking to keep the flow of water at its optimum level.[42]

Although all millers in the seventeenth century were free, the craft was still tainted with the stain of Leibeigenschaft, of servitude. During the Middle Ages, mills were generally owned by feudal lords, the miller was his servant, and the early modern miller inherited this dishonorable legacy. Few social stigmata were more serious than that of Leibeigenschaft, for burgers prided themselves on their freedom. Nearly every guild had a regulation stipulating that no one, from apprentice to master to wife, nor anyone within their family, was to have been the man (or woman) of another. That the millers had once belonged to the Vogtherr or to the bishop was sufficient cause to place this craft at the bottom rung of the respectable social ladder. This was occupied by the many who were unehrliche Leute, people without

honor. Millers were not officially a part of this caste, but they were tainted by having once belonged to it. Moreover, mills were popularly regarded as unsavory places, refuges of robbers and prostitutes. Since most respectable people had no need to frequent a mill, it was easier to regard the mill itself as socially unwholesome. By being the proprietor of such a place, the miller was forever viewed as something less than ehrlich. Thus, even though a miller could accumulate a respectable amount of wealth, he could not use his money to further his social status. This is again in contrast to the village miller, who was well within the circle of respectability and who was even at times admired and respected.

Two factors were of basic importance in setting milling apart from other crafts: the extremely high capital investment needed to set up a new shop, and the heavy regulation of the craft by the government. In addition to these must be counted the restricted nature of the market (selling to one's suppliers) and the use of complex, water-powered machinery instead of hand tools. Each of these factors had effects on the form and function of the craft.

The mechanics of how the city regulated milling will be discussed in a later chapter. Here it will be sufficient to note that regulation of prices was the most significant aspect of government control and that the major effect of the price regulations was to eliminate competition on the basis of price among millers. It is important to point out that this was the only one of the four crafts to have price regulations, the lack of which is generally

regarded as one hallmark of capitalism. With no competition on prices, the median income was noticeably higher in this craft than in the others.

The high start-up costs involved in milling served to eliminate other forms of competition as well, for those who could afford to build a mill were not interested in doing so. Only the city could bear the costs and only the city had an interest in such an investment. The monopolistic consequences of such a lack of competition never came to pass because the city regulated both supply and prices. This resulted in precisely the situation desired by any early modern government: stability, at least so far as milling was concerned.

Millers had a market that differed significantly from that of most crafts. They did not have to deal with suppliers who might try to exploit them. Neither did they have to deal with the general public. One effect of this situation was that the miller never had to face the wrath of the mob in times of famine, for it was the grain merchant and baker who were held to be responsible. The invisibility of millers in the public eye also helps account for the fact that popular images of millers all deal with rural millers, for in the countryside the consumer dealt with the miller directly.

The complexity of the milling process demanded a labor force larger than was usual. It also caused a division of labor, so that the miller became primarily a manager and something of an engineer or technician, while the Knechten became laborers whose best hope was to attain some supervisory position. It is worth noting that this situation did not lead to conflicts within the craft and was not the result of "exclusivism" on the part of the masters. The result of this was to create relations in the mill that were closer to

employer-employee than master-journeyman in nature. The use of Knecht instead of Gesell is one indication of this. The nature of the relationship was determined by the conditions of production, not by the century in which it existed nor by the degree to which "capitalism" had penetrated the economy.

Barbers and Bathers

This last of the four crafts was also the most unusual, for it was a service craft rather than a producing craft. Service industries in pre-modern times have received no attention at all, so far as I am aware, yet they provide interesting insights into "the guild system". This craft is unusual, too, in that it was an amalgamation of two crafts: barbering and bathing. Both crafts were only marginally concerned with the activities denoted by those terms today. In fact, both crafts were primarily concerned with surgery. One modern author defined their purview of competence this way:

> Barbers and Bathers practiced "minor surgery" (kleine Chiurgie) and other work of healing wounds, as follows: bleeding (Aderlassen, Schröpfen), enemas (Klystieren), bandaging injuries (Verlezungen), wounds (Wunden), broken and sprained limbs (Knochenbruchen and Verrenkungen), the treatment of wounds received from stabbing, cuts and gunshots (Stich-, Hieb-, and Schußwunden), abscesses, ulcers and other skin diseases (Geschüren, Hautleiden).[43]

The archaic nature of the crafts is indicated by the fact that many of these terms are outdated, or describe procedures that are no longer used. The main areas of competence included in the list were broken limbs, treatment of

injuries and wounds, syphillis, dropsy, consumption, epidemic diseases and a wide variety of other illnesses. Barbers were general practitioners for the common man. Their techniques included all types of surgery, bleeding, enemas, bandaging, and the administration of plasters. Generally speaking, if one's ailment was such that a medicine was needed, one went to the Apothekar. If one needed a physician, one went to the Barbier or Bader, if one was of ordinary means, or to a Doktor if one had money. It should be noted that barbers also cut hair.

The principal difference between a Barbier and a Bader is that the latter operated a Bad, a public bathhouse. A bathhouse was the site for a wide variety of activities both medical and social in nature. The medical value of bathing had long been recognized by Europeans, and private baths were available only to the few. Bathhouses offered pools for general bathing, in which the patrons sat, talked, even drank and ate, but did not wash themselves. Illustrations 10 and 11 show the types of social activities that took place in a bathhouse. Most city bathhouses were enclosed, as in Illustration 12. The most frequent washing done at a bathhouse was the washing of the head, done after a shave and haircut. The cutting of hair was offered as a service (for a fee, of course) to the patrons, but no bather could cut hair for people who did not bathe; das trockene Scheeren was reserved to the barbers.[44] Steam baths were also offered at some places. The air was heated by hot stones and the patrons sat about on benches, much the same as they do today. It will be observed from the illustrations that partial or complete nudity was the norm at public baths as, indeed, it still is in Europe.

Two other services were normally offered: massages, and a type of bleeding called Schröpfen. The massage was considered part of the bath, though one often had to pay extra for it. Schröpfen was the placing of a cup over an incision, often in the head or back, and funneling the blood into a tub below (see Illustration 12). This was a comparatively mild form of bleeding, as it did not tap into veins or arteries. One translation for Schröpfen is "mechanical leech", which gives an indication of the type of bleeding being done. This type of bleeding was regarded as regular health care, performed on a healthy person to prevent the accumulation of bad humors. It was also considered best administered in the baths rather than by a barber, perhaps because of the warm air.

The bathhouse was a public building, owned by the city, in much the same fashion as a mill. In the Middle Ages, baths were all owned by public bodies -- lords, churches, governments -- and the capital expenditure required to build a new one was such that only public ones survived. Because health care was involved, and the general health of its citizenry, the city considered a bathhouse as belonging to the public domain and hence naturally under its authority. Very likely, the same leasing arrangements that applied with mills applied also with the baths.

Barbers and bathers, like the millers, had a history of Leibeigenschaft, and were also social misfits. They did not have the continual reinforcement of unsavoriness that the mill provided, however, and in some cities at least were able to have the stigma removed by legislation.[45] A social aversion remained, however. Churchmen condemned the bathhouses

in particular. Barbering remained socially misfit, perhaps because those barbers who continued to practice medicine came under increasing condemnation by university-trained doctors. Also, because these were service trades, there was no product to give the artisan dignity; he simply served others -- a status implicity inferior to those he served.

Barbers had very small shops and normally had no labor considerations of any kind. They needed no manufacturing or warehousing space and could operate out of small rooms. In fact, like the itinerant cobbler, barbers could and did journey from town to town, or village to village, essentially carrying their office on their back.[46] They had a variety of tools, and also had shelves stocked with chemicals and herbs for making salves, plasters and drugs for killing pain during operations. The barber's chair was the only fixture of any noticeable size. Two views of a barber's shop are given in Illustrations 16 and 17 (Illustration 16 incidentally contains an excellent representation of the Schnabelschuh popular in the sixteenth century). The first picture shows a very plain room that may have been some type of operating room. Illustrations 14 and 15 also depict similarly austere settings for amputations. The operation shown in Illustration 16 is the cauterizing of a wound. The Barbierstube of Illustration 19, on the other hand, looks cluttered and distinctly domestic, and may actually have been a private residence rather than a separate shop. The frightening-looking operation being performed at the right of this picture is another form of Schröpfen.

Barbers performed a wide variety of health services. The most common service was Aderlassen, or bleeding by opening a vein. This operation is depicted in Illustration 13. A frequent type of surgery performed was amputation which, as can be seen by Illustrations 14 and 15, depended as much on the barber's skill with a saw as on his medical knowledge. Setting bones was another important skill for a barber, and one that required some special equipment for Streckung, or stretching (Illustration 18). In fact, a barber usually possessed quite an array of specialized tools (Illustration 19), and he was probably a regular customer at the cutler's shop.

The most important market strategy for a barber was not craftsmanship but advertising. Bathhouses regularly sent out criers to announce bath days. Barbers hung out signs to attract customers. These became large and gaudy enough that the guild regulations limited the number and size available to a given shop.

Barbers and bathers had civic duties in addition to the operation of their business. Bathers often were charged with serving in cases of fire, not only because they had water but also because they had a goodly supply of buckets.[47] Barbers most everywhere were responsible for determining cause of death when the cause was unknown -- as was usual in the case of homicides, suicides, and most frequently of vagrants found dead on the street.[48] Barbers also were liable to militia service because of their skill in treating wounds and injuries.[49] (see Illustration 20).

Competition was a matter of frequent concern to barbers and to bathers, though for different reasons. There was a continuous spectrum of

medical practitioners running from home remedies administered by a Hausfrau to midwives to quacks to peddlars to non-citizen and non-guild barbers to Doktoren. The lines were drawn clearly enough by the guild regulations, but it was so easy to practice medicine that it was impossible to prevent unauthorized people from doing so. The person needed almost no cash, and there was never any shortage of customers with ailments. This was not so much competition as it was encroachment. Unauthorized practicioners of Heilkunst did not present a real threat to the market share of the barbers as a whole, though an individual barber might lose several customers to such a person. Rather, this type of person was like a craftsman operating outside the guild -- a situation unacceptable to guild and city alike. Unlike the situation in other guilds, however, those who operated outside the Barbers and Bathers Guild sometimes argued that they had a right to practice and not belong. This particular aspect will be examined further in Chapter Seven.

The fact that this was a service craft meant that there was no element of quality control involved. Since the barber did not actually make anything, craftsmanship (as the term is used today) was irrelevant. The example of the barbers demonstrates that a concern for quality control was not intrinsic to the guild system but was peculiar to those crafts where such considerations were significant and capable of being defined. The service aspect was also the underlying factor in the small percentage of journeymen in this craft. Since nothing was made, there was little that could be given to a journeyman to do. Only where a barber had many customers could a journeyman or apprentice be useful. The bather did, in fact, have many

customers and usually a number of Knechten. Here again we see that the nature of the market was crucial in determining various aspects of the structure of a craft.

Of the four crafts studied here, the capital demands for barbering were the lowest, and the competition was most severe. Not only was little capital required, little skill was required also. There was much to learn, certainly, but one could easily pose as a curer of disease and trauma. Attempts at similar deception in shoemaking or joinery would be foiled as quickly as the charlatan's first piece of shoddy work. Moreover, it was very difficult to uncover the non-guildsman who practiced secretly. In short, barbers never succeeded in establishing a high degree of control over their medical practice. Quacks could steal away customers but could never destroy the entire craft. Educated doctors, on the other hand, presented a real threat. When education became a kind of union card for medicine, it proved more universal and more powerful than did the barbering guilds and barbers were left with the only aspect of their craft in which the educated doctors were not interested -- cutting hair.

At the beginning of my research, I deliberately chose crafts that were different from one another, so it is not surprising that each craft has been found to have its own needs and problems, its own social standing and its own relationship between supply and demand, labor and capital. What is striking is that there was but one key element that distinguished one craft from another; namely, the market. The nature and extent of the market for a

particular good or service was what established the economic framework inside of which each craft operated. Market forces cannot be wholly separated from other forces such as production and consumption, but the market is where these other forces meet and so can be considered a summation of them.

The crucial point in terms of the larger themes of guild and economic history is that the market for each of these crafts was completely local. These were heimische Berufe, and it is this that sets them apart from the innumerable studies of weavers, goldsmiths and the like. The latter had regional or international markets, and their craft developed sophisticated techniques for producing and selling. The crafts examined in the present work, on the other hand, never sold beyond the city walls and, with minor exceptions such as millstones, did not have to go beyond Augsburg for their supplies. Operating in a completely local market, these crafts did not directly face the pressures and changes occurring with great rapidity in the international market. Dealing in commodities for which there was steady demand and supply, they remained stable and comparatively unchanged. Not only is there no indication of the great wave of proto-capitalism so meticulously documented for other sectors of the economy, it is difficult to see where capitalist innovations could have been adopted with any effectiveness.

The second crucial determinant in a craft was product, what the craftsman made. More specifically, the key was to what economic sector the craft belonged, whether manufacturing, retailing, wholesaling, construction,

service or professional. Most crafts studied by economic historians have been manufacturing or extractive industries. The example of the barbers shows that a different set of economic realities applied in a service industry. This is an elementary fact recognized by economists but generally ignored by economic historians. The result has been a skewed picture of pre-modern economic life.

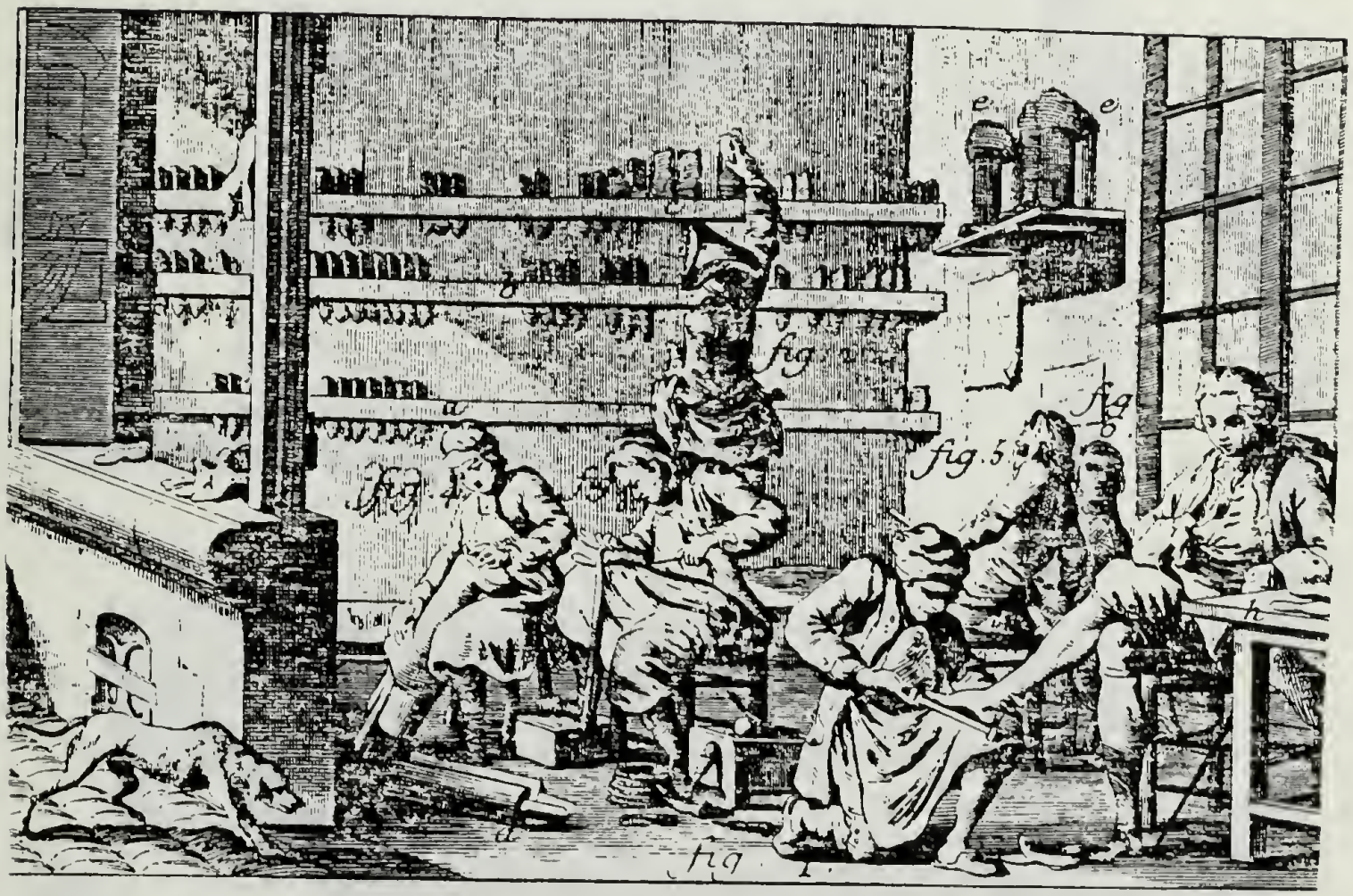
The third key variable was capital; in particular, the level of capital expenditure needed to start up a new business. Where the start-up needs were low, as in the case of shoemaking, there was competition from a variety of sources. Where capital requirements were high, there was little or no competition. Capitalist forms of financing were still in their early years in the seventeenth century, and were applied only in areas of obvious high return such as mining.

Contrary to the accepted wisdom concerning guilds, it is evident that these crafts were finely tuned to the economic realities of the day. This should not surprise us. Any businessman who ignored the requirements of his market and the needs of his customers would lose his customers to another. No amount of guild regulation or "conservative" mentality could alter that, nor did any guildsman wish that it could be so. An incompetent craftsman was scorned by his colleagues. If an artisan fell on hard times through no fault of his own, the guild took the responsibility of caring for him and his family. If, however, he were merely stupid or lazy, he could expect no help from the guild except good advice. If these crafts were not perfectly successful in responding to shifts in the economic currents, they surely cannot

be condemned any more severely than can modern businesses that adapt slowly or imperfectly. Rather than judging the crafts, it would be more helpful to discover how it was they responded to change. To do this, it is first necessary to dispel the myth that they were intrinsically hostile to change or incapable of coping with it. This I have tried to accomplish in this chapter by showing how each craft functioned in direct response to particular markets.

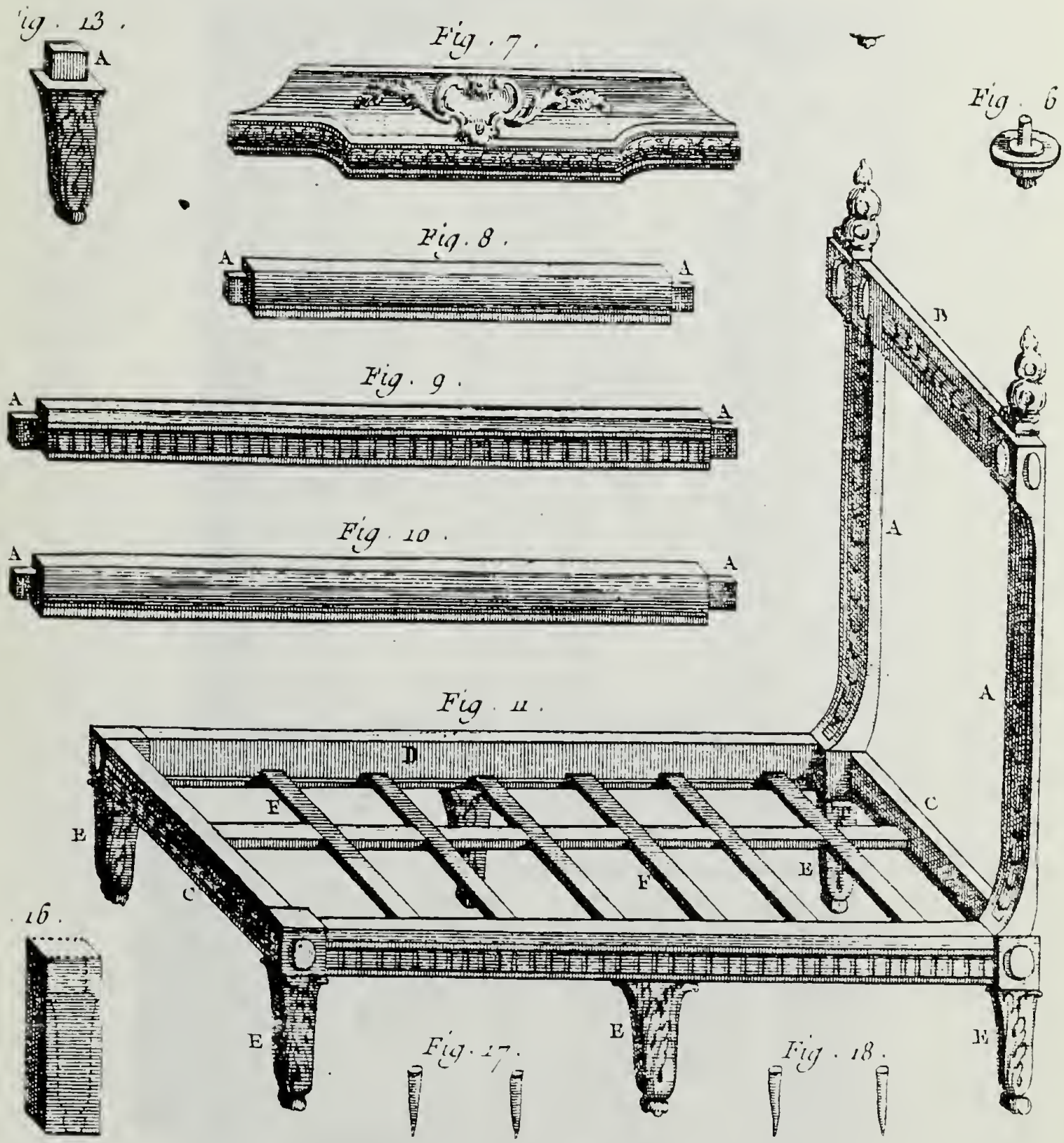
FIGURE 1

A SHOEMAKER'S SHOP



FIGURES 1 - 9 taken
from Diderot's Encyclopèdie

FIGURE 2
BED FRAME



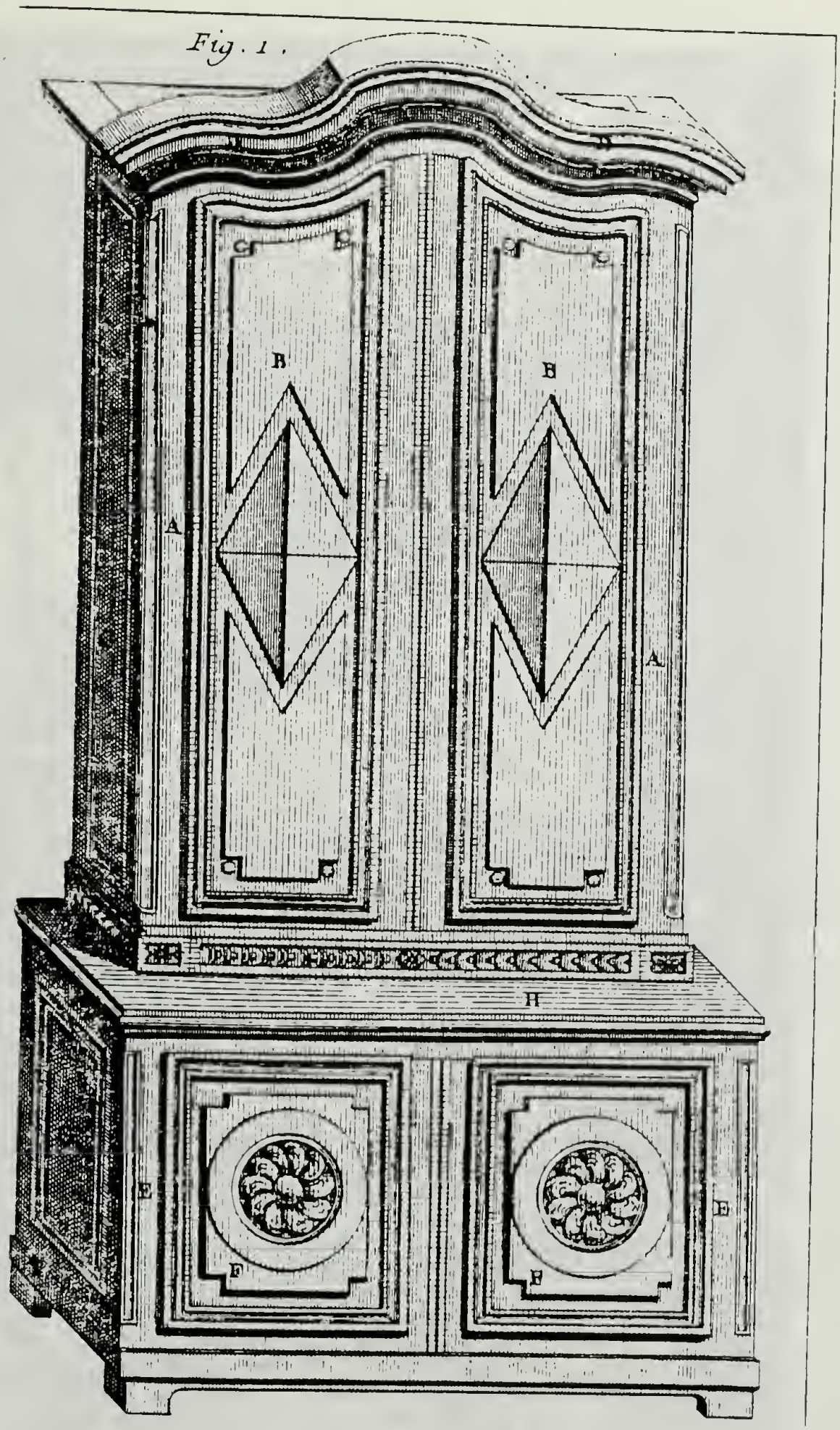


FIGURE 3
FREE-STANDING CABINET (KASTEN)

FIGURE 4
INTERIOR OF A JOINER'S SHOP

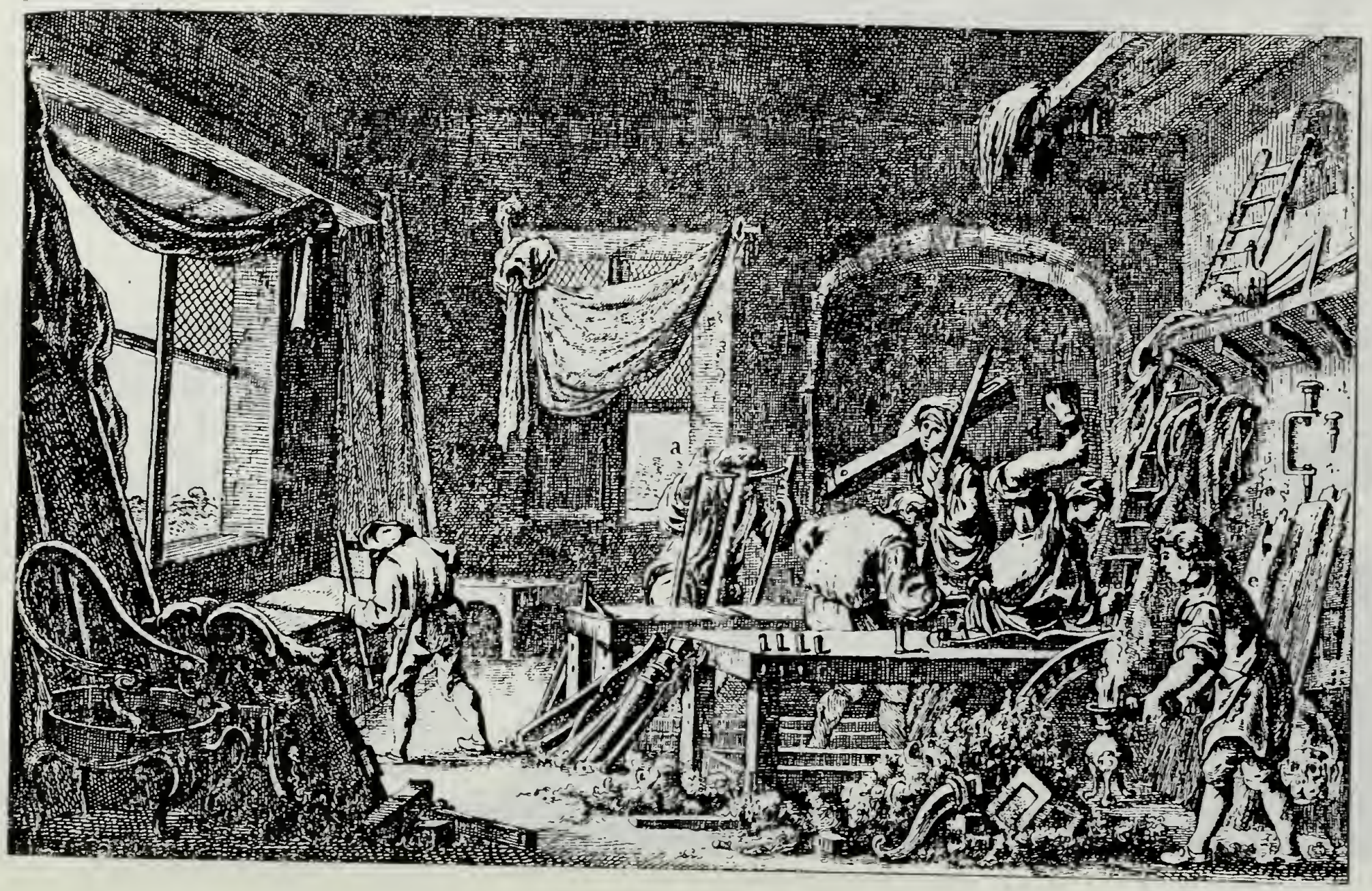


FIGURE 5 - CONSTRUCTION SITE (INTERIOR)

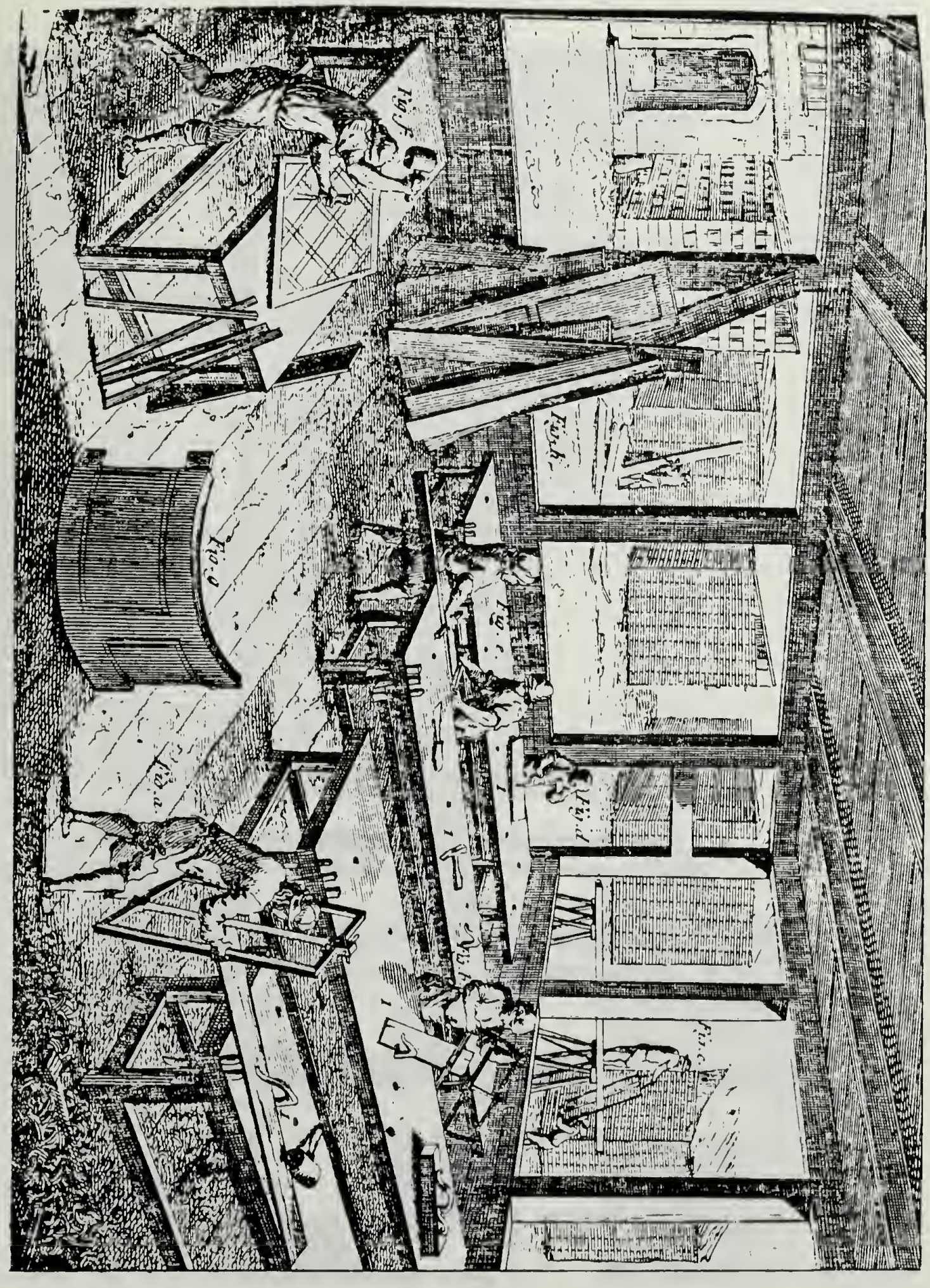


FIGURE 6 - CONSTRUCTION SITE (EXTERIOR)

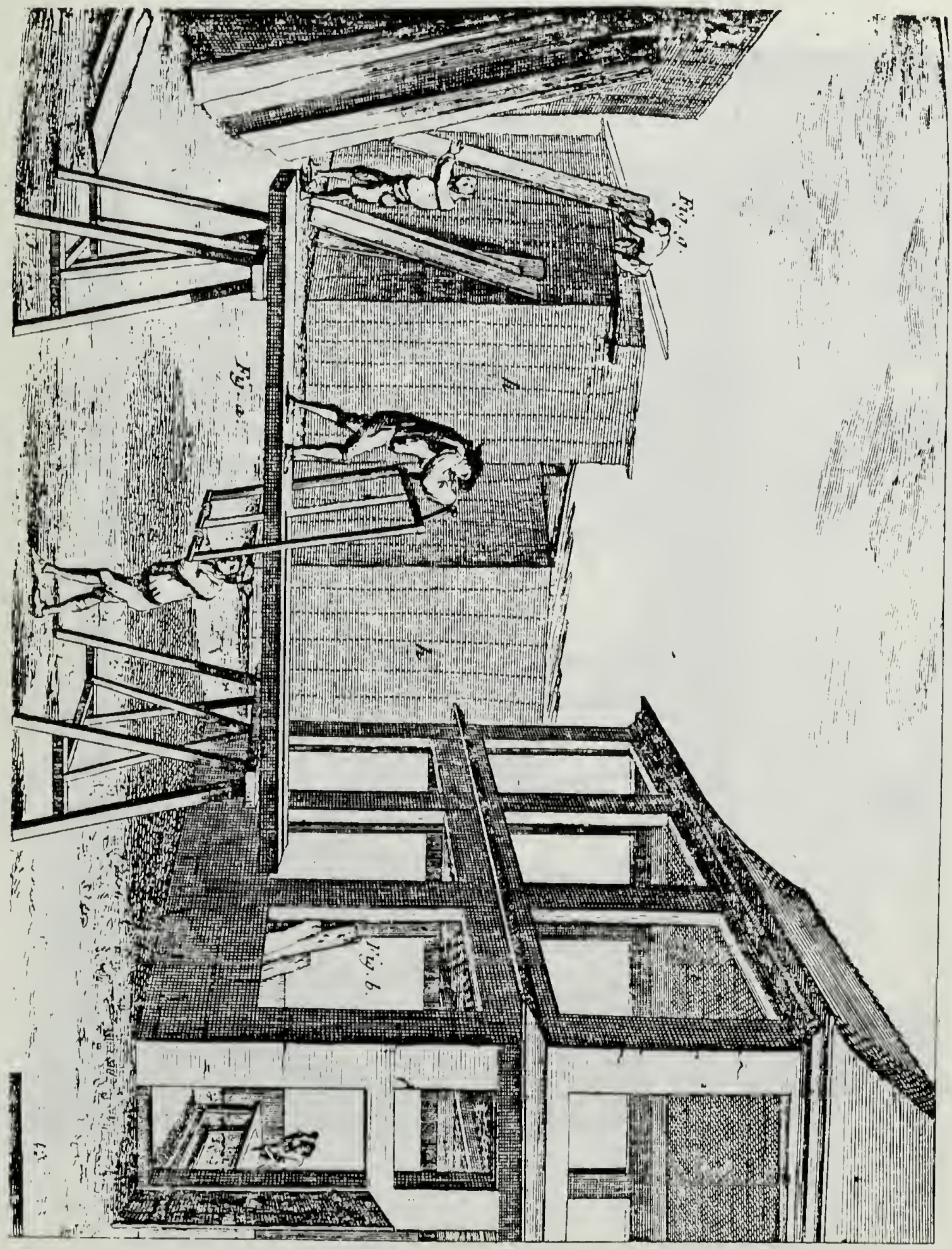


FIGURE 7
WATERWHEEL FOR GRAIN MILL

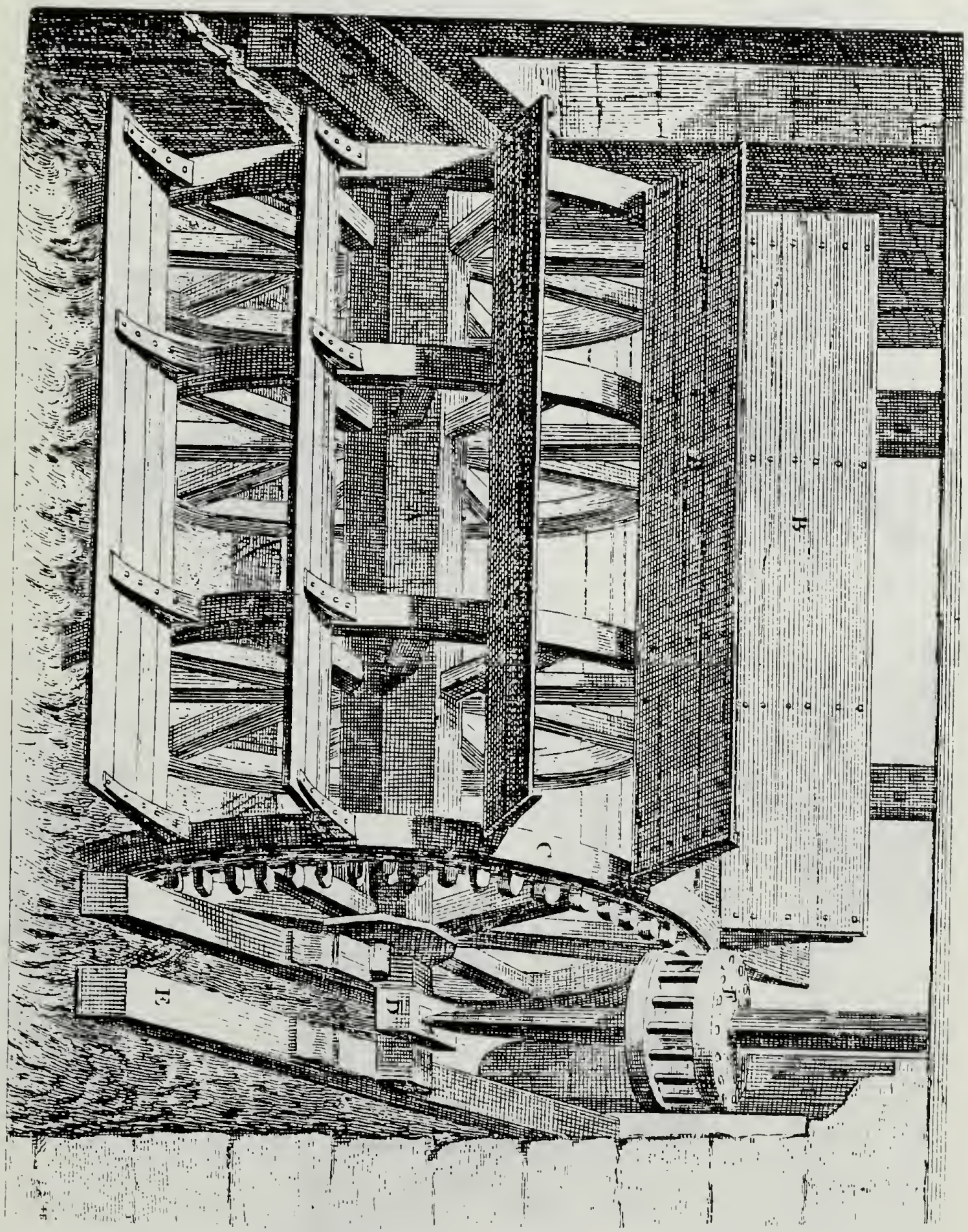


FIGURE 8 - MILLSTONE AND HOPPER MECHANISM

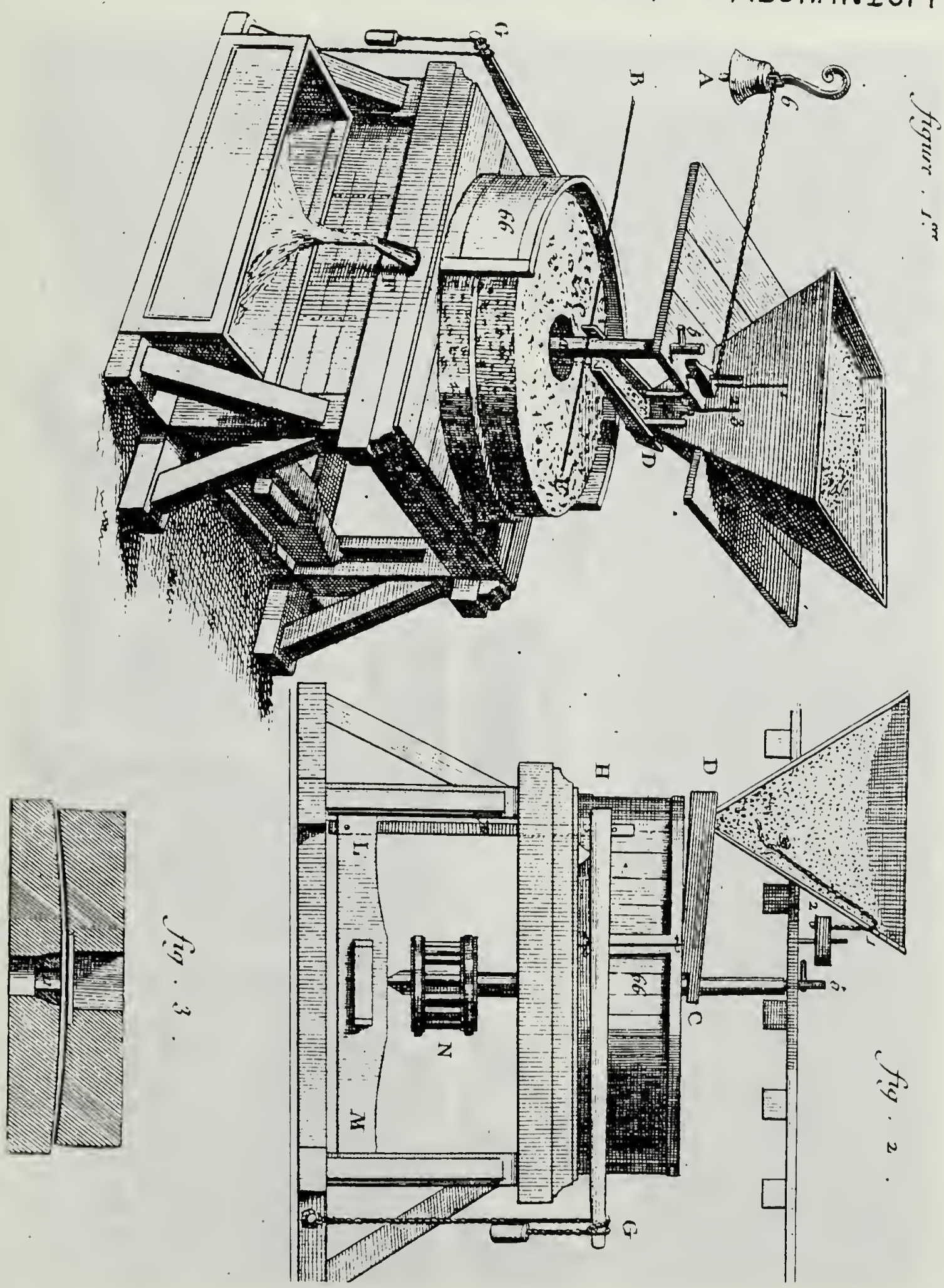


FIGURE 9 - GRAIN MILL (INTERIOR)

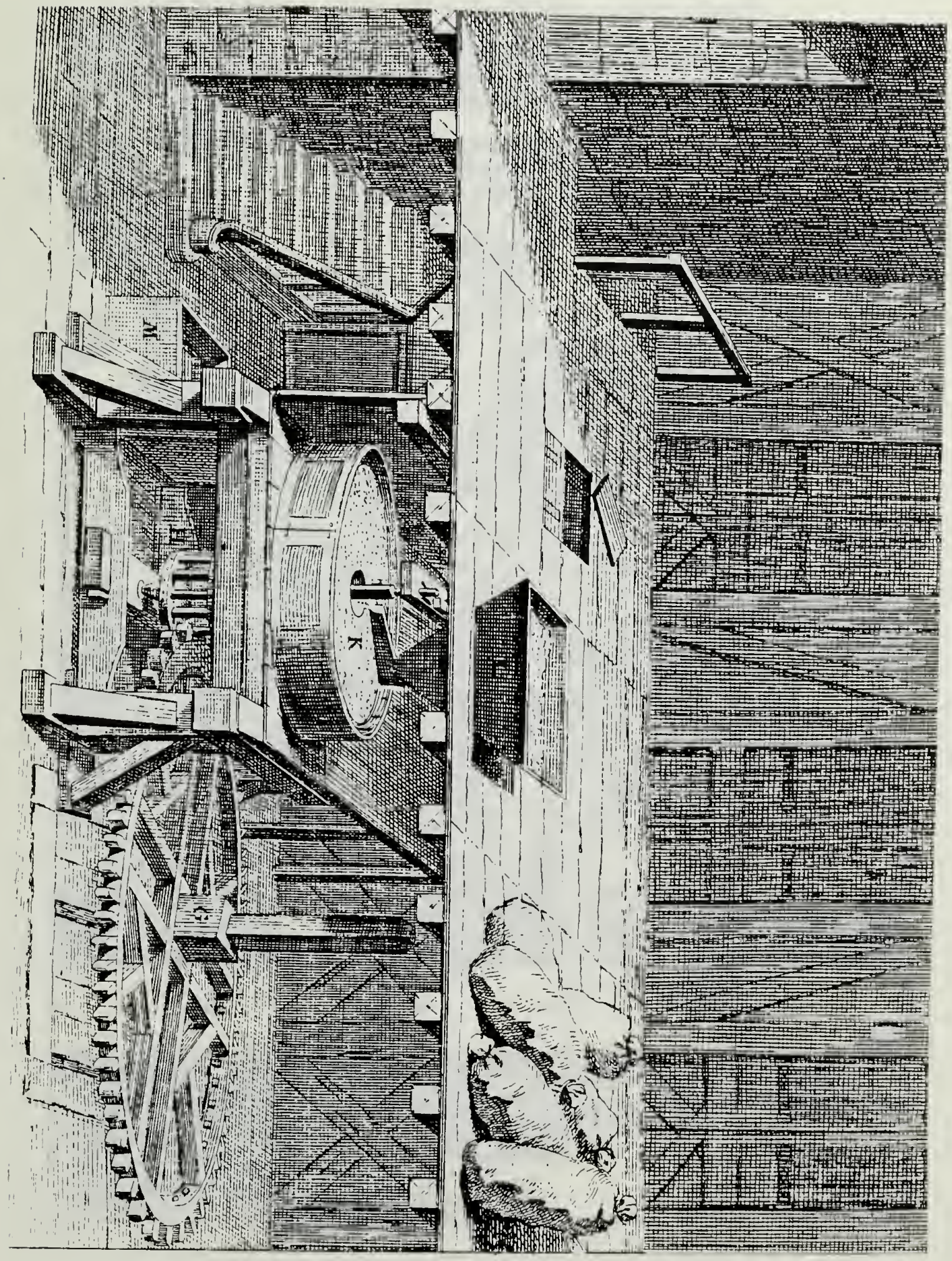
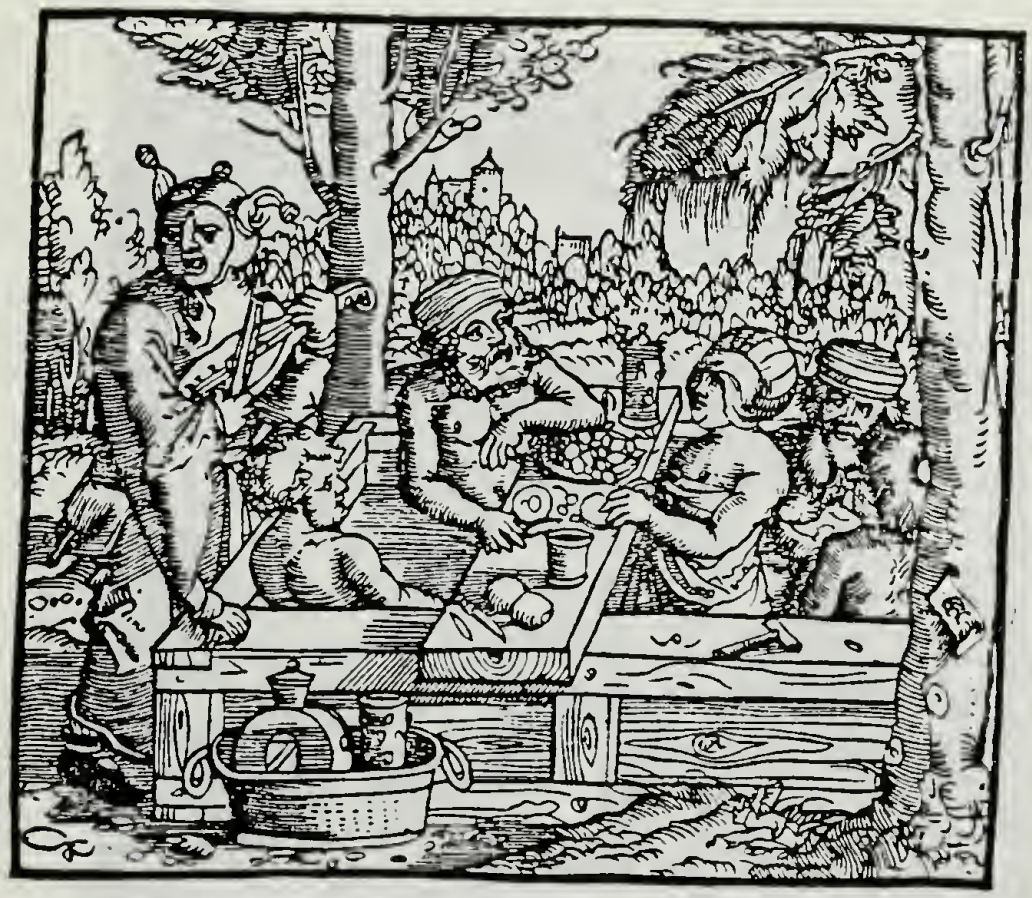


FIGURE 10 - BATHHOUSE WITH FOOD AND MUSIC from Peters, Der Arzt

FIGURE 11

RURAL BATH



FIGURES 11 - 20 TAKEN FROM PETERS, DER ARZT

FIGURE 12

SCHRÖPFEN AT A BATHHOUSE

FIGURE 13

ADERLASSEN AT A BATHHOUSE

FIGURE 14

AMPUTATION OF A LEG

FIGURE 15
AMPUTATION OF A LEG

FIGURE 16

CAUTERIZING A WOUND

FIGURE 17

BARBER SHOP (INTERIOR)

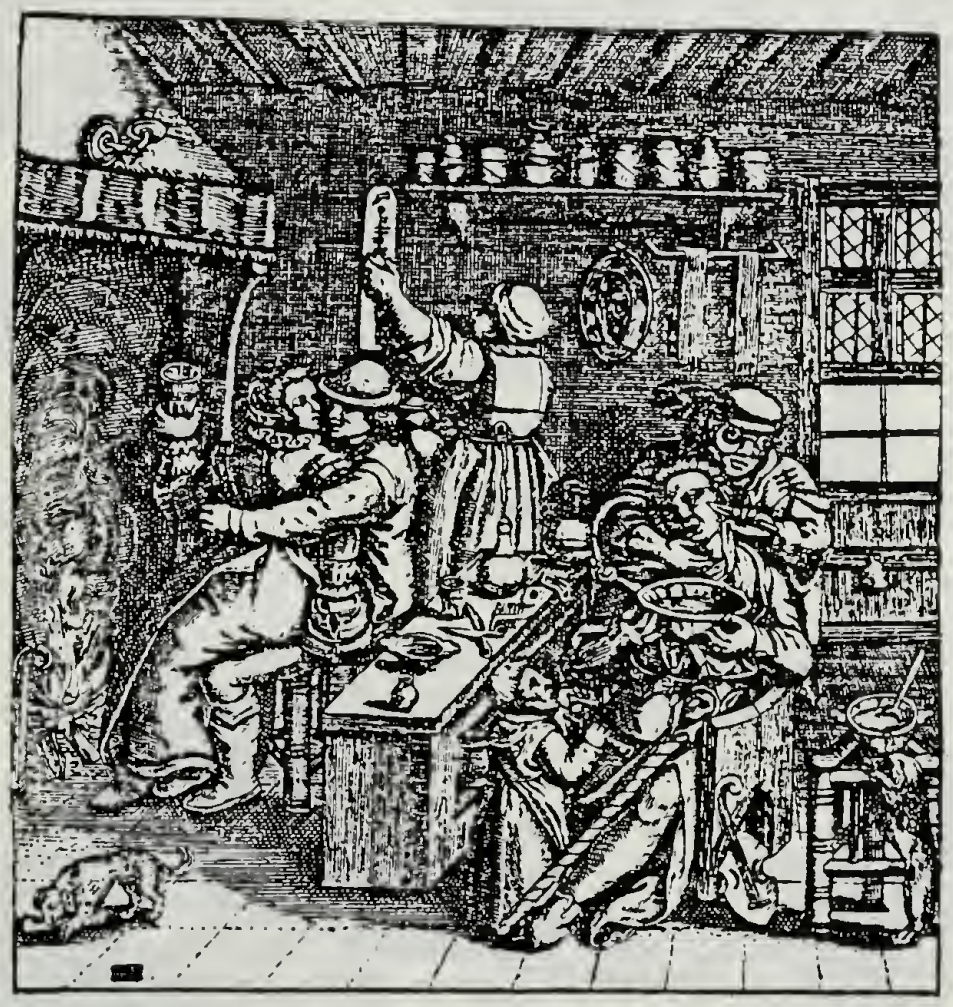


FIGURE 18
SETTING LIMBS (STRECKUNG)

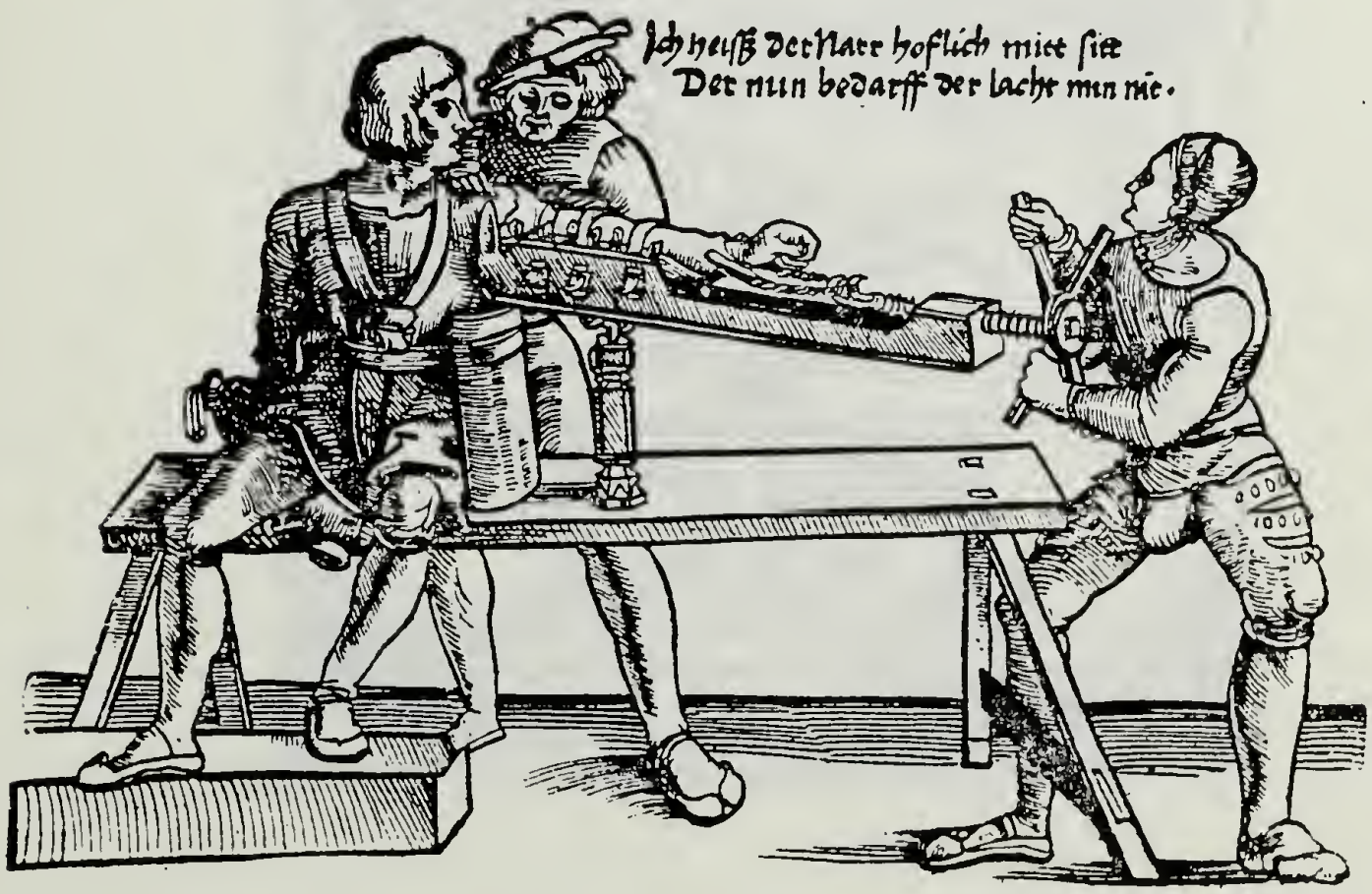


FIGURE 19

BARBER'S TOOLS

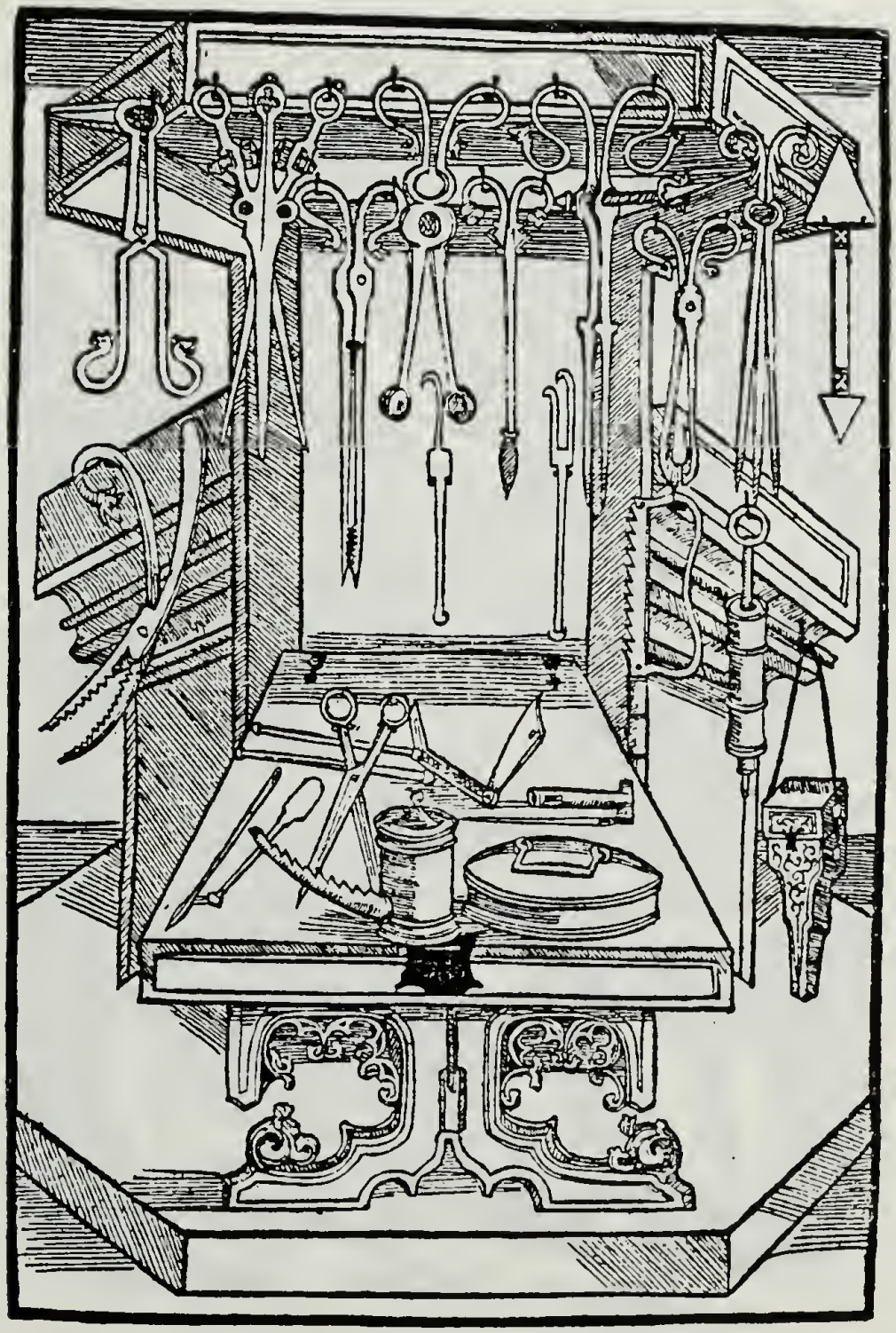


FIGURE 20

SURGERY ON THE BATTLEFIELD

NOTES

1. Art is one area where the social and economic context has been examined extensively. An excellent recent study along these lines is John M. Montias, Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century (Princeton, 1981). In most crafts, however, such studies are completely lacking.

2. Jost Ammans Stände und Handwerker: Mit Versen von Hans Sachs (Frankfurt, 1568. New edition: Munich, 1923), p. 123

3. Hermann A. Berlepsch, Chronik der Gewerke, 9 volumes, (St. Gall, 1850 - 1853); Volume Four, Chronik vom ehrbaren Schuhmachergewerk, p. 30.

4. Berlepsch, Chronik, p. 5.

5. Berlepsch, Chronik, p. 40. Flicker is a south German term. Elsewhere the term was Altmacher or Altreißer.

6. Berlepsch, Chronik, p. 59

7. Thrupp, "Gilds", in Cambridge Economic History, p. 253

8. Blanche E. Hazard, The Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875 (New York, 1969), p. 4

9. Berlepsch, Chronik, p. 53

10. Hazard, The Boot and Shoe Industry, p. 3

11. Berlepsch, Chronik, p. 59

12. See below, Chapter V.

13. Hazard, The Boot and Shoe Industry, p. 8.

14. Berlepsch, Chronik, p. 62.

15. Berlepsch, Chronik, p. 133-134.

16. Berlepsch, Chronik, p. 115.

17. Berlepsch, Chronik, pp. 138 - 139.

18. Clasen, Weber, p. 22.

19. There is no article extant; see, however, Peter Jorgen's petition and the accompanying Bericht from 1548: H.A., Supplication, Peter Jorgen, 1548, GSLM# 469,945.

20. Berlepsch, Chronik, p. 47.

21. Wissell, Handwerks Recht, pp. 429 and 432. These accusations concern farm shoes, and may have been applicable only in a village. It is worth noting that the petitions for Augsburg, 1610-1619, record no instance of this type of complaint.

22. Wissell, Handwerks Recht, p. 434.

23. Wissell, Handwerks Recht, p. 440.

Montag ist Sonntags Bruder
Dienstags liegen sie auch noch im Luder
Mittwoch gehen sie nach Leder
Donnerstag kommen sie weder,
Freitags schreiden sie zu
Sonnabend mangeln Pantoffeln und Schuh.

24. Thrupp, "Gilds", p. 267.

25. Albrecht Eckhardt, Eschweger Zunftverfassung und hessische Zunftpolitik (Marburg/Lahn & Witzenhausen, 1964), p. 34.

26. Heinrich Bechtel, Wirtschaftstil des deutschen Spätmittelalters: der Ausdruck der Lebensform in Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, und Kunst vom 1330 bis zum 1500 (Munich & Leipzig, 1930), p. 245.

27. Lévy-Coblentz, L'art du Meuble, p. 121, says that the Zimmerhof was a center for all woodworking trades and consisted of a whole netword of lumber yards.

28. Lévy-Coblentz, L'art du Meuble, p. 11.

29. Samuel W. Wolsey and R. W. P. Luff, Furniture in England: the Age of the Joiner (New York, 1969), pp. 16 - 17.

30. See L. A. Koltun, The Cabinetmaker's Art in Ontario circa 1850 - 1900 (Ottowa, 1979) for many photographs of tools used by joiners.

31. Levy-Coblentz, L'art du Meuble, p. 10.

32. Levy-Coblentz, L'art du Meuble, pp. 127 - 128.

33. H.A., Kistler, Jacob Stenglin, 1549, GSLM# 534,604.

34. This works out to about 130 customers per master on the average. This figure is based on a population of 30,000, leaving 15,000 for the market size. At 110 masters, this yields 136 customers per master. It is worth speculating that there might have been a practical limit on the size of an individual business, based on the number of transactions one master could handle per day. A shoemaker could not serve 500 customers daily, nor could he survive on one sale a week. A goldsmith, on the other hand, or a painter, may have been able to do so and, similarly, a cloth merchant may have been able to handle 500 transactions a day, through his factors. A statistical survey of towns, looking only at crafts that served the general public, could produce approximate upper and lower limits.

35. Laber, Die Schweden in Augsburg (Munich, 1932), p. 36 - 2,000 empty dwellings.

36. Mayr, Augsburger Vermögen, (Augsburg, 1931), pp. 13 - 15.

37. Richard Bennett and John Elton, History of Corn-Milling, 4 volumes (London, 1898 - 1904), 3:305-308

38. John Storck and Walter D. Teague, Flour for Man's Bread: A History of Milling (Minneapolis, 1952), p. 102

39. Bennett and Elton, Corn-Milling, 3:100-101.

40. Storck and Teague, Flour, p. 103.

41. The terms Knecht and Gesell referred to different types of workers. The latter was what we normally think of as a journeyman: a young man (usually) who had completed his apprenticeship and who, by working for a variety of masters, was preparing himself for mastership. The latter term actually translates as "serf" or "servant", but seems to have meant "employee" in these documents. That is to say, a Knecht was a hired worker rather than a master-in-training. The conditions and terms of employment for Knechten probably varied greatly.

42. Storck and Teague, Flour, p. 100.

43. Hermann Peters, Der Arzt und die Heilkunst in der deutschen Vergangenheit (Leipzig, 1900), p. 35

44. Peters, Arzt, p. 34.

45. A. Martin, Deutsches Badewesen in vergangenen Tagen (Jena, 1906), p. 93.

46. Peters, Arzt, p. 35.

47. Martin, Deutsches Badewesen, p. 68.

48. Peters, Arzt, p. 36.

49. Peters, Arzt, p. 38.

CHAPTER V

THE GUILDS

A guild was a corporation, a sworn association consciously created and invested with privileges by a public authority. It was both a political body with civic duties and an economic corporation designed to regulate some craft or crafts. This definition of a guild was presented in Chapter One. Stated another way, a guild was the body of regulations, the authorized officals, and the process of enforcing and revising the regulations. We shall have occasion in a subsequent chapter to focus on the process involved, but here our attention will be directed to the regulations and the officials.

The regulations of a guild took the form of a list of rules, called on Ordnung. The Ordnung set out the basic rules of membership and promotion, defined the practices of the craft concerning what was made and how it was sold, and dealt with special topics peculiar to a craft, such as professional ethics or civic obligations. The Ordnungen have traditionally been the principal sources used in most guild histories, for the good reason that no other single source is so comprehensive. Most Ordnungen have articles on membership requirements, production and quality control, labor and hiring practices, marketing, administration and management; they provide a table of organization for each guild and what constraints were placed on the guildsmen. The regulations for each guild conformed very closely to the economic realities of the craft it governed. Changes in the craft or deficiencies in the Ordnung led to the creation of new articles, or the

modification of existing ones, as needed. The guild regulations, in other words, were neither arbitrary nor static, but were the product of an on-going dialogue between city and guild.

The Barbers and Bathers Guild has exceptionally complete documentation, in part because the regulations are exceptionally complete in that they include definitions of the duties of guild officials and oaths taken by the guildsmen, and in part because there are actually two sets of Ordnungen. In 1638, what had been one guild became two, with a guild for the barbers and a guild for the bathers, each with its own Ordnung. The existence of two Ordnungen for two very similar crafts provides a rare opportunity to examine what purposes a guild was expected to fulfill.

The Handwerker-Akten give a partial record of the reasons for the split and how it was accomplished. In April 1638 the City Council granted permission to the barbers and bathers to write to Nuremberg and Regensburg, asking those cities how they administered their surgeons and bathers.[1] The replies were probably received sometime in May. In both it was stated that the two were considered to be separate crafts and both cities included extracts from their Ordnungen, and some of their articles were incorporated in the new regulations.[2] This inquiry was surely pro forma, as most guilds were aware of the practices and policies of other cities. On 8 June, the City Council empowered the Ordnungsherren, in conjunction with the Baumeister, to investigate the division of the guild into two separate entities and to report on their findings to the Rat. The reason for this investigation was

given tersely: "to put an end to the continuing disputes (Irrungen) between the Barbers and the Bathers".[3] The separation came on 18 September 1638. Again, the reason given was concise and a bit vague: "there has been much strife between the Barbers and Bathers, resulting in great confusion".[4] Although the two had been one guild for at least a century, and probably for much longer, the whole process of division had taken less than five months. The rapidity and smoothness with which the split was accomplished should help dispel the notion than guilds were by nature too conservative to respond to be adaptable.

The city had moved quickly, but not incautiously. From beginning to end the City Council was firmly in control, and while the guildsmen themselves were the primary participants, there was no hint of autonomy in their actions. The initial impetus came from the guildsmen themselves. They wrote to Regensburg and Nuremberg, but with official permission. The committee that actually effected the separation was composed of guildsmen plus a city official; and the final documents, though drawn up by and for guildsmen, were sanctioned and formally issued by the City Council. This procedure typified relations between Rat and Handwerk, in which guildsmen worked in their own interest under the supervision of the city, thus ensuring that the needs of both parties were met.

The two Ordnungen issued in September of 1638 were very similar. The first five articles, concerning apprentices, were identical in both documents. An apprentice had to be at least twelve years old and of legitimate birth. He was presented to the guild by his sponsor, whereupon his

name was recorded in the Book of Apprentices.[5] He served as an apprentice for three years, after which time he received a Lehrbrief -- a letter attesting to the fact that he had successfully completed his training and was of good moral character. As the youth journeyed, he would present his Lehrbrief as evidence of his learning and respectability.[6] He also paid a fee to the guild and city.[7] No master was allowed to have more than one apprentice, though he was allowed to employ his own sons in addition to an apprentice.[8] Widows were not allowed to have an apprentice at all.[9] Women were allowed to succeed to their husband's business and to run the shop, but were not entrusted with the training of new masters.

Only three articles were devoted to journeymen, an indication of the relative unimportance of Gesellen in this craft.[10] Here arises the first deviation between the two sets of regulations, discernible even in the sub-heading: the one concerns Barbiergesellen, the other concerns Badknechten.[11] The details of the articles differ in content as well as titles. For the barbers, the regulations were very limited in scope. No journeyman was allowed to work for two masters, none could be promoted until he had learned his craft, and each had to work up to six months for a master to whom he was in debt.[12]

The articles for the Badknechten are much more detailed and cover a wider range of topics. Article 6 of the Badordnung prohibited any Badknecht "who had not learned his craft according to the guild rules" from practicing bleeding, bandaging, or anything pertaining to surgery. Fines were stiff: two florins for the first offense, four for the second, and eight for the

third plus being thrown in irons (mit der Eysen zue samt der doppelten gelt Poen gestrafft werden). The untrained Knecht could cut hair, give massages, and do menial tasks around the Bad, but could not do surgical procedures; the guild and the city evidently recognized the dangers of a lack of competence in this area. Article 7 of the Badordnung parallels Article 7 of the Barbierordnung, but stipulated additionally that an independent worker, living on his own (haushäbige Knecht), was allowed to work at a bath even though he did not work for the master, but he could cut hair (das trockene Schern). That Knechten could and did treat wounds and injuries is attested to by Article 8, which required a Knecht to report to the City Council any treatment administered by him in his masters's absence.

These articles on journeymen show a clear divergence in the function of hired workers within the two guilds. A Barbiergesell had limited duties that were not much more than an extension of his apprenticeship. Conditions in a bathhouse were quite different, and the regulations reflected this. A number of tasks, from maintenance of the baths to massages to bleeding, could be delegated to workers, freeing the master to concentrate on the surgical and business aspects of the Bad.

The prerequisites for acquiring the guild privilege were the same in both guilds: honorable birth, freedom from Leibeigenschaft, ten years' training and experience, of which three had to be spent in Wanderschaft and three in apprenticeship.[13] Sons of citizen-masters needed only eight years. Foreign journeymen (those who were not citizens of Augsburg) had to spend three of their ten years working for Augsburg masters, and were urged to

marry the widow or daughter of a citizen-master.[14] The prospective master was not required to produce a masterpiece (Meisterstück), but he did have to take a test (Examen), which included the preparation of plasters and unguents. He was also required to explain the guild regulations.[15]

All masters were urged to marry, preferably within the guild, but surprisingly none were required to do so. This laxness was unique among the four guilds; the others required foreign Gesellen to marry within the guild and required all masters to be married. The unmarried state (das ledigen Stand) was generally regarded with suspicion, an unzünftig marriage scarcely less so. Yet, Article 15 in both Ordnungen specifically says, "Still, no one in the guild is required to marry, but all are free and unbidden, and may also marry outside the guild." The estate of barber (or bather) was unehrlich, or at least was tainted with past association with such dishonorable status, and one would assume that the guild would be anxious to have its masters respectably married and safely married within the guild. Since this was not the case, other factors must have been at work here. Perhaps the article reflected the extraordinary conditions within the population resulting from the calamities of the Swedish Occupation. The documents provide no clue, but the puzzle remains intriguing.

No master in either guild was allowed to have two shops, which had the effect of placing a virtual limit on an individual master's earnings.[16] A master could increase his earnings only by increasing either volume or prices, neither of which was practical. Journeymen were restricted in what they could do, and once fully-qualified they were not many years away from

mastership themselves; the master would gain only a few years profit for his investment of years of training. Thus, an increase in a master's work force would have brought higher costs without a corresponding increase in income. Moreover, unlike a shoemaker's shop where a new journeyman could increase production right away and thus begin generating income, a barber would have had to attract new clients before his journeyman could even begin to be productive. Raising prices was also futile, for such a course would tend to make the master less competitive. The only possibility was to acquire wealthier clients, for these would be willing to pay higher fees. Some succeeded in this, but they were not many. With multiple shops, a master could exploit master/employees in a relationship similar to the putting-out system. Evidently some expansion along these lines had been attempted, or this Article 17 forbidding such practices would not have been written. Limited to a single shop, constrained by the nature of his market, a master barber could work the full length of a working day but could not expand his activities.

Both the barbers and the bathers were allowed to administer first aid, called erste band in the documents. The master was required to give erste band to all who sought it and no one was allowed to object, meaning that other medical people could not accuse the master of stealing clients. This regulation had the effect of making any bathhouse or barber's shop available to serve as an emergency room for the inhabitants of the city. As with modern emergency rooms, payment for treatment was a problem. In cases where the erste band was sufficient, the patient was to make

"appropriate" (ziemblich) payment, "which shall be approximately the cost of the cloth, or according to the terms of an agreement (nach erkanntnus der geschwornen Abkommen)".[17]

The final few articles concerning masters covered a variety of points. Masters were forbidden to administer purgatives (innerlichen Purgierenden).[18] They were forbidden to reveal the secrets of their arts (Kundten).[19] They were allowed to work for institutions, such as monasteries.[20] Barbers were allowed to hang out as many signs as they wished, provided they did not open for business too early. Bathhouse keepers, on the other hand, were permitted no more than two signs on their doors.[21] I can discover no reason for this limitation.

Article 27 is an oath, taken annually by the masters. It reads the same for both guilds, and is reproduced here in full:

> Each year all Barbers shall swear and promise that they will faithfully attend to the sick, poor and rich alike, according to their need. And they will not hold the poverty of the poor against them nor in any way slight their care of them. No Barber shall bleed anyone who is very sick (schweren Kranckheit) or who has evil signs (bösen Zeichen) without the permission of a sworn Doctor or Surgeon, except during a plague (der Pestilenz) or an unknown sickness (ein kranker des je nicht gerathen). Likewise, when they have a sick person in their care, they shall not administer to them on an extended basis without the permission of the Mayor. They promise therefore to bandage all people. And if the wound is very serious, they shall send a Gesell or some other person to the Mayor with that information and they shall ask the person how they were injured.

The sense of this Article is that barbers and bathers were intended to administer only erste band and similar types of elementary medical care, in addition to bleeding which was their stock-in-trade. The emphasis laid on treating those in need regardless of their wealth or social standing is repeated in other sources as well. It is understandable that a master would be reluctant to treat someone who could not pay the fee, but the city obviously regarded this service as something akin to a right that all possessed. The final portion of the oath is the most interesting. It had the effect of turning barbers and bathers into coroners, investigating the cause of injuries. We know from other sources that the barbers and bathers were charged with the responsibility of determining the cause of death in cases where the cause was in question. This occurred most frequently in cases where people died on the streets, these often being the homeless poor or strangers.[22]

The two guilds also had their geschwornen Maistern, the Sworn Masters who were the officials closest to the guildsmen themselves. They were charged with examining a patient, diagnosing him, and setting the fee.[23] They also were responsible for ensuring that only competent (beständig und taugenlich) masters could hang out their signs. This they did by inspecting each master's shop with regard to "only the common good of rich and poor alike and nothing else, by their oath".[24]

The Ordnung also set out the duties and power of the Overseer (Vorgeher). Each served only four years, with a new one appointed every two years, so that one of the officials was always senior and the other was junior.[25] The Overseer could summon anyone within the guild and judge him.

No one was allowed to speak disrespectfully to the Overseer or the offender would find himself in die Eisen gelegt. Although some of these Overseers were guildsmen, guild membership was not a requirement; the City Council could appoint whomever it saw fit.[26]

Articles 31 - 37 repeat earlier admonitions regarding masters working outside their own shops and unqualified journeymen practicing medicine. Article 38 of the Barbierordnung and Article 39 of the Baderordnung stated specifically that whoever was not a master was allowed to perform only the Naß schern (shave and a bath) and Schröpfen (a mild form of bleeding). Article 39 of the Barbierordnung prohibited any executioner (Züchtiger or Frauenbilder) from doing work reserved to the barbers and bathers.

Articles 40 - 43 of the Barbierordnung parallel Articles 51 - 54 of the Baderordnung, and deal with administrative matters. Article 40 (51) is interesting in the light it sheds on the mechanics of how guild rules were communicated to the membership. Although many, perhaps most, could read, printing personal copies for everyone was out of the question, so other methods were used. The article required the Overseer to read the regulations to the entire guild once a year. Anyone who became master during the year was to go to the Overseer and have the regulations read without delay. No one could claim ignorance of the rules.

Article 41 (52) prohibited the masters from forming secret societies:

> The Barbers shall adhere to no other rules besides the ones set forth herein without

> the approval of Guild and City, nor shall they make any new articles, secretly or openly, nor write to the guild of another place, under heavy penalty.

Articles 40 - 50 of the Baderordnung are the other place where the two sets of regulations deviated significantly, for there is no analog of them in the regulations of the Barbers Guild. They provide insight into how the public baths operated and deal mostly with the various types of work and workers in the bath. For example, those who administered massages at the baths were not the Knechten of the master, but neither were they allowed to work at the bath without his permission. With his permission, they were to give one half of their income to the master.[27] Another example: the health dangers of public baths were fully recognized, and masters were not to allow into their baths any person who had sickness or disease.[28]

The articles of these two Ordnungen reflect the fact that these were crafts whose prime function was to provide a personal service. There were two areas of focus in the regulations of both guilds: the treatment of patients, and the definition of jobs and areas of competence, with the former applying more to masters and the latter applying more to journeymen and employees. In other words, the principal function of these guilds was to define and supervise what services were rendered, by whom, to whom, and under what circumstances. We have already seen that it was the service orientation of barbering that gave the craft its distinctive character, and accounted for the type of membership in the guild. This service orientation was also the source for many of the guild's regulations.

The regulations provide some clues to the reasons why barbers and bathers divided into two separate corporations. The two points at which the Ordnungen diverged were the Knechten and the baths. In both cases, the Bader of Augsburg required more detailed legislation than did the Barbierer. From other sources we know that bathhouses were declining in numbers, while the number of barbers was on the rise.[29] It is therefore probable that when the previous set of regulations were written, no earlier than 1549, the barbers had been a subordinate group in a craft dominated by the bathers. By the 1630's, however, the barbers were by far the most numerous group. The bathers being still numerous enough and influential enough to demand their own privilege (Gerechtigkeit), the only solution was to incorporate each craft in independent guilds. The specific timing of the split can be laid to a sharp rise in disputes between the two groups, referred to in the preliminary documents discussed earlier, which in turn may well have been caused by the demographic crisis of the years 1624 - 1635.

A complete set of regulations for the Millers Guild is also preserved in the city archive. The Müllerordnung of 1549 was re-issued several times during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with no substantive changes in the articles. We have already seen that there was little change in the technical and economic aspects of the craft, and this was surely the reason for the stability in its administration. Here, as in the case of the Barbers and Bathers Guild, the guild conformed closely to the craft.

Four basic areas were addressed in the Müllerordnung: admission to mastership, labor relations, prices, and relations with other guilds. There were forty-one articles for the millers, comparable to the forty-three articles of the Barbierordnung and the fifty-four articles of the Baderordnung. Articles 1 - 8 cover relations with outsiders, 9 - 27 and 41 set milling prices, Articles 28 - 31 concern masters, and 32 - 40 cover hiring practices and other matters relating to Knechten.[30]

One of the concerns of the first eight articles was the prevention of bribery. Article 1 says, in part:

> Should any miller give any money or other consideration to any baker, with the intention that the baker should bring him grain to be milled, he shall pay two florins to the Verordnete as a fine for each violation.

Analogous rules obtained in other guilds as well, aimed at preventing a master from enticing customers away from other masters by underhanded means. The fact that concern over bribery appears in the very first article of the Müllerordnung is perhaps a reflection of the widespread belief that all millers were basically dishonest.

Article 5 forbids bakers from offering gifts of food or drink to a miller. Article 6 forbids millers from making similar bribes to bakers. The prohibitions against favors and other forms of bribery were aimed at preventing the miller from stealing customers from his fellow guildsmen and at preventing the baker from obtaining special treatment from the miller. As one of the few places where a miller could gain a competetive edge over

other millers, bribery was a recurring problem. Other regulations dealt with the buying and selling of grain (Article 1), business with the carters called "sack carriers" (Article 7), and doing business in the marketplace (Article 2).

Regulations concerning admission to the guild were remarkably few and brief. There was no word at all about apprenticeship or journeymanship. No masterpiece was required in this guild, which is not surprising sine a miller did not actually make anything. Admission to the guild cost 22 florins for a foreigner, one florin only for the son or daughter of a master.[31] Generally speaking, anyone not the son of a master could not expect themselves to become a master. With so few positions open in the city, each mastership would normally have been filled by sons or other relatives. The abnormally high fees set for foreigners, and the low fee for sons and daughters (the latter allowing a daughter to transfer the guild privilege to her husband), indicates that the guild had little desire to admit outsiders into its midst.

The only other relevant article provided that no master who owned his own home (<u>haußhäbig</u>) was allowed to leave the city without the permission of the City Council.[32] This rule is an indication of how important milling was to the city; I can see no reason why the masters themselves would desire such a provision. It might also have been aimed at preventing the miller from buying grain directly from the farmers.

There were a number of articles regarding laborers -- the <u>Mühlknechten</u>. A <u>Knecht</u> served his master for a full year. Every St. George's Day, the <u>Knecht</u> was free to seek other employment, and the master was free to hire a different <u>Knecht</u>.[33] The <u>Knecht</u> was to be paid at least

every two weeks, and was normally paid weekly.[34] Since a Knecht was likely to be a hired hand, rather than a master-in-training, he might not know the guild rules, and such ignorance was not allowed. If a miller hired a man who had not taken the Miller's Oath, he had to bring the man before the Mayor within eight days and have him take the oath (in angeloben lassen umb die Zaichen).[35] No master was allowed to fire his Knecht without just cause, nor hire one away from another master.[36] Neither could the Knecht quit without reason.[37] These articles all point to a desire for a very stable and secured labor pool, one in which there was little freedom of movement for either party. This probably was the mutual desire of everyone involved. The city would have wanted the business of milling free from dislocations caused by labor problems. The masters depended upon the Knechten to transact their daily business; without the workers, the mills would shut down. The Knechten were unskilled and of low social status, so were probably desirous of long-term employment.

Setting of prices received the greatest amount of attention in the Müllerordnung. The articles were quite specific, but were not consistent in the units of measurement used nor were they always clear as to how fees were to be collected. The only charges involved in milling were fees -- a payment for services rendered. No one actually bought anything, as direct sale of grain was strictly prohibited.[38] The customer brought his grain to the mill, it was milled, he paid the miller, then carried away his flour or meal or malt. Fees varied not only according to the type of grain milled, but also according to the type of customer: baker, brewer, merchant (Hucker) or

private citizen (Haußleuth). The articles setting prices are summarized by the following table and are drawn from Articles 9 - 25:

	BAKERS	HOUSEHOLDERS	MERCHANTS
Wheat	-	2 pf.	12 pf.
Rye	4 pf.	6 pf.	12 pf.
Barley	4 pf.	2 pf.	6 pf.
Oats	-	12 pf.	4 pf.
Fesen	3 pf.	3 pf.	-
Kern	6 pf.	-	-
Peas	-	-	2 pf.

The unit of measurement used was the Schaff, or sheaf. The monetary unit was the Pfennig. The brewers paid four Pfennige per Schaff for malt.[39] The fine for charging over these rates was set at one florin for each violation.[40] Since there were about 240 Pfennige in a florin, the fines were considerable.[41]

The regulations for the guild itself were very few; when one takes away the twenty articles devoted to setting milling fees, there were only twenty-one articles that concerned guild activities. This Ordnung, in fact, does not look anything like what one might have expected -- no journeymen or apprentices, no regulation of production or quality, no masterpiece. The usual trappings are absent. Compare this Ordnung with one from the Weavers

Guild, with its many articles on the subjects just mentioned, and one can begin to appreciate that guilds could take on a wide variety of forms.[42]

There exists another document that, while not an Ordnung, yields useful information regarding the Millers Guild. This document is the Instruction zur die Mühl-Visitatores, or Instruction to the Mill Inspectors, issued in 1722. The Instruction is especially helpful in revealing the types of fraud perpetrated by millers, and the principal areas of concern to the city itself. The city was determined to keep a firm hand on the supply of grain and bread. It will be shown presently that the city was no less determined to collect every penny of taxes that could be levied on the grain trade. The full title of this document, dated 1722 but pertaining to offices and policies in effect well before that date, is Instruction zur die Mühl-Visitatores, welche sie jahrlich, auch ein jeder Neu-Antrettender bey dessen Aufnahm, vor dem Ungeld- und Getreyd-Aufschlagsamt zu beschowren haben. In other words, these were sworn officials reporting to the Tax Commission and to the Grain Office. They were charged with keeping watch "over all mills in the Schrand and outside of it, by day and night". They were further charged with overseeing all grain transactions by bakers, brewers, distillers, confectioners and Melbern.[43]

The foundation for all inspections of the mills was laid by Article 2, quoted here in full:

> Henceforward, all who purchase grain must present to the Grain Office a ticket (Zettel), on which is recorded how much grain they are buying, for what purpose, and at which mill

> it will be ground; and at fixed hours the Inspectors shall visit the mills to ascertain what is being milled.

The Zettel was the key to the system. It provided the basis for all inspections and fines, and was the document used for calculating the Ungeld, a sales tax levied on basic food items.[44] It is evident that the problem of fraudulence persisted at least into the eighteenth century.

Millers and their customers were required to show their grain sacks on the Inspector's demand. If the contents were different or more than what was specified on the ticket, the Inspector took immediate action: "soll der Visitator solches Getreyd alsobald mit Arrest belegen".[45] He could remove excess grain and confiscate it.[46] There was obviously room here for abuse of authority, and the Inspectors were instructed to be impartial. To help ensure this, all measuring of grain by an Inspector was to be done in the presence of both the miller and the customer.[47] Should the Inspector measure anyone's grain fraudulently, he was fined 30 kreuzer, a rather paltry sum.[48]

The Grain Office received a weekly list of milling done, based on the Grain Office tickets.[49] The bakers, likewise, provided to the Grain Office a summary statement of Ungeld paid, while the Inspectors compiled a statement of Ungeld paid by any others who came to the mills.[50]

In the Millers Guild, as in the others, foreigners were of special concern. The article relating to them also reveals that the city's main objective was still the collection of revenue:

> The Inspectors shall pay special attention

> to foreigners who do business at any mill, inside or outside the city, that the Ungeld may be levied.[51]

The same article forbids millers from milling grain claimed to be tax-exempt, unless they first obtained special permission to do so.

A number of dodges were employed to avoid paying the tax. Sometimes, inferior grades of grain were used.[52] A more subtle ruse was to cover a sack of white flour malt with a layer of barley malt, which was lower quality and was subject to a lower tax.[53] Another trick was to bring a quantity of grain to the mill, then leave, with the customer claiming that he would pick up his flour later. His true intent, however, was to stay away until the Inspector had left, then return with more grain, to be milled tax-free.[54] A variation of this was to have the milling done at a different mill from the one on the ticket, thus avoiding the officials. "The Inspectors must watch for this", admonishes Article 16. Finally, milling might be done secretly at night. This was forbidden, even down to the picking up or dropping of grain after hours, for the obvious reason that this could easily be un-ticketed grain.[55] The Inspectors could not be on duty twenty-four hours a day.

The grain market was held on Thursdays and Fridays. Two Inspectors were detailed to oversee all buying and selling, "to ensure that all is done fairly and truly".[56] They were to take "particular care that all pay the Ungeld", and no one was allowed out of the marketplace without their grain sacks having been ticketed.[57] The city even anticipated disasters, in its quest to collect all the tax: when a "water-related calamity"

(Wasser-Mangels-Zeit) struck (i.e., flood, drought, ice jams and the like), and grain had to be taken outside the city to be milled, the Inspectors were to be stationed at the city gates. There the Grain Office tickets had to be presented, and the sacks inspected, or the grain could not enter or leave.[58]

The final article set the standard of conduct for the Mill Inspectors. It is an interesting statement of moral standards for public officials and of the difficulties they faced:

> Lastly and above all, the Inspectors are instructed to serve the City well and truly, to take no special consideration of any person regardless of his station, to take no bribe in any form, not to overlook infractions because of respect or friendship, to report all violations to the Tax Office or to the Grain Office, and to serve well and truly; all under penalty of fine for the first offense, suspension for the second, and dismissal for the third.[59]

The comment about "respect or friendship" and about the station of those the Inspectors supervised indicates the power that such factors had in early modern society -- they were at least as influential as bribes!

The picture that emerges from the Ordnung and the Instruction is one of a guild firmly and closely controlled by the city. This was a very small industry, but it was a key industry, and the mills were convenient points of control. In the Ordnung itself there is not a word about guild officers, regulation of production, and very little about admission to the guild. Instead, the articles concentrated on such matters as prices, customer relations and, in the Instruction, tax collection. These were all matters of

more concern to the city than to the masters, and the provisions of the articles redounded more to the benefit of the government than the guild. This probably was the result of the past circumstances of this craft. The mills were at one time entirely under the control of public agencies, and the master millers were little more than servants. The guild never had the chance afforded most others -- the opportunity of being ignored by the government. As a trade of vital importance to the entire city, the guild was created and operated less for private gain than for the public good.

No Ordnung for the Joiners Guild has survived. Many of the individual articles have survived, however, appearing as supporting documents to petitions. Of one hundred articles in the Kistlerordnung, at least 70 have survived, so it is still possible to get a close look at this guild. The most serious effect of not having a complete Ordnung is that no conclusions can be drawn about what was not covered by the regulations. It is also impossible to determine which areas were of the greatest concern to the guild. Nevertheless, certain aspects of the guild can be examined.

Quality control played a small role in the Barbers Guild and the Millers Guild. In the Joiners Guild, on the other hand, considerable attention was paid to it. The use of inferior or altered wood was the primary concern. Joiners would paint over inferior woods, then claim that they were high quality and sell them as such. This practice was expressly forbidden.[60] Other articles prohibited the use of soft woods in place of hard woods, the failure to use the quality of wood that was customarily used in certain types

of furniture, and the disguising of inferior woods by gluing a panel of good wood over the surface.[61] Probably other methods were used in manufacturing inferior products, but only these prohibitions have survived.

Quality control was not exercised at the shop, as it was in the case of milling, but in the marketplace. The only extant articles deal with the three annual "open" markets, which were the only markets at which foreign joiners could offer their wares to the citizens of Augsburg. The guild inspectors, called Geschaumeistern, were enjoined to inspect the goods offered by foreigners, which included "work that is forbidden to our own masters", and to mark inferior pieces with a "B", for "Böß" (böse).[62] Each item so marked was fined at the rate of 15 kreuzer per florin of value, or 25 percent of the selling price (60 kr. = 1 fl.). It is possible that among the missing articles were ones that set forth guidelines by which the Geschaumeister could judge works, but it is also possible that he simply used his own judgment in the matter. There were four Geschaumeistern, all appointed by the City Council. They were sworn officials, bound to "mark products to their best understanding, good for good and bad for bad".[63] Inspections of the shops were carried out four times a year: at each of the three annual markets, and at Christmas, plus any time the Geschaumeister felt it was necessary.[64]

Labor was an important concern in this guild. As I have shown already in Chapter V, a fluctuating demand for labor led to the creation of a central agency whose sole function was to manage the assignment of journeymen to masters. This was the Herberg, a kind of inn where journeymen

lived while not working, run by a master who was called Vatter by the journeymen themselves but whose official title was Zuschickmeister, or Jobmaster.

Two provisions were the key to making the system of Zuschick work. The first required every master in the guild who wanted a journeyman to write his request on a note, a Zuschickmeister Zettel. Without this written request, he could receive no journeymen. The fine for hiring a journeyman without the Jobmaster's knowledge was one florin, a substantial amount.[65] The same article provided that the journeyman was not allowed to "hire on of his own free will to this or that master, as was done before".[66] The second article established that requests for labor would be met in sequence:

> Because of the aim of equality in jobs (des Zueschickens halben, under dem Handwerckh ein gleichheit gehalten werde), therefore no master from now on may hire a journeyman before another, but each must follow the list.[67]

Both master and journeyman, however, had a right to reject each other. The master came in person to the Herberg to interview his prospective employee at a table. If they got up from the table together, the agreement was sealed; otherwise, there was no deal. If the journeyman refused work, he had to wait a week to be reassigned.[68] If the journeyman refused work three times, he lost his right to choose and was assigned anyway.[69] Hiring was done Sunday and Monday morning. If a journeyman had not been placed

by Monday afternoon, he had to wait until the following Sunday to seek work again.[70]

Retailing of finished works by joiners was also closely watched. The actual process of manufacture received only slight attention, but the activity in the three annual markets was carefully regulated. As mentioned above, the Geschaumeistern were active during these markets, which were held on the day celebrating the consecration of St. Ulrich's Church (the Kirchweyhen), St. Ulrich's Day, and St. Michael's Day.[71] Only one large item (usually one of the large armoires or similar cabinets) could be offered for sale at a time.[72] Smaller items, such as beds and desks could be offered in addition to the large Kasten.[73] The fact that a joiner could offer only three Kasten for sale in the public market annually did not preclude him from doing "bespoken" work for individual customers, who would simply come to the master in his shop and order a particular piece. The types of items that could be offered varied over time, but all came under the modern definition of furniture.[74] No citizen joiner was allowed to purchase the work of a foreign joiner. The only exception to this rule, which was essentially to prevent citizen joiners from going into the import business, was window frames (Fenster Rahmen).[75] No master could offer goods for sale in the Trendlmarkt, a city market at which only second-hand goods were sold.[76] I cannot discover who in the city had the right to sell used furniture, which was surely a viable market in itself. Joiners, in any case, were allowed to sell only new furniture that they themselves had made. Toward this end, no master was allowed to offer the work of another master for sale.[77] This was

aimed at keeping one master from becoming the virtual employee of another. Another article, dating from the same period, reinforced this goal:

> No citizen master may give work to a foreign joiner to be done outside the city. Neither may he give him wood or glue. Still less may he give him a Verlegen or money. Nor shall he receive or buy such work at any time.

The penalty for violating this article was confiscation of the work plus five Pfennige for every florin of value on the item sold or purchased.[78]

The similarities between carpentry and joinery gave rise to a number of difficulties, some of which were addressed in the guild regulations. Carpenters were allowed to do joinery (die Kistler arbait), but only after they had successfully produced a joiner's masterpiece.[79] Not only was the unqualified carpenter forbidden to do joinery, but a joiner could not hire a carpenter to do such work.[80] The only time a carpenter could engage in joinery was when making chests or beds for his own use, and these he was not even allowed to give away.[81]

Carpenters did not present the only problem of competition for the joiners. Chestmakers belonged to the Joiners Guild, but were strictly limited in what they were allowed to make. Articles 47 through 50, dating sometime before 1600, set forth in careful detail the requirements for a masterpiece for the Büchsenschiffter (Chestmakers), which included three different chests.[82] The subordinate nature of the Chestmakers is revealed in the article that allowed a joiner to make chests (schifften), but forbade the

Schiffter to do joinery. Unlike other guildsmen, the chestmakers were allowed to sell their wares outside the city as they pleased.[83] This freedom was unusual, and may well have tempted joiners into selling outside the city by way of the chestmakers.

Admission to the guild followed carefully prescribed rules that, in contrast to the admission procedures of the millers and barbers, conformed to the stereotypical image of guild rules. Training took ten years, including apprenticeship -- a typical period of time. During the period of journeying, the individual had to work a minimum of two years for one or two citizen masters, thus providing the necessary exposure to local custom and the necessary opportunity for the guild to scrutinize the character of the potential master.[84] The masterpiece was to be made at the master's home or, if the journeyman had no master, at the Herberg.[85] The Sworn Masters inspected the piece -- "a Kasten of skillful work" -- at least three times, and inspected it again upon completion.[86] The finished work was then presented to the Verordnete of the guild, who were paid one florin "for their trouble" by the journeyman. It was they who finally approved both journeyman and masterpiece. If they judged the journeyman worthy (gnuegsam), he was thenceforward to be called "master", "and be held equal to all the other rightful masters, and be so recorded in the guild's Book of Masters".[87]

No more than three journeymen each year were allowed to undertake a masterpiece, of whom no more than two could be foreigners.[88] In addition to these three, a journeyman who married the widow of a master could make a masterpiece, presumably to permit him to make a sufficient

living as quickly as possible and have the legitimate right to operate the widow's shop.[89] If three new joiners were admitted every year, then there would be thirty new masters every decade. Since the guild had about 115 masters, this would imply a complete replacement of membership during the course of four decades. Furthermore, since the average age of a new master was somewhere in the neighborhood of thirty, the normal working life span of a master would be around forty years. That these figures are so close is coincidence, but they do bear out the basic conclusion that three masters was about the right number for this guild to admit a year. Here is still more evidence that the guilds in fact did know what they were doing and had a fairly good idea of how to manage their labor supply. Further evidence on this score is provided by a regulation promulgated sometime prior to 1664, at a time when the Joiners Guild was still very small compared to its pre-Thirty Years' War levels. The article stated: "Henceforward, that the guild not be overwhelmed as it has in the past, only one shall be admitted to the mastership each year."[90] A sharp reduction in the industry and in membership called forth a similar reduction in the number of masters that could be admitted each year.

Admission fees were twenty florins for those foreigners who married outside the guild.[91] It should be noted that this is the same figure that applied to foreign millers. One purpose of the high fees was to ensure that any outsider admitted into the guild would be a successful businessman, for anyone who could afford to pay twenty florins was certainly well established. The fee structure (high for foreigners, low for sons of guildsmen)

also reflects the endogamous nature of guilds, a trait consciously designed to produce stability in both guild and city.

It is difficult to draw conclusions from incomplete records. From what has survived, however, a few things can be asserted with confidence. The guild regulations confirm that retailing and labor were vitally important concerns to the joiners. For the first time, there is clear evidence of fear of foreign competition. Foreign was defined in the regulations as any product coming from further than two miles (Meile) from Augsburg, a highly restricted market region.[92]

The joiners were a corporation that conformed more closely to the stereotype of a guild. Labor and quality control were two areas of significant regulation. The purpose of the labor legislation has already been discussed. The articles on quality control were directed mostly at foreigners, to ensure that inferior products were not offered by them for sale in the open markets. Other articles were more general, directed at all masters. One cannot argue here that the concern of the guild to produce high quality goods was a matter of being competetive in foreign markets, for the joiners sold almost exclusively in the local market. Rather, these articles represent a genuine concern for craftsmanship. The guild wished to prevent selling a piece made from inferior woods. The aim was not to prevent a master from overcharging. The guild forbad him to make an inferior piece even if he sold it as such.

Two other areas were also the subject of legislation, and these perhaps one would be less likely to expect: retailing and the definition of

markets. The latter was the marking off of boundaries between cognate guilds, a perennial problem. The former was the regulation of the marketplace. As pointed out in the chapter on the crafts, historians have concentrated so much attention on the master's shop that they have neglected his role as retailer. The guild regulations committed no such oversight. What a master could sell, when, where and to whom, were matters of great importance. Any guild whose artisans sold directly to the public would have such articles, the study of which could provide significant insights into the history of business.

There is no copy extant of an Ordnung for the Shoemakers Guild of Augsburg, and few of the individual articles have survived. Only twenty Articulen exist in all, scattered among two centuries' worth of documents, though there were at least seventy-three articles in the original Ordnung.[93] With less than thirty percent of the articles available, it is impossible to draw a full portrait of this guild, nor will one be attempted here. Although individual points will be examined for what they may reveal, the general outlines of the Shoemakers Guild must remain obscure.

Most of the surviving articles concern the buying and selling of leather. Skins and hides came from the butchers, a large and prosperous guild that brought a great deal of livestock into the city.[94] There was a limit placed on how much leather a non-citizen could offer for sale in the leather market, called the Failenmarkt[95]

> When a visitor (gasst) brings a hide or pelt to our Failenmarkt, each master may buy ten haute and 1/4 fel, but no more. If, however, the visitor has already divided the skin or hide, no master may buy it, but rather the Verordnete Master must buy it for the entire guild and distribute the hides by lot.

Concern existed not only that a foreigner might usurp the Failenmarkt, but also that a citizen might somehow dominate the leather trade. To prevent such a development, an article forbad any Augsburg master from writing a master in another city concerning leather, without the knowledge of the Overseer.[96] Only through correspondence could a shoemaker arrange a deal to undercut local suppliers, so the city needed to keep a close watch on it. A similar article prohibited a master from transacting bulk sales from his own shop, though he was allowed to do so in a shop specially designated for the purpose (Wirthaus). Masters were further forbidden to "deal with a citizen merchant for himself alone and outside the guild."[97] A master shoemaker could easily develop into a shoe or leather merchant in areas where the market for such items was sufficiently large, as long as the city erected no legal barriers.[98] The master-merchant could reduce other masters to dependency by choking off their supply of leather. This development was generally resisted by city governments, and these articles represent Augsburg's attempts along these lines.

The city also tried to control leather prices, though the attempt was rather lame. An article written sometime prior to 1670 ordered that "each and every price shall be as of old, and no master shall be allowed to

buy more than what the rest of the guild buys."[99] The article goes on to exclude (ausgeschlossen), or make liable to a fine, any master who refused to abide by "the old prices (die alte schuld unnd kauff)" for hides and pelts, not shoes. No attempt was made to regulate prices at the point of sale. The vagueness of the wording in this article is in sharp contrast to the detail of the Müllerordnung, and would seem to make it all but unenforceable. Why would a city government make such precise stipulations for one guild and make little more than an empty gesture for another? Part of the reason is that specificity was vital in milling becuse grain was so vital. Barefoot people do not die; hungry people do. It is possible, too, that the articles were produced by the guildsmen themselves and not by the city. Since the city had no interest in controlling the price of leather, it approved without qualm an unenforceable regulation. This provides supporting evidence for the contention that the guildsmen themselves wrote their own Ordnungen, while the city merely reviewed and approved them.

Several articles provide insight into the progression from apprentice to journeyman to master. The placing of an apprentice with a master was accomplished through negotiations between the parents (or "friends" - "befreundten") and the prospective master. If the two parties arrived at a satisfactory agreement as to the type and amount of the apprenticeship fee to be paid to the master, then the boy was presented to the guild. Apprenticeship lasted five years, if a Lehrgeld was paid, or six years if none was paid. The son of a master, however, need serve an apprenticeship of only three years, without Lehrgeld.[100] No one could take on an apprentice

without the consent of the Guild Overseer. If the apprentice were a foreigner, he was required to produce letters (briefliche Urkunden) attesting to his honorable birth. A native needed to produce two citizens (Mitbürgern) who would attest to the respectability of his birth.[101]

Training as a journeyman varied considerably. A master's son was the most privileged, and needed only three years in addition to the three years apprenticeship, and these could be spent in Augsburg or elsewhere.[102] A foreigner had to serve ten years, of which three had to be for masters of Augsburg. They were also required to get married before they could become masters. As soon as the journeyman decided to become a master, his name was recorded. Only when all prerequisites were met was he allowed to attempt his masterpiece. Details on the next step, from journeyman to master, are unfortunately lacking. The favoring of the sons of masters seen in this guild was nearly universal among early modern guilds.

It is difficult to draw conclusions from so few articles, but certain limited observations can be made. The extant articles deal primarily with labor and with Lederkauf, the buying and selling of leather. The labor legislation is expected, for shoemakers employed many journeymen and relations between the two were anything but smooth. The emphasis on Lederkauf is likewise unsurprising, but it does seem strange that no articles appeared regarding the making and selling of shoes. If the leather received attention, why not the shoe? Whatever the reason, one would think that at least one or two articles along these lines would have appeared in the Handwerker-Akten.

The regulations of these four (actually five) guilds reveal a variety that is almost bewildering: the total number of articles of the five Ordnungen is well over three hundred. Yet there were common areas of concern addressed in each, allowing us to draw some general observations from the confusion. These areas included social and moral legislation, membership and admission, production, labor, retailing and administration. The variety resulted from the different approaches taken in each guild to these common concerns.

The particular approach taken was determined by the special conditions that existed in each craft. We should avoid the mistake of other guild historians of blaming the guild regulations for interfering with economic processes. The example of these guilds demonstrates that the reverse was actually the case: regulations were written in response to economic reality. Regulations were also written to accomodate the demand of the city for good order; this was most evident in the case of the grain market and the Millers Guild, but it was also manifest in the city's action in separating the barbers from the bathers.

If the differences were craft-specific, whence sprang the common concerns? These came from a system of values shared by guildsmen and city alike. Those who see in the guild regulations only the values of protectionism, conservatism and particularism gravely misinterpret the evidence. They also err in accusing only the guildsmen. Ricard T. Rapp has shown that the city officials of Venice were more guilty of these "sins" than

were the guildsmen themselves. It was the city that blocked innovations that would have increased production over the protests of the guildsmen.[103] It was the city that imposed controls on production that hurt Venetian competetiveness in international markets.[104] The source of this attitude was a deeply-held belief on the part of the government that superior quality would eventually win out, as well as a desire to protect the reputation of the city for turning out high-quality wares. Rapp shows that the guildsmen saw the economic reality more clearly than did their government, and were more flexible in meeting the challenges of economic change.[105] The Augsburg documents suggest a similar conclusion. There is no sign of diverging opinions here, but rather a common faith that rules and regulations were the key to a well-ordered society. By examining the areas of common concern, it is possible to extract some of the tenets of that common faith.

Perhaps the most unexpected aspect of the Articulen was the lack of moral legislation. The guilds took no cognizance of religious festivals or patron saints; there was nothing said about parades or civic duties; there were no provisions for the welfare of the sick or indigent members. No regulation exhorted the master to see to his apprentice's moral and religious life, nor was any entertainment or vice forbidden. These subjects and more appeared in the regulations of numerous guilds in the Middle Ages, yet they appear not at all in the five Augsburg guilds examined in the present study.[106] There was, however, a body of articles that can be considered social legislation, having to do with the socially vital areas of birth and marriage.

A concern with the members' lineage has long been recognized as a characteristic feature of the guild system. The basic formula was that all prospective guildsmen must be of eheliche und ehrliche Geburt (legitimate and honorable birth), and free of Leibeigenschaft (personal servitude or serfdom). Birth out of wedlock had always been unacceptable in Christian society, and simple craftsmen lacked the resources to obtain papal dispensations. Honorable birth meant a birth untainted by low social status. There were a number of trades and stations that were unehrlich, but the exact composition of the list changed with time and place. Barbers and millers, for example, were unehrliche Leute in some places and times, but they were not considered such in seventeenth century Augsburg.[107] The dishonorable status often derived from the trade's current or past stain of Leibeigenschaft. Being the "man of another man" was unforgivable in the cities, which were by tradition havens of personal freedom. Any hint of serfdom or servitude was sufficient cause to exclude one from guild membership. This attitude was virtually universal throughout Germany.[108]

One of the few historians who have correctly understood the intent of this legislation is Mack Walker, whose book on German towns covers the period from the Thirty Years' War to German unification. He showed that these constituted social legislation, the aims of which were subscribed to by city and guild alike. The rules with regard to the condition of birth and lineage were intended to help ensure social stability and maintain the honor of the guild and the city.[109] Illegitimate or dishonorable persons were viewed as social misfits, potentially too dangerous to allow into respectable

society. The rules requiring masters to marry were likewise aimed at producing social stability, for a married person was generally regarded as reliable and respectable.

The same goal of a stable and respectable society informed the regulations pertaining to the standards for admission to the guilds. The favoritism shown to the sons of masters is the prime example of this. Often misinterpreted as economic protectionism, this favoring of one's own was actually a form of social protectionism, designed not so much to exclude economic competitors as to exclude the socially unacceptable.[110] The guilds and the city viewed the sons of citizen-masters as the best known and most reliable element, non-guild citizens as the next most acceptable, and foreigners as the most socially suspect of all groups. Foreigners were again divided into citizens of other towns and country folk, with the latter being the least acceptable of all. This was a social hierarchy, not an economic scheme, and it was adhered to almost everywhere.[111]

Despite the universal concern for maintaining a membership that was honorable and respectable, admission procedures were not universal but rather were adapted to the special needs and conditions of each craft. Even the masterpiece which, to judge from most guild histories, was virtually a trademark of the guild system, is found to have taken on three different forms among the four guilds studied here. The masterpiece existed in its stereotypical form in the Joiners Guild and in the Shoemakers Guild. The barbers and bathers, however, made no masterpiece but instead took an Examen, while the millers made no masterpiece and took no examinations. As

far as can be inferred from the documents, a miller became master simply by being installed as one by the owner of the mill, and of course after paying the appropriate fees. This set the Millers Guild apart from other guilds, even as the peculiar conditions of the craft set milling apart from other crafts. The point here is that even something as seemingly elemental as the masterpiece upon closer examination turns out to have been as adaptable as any other practice in the guilds.

In terms of rules governing production, the principle focus was not on regulating quantity and quality, areas with which guilds would presumably be preoccupied. There was, in fact, no direct legislation regulating the quantity of goods that could be produced. Only by limiting labor were production levels affected. In general, guildsmen were free to produce as much as they wished. More surprising was the scarcity of articles on the quality of production. The guilds apparently relied more on the judgment of the Geschaumeister and other inspectors than on written guidelines. It appears from the articles studied here that craftsmen were more or less free to make what they pleased, and caveat emptor. The force of consumer tastes and one's competition were sufficient to keep most producers within certain bounds, but a change in shoe styles, for example, had to come from the hands of a shoemaker somewhere, and such changes were certainly frequent. It is difficult to see how regulations could have been written to assure quality in shoes that had not yet been invented.

The emphasis of articles relating to production was not on quality or quantity, but on defining who could make what. This was a difficult

problem that afflicted all but the Millers Guild. In the other three guilds, the cost of starting up a business were so low that masters in related trades could easily expand their operations. This was strictly forbidden in every case. I do not think that the articles on this subject were designed to limit or eliminate competition, as one might suppose after a first reading. Rather, they were an expression of the conviction that each trade, each Beruf, had its own proper sphere of activity, and that it was contrary to right order that anyone should infringe on it.[112] This principle was easy to enunciate but difficult to apply in the world of the small artisan, for the lines that divided trades were by no means clear. The desire for clearly defined trades led to frequent conflicts between guilds in many industries and in many cities. A tanner and a shoemaker could be distinguished, as could a miller and a baker. The line between carpenter and joiner was much narrower, for each was capable of doing the other's work. The articles pertaining to chestmakers, in the joiners' Ordnung, reveal the early stages in the definition of a trade -- a specialty within the guild was becoming a separate entity. The split in the Barbers and Bathers Guild in 1638 represents the culmination of this process, as each trade was recognized as an independent Handwerk. The clear definition of trades and the markets for these trades was one of the guilds' most important functions.

Markets were also the main concern in retailing. Here again, the common perception has been that price regulations were paramount, but this was not the case. Only in key areas, such as food supply, did the city regulate prices, and in this Augsburg was typical.[113] The other guilds did not

trouble themselves in this regard. They did, however, concern themselves with retail markets; what could be bought and sold, when and by whom. The goal of these articles was the same as those governing production -- to prevent encroachment by one guild on the province of another. In fact, there were far more articles on retailing than on production, probably because it was more feasible to regulate the point of sale than to regulate what went on inside the shop. It may also have been the case that production was considered private, whereas buying and selling were more in the public domain and in the proper sphere of government interference. Whatever the reasons, there is no doubt that the focus of economic regulations in general was on markets rather than on production.

Another common area of concern was labor. Here there was a wide divergence in approach, though certain themes do emerge. Nowhere was there freedom of movement for labor. Every shop was ruled by the master, one master per shop and one shop per master -- all who worked there were under his authority. No abrupt departures were allowed: the apprentice could not leave without permission; the journeyman could not leave without due notice. The master could not terminate their employment without cause, and even then the employee had the right of appeal. Hiring was likewise regulated, taking place at fixed times only and in some cases in fixed places. As markets were to be restricted, so was labor. This was a reflection of the actual relations within the guilds. Apprentices and journeymen were inferiors who were under the direction and care of their masters as long as they worked in his shop. There were some journeymen who were independent, and

they were free to earn their living as best they could. The question might be asked, as indeed it was eventually asked, why have these gradations at all, why have masters and journeymen and apprentices? The answer can be found in the areas of social and economic legislation. The ranks served as points of control, socially and economically, for even as each status could be granted (under terms), so could it be revoked as punishment.

The subject of controls brings up the final area of concern: administration and enforcement. Enforcement was achieved through the imposition of fines in the first resort, imprisonment as a more severe alternative, and expulsion as a last resort. More important than the fines were the officials who imposed them. The administrative machinery was virtually the same in all the guilds, a reflection of the complete control exercised by the City Council in this area.

The most important of the guild officials were the Guild Overseers (Vorgehern). Every guild had two of these, whose main responsibility was the enforcement of the guild regulations. They had the power to impose fines and other penalties, as specified in the regulations. Their approval was required for admission of new masters into the guild, and they had the power to turn applicants away. They functioned as intermediaries between city and guild, being both spokesmen on behalf of the guild before the Rat, and guardians of the city's interests.[114] The Overseers were, in many respects, the successors to the ruling committees of the medieval guilds. Called Zwölfern because they usually consisted of twelve members, they possessed powers and authority similar to the Overseers, but the Zwölfern were elected by the

guildsmen while the Overseers were appointed officials. The abolition of the Zwölfern was one of the most fundamental changes wrought by Charles V in 1549.

The Verordneten Meistern aided the Overseers. They acted as witnesses to important events, such as the recording of names or induction of a master. They probably kept the Einschreibbuch and the Meisterbuch, the official lists of apprentices and masters. They also provided expert advice to the Overseer on difficult points of precedence and interpretation regarding guild rules and practices. Whereas the Overseer was not necessarily a guildsman, the Verordneten were composed of both guildsmen and outsiders, appointed by the city.[115]

The Geschaumeister was an official with the very specific power to inspect, hence he may be called the Guild Inspector. The Inspectors supervised the making of all masterpieces, making sure that everything was done according to the rules (it was the Overseer's job to judge the quality of the finished product). They also supervised activities in the marketplace, reporting all violations to the Overseer, who would actually impose the punishment. In some guilds, the Inspector played a major role, inspecting the quality of the finished goods and graded them for sale. In other guilds, such as the Barbers and Bathers, their role was very limited.

There were other officers, whose functions were less clear, or who did not appear in every guild. The Sworn Masters (geschworne Meistern) could be sworn to almost any purpose, and probably were something akin to a

deputy. The Bußmeister was an official whose sole purpose was to keep tabs on troublemakers (Störer).[116]

It remains to summarize these guilds by identifying their essential characteristics. The most basic question that must be asked is: whose guilds were they? Were they the creation of the city or of the artisans? The answer is that they were the creation of both. The influence of the government was strongest in terms of administration, in the creation of offices and in the appointment of officials. The masters had their strongest influence on the technical side, in the specifications for the masterpiece or the details of production and selling. The City Council was incapable of writing an Ordnung without expert advice, for it lacked sufficient knowledge. In matters of direct concern to the city, guildsmen could expect to be overruled on any point of dispute, but on more mundane issues they could expect to be left more or less alone.

Definition of markets, regulation of membership, and control over retailing and labor were the primary functions of the guilds, all of which were important to the city as well. The aims in each area were certainly conservative; one looks in vain for expansionist policies. The common desire of both city and guild was for stability and order, from which would surely issue peace and prosperity. This prize, sought by every city and every guild (and, indeed, every individual), was to be won through regulations, through good government, and the guilds were so structured as to serve this common goal.

NOTES

1. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Decretum in senatu, 23 April 1638, GSLM# 581,006.

2. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Briefe from both cities, no date, GSLM# 581,006.

3. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Decretum in senatu, 8 June 1638, GSLM# 581,006.

4. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Decretum in senatu, 9 September 1638, GSLM# 581,006.

5. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 2, 9 September 1638, GSLM# 581,006.

6. Wissell, Handwerks Recht, p. 138.

7. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 3, GSLM# 581,006.

8. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 4, GSLM# 581,006.

9. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 5, GSLM# 581,006.

10. See Chapter IV above, which shows statistically that there were few journeymen in this craft; and Chapter V, which explains why few journeymen were needed.

11. Groups of articles were marked by sub-headings, a common practice in guild regulations.

12. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Articles 8, 6 and 7, respectively, GSLM# 581,006.

13. "Wanderschaft" was the term for the time spent by the journeyman travelling from town to town as part of his training. See Mummenhoff, Handwerker, pp. 61 - 62. "Leibeigenschaft" refers to a condition of birth; specifically, to a status of servitude or bondage. Anyone who belonged to a lord or to some corporation such as a monastery, was tainted with Leibeigenschaft (literally, "ownership of body"). This requirement was nearly universal among guilds. Among other things, it effectively excluded all rural people from guild membership. See Wissell, p. 68 for a discussion of this.

14. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 9, GSLM# 581,006.

15. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 10, GSLM# 581,006.

16. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 17, GSLM# 581,006.

17. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 20, GSLM# 581,006.

18. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 22, GSLM# 581,006.

19. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 23, GSLM# 581,006.

20. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 24, GSLM# 581,006.

21. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 25, GSLM# 581,006.

22. Peters or Martin, and my own documents.

23. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 28, GSLM# 581,006.

24. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 29, GSLM# 581,006. This article, too, was in the form of an oath.

25. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 30, GSLM# 581,006. This system of a junior and a senior public officer was a common administrative practice.

26. The Overseers were frequently called the "verordneten Vorgehern.

27. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 40, GSLM# 581,006.

28. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Baderordnung, Article 44, GSLM# 581,006.

29. Danckert, Unehrliche Leute, pp. 89 - 90.

30. H.A., Müllerordnung, GSLM# 466,116. There are several versions of this Ordnung. I am using the first one dated 1549.

31. H.A., Müllerordnung, Articles 28 and 29, GSLM# 466,116.

32. H.A., Müllerordnung, Article 30, GSLM# 466,116.

33. H.A., Müllerordnung, Article 33, GSLM# 466,116.

34. H.A., Müllerordnung, Article 34, GSLM# 466,116.

35. H.A., Müllerordnung, Article 35, GSLM# 466,116.

36. H.A., Müllerordnung, Articles 39 and 37, respectively, GSLM# 466,116.

37. H.A., Müllerordnung, Article 40, GSLM# 466,116.

38. H.A., Müllerordnung, Article 1, GSLM# 466,116.

39. H.A., Müllerordnung, Article 26, GSLM# 466,116.

40. H.A., Müllerordnung, Article 27, GSLM# 466,116.

41. Elsas, Umriss, vol. 1, p. 118.

42. The bulk of the Weberordnung was devoted to the cloth - who could make it, how and for how much. Clasen, Weber, pp. 87 - 89.

43. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 1, GSLM# 466,116.

44. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 11, GSLM# 466,116.

45. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 3, GSLM# 466,116.

46. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Articles 5 and 28, GSLM# 466,116.

47. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 7, GSLM# 466,116.

48. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 6, GSLM# 466,116.

49. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 8, GSLM# 466,116.

50. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 9, GSLM# 466,116. Article 22 describes how this was done.

51. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 10, GSLM# 466,116.

52. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 12, GSLM# 466,116.

53. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 13, GSLM# 466,116.

54. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 15, GSLM# 466,116.

55. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 17, GSLM# 466,116.

56. H.A., Instruction, Article 18, GSLM# 466,116.

57. H.A., Instruction, Articles 19 and 20, GSLM# 466,116.

58. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 21, GSLM# 466,116.

59. H.A., Müller, Instruction, Article 30, GSLM# 466,116.

60. H.A., Kistler, Article 80, ca. 1568, GSLM# 534,605.

61. H.A., Kistler, Articles 43, 43a, 44 and 46, ca. 1570, GSLM# 534,605.

62. H.A., Kistler, Article 1, ante 1664, GSLM# 534,609. These articles, numbered 1 - 5, seem to go with articles 55 - 58. Both sets concern the Geschaumeistern and physically lie next to each other (1 - 5 begin on page 361; 55 - 57 are on page 360; Article 58 is on another microfilm and is dated much earlier, but concerns the same subject and preserves the numeric sequence). Articles 1 - 5 are in the form of a proposed amendment, which accounts for their numbering.

63. H.A., Kistler, Article 55, ca. 1664 GSLM# 534,609.

64. H.A., Kistler, Article 56, ca. 1664, GSLM# 534,609.

65. H.A., Kistler, Article 29, ca. 1650, GSLM# 534,609.

66. The last clause shows that the labor market had at one time been fairly open. It would be useful to know when the change occurred, but these articles unfortunately are not dated. They appear among documents from around 1650, but this merely fixes the date post quem, and they may have been written long before.

67. H.A., Kistler, Article 2a, ca. 1550, GSLM# 534,605.

68. H.A., Kistler, Article 3a, ca. 1550, GSLM# 534,605.

69. H.A., Kistler, Article 30, ca. 1650, GSLM# 534,609.

70. H.A., Kistler, Article 1a, ca. 1550, GSLM# 534,605.

71. H.A., Kistler, Article 70, ca. 1646, GSLM# 534,610.

72. H.A., Kistler, Article 73, ca 1655., GSLM# 534,610

73. H.A., Kistler, Article 74, ca. 1655, GSLM# 534,610.

74. H.A., Kistler, Articles 75 and 76, for example, ca. 1671, GSLM# 534,610.

75. H.A., Kistler, Article 87, ca. 1675, GSLM# 534,610.

76. H.A., Kistler, Article 86, ca. 1675, GSLM# 534,610.

77. H.A., Kistler, Article 85, ca. 1675, GSLM# 534,610.

78. H.A., Kistler, Article 88, ca. 1675, GSLM# 534,610.

79. H.A., Kistler, Article 3, ca. 1567, GSLM# 534,605.

80. H.A., Kistler, Article 29, ca. 1590, GSLM# 534,606.

81. H.A., Kistler, Article 38, ca. 1573, GSLM# 534,605.

82. H.A., Kistler, Articles 47 - 50, ca. 1585, GSLM# 534,609.

83. H.A., Kistler, Articles 93 and 94, ca. 1590, GSLM# 534,608.

84. H.A., Kistler, Article 37, no date, GSLM# 534,607.

85. H.A., Kistler, Article 51, ca. 1670, GSLM# 534,609.

86. H.A., Kistler, Article 42, ca. 1575, GSLM# 534,608; and H.A., Kistler, Article 53, ca. 1670, GSLM# 534,609.

87. H.A., Kistler, Article 54, ca. 1670, GSLM# 534,609.

88. H.A., Kistler, Article 38, ca. 1575, GSLM# 534,608.

89. H.A., Kistler, Article 39, ca. 1649, GSLM# 534,609. This is another indication that men were expected to run the business whenever possible, a widow was simply a transitional figure.

90. H.A., Kistler, Article 49, ca. 1649, GSLM# 534,609.

91. H.A., Kistler, Article 4, ante 1664, GSLM# 534,608.

92. H.A., Kistler, Article 70, ca. 1646, GSLM# 534,610.

93. Seventy-three is the number of one of the surviving articles.

94. Zorn, Augsburg, p. 197.

95. H.A., Schuhmacher, Article 23, ante 1670, GSLM# 548,061.

96. H.A., Schuhmacher, Article 24, ante 1670, GSLM# 548,061.

97. H.A., Schuhmacher, Article 26, ante 1670, GSLM# 548,061.

98. Hazard, The Boot and Shoe Industry, p. 12.

99. H.A., Schuhmacher, Article 21, ante 1670, GSLM# 548,061.

100. H.A., Schuhmacher, Article 2, ca. 1609, GSLM# 548,060.

101. H.A., Schuhmacher, Articul, ante 1662, GSLM# 548,062.

102. H.A., Schuhmacher, Article 10, ante 1635, GSLM# 548,061.

103. Richard T. Rapp, Industry and Economic Decline in Seventeenth Century Venice, (Cambridge and London, 1976), p. 112.

104. Rapp, Industry and Economic Decline, pp. 158 - 159.

105. Rapp, Industry and Economic Decline, p. 48.

106. I cannot explain the dramatic difference, but if it proves out in other guilds, it may be one difference between the medieval and the early modern guild.

107. Danckert, Unehrliche Leute, pp. 64 - 87 for bathers, pp. 88 - 91 for barbers, and pp. 125 - 145 for millers.

108. Wissell, Handwerks Recht, devotes an extended discussion of the subject in volume one, pp. 67 - 136.

109. Walker, German Home Towns, pp. 78 - 79.

110. Walker, German Home Towns, p. 85.

111. Nikolaus Paulus, "Zur Geschichte des Wortes Beruf", Historisches Jahrbuch 45 (1925), p. 314.

112. Ernst Kelter, Geschichte der obrigkeitlichen Presiregelung, (Jena, 1935), pp. 38 - 39.

113. The Overseers were knowledgeable in guild affairs and were generally sympathetic to the needs of the guildsmen, even though the Overseers were not usually themselves members of the guild they supervised. Clasen, Augsburger Weber, p. 79.

114. Clasen, Augsburger Weber, p. 440.

115. Clasen, Augsburger Weber, p. 437.

CHAPTER VI

THE CRAFTSMAN

The men who engaged in these trades -- barbers and shoemakers, joiners and millers -- have left little trace of themselves. There are no diaries or other personal papers, no testaments or wills to shed light on their personal lives, and these particular crafts have left almost no physical artifacts.[1] Moreover, few historians have taken the trouble to study craftsmen. Those most likely to undertake such a study are the social historians, but because of their preference for rural subjects, we actually know more about the peasant in his village than we do of the artisan in the great cities. There is, however, one type of source that does shed light on this shadowy region of social history; namely, the surveys of the citizenry conducted by the city government for military and fiscal purposes.

These documents provide a wealth of data on such fundamental areas as age, wealth, size of membership, number of employees, place of residence, and even religion. Because the Tax Books and Muster Lists give each citizen by name, they are one of our few sources on the individual craftsman. The data also provide another and consistent way to compare the four guilds. The data are presented here in tabular form, arranged according to subject: size of guild, age, wealth, place of residence, number of sons and journeymen, distance and direction travelled by the journeymen, size of household, and religious affiliation.

Statistical analysis of guilds is not new, but previous attempts have been very limited. Either only one craft is examined or, more commonly, only

the Tax Books are utilized.[2] By using the Tax Books in conjunction with the Muster Lists, and by analyzing four guilds instead of one, I have been able to go beyond simple description and have been able to establish a relationship between the craftsman and his craft. The analysis shows that differences in craft and guild were reiterated in the craftsmen themselves, and that many of those differences can be traced to differences in the economic or technical conditions in the individual crafts.

The first and simplest level of comparison between the four guilds is that of size, which is to say the number of masters and journeymen who belonged to each guild. The Muster Lists for 1610, 1615, 1619 and 1645 all gave the number of masters for each guild, and those for 1615 and 1619 gave the number of journeymen and sons as well. The membership information is summarized in Tables 1 through 3.[3]

The joiners and the shoemakers had the largest guilds of the four, with over one hundred masters each. The Barbers Guild was somewhat smaller, with around seventy masters, and the Millers Guild was by far the smallest, with about thirty-five masters.[4] The number of masters corresponded roughly to the number of shops in the city, for no master was allowed to work for another and no master was allowed to have two shops. Although there were undoubtedly a few exceptions, the usual rule was one master to one shop, so that some approximation of the market size for each shop can be calculated on the basis of the number of masters. Assuming that

TABLE 1: SIZE OF GUILD - 1610

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Masters	104	114	62	38
Journeymen	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Sons	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
TOTAL	104	114	62	38

TABLE 2: SIZE OF GUILD - 1615

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Masters	111	119	75	44
Journeymen	62	80	18	67
Sons	7	10	3	1
TOTAL	180	209	96	112

TABLE 3: SIZE OF GUILD - 1619

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Masters	115	104	62	26
Journeymen	65	85	17	67
Sons	6	11	2	5
TOTAL	186	200	81	98

everyone in the city was a potential buyer, and assuming a population of around 30,000 people, each master shoemaker had an average of 261 customers, each joiner had 288 customers, each barber had 484 customers, and each master miller served 1,154 customers. These figures admittedly could be off by 100% or even more for individual masters, but they do serve to point out the relation between size of guild and size of market. Joiners and shoemakers were large guilds (eighth and ninth largest in the city at this time) because they served the general public and had to meet a high level of demand.[5] The barbers had a somewhat smaller guild, less because their market was smaller than because the demand for medical services was not as frequent as the demand for shoes. Finally, the Millers Guild had few masters basically because one mill was capable of a much higher level of production than was one shoemaker's or barber's shop. The high cost of starting a new shop also served to keep the number of master millers small. No one would make the large capital investment of building and equipping a new mill unless there was an obvious need, which occurred only rarely. On the other hand, the costs of establishing a new joiner's shop, for example, were within the ability of an artisan to meet. The new master could set up shop regardless of whether or not there was demand for his product.

In all three censuses taken during the 1610's, the master was asked his age. The data are presented in Tables 4 through 11; Tables 10 and 11 represent the average over the three censuses, and not actual figures. It should be noted that because there was no age recorded for some individuals

(for example, no age was recorded for female respondents), the number of masters in each guild does not always equal the number of masters given in Tables 1, 2 and 3. I have omitted giving totals in every table in the interest of space, and will give totals only where they differ significantly from the figures in the first three tables.

As can be seen in Table 10, the median age for the four guilds was over forty years, with the millers being the youngest at thirty-nine and the joiners the oldest at forty-four. The data show that most masters were between the ages of 35 and 45, with as high as sixty three percent of a guild in this age group. With an average age in the forties, a master would normally be the oldest male in the shop, a fact that helps explain the position of dominance he held over his employees. His legal position as master was reinforced by the social authority of his age. Troubles between journeymen and masters may well have had generational conflict as one aspect of the tension.

One-third of the millers were under thirty-five years of age, and two-thirds were under forty-five (see Table 10), a comparatively young age structure. This may have resulted from health hazards connected with milling, specifically from lung diseases contracted from breathing dust from the flour produced during the milling process. More likely, however, is the possibility that masters left the Millers Guild in higher proportions than in the

TABLE 4: AGE STRUCTURE OF THE GUILDS - 1610

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Under 25	1	2	1	-
25 - 34	30	27	16	11
35 - 44	28	30	20	13
45 - 54	16	27	15	7
55 - 64	16	23	9	3
65 and +	12	5	6	4

TABLE 5: AGE STRUCTURE OF THE GUILDS - 1610
Percentages

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Under 25	0.97	1.75	1.49	-
25 - 34	29.13	23.68	23.88	28.95
35 - 44	27.18	26.32	29.85	34.21
45 - 54	15.53	23.68	22.39	18.42
55 - 64	15.53	20.18	13.43	7.89
65 and +	11.65	4.39	8.96	10.53

TABLE 6: AGE STRUCTURE OF THE GUILDS - 1615

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Under 25	3	-	4	4
25 - 34	32	24	20	11
35 - 44	34	38	25	16
45 - 54	17	22	9	7
55 - 64	13	26	12	2
65 and +	10	8	4	4

TABLE 7: AGE STRUCTURE OF THE GUILDS - 1615
Percentages

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Under 25	2.75	-	5.40	9.09
25 - 34	29.36	20.34	27.03	25.00
35 - 44	31.19	32.20	33.78	36.36
45 - 54	15.60	18.64	12.16	15.91
55 - 64	11.93	22.03	16.22	4.54
65 and +	9.17	6.78	5.40	9.09

TABLE 8: AGE STRUCTURE OF THE GUILDS - 1619

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Under 25	4	3	1	1
25 - 34	26	26	15	9
35 - 44	47	29	20	8
45 - 54	19	23	15	5
55 - 64	9	16	3	3
65 and +	10	7	4	-

TABLE 9: AGE STRUCTURE OF THE GUILDS - 1619
Percentages

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Under 25	3.48	2.88	1.72	3.85
25 - 34	22.61	25.00	25.86	34.62
35 - 44	40.87	27.88	34.48	30.77
45 - 54	16.52	22.12	25.86	19.23
55 - 64	7.83	15.38	5.17	11.54
65 and +	8.70	6.73	6.90	-

TABLE 10: AGE STRUCTURE
THREE YEAR AVERAGE (1610, 1615, 1619)

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Under 25	3	2	2	2
25 - 34	29	26	17	10
35 - 44	36	32	22	12
45 - 54	17	24	13	6
55 - 64	13	22	8	3
65 and +	11	7	5	3
MEDIAN AGE	41	44	42	39

TABLE 11: AGE STRUCTURE
THREE YEAR AVERAGE - Percentages

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Under 25	2.75	1.77	2.99	5.56
25 - 34	26.61	23.01	25.37	27.78
35 - 44	33.03	28.32	32.84	33.33
45 - 54	15.60	21.24	19.40	16.67
55 - 64	11.93	19.47	11.94	8.33
65 and +	10.09	6.19	7.46	8.33

other guilds. Masters may have quit in order to practice a different craft, to pursue a mercantile trade, or may have simply been forced out because there was no mill available to operate. None of these theories receive any support from the sources, and the reasons for the lower median age in this guild must remain speculative.

The barbers show a fairly even age distribution, which might seem puzzling in view of their involvement in medicine. Barbers dealt mainly with injuries rather than with contagious diseases, so there was less chance of infection than one would at first suppose. Even so, the barbers consistently had a smaller proportion of guildsmen in the over-55 age group than did the other three guilds (See Tables 5, 7 and 9).

The relationship between age structure and occupation can be examined more closely by comparing barbers with bathers. The mean age of the bathers was consistently greater than that of the barbers, and it was the latter who were more likely to come into contact with contagious diseases, since those who were afflicted with such diseases were forbidden by law to frequent the public baths.[6] Furthermore, the surgeons (Wundärzten) were significantly older than either barbers or bathers: 47.6 years in 1610, 45.5 in 1615 and 50.2 in 1619. Surgeons, of course, had little contact with contagious diseases, and so lived longer than their colleagues. Even though the absolute figures are small, the results are consistent, and point to an inverse relationship between exposure to contagious disease in the course of one's occupation and a lengthened life span.

The Joiners Guild was the oldest, with a median age of forty-four, and is the one guild that shows unusual characteristics in its age structure. Two points are striking about the age structure of the joiners: an exceptionally low percentage of masters in the age group under twenty-five, and a high percentage of masters over fifty-five. The comparatively small number of young masters could have resulted from a variety of related factors. Since native sons had a much shorter training period, the statistic may indicate that few sons of masters were entering their father's trade. It may indicate a later age of apprenticeship than in other guilds, or it may indicate a longer period of training. The heavy concentration of masters in the upper age brackets is also open to speculation. Nearly half the guild was over forty-five, and over one-fourth was over fifty-five (see Table 11). While it is true that the joiner's craft posed no special physical dangers to the craftsman, the same was the case for shoemakers, and they did not have a similarly high proportion of their members in the older age groups. One possible explanation is that, because the Joiners Guild was exceptionally stable in membership, fewer masters would have quit the guild. Thus there would be a higher proportion of older masters in this guild.

The shoemakers had the most even age distribution of the four guilds, though the structure was somewhat skewed toward the older end (nearly ten percent were over the age of sixty-five). The median age was forty-three (Table 11). With no discernible extenuating circumstances in the craft, the shoemakers most closely approximated a "normal" age structure.

The data on age yields useful information on the timing of an artisan's career, an area that until now was illumined only by the guild regulations. The data show, however, that regulation and reality did not always coincide. Only in the Barbers and Bathers Guild was a minimum age set for entering an apprenticeship -- 12 years -- but we can safely assume that apprentices rarely began at a much younger age, nor began much later than age 15. Ten years was the length of training in this guild, as well as in the Joiners Guild, with the apprenticeship lasting three years. If we assume a typical beginning age of fourteen and a training period of ten years, then mastership should have begun around age twenty-four. How this compares with the actual figures is shown by Table 12.[7] The data leave no doubt that the usual age for accession to mastership was somewhere in the range of twenty-eight through thirty-two years old.

Table 12 reveals that age thirty was the typical age at which a journeyman became a master. Specifically, over half (fifty-one to fifty-six percent) of the shoemakers, barbers and millers who were under age thirty-five were between the ages of thirty and thirty-two. Although a handful of men became masters in their early twenties, the sharp rise in the number of masters at age twenty-eight or, in the case of the barbers and millers, at age thirty, shows that these were the usual years during which one could expect to become a master. Since a journeyman was still considered something less than a mature adult, this statistic would indicate that the late twenties and early thirties were the age of maturity in early modern

TABLE 12: AGE AT MASTERSHIP - 1610, 1615 & 1619
Number of masters in each guild at ages 19 - 34

		Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
	19	-	-	-	1
	20	-	2	-	3
	21	-	1	1	-
A	22	1	-	2	-
	23	-	1	1	-
	24	4	4	3	1
G	25	3	6	3	3
	26	4	7	4	3
	27	4	4	2	1
E	28	14	13	3	1
	29	1	6	3	1
	30	26	21	19	16
	31	8	3	2	1
	32	9	11	9	3
	33	6	10	-	2
	34	4	8	5	1

Augsburg, at least among guildsmen. This conforms closely to the typical age of marriage, not least because marriage and mastership were linked by guild ordinance. In other words, adolescence lasted well into the twenties in this society.

One possible explanation for the late age of mastership is that the theoretical length of training, as inferred from the regulations, is correct, and the estimate of the age of apprenticeship (fourteen years old) was incorrect. The apprentice would have to have been eighteen or twenty years old. The regulation would not have set the minimum age at twelve if most apprentices were adults. Moreover, there is a petition from a man who found himself in the position of having to be an apprentice, although he was a mature adult.[8] He complained bitterly about the absurdity and injustice of his situation, as surely would any adult. An apprentice was, almost by definition, a youth.[9] The second explanation is that the length of training was longer than required by law. This makes sense, for while some would take longer than the ten year minimum, no one was allowed to take less time. With a proportion of the journeymen spending fifteen or twenty years before becoming masters, the average age of the masters as a whole would rise. As observed above, this line was around age twenty-eight to thirty-two, meaning the average length of training, from apprentice through journeyman to new master, was fourteen to eighteen years.

The Muster Lists gave no information at all on the wealth of the guildsmen, but such data were readily available in the tax books (Tables 13

and 14).[10] The measurement of wealth is difficult even in modern societies, and it is even more difficult in pre-modern societies. It is not that the tax books are difficult to read; most entries are routine, and Claus Peter Clasen has written an excellent guide to their interpretation.[11] The difficulty lies in deciding what we mean by "rich" or "poor". Since capital goods and property were the principal objects of the tax, the best modern term that would apply is "gross worth", or the total value of a person's assets without deducting outstanding debts. The worth of a person can be all in cash and other liquid assets, or wholly in fixed assets such as property and equipment that might be difficult or impossible to sell. It would have been entirely possible for an artisan to owe a fairly high tax, yet have very little cash and be saddled with heavy debts, while another artisan, paying the same tax, would have a high income and few debts. The first we would call poor, the second rich. There is no way to distinguish between the two for individual cases using the tax books alone.

Even among the "wealthy", the tax paid is not a reliable indicator of their economic strength. A rich man could hide many assets and, likewise, many debts. Moreover, a man could easily have paid a high tax yet have been on the verge of bankruptcy because of high debts. These considerations tend to vitiate the utility of tax books for use in a reliable analysis of class, and make all the more attractive the alternative approach based on status or estate.

The limitations of the tax books do not mean that this source is rendered useless. They do mean that differences in wealth as represented by

the tax paid cannot be taken at face value and, similarly, the fact that two people paid the same tax does not necessarily mean that they were equally wealthy. This is an important point to understand, for most of the guildsmen studied here were at or near the level of habnits -- those who had so little that they paid only the base tax of thirty-six pfennig.[12] Conclusions about the poverty of a guild therefore require more than the tax books alone to substantiate them. Among the upper classes there was ample opportunity to shuffle one's wealth about from one form to another, from inside to outside the city, and back again. Among the artisans, however, there was little chance for this because there was so little wealth. The tax figure represented the craftsman's home and shop, with furniture and tools. The figure is most reliable between guilds in the aggregate, for it would measure the general or average capital investment needed to do business in that craft. It is least reliable between two individuals from the same guild, for here the variables of debt and cash flow were the most significant.

The lowest tax category was habnits -- literally, "have nots" -- those who had no taxable wealth. Most guildsmen managed to remain above this level: seventy-seven percent of the joiners had some taxable wealth, seventy percent of the shoemakers, sixty-seven percent of the millers, and fifty-nine percent of the barbers (see Table 14). The percentages take on more meaning when compared to statistics for the whole city. In 1618, the date of the next tax book index, forty-three percent of the citizens were habnits.[13] Only the barbers approached this level of poverty, with forty-one percent habnits in 1611. The joiners had only twenty-three percent habnits.

This is still a significant proportion, but the fact remains that these guilds were better off than the bulk of the population.

If the guildsmen were, for the most part, not destitute, neither were they rich. Anton Mayr, in his book on the rich of Augsburg, defined anyone under twenty florins as Besitzer kleiner Vermögen -- "possessing little wealth", which he distinguished from the habnits.[14] All of the guildsmen fell into these two categories; all were either habnits or were Besitzer kleiner Vermögen. The divisions used by Friedrich Blendinger in his essay on the middle classes of Augsburg permit finer distinctions. Even here, however, most guildsmen fell in the lowest two categories of habnits or "lower class" (Unterschicht); that is, paying no tax or paying less than one florin in taxes (see Table 13). In the "lower middle class", which Blendinger put at one to three florins, no guild had more than fourteen percent of its members: seven percent for the shoemakers, thirteen percent for the joiners, twelve percent for the barbers and six percent for the millers. In the "middle class" category (Mittelschicht, three to ten florins), there was five percent of the shoemakers, four percent of the joiners, six percent of the barbers, and twenty-two percent of the millers. Finally, one shoemaker and one miller each qualified to be placed in the "upper middle class" obere Mittelschicht, ten to twenty florins. The figures place the craftsmen sqaurely in the ranks of the lower classes and, even at that, places them at the lower end of the lower classes, merging with the habnits. Economically as well as socially these guilds fell in the lower layers of respectable society.

TABLE 13: THE WEALTH OF THE GUILDSMEN - 1611

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
00.00.01 - 00.00.36	17	17	14	6
00.00.37 - 00.15.36	21	22	6	3
00.15.37 - 00.30.36	10	8	4	2
00.30.37 - 00.45.36	-	10	2	-
00.45.37 - 01.00.36	1	5	-	-
01.00.37 - 01.30.36	1	6	3	-
01.30.37 - 02.00.36	3	2	1	-
02.00.37 - 02.30.36	-	2	-	1
02.30.37 - 03.00.36	-	-	-	-
03.00.37 - 04.00.36	1	1	1	3
04.00.37 - 05.00.36	1	2	1	1
05.00.37 - 06.00.36	1	-	-	-
06.00.37 - 08.00.36	-	-	1	-
08.00.37 - 10.00.36	-	-	1	1
10.00.37 - 15.00.36	1	-	-	-
Over 15.00.36	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	57	75	34	18

The amounts above are given in gulden.kreuzer.pfennige -- where 60 pfennige = 1 kreuzer and 60 kreuzer = 1 gulden. It should be borne in mind that the money figures represent tax levels and not actual gross worth. The numbers under each guild are the number of masters at each tax level.

TABLE 14: THE WEALTH OF THE GUILDSMEN - 1611
Percentages

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
00.00.01 - 00.00.36	28.83	22.67	41.18	33.33
00.00.37 - 00.15.36	36.84	29.33	17.65	16.67
00.15.37 - 00.30.36	17.55	10.67	11.76	11.10
00.30.37 - 00.45.36	-	13.33	5.88	-
00.45.37 - 01.00.36	1.75	6.67	-	-
01.00.37 - 01.30.36	1.75	8.00	8.82	-
01.30.37 - 02.00.36	5.27	2.67	2.94	-
02.00.37 - 02.30.36	-	2.67	-	5.56
02.30.37 - 03.00.36	-	-	-	-
03.00.37 - 04.00.36	1.75	1.33	2.94	16.67
04.00.37 - 05.00.36	1.75	2.67	2.94	5.56
05.00.37 - 06.00.36	1.75	-	-	-
06.00.37 - 08.00.36	-	-	2.94	-
08.00.37 - 10.00.36	-	-	2.94	5.56
10.00.37 - 15.00.36	1.75	-	-	-
Over 15.00.36	-	-	-	5.56

Barbers were impoverished. Forty-one percent of the barbers were habnits, nearly eight percent more than the millers, and over eighteen percent more than the joiners. This poverty was quite possibly due to low profit margins. Prices were not fixed by the city in this guild, and there were virtually no costs for materials or other capital investments. It is possible, therefore, that there was widespread price competition, with each shop offering its services at very low prices in order to attract business. It is also possible that, as with modern doctors, the barbers had to write off a significant portion of their accounts receivable as uncollectable in cases where they treated the poor. Neither was there any practicable way to get rich in this craft, inasmuch as barbering was a service. Only by opening up a chain of shops could an individual barber hope to get wealthy, and then he would be a manager and owner rather than a master craftsman. This type of business was impossible under the guild system. Another approach would be to treat only the wealthy and to charge high fees, but his avenue, too, was closed, for there was a more prestigious -- and presumably more profitable -- craft of Doktor whose clientele were of the better sort. Barbers dealt primarily with the commoners, people like themselves, who had little to spend on baths, haircuts and medical emergencies. It is possible that the disappearance of the Badegeld -- a weekly allowance for bathing provided by guilds to journeymen -- helped to impoverish the bathers.

The joiners were significantly better off than the other three guilds studied, though it would be misleading to say the the joiners were wealthy. It would be more accurate to say that the joiners were the least impoverished of

the four. Twenty-two percent of the joiners were habnits, the lowest percentage in this category, but that is merely to say that nearly one quarter of the guild was too poor to pay property taxes. The reason for this smaller percentage of habnits masters is probably due to the higher investment in their shop and equipment than was required of a shoemaker. As pointed out above, the high percentage of habnits among millers and barbers is due to the presence of Knechten, who owned little, and there were no Knechten in the Joiners Guild.

The striking point about the joiners is that fully sixty percent of the guild was in the zero to one florin category. Moreover, in the other guilds the bulk of this category was concentrated closer to zero than to one florin, whereas the joiners show a significant percentage at the upper end (see Table 14). Thus, even though the shoemakers, too, had a high percentage in the zero to one florin bracket, the median was much lower than for the joiners. A joiner was neither rich nor poor; the great bulk of them could count on a minimal standard of living.

Although their median wealth was not the lowest, in a certain sense the Shoemakers Guild was the poorest of the four. Eighty four percent of the guild paid less than 31 kreuzer in taxes. The median level was drawn upward by the presence of a few shoemakers at relatively high levels (one fellow paid twelve florins in taxes). This distribution in wealth implies capitalist influences in the craft, wherein a few masters garnered the lion's share of the market, becoming rich at the expense of their brethren, who faced a life of near poverty or worse. The poverty of this guild was, as was the case

with the barbers, a result of open competition for customers and the low income levels of most customers. All shoemakers offered their products in the same marketplace, and had to compete openly as customers passed by. Prices would therefore have been kept relatively low, not through regulation by guild or city, but by the unpitying force of competition. Even if prices were more or less customary, and peer pressure was brought to bear to keep price-cutters in line, the customary prices themselves were determined largely on the basis of what the traffic would bear, and this will have been as low as possible.

There was an unusually high proportion of master millers in the upper tax brackets, and that proportion becomes even larger when the Knechten -- most of whom were at the bottom tax levels -- are removed from the statistics. The principal question in regard to the wealth in the Millers Guild is whether or not the mill itself was taxed. It is possible to answer this question using the tax data. The tax rate was one-fourth to one-half of one percent, which converts the tax bracket ten to fifteen florins, for example, into a minimum of 1,601 florins at 1/4% rates, a figure certainly high enough to allow for the possession of a mill.[15] At the lower end, in the under one-half florin bracket for example, where half the guild was, the highest actual wealth was no higher than 163 florins. This was probably not enough to represent ownership of a mill, for the millstone alone normally cost that much.[16] In other words, there seems to be proof here of our earlier hypothesis that some masters owned their mills outright, while others merely leased them.

The city was divided into extremely small tracts specifically for the muster census that had anywhere from four to more than sixty households in each tract. The mean number of households per tract was around thirty. Each major section of the city was represented by a letter -- A through F -- that corresponded to the principal historical quarters: the merchant's quarter (A), the cathedral quarter (B), St. Jacob's Quarter (C), Holy Cross Quarter (D), St. George's Quarter (E), and St. Stephan's Quarter (F). The first three of these were so populous that they were divided into sections; viz., AA, AB, BA, BB, CA, CB, CC, and CD. The other three were represented as DA, EA and FA. Finally, each of these sections were again divided into as many as thirty-four neighborhoods, or census tracts, numbered sequentially. Each tract was thus referenced as BB 9 or FA 27. Many of the tracts had at their head a one or two line description or name. It is the presence of names that leads me to believe that these were more than arbitrarily-drawn census lines and that they were in fact based on actual neighborhoods.

The small size of these neighborhoods, plus the fact that most masters had their home and shop in the same building, allows us to make some fairly reliable statements about occupational location in seventeenth century Augsburg. Unfortunately, due to the shifting in boundary lines that occurred with each census, it is not possible to compare data from different years, as we can with other categories like wealth and age. I used the data from 1610 for my sample year because of its completeness. The data are summarized in Tables 15 through 17.

Table 17, the Index of Concentration, is the only one that allows comparison of data between guilds. The fact that thirty-four master joiners were in one quarter, or three percent of the millers were in another is not indicative of their relative presence in these districts. Instead, both types of data reflect the relative sizes of the quarters themselves, and mask the actual concentration of a craft in a given quarter. An index is needed that will factor out the varying sizes of the quarters and allow us to see if there were few or many masters compared to the total number of people. Table 16 provides such a figure. The index is nothing more than a compilation of ratios, namely: percentage of masters in a give quarter divided by the percentage of total citizens in that quarter. Thus, for example, where twenty-eight percent of the citizenry lived in the Oberviertel, only twenty percent of the shoemakers lived there, yielding an index of 0.7; while thirty-six percent of the millers lived in the same quarter, which gives an index of 1.3. If the same proportion of a craft was located in a quarter as the population at large, then the index would equal one.

The index allows comparisons between guilds at the level of each quarter. The most unusual distribution of masters was in the Shoemakers Guild, where thirty-six percent of the guild was located in Unser Liebe Frauen Viertel. This was a very high concentration index of 2.2, meaning that there were proportionately more than twice the number of shoemakers here than one would expect given a random distribution. By contrast, with the exception of the Holy Cross Quarter, the joiners were very evenly distributed about the city. The distribution of the Barbers Guild was more

even still, with a slightly high concentration in St. George's Quarter and a low concentration in the Merchant's Quarter. Finally, the millers exhibited still another pattern, with no millers in St. George's and only one in Holy Cross, while fully two-thirds were in the Oberviertel and Jacoberviertel. The reason for this is obviously connected with the location of running water in the city: there was none in the former two quarters, while the latter two contained all four of the city's main canals (see Map Two).

The totals in Table 16 permit comparisons to be made at the city level. They show that the proportion of shoemakers to citizens was almost exactly equal, while it was nearly so for the barbers. The joiners, on the other hand, had a noticeably high level of concentration in the city, while for the millers it was very low. The figure for the joiners may well be indicative of a surplus caused by a spurt in public construction, which was enjoying its glory days during this decade under the aegis of architects like Elias Holl, who built the new City Hall in 1615. The apparant deficit of millers was probably a permanent condition, and reflects the high level of productivity found in a mill when compared to a joiner's or a barber's shop.

Reinhold Rau observed that the usual image of all or most of the members of a guild living on a common street or otherwise in close proximity with one another was not true in Tübingen.[17] Neither was it true in Augsburg. The masters in these four guilds were located throughout the city, and though the dispersion level again varied from guild to guild, it was

TABLE 15: LOCATION OF GUILDSMEN WITHIN THE CITY - 1610
Number of Guildsmen

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers	City
Oberviertel	21	34	13	14	1831
U.L.F. Viertel	37	19	14	5	1046
Jacober Viertel	27	26	24	13	1862
Heil.Kreuz. Viert.	5	10	3	1	343
S. Jergens Viertel	3	7	5	-	345
S. Stefans Viertel	11	18	10	6	1054

TABLE 16: LOCATION OF GUILDSMEN WITHIN THE CITY - 1610
Percentages

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers	City
Oberviertel	20.19	29.82	18.84	35.90	28.25
U.L.F. Viertel	35.58	16.67	20.29	12.82	16.14
Jacober Viertel	25.96	22.81	34.78	33.33	28.73
Heil.Kreuz. Vier.	4.81	8.77	4.35	2.56	5.31
S. Jergens Viertl	2.88	6.14	7.25	-	5.30
S. Stefans Viertl	10.58	15.79	14.49	15.39	16.26

TABLE 17: LOCATION OF GUILDSMEN WITHIN THE CITY - 1610
Index of Concentration

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Oberviertel	0.714	1.055	0.666	1.270
U.L.F. Viertel	2.205	1.038	1.256	0.795
Jacober Viertel	0.903	0.793	1.210	1.160
Heil.Kreuz. Viert.	0.924	1.652	0.819	0.483
S. Jergens Viertel	0.544	1.158	1.366	0.000
S. Stefans Viertel	0.650	0.970	0.891	0.945
TOTAL	5.940	6.666	6.208	4.653

higher than one might have expected from reading other descriptions of guilds. Yet this dispersion should not be surprising, for very few industries benefit from intensive concentration, particularly those engaged in retailing. Data on occupational location is one of the more interesting types of information supplied by the Muster Lists.

The barbers were exceptionally dispersed. Only two neighborhoods had any more than two barbers in them (they both had three). Both barbers and bathhouse keepers were equally dispersed. Interestingly, although there were masters in sixty different neighborhoods in Augsburg, in only two of them were there both a barber and a bather. The joiners were also highly dispersed, though there were four neighborhoods with three master joiners, two with four, and one with five. It is of course possible that a "street" of joiners ran across the administrative boundaries of the muster rolls. The boundaries were not arbitrary, but the possibility does exist. To allow for this, I searched for contiguous neighborhoods. Even here, a "street" of masters might have run athwart the contiguous neighborhoods, but this approach should have caught at least a few. Even using contiguous neighborhoods, however, I could uncover no significant concentrations among the joiners. Three districts in the Jacober Vorstadt yielded seven masters, but that was the highest concentration I could find.

The story is virtually the same for the shoemakers. Despite the high concentration of shoemakers in the cathedral district, the masters were fairly evenly distributed within it. In fact, the Jacober Vorstadt produced the

only noticeable concentrations -- seven in one three-neighborhood tract, and eight in a two-neighborhood tract.

The millers produced the only significant local concentrations. Two different neighborhoods produced concentrations of eight masters. Here there actually seems to have been some very specific groupings. In one neighborhood of the Jacober Vorstadt were located eight Sägmüllern, while only one other neighborhood in that part of the Vorstadt held any millers, and that was in the adjacent neighborhood and he was likewise a Sägmüller. Similarly, the Mühlknechten were virtually all located in two districts of St. George's Quarter, and only one Müller lived there. The millers themselves were located in one section of the Jacober Vorstadt and one section of the cathedral district, all close together though not bunched into the same or adjacent districts. The actual listing of the Mühlknechten and the Sägmüllern seem to imply that they each shared common quarters with their fellows, thus accounting for the high level of concentration. The millers, on the other hand, were pretty much one master to a neighborhood, but were bunched along very restricted parts of town. This most likely reflects the fact that the mills were strung along the waterways, and is supporting evidence that the millers resided in or near their mills.

Mills required water to operate, and the only water in the city came from diverted streams of the Lech River. These streams came into the city on the southeast side, ran through the east side of the downtown area and the west side of the Jacober Vorstadt, and left the city on the northeast

side, near St. Stefan's. The mills of the city were concentrated in these districts. The millers, too, lived in these areas; only one miller lived on the west side of town (see Table 15). It seems likely that most of the millers had their residences in or adjacent to their mills. The Ordnung of the millers warned against conducting business by night, implying that the miller would normally be on or near the premises after business hours.[18] The sources do not indicate if the miller received his residence from the city along with his mill. If he did, one wonders what happened to his widow upon his death. Was she forced to relocate? Were his Knechten transferred to the new master? The answers to these questions do not appear in the sources, but they would surely have been matters of policy determined by the city.

The Muster Lists for 1615 and 1619 contain valuable information on journeymen in the form of two columns entitled Gesellen and Heimatort ("journeymen" and "home town"). There was also a column entitled Sohn ("son"). The entries in the latter column are difficult to interpret. The figures in Tables 18 through 21 show the results of the tabulations for the number of sons in each guild, and the numbers seem exceedingly small. Was it possible that less than one in ten masters had their sons working with them in their shops? It was indeed possible, for the son would have been apprenticed to another master as was customary, and so would not have been recorded. As a journeyman, the son travelled and so again was not in his father's household. One wonders what consequences this had, when the male child effectively left the home in his early teens. In any case, the census probably

TABLE 18: NUMBER OF MASTERS WITH RESIDENT SONS OF MILITARY AGE - 1615

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
No sons	105	110	72	43
1 son	5	8	3	1
2 sons	1	1	-	-

TABLE 19: PERCENTAGE OF MASTERS WITH RESIDENT SONS OF MILITARY AGE - 1615

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
No sons	94.59	92.44	96.00	97.73
1 son	4.50	6.72	4.00	2.27
2 sons	0.90	0.84	-	-

TABLE 20: NUMBER OF MASTERS WITH RESIDENT SONS OF MILITARY AGE - 1619

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
No sons	109	94	60	22
1 son	6	9	2	3
2 sons	-	1	-	1

TABLE 21: PERCENTAGE OF MASTERS WITH RESIDENT SONS OF MILITARY AGE - 1619

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
No sons	94.78	90.38	96.77	84.62
1 son	5.22	8.65	3.23	11.54
2 sons	-	0.96	-	3.85

military age -- perhaps age eighteen or so. By this age, most males in a household were journeymen or other adults, not apprentices. Consequently, the Gesellen column holds the significant information.

The number of Gesellen was recorded as a numeral, one entry per master, with a dot to signify zero. On rare occasions there was no entry only a blank; these I counted as "null data", on the assumption that the official did not know how to record an entry for that master. In the rightmost column of the Musterregister was the wide column for home town. Here was recorded the name of the home town for each journeyman. Each town name was clearly written and legible, though peculiarities of spelling did cause some problems in identification. For example, the town of Straßberg appeared seven times. At first I thought that this was Strasbourg, on the Rhine River, but I managed to find a Straßberg about fifty kilometers from Augsburg. I used several atlases and other sources to guide me in my search, and there are undoubtedly some errors. There is also an element of uncertainty when a town was recorded twice, for there is no way to be sure that both journeymen came from the same town, or from two different towns with the same spelling. Similarly, some town names appeared in several places all over Germany. If there were two towns named, for example, Leipzig, I chose to believe that it was the noted Saxony city that was meant, and not some obscure village with the same name. I did take distance into account as well, so that if there were two towns and one was in Swabia, I generally chose the Swabian one. If the element of doubt grew too large, however, I counted the entry as if I had found nothing at all. Fully half the null data for this

statistic are in fact town names with multiple locations and no clear way to choose among them.

Allowing for this margin of error, Tables 24 through 27 present the data for 1615 and 1619, while Tables 22 and 23 represent a combination of the data from both years. By locating the towns, I was able to add distance and direction as measures of movement in the labor pool of these crafts. The data show that there were distinct differences among the guilds in the average distance travelled by the journeymen and the dominant direction from which they came. The data also reveal differences among the guilds in the type of town that produced the most journeymen. We will look at each of these in turn.

Most masters worked alone. Most did not employ their own sons, and most had no journeymen. This is a very surprising statistic, but the finding is consistent across all four guilds for both 1615 and 1619. It is possible that only native journeymen were counted and that there were many more foreign journeymen in the shops. On the face of it, this seems to be an attractive and plausible explanation. A foreign journeyman could not be liable for duty in the city militia, so why should he be counted in a census for the military? The evidence, however, does not support this theory. Journeymen journeyed, by definition; so native sons would most likely be found anywhere except Augsburg. Moreover, the Musterbuch lists the home town of every journeyman surveyed. Some came from Augsburg, but most came from somewhere else. It is remotely possible that these represent journeymen who had purchased citizenship and intended to remain in

Augsburg, but other evidence all but disproves this unlikely theory. In short, the data on journeymen represent exactly what they seem to: the actual count of journeymen in each shop.

If the data on journeymen represent the real count of journeymen, then we are still left with the unexpected result of finding most shops devoid of journeymen. Another explanation for the apparant shortage is that work was seasonal and some masters probably hired a journeyman on a temporary basis. The census, however, was conducted in June, whereas most seasonal work was low in winter and would have been strong in the summer. The most probable explanation for the paucity of journeymen is that most masters simply could not afford one. It may be protested that a journeyman earned his own keep by his labor, but this was the case only if the master was doing a sufficiently lively business to require the extra labor. A journeyman drew his wage regardless of whether or not the master was making a profit. Given the general poverty of these guildsmen, the best explanation is that they could barely support themselves and that there was no room or opportunity for a journeyman.

The impression that every master had both apprentice and journeyman has been created by guild historians who relied heavily on guild regulations for their information on such matters. The regulations naturally discuss journeymen and apprentices, but not every article applied equally to every guildsman. A second source for our misconceptions about the master's work force stems from contemporary illustrations. These, however, were intended to convey as much information as possible, and quite naturally

depicted a full and active shop, replete with journeymen and apprentices. Guild petitions from self-described poor masters leave no doubt that the master worked alone, though he may very well have been assisted by family members.

As mentioned earlier, the millers employed far more journeymen per master than did other guilds. They also had the smallest percentage of masters with no journeymen. One reason why a mill was a more productive shop than that of a shoemaker or other artisan is because the miller could employ more workers than could other masters. There was no limit on hiring in this guild, and masters employed as many as nine Knechten. In terms of manpower, this was the equivalent of three to five shops in other crafts. This makes sense, for the millers processed all the grain for both bread and beer for the entire city, and would need many workers to meet this need.

The barbers, on the other hand, generally worked alone. The barbers had the highest percentage in the category of no journeymen and the figure is even higher with the bathers -- who employed Knechten -- removed. With nine out of ten barbers employing no journeymen, one must wonder how and where a master received his training. Perhaps it was with itinerant barbers, for this guild had no regulations barring a rural education. Having a journeyman would only make sense if the barber had sufficient clientele to keep his journeyman busy, and if the barber did have such a large number of customers then it is likely that his tax level was high. In the case of the barbers, in other words, the tax level was probably indicative of the basic

level of business done by each master, and this guild had the lowest median wealth of all the guilds studied.

The statistics show clearly the effect of guild regulations. In both the Joiners Guild and the Shoemakers Guild, there was a limit of two journeymen per master. The number of masters in both guilds employing two masters is higher than one would expect, indicating that some masters, at least, were hemmed in by this limitation and probably would have taken on more journeymen had they been allowed to do so. On the other hand, the great majority of masters had one or no journeymen, and were not affected by the regulation. Here again is an example of how a reading of the guild regulations alone can lead to incorrect conclusions. One would, in judging from the regulations alone, be inclined to speculate about the harmful effects of such an arbitrary limitation of the labor pool and completely overestimate the actual impact of the ceiling.

It is worth noting that there was little correlation between a master's level of wealth and the size of his shop. One would expect the two to be closely related, but the correlation coefficient for all four guilds grouped together is only 0.427.[20] This shows some correlation, but nothing striking. The statistic does mask some interesting data concerning the individual guilds. The correlation coefficient for the barbers was very high -- .803 -- while for the shoemakers and joiners it was very low -- .275 and .161 respectively. The millers' coefficient was .498. The low coefficient for the joiners and shoemakers is easily explained by the fact that in both guilds scarcely any masters had more than three journeymen. Particularly in the

case of the joiners, it would seem that having a journeyman was necessary to certain types of projects. It is entirely possible that master Joiners hired journeymen out of the Herberg for specific contracts, for limited terms. When a master joiner got a contract for work, he would hire a journeyman, more or less regardless of the master's level of wealth.

The data collected on the origins of journeymen have important implications for our picture of the relationship between city and countryside. The journeymen of these guilds came from surprisingly distant places. The image of journeymen originating from the villages of the surrounding regions has no basis in fact for these guilds. The mean distance travelled was well over one hundred kilometers, and those more distant places tended to be towns or cities, not villages. These guilds drew upon a labor network that was essentially urban in character, and one which remained relatively isolated from the countryside surrounding Augsburg itself. This pattern of labor immigration would have only tended to reinforce and perpetuate the dichotomy between city and countryside. In those guilds that did draw significant numbers from the surrounding countryside, there may have been a different social or cultural orientation as well.

The importance of Augsburg as a high-level central place is reflected by the distances travelled by foreign journeymen. Table 23 gives the median distance from Augsburg of the journeymen's home towns (the median includes the Augsburg entries, which were counted as zero kilometers). The median distance differs significantly from guild to guild, ranging from 115 kilometers for the shoemakers to 26 for the barbers. Even more striking

is the fact that only one journeyman miller travelled over 300 kilometers and not one journeyman barber travelled over 200 kilometers while, on the other hand, there were more than thirty journeymen in the Joiners and Shoemakers Guilds who travelled that far. There was, in fact, a shoemaker from Wales and a joiner from Riga (now in Russia, formerly Estonia). The individual guilds each had their own distinctive structure, but again, shoemakers and joiners more closely resembled each other than did any other two guilds. Both the joiners and shoemakers pulled more journeymen from the 100 to 200 kilometer range than from any other. Both had one third to one half their journeymen coming from distances in excess of 200 kilometers (thirty-seven percent of the shoemakers, forty-seven percent of the joiners). Although the median distance of the joiners was considerably less than that of the shoemakers, most joiners actually travelled further. The high number of joiners from Augsburg lowered the median below that of the shoemakers.

The distance travelled by a journeyman barber was very small. Less than twenty percent journeyed more than 100 kilometers, none more than 200 kilometers, while one-third came from Augsburg itself. The question of why this should have been so immediately presents itself. The median distance is to a certain degree a measure of the demand for labor in a given craft. Where demand was high, men would have been willing to take the risks of long-distance travel. Where demand was low, Augsburg would not have been mentioned in other towns as a place of opportunity. This supposition finds reinforcement in a comparison of the ratios of masters to journeymen in these three guilds. There were 1.5 master joiners for every journeyman

joiner, 1.7 master shoemakers for every journeyman, and 4.2 master barbers per journeyman (figures are from 1615 -- see Table 2). These ratios make it evident that demand in the Shoemakers and Joiners Guilds was three times as high as in the Barbers Guild. Interestingly, the distance ratio is comparable -- journeyman joiners came from a median distance roughly three times that of journeyman barbers, and for shoemakers the median distance was about four times as great. This correspondence may be purely coincidental, but it is intriguing.

The effect of Augsburg's influence as a central place can be seen in another aspect of the tables on home towns. In the Shoemakers, Joiners and Barbers Guilds, there was a very low percentage of journeymen who were born within "commuting" distance of the city; that is to say, within ten kilometers, a distance close enough to allow the worker to walk to and from work on weekends. This is a remarkable finding, for it would seem at first that the surrounding communities would have provided the most ready pool of labor for a craft. Moreover, the Millers Guild does display such an expected statistical pattern (see Table 24), though it does seem strange that almost forty percent of the journeymen millers came from towns between 50 and 100 kilometers distant.

The explanation for these patterns lies in the nature of the crafts themselves and in the nature of central places.[19] Because Augsburg was a high-level central place, no town of any size developed within ten kilometers of the city. Because joinery and barbering and even shoemaking were specifically urban crafts, few journeymen came from within the ten kilometer

radius. It must be remembered that although peasants made shoes and cabinets, they made them in rural styles, and did not know how to work in the city fashions. Furthermore, the Shoemakers and Joiners Guilds had regulations forbidding rural journeymen from becoming masters. Consequently, journeymen in these guilds came overwhelmingly either from inside Augsburg or from beyond the ten kilometer radius that comprised Augsburg's primary market area.

Why, then, did fifteen percent of the Mühlknechten come from within this primary market area, compared to four percent for the barbers and shoemakers and only two percent for the joiners? Because milling was rural as well and urban in nature, so the conditions discussed above would not have applied in this guild. It is interesting to note that both the barbers and the millers pulled over half their labor pool from within the sixty kilometer radius that Rolf Kiessling found was Augsburg's effective reach as a central place.[20] Both of these guilds thus can be viewed as domestic, not only in terms of sales and raw materials, but also in terms of their labor supply. The other two guilds, by contrast, drew from well beyond the sixty kilometer range. Half the journeyman joiners were from towns 86 or more kilometers distant (one-third were from over 300 kilometers), and half the journeyman shoemakers were from towns 115 or more kilometers distant (one-third were from over 200 kilometers). Put another way, over half the journeymen in these guilds were true foreigners, coming not only from outside Augsburg but from outside Augsburg's primary area of influence and from outside the cultural and linguistic region of Swabia.

The millers were by far the most labor-intensive of the four crafts. There were roughly two journeymen for every master, and several masters employed more than three (see Tables 1 - 3). In 1619, over half the masters were employing two or more journeymen. The word used in the muster rolls is Gesellen, which translates best as "journeymen", but in the petitions and the guild regulations the word that more often appears is Knechten, which is a word loaded with servile connotations. Here it is best rendered as "man" or "employee", for the Knecht fulfilled many of the same functions as a journeyman but did not have the journeyman's potential to become independent. He was more or less permanently in the employ of another, waiting for an opening to occur in the mastership of one of the mills. With two Knechten for every Meister, he would have a long wait. The high number of employees was due to the conditions of production. Milling grain was a quasi-industrial operation in that it consisted of a number of steps and large machines requiring a work force rather than a single master. The employees of a miller were full-time workers. Their employment would not have been for a specific term, for the work was on-going and permanent. For this reason, there was no need for a Herberg and a Zuschickmeister to handle the assignment of jobs.

The Knechten came predominately from the south and southwest. No other guild exhibited such a strong orientation toward a specific direction. They also came from relatively small distances. The mean distance from Augsburg for millers was 79 kilometers, and for those coming from southerly directions it was only 63 kilometers in 1615, 48 kilometers in 1619 (see Table

TABLE 22: DISTANCE TRAVELLED BY JOURNEYMEN IN KMS.
1615 and 1619 combined

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Augsburg	11	21	9	15
1 - 10	4	2	1	13
11 - 50	12	6	6	14
51 - 100	13	16	6	37
101 - 200	17	20	5	5
201 - 300	13	16	-	8
301 - 400	11	6	-	1
401 - 500	3	4	-	-
501 +	2	11	-	-
TOTAL	86	102	27	93
NO DATA	41	63	8	41

MEDIAN DISTANCES:

Shoemakers: 115 kilometers
Joiners : 86 kilometers
Barbers : 26 kilometers
Millers : 51 kilometers

TABLE 23: DISTANCE TRAVELLED BY JOURNEYMEN - 1615 & 1619
Percentages

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Augsburg	12.8	20.6	33.3	16.1
1 - 10	4.7	2.0	3.7	14.0
11 - 50	14.0	5.9	22.2	15.1
51 - 100	15.1	15.7	22.2	39.8
101 - 200	19.8	19.6	18.5	5.4
201 - 300	14.0	15.7	-	8.6
301 - 400	12.8	5.9	-	1.1
401 - 500	3.5	3.9	-	-
501 +	2.3	10.8	-	-

NOTE: all distances are in kilometers

TABLE 24: DISTANCE TRAVELLED BY JOURNEYMEN - 1615

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Augsburg	7	13	2	7
1 - 10	3	1	1	9
11 - 50	5	3	6	10
51 - 100	7	9	4	20
101 - 200	8	6	3	4
201 - 300	4	5	-	7
301 - 400	6	5	-	-
401 - 500	3	1	-	-
501 +	2	4	-	-
TOTAL	45	47	16	57
NO DATA	17	33	2	10

TABLE 25: DISTANCE TRAVELLED BY JOURNEYMEN - 1615
Percentages

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Augsburg	15.6	27.7	12.5	12.3
1 - 10	6.7	2.1	6.2	15.8
11 - 50	11.1	6.4	37.5	17.5
51 - 100	15.6	19.1	25.0	35.1
101 - 200	17.8	12.8	18.8	7.0
201 - 300	8.9	10.6	-	12.3
301 - 400	13.3	10.6	-	-
401 - 500	6.7	2.1	-	-
501 +	4.4	8.5	-	-

TABLE 26: DISTANCE TRAVELLED BY JOURNEYMEN - 1619

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Augsburg	4	8	7	8
1 - 10	1	1	-	4
11 - 50	7	3	-	5
51 - 100	6	7	2	16
101 - 200	9	14	2	1
201 - 300	8	11	-	1
301 - 400	6	1	-	1
401 - 500	-	3	-	-
501 +	-	7	-	-
TOTAL	41	55	11	36
NO DATA	24	30	6	31

TABLE 27: DISTANCE TRAVELLED BY JOURNEYMEN - 1619
Percentages

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Augsburg	9.8	14.5	63.6	22.2
1 - 10	2.4	1.8	-	11.1
11 - 50	17.1	5.5	-	13.9
51 - 100	14.6	12.7	18.2	44.4
101 - 200	22.0	25.5	18.2	2.8
201 - 300	19.5	20.0	-	2.8
301 - 400	14.6	1.8	-	2.8
401 - 500	-	5.5	-	-
501 +	-	12.7	-	-

TABLE 28: DIRECTION OF HOME TOWNS - 1615 and 1619
Number of Journeymen

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Augsburg	11	21	9	15
North	14	13	5	13
NorthEast	11	17	-	-
East	8	6	-	-
SouthEast	4	-	3	8
South	7	3	-	27
SouthWest	13	14	4	21
West	9	16	3	3
NorthWest	9	12	3	6

TABLE 29: DIRECTION OF HOME TOWNS - 1615 and 1619
Percentages

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Augsburg	12.5	20.6	33.3	16.1
North	16.3	12.7	18.5	14.0
NorthEast	12.8	16.7	-	-
East	9.3	5.9	-	-
SouthEast	4.7	-	11.1	8.6
South	8.1	2.9	-	29.0
SouthWest	14.0	13.7	14.8	22.6
West	9.3	15.7	11.1	3.2
NorthWest	9.3	11.8	11.1	6.5

TABLE 30: TOWNS PRODUCING MORE THAN TWO JOURNEYMEN
1615 and 1619 combined

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Augsburg	11	21	9	15
Kempten	2	2	-	6
Schneeberg	-	1	-	7
Ulm	-	4	1	1
Ettlingen	-	1	-	4
Lechhausen	-	-	-	5
Landsberg	3	-	-	1
Oberau	-	-	-	4
Copnitz	1	1	1	-
Leipzig	3	-	-	-
Liegnitz	2	1	-	-
Linz	-	3	-	-
Mindelheim	1	1	-	1
Neukirch	1	1	-	1
Nuremberg	2	-	1	-
Oberdorf	-	-	1	2
Regensburg	2	1	-	-
Rottenbach	-	-	-	3
Schongau	1	1	-	1
Steingaden	-	-	-	3
Straßburg	3	-	-	-
ZÜrich	2	1	-	-

30). The explanation for this pattern lies in the geography of the region. A city or large town tended to draw workers from the surrounding countryside rather than from other cities. There was no such cities to the south of Augsburg until one crossed the Alps, whereas to the north there were a number of medium to large cities. The natural hinterland for Mühlknechten was therefore truncated on the north.

There were few journeymen in the Barbers Guild. In fact, in 1615, 83% of the barbers had no journeymen at all. Of those who did have journeymen, most were bathhouse keepers, who employed Knechten rather than Gesellen, much in the same manner as the millers. Unlike the millers, though, the journeyman barber could always take his mastership and set up shop somewhere in the city. The difficulty would be in making a living, but there was no limit on the number of shops that could be operating. This was also in contrast to the bathers, for there were only a limited number of bathhouses in the city. As has been supposed previously, the fact that an unlimited number of journeyman barbers could set up shop probably contributed to the general poverty of this guild.

The few journeyman barbers that did exist tended to come from cities. A very high proportion came from Augsburg itself. Those who came from elsewhere came from the north and northwest, from cities of significant size. Barbering was an urban occupation; one would not expect to find a barber in a village (whereas the presence of a miller would be expected). One corollary of this fact is that this guild never faced the problms of rural competition.

Master joiners were the largest employers of their own sons: seven percent in 1615 (Table 19), ten percent in 1619 (Table 21). They also employed the largest numbers of journeymen, though the millers employed more per master. Nevertheless, the journeyman joiners were not faced with the impasse that faced the Mühlknechten. Not that every journeyman could expect to become a master. The petitions are full of complaints from journeymen about the obstacles to mastership placed in their way by the regulations, by individuals or by circumstances. As with the barbers and shoemakers, most joiners worked without resident journeymen, perhaps hiring them only for contract work. Many journeyman joiners operated out of the Herberg under the direction of the Zuschickmeister. These journeymen were not recorded in the muster rolls, for they were not citizens (or, it is at least probable that they were not). In general, it should be observed that there were more practitioners of a given craft than was recorded in a muster roll, for in most crafts some resident foreigners operated within the city but outside the guild.

The regulations of the Joiners Guild imposed a limit of two journeymen per master, whether or not they resided with him. Sixteen percent of the master joiners in 1615 had two journeymen; twenty-two percent in 1619. This percentage is much higher than in the other guilds, implying that some masters would have had more journeymen had they been allowed. It is curious to note that, in the light of the above-mentioned

TABLE 31: GUILD COMPOSITION - 1645

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
# of Masters	26	23	12	12
Hsehld Mmbrs	126	112	61	57
Mn Hshld Size	4.9	4.9	5.1	4.8

TABLE 32: DISTRIBUTION OF CRAFTS WITHIN THE CITY - 1645

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
St. Jakob	4	3	1	5
St. Ulrich	22	19	11	5
St. Stefan	-	1	-	2

TABLE 33: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE GUILDS, 1645

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Catholic	5	2	-	9
Protestant	21	21	12	4
% Catholic	19.2	8.7	-	72.9
% Protestant	80.8	91.3	100.0	27.1

regulation, two masters were on record in 1615 as having more than two journeymen, and in 1619 there were three. Perhaps they had some special permission to hold more journeymen. Such permission was indeed granted, provided only that it was for the length of some specific job and no longer. If this was the case, then these figures may represent the percentage of masters requiring extra help at any given time.

Master shoemakers employed sixty-three journeymen in 1615, sixty-seven in 1619. This number was neither exceptionally high nor exceptionally low, yielding a ratio of roughly two journeymen per master. No master employed more than two journeymen. Journeymen came from all over Europe. Indeed, this was the only guild to show any significant number of journeymen coming from the east as well as from other directions. The distance travelled was considerable, if not as high as that travelled by journeyman joiners: 213 kilometers in 1615, 157 in 1619. No one direction predominated.

The census for the 1645 Muster List took a very different form from those of the 1610's. We possess only the index to this muster list, but it contains a good deal of information. The index lists only three districts for the city: St. Jacob, St. Ulrich, and St. Stephan. These divisions probably corresponded roughly to the Jakober Viertel, the Overviertel plus Unser Liebe Frauen Viertel, and St. Stephan's plus St. George's. The Heilige Kreuzer Viertel would have been placed either in St. Ulrich's or St. Stephan's. The distribution of the crafts in these new divisions is given by Table 31. The table confirms that the crafts tended to stay in one area of the town, with

only the millers appearing in any significant proportion outside the business district of St. Ulrich.

The most striking thing about the 1645 figures is the shockingly small number of masters. The Thirty Years' War had been over for Augsburg for several years by the time of this census, yet where there had been 115 shoemakers there was now only twenty six. Where there was once forty four millers, only twelve remained. The joiners dropped from a high of 118 to a mere twenty three, while the barbers went from seventy four in 1615 to only twelve in 1645. These numbers translate into percentage losses of seventy-three percent for the shoemakers and millers, eighty-one percent for the joiners, and eighty-four percent for the barbers, all within a thirty year span -- a single generation. These losses were much more severe than among the general population, which declined about fifty percent, probably because economic disruption led to emigration of workers. With their markets so drastically reduced, artisans went elsewhere to seek their livelihood. Significantly, the two crafts where demand was most constant also lost the fewest members -- shoemaking and milling. It seems likely that journeymen who would otherwise have become masters in Augsburg chose not to pursue their career there during the war years. Also, young masters would have been more likely to emigrate than older masters. In both cases, the man's household would have been smaller than average, because he was young, while those who stayed in Augsburg would have had more household members. This helps account for why the losses in the crafts were so much higher than among the general citizenry. Furthermore, recovery in a craft would have

been slower than in the general population because of the guild requirements governing admission. It would be interesting to examine the petitions for the post-war years to see if admission standards were enforced or relaxed.

It is not surprising, but it is significant, that religion was guild-specific (see Table 33). The millers were heavily Catholic, while the barbers were purely Protestant. There is no connection with social status here, for both millers and barbers stood low on the social scale, as we have seen. There may have been some connection with income, for the millers were the wealthiest and most Catholic, while the barbers were the poorest and most Protestant. The evidence here is too slim for a solid conclusion, but it is interesting.

The response to the religion question pertained to every member of the household, not merely to the master, giving us a rare glimpse into the artisans' homes. Of seventy-four households, in only one was there a split in religious uniformity: a master miller had one Protestant in a household with three Catholics. In the other seventy-three cases, the entire household was either wholly Catholic or wholly Protestant. Although the city government was evenly split between the two churches, and the citizenry was also deeply (though lopsidedly) divided, there were very few such divisions within the households of these artisans.

Religious solidarity extended outward from the household to embrace the guild. Only the Millers Guild showed any signifcant presence of the minority religion (Catholicism), and here it was actually dominant --

seventy-three percent of the millers were Catholic. In the other three guilds, Catholics were in a distinct minority of nineteen percent, nine, and zero percent in the Shoemakers, Joiners and Barbers Guilds respectively. Nothing in the guild regulations provided for this relgious uniformity, but, as we shall see in the next chapter, there were informal practices in place that proved equally effective.

One invaluable statistic provided by the 1645 Muster List concerns household size. Unlike the previous lists, which gave only the master's name, the 1645 list gave the master's name and a further column entitled Personen, with a numerical entry. The term Personen could have meant either "household" or "family". Table 30 summarizes the data, and the mean household size figures provide the evidence needed to resolve the question. A mean family size of five is higher than means found by many researchers in Germany and elsewhere, who all agree that the typical mean is a little over four. The higher means in this table would nicely account for the presence of apprentices and journeymen in some households. In addition, the logic of the muster list would imply that journeymen would be included, since they had been recorded in earlier censuses. Finally, the modern distinction between household and family was not so marked in early modern societies; all residents of a household were in some sense regarded as family.

The statistics reveal distinct differences among the guilds. The shoemakers and joiners were both large guilds that resembled one another in age structure, wealth, location and other areas, save that the joiners tended

to be a little older and wealthier. Both guilds drew journeymen from very distant towns. The barbers, on the other hand, were poor and had very few journeymen, whom they drew primarily from Augsburg itself. They were also purely Protestant, at least by 1645. Finally, the millers proved to be the most unusual group of all. They showed the only significant geographic concentration within the city. They were the only guild in which Catholics formed the majority. They were financially better off than the other guildsmen and yet were younger. This guild used journeymen far more intensively than did the other guilds and pulled them from relatively close by the city, especially from areas to the south of Augsburg. This was also the most heavily regulated of all the guilds, a factor that almost certainly directly affected the statistical characteristics just mentioned.

Most differences and similarities between the guilds stemmed from the technical and economic peculiarities of their associated crafts, or from special conditions created by the administration of the city government. Thus, for example, the comparative wealth of the Millers Guild was seen to have been the result of including the value of the mill itself in the tax assessment. We have seen also that a pattern is beginning to emerge with regard to these guilds: the shoemakers and the joiners were similar in many respects, while the barbers and the millers were each distinct. This pattern existed in the craft, in the guild, and in the members themselves. We shall explore this theme further in the chapters that follow.

NOTES

1. Heinrich Bechtel, Wirtschaftsgeschichte Deutschlands (Munich, 1951 - 1956), p. 239.

2. Friderich Blendinger and Claus Peter Clasen are the two principal researchers in this area for Augsburg. Clasen's book on the weavers, in which he uses both tax data and muster list data to paint a portrait of the weaving industry, has already been cited. Blendinger uses the muster lists to obtain membership lists for each guild, then tracks them into the tax books, but he does not use the data contained in the muster lists themselves. See Friedrich Blendinger, "Versuch einer Bestimmung der Mittelschicht in der Reichsstadt Augsburg vom Ende des 14. bis zum Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts", in Erich Maschke and Jürgen von Sydow, eds., Stadtische Mittelschichten (Stuttgart, 1972), pp. 32 - 78.

3. Among the conventions used in the tables are the following. Each table has a title and a year, which refers to the year of the source document. Most tables have a second version in which the raw numbers are given as vertical percentages. I have used dashes (-) to mean zero (0) to improve the legibility of the tables, while n/a means that data were not available for that year.

4. The term "master" here includes a variety of guildsmen whose actual status is uncertain, but who were listed in the Musterbuch.

5. Clasen, Weber, p. 22.

6. The average ages in years were as follows: 1610: barbers 41.2, bathers 47.6; 1615: barbers 39.4, bathers 41.4; 1619: barbers 40.3, bathers 40.6.

7. One of the first things this table shows is the effect of the respondents giving their age in round numbers -- a disproportionately high number of them reported their age as 30, while very few said they were 29 or 31.

8. H-A, GSLM# 548,059, Supplication, Georg Seltman, 29 October 1613.

9. The German words make the relationship plain. An apprentice was a Lehrjung or a Bub.

10. The figures on the left represent the tax levied on the master in florins, kreuzer and pfennig. Although 36 pfennig was theoretically the lowest tax one could pay (the capitation tax plus the Wachgeld), there were a few who paid less, for reasons that are not clear. These I groups along with the many who paid the 36 pfennig but no more. Since nearly everyone paid the 36 pfennig, each tax level ends at that figure in the pennies column.

11. Clasen, Die Augsburg Steuerbücher, (Augsburg, 1976).

12. One florin (silver) was equal to 60 kreuzer. One kreuzer was equal to 60 pennies.

13. Anton Mayr, Die Grossen Augsburger Vermögen in der Zeit von 1618 bis 1717, (Augsburg, 1931), p. 16, Table 5.

14. Mayr, Vermögen, p. 10.

15. Clasen, Steuerbücher, p. 10 discusses the rates and points out that during the early seventeenth century, the 1/4% rate was used exclusively.

16. Stork and Teague, Flour, p. 102.

17. Reinhold Rau, "Frühe Handwerkerordnungen im Württemburgischen Raum", in Maschke and von Sydow, Stadtische Mittelschichten, pp. 94-95.

18. Instruction zur die Mühl-Visitatores, Article 17 (1722), GSLM# 466,116.

19. The seminal figure in central-place theory is Walter Christaller, who set forth his ideas in his book, Central Places in southern Germany, Carlisle W. Baskin, trans., (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1966).

20. Rolf Kiessling, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse der oberdeutsche Reichsstadt, (Augsburg, 1971), p. 132.

CHAPTER VII

THE PETITIONS

The Supplicationen (petitions to the City Council) are the best source available for seeing into the shops and lives of the guildsmen. They contain a myriad of details on the mundane problems of guild and craft, and even provide occasional glimpses into personal lives. Thus, for example, Appollinia Negkassin wrote to the City Council in 1549 for help because an imperial soldier to whom she was engaged insisted on returning to Spain, as he could not make a living in Augsburg. She requested permission for him to become an Augsburg master, so that she could persuade him to stay.[1] In another example, from 1548, Peter Jorgen begged permission to retain his status as master shoemaker, even though he worked only in used leather, because he was too poor to buy it new.[2] As minor as these problems were in the rush of events at a time of war in the Reformation, they were of great moment to Frau Negkassin and Herr Jorgen. It is the immediacy of these sources and their focus on the individual that make them invaluable social documents.

The uses to which the petitions can be put by historians are without number. The techniques of literary analysis would reveal much about the mentality of those involved by studying the use of words and phrases. Lexicographers and linguists will find here thousands of pages written by city notaries in the Augsburg sub-dialect of Schwäbisch. Paleographers can readily trace the evolution of humanist hands. Political historians will find the

city's policy toward, and administration of, the guilds in actual operation, while the economic historian will find documents ranging from bills of sale to a record of grain prices that spans the Thirty Years' War. Social historians have in these sources the priceless treasure of words that came directly from the common man and woman. Finally, the guild historian at last has first-hand evidence on every major issue that faced early modern guilds. With all of this potential, we will restrict the present inquiry to a single decade (1610 - 1619) and to two basic questions: who petitioned, and what were the principal subjects of the petitions.

It is relatively easy to determine what types of people wrote petitions. Every petition was signed by the petitioner, who almost invariably described his status: master, Knecht or Gesell, Bürger. Frequently, foreigners gave the name of their home town, and women usually identified their marital status, including their relationship with the guild: e.g., the widow of a master. I have assembled the data for the 188 petitions that were written during this decade from the four guilds that form the subject of this study. The results are given by Tables 34 and 35 below, with the former giving the actual numbers and the latter giving the vertical percentages to facilitate comparisons between guilds.

The percentage of masters petitioning fell in a range from twenty one percent for the shoemakers to forty-six percent for the barbers, with the joiners and millers falling between at thirty-three and thirty-nine percent respectively. Another way to view the figures is in relation to the number of

TABLE 34: STATUS OF THE PETITIONERS

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Masters	53	16	1	6
Journeymen	18	13	20	5
Wives/Widows	7	2	5	1
Others	9	9	18	1
Total	87	40	44	13

TABLE 35: STATUS OF THE PETITIONERS (Percentages)

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Masters	60.9	40.0	2.3	46.2
Journeymen	20.7	32.5	45.5	38.5
Wives/Widows	8.0	5.0	11.4	7.7
Others	10.3	22.5	41.0	7.7

masters in the guild. I have averaged the number of masters as given by the Muster Lists of 1610, 1615 and 1619, since the petitions are drawn from the entire decade. This yielded the following ratios of petitions to masters: 1:6 (18:110) for the shoemakers (that is to say, one petition from a master for every six masters in the guild), 1:9 (13:112) for the joiners, 1:3 (20:66) for the barbers, and 1:7 (5:36) for the millers. All the ratios show that most masters did not petition the City Council; never, in fact, more than a third did so in the ten years studied. On the other hand, significant proportions of the guilds did petition, indicating that there was widespread faith among the guildsmen in the system of appeal by Supplication.

In the Joiners Guild, thirty-two percent of the petitions came from journeymen and forty percent from masters. In the Millers Guild, thirty-eight percent of the petitions came from journeymen and forty-six from masters. These figures appear to be comparable, but they take no account of the relative proportions of masters and journeymen in each guild. A look at the ratios reveals that there was one petition for every 8.6 master joiners and one for every 5.1 journeymen, while in the Millers Guild it was one petition per 7.2 masters and one per 11.2 journeymen. In other words, in the Joiners Guild, it was the journeymen who petitioned most frequently, but in the Millers Guild it was the masters. The masters were even more prominent in the Barbers Guild, where one out of three masters petitioned and only one in eighteen journeymen did so. The low percentage of petitions from journeyman barbers (Table 35) was not due merely to the small number of journeymen in this guild, but reflected the actual low level of activity from the journeymen.

At the opposite end of the scale was the Shoemakers Guild, where sixty-one percent of the petitions were submitted by journeymen, which works out to a startling one petition per journeyman (in contrast to one petition per six masters). This is by far the lowest ratio of journeymen to petitions, and reflects not only widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks of Gesellen, but also reflects the repeated attempt to win their case made by some individuals -- up to eight petitions from one Schuhknecht. This statistic gives some intimation that there were definite labor problems in the Shoemakers Guild.

It will be noted that there were very few women petitioners but, at the same time, neither were they wholly absent. Most of these petitions came from women who held some status in the guild as the relative of a deceased master, who held on that account certain privileges within the guild (even if extended only out of custom), and who were petitioning on behalf of someone -- frequently a suitor or a relative -- who wanted to gain entry to the guild. The women, because of their status, acted on behalf of someone with no status.

The final category is non-guildsmen, a status that ranged from eight percent in the Millers Guild, to ten percent in the Shoemakers Guild, to twenty-two percent in the Joiners Guild, to forty-one percent in the Barbers Guild. The variation stemmed from a difference in the number of customers who complained to the City Council about the treatment they received from the master. There were no such complaints about shoes or about flour, presumably because the cost of the items was outweighed by the costs associated with submitting a petition. There were only two such petitions

about joiners, but twenty-eight percent of the petitions in the Barbers Guild came from patients complaining of the medical treatment received at the hands of a master barber. Discounting this type of petition, there were from eight percent (Millers) to eighteen percent (Joiners) petitions from non-guildsmen.

An idea of the overall level of activity in each guild can be gained by examining the ratio of the number of petitions to the total number of members in the guild. These ratios are as follows: Shoemakers Guild -- 1:2 (i.e., one petition for every two guildsmen) (87:180); Joiners Guild -- 1:5 (40:204); Barbers Guild -- 1:2 (44:88); Millers Guild -- 1:8 (13:105). These figures mean that there was a high level of activity in both the Barbers Guild and the Shoemakers Guild, although in the former it was the masters and customers who were responsible, while in the latter it was the journeymen. The large percentage of petitions from these guilds proves that petitioning was regarded as a legitimate legal recourse in cases of injustice or injury. The joiners and millers had low levels of activity, where four out of five or seven out of eight guildsmen did not submit a petition for ten years.

Summarizing the subject matter was a more difficult task, because of the great variety of subjects and of approaches taken to similar subjects. The list worked out here was derived from reading the petitions themselves, and petitions from another guild might produce an entirely different list of subjects. Furthermore, a researcher could define a list of topics prior to any actual reading of documents, in order to see if those topics were covered at all. In other words, the statistics presented here are derived from and

tailored to this particular batch of petitions and can be interpreted only with regard to these guilds and for this decade (1610 - 1619). The categories are given in Tables 35 and 36.

The fact that many petitioners submitted a second petition after their first was denied, and that some submitted a third or fourth, presented a problem in regard to the counting process: I could either count petitions, or I could count petitioners. In the latter case, a petition from someone who petitioned only once would carry the same statistical weight as the several petitions submitted all on the same case by the same individual. This would not give a true picture of the major areas of concern in a guild. I felt that every petition should be counted regardless of who the petitioner was, since the petitioner had to go through the same procedures, making the same sacrifices in terms of time and money, and having the same hopes of success, whether it was his first or his fifth request. This approach, however, requires the reader to view each figure as representing only the number of petitions submitted on that particular topic and not (as would be natural) to view it as representing the number of separate incidents or occurrences of a problem. Both approaches have drawbacks. I have chosen the count of petitions for my analysis.

Table 36 shows that accession to mastership status was by far the most frequent subject of the petitions: ninety-two percent of the petitions in the Millers Guild fell in this category, sixty-nine percent of those in the

TABLE 36: SUBJECT OF THE PETITIONS

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Lngth of Training	15	6	2	-
Type of Training	18	9	1	-
Marriage	27	3	-	-
Mastership/Other	-	6	-	12
Guild Business	9	1	1	-
Customer Relatns	-	5	23	-
Labor Relations	8	4	5	1
Guild Relations	5	9	7	-
Personal Requests	5	4	5	-
Total	87	40	44	13

TABLE 37: STATUS OF THE PETITIONERS

	Shoemakers	Joiners	Barbers	Millers
Lngth of Training	17.2	15.0	4.5	-
Type of Training	20.7	22.5	2.3	-
Marriage	31.0	7.5	-	-
Mastership/Other	-	15.0	-	92.3
Guild Business	10.3	2.5	2.3	-
Customer Relatns	-	12.5	52.3	-
Labor Relations	9.2	10.0	11.4	7.7
Guild Relations	5.7	22.5	15.9	-
Personal Requests	5.7	10.0	11.4	-

Shoemakers Guild, sixty percent in the Joiners Guild, and seven percent in the Barbers Guild. The very low percentage in the Barbers Guild reflects the relatively unimportant position journeymen occupied in this guild. On the other hand, the very high percentage in the Millers Guild does not represent problems or complaints, but comes from an abundance of applications to be appointed Mühlknecht at a mill. The significant data, therefore, relate only to the Shoemakers Guild and the Joiners Guild, where the petitions were nearly all complaints from journeymen who had been denied mastership. A foreign journeyman (i.e., one who was not an Augsburg citizen) was required to work for, and to receive training from, one or two citizen masters, usually for several years, before qualifying to apply for mastership. The requirement was designed to ensure that the practices and styles customary in the city were perpetuated by each generation of masters. A master was free to experiment with new styles, of course, but he must know the old styles first. In some cases, this regulation was intended to keep out foreign styles that would only cause disruptions in local markets. In other cases it was designed to keep out rural techniques, as these were universally regarded as inferior. Serving a citizen master also provided the guildsmen the opportunity to look over new prospects carefully and to assure themselves of his ability and character. These were all legitimate concerns legitimately shared by the City Council, which also had an interest in the matter since citizen masters bore the lion's share of the city's taxes and administration. If the guilds ceased their vigilance in this area, that would indeed indicate a breakdown of the guild system. The many petitions complaining of this rule is evidence of how

difficult it was to enforce in actual practice, for each petitioner believed that there were extenuating circumstances in his particular case. The city seldom agreed, but journeymen continued to petition.

Georg Seltman was a shoemaker who apprenticed in the town of Waringen and subsequently journeyed for seven years, spending one year in Hungary serving against the "enemy" (Erbfeindt). He found life there too difficult and so came to Augsburg, where he worked for a year. After this time, the Overseer informed him that, as all Seltman's training had been in villages, he would be apprenticed to Conrad Ess, "in order to learn the craft and customs."[3] His apprenticeship would last three years and would cost ten florins, a considerable sum. Seltman was angered by this, but he served his apprenticeship anyway. Now the Overseer asserted that he must do a further seven years training. By the time Seltman had completed his three-year apprenticeship, Conrad Ess was dead, Seltman was thirty-three years old and had married Ess' daughter. "I have been a shoemaker for eighteen years," he told the City Council. "This rule makes the time I spent in training outside the city worthless, but it is not worthless," he argued, but therein lay the crux of the problem, for the city and the guild did in fact regard that training as worthless.[4] The rule was enforced, and Seltman's petition was denied.

Rural training was also the issue with Jacob Weiss, and though his case was stronger, yet he was denied as well. The originating document here came from Jacob's father, Martin, a citizen master who journeyed and who settled in the village of Pfersee, only two kilometers from Augsburg.[5] He

instructed his son in the craft as his apprentice, then wrote a Lehrbrief and sent Jacob into Augsburg as a journeyman. Jacob worked in town for two years, "during which time," Jacob wrote in his own petition,

> I attained the position (Stand) of journeyman here, holding to all guild customs and paying my fees and dues (in allem handtwerckhs gewonheit gehalten, mein auflag gelt und andere gebür, bezalt und erstattet) and was hindered (verhindert) neither by masters nor by journeymen.[6]

Yet, when Jacob asked to marry the daughter of a deceased master, he was denied. The guild insisted that two years was insufficient training and that Jacob had to do the full six years as required by the Ordnung.[7]

The case of Mattheis Baur illustrates how long the application for mastership could be drawn out. In January of 1611, Baur first appeared in the Handwerker-Akten with a petition for mastership, which he had been denied on the grounds that he had been trained in a village.[8] Baur argued that, although he had apprenticed in a village, it had been with his own father, who had been a citizen master shoemaker in Augsburg. Thus, while he had been apprenticed in a foreign place, he had not apprenticed with a foreigner. Moreover, Baur had spent seven years journeymanship in the city. The guild stated flatly that foreign was foreign and Baur's petition was denied. He repeated his request in February, and was again denied.[9] Two years later, Baur again asked to be allowed to make a masterpiece, and to marry the widow for whom he had been working the last few years.[10] He was again

denied, whereupon the widow herself wrote a petition in support of Baur, asserting with a simple persuasiveness that,

> Baur is a pious, haustlicher and eingezognen (literally, "domestic" and "secluded") journeyman who has worked for three impoverished masters and has done all he was asked.[11]

Baur was again turned down, but he returned a third time in April 1614, "even though my request has been denied in the past." Baur conceded that he had apprenticed in a village "where the masters are not required to make a masterpiece." Baur now tried a new tack, speaking not of his rights but of the widow's welfare. "I will not be establishing a new shop but rather will take over an existing one that is now operated by a widow and her three fatherless children." He asked permission to make a masterpiece and marry the widow, becoming father to the children, "that I might provide for their welfare."[12] Baur's request was refused once more. He tried again in 1615 and was yet again denied, after which we hear from him no more.[13] It may seem strange that Baur persisted so long in an apparently hopeless cause, yet he really had no choice. There was but one court of appeals in the city, and Baur had nowhere else to turn. The most extreme case of this was the journeyman shoemaker Hans Möner, who not only petitioned eight times on his own, but was supported by two petitions from his mother and two more from his aunt.[14] The first petition was dated 3 March 1611 and the last one appeared 15 November 1614.

Training in a village was not the only form of training unacceptable to the guild, as Hans Jacob Dünzler discovered to his dismay. In his first petition, Dünzler recounted all the requirements he had met. He apprenticed with his father. He journeyed. He worked for the citizen and master clockmaker Marx Günzer for five years. He also worked two years for another master and did hired work for others. He married the daughter of a shoemaker. Yet he was not allowed to make a masterpiece.[15] The problem was pointed out in the Verordnete report. Dünzler had worked only two years for master joiners, the rest of the time he worked for a master clockmaker. "For this reason", the report went on,

> he cannot know how to make a masterpiece, for that is peculiar to the joiner's craft, nor can he know our regulations and articles, for he can neither have heard nor read them.[16]

Dünzler replied with a new petition, withdrawing his earlier one. He repeated the guild rules, as if to acknowledge their authority in the matter, but asserted that "the Overseer never informed me of this rule." Dünzler argued that he was wronged by the guild because he had not been properly instructed.

> Clockmakers should never be allowed to employ journeymen joiners. Why should a foreign journeyman, with no knowledge of the guild's regulations, obtain his privilege through completion of his training (erstande zeit) only to lose it through ignorance? I would hope that no journeyman would suffer because the guild placed him with a clockmaker and yet required him to work

> for a joiner. Although clockmaking is an art unto itself, nevertheless under Günzer's supervision I prepared the joined work myself, a fact not denied by the Council. I would not have done these things had I only heard the rules.[17]

Turned down again, Dünzler made one more attempt, in which we can glean a few more details. Dünzler admitted he had "probably" heard the regulations read at some point, but "there are very many of them" (over one hundred, in fact), and "besides, I worked for Ulrich Hartmann with no word that a journeyman should attend the reading of the regulations."[18] Clockmakers, it appears, were allowed to have journeyman joiners, for Dünzler complained that they should be forbidden to do so. Finally, in the Overseer's Report, there is the interesting comment made that the time Dünzler spent with the clockmaker was "deterioris conditionis." Here we see the almost moral tenor to the distinctions made between crafts, distinctions that the guilds were entrusted with maintaining, as they evidently did successfully in the case of poor Hans Jacob Dünzler.

Mastership was also denied because of failure to marry or because of marrying outside the guild. The married state was generally regarded as morally superior to the unmarried state and was taken as one sign of stability and maturity. For these reasons, marriage was required in all but the Barbers Guild, and foreign journeymen were required to marry into the guild. This did not always happen, as several petitions show. The most intruguing problem centered on religious differences.

The problem appeared only in the Shoemakers Guild, where there were several incidents along the following lines. A foreign journeyman came

to Augsburg and conscientiously served the full length of his training, even, in some cases, completing his masterpiece. Seeking to meet the marriage requirement, the Gesell courted widows and daughters of guildsmen, but when it became known that the young man was Catholic, he was turned down. The problem was peculiar to Catholic journeyman shoemakers, and was so persistent that they petitioned the City Council as a group on four separate occasions for help in their plight. It must have been disheartening to go through so much training only to be frustrated at the final step.

> The Guild Overseer has denied my request. I present this document to clarify my petition further. I do not wish to dispute with the Overseer, still less to contest the guild's regulations, but I believe that this situation is detrimental to the guild, to the women, and to my faith.[19]

> I do not want to keep my religion hidden but rather to find a like-minded girl.[20]

> I never desired to marry outside the Shoemakers Guild and therefore I went to every master I knew, to be allowed to entreat (werben) and to propose (anhalten), but my earnest proposals went unheeded.[21]

One fellow went so far as to insist that, since it was not his fault that he could find no wife, the City Council should find one for him.[22]

It is not surprising to find religion a barrier in marriage or even in guild business. Augsburg was deeply divided religiously and, as was shown in Chapter VI, religious loyalties tended to be guild-specific. Also in Chapter VI, it was seen that only one family in all the four guilds had a household with

both Catholic and Protestant members. Religion was too important of an area to ignore in matrimony, for it affected every area of personal and social life. What seems inexplicable is that this problem with Catholic journeymen occurred only in the Shoemakers Guild. I have been unable to discover any clues to an explanation for this phenomenon.

Marriage also appeared as the topic in several petitions in the aspect of requests for permission to marry. These requests did not come from masters or the sons of masters, but only from journeymen and widows, presumably because only they required permission. That guild and city would have any jurisdiction over such private matters seems odd today, but in pre-modern society this was not at all unusual. Control over marriage was not actually exercised at the altar in any case, but was exerted at the point of mastership.

An example of this can be found in the Shoemakers Guild, where Anna Preßlerin submitted a petition in 1616. Her husband had died, and Frau Preßlerin found herself faced with the prospect of having to operate the shoemaking shop herself. She had determined to re-marry as soon as possible, and already had a suitor in mind: a foreign journeyman. The one problem was that the journeyman had not completed his required length of training, his erstande zeit. Preßlerin had no intention of marrying someone who might never become a master, so she petitioned the City Council for permission to marry now and for assurances that the journeyman would be allowed to accede to his mastership after two years. The guild refused this request on the grounds that those two years could not be considered

legitimate training, since the journeyman would not be training with a master during this time.[23]

This situation arose several times in the Shoemakers Guild, with the guild always standing firmly on the regulations, which required journeymen to complete their training. Here again, this problem arose only in this guild, with the incidents in the Joiners Guild (Table 36) being similar, but arising from different circumstances. I am once more at a loss for an explanation why this situation was peculiar to the Shoemakers Guild, and can only observe that this was one more aspect of the problems with journeymen that occurred so frequently in this guild.

A third main reason for refusing a journeyman admittance to a guild was questionable moral character, either through illegitimate birth or through a dishonorable reputation. An incident in the Joiners Guild illustrates some of the issues involved. Hans Hötsch committed a crime, the precise nature of which is not clear, but which was some type of assault. For his crime he was imprisoned, fined and banished. After serving his sentence, Hötsch was reconciled by the city and allowed to return, but the guild would not allow him to become a master, because of his crime. We have two sets of petitions, from 1615 and 1618, not from Hans but from his father, Georg, beseeching the city to force the Guild Overseer to allow his son into the Joiners Guild.[24] The father did not attempt to cover up his son's crime, but he did seek to excuse it as the result of youthful ignorance, a delictum resulting from "human foolishness" (mentschlichen blödigkeit).[25] The point that Hötsch repeated over and over was that his son had paid for his crime and had been

forgiven or reconciled by the city government, and that the guild had no right to persecute Hans. The problem was simply that the guild would not allow someone with such a past into the guild. This issue was of more concern to the guild than to the city, hence the difference in policy toward Hans. Three years after the original petitions were denied, Georg petitioned again.[26]

> I have been plunged into an unfortunate state by my son Hans. The Joiners will not recognize him as upright (redlich) because of a past mistake, long since atoned for. . . . I have tried every means possible. I have tried to go to the Sworn Master and to the Overseer, but have received nothing but that I must go to the city and request a special decree . . . so my son can make a masterpiece, so that he will be called upright (so kann er dardurch redlich gesprochen) and be allowed to work for me.

This last had become important, for no journeyman would work for Georg.[27] The effects of Hans' "foolish mistake" affected the father as much, if not more, than the son. The final significant area in the topic of mastership was in the Millers Guild, and concerned appointment to mastership. Only in this guild were masters appointed, which set this guild apart from most others in the city. In 1615 Hans Weinmüller died, leaving open the office (dienst) of Zunfftknecht under dem Miller handtwerckh.[28] The precise nature of this office is unclear, but it may have been connected with the mercantile aspects of the guild, since one appointee was a merchant (Huckher).[29] Another document refers to an applicant's knowledge of reading and writing, and "in the purchase of the stone", meaning the millstone.[30] Perhaps one of the Zunftknecht's duties was to act as go-between in such a critically important

purchase. Since all such transactions were long distance, a higher degree of literacy may have been valuable. In any event, the office was filled by appointment, upon the recommendation of the Verordnete and the approval of the City Council.

One area covered by many petitions, but covered very little by the regulations, is the area of customer relations. Table 36 shows that this subject never came up in the Millers Guild or in the Shoemakers Guild, while the Barbers Guild was dominated by this type of petition. As might be expected, the type of craft largely determined the type of relations between master and customer. The petitions in the Joiners Guild were concerned with the quality of workmanship, while in the Barbers Guild the issue was medical malpractice. The lack of petitions in the other two guilds is also explained by the type of craft involved. Deceitful practice certainly took place in the Millers Guild, but the deception was perpetrated on the city government (avoidance of the sales tax), and master and customer were accomplices in this rather than enemies. In the Shoemakers Guild, no complaints were lodged mainly because the costs involved in petitioning, just in terms of lost time, were greater than the cost of the shoes. It is nevertheless interesting that not one complaint was heard in these guilds, for the image culled from popular literature is that shoemakers were dishonest and regularly perpetrated tricks on their unsuspecting customers. An early complaint about shoemakers comes from Berthold of Regensburg, in the thirteenth century.[31]

> You, shoemaker, you burn the soles and the
> leather and you say: see how thick they are! . . .

> So after he buys from you, he wears them scarcely a week. You deceiver! you trick many poor men. . . .

From 1441 comes a similar observation, that the shoemaker burns the soles until they crack so the farmer will think they are strong, but when the farmer actually wears the shoes, water pours in.[32] These examples make it appear that shoemakers were typically dishonest. The absence of complaints over a ten year span in a city with over one hundred master shoemakers speaks well of the masters' integrity. More than this, it speaks of the social ethic that, I believe, bound most masters very strongly. This ethic is generally called "workmanship", and though its social dynamics have never been described, I have no doubt that a description could be attempted using these sources.

The lack of complaints from customers in the Millers Guild is likewise interesting, given the general reputation of millers as thieves and scoundrels. "Mühlmahler - Roggenstahler" was one formula applied to millers. Two other sayings expressed the same sentiment: "The miller's hand takes hold of a thief every morning by the collar" (i.e., himself); and "it is lucky for the miller that the grain sack cannot speak".[33] A third source makes a more direct indictment: "The miller has the best swine in the whole land; he fattens them from the farmer's grain sack".[34]

How can we reconcile the complaints lodged in literature against millers and the lack of such complaints in the documents? The most likely explanation is that there were two types of millers, urban and rural. The latter dealt with persons who brought grain to the mill, took away the flour, baked their own bread and ate it. This relationship did not exist in the cities, where few citizens owned ovens and where the bakers and brewers were the miler's primary customers. What would the general public care if the miller cheated the baker? On the contrary, in an urban setting it was the baker who was reviled as a dishonest man. It should be noted that although joiners were generally regarded as trustworthy, twelve percent of the petitions in this guild were customer complaints.[35]

The most intriguing area of customer relations is the malpractice suits filed in the Barbers guild. The documents consisted wholly of petitions, issuing alternately from surgeon and patient, as each sought to reply to the arguments of the other. No Overseers Reports appeared, evidently because this type of conflict was not within the Overseer's jurisdiction. Neither the Barbierordnung nor the Baderordnung made provision for the settlement of such disputes, beyond that the fact that the Geschworne Meister had authority to set the fee if the two parties could not agree on a figure.[36] The issue usually was a failure to pay the surgeon his fees, with the patient claiming he was improperly treated and should not owe the money. Several such controversies occurred during the years 1610 - 1619, all long and involved. I have chosen a single controversy as an example, but the variations in details from one case to another were endless.

The case in question involved a surgeon, (Barbierer und Wundtarzt) Friedrich Bößman, and his patient, Anna Weilerin. The basic sequence of events was narrated by Weilerin in her first petition, which was the originating document.[37]

> When I fell in my cellar and broke my hand, I went to Bößman for help. He said that the hand would heal and that I should keep it bandaged for eight days. After the eight days there was no improvement, so he bandaged me again. After another fourteen days there was no improvement, and he bandaged me a third time, this time so tightly that I thought he would break my fingers. He kept this up for eight weeks. After this time he finally saw that my hand was now worse than ever.

After Bößman's treatments failed, he called in other doctors. The first, Doctor Numler, prescribed a potion — a Purgertrunckh -- which did not work. After eight days, a Doctor Kuenle was called in, who likewise could do nothing and who was critical of Bößman's methods.

At this point they called in Hans Hindersinger, a Sworn Master of the guild. He could not help either, so she asked and received permission, according to Weilerin, to seek out a doctor on her own. She went to Balthasar Schmidt, who examined her hand and declared that she had injured her hand from a fall. Seeing that it was badly swollen and could not be moved, Schmidt stated that Bößman had not correctly recognized the injury and by his treatments had actually caused harm. Schmid reported the case to Melchior Landtman, the Guild Overseer, whereupon the Sworn Master authorized a three florin fee for Bößman for the bandaging, eleven

weeks of consultation, and three weeks of business with the druggist. Weilerin proposed, on the contrary, that Bößman either heal her or pay her thirty florins to cover her costs and damages. Bößman, she said, should be required to heal her, for he had not understood her injury, while another had recognized its nature even after many weeks. His treatment had not cured her but had caused further great harm, to the extent that it had imperiled her life.

Bößman was not long in replying to Anna Weilerin's petition. His contention was that the injury was permanent and she could not have expected ever to regain full use of her hand and arm. Here occurs some technical terms, which are easy enough to translate literally but which are very difficult to interpret. Bößman says that he bandaged her (binden) and stretched her arm (streckhen). Despite these treatments, however, her hand developed a swelling (geschwülst). Bößman thought that the swelling may have been due to something he called feuchtigkeit von der leib (literally, "dampness of life"), a mysterious-sounding phrase that I cannot identify. To treat the feuchtigkeit, Bößman sent Weilerin to a Dr. Rumler, who also prescribed stretching the arm and who gave her a purgative (Purgertrunckh). The swelling went down, but quickly returned. Then, says Bößman, Weilerin asked to see Dr. Kneulin, who prescribed pills (Pillulen) for the feuchtigkeit.

From here on, Bößman's story diverges somewhat from Weilerin's version. Bößman contended that both Dr. Kneulin and the

Sworn Master agreed with his diagnosis of feuchtigkeit von der leib, and knew that he had done nothing untoward.[38]

> The only ones who criticize me, are the stupid oafs from the Council of Eselbaders (the Donkey Bathers!), an executioner's wife, and Balthasar Schmid (who treated her without my knowledge, contrary to guild rules). I should not be saddled with her expenses, because no one could help her and she did nothing to help herself, but only went here and there in her fickleness. . . and went to so many different people that it hindered her recovery, as can be proven by Herr Hindersinger.

In her second petition, Weilerin denied that she was injured as extensively has Bößman claimed. She also accused Bößman of reporting only the barest of facts to the Sworn Master and that the Sworn Master never carried out an inspection. The purgative given by Dr. Rumler did not work, contrary to Bößman's contention, and it was Rumler who suggested she see Dr. Kneulin. Weilerin claimed that Kneulin criticized Bößman's methods, but that Kneulin had since changed his story.[39] In his reply to Weilerin's second petition, Bößman repeated his earlier arguments, but launched a more personal attack on Weilerin herself.[40]

The controversy between Bößman and Weilerin occupied about twenty pages of written material and was one of the most extensive disputes that I found. It reveals a number of details about the relationship between patient and doctor. Most interesting is the customs regarding referrals. It is evident from these and other documents that there were medical specialists in Augsburg and that special cases were referred to them.

Disputes also arose over the fulfillment of contracts in the Joiners Guild. This work was often both expensive and extensive -- well worth litigation costs for the unsatisfied customer. One such case involved the master joiner Andreas Mülegger and the turner Daniel Müller. The item made was some type of elaborate chest or cabinet, on which Müller did extensive silverwork (he signed himself as a Silberdrechsler). The work was produced by Mülegger, but Müller was not at all satisfied and so refused to pay. Mülegger complained, with the result that the Sworn Master appraised the work and fixed a price for it. Müller then complained to the City Council that the price was too low and that the Sworn Master had not taken into account the fact that it took Mülegger a year to do the work, even though he had agreed to do it in three months. The Sworn Master then testified that he had taken everything into consideration in his appraisal and that the amount was legally owed.[41] In his reply, Mülegger asked the City Council to force Müller to pay, for the latter, said Mülegger, "has owed the money (Lidtlohn) for a long time now, and this is important to a working man (ein Handtwerckhs man) like myself".[42] Müller replied that the original price was far less than what Mülegger was now demanding, that the work had taken four times too long, and was poorly made. Moreover, Müller accused the joiner of having his twelve year old son do much of the work, without supervision. The workmanship was described by Müller in detail, using many obscure terms and phrases, but the sense of the description is that joints did not fit properly and parts were missing or were poorly designed.[43] Given all this, Müller argued, he should not be blamed for refusing

payment, but rather Mülegger should be forced to repair the mistakes he had made.

The outcome of this dispute is unknown, unfortunately, but the documents still shed light on a few points. The role of the Sworn Master, for example, appears to have been the same as in the Barbers Guild in this type of dispute: to examine the claims and the work, and to set a fair price. The instances that appeared in the Supplicationen were cases where the Sworn Master's arbitration had failed. There must have been many others where he succeeded. The documents also further clarify the mechanics of "bespoken" work. The joiner agreed to a price and a length of time, doing the work to the customer's specification. The work done by Mülegger took a year and cost 240 florins, a work of major proportions, though there were likely others even more extensive. Finally, Mülegger's concern over prompt payment, and the bickering over price, indicates that the entire amount was still oustanding, meaning the joiner had to endure all the costs during construction without compensation.

The area of customer relations is one of the most intriguing of all the topics found in the petitions. These disputes discuss in explicit detail the type of work done by the master, using a vocabulary that has long since been extinguished. They also show the attitudes of both parties in regard to fair play and honest workmanship, as well as the procedures for settling disputes within the guild. This one area alone could reveal much about the conditions and methods of work in early modern Augsburg.

Relations between master and employee -- whether journeyman, Knecht or apprentice -- were generally confined to the household and shop; they rarely spilled over into the public arena of the petitions. This can be verified by a glance at Table 36: there were eight such petitions in the Shoemakers Guild, four in the Joiners, five in the Barbers and only one in the Millers Guild. Of all these, none were disputes between journeyman and master. In the Millers Guild, there was one petition froa Knecht who had been fined for working illegally at a mill. He protested that the fine was excessive, and the city agreed.[44] The most interesting petitions in this area came from the Joiners Guild, and dealt with the hiring of additional Gesellen for large contract jobs. These documents shed light on the whole question of labor supply in the guilds.

It is generally accepted that early modern guilds were resistant to innovation and badly managed the labor supply.[45] These petitions from the Joiners support a more recent view that resistance to innovation made perfect economic and social sense once we understand the goals of both guild and council, and that in any event resistance was never complete.[46] A petition from around 1549, signed by fourteen masters, says in part:[47]

> We have a rule in our craft that no master may have more than one journeyman and one apprentice. Now, a few masters have taken on more than one journeyman. . . . There is much work in the city and many journeymen and apprentices, but there are not enough masters to employ them. . . . But look at Nuremberg and other cities: there, the master may have more journeymen. . . . We must not hinder native or foreign workers but rather help them. . . . So . . . allow each master two

> journeymen and one apprentice to live in his home and to build according to need. This will promote work and will support and improve the condition of ourselves, our wives and our children.

The attitude of the masters in this petition should be understood in relation to the nature and demands of their craft. Joiners did some construction work on contract, and these jobs varied widely in scope and in demand for labor. Due to the nature of the work, they could not hire day laborers but rather needed to hire skilled workmen on a temporary basis. One journeyman per master was no longer a reasonable limitation in 1549. The old regulation may have made sense when Augsburg was smaller, but by the mid-sixteenth century, when Augsburg was a boom town with a very high level of building activity, it was simply a burden. Faced with higher demands and a large, available labor pool, the masters sought to increase the standard size of their work crews.

The masters' request was granted, but it turned out not to be sufficient to meet the Joiners' needs. In the seventeenth century, the masters were chafing at the higher limit of two journeymen per master. The situation now, however, was different. Augsburg in the 1610's was a very large city, but it was no longer expanding.[48] The response to changed circumstances was to make requests on a practical, individual level, rather than to request a revision of the guild's regulations. There were a number of petitions wherein the master pleaded that the time allowed him by contract to complete the work was too short without the addition of more Gesellen.[49] He was careful to stipulate the number of additional workers to be used, the

length of the job, and that this exemption from the rule would apply to this job only. What is more, in the decree granting the petition, the same careful stipulations were reiterated.[50] Increases in work crews would now be on a job-by-job basis.

The petitions also indirectly indicate the attitudes of the City Council in regard to this issue. In granting the sixteenth century petition, the Council demonstrated that it was not opposed to the interests of the guilds; it was not blindly obstructionist, willfully keeping in check the economic aspirations of masters and journeymen alike. This is important to note, for this particular Council was the patrician government installed by force by Charles V and might have been expected to pursue just such "anti-guild" policies. Rather, what is manifested in the documents is an understanding of the needs of a particular craft and, in the seventeenth century petitions, a pragmatic approach to solving the fairly difficult problem of balancing an ideal of full employment with the reality of a fluctuating demand for labor.

The lines that separated one guild from another, or a guild from all outsiders, were always carefully drawn yet continually crossed. The situation arose in every guild (there was a long dispute between the millers and the bakers in the 1620's), though the issues involved naturally varied with each. In the petitions, guild relations most often took the form of conflict between the guild and some outsider, and concerned the outsider's right to transact some form of business. In the Barbers Guild, this was the right of someone to practice some form of medicine. In the Joiners Guild, it was the right of a

merchant to sell joined work, while in the Shoemakers Guild it was the right to buy and sell leather. All these cases were concerned with defining the boundaries of a guild, and are more proof that guilds were constantly undergoing or responding to change.

One of the difficulties faced by the Barbers and Bathers Guild was that medicine belonged not only to the regulated, professional world of the guilds, but also to the world of popular lore and home remedies. Everyone practiced medicine to some modest degree, and it was an easy and frequently-taken step from the healing of one's self and family to the treating of friends, neighbors, friends of friends, neighbors of neighbors and so on. The guilds tried to draw the line as clearly as possible: non-guildsmen could treat others only so long as they accepted no payment for their services. Problems arose when the patient gave the non-guildsman some gift, either out of genuine gratitude or as an attempt to disguise a payment as a gift. Two petitions from Ursula Weidnerin, the wife of a weaver, show how easily the line was crossed. They also shed light on the special position of female doctors, female patients and female maladies in a male profession. In her first petition, Weidnerin was already under penalty of fine.

> The Overseer of the Surgeons and Barbers has said that because I have treated a few people (ich mich etliche Personen zubinden) and received payment for it, I should be fined and forbidden by the City Council ever to do so again. . . . If the Council would examine the undersigned and question them, it would find that my work, which the Barbers would abolish completely, is salutary and useful. I swear before the City Council and Almighty

> God that I suffered from a malady and went to the care of the surgeons. For me, however, removal of the breast (ausser die Section unnd abnemung der Prust) could not help. So I prayed to God and He sent to me a special means through which I was cured, praise God (ein sonderbar mittle geschickht, dardurch mir widerumb, Gott lob, geholfen). . . . Then some women came to me, pleading with me greatly to help them the same way (sollich mitel auch mit zutheilen), and I who through God's aid had been helped, could not out of Christian love turn them away (auß Christlicher lieb unnd treu nit abschlegen mögen). I did not seek out these women, and I asked for no payment, except what they gave me of their own free will.

The petition was signed not only by Ursula Weidnerin but also by over twenty five other women, most of which signatures were actual autographs.[51]

In her second petition, for her first was denied on the grounds that she did in fact accept money and was not a master in the guild, Weidnerin stressed the special needs of the women under her care. She repeated that she denied the charges against her, remarking,

> . . . I have only minded my own business and what God has given me (allein was mir an meinem aignen leib begegnet, unnd wie ich aue disem mitel durch Gottes sonderbare schickung kommen anmelden miessen).[52]

There had been no complaints brought against her, she went on, and she had not harmed or brought injury to anyone. Frau Weidnerin then asserted that special circumstances obtained in her case.

> It is not seemly for a man to treat such womanly infirmities and injuries to the breasts, in which

> women are as learned as men (mit sollichem weiblichem gebrechen unnd schaden an den Prüsten also beschaffen, dz sie offt lieber erfarne weiber alß männer, von zucht unnd scham wegen gebrauchen, da man offt mueß mitel mit auspeugen unnd anderm fürnemen, so der männer thuen nit ist). Therefore, such a woman, when she is able, should be allowed by the city to treat rich and poor alike, day or night, without damage to her reputation (kain übel stand oder schad). I do little harm to the guild with this healing of women, which I do less for money than out of love and compassion for the afflicted.

Frau Weidnerin's petitions show that there were fringe areas to the surgeon's craft where others practiced as well. It must be kept in mind that Weidnerin was speaking also on behalf of her co-signatories, and that they probably agreed with the sentiment that it was not "seemly" for a man to treat breast infections. The theme of propriety was further reiterated in the phrase "womanly infirmities", for the German word used was "weiblichen", meaning "wifely". As the malady stemmed from complications associated with nursing, Weidnerin was emphasizing that these were wives and mothers, respectable women for whom propriety was important.

The impression received from these documents is that a woman so afflicted would go to a surgeon if necessary, but that she preferred to be treated by another woman. Weidnerin implies that women were inherently capable in such matters, and that decency would best be served by allowing her to practice. It seems entirely possible that there were a number of women practicing medicine within the city in addition to the many midwives. It will be recalled that Anna Weilerin went on one occasion to a woman (a

Nachrichters weib — an executioner's wife) about her hand, and that women are known to have practiced medicine in Nuremberg.[52]

Frau Weidnerin did not reveal the nature of the treatment (mittel) that she used, saying only that it was given to her by God. This was not a miracle cure in her eyes, but was a means of curing given miraculously for her to use for others. It seems likely that more than one quack or interloper got their start in this fashion. Afflicted with a disease or injury that the doctors could not remedy, the individual would have tried some cure on his own. When it miraculously worked, the person would have been convinced that it was a gift from God. Others, similarly afflicted and hearing of his amazing recovery, would naturally have approached the person for aid. It would be a rare individual who would hold the regulations of a guild that had failed to cure him above the gifts of heaven and the entreaties of the afflicted. Weidnerin asserted as much in her petitions. She sought out no patients, she avowed, but rather they came to her. Having been cured by God's help, how could she now deny God's mercy to others? She acknowledged the guild's rules and authority, but begged that they be laid aside in her case. The guild, of course, saw only the violation of its articles, and refused to permit Weidnerin to transgress further.

Occasionally, the guild as a whole needed to go to the City Council, either to defend itself against some charge, or to make a special request. The Shoemakers Guild contains examples of both types of petition. The former case involved a debt owed by the guild to Jacob Perneth of Weissenhorn, in the amount of 750 florins. The guild had borrowed the money

and had defaulted on the original loan. Perneth then made arrangements for the money to be repaid in monthly installments, but the guild was five month in arrears, so Perneth demanded immediate payment.[54]

That this guild was financially strapped is confirmed by a request for assistance in feeding the guild's journeymen. In 1612, six master shoemakers petitioned the City Council on behalf of their fellow guildsmen to the following effect:[55]

> During this time of dear grain, nearly all crafts and agencies have had to buy grain of inferior quality at inflated princes for their supplies (Vorrat). The weavers and dyers failed to lay in an adequate supply of grain, as, indeed, has our own guild, wherefore some of our poor journeymen have been hard pressed to survive. . . . We ask that a distribution of grain or money be made for our guild, so that we and our poor wives and children can come through this difficult time.

One final example in this category should be introduced, because of its expressive description of Augsburg during the dark days of the inflation of 1621 - 1622, known as the Kipper- und Wipperzeit. Due to the dislocations in the German economy, the value of coinage plummted during these years, bringing misery and wreaking havoc throughout the Empire.[56] The Millers Guild was directly affected by the disastrous inflation because the guild's prices were set by statute. The fixed price for a sack of malt in 1622 was four kreuzer, while for a sheaf of wheat it was six pfennige. "At these prices", observed the Verordnete of the guild, "the millers can barely pay their own debts". The millers themselves were more eloquent:[57]

> There has not been a time in our memory when conditions were, by God's will and grace, so difficult for us, as you in the City Council and civil offices well know. The little people and artisans (cleiner und handtwerckhßsleuth) of the city daily experience great want in the necessities of life and daily pray for an improvement in the situation. Many beg for spiritual mercy. The workers do not know from day to day where they will find work, nor the merchant his wares. People wonder where they will get money for bread and firewood.
>
> We, the millers, have suffered as much as anybody. We cannot be expected to continue like this indefinitely. Prices go up everywhere, but ours cannot. Normally we pay about ten florins for a whole Boden, but now we must pay 140 florins. Where we paid the farrier no more than four or five kreuzer, now it is thirty kreuzer. Likewise, to the Schaeffler, waggoner, saddler, leatherer and others who are needed by our craft, we formerly paid one florin but now pay five. For sackcloth we have paid three florins previously, but now pay about twenty four florins, and it is of inferior quality. The Kampf- und Wasserrad, Gründel, Beutelkasten, Sib, Wannen, Billen, Brenten, Mühlkarren, Roß, Schifundgeschirr, all are four times more than formerly. So it costs four or five times what it did previously to do our milling, yet to date we do not get higher prices. No guild can function under these circumstances.

The document went on to list the specific price increases requested, which amounted to a quadrupling of prices. The request was supported by the Verordnete, and was eventually granted the following month.[58] This document is stark testimony to the ravages of inflation, not least because it details the specific areas where the millers were most affected, and in so doing provides a unique catalog of the services and trades auxiliary to the craft of milling.

The final category in Table 36 is "Personal Requests". These were requests (sometimes complaints) that were more related to personal than to craft matters. For example, the shoemaker Hans Riß acceded to mastership upon his father's death. His father, however, owed a good deal of money, and the son asked the City Council that he not be held responsible for his father's debts.[59] In another case, the notary Daniel Schwarz requested a special favor on behalf of Daniel Ziegler.[60]

> Daniel Ziegler cannot travel, due to age and illness. He wants nothing more than to spend his final days in his native city, so he asks that the Hospital Keeper send out a cart and that he be allowed to die in the Hospital (Spital). This is an act of charity and will be repaid by Almighty God.

A third example of interest comes from the Joiners Guild. It is valuable because it sheds light on the cultural life of journeymen. Dated in 1616, the document was signed by "the journeyman joiners in common" (Kistlern gesellen alhie inns gemein) and was a request for a festival. They asked, specifically, that "some of the guild hold a free public procession" (etliche von handtwerckhern ainen freyen offentlichen zug jezuweilen zuhalten pflegen), with "games and music" (mit dem spil wanmal und pfeiffen), "costumes" (gefarbten kleiden), and "beautiful fireworks" (mit underlauff eines kunstlichen fewrwerckhs). They also wanted to stage a "comedy of complaints", perhaps a satire (Gleichfals eine comoediam von klag der gesellen über das leicht zue agiren). This festival, according to the document, had

been held seventeen years previously.[61] The petitions rarely speak of this side of guild life, and the existence of this document provides proof that such festivals had not passed away with the Middle Ages.

The petitions provide a means of comparing one guild with another by identifying the principal concerns in each. The examination presented here has shown that the Millers Guild was virtually free of internal problems, largely because the guild was dominated by the masters and the city. The barbers and joiners both had difficulties, but in different areas. With the former, it was customer relations, while with the latter it was accession to mastership, a theme that dominated the Shoemakers Guild to an even greater extent. Only these latter two guilds employed journeymen to a significant degree, and the frequency of complaints from this quarter would appear to confirm the general image of journeymen as unstable and troublesome.

The petitions are most valuable in shedding light on the principal components of guild history: city, guild and craft. Government policy can be found in actual application in the Supplicationen, and we can see how the government sought to implement policy at the individual level. Similarly, the petitions show the guild regulations at the point of enforcement rather that at the point of formulation. In both cases, the documents deal with practice instead of theory, bringing historical reality that much closer and providing a wealth of detail. The primary use of the petitions in regard to the craft also involves details -- the details of tools and techniques, and of specific economic conditions. The petitions studied here do not show significant

deviations between regulations and practices, but they do provide the materials for understanding and explaining the regulations. They also give depth and shading to rules that otherwise could be interpreted only at face value.

NOTES

1. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Supplication, Appollonia Negkassin, 1549, GSLM# 581,003.

2. H.A., Schuhmacher, Peter Jorgen, Supplication, 1548, GSLM# 469,945.

3. H.A., Schuhmacher, Georg Seltman, Supplication, 29 October 1613, GSLM# 548,059.

4. H.A., Schuhmacher, Georg Seltman, Supplication, 21 November 1613, GSLM# 548,059.

5. H.A., Kistler, Martin Weiss, Supplication, 16 February 1613, GSLM# 534,067.

6. H.A., Kistler, Jacob Weiss, Supplication, 4 June 1613, GSLM# 534,607.

7. H.A., Kistler, Jacob Weiss, Supplication, 15 June 1613, GSLM# 534,067.

8. H.A., Schuhmacher, Martin Baur, Supplication, 27 January 1611, GSLM# 548,059.

9. H.A., Schuhmacher, Martin Baur, Supplication, 26 February 1611, GSLM# 548,059.

10. H.A., Schuhmacher, Martin Baur, Supplication, 10 October 1613, GSLM# 548,059.

11. H.A., Schuhmacher, Apolonia Gerbstin, Supplication, ca. 1613, GSLM# 548,059.

12. H.A., Schuhmacher, Martin Baur, Supplication, 26 April 1614, GSLM# 548,059.

13. H.A., Schuhmacher, Martin Baur, Supplication, 10 January 1615, GSLM# 549,059.

14. H.A., Schuhmacher, Hans Möner, Supplication, 3 March 1611, 30 April 1611, 20 August 1611, 21 September 1611, 29 April 1614, 28 June 1614, 18 October 1614, and 15 November 1614, GSLM# 548,029. H.A., Schuhmacher, Maria Röstin, 3 January 1612 and 17 March 1612, GSLM# 548,059. H.A., Schuhmacher, Anna Mönerin, 30 June 1612 and 28 July 1612, GSLM# 548,059.

15. H.A., Kistler, Jacob Dünzler, Supplication, 13 July 1610, GSLM# 534,607.

16. H.A., Kistler, Verordnete Bericht, no date, GSLM# 534,607.

17. H.A., Kistler, Jacob Dünzler, Supplication, 29 July 1610, GSLM# 534,067.

18. H.A., Kistler, Jacob Dünzler, Supplication, no date, GSLM# 534,067.

19. H.A., Schuhmacher, Sebastian Seüdel, Supplication, 2 March 1610, GSLM# 548,059.

20. H.A., Schuhmacher, Georg Erhardt, Supplication, 3 September 1615, GSLM# 548,059.

21. H.A., Schuhmacher, Michael Secklmair, Supplication, 9 May 1617, GSLM# 548,059.

22. H.A., Schuhmacher, Barthlmew Dermel, Supplication, 24 July 1614, GSLM# 548,059.

23. H.A., Schuhmacher, Anna Preßlerin, Supplication, 28 July 1616, GSLM# 548,059.

24. H.A., Kistler, Georg Hötsch, Supplication, 31 October 1615, GSLM# 534,607.

25. H.A., Kistler, Georg Hötsch, Supplication, 6 October 1615, GSLM# 534,607.

26. H.A., Kistler, Georg Hötsch, Supplication, 26 May 1618, GSLM# 534,607.

27. H.A., Kistler, Georg Hötsch, Supplication, 21 June 1618, GSLM# 534,607.

28. H.A., Müller, Davidt Kümmerlin, Supplication, 9 May 1615, GSLM# 466,463.

29. H.A., Müller, Georg Miller, Supplication, 28 May 1616, GSLM# 466,463.

30. H.A., Müller, Jacob Straus, Marthin Heiglin and Hans Megllin, Supplication, 5 January 1619, GSLM# 466,463.

31. Wissell, Handwerksrecht, Vol. I, p. 429.

32. Wissell, Handwerksrecht, Vol. I, p. 431.

33. Wissell, Handwerksrecht, Vol. I, p. 439.

34. Danckert, Unehrliche Leute, p. 128.

35. Wissell, Handwerksrecht, Vol. I, p. 450.

36. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ordnung, Article 28, 1638, GSLM# 581,006.

37. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Anna Weilerin, Supplication, 17 December 1611, GSLM# 581,005.

38. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Friedrich Bößman, Supplication, 22 December 1611, GSLM# 581,005.

39. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Anna Weilerin, Supplication, 29 December 1611, GSLM# 581,005.

40. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Friedrich Bößman, Supplication, 7 January 1612, GSLM# 581,005.

41. H.A., Kistler, Verordnete Bericht, Sworn Master, Bericht, 12 September 1613, GSLM# 534,607.

42. H.A., Kistler, Andreas Mülegger, Supplication, 14 September, 1613, GSLM# 534,607.

43. H.A., Kistler, Daniel Müller, Supplication, 24 September, 1613, GSLM# 534,607.

44. H.A., Müller, Hans Kümmerlin, Supplication, no date, GSLM# 466,463.

45. For a review of this interpretation and an effective rebuttal of the same, see Sylvia Thrupp, "The Gilds", Cambridge Economic History, Vol. 3, pp. 272-279.

46. See Christopher R. Friedrichs, Urban Society in an Age of War: Nördlingen, 1580-1720, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979, pp. 258-287 and 296-297. Friedrichs notes the mechanics of protectionism; Mack Walker concentrates more on the sociological aspects. Mack Walker, German Home Towns, pp. 88-92. Gerald Soliday, on the other hand, looks at the facts but still sees only stubborn conservatism. Gerald Soliday, A Community in Conflict. Frankfurt Society in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries, Hanover, N.H.: The University Press of New England, 1974, pp. 145-146.

47. H.A., Fourteen Sworn Masters, Supplication, 1549, GSLM# 534,604.

48. Joachim Jahn, "Augsburgs Einwohnerzahl im 16. Jahrhundert - Ein Statistischer Versuch," Zeitschrift för Bayerische Landes- geschichte 39 (1976): 391; and Aloys Schreiber, "Die Entwicklung der Augsburger Bevölkerung vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts," Archiv för Hygiene und Bakteriologie 123 (1939-1940), 104-109.

49. See, for example, H.A., Kistler, Jacob Dietrich, Supplication, 8 May 1610, GSLM# 534,607.

50. H.A., Kistler, Decretum in Senatu, 5 October 1610, GSLM# 534,607.

51. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ursula Weidnerin, Supplication, 4 October 1612, GSLM# 581,005. The manner of these signatures is of interest in its own right. Most women used the feminine "-in" ending on their last names. Some went further, identifying themselves as the wife or widow of some man, while others designated a place -- either their home or perhaps their current residence. A few added their occupation, after the fashion of a man.

52. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Ursula Weidnerin, Supplication, 23 October 1612, GSLM# 581,005.

53. Peters, Heilkunst, p. 46.

54. H.A., Schuhmacher, Jacob Perneth, Supplication, 23 April 1611 and 4 May 1611, GSLM# 548,059.

55. H.A., Schuhmacher, Six Masters, Supplication, 30 June 1612, GSLM# 548,059.

56. Redlich, Die deutsche Inflation, passim.

57. H.A., Müller, The Assembled Millers of Augsburg, Supplication, 2 July 1622, GSLM# 466,463.

58. H.A., Müller, Decretum in Senatu, 9 August 1622, GSLM# 466,463.

59. H.A., Schuhmacher, Hans Cristianus Riß, Supplication, 21 May 1616, GSLM# 581,005.

60. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Daniel Schwarz, Supplication, 3 March 1618, GSLM# 581,005.

61. H.A., Kistler, Journeyman Joiners in Common, Supplication, 29 December 1617, GSLM# 534,607.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Three elements comprise the history of any guild: the craft, the city, and the formal organization of the guild itself. The craft was the most significant factor, but no picture can be called complete that does not take full account of all three. The guilds examined in the present study were analyzed in this manner, a primary aim being the description of four guilds that have received little attention from historians. The other principal aim was to compare the four guilds in structure and function in order to discover what factors set apart one guild from another. This approach permits identification of what was unique to each as well as what was common to all.

The common elements were those just mentioned: craft, city and guild. Craft was a common element in that it was the factor that determined what made each guild different from the others. The city provided a common framework and environment within which craft and guild operated. A guild was almost inconceivable outside its urban context, and although each guild had different relations with the city government, every guild was bounded and defined by the city in which it existed. The guild was common to all in the sense that, without a legally-constituted corporation, invested with privileges and endowed with officials and an Ordnung, a craft was without weight or substance. The officers, regulations and privileges were the embodiment of a guild and, again, though each was distinct, yet all had a similar purpose. All

the guilds studied served as units of civil administration, all were based around one or two cognate crafts, and all were staffed with officials and governed by rules whose primary goal was to secure a tranquil prosperity for both guild and city. Beyond these common themes lay a rich diversity of form and function.

The Millers Guild was unusual in almost every respect, from its relations with the city to the role of the master in the shop. The millers were few in number, were heavily regulated, and did not deal directly with the general public. Milling was capital and labor intensive, requiring technically complex machinery. Even the traditional ladder of apprentice - journeyman - master was either markedly different in the mills, or was missing altogether. Most of these differences arose from the miller's association with grain, a basic food, and from the unusual nature of his shop, which was really a processing plant.

Bread was vital to the city, and it was the City Council's responsibility to ensure that there was a steady and adequate supply of grain. Grain merchants, millers, and bakers were the keys to the bread supply, and each was carefully scrutinized by the government. Like all vital foodstuffs, grain was taxed at the point of sale, which bound the mills closely to the city's fiscal policies.[1] Milling could not be allowed to be an open industry, for it was too important to the political stability of the city; hungry people will eventually die, but first they tend to riot. For this reason, the city set the prices for milling and sent inspectors to the mills to make certain that the

miller was not cheating the city of its tax revenue. Inspectors and price regulations were unknown in the guilds of the Shoemakers, Joiners, Barbers and Bathers.

Another unusual aspect of this guild is the character and position of masters and journeymen. The guild regulations did allow for journeyman training and eventual accession to mastership.[2] The regulations were, however, noticeably brief. No mention of Gesellen appeared in the petitions, but all such were called Knechten. Furthermore, there is at least one example of appointment to mastership of a mill.[3] At the very least it appears that few ever could hope to become master of a mill, and that relations within the mill were in the nature of employer to employee. It is certain that some masterships were appointive positions, and it is possible that all the watermills in the guild were owned by individuals or institutions who then leased them to master millers. Windmills in a city were out of the question, but other forms of motive power, down to hand mills, may have driven mills that were actually owned by the miller himself. Perhaps at this modest level the masterpiece had some relevance, the miller being required to show that his flour would be of acceptable quality. Much more needs to be ascertained about the urban milling industry before further conclusions can be drawn.

Milling was also a craft apart because of the technology involved. While a watermill in no way represented the latest in technical skill, it was certainly much more complex than a shoemaker's bench or a joiner's glue pot.[4] The size and complexity of the machinery made it all but impossible for a new master to open up his own shop, for this would mean constructing a

new mill. The capital investment was simply too great. This is in contrast to the other three guilds, where the cost of starting a new shop was well within the reach of most masters. The complexity of the mill also created a high demand for workers who could assist the master in the various steps of milling.[5] The machinery, plus the many workers, made it possible for one shop to produce flour in great quantities, so that a handful of masters was sufficient to supply all the city's demand for flour. It could well have been that the master functioned as a technician and supervisor in the mill, caring for the machines, directing operations, and managing customer relations, but seldom actually operating the equipment. This again was in sharp contrast to other guilds, where the master was the principal craftsman and producer.

The mill was not unlike a factory. It required a large capital investment and several workers to operate it. The technical expertise of a specialist (the master) was needed to keep it running. He had to know how to buy, dress and install the millstones, as well as how to adjust them to a fine pitch. He had to understand the elaborate gearing system that transferred the lateral motion of water into the circular motion of the stones. The workers took in the grain, fed it into the mill, and stacked the sacks of flour for the customer to pick up, while the master supervised the relations with the customer. The flour itself went to bakers and brewers rather than to the general public. Unlike a factory, millers did not worry about the supply of raw materials, because the consumer was also the supplier. Heavily regulated, removed from retailing, with an assured supply and inelastic demand, millers enjoyed an economic security unknown in other guilds. At the same time, they

enjoyed far less freedom than did masters in other guilds. In early modern Augsburg, at least, the two factors were definitely related.

The very title of the Barbers and Bathers Guild indicates its distinctive characteristic: this was a guild that was in truth two guilds, and which eventually became two separate guilds. The second factor that set this guild apart from the others was the nature of its craft. Barbering was a service; barbers did not actually make anything. The stereotype of a craftsman is one of a master at his bench, skillfully constructing some object of functional beauty. It is important to bear in mind that not all Handwerksleute were engaged in manufacturing. Other points of significance about this guild are related to these two major points. The barbers were directly concerned with matters of public health. The guild had few workers, was very poor, and had an unusual type of shop -- the bathhouse. It should also be noted that the guild was entirely Protestant. All these elements made this guild, like the Millers Guild, very different from the historical stereotype.

The differences between the barbers and the bathers stemmed from differences between the two crafts, specifically in the presence of the bathhouse in the one and its absence in the other. The bathhouse was not unlike the mill in that the master required several employees (Knechten, not Gesellen), who could see to the many operations of a technically complicated operation, while the master acted as supervisor. Here, though, the master also worked as the principal craftsman, performing surgery not allowed to the Badknecht.[6] The bathhouse normally had several rooms with different

activities in each: saunas, hot baths, warm baths, cold baths, dressing rooms, plus some type of office and lobby or reception area. Patrons could receive massages, be bled, and receive medical treatment. They could also get a haircut and shave.[7] The master and his Knechten had to see to all these rooms and services, plus tend to the water supply and maintain water temperatures. Since food and drink were consumed at the baths, the master may also have had to double as caterer. All this is in sharp contrast to the barber's shop, where the master typically worked alone in a small shop, tending one patient at a time. The petitions give hints that the master barber actually depended more on his fellow barbers and on the apothecaries, using a well-developed system of referrals, than he did on journeymen. The regulations of the separated guilds show that most of the points where the articulen differed were in relation to the bathhouses and to employees, whether Knechten or Gesellen.

Because barbers and bathers did not make anything, but rather performed a service, things like prices and customer relations took on a different character. The differences were emphasized because the craft dealt with the basic human need for health care. Thus, for example, prices were often negotiated rather than set, since treatment for the same injury could be simple or extensive, depending upon complications. Because injuries could directly affect the patient's ability to earn money, conflicts over prices charged arose more readily. To take another example, it was very difficult to judge the workmanship of a service. The most a patient could do was to get a second opinion from another barber, like Anna Weilerin did in her dispute with

Friedrich Bößman. Because the service involved a person's health, it was natural to blame the barber when a treatment or operation failed. There was one other important corollary to the fact that this guild was involved in medicine: interlopers were common. Since everyone practiced home cures, it was difficult to draw the line between that and formal barbering. To be more accurate, the regulations show that it was easy enough to draw the line, but the petitions show that it was all but impossible to prevent people from crossing it.

The government of Augsburg paid particular attention to the Barbers and Bathers Guild because of its involvment in health matters, for the city had a direct interest anywhere the public health was affected. This was most apparent in the bathhouses. City and guild alike recognized the potential here for spreading contagious diseases, and sought to prevent this from occurring, to the modest limit of their medical knowledge.[8] Masters and officials in both guilds also had the responsibility for determining the cause of death in questionable cases and for reporting their findings to the City Council. They were also to interrogate any patient who bore signs of physical assault and to notify the City Council immediately.[9] This was one means used by the city to keep track of violent crimes within its walls, and was an important, if unsavory, civic duty borne by the guild masters.

With the joiners, we find a guild that begins to fit the stereotype of what a guild should be. It was a large guild, with masters and journeymen, and shops where beautiful works were made that were sold at market or were purchased right in the shop. The guild was beset with labor problems, as, we

are told, all guilds were by the seventeenth century. Yet this guild, too, deviated from the norm. Although not so deeply divided as the Barbers and Bathers Guild, the joiners were amalgamated with the chestmakers (Büchsenmachern).[10] More importantly, while retailing was a significant activity for the joiners, they also did work on contract, participating in construction projects or building elaborate cabinets, tables, altars and the like.

Contract work created a fluctuating demand for labor, which in turn created stress within the guild. The master wanted to be able to hire and fire workers with complete freedom, while the journeymen needed stability of employment. The journeyman also could not have his work on a contract job considered work merely for pay (gedingte arbeit); it had to be considered part of his journeyman's training. The regulations make it appear that the masters were strictly limited to two journeymen. The petitions however, reveal, that the normal procedure was to request an exception be made for a specific job, a specific duration, and for a specific number of extra Gesellen. Here is a case of both guild and city adjusting to unusual circumstances within a craft.

The Shoemakers Guild fits the traditional image of a guild more closely than any of the other guilds studied. Shoemakers were poor, but many had one or two journeymen. They made their product and sold it out of their shop or at the public market. Many journeymen had problems becoming masters, and it was here that the only atypical aspect of this guild appears: a number of journeymen could not become masters because they could not find wives, and they could not find wives because no one would marry them due to

their Catholic faith. Religious exclusivism was totally unexpected and remains unexplained, but the phenomenon of journeymen being closed out of a guild for one reason or another was not at all unusual. The masters had to contend with competition from cobblers, who sold shoes made from used leather. They also had some difficulty with supply. The guild was strictly retail -- no fortunes were made here — and in this, too, the shoemakers were typical. Not only in regard to the shoemakers, but also in regard to guildsmen in general, it should be kept clearly in mind that the masters were as much businessmen as they were artisans, and that skill in workmanship was no guarantee of success in the marketplace.

In every case with these guilds, the craft is seen to have been the crucial factor in determining the character of the guild, both in its administrative structure and in its actual operation. Because shoes cost little, for example, and were readily made, shoemakers were faced with competition, low profit margins, and general poverty. Because mills were expensive, on the other hand, millers faced no competition, so long as the city kept out foreign flour. There is no doubt that the most crucial step in understanding a guild is understanding the economic and technological parameters of the craft it regulated.

Scarcely less important than the craft was the city that was its home. The economic horizon of most crafts was bounded by the city walls. If a craft's market extended beyond the city, or beyond the city's Umland, then other factors must be considered, but few crafts ever expanded to so much as a regional level. Unfortunately, many of the pronouncements regarding guild

history are generalizations from the exceptional instead of from the typical case, because they have been based on evidence from crafts that operated in regional and international markets.

The city also provided the framework for the guild itself. Here it was the political aspect that was paramount, as the government's policy toward various sectors of the economy could help or hinder a guild's ability to meet new challenges.[11] The city also worked with the guilds at the level of daily operations. Thus, the city maintained a strict monopoly for the Millers Guild on milling that lasted for centuries, while it also helped the individual joiner hire extra skilled workers to meet his contract. Without a thorough knowledge of the city's administrative policies and structures, our understanding of the guilds will be severely restricted. Although this area was not explored in the present study, the social and cultural milieu of the city played a major part in shaping the attitudes and values of the individual guildsmen themselves, and is another aspect of the city that should be researched in relation to guild history.

Analysis of the guild itself, the areas of city and craft having been defined, should concentrate on its administrative aspects, for the guild was essentially an administrative organ. The definition of a guild, introduced in Chapter One, may now be placed in its proper context. A guild was the conscious and continuous expression of two forces, the city and the craft; which is to say, it was the product of two groups within the city -- the craftsmen and the City Council. The history of a guild is, in the strictest sense, the history of the interplay between these two groups.

Because guilds were essentially urban institutions, conclusions about them have relevance for urban history as well. The most significant finding in this regard is that the government was not hostile to the guilds. This is important to note, because the government of Augsburg was a patrician regime, forcibly installed by Charles V in 1549 and again in 1552. It directly ruled the guilds by appointing the Guild Overseer. If there had been any historical animosity between the ruling class and the working class, it would surely have appeared here in Augsburg. Yet this did not occur. On the contrary, city and guild apparently worked in close harmony in a variety of areas. This is not to deny the presence of conflict; it is only to assert that guild and city were partners, not enemies.

This should not be surprising, given the fact that the guilds were an integral part of the internal administration of the city. They were, in fact, one of the fundamental units of administration. Nor could it have been otherwise, not with the thousands of rules that existed governing a myriad of crafts, and not with the thousands upon thousands of special conditions and exceptions to those rules that forced someone in authority to make a decision every day of the week. This administrative mass was impossible to manage directly, and the city was unwilling to leave the craftsmen to their own devices. The guilds should be placed alongside the other urban institutions studied by historians, such as constitutions, schools, elites, city councils, population, and so on. The guildsmen, after all, were the tax-paying backbone of the community. They were the primary producers and consumers, and were the caretakers of the city's ideology and traditions. No history of a city

would be complete without acknowledging their role. Their importance in the Middle Ages is uncontested; I would contend that they were also important in the early modern era. Furthermore, the guilds are an ideal place to study the process of government, to examine the enforcement of policy as well as its formulation. As we have seen, when promulgated, a policy took on only one form, but in the day to day act of enforcement that policy could be varied to meet particular needs.

Guild history also has relevance for the social historian. As noted above, the guildsmen were full participants not only in the city's economic life, but in its social and cultural life as well. The statistics and other evidence presented in this study should make it clear that the guildsmen were the true urban middle class. Social historians and, ironically, historians of class, have ignored the guilds generally and have ignored the guild masters in particular. If the sources were too scarce to support research in this area, the oversight would be understandable, but this is not the case. There are sources almost without number, located in the Handwerker-Akten of Augsburg and other cities. These guild records are the most compelling reason why social historians should turn to the guilds in their analysis of early modern urban society. The thousands of documents that exist in these collections form a vast diary of the middle class running from the sixteenth century through the eighteenth and even into the nineteenth century. Only these sources speak with the voice of the common man, the armen Leute, the claine und Handwercks man.

The Thirty Years' War dealt Augsburg a tremendous blow. The combined effects of plague, famine and the three-year Swedish Occupation crippled entire industries for decades and ruined others forever.[12] As the data from the 1645 Musterbuch show, ten years after the Occupation the craft guilds were still struggling along at a third of their pre-war levels. Despite these losses, the city and the guilds did recover, and endured into the eighteenth century unchanged in their basic structure. Occupied again in 1703-04, this time by the French, Augsburg remained relatively stable while other European cities grew rapidly.[13] A city of continental significance in 1600 with 35,000 people, Augsburg was little more than a regional center in 1700 with 25,000.

The were two workers' revolts in eighteenth century Augsburg, the Shoemakers Strike of 1726 and the Weavers Revolt of 1794.[14] Both showed the strength of the guild system and the resolve of the city to support it. Even the loss of political independence in 1806 did not dramatically alter the guild structure in Augsburg.[15] Significant changes began in the 1830's as Germany began to industrialize, though not until thirty years later were the guilds studied here affected. The first changes occurred in the milling industry, with the proliferation of steam-powered roller mills capable of producing a far higher grade of flour than could millstones. These innovations occurred first in Switzerland and Hungary, and came early to the Swabian cities.[16] A little later, water and steam revolutionized the shoemaking craft. More importantly, the dissolution of the guilds in Bavaria (1869 - 1871) removed many trade barriers at about the same time that railroads made mass

marketing in the large rural markets a reality. Toward the end of the century, the beginnings of professional organizations quickly stripped barbers of their right to perform surgery. Joinery was the last to change, as fine domestic furniture continued to be hand made well into the twentieth century, long after political changes had put an end to the guild system.

The evidence from Augsburg leaves no doubt that the guild system was alive and well in the seventeenth century. The guilds studied here were stable, fully developed, and well suited to the needs of their members and their city. The diversity of form and function shown, even among these four guilds, is not a sign of disarray or medieval backwardness, it is a sign of successful adaptation to local conditions. This was the great strength of the guilds, that they were completely tailored to their local environment. The tailoring process, the means of adaptation, was precisely that dialogue between craftsman and government that produced the guild itself. The regulations and petitions chronicle this process, and they show that it was continuous and ever-changing. The guilds were a vital part of the early modern city; they could not have gone into decline without revolutionary effect on the city itself. Because the guilds were being continuously adapted by city and craft, they could not become anachronisms. Individual crafts could and did pass in and out of existence, but the system itself remained intact. Only when the dialogue between craftsmen and council stopped, did the guild system come to an end.

This is not the place to try to affix a date for the death of the guilds. The system itself was formally dissolved by political decree, yet many

guilds by 1870 had already disappeared, while others persisted in other forms long after the Prussian take-over. My concern here is with the seventeenth century, not with the nineteenth, and I should like to direct the attention of those who would trace the decline and fall of the guild system to the nineteenth century, where the event actually occurred. The evidence of morbidity presented by other historians for the early modern period does not document a death, it documents change. Once we admit the guilds back into the land of the living, we can begin to understand and explain those changes.

NOTES

1. Kelter, Obrigkeitliche Preisregelung, p. 37.

2. H.A., Müllerordnung, 1549, Articles 28 - 30, GSLM# 466,116.

3. H.A., Müller, Thonia Strauss, Supplication, 5 May 1615, GSLM# 466,463.

4. Storck and Teague, Flour, p. 98.

5. The statistics show that this guild had the highest ratio of journeymen to master. See Chapter Six.

6. H.A., Baderordnung, 18 September 1638, Article 6, GSLM# 581,006.

7. Peters, Arzt, pp. 34 - 39.

8. H.A., Barbierer und Bader, Supplication, signed by the Unnderthanig unnd gehorsam Burgere Gemainlich die Bader zu Augspurg, 1550, GSLM# 581,003.

9. H.A., Baderordnung, 18 September 1638, Article 27, GSLM# 581,003. This article is entitled Gemeiner Aid Aller Maister von Badern. There was an identical Article 27 for the barbers.

10. H.A., Kistler, articles 89 - 95, no date, GSLM# 534,607, deal with the chestmakers.

11. Rapp, Venice, p. 112.

12. See Laber, Schweden, pp. 34 - 37 for a summary of the devastating effects of the Occupation.

13. Annemarie Faulmüller, Die Reichsstadt Augsburg im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg, (Augsburg, 1933), pp. 57 - 64.

14. See Wissell, Handwerks Recht, Vol. I, pp. 525 - 552 for a narrative of the Shoemakers Strike; and V. Haertel, "Die Augsburger Weberunruhen von 1784 und 1794 und die Struktur der Weberschaft Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts", ZHVSN 64/65 (1971): 121 - 268 for the Weavers Revolt.

15. Bettger, Handwerk, p. 176.

16. Bennett and Elton, Corn-Milling, Vol. III, pp. 306 - 307.

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