

# HIS 101--26 Commerce © December 2, 2000

Raymond J. Jirran

## A. *Introduction*

Just as Modern Europe has depended upon commerce for the development of capital, so has commerce depended upon technology for the development of global superiority. The course goal for this topic is **to evaluate the impact of technology upon Western civilization** according to a criteria of the people, places, and times involved and the degree of certitude warranted.

## B. *Technology*

### 1. Agricultural

Reference has already been made to this section in Topic Twenty-three, Mary, Section G. Animal Husbandry. Between 1066 and 1500 horsepower supplemented and replaced human power in English agriculture. The Doomsday Book<sup>1</sup> revealed that horses had not yet become an agricultural resource. Horses began to grow in economic importance during the Twelfth Century. By the later Fourteenth Century, horses accounted for about a third of the work animals. Cart horses, as distinct from workhorses, were particularly useful for pulling produce to market beginning with the Twelfth Century. Horses increased the velocity of goods circulating in medieval regional economies, thereby increasing productivity.<sup>2</sup>

Gradually, the use of the horse permeated the economy. During the Thirteenth and early Fourteenth Centuries, peasants used the lighter horse plow and horse hauling, rather than large ox teams. Peasants with less than ten acres were particularly partial to horses because of their greater versatility for plowing and hauling. Peasants only needed expensive horses during intermittent periods of heavy work. Peasants with more than ten acres acted like their lords, and used proportionately more oxen as draft animals.

### 2. Military

Because of recent technological advances, medieval technology has great attraction for contemporary students. The problem is that while so much technical development is military, the medieval monastic chroniclers were not technically minded. Rather than ignore or lightly pass by military history, a more meaningful approach would be to study the relationship between societies and the military systems they supported.<sup>3</sup>

The first distinction is between command societies like the Roman, Persian, and Ottoman Empires, and market societies, like the national states of the West. Command societies had leadership elites who were jealous of their authority and suspicious of the kind of innovation that unfettered commercial activity encouraged. In other words, slaves worked just fine, and there was no need to develop other laborsaving devices. In command societies, politics determined what would be true, rather than the other way around, truth determining what would be politic.

In command societies, military weaponry was used to ensure domestic tranquillity, rather than expand. Expansion came only as a result of ensuring peace at home. For example, the medieval Chinese empire might have continued to the West, by rounding Africa before the Europeans did in the opposite direction. Instead, the Chinese forbade the building of ocean-going vessels and stopped activities in the Indian Ocean. China forbade the building of ocean-going vessels in order

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to ensure that no one would get ahead of the running classes, classes that were uninterested in ocean-going vessels.

Once the Western nation states had capital to spend from commercial activity, entrepreneurs competed with each other to develop better ships and weapons. The arms race began in the Thirteenth Century and continued to the present. Because of innovations associated with the military, the former political status quo began to totter. With the Soviet Union now broken up, the world has become a more stable place. Truth is one step ahead of politics.

## 3. Financial<sup>4</sup>

From the Tenth to the Fifteenth Centuries, merchant capital was involved in the development of the wool trade between England and the Netherlands; the growth of Florentine cloth production; the development of Venice; the establishment of plantations in the Azores; the Sicily of Frederick II (Hohenstaufen, 1194-1250, described in the seventh edition of Chambers on pages 273, 307, 335, and 336);<sup>5</sup> Genoese shipping; and papal splendor. By the end of the medieval period, merchant capital was providing subsistence for surplus population among the peasants. Commerce did not really get going, however, until Sixteenth Century England.

### **C. Female Occupations**

Men and women workers were separated by several characteristics during preindustrial Europe. Women workers generally had less formal training than men did. Women were generally trained informally either by the family, charitable institution, or employer. Even trained women were disproportionately found in low-status, marginal positions within the individual trades. What women did was usually determined by either their fathers or their husbands. Independent women were usually confined to low-status and low-paying jobs, such as domestic service and prostitution, selling foodstuffs, and brewing ale for profit. Household duties prevented women from specializing in trades.<sup>6</sup>

Women fared better in the work force when population was down, as it was during the Black Death Fourteenth Century. Things got worse as population increased in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. Legislation in the towns contributed to the worsening.

### **D. Conclusion**

By studying the various aspects of technology in agriculture and the military and by examining the roles of women in the medieval economy, the student is better able to evaluate and better come to terms with the roles of both technology and women in the developing economy. Technology enabled women to enter commercial endeavors by upsetting the established patriarchal organization of society. The course goal for this topic is to evaluate the impact of technology upon Western civilization. The development of technology represents the development of truth over politics. Students are reminded to read, study, think, and develop a thought.

Supplement

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## **E. Introduction**

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The Commonwealth and the college have a special interest in work-force development and the economic dimensions of global intercourse. That interest is nourished by the comments that follow. The full ramifications of the facts are still in the early stages of scholarly debate.

Dr. Jirran offers what he feels will stand the test of time. Because without facts, there can be no history, Dr. Jirran hesitates to assume too much about the ambiance that made the facts possible. The facts are set forth because of the environment that made them possible, rather than as details designed to fill out a description.

## **F. Military Technology (continued)**

Changing relationships between human and non-human forms of energy changed relationships among people themselves. As the military freeze is developing today, so are the relationships among people. Scholars question whether command societies are being reinstated as conformity is rewarded and innovation penalized.

The professor brings a keen interest in Black history to the study of Western civilization. The labor market in southwestern Europe shifted from slavery to feudalism. The transformation occurred in Spain about 1000. From the time of the Romans to 1000 slavery and free peasant status persisted, side-by-side.<sup>7</sup> In 1850, approximately ten percent of Black Virginians were free.<sup>8</sup>

About 1000, even free peasants were forced into servitude. The change was violent as civil war led to recruitment of troops and as order based on law broke down. The military technology involved is the rise of castles in the first half of the Eleventh Century. The same castle-building chronology developed farther north.

There is a heretical Nestorian monument inscribed in China in 781. According to widely accepted tradition, Thomas the Apostle took Christianity to India. Nestorianism is the heretical belief that there are two persons, one divine, and the other human, in Jesus. The orthodox belief is that there is one person, but two natures in Jesus, one divine, and the other human.<sup>9</sup> The Roman Empire extended Christianity into Asia. For all of this, Christianity did not make the statement about the relationship between truth and politics, a major cause of the difficulty being the failure to translate the Scriptures into Arabic or Chinese.<sup>10</sup>

## **G. Financial Technology (continued)<sup>11</sup>**

### 1. Theater Repercussions

Between 1550 and 1750, a resonance developed between the theater and commercial activity. First, commercial activity garnered the surplus suitable for that leisure required for developing theater. What happened was disruptive, as guidelines suitable for relatively small markets became adapted to larger and larger market places. These guidelines demanded a parallel development in

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social identity. This development was reflected in the new realism of Tudor literature and elsewhere, but best of all on the Renaissance stage.

On the stage, the soliloquy and the aside, as found for example in Shakespeare, added a new reflexivity to culture. Theater changed from a sort of divine commentary on human folly to a secular commentary on human change.<sup>12</sup> Following the Revolt, Protestants suppressed festivals honoring traditional cults and saints. A secularization of festivals and theater resulted. Shakespeare (1564-1616) represents that secularization.<sup>13</sup> By the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign (1558-1603), plays and ballads had ceased to be acceptable forms for religious expression.<sup>14</sup>

Whereas earlier God had been associated with basic assumptions, now earthly interests themselves formed the basic assumptions. For this reason, the Puritans suppressed the theater in 1642. After that, theater became more a spectator before social customs, than an interrogator of those customs. As time would tell, religious politics was not able to suffocate the truth in Western civilization.<sup>15</sup>

Shakespeare is noteworthy for connecting intentions and consequences. Shakespeare invites the audience to mull over what the actors are about to do and to anticipate the results. This was different from medieval plays in which causal relationships went undeveloped. Audiences had to learn how to watch the plays of Shakespeare, somewhat as many students have to learn how to absorb the class presentations of Dr. Jirran.<sup>16</sup>

A few more lines will take the history of the English theater into the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. By the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, all England was interested in the play. There was no television. The theater was a "kind of cultural church wherein national character and values like freedom, fairness, and spiritual egalitarianism were celebrated in a kind of secular worship: ritualist, participatory, edifying and uplifting, and cathartic."<sup>17</sup>

Dr. Jirran presents history as an interplay between the intention of the historian and the resultant concept of identity associated with whatever is studied. Students have to learn how to watch for that. Dr. Jirran does not present history as either devoid of meaning or as entirely objective and "true." How to suggest this with any sense of humility seems next to impossible. The suggestion is made, nonetheless, in the hope of enabling the student to learn.

## 2. Church Repercussions

The history of religious participation in the economy is relevant to the history of Western civilization. The history of religion is more easily told as a history of scandal than as a history of the life of God through grace in the hearts, minds, and souls of humans. The bishops of Florence were very involved in the economy of their times from 1000 to 1320.<sup>18</sup>

Florentine bishops had no long range economic goals, but they did have immediate interests versus aristocratic families, rural communes, nearby towns, urban guilds, popes, and cathedral chapters. During this period bishops passed from territorial lordship, involving loose control over large areas, to land lordship, tighter control over smaller areas.<sup>19</sup>

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During the Eighteenth Century, capitalism finally found its philosophic justification in the work of Adam Smith and the Scottish School. Before that, no one had effectively thought through what capitalism meant. Secular market roles, rather than any divine commentary, socialized humanity. The fact that a market fully based on commodity exchange did not develop until the Eighteenth Century means that changes took place gradually, extending over some two hundred years, from 1550 to 1750.

## 3. Banking Repercussions

Scholars used to think that the difference between medieval and modern economies was the difference between personal and impersonal financial networking. Important facts do not support this dichotomy. In Eighteenth-century Paris, before the establishment of modern banks, notaries had already organized capital. Notaries, by their work personally knew who needed capital and who had capital. Notaries functioned as intermediaries enabling both men and women alike to participate in market economies. Research in Paris agrees with similar research in Europe, the Americas, and Asia.<sup>20</sup>

More than twenty percent of all Parisian lenders were independent women. Women were three times as likely to lend as to borrow and women loaned three times as much as they borrowed. These investments enabled the women to maintain their independence.<sup>21</sup>

## H. *Feminism*

David Herlihy, one of the co-authors of Chambers, was a scholar recognized for researching the roles of medieval women. Some Herlihy's works are cited in the seventh edition of Chambers on page 350. Herlihy lacked an interpretative framework within which to explain his findings. That lack is apparent throughout Chambers.<sup>22</sup>

The professor feels obliged to warn students against a traditional view that "proper legal inequality [is located] in the dictates of natural law: that is, innate sexual difference, inferior female physiology and carnality that requires male governance."<sup>23</sup> Between the First and the Fourth Centuries, the early Church Fathers feminized the flesh by associating man with reason and woman with the body. In the High Middle Ages, the idealized woman dehumanized women. At work at a comparable time in Japan is an "anthropological metanarrative that equates men with culture and women with nature." The net result is that there does seem to be a Japanese version of "medieval misogyny."<sup>24</sup>

What occupations women held in preindustrial Europe is still being studied, but some good work is available on Leiden and Cologne.<sup>25</sup> Leiden cannot be found on "Map 16.3 The Growth of Cities, 1500-1800," on page 572 in the seventh edition of Chambers.<sup>26</sup> Leiden would be near Rotterdam. Cologne is on the Map 10.1 Europe Ca. 1250 on page 333 in the seventh edition of Chambers.<sup>27</sup> Both Leiden (spelled Leyden) and Cologne are on Map 11.2 The Hanseatic League and the Goods it Traded in the Fourteenth Century on page 360 in the seventh edition of Chambers. What happened at Leiden and Cologne seems too specialized for the general lecture.

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Neo-Marxists cut through issues of race and gender with questions of class. The relationship between women and patriarchy from ancient times through the transition to feudalism and, then, to capitalism is at the cutting edge of current scholarship. In breaking the ground in England, Mary Murray concludes that women were not property in Anglo-Saxon or feudal times. She also regards capitalism as enabling women to work their way out of property status. As a Neo-Marxist, she may be expected to prioritize class over gender.<sup>28</sup>

## 1. Leiden

Leiden produced a heavy cloth out of English wool, called drapery, from 1430 until 1590. Women were permitted to dye and finish the drapery, but were excluded from weaving and fulling.<sup>29</sup> Fulling is described in the seventh edition of Chambers on page Women were permitted to sell good quality cloth for the same price as men. Women were also permitted to weave linen and make crude wool-blend cloth.

Originally, Dr. Jirran offered no reason as to why. Students, nonetheless, keep wondering why this happened. Dr. Jirran suggests that women were restricted in order to keep the family stable. Women had little choice but to nourish and nurture children and were given little chance to compete with men.

To get an idea of numbers, the population of Leiden was approximately 14,000 in 1498. About twenty per cent of the nondomestic work force was women. No more than 100 were dyers and another 100 did textile-related work. This meant that about ten per cent of the nondomestic women workers were in cloth-related industry. Women also made pots, ran bakeries, operated pubs, and engaged in inn-keeping, clothmaking, and retail merchandising of edibles, farm products, and items for the household.

Married women and widows had a higher economic labor status than spinsters did. Research indicates that these women may have simply been more ambitious, healthy, intelligent, and attractive than their unmarried sisters. Additionally, they may have used the status of their husbands to get higher entry into the labor market.

There may have been more widows that we may expect. Research in Pennsylvania between 1750 and 1850 reveals that about ten percent of the adult females were widowed and that half of all married women were widowed during the course of their lives, usually in their late forties. The professor wonders what proportion of all married men were widowed during the course of their lives. Due to deaths from childbirth, the professor would look for more than half.<sup>30</sup>

Economic prosperity enables people to have that leisure required for education. The University of Leiden was founded in 1575.<sup>31</sup> In the Eighteenth Century, Leiden was the most renowned center of medical education in Europe. Many Scottish physicians studied in Leiden before working in the American colonies.<sup>32</sup>

In the Middle Ages, drapery was the most important industry in Douai, another of the Low Countries. In the Middle Ages, city customs of the Law Countries permitted women to hold common ownership of all conjugal property. As time went on and customs changed to written

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contracts, women lost their right to own property. This development took place from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries. In cities of the Low Countries, customary law, on the one hand, recognized the ability of women to manage and create property. Contract law, on the other hand, implied women could only perform these tasks under the supervision of a male, e.g. husband, father, son. The law was not entirely negative toward women in that the law protected women from their husbands squandering what the women brought into their marriages.<sup>33</sup>

These changes in customs and law reflect changes in family structure. Between 1300 and 1550 the nuclear family was the norm. Toward the end of this period, the family became less regarded as a unit of production and, consequently less in need of protection. While emotions may have had more to do with it, legal documents indicate that emotion was still subordinate to mundane concerns. Families were formed with a view to preserving wealth and those crafts that brought wealth, rather than with accumulating and pursuing new wealth.<sup>34</sup>

In the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries the Dutch did accumulate and acquire new wealth as their trading empire circled the globe, from Japan, to Africa, to America. The University of Leiden is Protestant. Leiden is part of the West Netherlands.<sup>35</sup> While there were more Catholics in the Netherlands, the politics were controlled by the Calvinists. By 1600, the Netherlands had acquired a reputation for tolerance. The professor regards any sort of tolerance as basically tolerance for truth in the face of politics.<sup>36</sup>

The Dutch had an interesting toleration of Blacks. The Dutch certainly maintained the medieval tradition of a Black Magi. St. Nicholas, however, is also Dutch. Part of the St. Nicholas tradition includes his Black servant, who hands out gifts to good children and switches to bad. This Black servant was the cause of many pleasant memories for the Dutch. With this paragraph, the professor is suggesting a third form of ethnic racism: British, Spanish, and now Dutch. Allison Blakely, the same scholar who studied the Dutch, also previously studied Blacks in Russian history. While Russian racism may provide yet a fourth version, the professor is unfamiliar with it.<sup>37</sup>

Blakely objects to the notion that a Calvinist capitalist world view "resulted in especially rigid racial attitudes."<sup>38</sup> Blakely is a scholar from the United States who knows more than one European language, a phenomenon. The Dutch and the Africans were the primary participants in the transatlantic slave trade during the Seventeenth Century.

## 2. Cologne

While Leiden had a population of 14,000, Cologne had 30,000. Cologne produced metal, silk, gold embroidery, cloth, and spices. Three of the artisan guilds were restricted to women: yarnmakers, goldspinners, and silk makers. These women were not permitted to vote and their guilds had "little political status." Their guilds were run by men.

The thirty-six other Cologne guilds excluded women. In Cologne, women could also enter equal partnerships with men in baking, linen weaving, silk embroidery, brewing, needle making, and belt producing. Women were able to engage in the export-import trade, frequently as agents of their husbands or heirs. These were not the wives of capitalists, but of craftsmen. These women were also sometimes artisans in their own right.

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In Cologne, the capitalistic society permitted women to hold high-level jobs; in Leiden, the noncapitalistic drapery production only offered middle-level positions. As time went on, women were increasingly excluded so that by the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, the craft guilds began to attack family enterprise. By 1600, Leiden was a Dutch, ((1274)) Calvinist town, whereas Cologne remained Catholic. Protestantism contributed to the growth of capitalism in Holland. There did seem to be more of a place for women in Cologne than in Leiden. More research is needed to determine what the interplay of the market with religion meant for these women.

Only in the 1980s did historians begin systematically to study women in German history. Cologne is part of the Germanies. Some of the activities women do, men tend to overlook. During the Protestant Revolt, prostitutes forced women who secretly practiced prostitution to declare themselves openly. Since prostitution was legal, this action reinforced police regulations. Abortion is a similar activity. In early modern times, woman had many choices, by the Twentieth Century, the medical profession controlled all viable choices. At all times, those choices were severely limited by laws and social controls.<sup>39</sup>

A word on the role of modern technology with abortion seems appropriate. In 1994, mifepristone (brand name RU 486) and misoprostol are the two drugs of choice. In Hampton Roads, there is an M and M bridge, Monitor and Merrimack. In medicine, there is an M and M procedure, named from the two drugs. The Food and Drug Administration began testing the drugs in the United States in November 1994. The drugs eliminate the need for a surgical procedure. The surgical procedure can be less traumatic, taking less time to perform and less time to regain original health. Surgery is still required in four percent of the cases because the fetus is not completely expelled by the drugs.<sup>40</sup>

Before the Church revised Canon Law in 1917, the *Corpus iuris canonici* forbade the practice of surgery.<sup>41</sup> John Lahey writes that Gratian, who died in 1140, composed the most complete and scientifically organized collection of Church law in the Middle Ages. Gratian was used as a common text until the first codification of canon law in 1917.<sup>42</sup> An unknown author writes that Saint Raymond of Penafort finished the *Quinque Libri Decretalium* (Lat., "Five books of Decretals") in 1234, Decretals that remained in effect until 1917.<sup>43</sup>

Surgical abortions are usually performed only after seven weeks. Drug abortions can be done earlier. Political controversy envelops this use of technology to perform abortions. The technology is available to the women of Europe and seems politically dormant in the United States.<sup>44</sup>

### 3. Pirenne

On October 12, 1999, the professor found it hard to believe that he only mentioned Henri Pirenne in the next course, in the lecture on Marx. Pirenne is mentioned as part of the Recommended Readings for Chapter 6, on page 199 in the seventh edition of Chambers. With his classmates as a student of Coburn Graves of Kent State University, the professor regards Pirenne as the premier thinker of the Middle Ages. Others work to modify the Pirenne thesis, but the thesis itself, withstands the tests of time. The Pirenne thesis is that the collapse of Mediterranean trade caused



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the economic collapse leading into the Middle Ages. Part of the Pirenne thesis involves the manufacture of cloth, a thesis that has merit as a model for what happened.

The issue is between urban and rural economies; between the feudal medieval monopolistic economies of the cities and the capitalistic modern competitive economies of the rural areas. According to this model, new urban centers, such as Antwerp, flourished because they eschewed feudal medieval monopolistic practices. This model and this theory do not fit the facts.<sup>45</sup>

Medieval forms of manufacturing were not forced out by modern forms. Medieval forms persisted into the Seventeenth Century. During the Fifteenth Century, many of the medieval forms revived in the old textile centers. How all of this is finally to make sense, remains to be seen. In any event, women were involved in important ways.<sup>46</sup>

## I. Conclusion

The research on what happened at Leiden and Cologne may be taken as representative of the rest of Europe until further studies either confirm or dispute these findings. This supplement offers specific detail on some of the commercial aspects of medieval Europe. The inseparable incompatibles fit this topic like the last.

### Comments on the Seventh Edition of Chambers, pages 0358-0368

In the opinion of the professor, Chambers is the most scholarly textbook on the market. Chambers well represents mainstream thinking in the history profession. The professor, however, disagrees in many significant ways with mainstream thinking. Some of these disagreements are set forth above and others in the following comments.

Page	Column			
		Paragraph		
		Line		

0361 2 3 3 " . . . at about . . . "

H. Ramsey Fowler and Jane E. Aaron, *The Little, Brown Handbook*, 6th edition (New York: HarperCollins College Publishers, 1995) is silent on "at about." Wilson Follett, *Modern American Usage: A Guide*, (New York: Hill & Wang, 1966), page 82 notes:

At about. Since *about* can be with equal naturalness (1) an adverb meaning *approximately, somewhere nearby*, and (2) a preposition meaning *almost at, not far from*, the *at* of the phrase *at about* can usually be spared, with a gain in ease . . ." The professor thinks such is the case here.

0362 1 2 1 "Printing"

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There is another section titled "The Impact of Printing" on page 430. The professor regards printing as the first case of distance learning.

0364 Map 11.3 The Spread of Printing before 1500

References to this map are found on page 369, after the assigned reading. Metz is located at 49.08 N 6.10 E; Strasburg at 48.35 N 7.45 E; Basel 47.33 N 7.35 E. Metz, therefore, would just north of Strassburg on the map, about in latitude with Nuremberg (49.27 N 11.04 E) and slightly west of the longitude for Basel.

The spelling Strassburg on the map and Strasburg on page 369. The Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer<sup>47</sup> has Strasburg in East Germany and Strasbourg in France, two miles west of the Rhine River. On page 369, Chambers means the French town.

0365	2	2	6-7	" . . . the intellectual debate about women's nature . . ."
0365	2	3	1	"The debate over women's nature . . ."
0365	2	4	last	
0367	box			

Aspects of this are treated in the lecture above under H. Feminism.

## Footnotes

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<sup>1</sup> Chambers, fifth edition, page 309; sixth edition, page 224.

<sup>2</sup> Kathleen Biddick, review of John Langdon, Horses, Oxen, and Technological Innovation: The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066 to 1500 in The American Historical Review, Vol. 93, No. 2 (April 1988), pages 401-402.

<sup>3</sup> Gordon A. Craig, review of William H. McNeill, The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000 in The American Historical Review, Vol. 88, No. 5 (December 1983), pages 1239-1240.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois Property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), page 9.

<sup>5</sup> Described in the fifth edition of Chambers on pages 355-357; in the sixth, 263-265.

<sup>6</sup> Zvi Razi, review of Barbara A. Hanawalt, editor, Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe in The American Historical Review, Vol. 93, No. 2 (April 1988), pages 406-407.

<sup>7</sup> Constance B. Bouchard, review of Pierre Bonnassie, *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, translated by Jean Birrell, in The American Historical Review, Vol. 97, No. 4 (October 1992), page 1196.

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<sup>8</sup> Peter Wallenstein, "Remarks at the "Race, Policy, and K-12 Education: Segregated Schooling in Jim Crow Virginia, 1870-1950 Symposium, September 21, 1999, as posted October 8, 1999 at <http://fbox.vt.edu:10021/chre/elps/EPI/SYMPOSIUM/>, page 3.

<sup>9</sup> *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Richard P. McBrien, General Editor (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995), page 912.

<sup>10</sup> Edwin M. Yamauchi, review of Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia. Volume 1, Beginnings to 1500* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 2 (April 1994), page 617.

<sup>11</sup> Draws from Nicholas Rogers, review of Jean-Christophe Agnew, Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750 in The American Historical Review, Vol. 92, No. 5 (December 1987), page 1180. This source is touched upon again in HIS 102-03 Modern Art.

<sup>12</sup> Charles M. Radding, review of Don Lepton, The Cognitive Revolution in Western Culture. Volume 1, The Birth of Expectation, in The American Historical Review, Vol. 96, No. 2 (April 1991), pages 500-501.

<sup>13</sup> Retha Warnicke, review of Francois Laroque, *Shakespeare's Festive World: Elizabethan Seasonal Entertainment and the Professional State*, translated by Janet Lloyd, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (April 1993), page 487.

<sup>14</sup> C. John Sommerville, review of Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550--1640*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 5(December 1992), page 1521.

<sup>15</sup> Charles M. Radding, review of Don Lepton, The Cognitive Revolution in Western Culture. Volume 1, The Birth of Expectation, in The American Historical Review, Vol. 96, No. 2 (April 1991), pages 500-501.

<sup>16</sup> Charles M. Radding, review of Don Lepton, The Cognitive Revolution in Western Culture. Volume 1, The Birth of Expectation, in The American Historical Review, Vol. 96, No. 2 (April 1991), pages 500-501.

<sup>17</sup> John Bohstedt, review of Marc Baer, *Theatre and Disorder in Late Georgian London*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (February 1993), page 162.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Renna, review of George W. Dameron, *Episcopal Power and Florentine Society, 1000--1320* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (February 1992), page 117.

<sup>19</sup> Thomas Renna, review of George W. Dameron, *Episcopal Power and Florentine Society, 1000--1320* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (February 1992), page 117.

<sup>20</sup> Philip T. Hoffman, Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, "Information and Economic History: How the Credit Market in Old Regime Paris Forces Us to Rethink the Transition to Capitalism," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 1 (February 1999), page 71.

<sup>21</sup> Philip T. Hoffman, Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, "Information and Economic History: How the Credit Market in Old Regime Paris Forces Us to Rethink the Transition to Capitalism," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 1 (February 1999), page 89.

<sup>22</sup> Mary Martin McLaughlin, review of David Herlihy, "Opera Muliebria: Women and Work in Medieval Europe in The American Historical Review, Vol. 96, No. 4 (October 1991), page 1184. This review lauds the

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earlier work by Martha C. Howell, who is mentioned by name. Some of the research by Howell is fully cited in the next footnote.

<sup>23</sup> Sarah Hanley, "Social Sites of Political Practice in France: Lawsuits, Civil Rights, and the Separation of Powers in Domestic and State Government, 1500--1800" in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 102, No. 1 (February 1997), page 44.

<sup>24</sup> Hitomi Tonomura, "Black Hair and Red Trousers: Gendering the Flesh in Medieval Japan," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 1 (February 1994), page 154.

<sup>25</sup> Relies heavily upon Suzanne Fonay Wemple, review of Martha C. Howell, Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities in The American Historical Review, Vol. 93, No. 3 (June 1988), page 677-678.

<sup>26</sup> Leiden can be found in Chambers, fifth edition, Map 13.2 "The Growth of Cities in the 16th Century," page 506; in the sixth edition, Map 16.3 page 525.

<sup>27</sup> Chambers, fifth edition, Map 9.1., page 352; sixth edition page 260; seventh edition page 333.

<sup>28</sup> Anne Llewellyn Barstow, review of Mary Murray, *The Law of the Father? Patriarchy in the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 102, No. 4 (October 1997), pages 1157-1158.

<sup>29</sup> See Martha C. Howell, "Woman's Work in the New and Light Draperies of the Low Countries," in *The New Draperies in the Low Countries and England, 1300-1800*. (Pasold Studies in Textile History, number 10) as cited in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 1 (February 1999), page 305.

<sup>30</sup> Rosemarie Zagari, review of Lisa Wilson, *Life after Death: Widows in Pennsylvania, 1750-1850* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 98, No. 3 (June 1993), page 943.

<sup>31</sup> *The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia: Third Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), page 488.

<sup>32</sup> Ned C. Landsman, "Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 2 (April 1999), page 471.

<sup>33</sup> Jeffrey R. Watt, review of Martha C. Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300--1500*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 2 (April 1999), page 623.

<sup>34</sup> Jeffrey R. Watt, review of Martha C. Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300--1500*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 2 (April 1999), page 624.

<sup>35</sup> *The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia: Third Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), page 488.

<sup>36</sup> Winthrop D. Jordan, review of Allison Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), page 1274.

<sup>37</sup> Winthrop D. Jordan, review of Allison Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), page 1274-1275.

<sup>38</sup> Winthrop D. Jordan, review of Allison Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), page 1274.

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<sup>39</sup> Ann Allen, review of Lynn Abrams and Elizabeth Harvey, editors, *Gender Relations in German History: Power, Agency and Experience from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), page 1631.

<sup>40</sup> Andrea Sachs, Des Moines, Iowa, "Society: Abortion Pills on Trial," *Time*, (December 5, 1994), pages 46-46.

<sup>41</sup> *Corpus iuris canonici*, c. 9, X, III, 50 (Friedberg, II, 660) as cited by Joachim Smet, O. Carm., in *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel: Volume III: The Catholic Reformation: 1600-1750*, (Darien, Illinois 60559, Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1982, (not copyrighted)), footnote 81, page 685.

<sup>42</sup> John Lahey, "canon law," *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Richard P. McBrien, General Editor (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995), page 220.

<sup>43</sup> N.a., "Raymond of Penafort, St.," *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Richard P. McBrien, General Editor (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995), page 1080.

<sup>44</sup> Andrea Sachs, Des Moines, Iowa, "Society: Abortion Pills on Trial," *Time*, (December 5, 1994), page 46.

<sup>45</sup> Marci Sortor, "Saint-Omer and Its Textile Trades in the Late Middle Ages: A Contribution to the Proto-industrialization Debate," in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), pages 1478-1479.

<sup>46</sup> Marci Sortor, "Saint-Omer and Its Textile Trades in the Late Middle Ages: A Contribution to the Proto-industrialization Debate," in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), page 1479.

<sup>47</sup> *The Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World*, Leon E. Seltzer (ed.), (Morningside Heights, New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), page ??.