Ca. 1600: Inventing Capitalism

23 October 2007
Week 08 - Lecture 01
Catholicism/ Eastern Orthodoxy

Anglicanism [“high” and “low”]
  James I [1604]: “No bishop, no king.”
  [Church of England; Episcopal USA]

Lutheranism [“high”/ “low”]

Methodism

Calvinism ------------------------→
  [Presbyterianism: Scotland/USA]

Baptists

Anabaptists

Puritans/ Quakers

Levellers

Unitarians

“Wars of Religion” are wars over “mediation”

Priest? Bishop?

……

Pope?

King?????

I. The “Wars of Religion” = Age of “Civil Wars”
A. The Case of German-speaking lands
“Peace of Augsburg” = 1555

*Cuius regio, eius religio =
“Whose the region, his the religion”

Here I stand?????

B. The Hybrid Case of Anglicanism
Book of Common Prayer (1549)

Catholic/Calvinist hybrid

Catholic:
“sacraments / rites / ceremonies”

Calvinist:
“Church of England” – i.e., a national church (not allied to Rome)
1604: Against Puritans: “No bishops, no king.”
1606: Union Jack
1611: *King James Bible* [Authorized version]
James I ambivalently favorable toward Catholicism; increasing opposition of Puritans

Flag of the United Kingdom = “Union Jack”
Superposition of flags: St George (England), St Andrew (Scotland) and St Patrick (Ireland).

C. France: Neighbor of Geneva
French Wars of Religion [civil war] begin **1560**

1555: Peace of Augsburg; 1559: Elizabeth I

Hapsburgs to south and north [Spanish / Netherlands]

Calvin’s Geneva to east: cf. Lenin’s Moscow = exports revolution

- August 24, 1572: St. Bartholomew’s Day
- Massacre:
  - Ordered? Or strongly suggested? By Catherine di Medici
    - Queen Mother / regent
    - Three neurotic sons
    - Struggle between these three sons mixed up in Reformation
St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre (1572) at Louvre Palace, Paris

- Coligny --- Calvinist advisor to weak king --- tossed out Louvre window
• 1589: Henry of Navarre becomes Henri IV
  – No blood relatives left
  – Civil War continues

• 1593: Henri IV decides that “Paris is worth a Mass.”
  – Abjures Protestantism and becomes Catholic

1598 -- Henri IV:
EDICT OF NANTES

• 1) Establishes Catholicism official religion of France

• 2) Protestantism tolerated *in certain areas* (200 cities held by Hugenots, especially La Rochelle)
Henri IV assassinated

1610

by Catholic partisan

THREE MUSICAL PIECES
Calvinist Penitential Hymn

http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/cas/his/schloesser/HS041-042/fall/w04/music/files.html

William Byrd, Ave Verum

http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/cas/his/schloesser/HS041-042/fall/w06/music/files.html
Janequin,

“War”

http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/cas/his/schloesser/HS041-042/fall/w07/music/files.html

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ucyEml3v0Gw
Reformation Stage III:
From civil wars to world war
1618-1648

1618-1648: Thirty Years’ War
Dutch Republic = Calvinist
Sweden = Lutheran
Hapsburgs = Catholic [blue]
Imperial Kaiser
Austria
Spain
Sp. Netherlands
France = Catholic
Who gets ports/ trade?
NB: Richelieu secretly funds the Dutch Protestants against Spaniards. Not simple confessional divides
1648: PEACE OF WESTPHALIA
Holy Roman Empire ended in all but name
End of multi-cultural “empire” idea / beginning of int’l states idea:
principle of state sovereignty: non-interference

“state” = “monopolization of the means of violence”

Shift from 1500s → 1600s

1348-1648: Renaissance fluidity
Post-1648: Rationalism / Absolutism

SKEPTICISM → CERTAINTY
VARIETY → UNIFORMITY
LOCAL/PARTICULAR → UNIVERSAL
TIME-BOUND → TIMELESS
MIXTURE → PURITY

Mary Douglas: “There is energy in margins and unstructured areas… purity is the enemy of change, of ambiguity of compromise… Holiness requires that things shall not be confused. Mixture = perversion.”
### Shift from 1945 → 21st century?
(i.e., post-1914-1945 thirty years’ war)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colonial “modernity”</th>
<th>Postcolonial “post-modernity”</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CERTAINTY</td>
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</table>
Is post-modernity necessarily nihilistic?

SKEPTICISM
VARIETY
LOCAL/PARTICULAR
TIME-BOUND
MIXTURE

Nihilistic???

Pre-modernity //
Post-modernity

SKEPTICISM
VARIETY
LOCAL/PARTICULAR
TIME-BOUND
MIXTURE
INVENTING CAPITALISM

ABSOLUTELY KEY IDEA:
I. Re-Investing the World With Value

Work is GOOD!

NB: This is a total INVERSION of old values!!

Calvin
**Old Values**: Profit, risk, greed are BAD! Greed is a cardinal SIN!

“Work” is punishment for Adam’s Original Sin.

Has power — has power — powerless

**REVIEW: Calvin’s contribution**

- GOOD WORK IS A SIGN OF ELECTION
  - Ill works are a sign of damnation
  - Fundamental shift from Luther: “The Xtn will do good works, but apparently good works can be carried out by a non-believer.”
  - Calvin: “Good works are testimonies of God dwelling in us.”

- GOOD WORKS A REMEDY FOR ANXIETY!
  - I know I’m chosen if I do good works
  - Good works strengthen assurance in the believer that s/he is saved
  - No need for “FAITH ALONE”
The Lord fits each one of us to look for our VOCATION ['calling']
- a subjective and individual place in the world

God appoints duties to every person so that "he may not needlessly wander about in life."

All actions are judged in God's sight by one's vocation.

Calvin: Work is GOOD. It (our vocation) is a sign of our election

John Calvin: On Double Predestination

In conformity, therefore, to the clear doctrine of the Scripture, we assert, that by an eternal and immutable counsel, God has once for all determined, both whom he would admit to salvation, and whom he would condemn to destruction. We affirm that this counsel, as far as concerns the elect, is founded on his gratuitous mercy, totally irrespective of human merit; but that to those whom he devotes to condemnation, the gate of life is closed by a just and irreprehensible, but incomprehensible, judgment. In the elect, we consider calling as an evidence of election, and justification as another token of its manifestation, till they arrive in glory, which constitutes its completion. As God seals his elect by vocation and justification, so by excluding the reprobate from the knowledge of his name and the sanctification of his grace, as an indication of the judgement that awaits them.
New Value: Work is Good. RISK is Good. Success is a sign of our election.

II. From LABOR [Work] to PROPERTY
Re-investing the world with meaning

Virtues: THRIFT, saving, parsimony -- Important to keep wants low
[creates capital]

BUT HOW CAN YOU JUSTIFY CAPITAL as “PRIVATE PROPERTY”? 

John Locke: *Two Treatises on Government* (1690)

26. Though the earth and all inferior creatures be common to all men, yet every man has a “property” in his own “person.” This nobody has any right to injure himself. The “labour” of his body and the “work” of his hands, we may say, are property of his. Whatever then he removes out of the state that Nature hath provided and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with it, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property. It being by him removed from the common state Nature placed it in, it hath by this labour something annexed to it that excludes the common right of other men. For this “labour” being the unquestionable property of the labourer, no man but he can have a right to what that is once joined to, at least where there is enough, and as good left in common for others.

31. But the chief matter of property being now not the fruits of the earth and the beasts that subsist on it, but the earth itself, as that which takes in and carries with it all the rest, I think it is plain that property in that too is acquired as the former. As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product of, so much is his property. He by his labour does, as it were, enclose it from the common. Nor will it invalidate his right to say everybody else has an equal title to it, and therefore he cannot appropriate, he cannot enclose, without the consent of all his fellow-commoners, all mankind. God, when He gave the world in common to all mankind, commanded man also to labour, and the penury of his condition required it of him. God and his reason commanded him to subdue the earth- i.e., improve it for the benefit of life and therein lay out something upon it that was his own, his labour. He then, in obedience to this command of God, subdued, tilled, and sowed any part of it, thereby annexed to it something that was his property, which another had no title to, nor could without injury take from him.
ARGUMENT: How can you justify private property?

1. State of Nature: God gives us everything in common

2. Yet: **I have my own “person”** --- cf. Descartes: *I am sure of I*

3. The “labor” of my “person” is mine

4. When I put labor into something, I take it out of the State of Nature

5. I can keep as much as I can use without spoiling

FROM LAND TO CAPITAL:

**WHAT DOESN’T SPOIL? = CAPITAL**

Old view: capital is not “fecund” --- it’s a “fungible” --- it does not reproduce naturally [note natural law: sexual reproduction metaphor]

Gold, silver, money have the *value* that is the “tacit agreement of men”; note how many times Locke uses the word *CONSENT*

NB: Nominalist turn: money/gold/silver have no value in themselves; rather, they have the value [name] agreed upon by “tacit consent”
But how do we acquire “private property”? 

DEUTERONOMY

(15:11): [The] poor shall never cease out of the land: therefore I command thee, saying Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy in thy land.

(23:20): Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury, but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury: that the Lord

Meaning, you can loan money to non-Christians, but not to Christians. But Jews can loan money to Christians.

Anti-Semitism:

Recall Cantor - blame Jews for the Plague

Project anxieties

(Cf: Douglas - purity; Spain 1492)
Hitler, *Mein Kampf* --- uses obviously medieval metaphors:

Jews as bankers and usurers

Shylock provides the “bond” [guarantee] for the ships at sea --- but loans at interest [*a pound of flesh*]
Medieval invention of “Purgatory” --- an escape-valve --- usurers don’t necessarily have to go to Hell forever… can pay off their mortal sins in Purgatory and others can mediate for them by indulgences and masses

John Calvin: “legitimate” interest = 4.5%

First papal encyclical -- 1730s:
Maybe Catholics can loan money, too.
How about at…4.5%…
NB: It was a sin; now it is ok.