

THESIS

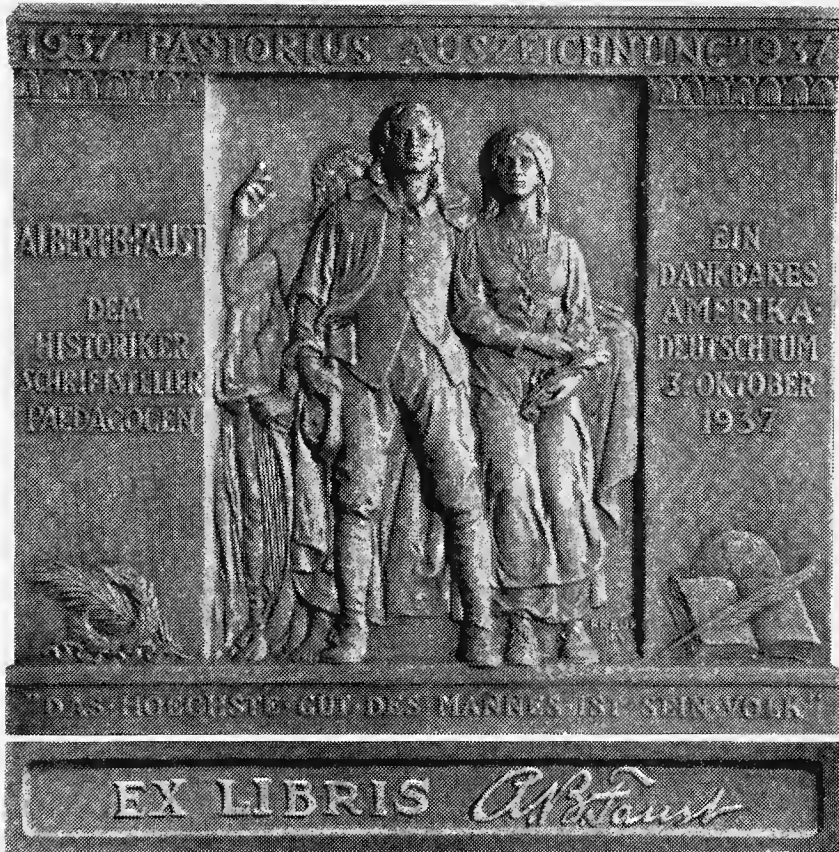
THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM OF THE
18TH CENTURY IN EUROPE
LEOPOLD I IN TUSCANY

J. REA PATTERSON

1902

CORNELL
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

DG
738
135
P31
+



CORNELL UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

This volume is the property of the University, but the literary rights of the author must be respected. Passages must not be copied or closely paraphrased without the previous written consent of the author. If the reader obtains any assistance from this volume, he must give proper credit in his own work.

This thesis has been used by the following persons, whose signatures attest their acceptance of the above restrictions.

A library which borrows this thesis for use by its patrons is expected to secure the signature of each user.

NAME AND ADDRESS

DATE

Edward A. Eyre 2 Lyon Hall
Paul C. Suberba

Feb 25, 1953

MAY 12 1953 ER

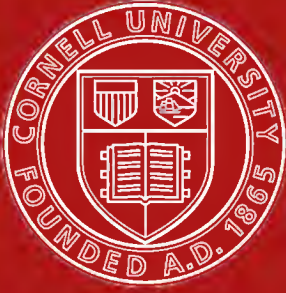
Cornell University Library
DG 738.35.P31

Enlightened despotism of the 18th centur



3 1924 028 306 573

okn.ove1



Cornell University Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

<http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924028306573>

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	P.
Bibliography - - - - -	vi-xi
Chapter I. A short account of Leopold's reign. Family, accession, conditions of the country and situation under Maria Theresa, boundaries settled, peace policy, treaties, advisors, riots at the end of his reign, abdication. - - - - -	1 - 5
Chapter II. <u>Administration.</u> Advisors, freed from his mother, new departments and ministers, secretaries of communities, list of councils abolished, various councils, state, finance, Annona, district council, city government, supreme court, preserving of the laws, archives, royal advocate, Fiscus, Florence government, other councils abolished, legal consulto, church tribunals, fees, exemptions, army and navy abolished, citadels destroyed, militia, post office, river administration, sanitary, census, pension, police, spy system, police regulations, censorship abolished, foreigners, prison regulations, theater, gambling, begging, debts, minor regulations, districts, royal monopolies, humanitarian, Jews holidays, luxury, public works, marshes, canals, roads, rivers, hospitals, libraries, art. - - - - -	6 - 29
Chapter III. <u>Finance.</u> Taxation, abolition of contracts for	

public revenue, real estate, crown property taxed, taxes on other property, church property taxed, redemption tax, minor taxes and tax regulation, exemptions, local taxation ; public debt, interest on it reduced, foreign holders paid off, its amount greatly reduced and means of doing it ; banks ; minor finance regulations ; loss of revenue by abolition of monopolies ; conclusion. - - -30 -38

Chapter IV. Agriculture, Industry and Commerce. Grain and bread , relieved from local restriction, their export and import, Grascia and abundance, the Annona ; Cattle , former conditions of their trade, many restrictions removed, free pasturage ; Wine trade, export and import, monopoly abolished, minor regulations ; Fisheries, rules, minor regulations, royal preserves abolished ; Game preserves, former conditions, abolition of many ; Salt, importance and former condition, a royal monopoly, abolished in Maremma, smuggling, resumption of royal monopoly but freed from many restrictions ; Hay and straw ; Tobacco, royal monopoly, regulations, monopoly abolished in the Maremma, its culture and sale further freed, monopoly resumed again and then abolished in all Tuscany ; Fuel, Wood and coal ; forestry laws much slackened, royal forests sold, minor regulations ; Oil export, import, in-

ternal trade ; Other Agricultural Industries ; Mar-
kets, much relieved and regulated ; Colonization,
 Maremma, many privileges, Appenines, Gorgona, help
 building, Val di Nevole ; Mortmain ; General ;
 Leopold's views on agriculture. Industry and
Commerce ; Silk , guilds, much freedom to trade,
 export and import, cocoons, mulberry leaves, abo-
 lition of guilds, premiums ; Wool, export and im-
 port, premiums ; Linen, export and import, stamping,
 minor regulations ; Cotton, Flax, Hemp ; Cloths ;
Weaving and spinning ; Straw ; Leather , tanning
 monopolies, regulations, export and import, manu-
 facture free, tanning freed, monopolies abolished,
 minor regulations, furs ; Dye , wax, soap, twine ;
Iron , royal monopoly, Magona, tools, abolished
 monopoly first retail, then all together ; Mining,
 regulations, royal monopoly abolished ; Paper, minor
 regulations, printed books free ; Glass , regule-
 tions, trade free to all ; Salt Petre, monopoly
 abolished ; Gun Powder, monopoly abolished ; Potash
 monopoly abolished ; Marble, porcelain, art ware,
emery, music strings ; Inns, livery stables, mills,
 stores ; Chamber of Commerce ; guilds abolished ;
Foreign artisans ; Shipping ; General. - - - 39-63

Chapter V. Criminal Law Code. Preamble ; Court Procedure,
 instance of whom, oaths, warrants and arrests, evi-

ecclesiastical courts restricted, also prisons, right of sanctuary, its abuse and abolition ; Jews , given rights ; salaries and tithes ; some abolished ; poor clergy benefited ; foreign fees abolished , church partimony board, company of charity, marriage regulations ; holidays. - - - - - 78-98

Chapter VII. Conclusion. Leopold's difficulties, summary of important reforms in administration, finance, industry, colonization, criminal law, religion, public works, education, humanitarian measures ; his constitution, local governments, neutrality, militia, trade liberty, debt, new acquisitions, conclusion. 99-103

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Leipzig, 1883.
This contains a short article on Leopold in vol. xviii.
- Allgemeine Geschichte, Berlin, 1882.
This contains an article on Leopold and gives a short summary of his reforms, but treats at some length of the expulsion of the Jesuits. Is of value in a comparison of the enlightened despots. Section III, vol. viii.
- Arneth Joseph II and Leopold von Toscana. Ihr briefwechsel von 1781 bis 1790. Wien 1872.
A correspondence that relates mainly to personal matters.
- Arneth Maria Theresia's Letzte Regierungszeit. Wien, 1876.
The work covers the period from 1763 to 1780. Volume VII treats with Leopold's reforms. Is valuable from its point of view.
- Balbo Storia d'Italia. Florence, 1856.
Covers the period but not much good for Leopold's reforms.
- Botta Storia d'Italia. Parigi, 1837.
In volumes ix and x contain material about Leopold. This book is much referred to in other works.

Cantu Histoire des Italiens. Paris, 1861.

In volume x of this work Leopold's reforms are dealt with. This work gives a long account of the suppression of the Jesuits.

Cantu Histoire Universelle. Paris 1855.

In volume xvii a brief account of some of Leopold's reforms. Interesting because it gives the French point of view of his religious reforms.

Crome Die Staatsverwaltung von Toskana unter Der Regierung Siener Königlich Majestät Leopold II, aus dem Italianischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von Dr. August Friedrich Wilhelm Crome.
Gotha, 1795. 3 vols.

This work is a translation from a work which Leopold had published in Italian. It is a collection of all the laws passed by Leopold in Tuscany during his 25 years there. It was translated into German by Leopold's orders so that his people might see how much he had done for Tuscany and that other rulers might find a good example. As a collection of actual laws, this book is of the greatest importance as a primary authority. The first two volumes are taken up with a commentary on the laws. This commentary is so poorly arranged that the present writer was not able to get much out of it. The

main fault with the collection of laws is that they are abbreviated, and in many cases say simply "Instruction for post office", for instance, or "Regulations for officers", without saying what the instructions or regulations were. In the main, however the gist of the laws is put down. This book gives the edicts with their exact dates, and has at the end of the third volume a chronological table with the edicts, and the pages on which they are found. For this reason, in this thesis the pages on which they may be found are not inserted. Wherever the date of an edict is given in this thesis, the edict may be found by referring to this chronological table. The book is full of typographical errors. It has been taken as the main basis of this thesis. Wherever cited is called "C".

Delecluze, M. Florence et ses Visissitudes, Paris 1836.

2 vols. Fairly good account of Leopold's reforms.

de Potter Vie. et Memoires de Scipione de Ricci, Eveque de Pistoie et Prato, par de Potter. Paris 1826.

4 vols.

This is a work of much historic value, being taken from the works of de Ricci, who was Leopold's chief advisor on religious affairs.

It gives a thorough statement of conditions in Tuscany in Religion and the relations with the popes. It has in the fourth volume most about Leopold and many documents from Leopold's edicts. Napier's chapter on religion is taken almost entirely from it, so that a reference from Napier on religion practically means a reference from de Ricci. In this thesis, vol. iv is cited as simply R. and references to other volumes as R1 or R2.

----- Edict of the Grand Duke of Tuscany for the Reform of Criminal Law in his Dominions. Privately printed at Warrington 1789.

This contains a copy of Leopold's criminal code in Italian and its translation into English. The chapter on Leopold's criminal code is simply a summary of this book.

Levisse et Rambaud,---Histoire Generale, Paris 1896. In vol viii a short summary of Leopold's reforms.

Leo, H. Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten, (Heeren und Ukert) vol v, Italien von H. Leo. Hamburg 1832. This book treats with general Italian history rather than specific, but gives a little about Leopold's reforms.

Napier Florentine History from the earliest authentic re-

cords to the accession of Ferdinand the third, by Henry Edward Napier. 6 vols, London 1847.

This book with Crome, has been of the greatest assistance in this thesis. It is pretty reliable, in the main, but has a slight tendency to sweeping statements. In vol vi, almost the whole volume is taken up with a systematic study of Leopold's reign chronologically taken, with the reforms each year. Two chapters in the beginning give an excellent sketch of conditions at Leopold's accession. An entire chapter is devoted to religious reforms. Napier, has had access to many original documents in the Florentine archives, and to other unprinted manuscript. All the material relating to Leopold's own opinions is taken from Napier. Cited as "N".

----- Nouvelle Biographie Generale, Paris 1862.

Article on Leopold in vol xxx.

Reumont, Alfred von, -- Geschichte von Europäischen Staaten,
(Heeren und Ukert) Geschichte von Toscana von
Alfred von Reumont. vol ii, Gotha, 1877.

This gives a complete account of the reign of Leopold with his reforms in some detail. Seems to be an authentic account.

Richard, Abbe, Description Historique et Critique de l'Italie,

Paris 1769. 6 vols.

A general description of Tuscany in vol iii.

Spaulding Italy and the Italian Isles, New York 1843.

A short summary of Leopold's reforms. Refers to a good many other books, so a help in bibliography.

Volkman Nachrichten von Italien, Leipzig 1778. 3 vols.

A general account of the times in Tuscany.

Wolf, Adam, Leopold II and Marie Christine, Ihr Briefwechsel 1781-92. Wien 1867.

Not of any value from a historical standpoint, except in giving personality.

Zobi, Antonio,--Storia Civile della Toscana 1737-1848.

Florence 1850. 5 vols.

A very good book that covers Leopold's reign thoroughly taking in all the reforms. Not used much in this thesis because Napier and Crome cover much the same ground.

CHAPTER I
LEOPOLD'S REIGN.

For a proper understanding of Leopold's reforms in Tuscany, it may be well to give in brief who he was, and to whom related, together with a few words about conditions when he arrived in Tuscany, and a short account of the important events in his reign.

To begin with then, Leopold was the second son of Francis 1st of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany and Holy Roman Emperor from 1745 to 1765, and of Maria Theresa. His best known brothers and sisters were Joseph 2nd, Holy Roman Emperor 1765-89 ; Ferdinand, Governor General of Lombardy ; Maximilian, Elector of Cologne, 1784-1803 ; Maria Christina, who married Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, Governor of the Austrian Netherlands 1781-92 ; Maria Amelia, who married Ferdinand, Duke of Parma ; Maria Carolina, who married Ferdinand 4, King of Naples and Sicily ; and Marie Antoinette, who married Louis 16th, King of France.

On August the 18th, 1765, the death of the Emperor his father, Ferdinand 1st, Leopold succeeded to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and Joseph became Holy Roman Emperor. On the thirteenth of September 1765, at the age of eighteen, Leopold, as Grand Duke of Tuscany, entered his dominions with his wife Maria Louisa of Spain.

Tuscany, at about the end of his reign, had an area of about 7,000 square miles, and a population of about 1,250,000. It had a sea coast on the western coast of Italy of nearly 100 miles. (1) Tuscany had grown out of a multitude of free cities that abounded in medieval times, and for this reason, every little district which had grown up around one or another of these cities, had its own government ; not self government, but a government peculiar to itself. Some districts, because of poor conditions, had been favored, and others because of the whim of the ruler. Some of these districts, particularly the Maremma, were very unhealthy and had much land uncultivated. In general, the soil was very fertile and brought good crops with little labor.

Before Leopold came to Tuscany, the Tuscan people had gone through centuries of oppression under the Medici. His father, Ferdinand 1st, had spent all his time away from Tuscany, had farmed out the revenues, and had spent the income he drew from Tuscany outside of that country. He had no time to spend over the governing of such a small place as Tuscany, so he left its government in the hands of people who used it for their own profit. Under such circumstances, it is not much to be wondered at that he found the people prejudiced, ignorant, and languid from decay ; unfitted for patriotic feeling, or immediate liberty ; unprepared to believe their real interests identical with those of the prince. (2) These are some of the conditions

(1) Tuscany was hemmed in on every side by the States of the Church, except the west which was on the sea coast, and a small patch on the north-west frontier where the Grand Duchy of Lucca was.

with which Leopold at the age of eighteen had to combat, and the object of this thesis is to show how he did it.

In the beginning, Maria Theresa did not give Leopold free rein, but made him subject to the prime minister Botta, and the Captain of the guard, Count Thurn. In his early years up to 1770, he was much hampered by the caution of his mother, who did not wish him to take radical steps. (1) Leopold chafed under this yoke, and finally in 1770, he went to Vienna to see his mother about it. At this time he was twenty-three years old. With the help of his brother Joseph, he finally persuaded Maria Theresa to free him from all restraint. (2) An examination of his reforms in every line will show that he started immediately to carry out many radical ones which he had evidently had in mind, but could not carry out on account of his mother's caution.

On account of disputes with Rome about boundaries, he issued an edict on April 30, 1767, that all boundaries be settled.

There is very little to tell about the history of Leopold's reign, for he spent almost all his time helping his people, and the true history of his reign is to be found in the reforms and minor measures for the benefit of his people. Leopold did not believe in war for Tuscany, because he knew that she would only waste her resources without doing any good on account of her small size. For this reason he abolished his

(1) N-123.

(2) N-155.

navy shortly after it had taken part in an expedition against Algiers in 1775, and beginning with 1780, he abolished his army in about three years, and established militia in its place. These are both treated in the chapter on administration.

On April 2, 1767, was held a convention between Modena and Tuscany, both agreeing to apprehend and return criminals fleeing from the other country. On June 1st, 1769, Tuscany agreed with France that subjects of both countries should be treated with all the privileges of natives while dwelling in the other. On December 18, 1775, the old agreement between Austria and Tuscany was renewed and enlarged so that free trade and intercourse of all kinds between the two nations might be furthered and manufactures helped. On May 24, 1778, a peace treaty between Tuscany and Morocco was signed. Napier asserts that this treaty also abolished slavery in both nations, but this is doubtful. (1) On August 1, 1778, Tuscany declared neutrality in the European naval war, in order not to disturb her maritime trade. On the 27th of April and 1st of May 1781, trade treaties were made with Lombardy, Mantua and Modena. On the 12th of September 1782 arrangements were made with Lucca for the return of criminals, and on July 15th of the next year, the same was made with Genoa.

Leopold's chief advisers, Gianni and Weri, and Rucellai and Ricci, are treated under administration.

In the early parts of his reign particularly, he was continually travelling around to the different districts to see

(1) N-210.

conditions for himself, and to see how his edicts and how justice was carried out. (1)

On account of the position of Tuscany, almost surrounded as it was by the States of the Church, Leopold had a great deal of trouble with the various popes, particularly with Pius the 6th. This is all treated in the chapter on religious reforms.

Toward the end of his reign, the emissaries of the church, and many who had lost privileges, and other enemies of his circulated false stories about what Leopold was to do with reference to church and taxation. They stirred up the people to think they must fight for their rights or be crushed and have their religion destroyed. This led to many riots. This is treated in the chapter on religious reforms. All this coming just about the time of his brother's death when he was preparing to depart for Austria, put things in a serious light, so he placed the country in the hands of a regency. He ascended the throne as Holy Roman Emperor, Leopold 2nd, on February 20, 1790 ; and in April, on account of many concessions and measures of the regency exactly contrary to the orders which he had left the regents, he placed his second son, Ferdinand, on the throne of Tuscany.

(1) N-132.

CHAPTER II
ADMINISTRATION.

A study of Leopold's administrative policy is difficult, on account of lack of material on certain subjects, particularly with reference to the various councils and chambers, whose duties are nowhere plainly given. A careful perusal of the various laws that they passed, however, would seem to point to the fact that the reason for lack of material on this particular subject probably was that their duties were not distinctly marked. In fact, a simple system of administration for Tuscany, with its multitude of districts which had grown out of free cities in many cases, each with a different system of administration, was a most difficult problem for Leopold to solve. The writer has simply done his best to show what Leopold did as far as the available material has made it possible.

First of all, a few words with reference to his ministers and advisors. Pompeo Neri and Francesco Gianni were his most able advisors with reference to taxation, customs, duties and agriculture, and their written opinions were studied on all occasions by Leopold. In affairs relating to the church, Senator Rucellai and Scipion de Ricci were of the greatest value in giving him their opinions and in carrying out his orders. These four men gave him written papers in which may be found the germs for nearly every reform he made in their respective lines. (1)

(1) N-104.

Outside of these facts, the only material available about his ministers is that he was placed under Prime Minister Botta and captain of the guard, Count Thurn, by his mother until 1770 ; that Count von Rosenberg resigned from the head of the state and finance departments on December 28, 1770 ; and that on April 30, 1784, F. Seratti was made minister of the interior and secretary of state.

By an edict of December 28, 1770, when he was freed from his mother's restraint, he abolished the old system of departments, and inaugurated a completely new system. By this new system, the government was divided into four departments with a minister for each. First, came the minister for foreign affairs, second the minister for domestic affairs, probably the minister of the interior, third, the minister for finance, and last the war minister. All four of these directors with the Grand Duke himself were to compose the council of state, which by this means virtually all was in Leopold's hands. All these officers must hand in a written report at least once a month of all that had been done in their departments. They were also required to set aside at least one day a week for open audience, so that any one who had any advice or any grievances could find a hearing for them.

An attempt to tell just how the various councils depended on each other and how the authority of Leopold over the principal councils were carried out, has proved futile. However, the following given by Napier, page 179, may throw some light on

the subject. "The appointment of secretaries of communities was reserved to the crown, but with some slight check on the latter by the communities themselves ; but the following may be given as an illustration of one of these systems. The chancellor of Sesto and Fiesole comprised under him the communities of Fiesole, Sesto, and Campi ; the first contained thirty-seven parishes, the second twenty-four, and the third thirty-five ; each community was represented by a gonfalonier and deputies or priors, and the general councils or assemblies by twenty, twenty-four and twenty deputies respectively ; so that ninety-six small parishes were locally represented and governed by ninety-seven elected from almost every class down nearly to the most indigent of the people ; and all this by an absolute monarch !"

When Leopold came to Tuscany, he found a network of old councils in every district, whose duties overlapped, and who took to themselves many others. These councils hampered good administration, and were the means of much corruption and many unjust laws in the various districts. They were most of them relics of old tyranny and despotism and Leopold set to work to rid himself of these hindrances to good administration as soon as possible. Many of them were changed and regulated and then finally abolished, while others were abolished outright. The first-class is treated here separately, while those abolished without much or with no regulation are given in a list below, since it would be useless to try to give a summary of their

duties.

The following list, which is partly of officers and partly of councils abolished, is given to show in a small measure how many old restrictions Leopold had to do away with.

In October 1768, the ancient Magistracies of Grascia and Abundance were suppressed. On June 22, 1769, Parte, an old police and river administration council, was abolished and with it certain other magistracies, and the Tribunal of the Nine. On February 1, 1770, the Court of Six Trade Councillors was abolished. On June 14, 1775, the Pratica Secreta, a trade council was abolished in Pistoia, and on April 16, 1784, it was abolished in all Tuscany. On June 19, 1775, the Court of Sewers, that of Manufactures and Agriculture and also another tribunal were abolished. On August 14, 1775, the Provincial Councils for Commerce were given up. An ancient court of four hundred years' duration was given up on May 26, 1777. Two days later, the college of the Syndicate of Ruota and of Procurator of Palazzo were abolished. In the next month, the magistracies of the Archives and of Conservators of the Laws which had existed for 214 and 349 years respectively, were abolished. On December 1, 1777, the Grand Ducal Chamber was abolished. On February 8, 1782, the old Council of the 200 was abolished. The college for disposal of offices and choosing of magistrates was abolished on September 14, 1782, and in the same year an unnecessary tribunal called the Tratte was also abolished. (1) On April 3, 1786, the Syndicate of the District

(1) April 1, 1784, burghers court, giving them special privileges. abolished.

was abolished as useless and expensive. Besides this list, many others which it would not be worth while to mention were abolished, and many that were abolished were united with others or changed. Most of this latter class will be given in the list of some of Leopold's councils and officers which immediately follow this section.

First of all, Leopold had a Council of State which he revised to consist of only the four heads of the different departments, as has been pointed out before in this chapter. His finances were regulated by the General Finance Council which he formed on August 26, 1765. On October 29th of the same year, he formed the Overseers' Commission to have charge mostly of the market regulation, but also all civil and criminal justice in connection with them. On June 8, 1767, he formed the Court of Wards and Incapables. This court was given at the same time very minute instructions among which were the following : The court shall consist of a senator, an administrator, and a deputy skilled in law ; it shall meet three times a week ; it shall have charge of all sale of property ; and all civil and criminal suits connected with wards, and must keep a record of all cases for the archives. Its officers must conduct cases as quickly, orderly and economically as possible. Any one chosen for a guardian must act, must give security, and shall receive a small fixed remuneration. Poor wards freed from all court and lawyer fees.

In October 1768 he founded the Annona, to have charge of

trade and agriculture in all Tuscany. This was not at all unlike the many tribunals which had existed in Tuscany for centuries for regulating commerce and trade. Leopold finally saw that the Annona was not only useless, but even harmful, so he abolished it in August 1775, as is explained in the Industrial chapter. Another tribunal that Leopold established was the Chamber of Communities, on June 22, 1769. This was a council which was to act as a sort of go-between between the general government and the various communities. This involved a great deal of patronage, so much indeed, that Leopold was obliged to abolish it in 1782. On January 26, 1770, he abolished the old Province Officers Director in each province, and put in his place a council to be made up of two commissioners, two deputies from the principal city, and two others. This system he found to work much better in regulating the officers of each province. On February 1, 1770, he established permanently a new college called the Commerce College. This was to have supervision over trades and manufactures. Among other instructions to this new college were the following : to further trade as much as possible, to publish and spread all laws they may pass, to look after the economic running of religious affairs, to exercise all criminal justice that the provincial tribunals used to have and finally to keep a complete record of all laws and all trade reports from the various districts for reference. By an edict of March 29, 1781, this college was reformed and its duties made all economic.

Leopold formed a chief magistracy in 1774, composed of representatives from all communities, with a gonfalonier as president. Every district had a general council composed of those in the Magistracy, and one deputy from every parish. These colleges were made up of property holders who held possessions of a certain value. All such names were put into a purse and then drawn by lot, the first drawn to serve until the required number were drawn. Out of this college were nearly all the local officers elected as, for instance, the tax collectors and assessors since the communities had local taxation. The treasurer of the community and supervisor of roads and bridges were also chosen from it. These magistracies ran almost all the local affairs in their districts. Leopold issued minute instructions to these magistracies, and among other things required them to meet every so often, whether there was any known business or not. In 1788, Leopold had these men chosen every year, and permitted even religious institutions and hospitals who had the required property to send representatives. (1)

Leopold modelled his city government after that of the communities, but did not give them this government till later, probably because he wanted to see how it worked in the communities. For instance, Florence in 1781 was given the following government. The city was to have as a permanent magistracy eleven priors with a gonfalonier, and as a general council

twenty deputies. These were chosen from three distinct purses. In the first were all the noblemen considered as heads of the family ; in the second, the chiefs of those enjoying the rights of citizenship ; and in the third, the representatives of those possessing real property to the value of 2000 crowns, including convents and corporations. From the first were drawn four names every year, the first drawn to be gonfalonier, and the other three priors. From the second, four more priors were chosen ; and from the third, the other four priors were taken. The general council had a separate purse composed of all those who paid the decima tax. Twenty names were annually drawn from this for the general council. All these were required to serve under heavy penalty.

In 1776, the Supreme Court of Florence was reformed and its judges increased with permanent salaries, its duties were clearly defined, and it was to have charge of causes alone, leaving the secretary to have charge of all other business so that the expense, delay and uncertainty of justice were partially removed. (1) By an edict of May 26th of the next year, a Supreme Tribunal of Justice was established and at the same time many other courts abolished, so that this became the sole criminal court in Florence. It was divided into three departments, each with a secretary, under-secretary and a coadjutor, and its duties simplified. At the same time he established a Supreme Tribunal in other districts. On January 3, 1777, he

(1) N. 203-4.

appointed three new auditors for the Magistrates Tribunal to inquire into the justice of cases, and also appointed a Directory of Chancery to preside over the court. On May 27, 1777, he formed a new council for Preserving the Laws, and abolished some old tribunals such as the Court of the Archives. Their duties were to be to keep all the laws up to date in the archives, to have charge of civil contracts of certain kinds, and many other duties of the sheriffs and provincial tribunals. On the same date he created the office of Royal Advocate, to have charge of all civil justice in the various departments, among which are mentioned the Treasury, Chamber of the Royal Domain and Crown Possessions, the Fiscus, Post-Office, Lottery, Chamber of Buildings and Gardens, General Bank, Loan Bank at Florence, Grand Ducal Tithe, and all officers under the general administration of finances. On October 28, 1777, he completely reformed and simplified and regulated duties of the Siena law courts and the Siena Magistrates College.

On the first of December, 1777, he took a strong measure in abolishing the Grand Ducal chamber and appointing in its place an auditor. This auditor was to have a newly formed council of his subalterns. In January of the next year he reduced the office of Auditor Fiscal to a mere account office, and gave his jurisdiction to the newly created Judge of the Royal Possessions. Later in the year he appointed a commission to investigate the financial management and other matters relating to religious institutions and hospitals. (1) On

March 7, 1779 he abolished the Congregations of the Ficus and put in their place a single council with the fiscal auditor at its head.

The college for the revision of justice was abolished on October 24, 1780, and certain regular officers took its duties. On November 29, 1781, the district of Florence was enlarged and its government completely revised. In future it shall be vested in a gonfalonier, eleven priors and a council of 32 persons, 12 residents of the district and 20 lawyers. On April 22, 1784, the Fiscal Auditor and the Conservator of the Laws were abolished. Their duties were to go to a newly created officer who was called the President of Good Government, who together with the president of the Supreme Tribunal was to have superintendance over all police affairs. On May 3, 1784, he created a secretary of the general archives. At the same time, he required all diplomatic and other public documents to be sent to the Florentine archives. This was to apply to all religious documents as well as to all courts and private documents of interest and value. On September 23, 1786, the ancient Consulta was abolished, and its duties partly given to the High Justice Tribunal and partly to a Consultor, as he was called, who was to have charge of pardoning princes. At the same time, a great many other courts and offices were abolished, and their duties given to a smaller number of courts whose duties were distinctly defined. On April 29, 1789, he formed a new council called the Legal Consulta of the King. It was a new princely council,

and its duty was to hear appeals.

By an edict of October 30, 1764, he took all civil cases of a secular nature from the church tribunals. Among other things, he began early in 1766 to regulate fees in criminal and civil cases, and on June 5, 1777, allowed the poor access to the law free or with only half fees according to their ability to pay, which was to be decided by the officers of the district. On May 18, 1769, he leveled every one in the eyes of the law and permitted no more justice exemptions. He required all civil cases to be tried in public.

Besides these councils, Leopold made a good many reforms, in an administrative line, which are of a good deal of importance. For one thing, his military policy is noteworthy. From the very first he seemed to realize that as small a place as Tuscany had no business in European wars. Besides that, he wanted to reduce the economy of government and, further still, he did not want to keep a number of men out of productive industry. One of his first acts was on September 19, 1765, six days after his accession to the throne, when he issued a general pardon for deserters, and on August 27th of the next, he permitted deserters to return in peace if they have committed no other crime. These were followed by others of the same nature at different times. In 1768, he tried a scheme of forming a company where any man could be discharged at will, but it proved a failure as it could give no discipline. (1) On

(1) N.-134.

the 11th of April 1780, he put into execution a long cherished scheme, by abolishing altogether the garrison and artillery corps at Florence, and forming four companies of militia, from the city inhabitants. These companies were given minute regulations as to their duties, rank, and drill. On the 14th of September of the same year, he established similar militia at Pisa. On September 18, 1781, he issued a number of wide reaching edicts on the same line ; the garrison of Arezzo was abolished and burger militia formed ; for the safety of every city and province a company of such militia was to be formed, to be always ready for service, especially those near the boundaries ; in Siena, two companies of this militia, part cavalry and part foot soldiers to be formed, whose duties were principally to guard the Grosseto where criminals were imprisoned. From the very first, Leopold had neglected fortresses and citadels ; some were dismantled, and some sold at public auction. In 1775, the two famous ones of Monte Carlo and San Martino shared a like fate. (1) As a final step in this line, by a notification of April 11, 1783, all citadels, fortresses and towers, etc., were to belong to the various districts in which they were situated and could be disposed of as they thought best. In about the year 1775, he issued a new code of naval instructions, and permitted Acton, his admiral, to participate in an attack of Algiers by a Spanish expedition ; but soon after this he abolished the whole naval system. (2)

(1) N.-185.

(2) N.-191-2.

Leopold did a good deal in the way of regulating and improving the post-offices, but unfortunately the only material at hand is indefinite on this subject. On July 21, 1769, he issued an edict regulating the time of mails between all the Tuscan districts and Florence as well as to foreign countries, and also the postal rate which he simplified and made more uniform. He also regulated the workings of the post-office. At other times he issued more regulations, but in March 22, 1768, he completed a whole new system and gave it to Tuscany. At the same time, he established a system of travelling and express. A month later, he ordered the old military roads in every district to be repaired and kept in good condition for the bettering of this postal system.

The administration of rivers and canals took a good deal of his attention. On June 30, 1767, he forbade all rivers and canals which were used for trade to be dammed or widened, and in the next year, on March 30th, required them to be kept clear. He began to receive complaints from all sides from land holders about the arbitrary way in which his officers ordered improvements for which these property holders must pay, without any consent or, in many cases, any knowledge of the improvements. On August 12, 1771, he ordered an investigation and asked for statements of all complaints. As a result of this investigation, he left the economic management of all rivers and canals in the small district of St. Miniato to the property holders as an experiment. This proved successful, so on Feb. 20, 1773,

he extended it to several other districts and gave them the power of electing deputies for this management. On July 2nd of the next year, he issued an edict saying that because the trial had proved so successful, he would from now on leave the management of all the rivers and streams in Tuscany with the exception of the principal canal of the Val d' Arno and those that run into it, to the property holders along its banks. In 1786, he abolished the system of keeping the ditches and canals partly in repair by forced labor in the Florentine district, and left the task to the neighboring landholders. (1) On September 12, 1788, all the old councils which had any authority over canals, etc., were abolished, and the management left perfectly free for the landholders.

On Leopold's accession, he found the sanitary department everywhere regulated by officers who made it oppressive. He made various regulations, relieving the people from some of this oppression, but in February 22, 1778, he finally abolished all health registrars with the exception of those in two cities, and left that side to the regulation of the regular local officers. In Florence, however, this was given to four commissioners.

On February 25, 1767, he had a new census taken. This was to be compiled by the parish priests, and was to include all cities, villages, boroughs and districts, with all houses, families, persons in each, with their age, trade and general

(1) N.-261-2.

behavior.

Leopold made a number of treaties with other countries. These are treated in the first chapter of this thesis.

In 1777, he reformed the whole quarantine department. (1) One of his important measures was the crushing of the feudal power, while the abolition of entail and the consequent emancipation of property gave an impetus to its circulation that was generally felt beneficially. (2) By an edict of March 14, 1782, he abolished all joint entails after they had passed through the four degrees formerly required by law, but without detriment to living persons. (3)

With all his reforms in economy of government, Leopold did not cut off his pension list. By an edict of October 19, 1779, he decreed that a soldier's pension could not be taken in favor of creditors. On August 13, 1785, he created a system of pensions for the officers of the district.

Leopold believed that the police system was of great importance, so he kept in close touch with it. His chief object was to prevent, not to punish crime. (4) He had a weekly account given him by private individuals of the most trifling actions of his subjects. In fact, he established a regular spy system, and on account of his rare judgment, was seldom deceived. (4) Outside of an edict of June 20, 1786, which increased the number of police, there is little material relating

-
- (1) N.-205.
 - (2) N.-97.
 - (3) N.-88.
 - (4) N.-88.

to police formation. However, he passed a great many police regulations, some of which are given below. On October 26, 1782, he abolished the system of arrest in civil cases. He also abolished the system of rewards for the capture of certain kinds of criminals, and in the place gave a small fee of about ten cents to officers for every arrest. He abolished the censorship of the press, but had to exert his absolute authority in the case of certain libels which had been published by the church, and suppressed these books which they were circulating, by an edict of October 2, 1787. (1) With reference to foreigners, he required all foreigners spending the night at any inn or even private dwelling, whether relatives or not, to hand their full name and business at arrival and departure to the police on a severe penalty for neglecting it, by an edict of January 13, 1767. On March 22, 1760, foreigners coming into Tuscany, were forbidden to carry arms. Previous to this, as explained in the chapter on Manufactures, etc., he had encouraged foreign artisans to settle in Tuscany, and now by an edict of October 18, 1733, he permitted them to take positions as schoolmasters and doctors, etc., but stated that in cases of doubt as to ability, Tuscans were to be preferred. One of his measures was to increase the amount of bread for each prisoner to 28 ounces a day, on July 29, 1767. (2) Other prison regulations are treated in the chapter on Leopold's criminal

(1) N.-281.

(2) 14th Sept. 1779 arrest fee abolished. 4th Aug. 1782 House of Correction established.

law code. On February 1, 1768, he repealed a good many old stringent mob laws, and decreed that in putting down mobs no one was to be unnecessarily arrested. On April 13, 1773, all card and dice playing in public or private forbidden, and on January 4th, 1776, all wagering was forbidden. On September 5, 1771, all jugglers and ballad singers were forbidden to perform on the stage or in other public places. On February 1, 1780, rope walking was forbidden on the stage, but foreign music and dancing and the French play were permitted. At the same time, all the theatres in Tuscany were regulated, and the price of admission fixed. An edict of November 20, 1778 forbade all begging, except where written permission has been obtained from the bishop. With reference to imprisonment for debt, he ruled that a bankrupt debtor could be imprisoned eight days for the first \$20, and one day for each four dollars after that until the penalty amounted to 60 days, no longer imprisonment for debt was permitted, no matter how much the debt. On December 12, 1769, a reward was offered for all body snatchers who were caught. On December 1, 1776, carrying arms was forbidden. In 1767 and 1768 a number of minor regulations were made, one requiring all citizens in Florence to keep the streets free from rubbish in front of his house ; another forbidding bathing in the Arno in Florence in day-time ; another forbidding fire-works in Florence, and another forbidding the shooting of tame doves. Leopold did a good deal towards consolidating different districts and simplifying their management and taxes. Much of

this is treated earlier in this chapter and part of it in the chapter on finance, and also the one on industry. For instance, local taxation and local government, treated elsewhere, were granted to the communities. The encouragement of settlements in the various districts by grants of land, etc., is also treated under agriculture, as also relieving certain districts from taxes and other restrictions when they were in a bad condition financially, or when crops had failed. As an example of the amount of time and attention which he must have spent on this difficult problem of unifying Tuscany and treating all its districts fairly, it might be mentioned that he issued in 1774, 1775, 1776 and 1777 over one hundred edicts relating to the governing of the different districts, and simplifying and uniting smaller districts. Some of these united as many as twenty small districts into one. Carrying out the same plan, he erased the boundary lines as far as commerce went between many of the districts, and incorporated them all as a part of Tuscany in general in 1788. (1)

Leopold had a royal monopoly of many trades when he came into office. For instance, Iron, Salt, Tobacco and certain kinds of Wine trades were monopolies. Each of these had offices to regulate them, and many officers to see that their privileges were kept. They all proved oppressive upon the people, and most of them were given up. This is treated in the industrial chapter. The lottery was at first sold as a

(1) N.-291.

monopolistic privilege to be managed by others, but finally on June 16, 1775, was taken and kept as a royal monopoly.

Early in his reign he made regulations for physicians, for hospitals, for the insane, and other humanitarian measures. On April 16, 1766, the sale of medicinal material was restricted to those who had authority and knew how to use them rightly. On Oct. 20, 1767, he required all physicians to present their bills within three years, or to give them up altogether. On December 28, 1772, he published instructions from the medical college of Florence on how to help drunken people, and another on September 10th of the next year. Later he offered a reward for saving people, particularly drunken people from drowning, and another to the physician finding the best method of restoring those apparently drowned. On December 2, 1775, he gave the money received from the sale of the goods of the government of St. Antony to the hospital of Bigallo, and about a month later changed the management of this hospital. In February 1776, he founded a maternity hospital in Florence and donated a ^{small} sum of ~~six lire~~ to every indigent woman during her confinement. He also appointed a midwife to every district in Florence to attend poor women free, and established a school for midwives and nurses at Florence. (1) In January 1774, he decreed that all insane persons should be treated free in the hospitals in Florence, if they were not able to pay for treatment, and should be kept there free if they did not recover.

(1) N.-200.

On March 26, 1789, he established a foundling house.

Among other edicts are the following : On July 2, 1766, the Jews are not to be harmed or interfered with in trade or other ways. In 1778, all Jewish proprietors in the Florentine and Pisan districts were made eligible to the councils-general of communities, and so far admitted to citizenship. (1) In 1789, the Jews were admitted to full citizenship, and in deference to their religious scruples they were allowed to refuse office with impunity, and were not required to attend religious functions, processions, etc., with the other magistrates. (2)

In 1772, court festivals were limited to three a year. (3) By an edict of 27th June 1767, on holidays inn-keepers were to be kept open only for travelers, and no games, etc., were to be played on such days before two o'clock. Another on January 4, 1783 regulated carnivals with reference to masks, etc. At the same time a new system of feast days was inaugurated. In 1766, he regulated the value of money, and forbade the circulation of old coins, but offered to redeem them at the value of the metal which they contained. On July 10, 1781, he established a mint warden, and permitted any one to coin money at a very small cost. An edict of March 13, 1781 made the Florentine elle the unit of measure. On Aug. 10, 1781, he asked that all nobles and their families have as little luxury in their dress and households as possible. He asked all no-

(1) N.-222-3.

(2) N.-295.

(3) N.-166.

bles to appear in black at court, and to reduce their household. An edict of December 7, 1778 gave a reward to officers in the Maremma for their part in getting that district populated and in increasing its trade. A mandate of October 28, 1769 forbade any officers of the kingdom to carry on trade in their own or any other person's name. Leopold on several occasions issued royal decrees against the prevalent custom of burying the dead in vaults, but did not enforce them till 1784, when all family, convent, and parish vaults were forbidden, and only bishops could be entombed in churches. He made special provision for grave yard, and regulated the form, size and depth of graves. He also ordered all funerals to be conducted without pomp or ceremony, and at night or early morning. (1)

Leopold's public works policy is not such an extensive one as that of other rulers of his time, but it must be remembered that this country was much smaller than most of them, and that therefore the revenue available for public works was much less. Even under these conditions he did quite a little in that line.

Leopold was not able to do much toward canals and toward helping agriculture by draining marshes, but he started the work that was later finished. The marshes in the Maremma and the Val di Chiana made those places so unhealthy that working there was almost fatal, and that was one reason why those formerly flourishing districts had become almost depopulated at his accession. The Chiana River was a tributary to both the Arno

(1) N.-250-1.

and the Paglia rivers, one of which runs north and the other south of this valley. It had become a succession of lakes, ponds and marshes with little current, except in certain seasons, when it overflowed and left dangerous deposits on going down. Thus its valley sixty miles long and from two to five miles broad was worse than useless. Many attempts to remedy these difficulties had been made. In 1766, Leopold appointed the Cavaliere Vittorio Fossembroni superintendent of the hydraulic works in the Val di Chiana. His plan was by a series of hydraulic works called colmata to restore the marshes, by making the stream deposit suspended matter and thus restore the marshes by putting good soil upon them for agriculture. This would of course take away the largest part of the unhealthiness of the region, and at the same time raise the whole slope of the valley, so that the Chiana would become a flowing stream at all times. By means of this new addition of water, the Arno would become more navigable. However, as Leopold only started the work and had little chance to see any results, it is not within the scope of this paper to treat the actual results. (1) In 1766, Leopold cleared out and kept open many of the old canals around Grosseto which had been entirely blocked and which had largely contributed to the marshes in that district. (2) An edict of December 15, 1775 provided for the widening of the Omberone River.

The founding of hospitals mentioned before in this chapter

(1) N.-393-411.

(2) N.-428.

was one side of his policy. Early in his reign he started road building, some of which is treated in the industrial chapter. On August 28, 1767, he started building roads in Pistoia, and in this year started roads through every community in a large measure for public employment. On March 7, 1768, he ordered a number of different bridges and roads to be built. In 1774 he built roads to medicinal springs, and also erected bath houses and public houses at these springs.

In 1773, he united the royal library with that of Magliabecchi, and threw them open for the public, thus forming one of the most valuable libraries in Europe. (1)

In 1775, he bought property adjoining the royal Boboli Gardens and erected on it an observatory with instruments from Paris and London. In the lower story of this building he formed a great museum of natural history. (2)

He also did a good deal toward enlarging picture galleries and throwing them open to the public. In various places we find mention of fine pictures and statuary which he bought for these. For instance in 1770, the statue of Venus di Medici and Apollo arrived at Florence. In this year he also bought many collections for the royal galleries and placed the art department under the minister of finance. At the same time he rearranged and systematized the gallery into departments. In 1775 he threw open to the public the royal galleries, and that of several other places including the Pitti Palace and the maus-

(1) N.-171.

(2) N.-195.

oleum of San Lorenzo. (1)

These, together with his grants of land and help in house building to colonists, constitute the main part of Leopold's public works.

CHAPTER III

FINANCE

A consideration of Leopold's financial policy and of the reforms which he made in the finances of Tuscany is treated in this chapter. For convenience the matter is divided into, first ; taxation and its administration ; second, other financial administration ; and lastly some general remarks about Leopold's policy.

Taxation. Leopold found taxation on his accession in a very bad state. Tuscany under the older regimes had been taxed, not for the good of the country, but for the private gain of the rulers. He found the running expenses of the government very high as well. After carefully and minutely examining the subject, he set about gradually reducing the economy of the government and at the same time reducing taxation, and simplifying it. He had to repeal many of the old laws on taxation, among them all that farmed out the taxes, and to make the method of applying it easier and to also make it more just. This took him his whole reign, and even then he expressed himself as not satisfied with the results. (1)

Leopold started on the old network of taxes and restrictions and regulated and abolished many of them. Among this number the following will serve to show his policy. He abol-

(1) N.-86-7.

ished every contract for public revenue as a necessary movement toward reducing taxation. (1) Real estate. He passed a number of regulations concerning real estate. An edict of February 1767 demanded from all rent masters an exact statement of all the property in their district, the amount of their rents and an account of all back standing rents. On August 3, 1768, he ordered property budgets to be formed for taxation and all persons owning property had to register them with their value. On September 22, 1769, a tax of 3% was placed on all real estate for road building and other improvements. On March 28, 1770, all of the factories of the Grand Duke, all goods in trust, and all possessions of the religious orders and societies, of universities, of corporations, and of courts of justice were taxed the same as other property. In November 1770, he lowered all the private property of the crown to the level of ordinary real estate and made it subject to all taxes. In 1776, he reorganized the system of rent taxes and rent officers. On November 18, 1778, he put a tax of 2% on all leases. On March 20, 1780, the system of real estate taxes was completely reformed, and on May 2nd of the next year some more taxes on it were removed. In the next year, 1782, he simplified the system for registering real estate, put a tax of 7 3/4% on rents and also one on leases and all leased goods. On April 25, 1783, he abolished the tax on all leases and private contracts.

The Grand Ducal Tithe was the tax levied on all property

holders in the Grand Duchy. In 1776, he abolished the church tithe and united it with this Grand Ducal Tithe. On May 3, 1781, all property paying the regular real estate taxes in the district of Florence was freed from the Grand Ducal Tithe. Another tax on real estate was called the redemption tax. In 1773, Leopold abolished a number of little vexatious taxes on real property and substituted in their place this redemption tax. It was to be paid by the different districts and they were to meet it by the income from the municipal rents, or if that were insufficient, by a small tax upon all property holders. (1) In the same year, a poll tax, or really a tax on nearly every person in the land, was lowered for each person by distributing it among a greater number, the total was made permanent and not to be changed. Among other regulations were the following: father of twelve sons and each of the sons themselves to pay only $2/5$ ths of all taxes. Edict of August 30, 1777, all guild taxes in Florence abolished, at a loss of \$1,400. (2) In Florence alone, 15th September 1785, Generalissimo, consisting of several vexatious taxes abolished; June 6, 1782, a tax was placed on all theatres; 1782, all who were called vassals of the crown and paid taxes to the royal treasury now to pay them to the district; January 13, 1780, notice of all taxes to be posted fifteen days before such tax falls due; 1783, all taxes divided up and now to be paid in three payments; August 30, 1779, the poor were freed from many

(1) N.-176.

(2) In this thesis the lire is taken at a value of \$.20, the crown at 7 $1/2$ liras and the soldi at $1/20$ of a lire. These have all been transferred to American money.

taxes and those whose income was less than a certain sum did not have to pay any taxes whatever ; on December 1, 1768, all who had exemptions from all kinds or any kind of tax, must prove that this exemption was just or else have it abolished completely, and many offices that gave exemptions were abolished. On May 17, 1778, and September 17, 1787, certain districts which were struggling against unfavorable conditions were freed from all taxes. Under this head would come the different taxes on transit, export and import and sale of goods of all kinds, from agriculture to manufactures, but they are all treated in the chapter on Agriculture and Industry. It will suffice to say that he removed a great many taxes, and destroyed a great many royal monopolies which formed a large part of his revenue.

At first sight it may seem as if Leopold did not do very much in the way of reforming taxation, because he did not issue a very large number of edicts about this important branch, but it must be taken into account that much of the taxation was local taxation. This had to be levied by the Nine and by the Chamber of Communities formerly, but they were hampered by so many restrictions that in reality it was not local taxation except in name. In 1773, Leopold made a great many changes in this period. He vested the power of levying it in a general council in each district, who were to levy it exactly according to what a man could pay instead of so much per person. They were also to see that all back accounts were paid within the year, and their accounts were carefully audited. (1) At the

(1) N.-176-7.

same time he decreed that there should be no general tax upon communities except in extraordinary circumstances, and then the means of collecting it was left to the district itself. This system was extended by degrees until finally on December 22, 1789, he gave up all authority over district taxation and allowed each district to levy and decide upon its own taxes.

One of Leopold's chief cares was the management and reduction of the public debt. At his accession the debt of Tuscany amount to nearly \$15,000,000, while the whole yearly revenue of Tuscany was at that time only \$1,490,000 and the annual expenses amounted to \$1,280,000. Most of this debt, on account of the uncertainty of its interest and of its ultimate payment, drew very large interest, and much of it was in the hands of foreigners. (1) Considering the circumstances, it seemed almost hopeless to try to pay off the debt, but Leopold set about it in various ways with great success. One of his first steps was on November 5, 1768, to acknowledge all the unclaimed and unpaid dividends on the debt, some of which had been running nearly a century. In March 1770, he had collected a sum sufficient to pay off all bond-holders of the debt who refused a uniform 3% a year, (2) in all \$575,000. Then he set himself to pay off all debt in the hands of foreigners. In 1773, he was able to pay off \$88,000, most of which came from economies which he had been able to make. On August 25th of this year, he announced his intention of leasing public lands to help pay

(1) N.-83.

(2) N.-151.

off this debt. (1) By this means he was able to pay off a large amount of the debt every year. In 1788, Leopold finally took steps to rid the nation altogether of debt. In the first place, he required the corporations who held large landed possessions, to sell or let their land and to invest the proceeds in bonds of the public debt. By this means he finally paid off all foreign debt and all of the Tuscan debt was held in Tuscany. Then he proceeded to carry out an ingenious plan for lessening this amount. By an edict of March 1, 1788, all those holding public bonds, must on penalty of having the interest reduced to 2%, if they held real estate equal to the amount of such bonds, have such real estate freed from the redemption tax forever by giving up a corresponding amount in bonds. As the redemption tax amounted to 3 1/2%, and the interest on the ^{debt} tax only was 3%, by this means the bond holders cleared 1/2%. For instance, if a man held bonds for public debt amounting to \$100, on which he gets 3% interest and had real estate amounting to that sum on which he paid 3 1/2% taxes, he was, in certain districts, to have his bonds cancelled, and at the same time to have his property, \$100 worth, freed from the real estate tax forever. By that means in three districts alone, a debt of nearly \$10,000,000 was abolished, leaving only a little over \$5,000,000. Another edict of March 7th of the same year, extended this farther into nearly all communities, and all colleges, hospitals, boards of works, religious societies, and even crown property, having

(1) N.-222.

cleared the redemption tax from its own property, was compelled to sell, to others wishing to do the same to their own but not having the necessary bonds, all bonds which they still held. By this means, no less than thirty-four communities had completely extinguished the redemption tax in their territory in a year, and a large amount of public debt was done away with. The end was fast approaching when Tuscany would have been free from debt entirely, when Leopold was compelled to depart. (1)

Leopold took a great deal of interest in banks and banking. Nearly every year of his reign he passed at least one edict regulating the bank. On November 15, 1768, he issued a complete set of banking regulations and among other things abolished the old custom of banks confiscating capital which had been left in their hands without any interest being drawn for a certain number of years. In other years he simplified the methods of banking, and regulated the rate of interest at 3%.

A number of other financial regulations are : May 1, 1768, the state and finance college united for economy and simplification : January 20, 1770, a debt of the sanitary commission of the various districts paid from the royal treasury, and in future, this expense to be met mostly from the royal treasury and partly from the treasury of the communities. 18th June 1784, ^{made} put the lottery which had formerly been farmed out, ~~as~~ a royal monopoly. March 3, 1778, sold the royal forests to the

various districts in which they were at a moderate sum. 1776, he relinquished the debt of the various communities to the general government, and also at other times that of different individuals who were not able to pay it for various reasons. By a mandate of March 14, 1782, he made certain regulations against the old law of primo-geniture, thus splitting up the land into smaller sections and making it more productive and at the same time bringing in a larger revenue. His regulations helping peasants build new houses, among them one in September 1784, took a good deal of his revenue. On December 29, 1789, he regulated the value of a lire making it worth 20 soldi. One means by which his revenue was increased was through the confiscation of the funds and property of the Jesuits, and of the other religious societies which he abolished.

One of the first thoughts that suggested itself in looking over Leopold's financial measures, is how he was able to run the finances of the government when he had abolished so many of the taxes which formerly had made up such large part of his revenue. For instance, the abolition of the salt monopoly meant a loss of \$60,000 a year (1) the loss of the tobacco monopoly took away \$115,000 (2) a year, and the iron foundries which were abolished as a monopoly meant a loss of a very large revenue. Then the guild taxes abolished, together with the various taxes on all kinds of industries all took away another large source of revenue. The answer to these is simple. In

(1) N.-290.

(2) N.-294.

abolishing many taxes and simplifying those remaining, Leopold took away a great many of the expenses of government, and removed so many of the shackles from trade that the resulting increase in the total amount of trade brought in a revenue almost as large, and in many cases larger, than the old higher taxes on a smaller amount of trade. Besides this the sale and lease of royal lands, and funds from religious institutions increased his revenue. By this means he was able to better the condition of the people materially without much of a loss, in fact even a gain in the total revenue of the kingdom, as compared with its expenses.

CHAPTER IV
 AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

In looking over the various laws which Leopold passed for trade of various kinds from provisions and their attendant industry to manufactures, it was found that no systematic arrangement could well be made. But as the main object of this thesis is to give Leopold's reforms in the most orderly arrangement, the ones relating to these trades have been collected under the head of "Agriculture, Industry and Commerce" without any distinct separation, since one grows out of the other in many cases. The present chapter, then, begins with agriculture and treats with Leopold's reforms connected with that industry first. For convenience, colonization is included under this first head, since all Leopold's colonization was for the benefit of agriculture.

When Leopold ascended the throne, he found Tuscany in a starving condition owing to the failure of crops. In 1766, the next year, the crops were again poor, so he set himself to see how the misery of his people could be relieved. He first ~~in 1768~~, made regulations for the freer circulation of provisions. An old tribunal, slightly changed and given the name of the Annona, had complete charge of all grain. They required that no grain could be sold except to their own warehouses, and at the price they set, which was often below the cost of production. If they didn't wish to buy the grain,

the farmer had no method of disposing of it except by smuggling it out of the country, since exportation was forbidden. Besides, this is a transport tax and tolls were charged for the carrying of grain anywhere in the Grand Duchy. His crop was useless to him because he had no right to grind, or bake it. Bakers must use the public ovens for which a tax had to be paid and the weight and price of their bread was regulated by law, so that if the price of grain rose they had to sell at a loss. They had to buy all their grain from the Annona, paying a high price for damaged grain.

With such impediments, where no man could buy or sell grain freely, or bake his own bread, it was no wonder that farmers were not eager to raise grain. So when the famine came, the Annona had not sufficient to supply the country even at enormous prices. Leopold had investigated these matters and soon applied remedies. In the fall of 1766 he had all the local officers prepare for him a table of produce, and was able to make his calculations with the full knowledge of what each district produced. Edict of September 24, 1766. He removed many impediments, allowed grain to be sold in small quantities, and allowed any one to bake bread. These worked so well that in September 1767 he issued a lengthy edict regulating grain and bread. All bread was freed from the seal, stamp, and police tax, and all taxes on baking either in public or private ovens were abolished. Grain for bread need not be bought from the Annona. Bread was divided into three classes according to quality and the market price of each regulated on a scale

varying with the price of grain. Free transport of grain was permitted without any taxes or tolls anywhere in the Grand Duchy. Export of grain was permitted if the price in the Grand Duchy was below a certain figure and then no export duty. Import of grain always permitted, but if the price in Tuscany was less than \$3 a sack, a duty was charged. When grain in foreign countries was over \$2.30 a sack, export was forbidden and no grain could be kept within three miles of the boundary. The market price of grain was regulated according to the price in the principal cities. Every week officers must report price of grain in their district. Export of bread was always permitted, and later the import of bread was permitted on the payment of a slight duty. In 1770 all duties on the export of bread or grain by land or water were removed. The Annona which had made the chief trouble for trade, and had continued to enforce many of the old laws in spite of their repeal was given less and less power, and finally abolished in 1771. One tax abolished in the same year was the sowers' tax by which every district was taxed so much, and it was divided among the sowers. This amounted to a considerable sum for each sower in thinly populated districts, although it did not give a large total revenue. (1) In spite of all Leopold's efforts, some of these old laws continued to be enforced upon ignorant people in outlying districts. We do not find a single year of his twenty-five year reign in which he did not have to issue orders and edicts to some district concerning the freedom of the bread

(1) N.-219.

and grain industries.

Closely allied with the grain trade, and one which affected the people of Tuscany almost as much, was the cattle trade. Here much the same conditions existed as in the grain trade. The import and export of cattle had been forbidden, heavy taxes on slaughtering, pasturing, butchers' stalls, transport of cattle, etc. had been rigorously levied. Leopold early in 1767 made minor regulations that relieved the most pressing need. Among others the farmers were not compelled to fatten their cattle for the Grascia. On October 29, 1768, he issued an edict, removing all tax for slaughtering, freeing butchers from several taxes, and suppressing ^{the} seal tax. The whole system was simplified and a small tax was put on each pound of meat, and the meat officers who had so rigorously enforced the old laws were suppressed, their duties going to the regular province officers. On January 26, 1769, the farmers were allowed to sell their cattle to any one instead of the regular slaughter houses and any one could go into the meat trade. Fat and tallow, too, were freed from all tax. In 1770, the old laws regulating the price of meat were repealed, and buyers and sellers were to fix the price by competition. At the same time, the tax for the permission to slaughter was abolished. In 1771, some taxes on slaughtering, etc. still remained in certain districts, but Leopold simplified them all into a single tax. On April 26, 1773, he issued orders to his officers to further all provision trade in every way possible, and to give complete freedom

to any one to enter into such trade. In 1775 the import of cattle was permitted with certain nominal duties. In 1776 the export, import and transit of cattle was freed except the usual Gabella tax. In 1781 the flesh stamp was still in existence. It was auctioned in October of that year. In 1783 the flesh monopoly was leased, but it was restricted so as to be harmless. In the same year, the fording of streams was made free. Up to 1788 we still find trifling duties left in some districts, but they were finally abolished as thoroughly as Leopold could accomplish it. Aside from the actual trade in meat and cattle, pasturage was regulated. As early as October 29, 1763, he freed pasturage from certain restrictions. In October 1775, Leopold issued an edict removing some of his own restrictions and seven other prohibitory laws on pasturage, leaving the landowner free to graze cattle where he pleased, with the exception of goats. (1) In 1776 he made a good many regulations, among them one permitting herdsmen to carry on other trades at the same time, another allowing free pasturage on public lands in certain districts, and another abolishing an old law called the "Fide". Its abolition left the landowner in full possession of his property without having the mortification of seeing every third year's pasturage taken by the government. By another law he permitted pasturage within a few miles of Florence which had hitherto been forbidden. By all these means Leopold freed the meat and cattle trade for the benefit

(1) N.-193.

of his people, but at a large loss of revenue to himself.

On the 18th of November 1765, Leopold began to regulate the wine trade. At that time many wines and liquors were in the hands of a royal monopoly, which dispensed them to small sellers. Leopold's first edict was to put a duty on foreign wine sent to Florence, and a very high duty on wine imported to any other place. In September 1767 he permitted the export of wine with a small duty. As early as the 27th of December, 1768, he abolished the royal monopoly of brandy and spiritous liquors and gave permission to any one to buy or keep them, tax free, except in cities where the old import tax remained. On June 25, 1772, the tax on foreign wine was renewed, but the tax on domestic wine brought into Florence was removed. In 1778, the 12th of February, permission was given to any one to buy or sell wine in large or small quantities, and on April 15, 1780, the tax on the wine trade and on wine stalls was abolished. The royal monopoly in all other liquors was abolished Aug. 17, 1780.

Another branch of industry that needed his attention was the fisheries. They were so restricted and monopolies were so many and so oppressive that Tuscan fishermen were unable to compete with their neighbors in trade with nearby countries. Leopold set himself to work, and on March 5, 1767 issued a set of rules and instructions concerning fisheries. No nets that took several boats to wield them were allowed, and even small nets must be of mesh large enough to allow small fish to escape. No small fish could be sold during the laying time. Also sev-

eral other regulations concerning the fish trade. The draughting of this law drew his attention to the many restrictions to fishing, and he soon began to remove them and to free certain places. On April 20, 1768, he regulated the fisheries in the Castiglione Sea and gave fishers certain privileges there. On Jan. 26, 1770, he abolished the old custom of leasing the fisheries. On July 13, 1772, an edict freeing a number of districts from many fishing restrictions and giving them free permission to fish. On April 12, 1773, he freed fisheries around Florence and several other districts from all tax, and on Oct. 26th of the same year, granted permission to the people to fish in a great number of the royal preserves around Florence. In the year 1775, he passed three acts freeing a number of streams for fishing and regulating the trade. In July 1777, came an act freeing in all the kingdom the trade in both salt and fresh fish. From this time to the end of his reign, Leopold gave up to the people a number of royal fish preserves and freed many districts and streams, but left certain restrictions as to fishing in the breeding time. The Arno was freed entirely for fishing in 1780. For some reason in 1783, fishing in the Chiana was forbidden and that river was not afterwards opened during his reign.

Closely allied with the fisheries were the royal game preserves. These had not only kept a great deal of good land from being turned to agriculture, but besides that had left a great broad strip around them devastated, because no farmer could grow

crops for fear of their destruction by the wild animals which he was forbidden to kill under the most severe penalty. To obviate this, soon after he came to the throne, Leopold gave permission to farmers to kill game which was destroying their crops, and soon after came the permission in certain cases to carry the necessary firearms. On August 31, 1769, Leopold issued an edict forbidding all hunting from March to September. On August 13, 1772, he gave permission to the inhabitants of certain districts to hunt, particularly to farmers, except during the breeding season. In the next year, this permission was granted free in the Florentine district and in certain other places. In 1773 the royal game preserves of the castle of Florence were given up to the public, and thus began a series of abolitions of royal preserves. In one year fifteen were given up to the people. (1) This meant more than simply allowing the people so much game ; it meant permission to build fences and start crops right up to the edge of the preserves and later on it meant that many of the preserves themselves were given up to agriculture.

Salt had long been one of the largest industries in Tuscany and as a royal monopoly had been always a large source of revenue to the government, and had a special part of the public debt to pay. Every family was compelled to buy a certain amount of salt according to the number of mouths, not the wants of the family ; the discrepancy between royal and municipal

(1) N.-166.

weights, by the former only was salt retailed to the people ; the different varieties and colors which were dispatched to certain districts to prevent smuggling ; and the varying prices in different districts together with the severe smuggling laws ; all these called forth such a number of salt officers and so much vexation that Leopold would gladly have abolished all restrictions but for the revenue. In 1773, June 14th, Leopold abolished the salt magistrate in the Siena and in the same year abolished the salt monopoly in the Maremma, both as an experiment and to encourage the district. In this year too, he abolished the salt tax at Arezzo and left its trade free. On June 22, 1778, he forbade the importation of salt finally, and in the same year abolished the transport tax on salt in the Maremma. But in the Grand Duchy as a whole, the state of affairs remained much the same. In 1788, Leopold found that the freedom of salt in the Maremma had made such a host of reckless smugglers, and had enticed so many from agriculture to the contraband trade, that he determined to resume the monopoly throughout his dominions. Accordingly, in March 1788, he resumed the royal monopoly of salt, but suppressed its forced distribution, ^{qua} equalized its price in all districts, and diminished this price nearly half ; brought all weights to a uniform standard ; removed the duties on it, and left the people free to purchase when and from whom they pleased. This sacrifice was made at the loss of much revenue.

Hay and straw had suffered taxation with other agricultural

products. On December 16, 1768, Leopold abolished the tax on hay crops provided they did not reach a certain value, but the value must be proved, and severe penalties were applied for undervaluations. In 1771 the importation of straw was allowed and by an act of October 1775, both hay and straw could be exported and imported with nominal duties, and another on July 10, 1777 removed even these small duties and all other restrictions as well. In 1779, the inhabitants of the Maremma were urged to raise hay and straw in as large quantities as possible.

Another important step was the regulation of the tobacco industry and culture. On his accession, tobacco was a royal monopoly both wholesale and retail, and its culture was forbidden with of course its export and import. On May 11, 1769, he regulated the retail price and also its culture ; and on December 4th of the next year allowed its import free of duty in certain places. About the year 1777 he relinquished the retail monopoly and permitted its culture in a few districts. At the same time the tobacco administration was regulated and all retail dealers were required to buy their tobacco from this office at a regulated price. On Apr. 11, 1778, the monopoly of tobacco and its management by the government, as well as its transport duties, were abolished in the Maremma. In the same year, tobacco was freed from all taxes at Livorno, and its import was entirely forbidden. The next year, tobacco export from Florence was permitted without duty, and in several other places its sale was relieved of tax. In the next year, 1780,

permission to plant, trade in, and manufacture tobacco was extended to five other districts near the Maremma, and in the next year many of the old tobacco magazines were given up, practically abolishing the monopoly. In March 1788, for much the same reasons as those in the salt trade, Leopold found it necessary to abolish some of these privileges, such as permission for tobacco culture and trade, but he made up for the loss to those districts affected by remitting certain taxes, treated in the administrative and financial chapters. On March 18, 1789, he decided to carry out one of his cherished plans, which was to abolish the royal tobacco monopoly entirely, and on that date took his first step by permitting tobacco culture in all Tuscany. About two months later, he followed this up by abolishing the whole monopoly entirely at an enormous loss of revenue. Tobacco export was declared free and import allowed on payment of duty, and the old manufactories became mere private enterprises. (1)

Another very important industry was that relating to fuel, wood and coal, and their source, the forests. Leopold found forestry laws in a terrible state when he ascended the throne, but owing to the mistaken ideas of the time in relation to forests, he did not do much to regulate them for some time, but enforced the stringent laws against tree felling, even on a man's own property. He renewed the old laws against the import and export of wood and coal. In 1768, he slackened the

forestry laws a trifle, and even granted permission to cut small shrubs and trees in the royal patrimony. On March 3, 1769, the inhabitants of Pisa were allowed to plant pine and fruit trees by obtaining special permission. In 1770, a law was passed allowing free transport of wood within the Grand Duchy, and in 1771⁶ the import and export of wood and coal were permitted with duties which in 1775 were made merely nominal. In 1771 he permitted mulberry trees to be planted in the entrenchment and embankment of the city wall of Florence. In 1772, by law of August 7th, the people were permitted to root up shrubs and small bushes from the fields. In 1775, August 16th, Leopold saw the necessity of freeing the forests, so he passed laws giving almost universal liberty of felling trees on a man's own property and allowing him to clear out brush and manage his own forests and orchards. This was followed up later by a number of rules in later years all for felling or regulating forests. In 1788, March 3rd, he sold the royal forests to the various districts in which they were situated, and their management was left to those districts. On January 20, 1789, he offered a premium for planting chestnut trees. The importance reached beyond the trade in fuel and lumber; it meant that a great deal of Tuscan land hitherto idle could be cleared and used for agriculture.

Oil as fuel and as food was of some importance in Tuscany. Its export was rigorously forbidden in 1767. In 1770 the wholesale trade of olive oil was freed from duty and all restrictions, but

its retail trade was still taxed. On October 25, 1771, domestic oil was freed from all transit duty in all the Grand Duchy. On February 29, 1772, Leopold freed olive oil and fish oil, both wholesale and retail, from all tax. In November 1773 he freed foreign oil for fuel from all duty for five years. After that he passed a few minor regulations about the oil trade but nothing of much importance.

Besides these acts Leopold relieved and regulated a large number of industries which are not of sufficient importance to deserve specific treatment. The following were regulated and relieved of restrictions of various kinds ; olives, chocolate, rice, butter, milk, cheese, honey, beet-root, ice, poultry, manure, and horse fodder.

Another thing in which Leopold benefitted his people was in markets. Market stalls were, for each trade, practically in the hands of a monopoly, and farmers who sold their produce through them were much restricted and oppressed. In 1768 Leopold repealed the laws compelling farmers to bring certain kinds of produce to market and also permitted them to take home what they did not sell at market. In 1770 he made many market regulations, among them one allowing Barga two weekly markets free and three fairs a year for selling produce and another Monte Veturnn a free market once a month and one fair a year. These are given as showing his diverse policy ; on account of different conditions he had to make different regulations for each district. On September 10, 1773 he issued an edict al-

lowing provisions to be sold free in the Florentine markets. In the next year, he freed markets everywhere in the Grand Duchy from taxes, and gave permission to any one to sell anything in markets. He passed many other edicts regulating streets on which markets were to be held, and other minor matters connected with them.

Many districts of Tuscany on account of unfavorable conditions or unjust taxation had become almost depopulated, and Leopold took measures to build them up again. His measures for relieving the Maremma and other districts are treated to some extent in the chapter on Administration. On February 9, 1769, he granted to those who would clear and make arable swampy land in the Maremma, such land in full possession besides certain privileges and exemptions. Other lands in the same district he granted, free of taxation for twenty years to those who would agree to improve them and besides granted them free timber and iron for building. He also invited foreigners to settle under the same conditions. In 1776, he instructed the local officers to grant $1\frac{1}{2}$ Italian miles in the Appenines to those who would clear, plow and sow them within three years. In March 1777, he offered ground and help in building houses to all who would go to colonize the Island of Gorgona. In 1784, he issued an edict granting $\frac{1}{4}$ the cost of building to any colonist or peasant who would build a new house or add to his old one, provided the cost be as much as \$30. On July 28, 1786, he offered land, help in building and immunity from

certain taxes to colonists in the Val di Nevole.

Another law that deserves to be mentioned in connection with agriculture was that of Mortmain. The enforcement of this law stopped immediately all stagnation of property and caused instant disposal and tillage of vast tracts formerly useless. It gave new life to agriculture.

On September 13, 1767, he passed a law that no agricultural implement or cattle could be seized for debt either public or private, under severe penalty.

In August 1768, the magistracies of Grascia and abundance which had greatly hampered trade, particularly that of provisions, were abolished, and the Annona established.

In the same year he established an academy "Lovers of Agriculture" to encourage theoretical discussions and solutions of problems.

His views about agriculture may be of some interest. In brief, they were according to Napier (1), "that as the soil would only yield fruit in proportion to the amount of labor bestowed, it became the sovereign's duty to promote its most extensive division, consistent with the encouragement of a close and active application of such labor as might prove most conducive to production; that a vast breadth of crown and corporation land was owned by those of all others ^{the} best adapted to facilitate active industry and agricultural prosperity in any country; that the existing management of this property was

fraught with evil to the poor ; with loss and embarrassment ; full of minute details, and clogged with expenses that obstructed its administration, absorbed profits, occasioned hurtful operations, carelessness, speculation, and other disorders almost inseparable from it, and finally deprived the public of any benefit from their own possessions. Landlords so far removed from the soil as were the crown and the municipalities could only in his conception take a bird's-eye view of it and were consequently the worst patrons of production that could possibly be given to agriculture ; while on the contrary, small proprietors and laborers were its nearest and most active improvers. He moreover considered that the farming system then prevalent in Tuscany as touching the welfare of laborers and colonists had generated a class of mere serfs, paid only by a yearly subsistence to improve the capital of others, but without stimulus or any prospect of advancing their own condition beyond that low and narrow bourne which confines human views to the simple gain of daily sustenance, and thus keeps man scarcely above the level of irrational beings without their instinct or enjoyment. Leopold thought it a sovereign's duty to procure for this class a real interest in the land, that they also might share those feelings which property creates, and thus be stimulated to give the public its portion of the fruits resulting from private exertions and individual interests, namely, an augmenting national wealth."

A number of measures which Leopold passed and measures

which referred partly to agriculture, but more especially to other forms of industry, are treated later in this chapter.

The silk industry was one of much importance and one which had been much hampered. Mulberry leaves, cocoons, and raw silk could not be transported without a license, or be sold freely by any but privileged persons, or be deposited in any warehouse but that of the commercial chambers, or be sold in Florence without a tax besides custom duty. (1) Besides this, the workers were much hampered by guilds. On May 12, 1769, Leopold put a tax on cocoons ; on the 26th of May 1770, he abolished the silk workers' tribunal at Pisa, leaving the trade free from a few restrictions. In May 1771, he permitted mulberry trees to be planted in the entrenchments about Florence. In October 1775, he removed a few more restrictions. On April 19, 1776, he required all silks to be stamped. On September 23, 1776, he decreed that the silk cocoon trade and their transport be freed. On Sept. 1, 1777, he removed certain transport taxes on silk. On June 1, 1778, silk weaving was permitted in any part of Tuscany instead of at Pisa and Florence alone. Three edicts of August 23rd, September 24, and December 2, 1779 freed the trade in raw silk, cocoons, and mulberry leaves entirely and abolished all taxes on the buying and selling of silk ; removed all obstructions to the silk trade ; freed even foreign silk from taxes in Florence ; permitted the export of silk on payment of a small duty ; and finally abolish-

(1) N.-223.

ed all guilds in silk manufacturing on either a large or small scale. In 1780 another law, beside leaving the question of wages to masters and workmen, freed the silk industry from nine district laws, each full of minute regulations for the manufacture of silk from the egg to the baled product. (1) Two other edicts of the same year were beneficial ; one of March 29th freed silk workers from every burden and the other of December 18th offered a premium of 5% of its value on the export of silk. For some reason on April 5th, 1788, the export of raw silk was forbidden.

Wool and its products took much of his attention. His policy with regard to export and import changed very often. On April 14, 1767, he permitted its export for two years free. An edict of June 8, 1768 permitted the import of raw wool for weaving free. Woolen goods were permitted to be exported free by an edict of 26th December, 1769, but this import was forbidden. In the next year their export was forbidden and this was renewed in 1771 "to encourage weaving" Leopold said. He permitted the erection of fulling mills after 17th March, 1773.

An edict of May 29, 1775 which he made offered a bounty on the export of native woolens and on December 11th of the same year he freed its trade in Tuscany. On April 19th of the next year he decreed that woolen goods must be stamped. Some of his other edicts with their provisions are one of 1776 lightening the wool trade and putting a duty on the import of

(1) N.-226.

foreign woolens ; of September 1777 removing certain transport duties ; of December 2, 1779 regulating duties on foreign woolens ; of December 9, 1780 and December 13, 1785 offering a premium for domestic woolens copying a certain English style ; and finally one of April 5, 1788 forbidding the export of raw wool.

In linen, too, Tuscany had some trade, and Leopold largely favored it. On 29th July, 1766, he decreed that linen could be exported free and also gave certain privileges to the trade. An edict of August 27, 1770 made the stamping of linen goods free, and another of December 9, 1771 forbade its export. On April 28th of the next year he permitted the export of linen on payment of duty, and about a year later permitted fulling mills to be erected by any one. By an edict of September 1, 1777, he freed linen from certain transport duties.

In cotton, flax and hemp, Leopold made some reforms. On April 14, 1767, he freed hemp of export duty for two years. An edict of 11th of March 1773 freed flax, hemp and cotton from import duties and made export free in certain places and another of the same year freed hemp and cotton and all their dependent industries from a great many restrictions within the Grand Duchy. On September 1, 1777, hemp and cotton and flax were freed from certain taxes and transport duties in Tuscany.

Some of his regulations referred not to any particular kind of cloth, but simply to cloths and others referred to weaving and spinning. Two edicts of February 3 and 5, 1770 relieved weavers of many restrictions and allowed a free export

of woven goods, but put a tax on their import to encourage domestic weaving. In December 1770 he relieved spinning by taking the tax off yarn. An edict of March 14, 1777 permitted weaving to be carried on within a mile of Florence ; another of February 23, 1780 abolished many internal taxes on cloths and still another of July 21, 1788 increased the import tax on foreign cloths.

Leopold made some regulations of straw for weaving. Edicts of July 21, 1768 fixed the price of straw for working ; of April 5, 1771 made the importation of straw for weaving free and took some other restriction from the industry ; and another edict of December 9th of the same year put an export duty on some of the finished products of straw, such as straw hats.

Another industry of much importance in Tuscany was that of leather, hides and tanning, and furs. At Leopold's accession, there were many tanning monopolies and laws of exclusive privileges which excluded any but the favored few from profits in this trade, but he early set to work to relieve it and removed one privilege after another until the monopolies were practically worthless, and then he finally abolished them altogether. The following edicts show most of his regulations ; 17th September 1766, various taxes on leather were abolished ; October 2, 1767, duty on imported calfskin increased for three years ; another of the same year abolishing the tax paid annually to the Tuscan government by every member of the tanning trade : (1) 30th August 1769, leatherware in Florence and

Siena declared free in export and manufacture ; 28th September 1769, duty on export of tanned leather and raw hides abolished ; 25th June 1770, the transport of leather from district to district declared free and permission granted any one to buy it ; 3d June 1771, export of sheepskin forbidden ; 16th November 1771, the tax on tanning and manufacturing leather reduced by half if sold in Florentine district ; 27th March 1772, many restrictions removed from the fur and leather trade, tax on the import of fur and leather work and permission to any one in Florence to tan leather ; 28th October 1775 every existing monopoly in any way connected with the tanning trade abolished and all old privileges to tanneries abolished, also any one can enter into tanning business and butchers may prepare and sell the hides of the animals they slaughter ; at the same time the tax on the import of hides was removed ; 23d of February 1780, 1/3 of the tax on hides was abolished ; 15th May 1782, stamp on domestic leather abolished and many other minor edicts among which might be mentioned one in 1768 forbidding the export of skins and furs curiously enough for protection of the internal trade. (1)

Then in other minor industries some of the regulations he made are as follows : Dye March 2, 1771, certain dyes freed from internal tax and exportation free when completely prepared, but not at all in the unfinished state, and all foreign dyes may be imported free ; May 29, 1775, tax on all color material

much reduced. Wax, 21st January 1772, any one permitted to bleach raw wax and to work it ; 19th October 1772, special favors to those starting wax-manufacturing or wax industry ; another in 1772 suppressing a very large wax monopoly (1) ; 1773, beeswax freed of export, import and transit taxes (2) ; 25th September 1787 a tax of 28% on all wax works. Foreign and domestic soap was freed by an edict of March 23, 1773 and twine was freed in certain districts on March 27, 1775.

Among other industries which Leopold freed was that of iron and its products. This industry was a royal monopoly and as such was administered by an office called the Magona. It regulated the price of iron in all parts of the Grand Duchy and among other restrictions even reserved exclusive rights for felling trees within a certain distance of iron foundries. In 1770 Leopold issued an edict freeing many tools of iron and steel from certain taxes. (3) Another edict of December 5, 1771 permitted a good many kinds of iron ware to be sold and circulated free ; one of 1775 abolished several taxes on nails ; of July 1, 1776, permitting smiths to make all kinds of nails ; of February 7, 1777 reducing the price on many necessary tools such as hammers and spades ; of the 11th and 13th of April 1778 abolishing the monopoly, oversight of manufacture and trade and transport tax on iron in the Maremma ; of August 31st of the next year permitting any one to trade in iron ware in small

(1) N.-166.

(2) N.-169.

(3) N.-151.

quantities, but with a tax ; of February 13 and March 15, 1730 permitting any one to trade in or manufacture iron in a few districts ; of the 29th July, same year, regulating the tax on the wholesale and retail sale of iron, and finally an edict of August 30, 1781, dissolving entirely the royal monopoly of iron, the Magona or office of its administration and unshackling its export, import, transit and manufacture. Soon after he sold the royal foundries. (1)

Mining was a royal monopoly until May 15, 1788, when Leopold abolished it together with his royalties over mineral ores, precious stones, etc. (2) An edict of 11th May 1771 permitted the import of gold and silver, but forbade that of fringes, tassels, etc., of imitation gold ; another of March 20, 1772, freed all gold and silver work made in Tuscany from all tax ; and one of September 29, 1780 permitted free transport of gold and silver whether minted or not.

Paper. On October 10, 1766, an edict forbade the export of paper as well as parchment and rags for paper-making and forbade the import of foreign papers with the exception of Turkish paper. On August 20, 1768, the import of printed books was made free ; on December 9, 1771, the export of any material for paper and paste-making was forbidden ; on November 29, 1776 pasteboard and cards were allowed to be imported with a small duty ; on October 19, 1782, the stamping of paper was

(1) N.-233.

(2) N. 231.

abolished in a number of places.

Glass. On 9th December 1768, glass was freed from export duty for five years. An edict of June 27, 1777 gave free circulation to clay, brick crucibles for glass smelting, and broken glass, all for glass making. Another edict of February 17, 1783 abolished the old law of 1738 restricting glass workers to the inhabitants of a small town called Montajone and left the trade free to all. (1)

Among his other regulations for industry are the following ; Saltpetre and Gun-powder. 18th January 1773 the monopolies in saltpetre and gun-powder were abolished with all their privileges and any one was permitted to manufacture, buy or sell them, and both their import and export was made free.

Potash. Edict of October 2, 1781, abolished the monopoly in Potash and trade in it, both foreign and domestic, was permitted to all. Marble. By edicts of August 9, 1773 and May 28,

1782 Leopold removed some old restrictions to the marble industry and taxed it. Art ware. 12th August 1780 every bond and impediment to art ware abolished.

Porcelain was freed from a number of duties in 1766. Ground emory was permitted to be

exported August 13, 1768. Music strings. These could be made of any material May 15, 1773 and in the same year were freed from taxes and their industry declared open to all.

Inns were freed from all taxes by an edict of November 16, 1785. Livery stables within three miles of Florence were freed

from taxes September 4, 1779. Old Mills were taxed and erection of new ones as well 25th August 1782. Stores and warehouses could be built within a mile of Florence, March 14, 1777. Beginning with July 15, 1766, up till 1787, he issued five edicts regulating shipping.

A number of measures referring to industry and commerce, which do not belong to any particular industry were as follows : Guilds. Some of these have been treated under the various industries. By a law of February 1, 1770, he abolished a great many guilds in Florence and put others under the newly created "Chamber of Commerce, Trades and Manufacturies" and the suppression of most matriculation fees soon followed. (1) By an edict of November 24, 1775, guilds and guild taxes on workmen in Florence were abolished and in Prato the guilds and guild tribunal were abolished. On December 2th of the following year, the guilds in Arezzo were abolished. Public salesmen or "Messani", without whose aid no mercantile transaction could be effected, were altogether abolished in 1784. (2) In 1770, foreign artisans were encouraged to settle in Tuscany and these together with other workmen were in all lent more than 200,000Z with strict orders to make repayment as easy as possible so as not to discourage industry. (3) On December 30, 1779 he ordered a very large warehouse to be built at Livorno for the receipt of goods to further industry. Leopold made several

-
- (1) N. 149-50.
 - (2) N. 253.
 - (3) N. 151.

agreements with other countries for mutual trade benefit. On Dec. 15, 1775, one was made with Austria for free trade and intercourse between the countries and for benefiting manufactures. In 1778 a similar one was made with Morocco, and on April 27 and May 1, 1781 agreements of somewhat the same nature with Lombardy, Mantua and Modena.

These are Leopold's principal measures with regard to agriculture, industry and commerce. Although a few of his measures were contradictory, on the whole his efforts were directed toward furthering the best interest of the different trades and toward leaving them free from restriction. His own ideas about trade are given in the constitution which he had prepared but never issued. It is treated in the last chapter.

Chapter V.
Criminal Law Code.

From the very beginning of his reign up to 1786 Leopold issued many edicts for the reform of criminal law. In that year he published his criminal law code, and in it are embodied, all the legal reforms which he tried and found satisfactory, as well as many new reforms, and some of the old laws which were in use at his accession.

In the preamble to his code, Leopold says that he found the laws in force much too severe, so he set about modifying and lessening penalties for various offenses. He says a trial at mitigating punishments, a scrupulous attention to prevent crimes and a despatch in trials with a certainty of punishment has greatly diminished crime. For this reason he has issued this criminal code for the good of his people.

The first part of the code is taken up with regulations of court procedure and general rules about trials. In the first place, all criminal cases must be begun at the instance of the attorney general or the aggrieved person, both of whom must sign their complaint, so that if the accused is innocent, the accuser may be prosecuted for calumny. Surgeons may inform in cases coming under their notice except in cases of personal abuse, slander, fighting, seduction and

All this criminal code chapter is taken from Leopold's criminal law code, privately printed at Warrington in 1789, and the book was so small that it was not thought worth while to give reference to pages.

adultery. In these cases those injured have to bring suit and they may withdraw it at any time. In case of such withdrawal, if the offense is known to have been committed, word shall be sent to have the accused watched.

Several regulations with regard to oaths were reforms by Leopold. Any man charged with a crime is forbidden to take oath as to what concerns himself or others, whether they be accomplices or not. Further the plaintiff is forbidden to take the oath which he used to be forced to take to avoid calumny, unless the accused require it. Witnesses, too, need not swear at their examination unless the accused require it. In giving bail the oath is not required and in fact is practically abolished in all criminal affairs. In case it is administered, instead of swearing on a Bible, the person must kneel before a crucifix and take the oath.

Other regulations referred to warrants and arrests. All warrants for arrest in criminal matters must be signed by attorney general of the Chief Justice Tribunal at Florence, by chief attorney at Siena and by the lieutenant of the province. No witness, even, may be imprisoned without such a signed warrant. No warrants to be issued where the accused is subject only to a fine. In criminal cases in which the accused may have to suffer corporal punishment, the judge may or may not issue a warrant. If, when released on bail, a delinquent fails to appear after two summons have been sent to him, he shall be brought by force. To declare

outlawry against a person, he must have been cited to appear three times, with 8 days interval. If an accused person have a judgment passed against him in his absence, he may claim a new trial if he appear within two weeks, otherwise the sentence goes into force. If the accused is sentenced only to a fine, he may claim a new trial within six months. If he be condemned to bodily punishment whenever he appear, willingly or brought by force, his defense shall be heard and his sentence regulated.

Many other and important reforms and regulations were made with reference to evidence and witnesses. Evidence under oath or not shall have the same weight ; but the judge shall explain that a falsehood is contrary to human and divine law. No witnesses may be imprisoned and tried for not giving evidence, unless their knowledge of the subject can be lawfully proved. Warrant to bring witnesses under guard, but not at their own expense, may be issued to prevent evasion and bribery if the case be important. If any witness fail to appear after two summonses he shall be brought at his own expense. If the accused name any witness or proof that may lead to his acquittal, such proof or witness shall be examined. In certain cases witnesses are to be fined for non-appearance within 3 days unless sufficient cause be shown for non-appearance. Another reform in the same line concerned the using of blood relatives as witnesses. Father, son, mother, husband, wife, brothers and sisters are all for-

bidden to testify against each other, unless it is in relation to murder or other great crime against some member of the family. In this case the judge must get dispensation to have such testimony received and then only when no other proofs can be obtained. No secret evidence shall be received and prejudicing judges etc outside of court forbidden. Another reform of some interest is the rejection of presumptive proof, however atrocious the crime be. Leopold says, "these proofs, being always irregular, must of consequence be unjust and therefore cannot be admitted of any possible case". No evidence was to be obtained by means of torture.

Another reform which Leopold considered particularly important was that of expedition in trials. Judges are charged to see trials despatched as quickly as possible and to try cases where the accused is imprisoned before any other kind. Also to examine the accused as soon as brought into their presence, that he may be released on bail if possible. Witness^s and those who are only suspected of crimes, who are kept in confinement, shall be treated as well as possible and released whenever it can be done. This speedy release or speedy bringing to justice was considered of much importance and often referred to in Leopold's edicts.

Another step toward justice was that which required a copy of all evidence and all proceedings to be given to the accused or his counsel in order to help him prepare his defense. This former process shall be made public also.

Among other rules are the following, if a person has committed crimes in various jurisdictions, the chief tribunal at Florence or Siena shall be notified, and they shall appoint a single judge and tribunal to collect all the evidence and make one judgment. In the same line, if a trial is started before one tribunal by mistake or for convenience, it shall be continued even although it should have been tried before another and no appeal shall be allowed from its decision, on the grounds of incompetency of the court. For poor criminals an advocate shall be appointed to assist them in their defense.

Two financial reforms were of much benefit. No money for trial expenses may be demanded until the trial is completely over, formerly trials had been often stopped until such money was paid. In trial expenses the usual reduction is made to the poor. In case of suit for damages the offended party shall have first claim upon the property of the offender, but in case he have no property or insufficient property, the government shall indemnify the injured ones from a fund under control of the president of the Chief Tribunal of Florence. Out of this fund, also, shall those who have been accused and found innocent after imprisonment be paid.

Magistrates and lieutenants of districts may condemn prisoners to small fines and punishments, but must in their weekly reports assign their reason. The higher officers may condemn to a little more severe punishments, but in both

of these cases the condemned may appeal and have a regular trial. Murder, robberies, violence of any kind to be tried within 10 days of act and other misdemeanors within 5 days.

Finally in section 116 Leopold says, in substance, that he has left so much power of discretion in the hands of the judges in every case, that they must not decide without some well founded reason, and that this reason be published, also that each tribunal keep a copy of such cases in order to have uniformity of judgments.

Besides these regulations just stated Leopold's attitude toward and reforms of various kinds of punishments is interesting and instructive. First of all torture is abolished completely in every form, and forbidden to be used under any circumstances. Next the punishment of death for any offense is abolished completely. Branding, the strappado and all kinds of mutilation are abolished as inhuman and barbarous. The right to kill those accused or even suspected of crime is abolished forever. Another punishment abolished is that of confiscation of property of criminals since "this affects only the innocent family or heirs and not the guilty person".

Its former use was more to enrich the treasury than to punish the offender. Besides this is the abolition of the right to remute or lessen punishment by fines.

After abolishing punishments formerly used new ones are instituted. After the abolition of death sentence, in order

that criminals formerly to be punished by death may still meet retribution and yet that may have a chance to reform and atone by some good actions the bad ones they have committed, the sentence of hard labor for life is substituted for the death sentence. The following punishments may hereafter be used by judges ; pecuniary fines, lashes in private, imprisonment provided it do not continue for more than a year, banishment in various degrees, confinement to various places, pillory, public flogging, public flogging upon an ass, Bridewell or house of correction for women from one year to life imprisonment, each prisoner to have her hair cut and to be employed in some labor ; hard labor for men--3, 7, 10, 15, 20 years and for life. To this punishment a label expressing the nature of the crime shall be worn by all undergoing it. Those who are to have hard labor for life must wear an iron ring with a double chain also a label--"The Last Punishment". The same kind of a label must be worn by women committed to Bridewell for life. Public exposure at gates of court of justice shall precede punishment for all of the more violent crimes.

Banishments are from the bailiwick and 3 miles around; from the Vicariat and 5 miles around ; or from the Grand Duchy, which is reserved for those criminals discovering their accomplices, vagabonds, quacks, foreigners who transgress, and calumniators.

Imprisonment is made sometimes in the Volterre, in the lower province, and at Grosseto.

In order to make ordinary imprisonment easier, the

prisons are to be regulated, cleaned, aired, and those prisoners in dungeons are to have their dungeon changed for at least a day once a week.

Finally the power of permuting these sentences and punishments is completely revoked.

After the various punishments allowed, comes the crimes to which these are assigned. First of all Leopold abolishes the crime called *Leze Majeste'*, or high treason--there had been much misuse of the term, and it had many times served to rid the kings of their private enemies. Leopold, although broad on many lines was still narrow with reference to religion. "Whoever", reads this provision "shall dare to profane the divine mysteries, or shall be publicly guilty of impieties or shall inculcate maxims contrary to our holy Catholic religion, shall never receive a less punishment than hard labor, either for a time or during life. But simple blasphemies, which may come from a disordered mind or excess of wine are punishable only by small imprisonment." Robbery of sacred vessels, of no matter how small value, shall be considered grand larceny and may be given a punishment of public labor for 20 years.

Concerning public libels or slanders, printed or verbal, those against high officers such as attorney general may be overlooked with a reprimand to the offender, but in case of such slander against any of the magistrates, the offender must be punished according to the degree of abuse and besides must make a public recantation. In cases of ordinary slander,

of private persons, a pecuniary fine and public retraction may be required if the injured person demand it, and if the slander be particularly shameful, imprisonment or banishment may be inflicted. In the same line false evidence and false accusations in court shall be punished by public flogging and banishment from the Grand Duchy, and in special cases of such calumny, even imprisonment for life at hard labor may be ordered.

For premeditated murders, or for those who order or assist in them, the punishment shall be hard labor for life, previous to which the offender shall be exposed for an hour in the pillory. All other cases of murder, ranging from that in a quarrel to self defense, and accidental murder, shall be left altogether to the discretion of the judges to punish severely or acquit entirely. Police if they kill or wound a prisoner in arresting him, shall be subject to most rigorous punishment unless it can be proved that the prisoner openly resisted arrest. In this case the officers may be slightly punished or even released entirely. In case, in this resistance to arrest, the police are wounded, severe penalties shall be inflicted. Wounding of others with arms shall invariably be punished from corporal punishment up to public labor according to the degree of injury and premeditation. If no weapon be used, the punishment shall be a fine from 5 to 40 dollars.

Then there are various punishments for stealing, burglar -

ies, thefts committed with false keys, embezzlements etc if the loss equal about 25 dollars, shall condemn the thief to public labor from 3 to 20 years. Petty larceny, if the amount stolen is less than 50 dollars, shall be punished by a less punishment than hard labor. If more than 50 dollars, the same punishment as burglary. Highway robbery of 2 dollars subjects the offender to public labor, and if it is committed with arms, no matter how small the amount stolen, must be punished with public labor, even for life in extreme cases. Fraud, forgery, swindling and extortion shall be punished the same as petty larceny.

With reference to incendiaries, hard labor for a time or even for life shall be proscribed according to the loss and also intent. Fire arising from negligence is punishable by banishment or imprisonment, or if the loss be trifling, may be treated as a civil matter.

Forgery and falsification in papers shall be punished by afflictive punishment. In case public papers are forged it may even extend to 20 years public labor. Coiners of false money, who used to be considered guilty of high treason, shall now be guilty of grand larceny. This applies also to those who alter or clip money, and those who buy it, and the punishment is from 3 to 20 years hard labor.

The punishments for adultery, bigamy, seduction and rape are not changed. They range from a fine to hard labor for life and are dependent upon the circumstances of the crime.

Any judge or officer in the kingdom, who misuses, his authority or exceeds it, by doing injustice to the weak or favoring the guilty, shall be guilty of public violence punishable by all degrees up to and including the last punishment and shall be forever excluded from an public office in Tuscany. He is the one who "does the greatest injury to society and to his sovereign". The above punishment is proscribed also for those who corrupt by bribes such judges or officers.

Smuggling laws are reformed and made milder. The smuggling laws with reference to salt are left rather severe still. Siena salt may not be brought out that district and penalty for using or selling it up to 60 dollars. No bargains for salt between private individuals penalty 30 dollars. Theft of salt the same as any other theft. A fine of 150 dollars for bringing salt into the Grand Duchy if the amount is less than 10 pounds, if above the fine may go as high as 300 dollars and for buying the same a penalty from 60 to 150 dollars. If it be a foreigner who imports he shall be excluded from the country. If the smuggling be attended with violence, hard labor shall be the penalty. Similar laws are made with reference to tobacco, the fine being 6 dollars per pound if under 10 and 3 dollars for every pound over 10. In detection of all kinds of smuggling, no search is allowed, the offenders must be caught in the act.

The carrying of firearms shall be fined 25 dollars and

of other arms, except short daggers, 10 dollars. To wear such short weapons 50 dollars. No search permitted unless arms employed in an offensive way against anyone, and in such case, the carrying of such weapons shall increase the punishment.

A fine of 10 dollars is laid upon the killing of each pigeon and if any public officers are guilty of killing them they shall be given 3 years public labor.

If a person suspected of a crime has not sufficient evidence against him to convict him, but very strong conjectures concur to point to his guilt, he may be punished but not stronger than banishment or confinement, and in cases

where his supposed crime is capital, the smallest degree of public labor may be given. A strong watch is declared over those suspected but not strongly enough for any punishment.

besides various regulations with reference to escapes. Escape from hard labor shall give ten years additional. A prisoner escaping from banishment in bailiwick shall be banished from the vicariate, if he disobey again he shall be imprisoned in the Volterra, if he escape from there, he shall be banished to the lower province of the Siena, and escape from the Siena shall be punished with imprisonment at Grossets, and escape from there shall double the length of time to be spent there, or if his sentence were 5 years or over shall have hard labor for 3 years. Escape from

officers, whether successful or not and whether attended with injury or not to the police, shall be punished.

One noticeable feature in all these cases is that the judge is in all cases left large liberty in pronouncing penalty. His discretion is to be used according to circumstances. This reform is a wide reaching ~~and just~~ one.

A glance at these criminal laws of Leopold serve to show that he certainly was doing his best for Tuscany. He still showed some lack of enlightenment, in his punishment for heresy for instance , but on the whole these criminal laws, even to us to-day, seem pretty efficient and just.

CHAPTER VI.

RELIGION.

To properly understand Leopold's religious reforms, it is necessary to know first a little about his own beliefs. He was not as is generally believed, of unorthodox faith. He was a true Roman Catholic, and all of his reforms had in view the advantage of religion and the good of the church. (1) He was ready to do anything for the culture and purity of the church. (2) He tried to ^Emanicpate his citizens from every tie uncalled for by a just idea of religion, but the sleepy intellect of the nation wrapt in superstition had lost all desire for enlightenment. The clergy were ready to take up this advantage and skilfully profit by it. (3)

Leopold met with opposition on every hand, and some of strongest of it came from the Popes with whom he had to deal. They were much afraid that their authority would be diminished, as indeed it was. First, Clement 13 opposed nearly every church reform which Leopold proposed, but his death put a stop to this in a measure, as Pope Clement 14, his successor, was a great reforming Pope, who helped Leopold in some things. (4) His death in 1774 put Pius 6 in power, and he proved himself opposed to all liberality or reform. He did all in his power

(1) R-8
(2) RI-68

(3) N-319
(4) N-329

to oppose Leopold, and the few concessions he did make were only drawn from him when he knew that Leopold would take the measures himself without authority if the Pope would not give his consent.(1)

After this Leopold many times forced Pius 6 to submit to his demands. Finally he abandoned all notions of Concordats as mere methods of swindling rulers into submitting to the Pope's demands.(2) In many instances he actually refused to allow the discipline ordered by the Pope to be carried out.(3) The Pope retaliated by instructing the clergy, both regular and secular, to refuse to carry out the reforms of Leopold. The Papal Nuncio's court used every means to stir up discord and at the later part of Leopold's reign stirred up a rebellion against him by working upon the ignorance and superstition of the people.(4) Leopold repressed a number of the Papal Bulls and did not allow them to be circulated at all under severe penalties. (5) The history of the different ways Leopold and the Popes came into opposition is explained fully farther on in this chapter.

In making his religious or ecclesiastical reforms, Leopold was advised by Scipion de Ricci, and by Senator Rucellai. These two men worked out most of the reforms which he carried out, and much credit is due to them for their efficient advice.

-
- (1) N-329-32
 - (2) N-321
 - (3) N-366
 - (4) N-375
 - (5) R-215

The Society of Jesus had long worked great harm in Tuscany, and had opposed violently all Leopold's reforms and he was thinking seriously of taking steps against them when Pope Gangeneili, came to his aid by abolishing the society in all its branches, in 1773(1). It was easy enough to say that they were abolished but a different matter to break up the organization that had flourished for so many years, and Leopold had great troubles with them. A great many of them united under the name of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.(2) under this form they continued to be a most troublesome and worked out their spite against Leopold by stirring up the people and in opposing all his reforms. In one case they worked up a revolt by telling the people that Leopold had made some reforms that he had never thought of making.(3) Strict laws were passed against them and Leopold ordered the police to search out and arrest any persons suspected of being Jesuits.(4)

Another thing that Leopold abolished was the Inquisition which was still in active operation when he came into power. He said it had become obsolete and that it was only now used to coerce monarchs and ignorant people. So in 1782, in July, he abolished the whole office with its courts, and confiscated its property, in spite of Papal opposition.(5)

Another old institution that was still continued in Tus-

(1) N-324, R-32
(2) N-370
(3) N-370

(4) R-32
(5) N-345

cany was that of hermits. They were supposed to spend their time in religious meditation, but really did not much but smuggle and indulge in vice and crime. Leopold took the matter in hand and abolished all hermits except six whom he knew to be virtuous, in 1776.(1)

Tuscany was full of religious societies and associations that were semi-clerical. There were 117 in Florence.(2) They did not take orders but had some privileges and exemptions. They were highly endowed and were supposed to spend their money helping the poor, celebrating mass and in similar ways. But they had turned into ways of luxury, vice and crime. They mismanaged marriage portions entrusted to them, and did not attend to the poor and the sick at all.(3) All these faults led Leopold to issue an edict abolishing the societies on March 21, 1785.(4) In their place he instituted a new company called "The Brotherhood of Charity", to help the sick and poor. This measure of abolition and the making of the new company was very unpopular, especially because Leopold had confiscated some personal property with that of the society.(5)

The state of the secular clergy drew his attention as soon as he came into office. In Tuscany there were in all in the year 1784, of which we have record, 10,538 persons in the secular clergy.(6) This number was far too many for the needs of the inhabitants slightly over a million and was

(1)R-214, N-333
(2)N-354

(3)R-74
(4)N-354

(5)R-215
(6)R-213

a constant drain on their resources to support them, since they did no work but relied on the people for money. It would not have been so bad if they had been doing much good, but the enormous number of them left few duties to most of them and in their idleness they turned to all forms of vice and crime. The whole of Tuscany was filled with a multitude of little benefices whose priests had no duties at all. Many native and foreign priests went about chanting masses for pay. Abuse of the confessional to seduce women, gambling, frequenting low taverns, poisoning, and every form of vice in the clergy set a bad example for the people to follow.(1) In one church in Florence we have record that 16,400 masses were chanted in one year.(2) All these conditions showed in what a bad state the secular clergy was in. But besides these the priests and curates were very poorly educated and were altogether unfit for their duties. It took only ten years service in a cathedral to make one eligible for orders, and that service only meant attending masses. In Florence alone over 100 priests were turned out every year in this way.

Leopold took many measures to restrict their numbers.(3) He required all who wished to take orders to pass an examination before a synod before they could be admitted.(4) No priests could be ordained without definite duties for them

(1) H-342
(2) R-289

(3) R-229
(4) H-334

in the future.(1) All priests were required to be native, and no foreign ones were allowed to come in.(2) The people were encouraged to go into some productive enterprise.

While the cities were supplied with clergy in superabundance, the country districts were in great want for spiritual advice. The rural livings were so poor that Leopold tried to remedy this.(3) This is explained later in this chapter.

Leopold early took up the reformation of the vice in the clergy. He used every means in his power and tried to get permission from Rome to punish them but it was refused. Finally he took up flagrant cases on his own authority and punished a great many of them.(4) He had a hard proposition before him though and his efforts did not meet with much success, as the Pope countenanced all these vices with dispensations, simply to show opposition to Leopold.

Some of the livings were elected, and these became a source of much corruption. Priests would go around among their flock soliciting votes and promising absolution from sins for votes.(5) Leopold to do away with this corruption, abolished these elective livings altogether.

Another abuse was that of getting permission from the Pope to live ^{away} from their "living". They of course furnished substitutes but did not pay them well and often put in their

(1) N-323
(2) N-323

(3) N-315
(4) R-16 etc.

(5) N-315

place men who were altogether unfitted for the work. Leopold not only forbade all priests to live away from their parish but also forbade parish priests to be away for a day without permission.(1) All bishops and every diocese was required to pay taxes to the Pope, this is treated farther on in this chapter.

The educational colleges for Ecclesiastics and those wishing to take orders, which was one way Leopold took to reform the clergy, is treated in the last chapter.

The great ceremony and pomp attending masses and religious festivals was a matter of great expense and was used to attract common people to leave their legitimate work. Leopold ordered that all unnecessary ceremony as well as all uncalled for services be stopped immediately.(2) This was one means he used to keep down the number of priests, too.

Leopold saw that the supervision of clergy that Rome was supposed to carry on had become nothing at all and that the Pope could have done very little real good if he had cared to, because he was so far away. Therefore he tried to get the Pope's permission to allow the Bishops of the various dioceses to have supervision and authority over the secular clergy under them. The Pope indignantly refused, but finally after Leopold had taken some steps on his own authority, he

(1) N-336
(2) N-332

saw that this refusal would do no good. So in 1786 Pius 6, gave in and allowed the bishops to have authority over those under them.(1) The Bishops were also to see that the monks and nuns in their district behaved themselves and were given authority to force them to do this.(2) They were to use civil power if necessary, and did so in a number of cases.(3) Besides they were to be the confessors and preachers of nunneries* instead of monks as formerly.(4) Bishops were required to furnish detailed reports of how their priests and people were getting on, and what changes were necessary.(5) When the foreign superiors of the regular clergy were cut off, the bishops were put in their place.(6) By an edict of Oct. 1788.

All foreign bishops and vicars already in Tuscany had to appear before Leopold and were not allowed to stay until the Royal "exequator" had been put upon their Papal bulls of election.(7)

For some time Leopold had been considering points that he thought should be reformed in church government and general ecclesiastic affairs. In 1786 he collected all these and made

-
- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
| (1) | N-366 | (3) | N-336 | (5) | N-343 |
| | | | | (6) | N-341 |
| (2) | N-342 | (4) | N-336 | (7) | N-382 |

* In this thesis "nunnery" is used to refer to convents where women live. "Monastery" refers to convents where men live and "convent" is used as a general term to mean both.

them into a treatise called the "57 Ecclesiastical Points".(1) These were in the form of questions and answers and took up a great many of the reforms he had already made. Then he sent a copy of these around to the different prelates in Tuscany for ratification, but as they did not ratify them as he thought they would but spent their time in discussion and delay, he decided to have a general assembly or synod at Pistoia. By a circular of March, 1787, he convoked this assembly.(2) They met on April 23, 1787. Three archbishops and 14 bishops were present with their secretaries but no regular clergy were allowed. The synod discussed many of the points and did some good, but in the main, all they did was to wrangle over little points and refuse to agree. The Pope had given them orders to act that way. Finally Leopold saw that they were doing no good, and that the Jesuits and Papal agents and Monks were simply using the assembly to tell lies about terrible laws they were passing, so he adjourned them, on June 5, 1785. The assembly did some good however. Among the acts it passed are: A regulation of the studies of the regular clergy; a rule that the ordinary must obey his priest; abolition of all fees paid for spiritual aid; and a general condemnation of the manner of life of the clergy.(3) All these were simply parts of the 57 points.

Leopold issued many circulars to priests and bishops

(1) R-250-1
(2) R-216
(3) R-248

telling them what was expected of them, in the way of supervision and caring for the poor and sick, as well as teaching true doctrines, and trying to uplift the people by their example.

Another thing that took Leopold's attention was the reformation of the regular clergy. Tuscany abounded in Nunneries and monasteries, so much so that a very large proportion of the people were in orders. For instance, there were 72 nunneries in Florence alone.(1) In all Tuscany there were 7, 670 nuns.(2) Monks existed in almost as large numbers. Now all these people taken from productive enterprise, with almost no work to do and with no proper outlet for their natural passions, naturally turned to vice and crime. The records show that the state of some of the orders was awful. The monks who supervised the convents used to resort there and enter into all kinds of license. One convent had become so depraved that they had come to believe the only true religion was the pursuit of carnal pleasure, and all nuns in that convent were taught that doctrine.(3) Together with this vice was the problem of ignorance which was almost universal on the part of the monks and nuns. The libraries of the monasteries were almost never used, they knew no Latin, had no doctrine taught them but the infallibility of the Pope, and were not in any way fit to give the

(1) R-23
(2) R-213
(3) R-365

people religious comfort and advice.(1) The Pope countenanced them in all their vice simply in order to oppose Leopold. He encouraged them not to obey his edicts, and refused to take any action when Leopold asked him to correct them.(2)

This was the state of affairs that Leopold had to contend with when he started his reforms. The first thing he tried was to limit the numbers of the monks and nuns. At that time nearly every woman was sent to some convent for education for at least a part of her life. There they were unduly influenced before then were of proper age to judge and to understand what it meant, to take the veil. Leopold met this problem by limiting the age at which girls could be admitted to convents. No girls could be admitted for study till they were ten years old, none could become lay sisters, which did not mean full vows, till twenty years old, and further, for six months before taking the final vows every woman must mingle freely with the world, without any influence from nunneries. Finally after six months, she must be examined by some disinterested clergyman before the board of examiners, before she could be allowed to take the veil and renounce the world.(3) Even then no convent was allowed to receive a new nun unless they could clearly prove that they were able to support her without aid.(4) Novices were allowed to stay novices till they were 30 years old.

(1) H-312
(2) H-313

(3) H-330, R-34
(4) H-347

Convents were so rich that a girl by taking the vows often exchanged a life of poverty for one of luxury. An attempt to stop this wealth was where Leopold commanded that no girl could take her marriage portion with her into a convent.(1) Admission to a convent had been a great event and had been celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. So that some poor girl's eyes might not be dazzled with all this show and that she might not thus be led to take orders, Leopold abolished all such ceremony connected with entrance into a convent.(2) All these were to make the entrance into a convent harder and to make all women enter it with open eyes, instead of regretting it later in life.

He also made similar regulations with respect to monks. No monks could enter a monastery as lay brother till 18 years of age and could not take final vows till 24 years old.(3)

Another great evil in Tuscany was the mendicant orders. These orders were really rich, and members on entering the orders only exchanged real poverty of the world for false poverty of the order.(4) Often the mendicant brothers sat at their ease while they sent out lay brothers to get alms for them.(5) Leopold suppressed mendicity in those orders which held property, and urged them to stop some of their laziness and to help the poor and sick as their vows required.

(5)

(1) N-347
 (2) N-330

(3) N-331
 (4) N-316

(5) N-317
 (6) N-384

A good many regulations were necessary for convents, and Leopold made a great many of these. Among others, he permitted nuns to change their nunneries at will, so that they might live with those that were most suited to their tastes.(1)

The Monks were no longer made supervisors of nunneries, but the bishops were to oversee them and to watch their conduct.

(2) Their confessors and praachers were to be secular priests of known reputation.(3)

All monasteries were to be supervised by bishops, too. They were to use civil authority to discipline them if necessary. Some who had taken orders when too young to realize their step and who wished to be relieved from their vow were given their freedom.(4)

To educate them better for their positions instructors were given to many of the convents, and besides that Leopold founded a school for ecclesiastic education at Pistoia.(5) The numerous feast days and easy penalties exacted at confession drew people away from the churches and into the convents. This Leopold tried to stop by forbidding unnecessary ceremonies, and by advising the people to resort to their own parish church.(6)

In many of the nunneries, the nuns had their own private fortunes and managed their own affairs. This gave rise to jealousies and worldliness. In March 1785, he reduced all such convents to the rank of mere conservatories.(7) During

(1) N-337

(3) N-336

(5) RII-50

(2) N-342

(4) R-142

(6) N-316

(7) N-358

the riots of 1787, which were stirred up against his reforms by the Pope's emissaries and by the efforts of the superiors of many monasteries, Leopold took severe measures and abolished all convents whose superiors had been involved in stirring up the riots.(1) Besides this he abolished a good many convents and monasteries at various times, and for various reasons.

One way Leopold tried to make convents better was by forbidding all foreign superiors and commanding them to leave the country within two months. This edict was issued June 1, 1781.(2) Every monastery and nunnery sent taxes to Rome. This Leopold abolished with certain exceptions, by forcing Pius 6 to give him a bull to that effect in Oct. 1775.(3)

Nearly all the convents and societies of a religious nature opposed Leopold's reforms as much as they dared. There were four parties in Tuscany. The first had men who really believed in his reforms, but who were intimidated by threats of Jansenism, so did nothing. The second was composed of people who had taken orders simply for their own material good, so they naturally did not favor reforms that took their financial aims away. The next class were ignorant fanatics who obeyed the Pope blindly. And the fourth class was composed of a very few who saw the good of his reforms and had moral courage enough to support them. On the whole then

(1)
(2) N-342
(3) N-333

Leopold had to make these reforms in the regular Clergy in the face of the opposition of almost the whole order.(1)

The church had for so long a time been in power in Tuscany that they had usurped nearly everything to themselves. Among the things they had taken on themselves was that of the authority of their ecclesiastical courts and prisons. Their courts tried all sorts of offenses both criminal and spiritual, and tried not only clergy but also laymen. Their prisons too were used for their own corrupt purposes, and were often used to get out of the road persons who had obtained knowledge of offenses committed by the clergy. On the other hand, it had been ordained that Clergy should be tried in ecclesiastical courts only, no matter what their offense, and should be imprisoned in ecclesiastical prisons only. This state of affairs was too much for Leopold to stand. As soon as he came into power we have records of numbers of priests and monks being punished in the royal council, and in certain lay courts.(2) This, too in spite of much Papal opposition. Soon after that he took up the law of Mortmain that had been passed some time before but never enforced to any extent in Tuscany, and decided to rigidly enforce.(3) Then he took up the question of ecclesiastical prisons. By an edict of June 7, 1770, he abolished all ecclesiastical prisons, except for purely spiritual cases of discipline. Even then they must be open for inspection at any time, and the names and

(1) N-513
(2) R-16
(3) N-113

offences of all prisoners must be reported. Prisoners were allowed to be transferred to state prisons at any time if they so preferred.(1)

When Leopold became Grand Duke of Tuscany, he found that the old institution of the inviolability of the sanctuary was still kept up in Tuscany. Not only was it kept up, but so actively that all the cathedrals had their complement of thieves and murderers who stayed indoors in the day-time and issued out at night to seek plunder and to see what vice they could indulge in. They would bring their booty back to enjoy it in the sanctuary. They even used their abodes to sell their goods, and often interrupted the religious exercises so much with their drunken feasts that the services could not go on. Every monastery sheltered criminals, and so numerous were the places where they could get refuge from the law that a criminal was not often caught.(2) Leopold tried to get authority from the Pope to abolish this old custom, but after much delay and discussion it was refused him. Then he took the matter in his own hands and abolished the right of sanctuary altogether, but made some concessions to criminals taken in sacred buildings. Civil debtors were still allowed to be safe while in the sanctuaries. Those who had committed crimes punishable by death were to be given ten years in prisons, and for lesser offenses the ordinary sentence was to be reduced by half.(3)

(1) R-72, N-323

(2) N-91

(3) N-322

Then he took the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts. At different times he regulated and lessened slightly their authority but by an edict of Oct. 30, 1784, he abolished all their duties except those purely spiritual. He abolished the use of Latin in these court. Regulated their fees according to lay courts. Put as their clerks, layment who had graduated from Tuscan law University.(1) He forbade any ecclesiastical measure or edict, such as Papal Bulls to be countenanced or cited in any court where temporal pains were involved.(2) Permitted Tuscans who had been tried in a foreign court on ecclesiastical matters, to appeal back to home from any unsatisfactory decision.(3) He also required the Royal exequator to be affixed to many of the pontiff's dispensatory acts to make them valid.(4) And finally, on the 20th of September, 1788 he destroyed the last vestige of ecclesiastical authority in temporal affairs, by abolishing the Papal Nuncio's court. It had still claimed many rights, and had stirred up much opposition to his reforms.(5)

Leopold's treatment of the Jews is important. On July 2, 1766, he ordered that the Jews were not to be harmed or interfered with. In 1789 the Jews were admitted to full citizenship but, out of deference to their religious scruples, were allowed to refuse office and did not have to attend religious ceremonies with the other magistrates. This is treated in the chapter on Administration.

(1) N-351, R-215

(3) N-337

(5) N-380

(2) N-339

(4) N-323

A noteworthy feature of his criminal code which was issued in 1786 is the severe penalty for heresy and for blasphemy which are treated in the chapter on criminal law.

The financial system with reference to church taxation and tithes needed much attention. What he tried to do was to simplify this taxation and to make it fall on everyone with reference to what he could afford as well as to distribute the church funds where they could do the most good. Numbers of the country clergy were so poor that they could live with difficulty, yet they were taxed the same amount that the rich city clergy had to pay. He gave instructions to all bishops to see that all his poor clergy had a salary of at least 110 dollars a year. One way of accomplishing this was to unite several small parishes into one larger one.(1) All private livings were forbidden to be charged with pensions. The poorer clergy were to be exempt from all tithes and cathedral dues.(2) Priests in private benefices were made independent and immovable, but patrons had to pay them the full salary fixed by law or give up the advowson.(3) In the future no private livings were permitted to be founded.(4)

On May 11, 1775, Leopold abolished the Ecclesiastical Decima tax, leveled lay ecclesiastic property and subjected all to a common tax called the Grand Fiscal Decima.(5) In 1769 he practically abolished all parochial tithes. That is where the income of the priest amounted to \$120 the tithe

(1) N-333

(3) N-349

(5) N-331

(2) N-336

(4) N-113

ceased, but incumbents actually in possession allowed to levy it during their stay. In livings less than \$120 it was made up by tithes, but this really abolished tithes as they were no longer a tax on improvements. The priests were not allowed to collect money or raise tithes at all. This was to be done by collectors who got five percent for their trouble.(1) The money which he received from the Jesuits after their abolition, from the property of the inquisition, from the abolished religious companies or societies, from the abolition of all foreign fees (he took them for his own use), from the money which came from suppressed convents, and that taken which formerly went as entrance portions into convents ; all this and other money contributed from the national treasury, was put into a fund called Church patrimony. This fund was distributed by the Church Patrimony Board which he formed for that purpose. This board had to give a weekly detailed statement to Leopold of just how much money had been received and just how every cent had been spent. He was continually giving them advice and suggesting new ways which the poor, hospitals, poor clergy, etc., could be benefited.(2) Some of the ways of spending this fund which benefited the people will be treated later. In every parish he instituted a company of charity, with the parish priest at the head of it. This company took the place of the religious companies, and it was given funds for specific purposes by the Church Pat-

(1) N-348
(2) N-318-349

rimony Board.(1)

In all religious reforms Leopold had at heart the best interests of his people, and while he was trying to stop the increase of convents, the crime of clergy and so many evils, it was always for the good of the people. When he stopped the tithes and stopped mendicant orders from impoverishing the people, it was not so much to reduce the power of the church as it was to raise the condition of the people. In his regulations of allowing the nuns to go about and change convents he tried to make their lot as easy as possible. One of the ways he tried to benefit his people was by trying to keep them from going into nunneries. He made a fund for marriage portions and every girl of good reputation who was between 18 and 30 years could get one of these portions.(2) Besides that he removed many impediments to marriage such as license fees, which had often made people keep from marriage.(3)

Among other things, he regulated the laws for Sunday and other church holidays. These had come so often and had strictly kept peasants and laborers from work, that often they had to lose some perishable crops, or got into lazy habits, that were demoralizing. Besides that holydays were the signal for great pomp and ceremonies that brought with them much vice. To help the people in that line, he reduced the number of holydays, and diminished the pomp of their ceremonies.(4) Besides that he allowed all necessary work to be

(1) ~~N-355~~
(2) N-357

(3) R II-50
(4) N-324

carried on and permitted amusements, which were proper, but they were not to interfere with the religious observations.(1) Innkeepers were allowed to keep open, and provision stores, but taverns were to be closed on such days.(2)

Then the companies of charity which he formed were simply for helping the sick and for raising the religious aim of the people. Besides that the bishops were instructed to be sure to help the people, not by learned sermons which they could not understand, but by their example, and by getting their priests and themselves to know them intimately, and to talk with them on religion as applied to everyday life.

He took away from the people the right to elect some of the curates which they had formerly elected, but that was simply because they were doing harm and not because he wanted to take away their power.(3)

Finally he had made out a series of religious reforms which were all for the good of the people, but which he did not get a chance to enforce because of riots and rebellion which took up the later part of his reign in Tuscany.

-
- (1) H-324
(2) M-324
(3) B-383
(4) R-256

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION.

After following Leopold through his reign and taking up his various reforms, a general view of the whole may be of some value. This chapter is a final review of the subject with a mention of some of the most noteworthy reforms showing enlightenment, and in conclusion a few words about Leopold's constitution which he would have given to Tuscany had circumstances not prevented it.

Before beginning it might be well just to mention a few of the difficulties which Leopold had to fight against in his reforms. Tuscany had an enormous debt ; it was a mass of different districts each differently governed ; many of these districts were unhealthy ; every trade was full of ancient restrictions that shackled it almost beyond endurance ; and finally Rome exercised such a strong influence over the whole country that its power was particularly hard to oppose. Besides all this he was only 18 years old when he ascended the throne.

With these difficulties in mind, the following list is particularly noteworthy. In the first place Leopold believed in keeping out of wars of the foreign powers, and among other things abolished his regular army and navy, dismantled his fortresses at the same time starting a regular militia. Giving local administration and local taxation to the different districts was another important measure. His forming of a

regular postal system and having a census taken are also noteworthy.

In a financial way, the almost complete abolition of the public debt, local taxation, and abolition of farming out of the revenues are important.

In an industrial and economic way, the freeing of so many restrictions and taxes from trades, particularly the provision trade, the abolition of guilds ; and of most monopolies, and among exceptions to this the lottery ; the abolition of seizing agricultural implements for debt ; the throwing open of game preserves and fisheries ; and encouraging colonization by grants of land and help in building houses ; all these show pretty thoroughly his enlightened policy.

In his criminal law code the abolition of torture and all kinds of mutilation ; his refusal to accept presumptive proof ; not allowing relatives to testify against each other ; and the quickness of trial together with his belief that the prime object should be to prevent not to punish crime, all show enlightenment.

The abolition of the inquisition and of the right of sanctuary ; the abolition of convents and attempts to reform those which remained ; the taxing of church property and restricting ecclesiastical courts ; the granting of full citizenship and toleration to the Jews ; severe penalties for heresy ; and the foundation of the Brotherhood of Charity, are some of his measures.

The building of roads and the starting of reclaiming marshes together with the clearing out of canals are also important.

His establishment of a school for young girls which combined the practical and the literary (1) ; the founding of a professorship in criminal law ; increasing the salaries of university professors ; the foundation of libraries, and opening them to the public ; and forming and increasing museums and art galleries and throwing them open to the public are all worthy of noticing.

Then his humanitarian measures such as taking care of the insane ; founding maternity and other hospitals ; establishment of a foundling house ; and according to Napier his abolition of slavery (2), are worthy of mention.

A glance at all these measures will show how much at heart Leopold must have had the good of the people. He took a personal interest in all their most trifling actions and traveled around to the different districts to see what he could do to help them. In all his measures, although he received advice from his ministers, he made the final decision himself of what was to be done.

Having treated his measures, what more fitting conclusion to this thesis could there be than a few words about his constitution and instructions to his ministers on leaving Tuscany.

(1) N-220

(2) N-210

By this new constitution the nation was to be governed by Community Assemblies, Provincial Assemblies, and a General Assembly. A certain number of communities made up a province. Certain men chosen from the Community Assemblies made up the Provincial Assemblies, and certain men chosen from it in turn made up the General Assembly. Laws were to be enacted by the concurrent voice of the prince and the General Assembly, but their execution was placed altogether in the hands of the Grand Duke, who was to have full power over the civil force of Tuscany. (1)

Among other notable things was that a perfect neutrality was to be kept with all nations, and that a regular militia only was to be maintained.

Another clause was the perfect liberty of trade which was established as a fundamental law, sacred and immutable ; incapable of suspension, or of impediment by taxes or other restrictions, either directly or indirectly applied. (2)

Besides that no public or provincial debt could be contracted in any form, and he made special provisions so that what already existed should soon be paid off. (3)

Another fundamental article forbade any increase of territory by new acquisitions, or any alteration by exchanges. (4)

-
- (1) N-302-3
 - (2) N-304
 - (3) N-304
 - (4) N-305

One noticeable feature in all Leopold's reforms was that they were brought about more slowly than most of the other enlightened despots' reforms. In nearly every case he set a certain date ahead at which time each edict was to be enforced. Besides that he tried to educate the people up to certain reforms. In conclusion the following passage from Napier seems to pretty well sum up Leopold's whole reign. He says, "Leopold fully exercised his despotic powers for opening a road to liberty, and perhaps no despotism was ever swayed by purer intentions, and with less offensive consequences."

