

the festive procession of their money and clothes, as well as taking three horses out of their harness' (Fe. 241). Spiegel likewise mentions a party raided by soldiers: 'At Gremsdorf they came across the guests at a wedding breakfast, who all ran away, whereupon the cavalymen ate the lot' (Sp.66). Gerlach laconically indicates that a christening fared no better: 'Croats in Albertshausen for winter quarters. Behaved badly. Broke into a christening; ate, drank, and desecrated everything' (Ge.30). Zader reports how Imperialist troops treated Naumburg's womenfolk in 1633: 'Their soldiers took more than 140 servant girls as wives, but when they had gone a few leagues from here they stripped the whores and chased them away' (Za.28-9). More poignantly, Spiegel adds a later marginal note to a register entry of a wedding: 'They parted from each other, he to the war and she off somewhere else, and since dead' (Sp.32). Gerlach tells a sad story of the misdeeds and misfortunes arising from an illicit affair between people whose lives had been disrupted by war; 'She had a husband, who was at the war; he had no wife':

On the 16th of May soldiers searched the cellars of Fuchstadt for buried money, but they found a buried child which had been interred by Salveter and his maid the previous Christmas. He was a customs official and councillor. On Friday the 19th of May he was taken from Eibelstadt and she from Winterhausen to Ochsenfurt, where they were imprisoned. ... On the Monday after Repentance Day they were both beheaded at Ochsenfurt. (Ge.24)

Moximer, G. Eyewitness Accounts ... 30 yrs War  
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## Counting the Cost

(money) Economics

Money is a recurrent theme in accounts of the war. Some of the military men record the value of their plunder and the civilians often put a price on their losses, whether it be the value of items taken by soldiers or the amount of cash they were obliged to hand over, the sums levied as contributions or their expenses for troops billeted on them. In many cases the figures are quite precise, and for some of the writers the opportunity to quote a cash value appears to be a way of authenticating the account, a hard number which can be seized almost with relief, while for others money seems central to their perception of the burdens of war. The figures they give are complicated by the varied units of money and abbreviations they use, and cannot readily be converted into modern equivalents, but the significance the authors themselves attached to them is clear.

A number of the diarists kept careful financial records, an example being the baker Strampfer, who concludes his account with the final reckoning that '*summa*, all my contributions to the war from *anno* 1634 until 1650 cost me 2895 rx. 8½ k.' (S.36). Earlier he describes his record-keeping and calculations:

When I made an estimate of the costs after the departure of these troops I found that to my certain knowledge I had given the soldiers 417 Reichstaler in cash alone. I am also sure that the food and drink they had cost as much again, as I had to feed 18 people for several weeks, real soldier riff-raff. Such expenses could mount up to 1000rx. (S.33)

Strampfer adds pious thanks that things were not worse: 'Although I was stretched to the limit by this unbearable and all too heavy garrisoning ... with God's help I have lived to see the end of it. May God mercifully protect us further from the like' (S.33).

The pastor Freund also kept a record of his losses in raids. On the first occasion, in September 1631, he notes: 'In this plundering I suffered losses in money, silverware, linen and household goods of 97 R. 15 g. at the lowest

reckoning, including my cassock, ruff and hood, which were stolen out of the church' (Fr.33). In October and November 1632 he calculated his costs 'in cattle, household goods, beer, bread and oats as at least 147 R. 3 g.', while he assessed the two raids in 1633 'at 131 R. in cash, plus two horses' (Fr.34, 35). For 1634 he is less explicit, noting one raid in October 'in which I lost all of the few cattle and little provisions I had', and another in which he was 'plundered down to the ground by the enemy' (Fr.36-7, 37). He is more specific about the effects of a fire started by looters in 1637: 'Besides my parsonage, both my barns and all the remaining supplies I had on hand were destroyed, including 42 bushels of fallow-corn, other grain and a supply of wheat in storerooms, as well as more than 24 bushels of winter barley on my [fields at] New Gate Lane. My best featherbeds were also burned in the church' (Fr.41). Underlying these statements were detailed calculations; the manuscript includes an itemised account of Freund's losses from raids and the costs of billeting he had to bear during 1631 to 1634, items such as:

Taken from my sons: one hat; one old coat; a dress coat made of London cloth; one new pair of trousers; all estimated at the least at ... 8R.

A woman's good bonnet ... 2R.

After the holidays, as the Swedish artillery from Zwickau passed through here: provisions for two gun-captains with three horses and six people for one night; reckoned at ... 2R. 6g. (Fr.69, 69, 71)

Freund summarises his costs for the four years from 1631 to 1634 at 700 Reichstaler, and in the three years from 1634 onwards at 'well over 4000 R.' (Fr.41). Implicit in this is that he (and many others, to judge from similar indications in their texts) was able to hide a great deal from the raiders on each occasion, undermining earlier claims of being plundered down to the ground. These no doubt reflect his own perception at the time that he had been completely stripped of his possessions, rather than being deliberately misleading or exaggeration for effect. Thus on 15 February 1637 he asserts that the village was completely cleaned out by the Imperialists 'and not so much as a bit of bread was left us, still less any butter, cheese or other food, nor any live-stock, large or small, clothes or other goods.... Anything of use or that was worth anything was seized.' Nevertheless he notes that in a further raid on 6 May 'everything that we had got together again had to go'. Even then the villagers still had cash or the means to obtain it, as later in the same month he records the amounts they paid for a military guard (Fr.40).

Many of the writers had experiences of being robbed and they often give considerable detail of what was taken, sometimes with valuations. Lang reports that his wife was held up on a journey from Ulm to Biberach: 'On the way, by Achstetten or Laupheim, she encountered several horsemen, and the rings on her fingers, her belt, cutlery and two ducats were taken from her, and his horse, pistol and a coat of my wife's from the secretary, all

of which is worth 80 Reichstaler' (La.26-7). Büttner was 'caught and robbed by an Imperialist patrol and lost 12 fl. in cash, a new hat and a knife and fork inlaid with silver' (Bt.144). Sautter describes how after two soldiers had taken his money a third searched him and 'found a cutlery set on me, knife, fork and spoon, which might have been worth 7 or 8 R., my rosary and my gloves, and he took them all. Finally he ripped my jacket off me, cut off the neckband, which was also worth at least 8 R., and took it with him' (Sa.695). In the same vein Dobel records that Swedish riders 'took a pair of boots and two shirts from me' (Do.113). Renner was caught by four Croats, 'to whom I had to give a pair of knitted stockings, two loaves of white bread, my purse along with my seal, my children's coral necklaces and 12 fl. in cash, as I wanted to save my life'. He adds that it could have been worse: 'At that time many pastors from the Margravate were shot or cut down, so I thank my God for the preservation of my life' (Re.21).

*Salva guardia*, paying for the stationing of some soldiers to prevent looting by others, was a well-established form of exploitation. Freund notes the sums which were squeezed out of his villagers: 'On the 10th of May 1 Thl. from each house, on the 13th of May 1 R. again, on the 19th of May 12 g., on the 27th of May another 2 g., and eventually on the 30th of May 4 g. from every house, just as before.' The soldiers extorted so much in contributions and upkeep that 'as the outcome showed, these sentries were more concerned about other things than about our protection' (Fr.40). Schleyss also recorded what it cost him: 'For exemption of the parsonage [from billeting] and for a military guard to prevent danger to myself and my family I had to give the lieutenant six beautiful shirts made of pure cambric, which had cost over six Reichstaler.' He adds doubtfully: 'Whether we will actually get the military protection I don't yet know' (Sc.1. 83). Wendell's village had to pay Spanish troops in 1647: 'We have to give two cavalymen two Reichstaler every week so that they stay here by us as protection; otherwise they wouldn't leave Winterburg' (We.38). Contacts and wealth helped, as the ex-officer Ackermann found when Swedish and French troops marched through his village in 1641: 'The whole of Croppenstedt was plundered and nothing except the church and my farm was spared, as I had begged the general for a *salva guardia* until the army had gone. He left me his steward and four mounted soldiers to protect my house. I gave a rose noble to the former and also something to the riders' (A.47). However even the best connected could not always buy exemption, and Ackermann suffered at the hands of the Imperialists in 1644: 'On the 25th of July we were completely plundered out by the Gallas foragers and I was stabbed through the left arm. I stayed almost alone and guarded the fire station, town hall and brewhouse, along with the church, as well as I could.... This time I too suffered great losses' (A.53-4).

Protection money was also levied on a larger scale as the price for sparing a town or city greater damage, or for not pillaging or burning it after capture as allowed by an ancient law of war (*Brandschatzung*). Götzenius reports that

Colonel Deveroux – one of Wallenstein's murderers – was billeted in Friedberg in 1639, and 'on his departure he demanded 40 000 gulden, received 2000 Reichstaler, and took away all the cattle' (Gö.148-9). Gustavus Adolphus imposed a 300 000 taler *Brandschatzung* on Munich in 1632, for which the civic authorities collected in all the available cash and precious metal, Helligemayr commenting bitterly that 'the lower orders and the poor were required to give better than the rich' (Hl.208).

Many individuals were held to ransom, yet another device for extracting money from the population, with clerics particularly but by no means exclusively at risk. In Hueber's case the whole complement of his cloister was involved:

During the Swedish siege all of us from the monastery were in the castle except the Reverend Father and two priests, who stayed in Ingolstadt. After the castle was taken we had to give a Swedish general, Major General Rütthwein, a ransom of 400 Reichstaler for our release, and we had to leave behind all that had been taken into the castle. The monastery, as we well recall, had been totally despoiled in the 14 days. (Hu.20)

Sautter, having first been robbed in his church while celebrating Mass, was forced to ride off with the patrol of soldiers, until he finally agreed to the corporal's demand for a 60 taler ransom and arranged for some of his tenant farmers to bring the money: 'There on the horses I counted the cash out into his hat.' The corporal was satisfied and rode off, keeping his word by leaving Sautter three horses and a small escort home. The escort promptly stole the horses: "'Don't you hear, you ranting thief, dismount! You promise a great deal but you don't deliver.'" ... So we parted from one another, they towards Rottenacker, and I, badly beaten, tired and weary, *per pedes* home' (Sa.698, 699). In the same year the pastor Renner was abducted by Imperialist troops, who descended on his village:

They took away all the cattle, plundered the village, and dragged me, a critically ill man, out of bed, giving me such blows that I was running with blood, and then took me with them to Höchststadt. There they put me and my son Hans Jorg into a secure prison for six weeks, until eventually I gave them 400 Reichstaler as a ransom and I was set free again. (Re.29)

He could only raise part of the money immediately, so that his son 'had to sit there in my place for two more weeks ... until I sent on the remaining 130 Reichstaler' (Re.30).

The lawyer Johann Georg Maul, a navigation and tax official for the elector of Brandenburg in Naumburg, makes the cost of war the main theme of his account, obsessively cataloguing the impositions and expropriations which brought about his financial decline from considerable wealth to near

penury. Although an extreme case he illustrates both the kind of things which happened to many people and the way in which they may have perceived the experience. His summary of expenses arising from the first of many billetings is typical:

This was a certain Sergeant von Beulewitz from the Altenburg cuirassier regiment, with three privates, a boy and five horses. He himself, together with his guests, ate his way through 17 taler 12 groschen in 11 weeks, as the sergeant received 1½ taler a week for his food, plus 38 taler for the three privates and the boy, at 3½ taler a week. There was also 115 taler 12 groschen for 22 barrels of beer, which the aforementioned boozed away with his guests every night, when they became so rowdy that a prince lodging in Hennig Kamm's house had several times to ask for quiet. I had at that time to give 15 taler 18 groschen to the commissariat. 10 taler for a horse which the major took from me as a mount for his fool, who was called Pointynose. 15 taler for 5 kegs of wine, 41 taler 6 Gr. for 55 bushels of oats at 18 Gr., 9 taler 12 Gr. for 12 bushels of store oats, 13 taler paid to the commissariat, 5 taler for hay and straw for the guests, of whom he always had a great number but never counted the cost of the meals. 280 taler 12 groschen for the first billeting. (Ml.5-6)

As well as having to provide billets, Maul too was robbed several times. He records '3 taler 12 Gr. for a pair of boots for a Corporal Klipsen, who was going to shoot me' (Ml.12). He had to give five taler to another corporal 'when he held up my wife and me with drawn sword at twelve o'clock one night in my parlour, where I was lying sick at the time, wanting to have the same amount from us as we had given the Swedes'. Another time 'soldiers opened a big chest during the night and stole 23 items of household linen worth 15 Gr. each from my wife, who had inherited them from her mother, ... not to mention stripping off two bedcovers and taking them, which I can also quite readily value at 16 taler 18 Gr.' (Ml.8, 9). A common trick of the time to hide valuables proved ineffectual: 'Moreover I had to cut out and hand over a gold chain which I had given to my wife and which she had sewn into her dress.' She also lost two heavy gold bracelets, and Maul complains that 'I had to look on while my wife herself fastened her bracelets around a cavalry captain's wrists, and I did not dare to look angry about it' (Ml.8, 7).

Maul records billetings, sometimes several, in virtually every year from 1631 to 1645, over which period his fortune was gradually eroded. By 1638 he was forced to sell things to raise ready cash: 'Because of this appalling and tyrannical enforcement [of contributions] I have repeatedly had to sell things to Joachim Heideck, the goldsmith: 67 half-ounces of silver, from my hunting knife which my dear father-in-law gave me, a sword inlaid with silver and a silver belt, all for 8 Gr. a half-ounce.' Later in the same year he notes: 'I have had to sell the two gilded goblets which I received from the

elector's hands' (Ml.10). Clearly some of the citizens were not so hard hit, in that the goldsmiths could still buy, no doubt profitably. Maul confirms this the following year, when he had to sell a heavy gold chain of his wife's, this time to Christoph Voigt: the chain weighed 35 units, for which Maul got one taler per unit, 'and although it was accepted at the Town Hall at 1½ taler he still gave me nothing more for it, so that he made and I lost 17 taler 12 Gr. in this way' (Ml.11).

Maul's declining wealth is reflected in the growing difficulty the military had in extorting contributions from him. In 1635 a cavalry captain demanded 300 taler, 'failing which he was going to take me with him as a prisoner'. As Maul did not pay 'he had me guarded for two long days by ten troopers, who waited in my study, cursing and blaspheming amid a thick cloud of tobacco smoke, until I imploringly promised that because of my lack of cash I would pay 200 taler in jewellery' (Ml.7). In 1638 he fell behind with a weekly contribution of 7 taler, in consequence of which 'I and my family were several times attacked without warning, and I was so much tormented and tortured, especially during the holy festival time, that it would have moved a stone in the ground to pity'. By 1640 it was, he says, evident even to the soldiers that he had little left to give: 'On the 30th three troopers sent to enforce payment stayed the night at my house and I had to give them 3 taler 15 Gr. worth of wine and beer, but since they saw for themselves that I had no money they agreed to leave, taking a handkerchief each which my wife gave them, worth a taler, and some bread' (Ml.9, 13).

Maul complains bitterly about the town administration and its part in arranging billeting and contributions, particularly as he felt that those he regarded as the rich were better treated than himself:

Now may God forgive the conscienceless tax-gatherers; how will they fare on the Day of Judgement! These unjust and unscrupulous collectors made the assessments only on the basis of favouritism and their own inclinations, while those rich people who should have been keeping an eye on them said absolutely nothing on account of their own interests. Hence there was neither love nor pity to be had from them towards me and my wife, so that they tortured the blood from our hearts and the marrow from our bones with enforcers, and they took their earthly possessions away from our poor children. (Ml.11)

Andreas Schuster, the town clerk from Strausberg, near Berlin, gives a wider perspective on the burdens borne by the community as a whole, the outlook of the municipal official showing through in his repeated and often precise references to the cost of contributions. In August 1627 a large Imperialist army passed by and officers were billeted in the town overnight: 'In accordance with the specified scale a senior official had to give them 35 thl. for wine, 12 thl. to the quartermaster, 8 thl. to the secretary, 10 thl. 18 gr. for confectionery and

spices and 6 thl. 12 gr. to the table-dresser and the laundress.' In the earlier phase of the war billeting by friendly forces was – in theory – paid for, and the citizens submitted claims for their costs to the military, particularly during longer periods such as winter-quartering. At the end of the nineteenth century many such claims, including some of Schuster's own, were still to be found in the town archives. 'When it came to settlement at the end of each month, however, and each citizen submitted his bills, in some cases nothing and in others barely a third was allowed them, so that it was all water down the drain even though it had cost many people a great deal' (Sh.22, 27). Despite such experiences the municipality continued to reckon precise expenses and to seek guarantees for their payment, not very successfully, as Schuster sadly observes in November 1628, when a body of Imperialist troops under Arnim were billeted: 'On the orders of the said Bernd von Arnim the citizens submitted their claim for 109 thl. to the officers, which this von Arnim signed, promising in writing to pay the 109 thl., but until now nothing has come of it.' Worse still, the troops had consumed a great deal of beer with neither payment nor security: '94 barrels of beer went to the commissary but the citizens were left unpaid – in money, at 4 thl. per barrel – 376 thl.' (Sh.32–3).

Although Schuster reports a number of relatively minor cases of robbery and intimidation the main burden on the town was the legalised extortion of contributions, and particularly feeding or billeting passing troops. 500 of Mansfeld's cavalry descended in July 1626, although having had warning 'the people hurried to bury or hide their belongings and household goods in whatever place each of them knew'. The troops demanded food, drink and fodder 'with violent words and blows', but then rode on, leaving Schuster to comment that 'they did not inflict much damage on this town, God be praised, other than what they were able to wolf and swill down' (Sh.13, 14). In November of the same year another 450 arrived, 'so that the citizens were eaten out of house and home, for many had six, eight, ten or more to feed'. The latter were friendly troops, although, like other writers, Schuster notes that 'the enemy could scarcely have been nastier or done worse' (Sh.20, 19). The following year saw repeated visitations by hungry troops, and in November a company took up winter quarters in the town. 'Every soldier ... had to be supplied daily with two pounds of bread, two pounds of meat, and two quarts of beer for his upkeep' (Sh.26–7). Military commissary arrangements should have met this need, but predictably these failed and 'it fell upon the unfortunate citizenry, who had to give over what they had, under great duress and compulsion. Nor did the soldiers bother about the regulations as to what and how much they should be given each day, but instead they scoffed and quaffed as much as they could get.' Schuster reports the effect of these burdens on the citizens and the town:

The consequence of this was that many of the citizens ran away, left their things standing and just went. Many fell ill and died from their great