Choosing Death
Habent sua fata libelli

Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Series

General Editor
Raymond A. Mentzer
Montana State University–Bozeman

Editorial Board of Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies

Elaine Beilin
Framingham State College

Mary B. McKinley
University of Virginia

Miriam U. Chrisman
University of Massachusetts, Emerita

Helen Nader
University of Arizona

Barbara B. Diefendorf
Boston University

Charles G. Nauert
University of Missouri, Emeritus

Paula Findlen
Stanford University

Theodore K. Rabb
Princeton University

Scott H. Hendrix
Princeton Theological Seminary

Max Reinhart
University of Georgia

Jane Campbell Hutchison
University of Wisconsin–Madison

John D. Roth
Goshen College

Christiane Joost-Gaugier
University of New Mexico, Emerita

Robert V. Schnucker
Truman State University, Emeritus

Robert M. Kingdon
University of Wisconsin, Emeritus

Nicholas Terpstra
University of Toronto

Roger Manning
Cleveland State University

Merry Wiesner-Hanks
University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee
choosing death

suicide and calvinism in early modern geneva

jeffrey r. watt
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgments</th>
<th>x</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Suicides, Homicides, and Accidents: The Data</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 The Judicial and Intellectual Dimensions of Suicide</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 The Social, Economic, and Political Dimensions of Suicide</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 The Cultural Dimensions of Suicide: Part 1</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 The Cultural Dimensions of Suicide: Part 2</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilogue</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the Author</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map and Tables

Map

Tables
  Geneva and Its Territories in the Mid-Eighteenth Century............ 9
  1. Total Suicides, 1542–1798 ........................................ 24
  2. Suicide Rates per 100,000 in Early Modern Geneva24
  3. Questionable Unnatural Deaths, 1542–1798 ...................... 27
  4. Suicide Methods, 1542–1798 ................................. 29
  5. Deaths by Firearms, 1542–1798 ............................. 29
  6. Suicides by Gender, 1542–1798 .................................. 34
  7. Suicide Method and Gender, 1542–1798 ....................... 34
  8. Firearm Deaths, Excluding Suicides, 1542–1798 .............. 36
  9. Deaths by Drowning, 1542–1798 .............................. 37
 10. Deaths by Drowning, Excluding Suicides, 1542–1798 .......... 39
 11. Accidental Drownings Involving Adults, 1542–1798 .......... 40
 12. Questionable Drownings, 1542–1798 .......................... 41
 13. Deaths from Falls, 1542–1798 .................................. 44
 14. Deaths from Falls Involving Children, 1542–1798 ............ 45
 15. Deaths from Poisoning, 1542–1798 ............................ 49
 16. Average Age of Suicides According to Gender and Method, 1542–179849
 17. Deaths by Stabbing, 1536–1798 ............................... 52
 18. Homicides, 1536–1798 ........................................... 56
 19. Involuntary Manslaughter, 1542–1798 .......................... 56
 20. Questionable Infant Deaths, 1542–1798 ........................ 58
 22. Abandonment of Infants, 1540–1798 .......................... 60
23. Suicides and Seasonality, 1542–1798 .......................... 63
24. Motives for Suicide, 1542–1798 ............................... 129
25. Civil Status of Suicides, 1542–1798, Version 1 ............... 149
27. Civil Status of Suicides, 1542–1750 ........................... 154
29. Employment Sectors for Female Suicides, 1542–1798 ....... 157
30. Civil Status of Suicides, 1751–1798 ............................ 194
31. Civil Status of Suicides, 1751–1798 ............................ 194
32. Civil Status of Suicides, 1781–1798 ............................ 197
33. Pre-Revolutionary Civil Status of Suicides, 1793–1798 ......... 199
34. Marital Status, Male and Female Suicides, 1542–1798 ....... 215
35. Marital Status, Female Suicides, 1542–1798 ................ 216
36. Marital Status, Male Suicides, 1542–1798 .................. 217
37. Female Suicides Survived by Offspring ....................... 242
38. Male Suicides Survived by Offspring ......................... 243
39. Age of Legitimate Offspring Left
    by Male and Female Suicides, 1542–1798244
40. Family Motives Cited by Male and Female Suicides, 1542–1798. 249
Acknowledgments

Since beginning work on this book in the summer of 1990, I have received invaluable assistance, encouragement, and criticism from many different sources. In Geneva I had the privilege of working in what must be Europe’s best-organized archives for Old Regime sources. I thank the staff of the Archives d’Etat for their diligence and indulgence in accommodating my requests to consult incredible numbers of documents. My greatest debt in Geneva is surely to Dr. Barbara Roth-Lochner, associate archivist, who conscientiously directed me to pertinent documents and patiently answered my countless queries about Genevan sources and historiography. Although her assiduous assistance in the archives was crucially important, Barbara went the extra mile by reading in minute detail the entire book manuscript, making some valuable suggestions for changes. Even more, though, I thank Barbara and Professor Robert Roth for their very warm friendship and hospitality.

During my various stays in Switzerland, I befriended other Genevan historians, who also generously shared with me their knowledge of Genevan sources and history. With fond memories, I thank Drs. Michel Porret, Frédéric Sardet, Dominique Zumkeller, Bernard Lescaze, and the late Gabriella Cahier-Buccelli. Very special thanks go to Dr. Liliane Mottu-Weber, who helped me on so many occasions, kindly sharing with me her time and expertise in the social and economic history of Geneva. I also am most grateful to Dr. Antoinette Emch-Dériaz, a native of Geneva, who read the manuscript in meticulous detail and suggested many useful changes, particularly with respect to the history of medicine.

While the bulk of research was conducted in the state archives, I also consulted some sources at the Institut d’Histoire de la Réformation at the Université de Genève. For helping me identify pertinent literary and theo-
logical sources on early modern suicide, I am most grateful to Drs. Francis Higman, Alain Dufour, Reinhard Bodenmann, and especially Max Engammare—my heartfelt thanks to Max and Dr. Isabelle Engammare-Malaise for their generosity in sharing ideas and for their warm hospitality.

My summer research stays in Geneva fortunately often coincided with those of my mentor, Professor Robert Kingdon, who on countless occasions shared his ideas with me, offering invaluable constructive criticism on this project. Thanks also to Dr. Thomas Lambert, friend, colleague, and paleographer extraordinaire, who gave me some useful tips while I was in Geneva, and to Karen Spierling, who checked on some details in the archives when I could not be in the city of Calvin.

On this side of the Atlantic, I received important guidance from Professor Michael MacDonald, whose work on suicide I greatly admire, and from Professors Barbara Diefendorf and James Farr. Here at the University of Mississippi, I am grateful for encouragement and suggestions from my colleagues Professors Lester Field, Kees Gispen, Robert Haws, and Winthrop Jordan. Many thanks are also due to Paul Thayer, who graciously shared his linguistic skills and encyclopedic knowledge of the history of ideas, and to the industrious staff of the H. Henry Meeter Center at Calvin Seminary for their assistance in identifying works by Calvin that are germane to the subject under study. Professor David Greenberg kindly directed me to the most pertinent recent sociological literature on suicide.

Highest commendations go to Professor Raymond Mentzer, general editor of the Sixteenth-Century Essays and Studies monograph series, and to Paula Presley, director of Truman State University Press, for the very professional and efficient manner in which they have handled the evaluation of the manuscript and the publication of this book.

I gratefully acknowledge the generous support I received from the National Endowment for the Humanities and from the University of Mississippi’s College of Liberal Arts and Office of Research, which helped make my sojourns in Geneva possible.

More personally, my biggest debt, as always, is to my wife, Isabella. During our stays in Geneva, she often set aside her own work to go to the archives and peruse with me the haunting accounts of untimely deaths among early modern Genevans. She has not only served as my computer guru but has cheerfully endured over the past decade many a conversation
about the morbid subject of suicide. Though not with us when this project began, Julia and Erica have made two happy people even happier. Finally, I thank my parents, Jim and Joan Watt, for their continued moral support and interest in my scholarly pursuit—though it has now been twenty years, I am still thankful that they did not object when I chose graduate studies in history over law school!

Abbreviations

AEG  Archives d’Etat de Genève
CO   Ioannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia
EC   Registres d’Etat Civil
LM   Livres des Morts
PC   Procès Criminels
RC   Registres du Conseil
SC   Supplementa Calviniana
Throughout history many great minds have pondered the issue of suicide. In the ancient Greco-Roman world, suicide caught the attention of the great philosophers, playwrights, and statesmen. Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca, among others, all considered whether it was licit to end one’s life voluntarily. With the appearance of Christianity, theologians discussed the legitimacy of “self-murder” (one can hardly say “debated,” given the lack of disagreement on the issue). In their respective eras, Augustine, Aquinas, and, as we shall see, John Calvin, all considered whether suicide was right or wrong. From ancient Rome into the modern era, jurists and legal scholars argued about what, if any, penalties should be inflicted upon the estates or bodies of suicides. The philosophes of the eighteenth century discussed at length whether suicide was ever permissible and whether legal traditions toward it were just.

Modern scholarship has shifted away from the ethics of taking one’s life, concentrating on the causes of suicide. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the work on suicide that has garnered the most attention has largely been the scholarship of two sorts of researchers: psychiatrists and psychologists, on the one hand; sociologists, on the other. Of the former, one of the first scholars to examine suicide from the point of view of physiology was Étienne Esquirol, who believed that all suicides were mentally ill, a belief that grew out of the views on suicide of the eighteenth-century philosophers. In 1838 Esquirol wrote in his *Maladies mentales* that people attempt to take their lives only when delirious and that all suicides are “alienated.”¹ The

German psychiatrist Emil Kraepelin (1856–1926) stressed the physiological causes of suicide. Most notably, he observed that organic imbalances underlie depressive disorders; consequently, manic depressives by their very constitution are more prone to suicide than others.²

For Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and other psychoanalysts, suicide results not from physiology but from intrapsychic conflicts. According to one hypothesis based on Freudian thought, suicide can result when people concentrate their libido entirely on one object. If, for example, a man invests all his romantic and sexual interests in one woman and that relationship fails—be it through unrequited love or the departure or death of the woman—life for him may no longer seem worth living, and suicide may follow. Psychologists also talk about the desire for tranquility, shared to varying degrees by all humans, which is associated with the desire to return to the stillness of the womb. Since people can never realize this infantile wish, they may feel frustrated in life and melancholic and ultimately may be pushed to kill themselves by this unfulfilled wish for tranquility.³ Whether they stress biological imbalances or psychic conflicts, both psychological and psychiatric approaches to suicide stress the inner causes that push a person to take his or her life.⁴

By contrast, sociologists have argued that societal forces, external impetuses, are fundamentally important in the etiology of suicide. Many have insisted that suicide has been endemic to modernization and industrialization. In 1879 Enrico Morselli, for example, argued that with industrialization (modernization or urbanization would probably be better terms) the traditional villages of rural Europe gradually disappeared. The rural societies of premodern Europe, Morselli avowed, provided an unquestioned culture based on seemingly timeless traditions. The urban environment that supplanted rural society was characterized by constant cultural change. People increasingly expressed doubts about and criticisms of the ways of the past.

⁴Such researchers have tended to modify the connection between suicide and mental illness: rather than insist that all suicides are psychologically disturbed, they tend to look for varying degrees of risk for suicide among different diagnostic groups; David Lester, Why People Kill Themselves: A Summary of Research Findings on Suicidal Behavior (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1972), 193.
and offered a wide range of alternatives, leading to “normative confusion.” This cultural confusion allegedly could lead to despair and, consequently, to growing numbers of suicides.\(^5\)

The figure who towers above the rest in sociological research on suicide is Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), a contemporary of Freud and Kraepelin. Though it has been highly praised and roundly criticized, Durkheim’s *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* has undeniably served as a matrix for the sociological study of self-inflicted deaths. There is no work on suicide in psychology or psychiatry that has had anywhere near the impact on those disciplines that Durkheim’s *Suicide* has had on sociology. Durkheim’s work and that of many followers is based on the assumption that society, or “collective reality,” exists external to individuals. Durkheim believed that the suicide rate of a given society is a most effective gauge with which to measure that society’s overall cultural or moral health. Struck with the regularity of suicide rates in societies, Durkheim and his followers have interpreted these statistics and endeavored to explain why suicide rates are higher for some societies than for others. Durkheim dismissed the importance of climatic, ethnic, and organic factors behind the widely varying rates at which different populations take their lives, insisting rather that variations in suicide rates reflect differences in social organization. For Durkheim, suicide rates varied inversely to the degree of religious, domestic, and political integration of a particular society: the stronger the support one receives from one’s religion, family, and state, the less likely a person is to commit suicide.\(^6\)

In his work on suicide in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Maurice Halbwachs attributed virtually all suicides to social isolation: a variety of setbacks—job loss, financial reversal, poverty, family sorrow, unhappy love affair, physical or mental illness, drunkenness—can all result in the cutting off of the individual from collective society, increasing the propensity for suicide.\(^7\) Social isolation, or the lack of social integration, has become the one factor that sociologists most often cite as predisposing individuals to commit suicide: the more integrated individuals are in a society,


the fewer suicides are likely to occur; the more people are isolated, the more likely they are to take their lives.\textsuperscript{8} In dealing with this issue, the sociologists Jack Gibbs and Walter Martin provided a nuanced explanation, suggesting that the key to variations in suicide rates is status integration. Each person occupies a number of roles or statuses in society, based on age, sex, race, religion, and so forth. They argue that suicide rates vary directly with the degree to which individuals’ different statuses conflict in a given society; the more closely people follow the roles society prescribes for them, the lower society’s suicide rate will be.\textsuperscript{9} There are also some important sociological schools of thought that reject Durkheimian methodology. Among the most important critics is Jack Douglas, who along with others, rejects entirely the use of official statistics, deeming them highly idiosyncratic and unreliable.\textsuperscript{10}

While more than five thousand articles and books have been written about suicide from the point of view of sociology, psychology, and medicine, relatively little has been published on the history of suicide. Those works that have been written generally are of two types: studies in intellectual and legal history, and attempts to reconstruct the suicide rates of particular societies. Of the former type, the most ambitious and impressive work remains Albert Bayet’s \textit{Le suicide et la morale}, which traces the attitudes toward suicide of philosophers, jurists, theologians, and creative writers from Greco-Roman antiquity through the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{11} Georges Minois has made a fresh contribution to the history of changes in the attitudes toward and the judicial treatment of suicide with his broad synthesis, which concentrates on the early modern era.\textsuperscript{12} While an understanding of the views on suicide of intellectual and judicial leaders is important, it does not tell us all we want to know about self-inflicted deaths.

A number of other historical works, basing their research on official statistics, have endeavored to establish the frequency with which members of a given society took their lives. Historians who pursue such research have been

\textsuperscript{8}Steve Taylor, \textit{Durkheim and the Study of Suicide} (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 27.
\textsuperscript{12}Minois, \textit{Histoire du suicide}. 
inspired, to varying degrees, by Durkheim’s pioneering work. Like Durkheim, they stress the importance of social forces in determining the levels of suicide in a society, viewing the suicide rate as an effective barometer for measuring its overall health. A superb example of this type of historical work is Olive Anderson’s study of suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England. Effectively using official statistics, supplemented by a host of other sources, Anderson finds important differences in suicide rates based on gender and on region, comparing areas that were industrialized and urbanized with others that remained largely rural.\footnote{Olive Anderson, \textit{Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England} (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).}

For most areas of early modern Europe, legal records and death registers are generally too spotty and inconsistent to do much beyond outlining the judicial treatment of suicide.\footnote{See, for example, Alain Joblin, “Le suicide à l’époque moderne: Un exemple dans la France du Nord-Ouest, à Boulogne-sur-Mer,” \textit{Revue historique} 589 (1994): 85–119; Alfred Schnegg, “Justice et suicide sous l’Ancien Régime,” \textit{Museé Neuchâtelois} (1982): 73–94. Even certain statistical works tell us more about changes in the judicial treatment of suicide than in the frequency of self-inflicted deaths. S. J. Stevenson believes that the recorded increase in suicide verdicts in the late sixteenth century was most likely simply the result of more systematic investigations; “The Rise of Suicide Verdicts in South-East England, 1530–1590: The Legal Process,” \textit{Continuity and Change} 2 (1987): 37–75; see also idem, “Social and Economic Contributions to the Pattern of ‘Suicide’ in South-East England, 1530–1590,” \textit{Continuity and Change} 2 (1987): 225–62.} An outstanding work on early modern suicide is, however, Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy’s \textit{Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England}. Because a large number of records are lost, the authors eschew trying to make broad conclusions based on statistics or speculating on what “caused” people to take their lives. Rather, they analyze the “meaning of suicide” by looking at suicide as a cultural phenomenon. Examining a wide range of sources, including coroners’ reports, selected parish registers, newspapers, and a host of other published sources, MacDonald and Murphy trace changing attitudes—both “popular” and “elite”—toward suicide. They persuasively argue that the early modern era in England witnessed revolutionary changes in myriad areas which were readily reflected in the changing views on and treatment of suicide. The increased centralization of royal power under the Tudors, the Reformation of the Church, the Civil War, the Enlightenment reaction against religious fanaticism, and the birth of the popular press all influenced the changing cultural meaning of
Index

Absalom, 67
Academy, Geneva's
   became more secular, 287
   Calvin as lecturer and pastor, 77
   Chouet's role at, 284
   founded by Calvin, 283
   Jacob Vernet as theology professor, 289
   mathematics chair, 285
   rejects precise confession of faith, 287
   theologians deny Trinity and Incarnation, 290
   widens curriculum, 286
Accidental deaths
   by drowning, 38, 40, 42–43
   either suicides or accidents, 31–32, 36, 41–42, 45, 52n
   by firearms, 57
   by hanging, 50, 51n76
   suicides as "accidents," 22, 27, 95
   verifiably accidental, 13, 16, 28, 30–31, 45–46
Achilles, 82
Actuarial annuities, 175
Addison, Cato, 106
Africa, 188
Age
   and parental care of child, 243–45
   and suicide, 273–75
Agricultural workers, peasants
   distinguished from industrial society, 186
   employment sectors for male suicides, 156
   Geneva, 208
   Madeleine Strau, 259
   medieval suicides among, 148
   no deaths from hunger, 208
   numbers of suicides, 179
   overrepresentation among suicides, 162
   urban setting, 135–36
   women, 158
   mentioned, 143–46, 157, 168, 179, 188
Ahithophel, 67, 71–72, 74, 76, 89
Aiguillon, duke of, 26
Aillod, Paula, 85
Alcohol abuse, 41, 129
Alienation
   clerical/medical views, 257
   of Jean Bovard, 21
   of spirit, 21, 103, 259, 262
   mentioned, 129, 159, 168, 170, 200n, 230
Alsace, 239
American colonies, 121
Amsterdam, 121, 174
Anderson, Olive, 5–6, 186n, 322n
Anet, Jean Daniel, 275
Anglicans, 118
Annuities, 175–76n
Anomie, 12, 57
   mentioned, 126, 148, 232
Antilles, 188
Apostles, 74
Aquinas, Thomas, 75, 79
Archives, Geneva, 15, 18n
Argaud, Jacques, 306
Aristotelianism, 284
Aristotle, 1, 69, 74n, 78, 102n, 109, 114
Arles, 73n
Arquebus, 81

345
Index

Arsenic, 47, 50, 52, 181, 206, 231
Artisans
  categories, 136
  Genevan, 176, 208
  libraries of, 305
  Natifs, 165–66, 181
  percentages of population, 143–44, 146
  petitioned to form guilds, 190n
  professional pursuit, 191
  suicides, 162, 179–80
  mentioned, 147–48, 158, 160, 162, 177, 189n, 249
Arve River, 9, 27, 36–37, 221
Atheism, 286–87
Athens, 7, 87n
Auditors
  duties, 15–16
  suicide interrogations, 94–95, 97, 99, 166, 214, 300–301
  view of Picot's drowning, 27
  mentioned, 16–17, 31–32, 185, 220, 235
Augustine
  Calvin's view of, 75
  on Christian death, 262
  on Samson, 75
  on sixth commandment, 76
  on suicide, 306–7
  mentioned, 1, 68–69, 71, 73–74, 78, 87
Austria, 33n
Aval, René, 234–35
Avoiding arrest and punishment, 129–30
Avully, 262
Bacon, 283
Badollet, Jean-Robert, 220–21
Baechler, Jean, 204
Banishments, 85, 288n
Banks, bankers, 174–75, 177–78
Bardin, Jean, 92–94
Barrel, 82, 87
Barthelemey, Félise, 95
Bavaria, 88n, 254
Bavot, Louis, 275
Bayet, Albert, 4, 6
Bayle, Pierre, 280, 306
Beccaria, Cesare, 105–6, 122–23, 125, 303
Beelzebub, 295–96
Bellamy, Jean Françoise, 32
Benedictines, 254
Berard, Julienne, 82–83, 253–54, 264n
Berger, Abbé Nicolas, 119, 121, 282
Bern, 8, 192, 312
Berret, Jeanne, 93–94
Bert, Bartholomaei, 55
Bertrand, Jean, 230
Beza, Theodore, 77, 138, 290, 306n
Bias in the sentencing of suicides, 83–84
Bible. See also Scripture references
  children's stories, 293n
  New Testament, 301–2
    does not clearly condemn voluntary death, 76
  Old Testament
    does not clearly condemn voluntary death, 76, 108
    punishment of those who abandoned God, 286
    mentioned, 293n
  ownership/reading of, 259, 299, 302–3, 305, 308
  regard for, 282
  as remedy for sadness, 254
  and suicide, 256
  Turrettini on inerrancy, 286
  mentioned, 67, 72n, 74, 76, 79, 238, 304
Bigamy, 224–25
Black Sea, 188
Boccaccio, Decameron, 301
Bogueret, Anne Judith, suicide and burial, 22
Boin, George Charles, 202
Boissier, Anne Caroline, 115
Bolarue, Nicolas, 62
Bonnet, Bartholomaei, 32
Bonnet, Jean-Jacques (Syndic), 94–96
Bonnet, Susanne, 94, 96
Bouloz, Perrod, 253
Bourdigny, 230
Bourgeoisie. See also Civil status of suicides
  acquisition of status, 165
  divisions among, 192
Index

Bourgeoisie continued
- elimination of status, 198
- and fall of Old Regime, 197
- political views, 134, 144, 191–92
- and suicide, 196
- suicides after 1750, 195
- mentioned, 84n, 131–32, 141–46, 148–49, 151, 154–55, 163–64, 166, 202

Bourget, Pierre Jacob, 31
Bourse Française, 150
Bousquet, Louise Charlotte, 159
Bousquet, Sieur, 308–9
Bousan, Georges, 93
Bouvier, Amy, 31
Bovard, Jean, 21–22, 221–22
Bovay, Jeanne, 224–25
Braga, Council of, 86
Bresse, 22
Briffon, Pierre, 295–96
Bright, Timorhy, 254
Brodon, Jacqueline, 228
Brun, Etienne, 236
Brun, Philippe, 236
Brutus, 196
Buffon, 312
Burgundy, 62, 82
Burial with/without honors. See Funerals
Burlamaqui, Jean-Jacques, 285–86, 303–4
Burning, of suicide victims, ..., 87, 89–90
Burton, Robert, 11, 80n, 268
Anatomy of Melancholy, 268
Butini (physician), 266–67
Buzot, 196

Cadou, Bernarde, 83, 91
Caesar, Julius, 70, 304
Caille, André
- buried with full honors, 21
- suicides of the elite, 81
Caille, Isaac, 81
Calonne, Charles-Alexandre de, 185
Calvin, John, 290
- abolished holidays, 176
- on burial rites, 90
- on death, 262
- in Geneva, 7

Calvinism, Calvinists, 178n, 283, 288, 307
- mentioned, 10–12, 15, 88, 106n

Cantered, Jacques, 31
Capitalism, 7, 12, 171–72
Capital punishment, 71, 82, 84, 105, 123
Cardon, Susanne, 55
Cardplaying, 307
Carouge, 55n, 296
Carpzov, Benedict, 80
Carret, Vincent, 296–97
Cartes de séjour, 133n
Cartesian natural philosophy, 284
Cartier, François, 261–62
Cartigny, 9
Case-study approach to recording deaths, 19–20
Castration, 219–20
Catholicism, Roman
- attitude toward suicide, 8, 10, 78
- “baroque,” 291
- Calvin’s attack on, 76n
- compared with Protestantism, 8, 10, 54, 73n, 75, 89, 263, 292, 298
- fear of diabolism, 257
- Genevans reject, 7–8
- martyrdom tradition, 74
- miraculous cures, 294
- in Provence, 291–92
- sacredness of world, 326
- suicide studies lacking, 260
- Tridentine Catholicism, 293

Cato
- views of, 77–78, 109, 111–12, 115, 196, 201
- mentioned, 70, 100–102n, 106, 120, 130

Cézigny, 8–9
Ceos, 79
Cercle de la Grille, 193
Index

Cercle du Tiers-Etat, 193
Chambaud, Jean, 239
Champel, 81–83, 261n
Champury, Jean Marc, 246
Chancy, 9
Charbonnier, Antoine, 23
Charivari, 229–30n
Charron, Pierre, 79
Chartier, Louise, 295
Château d’Oex, 295
Châtelains, 16, 47n, 96n, 185
Chéne, 184–85n
Cheyne, George, 117
Chicago School, 321–22n
Children. See also Parents
abandonment of infants, 59–61
citizenship, 132
dead in utero, 239
deaths of
   motivate parental suicide, 240
   by various methods, 39, 45, 47–48, 58n, 59, 92
Durkheim argument, 243
gender of, 61
hereditary rights, 83n, 93
infanticides, 36n, 39n, 42n, 48, 52, 55, 57–61
labor, 161, 184
neglect of parents, 234
number of, in families, 218–19
and parental suicide, 243, 247
sermons about, 293
suicides of, 237
survival of suicide, 241–42
mentioned, 25–26, 36n, 38, 41, 47, 85n, 106
Chiocchio, Marie: suicide for fear child was bewitched, 257–58, 265
Chouet, Jean Roberr, 284–85
Christ, 78, 287
Christians, 71–72n, 73–74, 110
Christmas, 85, 316n
Church of England, 118
 Cicero, 1, 69n–70n, 101, 304
Citizens. See also Civil status of suicides
administration of Geneva, 192
and Natifs, 166
on political change, 191
status, 198
suicides after 1750, 193
suicides in watchmaking crisis, 189
mentioned, 17, 84–86, 131–32, 134, 142–45, 148–49, 154–55, 163–65, 228, 259
Civil status of suicides, 154–55, 164, 194, 197, 199
Civil War, 5
Clavérière, Etienne, 196
Clergymen, suicides among, 187n, 189n
Club Fraternel des Révolutionnaires Genevois medallion, 201–2
Colladon, Germain, 82–84
Collège. See Le Collège
Collonges, 22
Cologne, 9, 151n, 184–85n
Commandments, 76, 78
Commerce, 146, 156
Compagnie du Levant, 174
Company of Pastors
   Beza as head of, 77
   and Council of Two Hundred, 284–85
   and Helvetic Consensus Formula, 287
tolerance by, 287
mentioned, 283
Condorcet, 196
Confession, 103, 117, 287, 309
Confiscation of goods
   ordinance of 1568, 103
   mentioned, 86–88, 94, 98–99, 104, 121
Consistory, 26
demise of power, 307
mentioned, 82–83, 85, 226n, 263–64, 274
Construction work, 143–46, 156, 162
Contagion, 48n
Copernican universe, 286
Cornavin, 47
Corpus Juris Civilis, 304
Cotau, Sieur, 96
Council of Braga, 86
Index

Council of Trent, 78n, 301
Council of Two Hundred
at Academy, 284
affluence of, 152
on Helvetic Consensus Formula, 287
mentioned, 17, 96n, 100n, 152, 169n, 274
Counterrevolutionaries, 196
Cremation, 122
Crête, 239
Crichton, Alexander, 118
Criminal records
and death records, as control mechanism, 26
discovery of unknown suicides, 19
drunkenness by gender, 41
and proof of suicide, 18
Cross, sign of the, 294
Cult of the Supreme Being, 317
Cyrano de Bergerac, 301
Czech state, 277
d'Alembert, 289
d'Allegrin (countess), 206n
Daloz, Charles, 200–201, 317
Dancing, 307
Daneau, Lambert, 77–78, 101
Danel, Jean-Jacques, 21, 238
Dardagny, 8–9, 132
Dauphiné, 56
David, 67
Davis, Natalie Zemon, 160
Davounay, Jacquemine, 44
Death of family member, 239–40, 249
Death records, 6, 26
decriminalization of suicide, 17, 122–23, 125, 196n
De Curnex, Isaac, 234–35
De Curnex, Jean-Pierre, 235
De Fernex, Abraham, 225–26
Definot, Jean Louis, 46n, 238–39
Deism, 280–82, 286–87, 288n, 289, 311
Delaine, Abraham, 181–82
Delaware, 121
Delor, Pierre, 171–72
Democracy, 191, 193, 198–99
Bourgeoisie views of, 198
Genevan revolution, 25, 192
Demon possession. See Diabolical possession, temptation
Depression, 2
biological etiology, 323
pre-1701, 272
and suicide, 2, 268–69
Dériaz, Jean-Pierre, 93
Desacralization, 317
Catholic and Protestant, 326
in Geneva, 310, 319
and magic, 295
mentioned, 279, 293–94
Des Arts, François, 238
Des Arts, Jean-Philippe, 96–98, 100
Des Arts, Philippe, 238
Descartes, Rene, 284, 299
Desecration of corpses, 73n, 83, 87–89, 92–93, 99, 118, 121
Deshoulières, Antoinette du Ligier de la Garde, 101–2n
Devil, 253. See also Satan
devil books, 256
Encyclopédie entry about, 281
Jesus' belief in, 283
and mental disorders, 255n
as origin of suicide, 73, 258
possession by, 257
in sermons, 291
views of, 254–55, 280–82, 293, 300
mentioned, 79n, 99, 128, 253, 293n
Deville, a Savoyard jurist, 97
Devotio moderna, 301
Diabolical possession, temptation, 254–55n, 257, 261
mentioned, 73, 75, 79–80, 90–91, 121, 123, 125, 128, 252–54, 262n, 267
Diauville, Jeanne Permette, 225–26
Dictionnaire de commerce, 303
Diderot, Denis, 111, 114, 123, 281, 294n, 304
Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné..., 114, 142, 281n, 290n, 306, 312
Diodati, a pastor, 257
Dittmar, Jean, 219–21
Divorce, and suicide, 232–33
Dizeniers, 263
Dodet, Guillaume, 95
Domat, 301
Dombre, Julian, 94–95
Dombre, Pierre (Natif watchmaker), 316–17
  suicide of, 323–25
  mentioned, 182–83, 207, 229–30
Domestic service, 157–58, 160–61, 189n
Domiciliés, 133n, 135n, 195n
Dominicans, 118
Donatists, 74
Donne, John, 79–80n, 110
Dort, Synod of, 283
Douglas, Jack D., 4, 19
Drownings
  accidental, 38, 40
  alcohol-related, 41–42
  Antoine Mallet, 94–99, 166
  attempted, 85n
  Catherine Pansie, 223–24
  of children, 38–39, 41, 60
  David Gérard, 303
  of Gabrielle Picot, 27
  increase in, 36, 43
  Jean Antoine Pelissari, 308
  suicidal, 29 (table 4), 43, 47, 50, 94, 99–100, 224–25, 228
  of swimmers, 39–41
  of women/men, 42–43, 45–46
Dublin, Louis, 277
Duels, 19n, 52, 55
Dufour, Alain, 77n, 102n
Dunand, François, 262
Dunant, Robert, 274
Dunant, Jeanne Renée, 224
Dunant, Jean, 274
Du Noyer, Catherine Olympe, 115n
Du Pan, Jean, 124
Dupan, Pastor, 261
Dupont, Fanchette, 152
Dupontet, Jean Marc, 37
Dupras, Daniel, 238
Dupuget, François, 302, 306
Durant, Pierre, 31–32
Durkheim, Émile, 3
  on anomie, 148, 172, 179
  compares male/female widows, 217–18
  on credo, 287–88
  on homicide/suicide, 53
  on Protestant churches, 10, 263
  on social origins of suicide, 127
  on suicide, 28, 166–67, 247
    and educational level, 310
    parenthood/marriage, 213–15, 222, 229, 232, 240, 243
    and religion, 278
    seasonal rates of, 64
    traditions surrounding, 20
    mentioned, 5, 10, 14, 19, 25, 28, 63, 117, 126, 147, 203–4, 278
Du Trembley, Louis-Etienne, 237
East India Company, 174
Eaux-Vives, 40n, 46, 184
Economic boom, 1730-1785, 145–46
Economic conditions, and suicide, 171, 179
  mentioned, 166–70
Edits Civils, 226n
Edouard, Milord, 112–13
Elisabeth, a bewitched child, 258
Elites, 131
Employment sectors for male suicides, 156
End of the world, imminent, 256
England, 265. See also London; United Kingdom
Calvinism blamed for suicide epidemic, 12
  decriminalization of suicide, 122, 125
deism, 280
  health and longevity, 274n
latitudinarians, 280
Methodists, 282
Puritans, 11, 259
  religious views, 307–8
South Sea Bubble, 172
  and suicide, 5, 8, 88, 117–18
  views of, suicide, 81n
  mentioned, 6, 26, 61n, 66, 84n, 87, 106, 123n, 188, 223
Index

Enlightenment, 5, 325
  in Geneva, 6, 12
  influence of, 288
  Jean-Jacques Aimé Mellaret, 314–15
  Jean-Louis and Jean-Robert Tronchin, 304–5
  Pierre Dombre, 316
  and Pietists, 282
  and suicide, 66
  Swiss, 312
  and women, 311
  mentioned, 14, 107, 111, 116–17, 120, 123, 226, 277
Epeisses, 9
Ephesians, 78, 87
Epicureanism, 116
Esquirol, Etienne, 1
Ethics
  Christian, 77
  Christian burials, 81n49, 87n
  mortality and wealth, 173–73n
  and suicide, 78, 84
  Eucharist, 263–64, 287, 294
  Euthanasia, 79
Executions of criminals, 90n, 108
Expositions d’enfants, exposed babies, 59–60
Exposure of body of suicide, 93

Fabric importations into France forbidden, 185
Fabrique. See La Fabrique
Faldoni, 112–13
Fall, or fatal jump, 74, 159, 237, 259, 302
  deaths from, 45–46
  suicide method, 29 (table 4), 43, 46n, 47
  by women, 45
  mentioned, 29, 34, 47, 82, 86n, 163, 230, 237, 239, 246
Family, 50, 129, 222
  intergenerational, 236
  nuclear, 235, 237, 251
  revolution in, 251
  and suicide, 233–39, 249
  mentioned, 13–14
Farel, William, 7
Faust, 79
Fatio, Pierre, 302
Fazy Fabrique des Bergues, 184
Félix, Hercule, 56–57
Feminization of religion in Protestant Geneva, 310
Fénelon, 306n
Ferney, 26
Fideism, 282
  male/female comparison, 153, 206–12, 247–48
  mentioned, 152–55, 164, 171
Fines
  on suicides’ estates, 21, 99, 104
  mentioned, 94, 96, 98, 104
Firearms
  used in suicides, 27–30, 29 (table 4), 50
  used more by men than by women, 42, 50
First Refuge, 132, 134, 137–38
Flanders, 138
Florence, 7
Fontaine, Jean Alexandre, 230
Foreigners, 197–98. See also Civil status of suicides
  Academy students, 284
  distinguished from Natifs, 166
  proportionally unsuicidal during democratic Republic, 198–99
  status of, 241
  suicides among, 179, 195, 197
  male/female, 33–35, 196
Forfeiture of goods. See Confiscation of goods
France, 10, 171, 192, 301
  actuarial annuities, 175
  disgrace of, 201
  and Geneva Academy, 283
  Geneva’s absorption into, 148
France continued
infanticide in, 59n
life expectancy, 274n
Mississippi Bubble, 172
salons, 311
socioeconomic culture, 173
suicides in, 65–66, 78n, 168, 196, 316n
watch embargo, 181, 188
mentioned, 7–9, 16n, 25–25n, 61n, 77, 82, 84n, 86–89, 106, 114, 118–19, 121, 132, 138, 183, 188, 191, 230, 282
Frederick the Great, 115, 121
Free will, 74
Frelitte, Sieur, 224
French Company of the Indies, 174
French Religious Wars, 89
Freud, Sigmund, 2–3, 14
Frugality vs. luxury, 175
Funerals, 18, 96n
denial of rites, 19, 21, 44–45, 80, 82, 86–89, 104, 124
desecration rites, 90
Maller’s, 96
sociocultural views, 90
of suicides, 80–84, 87–89, 93, 99, 261n
traditional honors, 19, 21, 31, 37n, 44–45, 81
Galiffe, 297
Galland, Marc (wigmaker), 180
Gallet, Gabrielle, 159
Gallet, Jean, 159
Gambling, 175
Ganges, 315
Gaud, Alexandre, 188
General Council, 17, 191–93
Geneva, 7–9, 18, 46, 151, 173, 208–9, 307–8, 319
archives, 15, 55n
Calvinistic state, 12
demise of, 1798, 18, 198
Enlightenment/Reformation thought in, 288
financial status, 174
government, 17
ideal of, 173–74
population, 8, 25n
Reformation in, 7, 86, 88
suicides in, 25–26, 109, 198–203
and suicide study, 8
trade center, 188
Genthod, 8–9
George, Gabriel, 125
Gérard, David, 164n, 303
Gerhardus, Ephraim, 105
Germany, 256, 282
Gibbs, Jack, 4–4n
Giraud, Jacques, 228
Giron, Maurice, 168
Girondins, 196
God, Hume’s argument against the existence of, 281
God’s Law: Luther’s observation about, 10
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 50, 113, 282n
Sorrows of Young Werther, 227–29
Goethe, Sorrows of Young Werther, 113
Goldsmiths, 135, 141, 144, 158–9, 183–84
Goths, 71
Greloz, 36–37
Gremay, Frédéric, 266
Grenu, Pierre, 274
Greyerz, Kaspar von, 260n
Grisy, Pierre, 91
Grion, Bonaventure, 82
Grotius, Hugo, 285, 301, 304
Guarin, Jeanne, 253n
Guigonat, Jacques, 200
Guilbert, 160, 172, 190
Guillotine, 196
Gunshot injuries. See Firearms
Gunsmiths, 30
Guy, Louise, 239
Gy, 9
Habitants. See also Civil status of suicides
suicide among, 195, 197
status of, 192–93
mentioned, 84, 132–34, 135n, 141–49, 151, 154–55, 163, 226
Haeberli, Laurent, 18n
Index

Haim, Etienne, 236
Halbwachs, Maurice, 3, 10, 28, 167, 241
Haller, Albrecht von, 312
Halles du Molard, 84
Hamlet's soliloquy, 79
Hanawalt, Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 65n
Hand amputated, 87n
Hangings, 74
Antoine Charbonnier, 23
suicidal
in hospital, 51, 170, 220
ratio of men:women, 51
suicidal, 29 (table 4), 47, 50–51, 83, 85, 87, 93
mentioned, 29, 34, 42, 84, 86n, 90, 163, 167, 236, 239–40, 261n
Hannibal, 100
Happy fool vs. sad philosopher (La Mettrie), 116
Hardy, Siméon-Prosper, 118n, 318n
Hector, 82
Hell, existence of questioned, 280, 288n
Helvetic Consensus Formula, 283, 287
Helvétius, Claude-Adrien, 281
Hemlock, 79, 230
Hennin, Pierre-Michel, 26
Henry, Andrew, 53, 147
Hercules, 101n
Histoire de Genève, 200n, 303
Histoire de la Bible, 304
Holbach, Système de la Nature, 119
Holbach (Paul Henri Thiery d’Holbach), 107n, 110, 120, 281
Holland (or the Dutch), 115n, 121
Holy Roman Empire, 7, 169
Homer, 82, 304
Homicides, murders, 55–56, 57n, 58, 61
commandment against, 76
duels, 52, 55
Geneva figures, 55–56
motives, 53, 55, 147–48
poisonings, 48
ratio of men:women victims, 61
relation to suicides, 52–53, 186n
by soldiers, 52–56
mentioned, 13, 16, 28, 36, 41–42n
Homicide/suicide relationship, 53–62
Horace, 101n, 304
Huguenin, Jean, 246
Huguenots, 89, 142–43, 309
Hull, 183
Hume, David, 107n, 110, 281, 304–6n
Hungary, 25
Illegitimate birth or pregnancy, 59, 230, 242–43, 248–50
Imitation of Christ, 301
Immortelles, 175
Incarnation, 286
Inconsistency in judging legal culpability of suicides, mentioned, 21
Indienneurs (cotton fabric workers), 12, 185–86, 250
suicides among, 250, 322
Individualism, self-determination, 233, 237, 278, 310
Industrialization, and suicide, 12, 54n, 186
Infanticides, 36n, 39n, 42n, 48, 52, 55, 57–61
Inquests, 273
Inquests, 6, 15, 252
Insanity, 270
Integration, 3–4
Interments without honors, 19
Investments, 175–76
Involuntary manslaughter, 56–57n, 61
Ireland, 54n
Isolation, social, 3, 273, 307
Italy, 25n, 76n, 138
Jacobs, 201, 211–11n
Jansenism, Jansenists, 109
Jaquet, Antoinette, 230–31
Jarre, Isaac, 233
Jena, 105n
Jenny, Marie, 37–38
Jesus
blessing children in picture, 293n
divinity of, 288n, 289–90
Mellaret invokes the name of, 315–16
Job, 262, 278
Index

Mars, Cinq, 108
Marseille, 188, 291
Marset, Maurice de, 167
Martial, 78, 101
Martin, Dame Antoinette, 206, 231, 251
Martin, Isaac, 235
Martin, Jeanne, 234–35
Martin, Walter, 4
Martine, Auditeur Gédéon, 95–96n
Martine, Jacques, 100–105
Mary, Virgin, 294
Masaryk, Thomas, 24, 277–78
Massachusetts, 81n, 88n
Materialism, 173, 178, 211–12
Matheer, Increase, 254n
Mather, Cotton, 254n
Matrimony, 251
Matthieu, Susanne, 308–9
Maudey, Jeanne, 36
McDonald, Murphy, *Sleepless Souls...*, 5–6
McManners, John, 120
Medicalization of suicide, 128, 261–62, 265–76
Mediterranean, 188
Megevand, Samuel, 247
Melancholy, 21, 32, 44, 99n
defined, 268
and financial problems, 206
increase in Reformation, 255
religious, 11, 255
and suicide, 94n, 190, 270–71
and temptation, 81n, 254
and view of suicide, 78
Voltaire’s views, 108, 116
mentioned, 10, 12, 26, 31, 81, 91, 115, 118, 129, 163, 165, 200n, 229–30, 237–38, 258, 270
Mellaret, Jean-Jacques Aimé, 311–17
Mellaret, Samuel, 312n
Mental illness (alienation of spirit), motive for suicide, 254, 256, 267, 269, 276
mentioned, 1–2n, 31, 36–37, 44–45, 81, 102n, 103–4, 120, 122, 128, 163–64, 170, 220–22, 223n, 224, 230, 268
Mephistopheles, 282n
Merchants, 187–88, 310
David Gérard, 303
François Dupugy, 302
Jacques Rigoumier, 258, 299
Jean Liord, 303
percentage of population, 250
suicides among, 187, 189, 249–50, 300, 309
mentioned, 140–41, 143–44, 147, 163–64, 176–77, 189
Mercier, Louis Sébastien, 66, 119
Mermillod, Jean: religious devotion, 258
Methodists, 118, 282
Midelfort, H. C. Erik, 11, 255n
Milan, 8, 188
Military occupations, 146, 156, 162–63
Military Tribunal, 196
Minois, Georges, 1n, 4, 6, 172
Mirabeau, Jacques, 188n, 200n, 202
Miracle literature of Middle Ages, 255
Miracles, 294
Modernization, urbanization, industrialization, 2, 54, 322, 325
Mohammed, 302
Molard, 39n
Molière, 301–2, 306n
Montagnards, 196
Montaigne, 79
Montesquieu, 62, 106, 111, 117, 125, 289, 303, 306
Montréal, Claude François, 261n
Moré, Perrette, 238
More, Thomas, 79
Moret, Rolet, 44
Moré, Moïse, 295–98
Morselli, Enrico, 2, 64, 322, 325
Mortality, decrease in, 273
Moses, 90n
Motives for suicide, 100, 126–31
Moulinier, Marie-Anne, 220–21, 220n, 221
Moultu, Paul, 290
Mourgue, Pierre, 99n
Muller, Jean Samuel, 226–27
Murder, see Homicides, murders
Murphy, Terence, 5–6, 8, 15, 19, 237n
Index

Nadoye, Gervais, 84–85
Napier, Richard, 254
Naples, population of, 8
Nardon, Daniel, 37
Natifs, 165, 181
citizenship of, 193
civil status of their suicides. See Civil status of suicides
suicide rate among, 166, 170, 196, 198
suicides among, 189, 193–97
Natural Law, 285, 289, 302
Natural philosophy, 284
Necker, Jacques, 113, 175
Négatifs, 191–92
Negroes, 109n
Neoplatonists, 68n, 70n
Nero, 70
Netherlands, 7
Neuchâtel, 16n, 37, 66, 121–22n
New Regime, 198, 200
Newton, 280
Nogué, Thomas, 230–31
Normative confusion, 3

Odel, Jacques, 295
Oeta, Mount, 101n
Old Regime, 190, 193, 198–200, 202, 251
Olympus, 101n
Orfèvres, rue des, 60
Orléans, duke of, 301
Ostervald, Samuel, 303–4
Otho, 115
Ovid, 304

Palace construction 1715–40, 1750–80, 46
Pansie, Catherine, 223
Papinianus, 77
Pàquis, 40n, 46, 185n
Parental consent for marriage, 226
Parents, 250–51
immunity to suicide, 241, 245
suicide of, 239–40, 243
Pargeter, William, 118
Paris
decay in religiosity, 292
population, 8
suicide probability, 326
mentioned, 65–66, 117n–118n, 121n, 188–89n, 206n, 226–27
Parlement of Paris, 59n
Parricide, 80
Paschal, Bertrand, 256
Paschal, Elisabeth, 128, 256–59, 265, 267, 272
Passementerie, 191
Pautet, Jean, 229n–230n
Pays de Gex, 9
Pays de Vaud, 9, 152, 224
Peasants. See Agricultural workers
Pelín, Noé, 201
Pelissari, Jean-Antoine, 308–9
Pellet, Samuel, 223
Pelloux, Ayma, 253n
Peney, 8–9, 96n, 132
Pennsylvania, 121
Pepin, Marie, 231
Perrenoud, Alfred, 8n, 25n, 135, 145
Pestre, Etienne, 228
Peter, 74–75
Pétrion, 196
Petit-Saconnex, 9, 32, 132, 151n, 184–85n
Philistines, 67, 69
Philocetes, 101n
Philosophes (eighteenth century), 278, 281, 290
celebration of nature, 314
debate over suicide, 80
defense against attacks, 282
defism of, 311
suicide among, 316n
Physical illness
and socioeconomic status, 271
and suicide, 200n, 276
Picardy, 7
Picot, Gabrielle, 27
Picquet, Isaac, 47n
Picquet, Marc, 107–8, 116, 274
Picquet, Traité de la vérité de la religion cresti-
Index

enne, 301
Pietists, 282
Pilgrimages, 204
Pius, Affaires et politique: Recherches sur le commerce..., 138
Plague, 273
Plainpalais, 93, 96, 184
Plato, 1, 68–70n, 78, 87, 102n, 304
Plautus, 304
Poison
as method of suicide, 47–50, 74
in Persian Letters, 107
use of, by gender, 45, 50
mentioned, 29, 33–34, 42, 86n, 183, 229
Political Edicts of 1543, 17
Politics
and gender, 210–11
and suicide, 129, 154–55, 164, 166, 194, 197, 199–203
Porret, Michel, 173n
Port-Choiseul, 181
Postmortem inventories or inquests of suicides
Antoine Mallet, 301
Bible was the most often cited printed work for, 308
David Gérard, 303
Jean Liotard, 303n
Jean-Louis Tronchin, 304
none made for Pelissari, 309
reveal growing secular interests in eighteenth century, 306
mentioned, 152–53, 176n, 177, 200, 205–6, 299, 305
Poverty or financial concerns
among motives for seventeen 1793 suicides, 200n
Christianity has often glorified poverty, 278
not a frequent motive for suicide, 167–68
for widows, 217
mentioned, 129–30, 222, 246
Prague, Herman van, 325n
Prairial, 196
Predestination, 10–11, 260, 287
no mention of, in suicide cases, 260
Pré l’Évêque, 46, 184n
Press, popular, 5, 117n
Préret, ex-Syndic, 95
Prévost, Abbé Nicolas, 105
Prevost, Guillaume, 25n, 298
Prevost, Jean, 257
Printed cloth, 174, 178, 184–86
Prisoners, suicide among, 167, 196, 271
Production occupations, 161, 179–80, 187
Professions and occupations in Geneva, 135, 146, 156–63
Prophets, 74
Prostitution, 234
Protestantism
aborrence for suicide, 8
compared with Catholicism, 10, 54, 73n, 75, 78, 89, 92, 263, 292, 298
suicides among, 10, 117
mentioned, 7, 76n, 88, 132
Provence, 291–92
Provisioning occupations, 140, 146, 156–58, 163, 189
Prussia, 25n, 65, 115, 121, 178n, 257n
Psychiatry, 1–3, 53, 322–25
Psychology, 1–4, 53, 324–25
Puech, Pierre, 221
Pufendorf, Samuel, 102, 105, 123, 285, 304
Purgatory, 289
Pyrrhonism, 100
Pythagoras, 1, 69, 71, 78
Pythagoreans, 70n
Questionable unnatural deaths, 27
Rationalism, 290–91, 293n
Raulin, Joseph, 270
Razias, 76
Reffet, Pernette, 239
Reformation, 325
in Geneva, 6
suicides during, 65
views on suicide, 73, 80, 91, 252
mentioned, 5, 7–8, 10, 13–14, 77, 83, 87, 92, 123n, 151, 154, 167
Reformed, French, 89
Reformed faith, 309
among merchants, 310
decline of, 310
in Geneva, 90
growth of, 7, 258
literature, 136
and melancholy, 259
suicide among, 11
Reformed scholasticism, 284
Reign of Terror, 196, 317
Reinhart, Guillaume-Louis, 239
Religion
in Geneva, 307
and suicide, 277, 300, 302, 309, 319
Renaissance
Florence, 7
vs. medieval views about suicide, 79
Représentants, 191–92, 196
Reville, Ezechiel, 124
Revilliod, Marguerite, 169n
Revilliod, Pierre, 169n
Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 142, 284
Revolution, French, 192, 202
Cult of the Supreme Being, 317
Revolution of December 1792, 190n, 193, 198, 210
Rey, Pierre Adam, 224–25
Rhône River, 188
drownings, 21, 82, 95, 98–99, 107, 253–54, 301
mentioned, 9, 36–38, 40, 42, 163, 221, 224–25
Richelieu, 301
Rigoumier, Jacques: religion permeated his
daily life, 258, 299, 302
Rituals, 76, 86
Rive, 47, 310
Rivoire, Jean Pierre, 181–82
Robeck, John, 109n
Robespierre, 196
Robin, Marthe, 312n
Roger, Gaspard, 296
Roland, 196
Roll-over deaths, 58n, 59
Roman Catholicism. See Catholicism, Roman
Roman Law, 97–98, 100
Roman Republic, 302
Romans, ancient, 70, 72n, 87n, 100, 108, 111, 129n
Romanticism, 114
Romantic love, 220, 222–23, 229, 232, 237, 251
Romantic misadventures
and suicides, 200n, 222, 249
mentioned, 50, 104n, 107, 112–14, 129, 222–24, 248, 250
Rome, 12, 74
Romeo and Juliet, 225
Rosseau, Jean-Jacques, 112, 191–92, 304
Roth-Lochner, Barbara, 292
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 12, 153, 175, 191, 193, 288–90, 304
Roussel, Bernard, Système physique et moral
de la femme, 270
Roussel, Pierre, 270
Roux, Jean-Philippe, 220
Roxanne, 107
Rue, André de la, 183, 228–29
Rue, Pierre de la, 56–57
Rural/urban differences, 61–62, 195, 322n
mentioned, 2, 10, 54, 61–62, 116, 151, 179, 298
Russell, Mephistopheles, 281, 283
Russia, 8, 65, 188
Russin, 9, 38, 132
Saget, Joseph, 51n
Saint-Denis, 316n
Saint Pierre, church of, 77, 309
Saint-Preux, 112–13
Saints, 294
Saint Sebastian, 294
Sales, Delisle de, 114, 117
Salons in France, 311
Samson, 75, 102n
Sardinia, 55n, 188, 192, 295
Satan, 257n, 258, 280, 282n. See also Devil
mentioned, 73n, 76n, 81n, 82, 118, 254–55
Satigny, 9
Saul, 67, 69–71, 74, 76, 102n, 109, 293n
Saumur, 294n
Saussine, Abraham, 170
Sautier, Pierre, 259
Savoy, 7–8, 295
Saxony, 25n
Schär, Markus, 11, 309
Schelling, Johann Rudolf, 293n
Scherff, Christine, 224
Schnegg, Alfred, 5n
Scientific Revolution, 208, 279, 283
Scipio, 100
Scotland, 7

Scripture references
Deuteronomy, 90
John, the Gospel of, 74
2 Maccabees, 74n, 76
Psalms, 302, 305, 308
1 Samuel, 67
2 Samuel, 67
Seasonal variations of suicide, 62–65
Second Refuge, 142–44, 146n
Secularization of suicide. See also Desacralization, 135–38, 282, 291, 300–302, 308–9
Seidl, Wolfgang, 254
Sellon, Sieur Jean-François, 206n
Seneca, 1, 70, 101n, 109, 120, 130
Separation from spouse
illicit, 232
and suicide, 216, 233
Service occupations, 140–41, 157, 161, 179, 187, 189
Seven Years’ War, 115
Sewall, Samuel, 81n
Sextus Tarquinius, 72n
Shakespeare, 79
Short, James, 53, 147
Sibyllicine Oracles, 301
Sicily, 188
SIDS (Sudden Infant Death Syndrome), 58, 61
Simpson, George, 10
Sionnex, 9
Sirau, Madeleine, 259
Small Council, 18, 284
censure of family member, 234
dissolution, 193
firearms deaths, 81
hangings, 51, 83
homicides, 55
in Mallet’s case, 95–99
on marriage, 226n
members, 131–32, 152, 285
on Pelisson’s case, 104
ruling on book sale, 294
sentencing, 18, 85, 91–92, 220, 297
on suicide, 26
burial, 123–25, 262n
fines on estates, 83
mentioned, 17, 19, 21–22, 31, 83, 235
Smith, Adam, 173
Socinians, 289
Sociology, 1–4, 6, 324–25
Socrates, 68n, 70n, 111, 114, 120
Soldiers, 141, 161
Solitude. See Isolation, social
Solomon, King, 296
Soul and body, 313
Spain, 184, 188
Speculative ventures, 175
St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre, 77
St. Claude, 200
St. Gervais plaza, 94
Stabbing, 29 (table 4), 51–53, 74, 91, 253
Stael, De l’influence des passions sur le bonheur..., 113–14
Staël, Madame de strong, almost unrestrained admiration for suicide, 113–14
tore of love as a sublime justification for suicide, 227
mentioned, 171
Stael, Réflexions sur le suicide, 114
Stockholm, 58n
Stoicism, 70, 79, 106, 111, 116
Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS), 58, 61
Suetonius, First Twelve Emperors, 301
Suffocations, 58
Suicide, self-murder, 251. See also Decriminalization of suicide accidental, 31–32, 36, 41–42, 45
Suicide continued
after 1750, 23
causes of, 1–2, 53, 172, 263
class bias in view of, 22
deterrent, 261–62
as "English malady," 117
in Geneva, 18, 23
increase in, 13, 23–24, 26–30, 35, 38–39, 43, 46, 252, 268
martyrdoms, 75
meaning of, 5, 32
penalties, 92
and physical illness, 37, 44–45, 120, 129, 165
popular attitudes, 28, 30, 50–52, 90, 252
rare before 16th century, 260–61
relation to homicide, 53–62
and socionomic status, 310
views of, 85n
Augustine, 101
blame, 21–22, 44
as a crime, 17, 84, 110, 122
Durkheim, 20
eternal damnation, 279
by Genevan church, 78
legal, ethical, 1
medical vs. supernatural, 44, 81
as murder, 313
Seneca, 101n
Sujets. See also Civil status of suicides
agricultural suicides, 179
compared with Natifs, 166
suicide by gender, 196
Sumptuary laws, 176, 178
Suttee, 108, 127
Swabia, 122
Sweden, 89
Swiss Confederation, 283
Switzerland, 7, 33n, 188, 305n, 312
Swords, knives, 42, 51
Syndics
Jean-Robert Chouet, 284
Jean Trembley, 44
mentioned, 17, 94–96, 99, 107, 132, 266–67, 274
Synod of Dort, 283
Synod of Nîmes, 86
Tacitus, 299
Tagus, 315
Taylor, Steve, 4
Textile industries
in England, Holland, Picardy, 188
underrepresented in suicides, 185
mentioned, 158, 162, 184, 303
Théâtre français, 304
Theatrical productions, banned, 307
Theologians, liberal, 283, 290, 295, 309
Thérèse, 112–13
Thermidor, 196
Thiez, 8
Thirty Years’ War, 88
Thonon, 253
Torture, 167, 253
Transubstantiation, 294
Trembley, J. P., 288n
Trembley, Jean, 44
Trembley, Pierre, 27
Trent, Council of, 78n, 301
Tridentine Catholicism, 293
Trinity, 286
Tronchin, Jacob, 115
Tronchin, Jean-Louis, 115, 153, 177, 266–67, 303–5
Tronchin, Jean-Robert, 153, 174n, 177, 192, 303
Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, 173
Turrettini, Syndic, 96
Turrettini, François, 283
Turrettini, Gédéon, 266–67
Turrettini, Jean-Alphonse, 286–87, 294
Unhappy love life. See Romantic misadventures
Unhappy lovers, 50
United Kingdom, 25, 33n. See also England