HISTOIRE SOCIALE - SOCIAL HISTORY

The sparkle of several brilliant pieces in this collection notwithstanding, I share in the conclusion that these essays include several missed opportunities to speculate on working class history in all its complexities.

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Sharon Kettering — Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. Pp. x, 322.

This book is one of a growing number of studies that deconstruct myths about royal absolutism in early modern France: the myth, for example, that starting with the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV the crown dissociated nobles from power; or the myth that bureaucrats of middle class origin monopolized a newly rational system of administration. Reality was a great deal more complex.

Kettering shows in particular how vital it was for the monarchy to mobilize the loyal support of provincial nobles. Information derived from extensive archival research permits her to analyze in detail the means by which this process was accomplished: patron-client relationships, often with the mediation of brokers. She concentrates on Provence, not as a paradigm for the whole kingdom, but as a fair example of the techniques used by the government in Paris for dealing with outlying provinces. Some corroborative evidence is presented however for areas other than Provence.

The author herself concedes the difficulties in writing a case study based on a vast number of transactions between a multitude of persons. She especially deplores the absence of a natural story line to organize the narrative. That may account for a good deal of repetition — not only repetition of examples because the same persons and transactions necessarily recur in different contexts, but reiteration of ideas and phrasing. A more thorough copy-editing might have been helpful. On the other hand, Kettering engages her readers with graceful introductions to most of the chapters.

The book is divided into two parts, with considerable overlapping. The first three chapters define the characteristics of patron-broker-client ties, while the last three explore the operation of the patronage networks in their various aspects and implications.

The discussion opens with a look at patron-client relationships in France in general, and with great detail in Provence in particular. Kettering takes issue with Roland Mousnier's emphasis on the emotional nature of such relationships, their content of fidelity. Her own findings indicate that the tie between patrons and clients, even though expressed in affective language, was primarily based on mutual self-interest and became increasingly practical and material as the seventeenth century wore on. This is a valuable observation, although Mousnier's remarks may have been taken somewhat out of context. He was after all less concerned to define patron-client relationships as such, than to counter the notion that economic class interest determined relations between social groups in early modern France.

From patrons and clients the book moves on to consider brokers, men who had clients of their own to whom they could pass on royal or ministerial patronage in return for services. It was on the local clienteles of provincial brokers that the king's ministers counted to move business according to their wishes through the *parlements* or other courts, provincial estates or assemblies, and municipalities. The chief examples in this section are drawn from the careers of two Provençal rivals, Henri de Forbin-Maynier, baron d'Oppède, and Charles de Grimaldi, marquis de Régusse. Lastly the characteristics of clienteles are discussed, and contrasted with the functioning of twentieth-century political machines. The seventeenth-century variety was not necessarily urban; there were judicial clienteles, and the clienteles of great nobles or ministers. Even where a municipal clientele was im-

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portant, as in the case of Cosme de Valbelle's in Marseille, it had features uncharacteristic of the twentieth century: the nucleus of the Valbelle "machine" was a kinship group, not a party organization based on mass suffrage.

With this groundwork established, Kettering is ready to demonstrate the essential role brokers and clienteles played in the seventeenth-century French monarchy. It was brokers and their clients who made possible the integration of distant provinces into a more unified state, in the absence of modern techniques for local control. And the author notes a significant innovation here: whereas great nobles, especially when they were provincial governors, had practically monopolized the brokering of royal patronage in the sixteenth century, in the seventeenth century their influence was increasingly counteracted by the clienteles of the king's ministers. This is not to say that the great nobles became negligible ciphers. They retained their local connections and consequence and could still be troublesome on occasion. It was dangerous for a minister to forget this. Kettering's data from Provence show that Cardinal Mazarin's failure to cultivate the broker-client network created by his predecessor Richelieu, made the royal government very vulnerable when the Fronde broke out. But Mazarin was a quick study and repaired his omissions, not only in Provence but also in Languedoc and Burgundy. Only in Guyenne did this prove impossible, so that it took a royal army to dislodge the prince of Condé's supporters. It is noteworthy however that the ministerial clienteles were also composed of nobles — nobles of the sword as well as men ennobled by judicial or other royal office. In short, the monarchy was enlisting the nobility, not displacing it.

Kettering's analysis includes an assessment of the positive and negative features of "clientelism" in building the early modern French state. Much of this discussion is inspired by work of sociologists, anthropologists, and political scientists, who have examined patron-broker-client relationships in twentieth-century politics and society, and found them a source of conflict and corruption as well as a symptom of backwardness. It is true that one of the author's announced goals in writing the book "...is to introduce French historians to the interdisciplinary literature on clientelism" (p.7). She does not however undertake a systematic survey of this literature, which indeed is introduced somewhat at random. Moreover she herself concludes that "clientelism" was more help than hindrance to French state building, and that in fact modern standards of political morality have little relevance for the seventeenth century. It is therefore not easy to see what the social science literature can contribute to our historical understanding. But whatever questions may be raised about Kettering's secondary goal, she has very ably and successfully carried out her major one: to show that patronage networks were as necessary as the development of bureaucratic institutions for the growth of the state in early modern France.

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Rudy Koshar — Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marburg, 1880-1935. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986. Pp. xviii, 395.

Detlev J.K. Peukert — Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life, tr. by Richard Deveson. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987. Pp. 288.

In recent years, two related areas of research on German National Socialism have received increasing attention from scholars. The one examines the rise and rule of Nazism at the regional or local level, the other its manifestations in the daily lives of "average" Germans. Such grass-roots historiography, in contrast to an earlier preoccupation with diplomatic, military and ideological aspects of Hitler's regime as well as his bizarre personality, as a rule focuses on the social (or, rather, so-