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-

ciopolitical) instead of the purely political and psychological — indeed, pathological — parameters of the subject.

Rudy Koshar's monograph is the first substantial study in English of the descent of a single community into the "Third Reich" since the publication of William Sheridan Allen's now classic portrait of Northeim in Lower Saxony over two decades ago (*The Nazi Seizure of Power*), but differs from it in several fundamental respects. Far from offering a blow-by-blow account of how SA and SS stormtrooper toughs terrorized their hapless socialist and communist opponents into submission, as Allen does, Koshar depicts the Nazi conquest of Marburg primarily as a silent process of surreptitious, even unintentional proselytizing by its adherents within the city's myriad bourgeois voluntary organizations (*Vereine*). These sporting, cultural, nationalist and academic clubs, according to the author, served the function during more than half a century of nurturing Marburg's anti-socialist (and usually anti-Semitic) middle classes in supposedly apolitical values which the NSDAP would later propogate as its own: namely, disdain for democratic parliamentarism based on mass parties, like the SPD and the Catholic *Zentrum*, that supposedly only promoted the material interests of their "unpatriotic" and socially inferior followers. The morally presumptuous *Burgertum* saw in the Hitler movement, with its appeal to all right-thinking Germans whatever their economic status, the champion of a "community of the entire people" (*Volksgemeinschaft*) in which differences of rank and wealth would be subsumed in loyal devotion to the well-being of city and nation. What they experienced after 30 January 1933 was a naked dictatorship that not only brutally persecuted "marxist" and Jewish fellow-citizens, but also — and this was intolerable — set out to control every aspect of society including their own hitherto "unpolitical" associations. A minority of Marburgers, in particular those belonging to the so-called "Confessing Church" that resisted the complete nazification of their Lutheran faith, thereupon reasserted the distinction between private and public spheres by again withdrawing into a limited apoliticism — from which refuge, although Professor Koshar does not say so, they were presumably mute spectators to the Holocaust and other crimes.

This cursory overview of Marburg's political development after the late 1920s hardly does justice either to the sophistication of Koshar's analysis, for which Max Weber (negatively) and Antonio Gramsci furnish the theoretical models, or the richness of the documentation he has unearthed on associational life in the Hessian city. By 1930 there was one such club for every 63 inhabitants (p. 130), and their importance as vehicles of social interaction had grown proportionally. To conquer Marburg meant for the Nazis first infiltrating these elite networks before propagandizing the population at large. The author has succeeded in identifying several hundred Party members who were previously, or simultaneously, enrolled in other organizations, often in a leadership capacity. He employs specific examples of otherwise obscure National Socialists to demonstrate the contribution of multiple joiners to the local triumph of the movement; from this perspective, Hitler's role seems almost incidental. However, this is not the only novel interpretive departure this book offers. Its unusually broad chronological scope, ranging backwards to the Wilhelmian period when many of the associations in question were founded, enables Koshar to identify longer-term factors that help explain Marburg's early embrace of the NSDAP, which already captured over 53% of the vote in the July 1932 Reichstag election. One of these was the (admittedly ambiguous) legacy of the populist anti-Semite Otto Bockel who represented the city in parliament for many years before World War I; however, the Nazis chose to disregard the genuinely egalitarian element in his appeal — a vivid illustration of their selective utilization of indigenous traditions. Other claims Koshar advances on the basis of Marburg's experience are less persuasive, such as the relatively mild impact of both the post-war inflationary spiral and the Depression with its huge joblessness upon political behaviour; underemployment in this largely non-industrialized city, he maintains, was chronic but never catastrophic. In fact, its numerous unrepresentative ("eccentric") qualities vis-a-vis Germany as a whole, beginning with the dominant economic presence of the staunchly Protestant university whose students comprised at different times from 43 to 68 percent of the local NSDAP membership (p. 242), would not seem to recommend Marburg as a paradigm. Yet, what one city was? Koshar quite properly devotes much attention to student organizational activities and their impact upon local politics, though in doing so he inexplicably underutilizes the vast holdings of personnel records in the Berlin Document Center on these and other Nazi followers. This is nonetheless an impressive work of scholarship, clearly written and forcefully

argued. Nobody in future will investigate Nazism's formative years without considering the part even innocuous German associations played in its eventual victory.

Unlike Koshar, Essen University historian Detlev Peukert has not attempted a systematic treatment of his subject, which is nothing less than a social history of the "Third Reich" as it impinged upon everyday life in Nazi Germany. Rather, he has selected a series of discrete topics, such as the situation facing the working-class and young people confronting the Hitler regime as well as their responses to it (upon both of which he is the author of well-received German-language monographs), in order to advance a tentative general interpretation of National Socialism. Peukert argues that this was "a symptom of the crisis of industrial society in inter-war Germany," albeit that "the pathologies and fractures of modernity were articulated in this crisis with particular force" (p. 11). This view tends to contradict the notion, advanced especially by foreign observers of an earlier generation, that German development out of which Nazism emerged was in crucial political and economic respects at variance with that of France, England and other European countries — indeed that it constituted a unique *Sonderweg*. According to Peukert, both the economy and constitution of the Weimar Republic were recognizably similar to those of its western neighbours. Hitler's movement, which originated "as an aimless rebellion against the thrust towards modernization" (it opposed, for example, the replacement of small shops and artisanal trades by department stores and rationalized production lines), also once it gained power "absorbed and came to terms with the technologies and trends of modernity" (p. 248), thereby opening the way to the popular consumerism of the Federal Republic's *Wirtschaftswunder*. What distinguished the National Socialist from other contemporary governments, as Dr. Peukert further states in his concluding "thirteen theses", was that "it pushed the utopian belief in all-embracing # (scientific) solutions of social problems to the ultimate logical extreme, encompassing the entire population in a bureaucratic racial- biological design and eradicating all sources of nonconformity and friction."

The analysis of characteristic instances of such radical social engineering by the Nazis and the reactions evoked among both its victims and Germans at large constitute the most revealing sections of Peukert's book, which on the whole draws upon already published rather than new archival sources. Thus he recounts (p. 210ff) the fate of the gypsies during the "Third Reich", who like the Jews were to be wiped out entirely because their cultural norms and attitudes (above all their refusal to submit to industrial work discipline) diverged from the illusive ideal of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Other "community aliens" incarcerated by the regime were homosexuals whose lifestyle contradicted its racial goal of strengthening the "healthy body of the nation" (p. 219ff); neither they nor the gypsies until very recently were thought to be worthy of compensation for their suffering from the Bonn government — a striking instance of the perpetuation of Nazi tenets in post-1945 Germany. And for the young who sought to evade the increasingly militaristic clutches of the Hitler Youth by fleeing either to the countryside in unauthorized hiking groups or to dance halls playing the illegal "swing" tunes of Benny Goodman and other American jazz musicians, there was a special concentration camp established at Moringen near Göttingen. In the case of most of the populace, though, first the atomisation of personal relations the dictatorship imposed and then the material rewards it provided (at least prior to the war and in comparison to the acute deprivations of the Depression) effectively stifled resistance — if not, to be sure, grumbling — until military defeat finally brought it crashing down. Notwithstanding some debatable conclusions (e.g., about the overall significance of youthful opposition to the regime which the author considerably exaggerates — cf. p. 173), as well as his apparent belief that the "euthanasia" murder of mental patients and other "superfluous" persons came to an end in August 1941 as a result of protests mainly from the churches (p. 219 — in reality, the killings quietly continued unabated), this is a valuable summation of much current scholarship on the nature of Nazi society. The translation is excellent, as is the selection of photographs to accompany the text; and the addition of an index is a distinct improvement over the German original.

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