

connaissance, la bibliographie des pages 398-415 en témoignant assez bien. Cela du reste n'enlève rien à la qualité et à l'originalité de l'ouvrage.

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WOLFGANG J. MOMMSEN with PETER ALTER and ROBERT W. SCRIBNER, eds. — *Stadtbürgertum und Adel in der Reformation: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Reformation in England und Deutschland*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979. Pp. 392.

THOMAS J. BRADY, Jr. — *Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg 1520-1555*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978. Pp. 458.

KLAUS EILER. — *Stadtfreiheit und Landesherrschaft in Koblenz: Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsentwicklung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1980. Pp. 396.

The three books reviewed here are addressed principally to the political and social history of German cities in the sixteenth century. The first is a collection of articles presenting some impressive new work on the political context for religious and ecclesiastical changes during the Reformation. The Brady and Eiler volumes are monographs, the former focused on the issues raised in the Mommsen anthology and both reflecting analytical perspectives significant for current research in German social and urban history. All three demonstrate how intelligently local case studies are being used today to elucidate major historical problems.

Let me begin with the wider-ranging collection of studies brought together by Wolfgang Mommsen after a conference in 1978 at the German Historical Institute in London, which he directs. The theme was the social history of the Reformation, a topic German scholars have pursued vigorously for the past few years. Here they were joined by a group of British and North American scholars working actively in the field; although the English Reformation received some attention, the majority of the conference participants and the essays in this volume focus on Germany. Of the three articles dealing with England, one by Henry J. Cohn draws an intelligent general contrast between the German and English cases. He argues that much stronger anticlericalism is the principal explanation for the higher degree of popular support for the Reformation in Germany; in England, on the other hand, such support came only in exceptional areas like London and Kent, while the chief uprising, the Pilgrimage of Grace, was pro- not anticlerical. The greater political and social power of the German clergy elicited widespread dissatisfaction and made the laity more receptive to reform proposals, while most Englishmen experienced a Reformation imposed by the king and accepted it slowly, grudgingly, sometimes quite unwillingly. Peter Clark provides a short summary of his work on Kentish towns, however, to demonstrate their exceptional but "active and influential part in the early spread of Protestant ideas and practices" (p. 107). In the third essay devoted to England Christopher Haigh presents a brief survey of recent historiography on the English Reformation. He sketches general interpretive positions since G.R. Elton and A.G. Dickens became the leading historians of the Henrician period,

and he argues that current research leans against Dickens' view of the Reformation as a rapid and popular movement. Instead, institutional change was imposed from above and involved much factional struggle in the central government and in the counties. The change to Protestant religious views also involved a real contest between "reformers and both deliberate Catholic resistance and the strong force of inertia" (p. 104); it proceeded earlier in towns and very slowly in the countryside. Haigh's judicious and penetrating analysis ends with a call for "the writing of studies which do justice to the Catholic as well as the Protestant, the ignorant as well as the theologian, which demonstrate the interplay of factions and forces at the center and in the localities, and which trace the shifts in popular opinion in different parts of the country" (p. 106) — a challenging goal for Reformation historians no matter where they work.

The remaining scholars discussed in this review work in German sources and, with one exception, focus their attention on cities. That exception is Volker Press, the leading student of the imperial nobility in the early modern period, who has contributed an excellent essay to the Mommsen collection (pp. 330-83). His analysis of the complex and delicate position of the lower nobles in the Reformation period is, I think, the best overview we have of this important subject and of the impressive results Press has published in innumerable articles over the past ten years. Aside from Press' fine paper and the three pieces on England, the Mommsen (like the Brady) volume reflects the strong focus of current Reformation research on urban social and political structure. This work draws on a rich tradition of German urban history, of course, but was particularly stimulated by Bernd Moeller's essay, *Reichsstadt und Reformation* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1962; expanded French edition, Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1966; English edition, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972). Moeller emphasized the popular and urban character of the Reformation, and he attempted to explain the general adherence of northern German towns to Lutheranism and of the southern towns to Reformed doctrine. Specifically, he asserted a close correspondence between the social ecclesiology of Zwingli or Bucer and the stronger, more popularly influenced communitarian spirit in the South German and Swiss cities. Moeller's attempt to relate theological and ecclesiastical developments with political arrangements or ideologies was suggestive but not worked out in detail. Especially in the last decade, historians have greatly expanded and intensified their study of the urban context in which religious changes occurred, so that the "social history of the Reformation" is now one of the most flourishing research areas in the German field.

Quite naturally, this history has taken different directions, some of which appear in Mommsen's collection. One of the most prominent is the use of pamphlet literature to examine the spread and appeal of the Reformation; Bernd Moeller himself presents a short programmatic statement (pp. 25-39) to affirm the merits of this approach, which has been used most effectively thus far in Steven Ozment's *Reformation in the Cities* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975). Content analysis of printed propaganda continues, especially at Tübingen and Göttingen, and further reveals the substantive ideas that attracted townsmen to the Protestant cause. Here Moeller emphasizes the strong religious but weak social message in that literature: social criticism was limited to criticism of the clergy, and urban communities were addressed as unified corporate societies. Moeller stresses the dynamic role of religious ideas and attacks any (and especially Brady's) attempt to make economic, social or class interests a driving force in the Reformation. Moeller and Ozment have helped take Reformation research beyond the circle of the reformers themselves to the laity, and in the sense of extending the range of interest for traditional religious history, they have given the field more "social" content. They are interested in the impact of and "popular" responses to religious

ideas, and their analyses attempt to link ideas and action through general social psychology (the "aggrieved hearts and minds bent on resolution of their difficulties", as Ozment says here on p. 46, or the corporate mentality of townsmen emphasized by Moeller). There is evidence in the sources for their positions, they stand in line with venerable social analysts like Max Weber or Lucien Febvre, and they keep before us the crucial and thorny issue of the relationship between ideas and events. Still, their limitations will seem especially real to readers of this journal. Most social historians will applaud Robert Scribner's caution that the pamphlet literature gives us access chiefly to the literate culture of the urban élites; other sources can and must be exploited to see "how and in what sense the mass of the non-literate population understood the Reformation" (p. 45). "Newer" social historians will also welcome the careful and critical examination of social and political structure treated only schematically in Moeller's or Ozment's work but now undertaken by a vigorous group of scholars represented in the Mommsen collection.

Rather than summing up their specific results, I prefer here to identify these researchers and the directions in which they are moving urban research. Ozment's book in 1975 had already characterized the Reformation as a complicated process combining three necessary elements: calls for reform by evangelical preachers, popular demand for change, and élite acceptance and institutionalization of Reformation. Religious ideas were the dynamic element moving the process, and "the social impact of the Reformation lay in its effectively displacing so many of the beliefs, practices, and institutions that had organized daily life and given it security and meaning for the greater part of a millennium" (Ozment in Mommsen, p. 47). The social historians in Mommsen's collection elucidate that general process by examining its non-ideational aspects more closely. They do not posit a complete competing model, but they offer perspectives which may elaborate, refine, or challenge the general pattern that seems now to dominate the field. Robert Scribner, for example, seeks a more careful definition of social "movements" and a more differentiated analysis of group action during the Reformation. He distinguishes council and popular reformations, evangelical and opposition movements, with exemplary specificity in his essay on Zwickau and Leipzig (pp. 49-79). More importantly, Scribner warns against easy, stereotypical assumptions about the conservatism of higher or radicalism of lower social strata; instead, we need to be aware of "the different ways the Gospel was taken up by dominant or subordinate social groups. The manner in which its implications were shaped according to the social situation of those groups involved exemplifies Weber's notion of 'elective affinity'" (p. 77). Scribner's sophisticated theoretical concerns combine with careful empirical research to make his article probably the most valuable methodological piece in the Mommsen collection. Four other contributions reveal important developments in current Reformation research with its urban focus. The use of quantitative analysis to make comparisons of social groups more precise is a special goal of a research team associated with the Seminar for Medieval and Reformation History at the University of Tübingen; three of its members offer essays on Bamberg (Hans-Christoph Rublack, pp. 130-48), Kitzingen (Ingrid Batori, pp. 149-214), and Colmar (Erdmann Weyrauch, pp. 215-34). The latter presents a good example of a late reformation introduced solely by a ruling élite without any pressure from below. Both Weyrauch and Rublack reflect the current tendency to extend studies of religious change, or, equally interesting, the failure of reformation, into the late sixteenth century. This temporal extension is matched by increasing concern with towns other than the great imperial cities of the south, which have been the centre of so much attention. Almost all these characteristics — more precise social and political analysis, the extended range of interest in religious conflicts over the

entire sixteenth century, and examination of the special constitutional situation in territorial cities — mark the stunning article by Heinz Schilling on political élites and religious conflicts in northwestern German cities (pp. 235-308). Schilling's comparative essay demonstrates brilliantly the interaction of three forces — town councils, citizen groups, and the emerging territorial state itself — in the course of the Reformation. Ruling élites proved generally unsympathetic to ecclesiastical changes and faced political limitations on their action. They were often caught between popular opposition movements and the demands of territorial politics, a dilemma which probably sped up a long-term process of élite circulation. "The 16th and early 17th centuries were thus a watershed for the urban élites of the north-west German towns, for they had to choose between two political and social forms, the princely and the civic" (p. 308). In addition to the impressive substantive conclusions Schilling reaches through his many case studies, his work has the special merit of emphasizing the study of urban groups within the larger polities and societies of which cities were an integral though distinctive part. This larger political and social context for urban history is a concern shared in the two monographs to which we now turn.

Klaus Eiler's book on Koblenz in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is a careful examination of the relationship between a small territorial city and its prince, the Archbishop of Trier. Based on a dissertation under Alois Gerlich at the University of Mainz, the monograph stands firmly in the tradition of German constitutional history, with its focus on legal and institutional analysis and its increasing concern for the power struggles and social relations reflected in the actual functioning of institutions. Eiler's command of his archival sources and the literature in constitutional history is awesome; his judicious and clear argumentation are virtues in a book so detailed that even its merits will probably attract only real specialists. Other historians will miss a more careful probing of the economic and social history of the groups discussed and will regret that religion is a matter dealt with only in passing. Given these limitations, however, Eiler's study uses Koblenz as an interesting example of the competition between princely and civic institutions elucidated for the north by Schilling. Yet Eiler shows the parallel development and close interaction of urban with territorial administration from the very foundation of Koblenz to the sixteenth century, when disputes over "urban freedom and territorial lordship" arose with the general tendency of princes to strengthen their power positions through imperially sanctioned reforms in judicial systems and taxation. The lower nobility was always involved in town government and naturally used it as well as the cathedral chapter and territorial diets to defend a more balanced, aristocratic corporatism against the initiatives of centralizing authority. The conflict among city council and courts, resisting and conforming nobles, older and newer power bases in Koblenz is worked out in great institutional detail, but also within a regional and general imperial framework that allows the case study to assume exemplary character. Especially impressive is Eiler's refusal to posit the local rivalries in terms of simple bourgeois-feudal antagonisms or to see urban liberty and the archbishop's overlordship as polar opposites. The author presents a nuanced analysis of political relationships and a most judicious view of urban history at the territorial level. The prince's victory and his reordering of city government in 1562 become part of a historical process through which Koblenz was more firmly integrated into the district administration of the archbishopric. The change meant not so much an end to urban "freedom", as the assumption of a clearer and stronger administrative role for the city in its territory.

In his penetrating study of the ruling class in the imperial city of Strasbourg, Thomas Brady has combined a structural analysis of an urban élite with an account of its role in the two principal crises of the Reformation period, the revolution of

1524-25 and the Interim crisis of 1548. He has not written a general history of the Reformation at Strasbourg, for which we may still turn usefully to Miriam Chrisman's *Strasbourg and the Reform* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), but has kept a sharp focus on the aristocracy in order to explain its survival of the first and near collapse in the second crisis. Among the many goals of this important book, then, is Brady's attempt to unite structural and narrative history, just as he joins stimulating theoretical discussions with detailed archival research. To his task the author brings a vigorous style, a wide command of the appropriate literature, and a sense of historiographical mission that make the monograph pleasurable and thought-provoking from start to finish. Its "Prolegomena" challenge the idealistic tradition in Reformation research (to which Brady sees Ozment's and Moeller's recent work as an unfortunate return), praise Moeller's attempt in 1962 to find social determinants of religious developments, albeit through an inadequate "highly idealized, romantic conception of urban society, the ideal of the sacral corporation" (p. 12), and call for "an understanding of what the objective, unidealized city was" (p. 19). Brady's is a sophisticated neo-Marxist orientation, non-dogmatically and skillfully worked out, as in his impressive discussion of class and status. The reader need not share Brady's view of estate analysis as inherently static, his apparently studied avoidance of Max Weber, or his adoption of Marxist historical periodization to welcome his flexible use of "class" and "estate" as overlapping social categories or the term "aristocracy" as embracing both urban and rural lords in pre-modern Europe. Other theoretical refinements — Poulantzas' notion of social fractions, Bourdieu's cultural capital, the concept of cultural hegemony — give Brady's book greater analytical richness and historical credibility than this reviewer, a self-confessed Weberian, has encountered in any other Marxian treatment of German urban society.

The structural analysis of the Strasbourg aristocracy is more impressive, however, than the author's account of its behaviour in the historical events of the Reformation period. A prosopography of the 105 men in the city's two privy councils from 1520 to 1555 provides convincing evidence for tight political control by "a complex social class composed of two fractions, one rentier and the other mercantile, and divided into two estates, one patrician, the other of the guilds" (p. 44). Brady demonstrates the firm economic and social integration of these elements into a cohesive oligarchy, the mechanisms through which this élite dominated Strasbourg's guild constitution, and the combination of rural with urban interests that tied the aristocrats as much to the countryside as to the city itself. This portrait of social and political solidarity and of an urban-rural continuum in aristocratic interests is so persuasively argued that it creates some difficulties in the third part of the book addressed to the critical events of the sixteenth century. It offers explanations for a united front against social revolution in 1525 but none for the strong party divisions of the mid 1520s. In an imaginative and judicious assessment of aristocratic losses both in cultural capital and material wealth, Brady handles the élite's reluctance to break with the old church extremely well. But he appears to regard adherence to Protestantism as the reluctant price paid for social peace, a position that can scarcely do justice to the zealots or the genuinely evangelical *politiques* among Strasbourg aristocrats and can only leave Brady open to Ozment's and Moeller's complaints (in Mommsen, pp. 46-47 and 28-29) of a one-sided treatment of motivation in the Reformation. By the time Brady has brought his readers to the later crisis of 1547-48, religious and political divisions have continued and then become quite sharp. Acceptance of peace in 1547 and the Interim in 1548 split not only the whole city but the aristocratic regime as well. Here Brady offers convincing evidence for a peace party of the rich patricians and big merchants arousing increasingly bitter opposition from guild aristocrats and the broad spectrum

of artisans and shopkeepers. The ideal of the commune as a religious corporation meant much to this opposition group and corresponded to its conception of the city as a regulated, disciplined guild regime. Brady shows, in other words, that Moeller's sacral corporatism did indeed exist but embraced only part of Strasbourg's populace. The wealthiest aristocrats faced antagonism from their fellow citizens and possible loss of property outside the city, should Strasbourg be placed under imperial ban. At this point Brady's structural analysis of the élite, with its emphasis on far-flung commercial interests and particularly on ties with the countryside, serves to explain the remarkable aristocratic emigration in the summer of 1548, when a third of the oligarchy packed its belongings and left. External forces and interests impinged on the city's history even more in 1548 than they had in 1525, because the threat came, in the second case, from the ruling classes of the empire. While he thus justifies his interpretation of Strasbourg history in terms of a larger social and political context, Brady also leaves tantalizingly incomplete his story of the reconstitution of aristocratic power (why, indeed, speak of its collapse?). He asserts a special influence of guild leaders during the Reformation period, yet he leaves us puzzled over his vague explanation of the fact that the aristocratic oligarchy "was not forcefully attacked from below": "the neo-feudal rentier-mercantile ruling class corresponded in a basic way to the economic situation of the time" (p. 294). Finally, in his conclusion, Brady also proposes a schema for "the social specificity of the various forms of Reformation religion" which is plausible but not sufficiently integrated into his narrative account. Most readers will come away, I think, wanting even more from the vigorous and suggestive pen of this always stimulating historian.

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JOHN G. CLARK. — *La Rochelle and the Atlantic Economy during the Eighteenth Century*. Baltimore and London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981. xiv, 286 p.

Cet ouvrage peut se ramener à trois grandes parties: l'insertion de La Rochelle dans une économie atlantique, l'étude des familles de négociants et l'organisation des entreprises. Il constitue un apport très utile à une meilleure compréhension du grand commerce au XVIII^e siècle.

Plus que dans les autres villes portuaires de France comme Nantes, Bordeaux ou Marseille, la mer a réglé la vie des habitants de La Rochelle. Une région pauvre en produits exportables, l'absence d'un secteur manufacturier d'appui et une localisation extérieure aux circuits intérieurs de communication ont fait du port, malgré ses piètres facilités, l'élément moteur de l'économie de la ville. Aussi, le plus petit des grands ports de France au XVIII^e siècle s'inscrit-il résolument dans une économie atlantique et la vitalité des échanges rythme-t-elle la vie urbaine.

À La Rochelle, l'activité économique est entièrement tournée vers l'Atlantique et l'échange. La production régionale fait à peine 20% des exportations, 70% des importations viennent des colonies et plus de 50% de ces produits sont