

Rouen, goes on to analyze the manner in which the forces of order stymied leftist endeavours in these cities and throughout France as a whole, and ends up by delineating the repressive process in specific regions of France (the industrial Nord, and predominantly agrarian Creuse, Ariège, Finistère and Yonne). From Merriman's study a distinct pattern of the "mechanics of repression" emerges. Already in the summer of 1848, but especially as of 1849, the government struck out at the radical press, closed "subversive" clubs, suppressed voluntary worker associations, arrested purveyors of leftist publications, dismissed radical mayors and schoolteachers, disciplined contaminated regiments, dissolved suspected municipal councils, closely scrutinized meetings, and effaced even symbols of radicalism and republicanism: the Phrygian cap, revolutionary songs, and the red painted weathervane on top of a church. The campaign of repression was so successful that radical organizations were destroyed in most of France, or emasculated and forced underground as in the Yonne. Merriman follows the Agulhon thesis and insists that in the process "politics had descended to the masses", that for the first time ordinary people throughout France became imbued with republican ideals; but he admits that the repression quashed any attempt by republicans to set up organizational foundations in France. Although some depressed economic areas such as the Yonne temporarily preserved their republican apparatus underground and were able to offer some resistance to Louis Napoleon on December 2, 1851, republican structure had been effectively stifled even before the coup eliminated all effective republican opposition to the government.

Earlier works by Agulhon (emphasis upon the democratization process) and Charles Tilly (stress upon collective action and political mobilization by republicans) have greatly influenced Merriman's methods and terminology. Using this combined Agulhon-Tillian methodological approach, Merriman has produced a persuasive and thorough monograph. Ironically, the author's excessive thoroughness is one of the few criticisms that could be made of this work; at times Merriman's exhaustively detailed footnotes, unnecessarily long introduction, and redundant argumentation smack somewhat of the unpruned doctoral dissertation. One might also question the author's choice of departments for analysis, or wish that he had discussed the administration of the repression along with the mechanics of the repressive process. However, these minor defects detract little from the author's overall accomplishment. In fact, Merriman's contribution is a major one, and it will become required reading for anyone interested in the undermining of republicanism after 1848 and the eventual demise of the Second French Republic.

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SHULAMIT VOLKOV. — *The Rise of Popular Antimodernism in Germany: The Urban Master Artisans, 1873-1896*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978. Pp. 399.

Since the publication of Hans Rosenberg's *Grosse Depression und Bismarckzeit* in 1967 the significance of the period from 1873 to 1895/6 has been discussed by many German historians. Rosenberg's brilliant book has provoked a lively debate and opened up many new areas of research in the course of which the problems and the complexity of the "Great Depression" have become so evident that some historians are tempted to discard the concept altogether as being an oversimplification that obscures as much as it illuminates. Part of the problem is the

unsatisfactory nature of much of the available economic and social data that makes it exceedingly difficult to make confident statements on the causes, nature and extent of the depression. Shulamit Volkov, a pupil of Rosenberg's, attempts to show how the experience of the depression affected the attitudes, socio-economic status and political behaviour of the master artisans creating a seed-bed for pre-fascist ideology.

Her aim is to show how economic and social changes resulted in significant changes in the political behaviour and ideological stance of the master artisans, but her enterprise is beset with serious difficulties. She is somewhat uncertain in her treatment of the economic background, in large part because of the paucity of satisfactory material. Similarly she has been unable to uncover any new data on the question of whether or not the artisans declined, and if so by how much. Gustav Schmoller's classic study *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kleingewerbe im 19. Jahrhundert*, published in 1870, is generally considered to be open to question, but in more than a hundred years it has still to be seriously challenged.

Like Jürgen Kocka, whose work she justly admires, Shulamit Volkov suffers from a degree of methodological eclecticism that makes it very hard for her to deal effectively with the available material. A pinch of Marx, a large dose of Max Weber, and the inclusion of more modern theories of status inconsistency and relative deprivation may be the marks of a liberal and enquiring mind, but they do not provide a solid basis for an understanding of the past, and the purpose to which this methodology is directed is somewhat suspect. In her conclusion she expresses the hope that marxist theories of fascism can be replaced by a new theory which will combine notions of the "conservative revolution" with an analysis of the reaction of the "lower class losers" to the process of industrialisation. In other words a revival of the theory of fascism as the "extremism of the middle" and a rejection of the idea that fascism is imminent within the capitalist system. Fascism, and its earlier forms in the popular antimodernism of the master artisans, are seen not as consequences of capitalist development but as rejections of capitalism resulting from misguided and distorted perceptions of modern industrial society. Thus her methodological approach leads her to the dangerously reactionary conclusion that fascism is anti-capitalist and "revolutionary", an idea that cannot withstand critical examination.

The process whereby she arrives at these unfortunate conclusions also results in large part from the materials she has to work with. Setting out to show the impact of socio-economic change on a small group she finds insufficient data to make a satisfactory analysis and selects a methodology that makes it difficult to reveal the transmission belts between economic reality and group perceptions of that reality. Thus she is left with a discussion of master artisan ideology, a subject that she examines with great skill and understanding. Although the master artisans still enjoyed considerable social prestige even by the end of the century, their social status bore no relation to their economic position. The masters felt disadvantaged compared to the industrial capitalists and even to the industrial workers who had the organisational support of the trades unions and the largest socialist party in the world. Journeymen who no longer saw much chance of becoming independent masters were often attracted by social democracy and thus rejected the values of the masters. Without adequate political representation and unable to attack capitalism without questioning their own position within that system the master artisans were drawn to the irrational scape-goat ideology of anti-Semitism in the 1880s, joining the raucous chorus of protest against "Jewish capitalism" and "Jewish manchesterism". As political anti-Semitism declined in the 1890s they joined with the conservatives, having broken their earlier uncertain alliance with

the liberals. They hoped to secure their position in hopelessly utopian visions of "estate socialism", an interesting prefiguration of such undertakings as Mussolini's corporate state or Dollfuss' *Ständestaat*. The master artisans, trying to defend an indefensible position, had nothing positive to offer, their attitudes were wholly negative with their anti-liberalism, anti-socialism, anti-capitalism, anti-semitism, and their rejection of liberal parliamentary democracy. Clearly such ideas are a foretaste of fascist ideology, particularly in the fraudulent anti-capitalism of a reactionary petite bourgeoisie. Gradually the ideas of anti-modernist cranks found public support as Hans Sachs began his march towards fascism.

In the course of this long, detailed and interesting study the reader is often plagued with questions that suggest that there is much more to the master artisans than the emergence of popular antimodernism. One major issue is scarcely mentioned — the relationship between the artisans and social democracy. Shulamit Volkov estimates that the artisans and their families made up only 5% of the population in 1895, and yet in Nürnberg 8.6% of the party members were independent producers. Her answer that social democracy was a form of extremism that can be compared to anti-Semitism is hardly convincing. A fascinating question is the degree to which petit bourgeois ideology infiltrated the German socialist movement in the period of the anti-socialist laws, an issue that was of considerable concern to Marx and Engels. Nor does she mention the fact that August Bebel was himself an artisan, a social background that was not untypical of the party leadership.

It would also be helpful to know more of the master artisans' attitudes towards some of the great issues of the day — to imperialism, German unification and the role of the army. We are also told little of the attitudes of governments towards the predicament of the artisans. Bismarck was not very interested, but surely there were many officials who were?

A book that raises more questions than it answers is certainly worthwhile. There is much here of interest and it is admirably written and usually well presented. At times the scissors and paste are a little too evident, and previously published material is not always successfully incorporated. Chapter two, for example, does not fit in well and contains material found elsewhere. Although I find some of her arguments disturbing and look for answers that she is unwilling or unable to give, this book is nevertheless an important contribution to our understanding of the origins of certain fascistic ideas and to the vital debate on the links between capitalist development and radical right-wing movements.

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P. T. PHILLIPS, ed. — *The View from the Pulpit: Victorian Ministers and Society*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978. Pp. 326.

This volume is a collection of essays on the social and political thought of eleven selected Victorian clergymen — five Anglican churchmen, four Nonconformists (one of them fictitious) and two Roman Catholic prelates. The title may be misleading, as the essays are not necessarily concerned with the preaching function of these clergymen, though that was often a major part of their influence on society. The essays are not simply biographical, nor do they deal with the full range of their subjects' thought and action; the theological dimension, in particular,