Hauschild then calculates the amount that this cost in local coin at local prices for each year in the period 1400-1530 for which she has sufficient archive data. She then does the same for day wage rates in a number of skilled, semi and unskilled jobs, taking the large number of saints' days and holidays of pre-Reformation society carefully into account. Although she still fails to budget for rent, heat, clothing, illness and under or unemployment, she has tried to avoid the pitfalls attached to price data converted to silver bullion rates, as well as avoiding anachronistic nutritional predictions of any basic standard of living. She is to be respected for attempting to compare like with like, for despite the inevitable crudities due to the lack of more sophisticated records, late medieval and early modern expectations have been taken as their own norm and used to measure basic standards of living for their own period of time. [4]

Table 19 (p. 167) presents this evidence in terms of bricklayers' and porters' wages above all between 1400-1530. In this period an unskilled labourer is thought to have been able to feed his family for only about one-third of the time. The saw-mill worker and bricklayer could feed their family throughout the period. Journeymen carpenters and tylers achieved this level for something over 90% of the time. Jobbing carpenters and handymen were, however, only a little better off than the wholly unskilled. The subsistence line in this so-called "affluent" fifteenth century can thus be drawn for Rostock between the skilled and semi-skilled. The semi-skilled joined the unskilled on wages that may well have only kept their families satisfied in one year of three between 1400-1530. This was surely no great achievement. The late medieval period was an era of "hard times", too.

Dr. Hauschild is to be congratulated for having used German local archive evidence to test and to modify the Abel thesis. She has not overthrown that thesis as she seems to claim in her conclusion. But she is perfectly correct in demanding further studies of other late medieval German municipalities to show whether or not Rostock was typical in its failure to achieve wage affluence for the common man and his family in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

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NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS. — *Society and Culture in Early Modern France. Eight Essays.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975.

Students of French history and of social history will be grateful for this collection of Natalie Zemon Davis's best essays of the past decade. Although three of them have already appeared previously (and one of these has recently occasioned an interesting exchange of views between a French scholar and the essayist in *Past and Present*), the other five essays were new or not readily available. Moreover, the eight essays together have a significance which individually they lack. The book as a whole studies the formation of the artisans and *menu peuple* of Lyon through the changes brought about by the Reformation and the spread of printing. To a lesser degree it considers the nature of the peasantry of the surrounding contryside in the same period. Lyon normally provides the 'case study', but such cases are placed in a general French and European setting and have wide implications.

The first essay deals with religious and economic tensions within the printing industry in sixteenth-century Lyon. It demonstrates that although a significant proportion of journey-

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[4] Her approach is very sensitive when compared with the latest fashion of calculating wages in terms of hours worked for kilogrammes of bread, a recent crude but useful example of which is G. VIGO: "Real Wages of the Working Class in Italy: Building Workers' Wages (14th to 18th Century)," *The Journal of European Economic History*, 3, 1974, pp. 370-99.

men and masters were Protestants, the journeymen were able to make distinctions between economics and religion. The Protestant journeymen, who had co-operated with Protestant masters to produce heretical works, might and did strike against masters who failed to meet their economic needs. At the height of the Reformation in Lyon, the *menu peuple* developed a secularistic understanding of their right to rebel when they were economically oppressed. At the end of the century, when Lyon was again a Catholic city, a later generation of printers' journeymen naturally became *politiques*. Neither did religious considerations affect the administration of charity in sixteenth-century Lyon. In the second essay, she explains how Catholic and Protestant civic leaders, moved by humanist teachings and religion, co-operated to establish the *Aumône Générale* which provided relief in a systematic way to the poor of Lyon, regardless of religious affiliation. The recipients reflected the demographic and economic trends of the period. The five per cent of the population who received support had frequently come from the countryside to seek work in Lyon's expanding industries.

The next essay deals with the effect of religion on women in Lyon and other cities. She shows that women, considered their place in sixteenth-century society in a rational and intelligent way. Both Protestant and Catholic women aspired to more power and independence than either system would permit, but they did become more powerful and independent during the century. In general, the model which suggests that Protestantism permitted women to share men's work while Catholicism encouraged women to perform tasks and assume influence in areas not reserved for men — the model of assimilation and pluralism — is an accurate one. Creative changes in sex roles did occur in the sixteenth century, though apparently only one woman argued that it was just a historical accident that Jesus Christ had been born a man. The condition of women is again studied in the essay called 'Women on Top'. It interprets the reversal of sex roles which sometimes occurred in sixteenth-century literature and characterized some popular festivals. In the latter instance, taking advantage of the prevailing belief that women were naturally disorderly and irresponsible, men assumed the guise of women. This carnival transvestitism permitted men to dramatize the ineptitude of women who sought greater authority, but it also enabled them to criticize social ills without fear of punishment. The result was then paradoxical. Such behaviour could reinforce the traditional social order or it could promote resistance to it.

The fourth essay studies another form of social unruliness: the Abbeys of Misrule. These institutions owed their origin to the traditional immunity from punishment enjoyed by village youth when they engaged in farcical and irresponsible games — charivari — at the expense of adults who had transgressed social norms in ways such as marrying too soon after the death of the first partner or marrying someone deemed too old or too young. By the sixteenth century, Abbeys had become established in towns. There they were likely to be neighbourhood groupings of young and old men who were neither very rich nor very poor. These urban Abbeys continued to enjoy the same immunity as women or young men when they engaged in disorderly behaviour. Yet the urban Abbeys had broader functions than their village counterparts. They served, again paradoxically, to maintain order among citydwellers and increasingly provided a means for the relatively powerless to express political discontent. Thus, in their sixteenth-century urban form, the Abbeys of Misrule could serve both to support and to challenge the existing social order. From disorder to violence may be a small step. In the sixth essay, on popular violence, she demonstrates that religious riots in the sixteenth century were the logical outcome of the Catholic and Reform traditions. Although the behaviour of Catholic and Protestant crowds differed in ways reflecting differences in their beliefs, both kinds of rioters were convinced that they had necessary and legitimate grievances and pales. They served as magistrates defending doctrine, rooting out pollution, or putting an end to civil disorder. Both kinds of crowds acted in what they saw a reasonable fashion, in ways encouraged by their culture.

The final two essays deal with the impact of printing on 'the people' and on popular culture. The direct effect of the printed word on the peasantry was insignificant since peasants did not read. Printing and literacy made greater inroads in cities. But, once again, with a

paradoxical effect: printing could be used to destroy traditional monopolies of knowledge enjoyed by clerics and lawers but it could also enable the powerful to establish new kinds of control over popular thought. Nevertheless, in its first century and a quarter, printing probably strengthened the culture of the *menu peuple* more than it weakened it. In the last essay, she considers the attempts of learned men in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to collect and publish the proverbial wisdom of the people. Such scholars were hardly dispassionate. Increasingly they criticized the peasants' language and observations, and doubted the value of popular wisdom. In the debate between the peasant Marcolf and Solomon, it was Solomon who was gaining the upper hand. By the seventeenth century, popular culture declined and the learned held it in less and less respect. This development ought to cause twentieth-century students of popular culture in the sixteenth century to ask whether they, any more than the seventeenth-century *savants*, have learned to respect their subjects' ways. The book ends on this speculative note.

Such brief summaries do great injustice to the essays, whose value lies in much more than just the principal themes they develop. Each essay also considers a multiplicity of minor themes and contains a wealth of fascinating detail presented as supporting evidence. Indeed, Davis's methodology is impeccable. Her research has been exhaustive and painstaking. She draws on all the available primary sources including such literary evidence as plays, poems, pamphlets, sermons, diaries, and stories and on such legal records as welfare rolls, criminal records, notarial contracts, militia and finantial lists, and ecclesiastical records. Consequently, she refers to many incidents and a surprising number of people. The book as a whole contains innumerable references to men and women who expressed their views on religion, the condition of women, and the condition of the poor. Among them are such learned or powerful people as Jean de Vauzelles, Edmond Auger, and Laurent Joubert. There are also the powerless beings who were no less outspoken for being powerless. These would include the remarkable women Louise Labé and Marie Becaudelle. Individual people sometimes appear only for a moment; sometimes they crop up again with an opinion on another matter. For the extraordinary number of personalities and for the richness of those personalities described in its pages, this is a book to be treasured.

The essays are also to be prized for her very fine historiographical technique. Not only has Professor Davis met the basic, though frequently neglected, requirement of any historian and done her primary research, but also she has tested her information and her interpretation of her information against existing studies of Lyon, other social studies of sixteenth-century France, and studies of related German, Italian, Swiss, English, and Low Country developments. She has considered the models of interpretation presented by distinguished scholars in the related fields of anthropology, sociology, psychology, and literature, without, however, sacrificing historical methodology. Her use of the Soviet structuralist Mikhail Bakhtin's work to explain the social functions of the carnival is particularly sensitive. When her evidence leads her to an observation or conclusion which contradicts existing studies, she points this out. Thus, she wonders whether Mandrou's conclusions about the use which peasantry made of the *Bibliothèque bleue* are based on insufficient evidence and offers a corrective to Ariès's view of adolescence. Presumably her forthcoming book on Lyon during the Reformation will present a synthesis of her findings on this subject and integrate into a single study many of the ideas first developed in these essays. In the meantime, her great knowledge of the field, the originality of her approach, and her ability to use the work of other scholars in related fields make this collection of essays an extremely valuable contribution to our knowledge of sixteenth-century France and of the difficult discipline of social history.

I have only one reservation about Natalie Davis's achievement. One must ask whether she has satisfied her own requirement that students of popular culture respect their subjects' ways in order to understand those subjects' lives. It seems that her style is occasionally better suited to undergraduate university teaching in the second half of the twentieth century than to elucidating the ways of people who lived in the sixteenth century. There is memorable alliteration: poetry and patronage (p. 66), nature and nurture (p. 124), wit and will (p. 125), and

printing and Protestantism (p. 205), to list only the first four examples discovered in a rapid persual of the book. But although we remember such coupled nouns, are they sufficiently subtle or precise to convey what Natalie Davis really wishes to say about sixteenth-century people? In the otherwise moving essay called 'City Women and Religious Change' appear the statements that the activities of city women in the sixteenth century 'ranged from marching to martyrdom' (p. 85) and that the Calvinist assimilation of women into men's roles brought certain losses. 'By destroying the female saints as exemplars for both sexes, it [Calvinism] cut off a wide range of affect and activity' (p. 94). Surely if we are to respect her subjects' ways, we must ask Professor Davis some questions about these statements. Did sixteenth-century women judge marching and martyrdom to be quite such parallel experiences as this phrasing suggests? Why allude to cutting off a wide range of 'affect and activity' instead of explaining that in the sixteenth century it became impossible for Protestants to love God and their neighbour or to engage in good works in the manner of medieval women saints? Such cleverly worded shorthand expressions are so alien to the sixteenth century that they must stand in the way of our understanding the activities and thoughts of the people who are the subjects of these essays. Professor Davis has avoided these kinds of constructions in her later essays and hopefully they will be avoided in her book on Lyon during the Reformation.

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WALTER J. SHELTON. — *English Hunger and Industrial Disorders: A study of social conflict during the first decade of George III's reign.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

What is most interesting about this reminder that George III's first ten years should be as much as *locus classicus* for the social historian as they have long been for his political counterpart is not the novelty of the subject: as Dr. Shelton acknowledges, his work rests firmly on that of others, notably Dorothy George, George Rudé and Edward Thompson. It is rather the way in which the subject has been handled. Instead of treating the rioters of 1766 and the strikers of 1768 simply as manifestations of a general phenomenon, "the historic crowd", Dr. Shelton has used a synoptic approach. This enables him to place each part of this particular set of disturbances within its individual historical context. It also means that he is able to show that the disturbances as a whole were the product of an interaction between several different sections of society, not just an expression of discontent on the part of one group alone which can be studied in isolation.

The results are most striking in the case of the provision riots which spread across most of southern and central England in the early autumn of 1766. Dr. Shelton has much to say about the changes in the composition of rural society caused by the development of a more specialized commercial agriculture during the first half of the eighteenth century, and about the reasons why the middlemen who undertook the necessary traffic in grain and other provisions found themselves the victims of a double standard in public attitudes. He is also stimulating on the role of the Seven Years' War as an agent of social change. But his two most important contributions are his discussion of the role of the authorities, both central and local, in the precipitation and direction of the riots, and the relationship which he suggests between the disturbances of 1766 and the militia riots ten years earlier. Reluctant to risk England's position in European grain markets, and anxious to shore up its support among the Independent Members at Westminster, the newly formed Chatham ministry acted out of a combination of misinformation and wishful thinking. It did everything wrong. By lifting the embargo which had been prudently imposed on grain exports earlier in the year when an August heatwave raised false expectations of plenty after all, and then by proclaiming the Edwardian Statutes against Forestalling and Regrating, it not only allowed existing grain reserves to pour out through the ports in search of famine prices