

Secondly, while most case studies of Tudor towns emphasize continuity (e.g., Palliser's York or Wallace MacCaffrey's Exeter) or deal with change by examining still photos taken at irregular intervals, Phythian-Adams has managed to reproduce a true moving picture. Historical change thus serves not merely as the inferred process for bringing the subject from one pose — or one descriptive document — to the next, but, at least for the critical years 1518-25 or 1530, change itself becomes the subject. By happy coincidence the historian of Coventry is served not only by the survival of the 1524 subsidy assessment, but also by a muster assessment for 1522 and a possibly unique civic enumeration for 1523. Taken together, these allow him to follow in remarkably close and continuous detail the worst ravages of Coventry's urban crisis.

In Coventry and, by inference, elsewhere, this early Tudor crisis meant a striking demographic collapse (from about 9,000 in 1500 to half that number fifty years later; from roughly 7,500 to about 6,000 between 1520 and 1523 alone!) and an even larger proportionate decline of the "honest commoners" who traditionally shouldered the twin burdens of providing employment and holding office. This meant a scarcity of capital, a decline of industry, an inability to cope with fiscal demands and economic competition. Except in degree, these observations would apply to York and elsewhere. Yet in Coventry, at least under Phythian-Adams's lens, these crisis years and the Reformation which followed close at hand had a *cultural* impact of even greater devastation and finality: these years "represented a line drawn under the long and evolving tradition of medieval urban community ... [and] signalised a final disruption of cultural assumptions" (p. 275).

Whether we would find such a sharply defined cultural break elsewhere remains to be seen, but at least where the documents hold out hope of an answer the question must now be put. While both of these studies are impressively carried out, their goals are different. Palliser has matched York against a rough template devised by an acknowledged consensus and has lent important confirmations and a few caveats to the assumed norms. Phythian-Adams has cut some new designs in the plate altogether. His case makes vivid reading and seems persuasive for Coventry, but remains to be tested elsewhere.

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CHRISTOPHER R. FRIEDRICHS. — *Urban Society in an Age of War: Nördlingen, 1580-1720*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979. Pp. xvii, 350.

Christopher Friedrichs here examines the effects of the Thirty Years' War on Nördlingen, one of the surviving free cities of the old German empire. This revised Princeton doctoral dissertation is based on an extensive examination of parish registers, tax assessment records, and minutes of the town council. The author attempts to challenge some current interpretations of the Thirty Years' War which tend to dominate the English-language literature, especially the theses of Ergang (vintage 1940s) and of Steinberg, that the war was not as disastrous as nineteenth-century German historians used to contend.

Although Friedrichs's monograph offers a short socio-economic history of only one German town in this era, and a rather small one at that, it does make available to us a much sounder and more empirical analysis of the economic and demographic effects of the war than the Anglophone student usually has access to. Far too little of the mountains of archival research done by German scholars, even since 1945, has been summarized in English so that the impact of the Thirty Years' War has not been made clear to contemporary students. Friedrichs's population data make it quite obvious that in Nördlingen the war resulted in a significant population decline, even if some of it was due to a plague epidemic.

Since he has developed in the Raab school, Friedrichs belongs to the younger generation of "cliometricians". However in this monograph, the author has confined himself to the use of descriptive statistics and has not attempted an elaborate computer analysis. His appendices are especially useful and include such things as "Population Statistics ... 1579-1720" which describe resident and non-resident marriages, baptisms and burials registered in the city but never the total population for which there were no statistics. There are also detailed lists of the number of male occupations listed in the tax records for the years 1579, 1615, 1652, 1700 and 1724. Included in these are not only craftsmen, but also teachers, clergy, administrators, etc. A peak of 1,456 occupations were listed in 1615; this number declined sharply as a result of the war to 715, and rose to only 1,113 by 1724. Tax assessment records show that the total assessed property value and worth of the citizens rose from 699,922 florins in 1579 to 898,800 florins in 1724. No adjustment has been made for price changes, although prices increased by sixty-four percent during this period. The statistical appendices also show the distribution of wealth in 1579, and the membership in and wealth of the town council. Also useful are the graphs of municipal finance which show the sharp fluctuations in the town's revenues during the seventeenth century.

A main problem which the author has been unable to resolve is that of determining the town's population during this era. The total number of inhabitants always exceeded the number of citizens registered on the official list (*Bürgerbuch*). The author estimates the population at about 8,000 to 10,000 in the eighteenth century, despite the fact that only some 1,200 citizens are listed. As the reviewer's own research in Württemberg's ninety-two towns and districts (for which there are better census data) has shown no fixed ratio between the number of citizens and the total number of inhabitants, Friedrichs's estimate might be accurate, but the total might have been far less if the number of citizens was high in relation to the total population. That there were only five clergymen tends to indicate a smaller population.

The work of Günther Franz has shown that Nördlingen was located in a zone in which the population losses during the Thirty Years' War were heavy. Friedrichs's researches also make this clear although he points out that economic recovery was fairly rapid even though the population grew only slowly. Yet he insists on applying the generalization of the Ergang-Steinberg school and argues, without attacking anyone's research, that, despite the setbacks, the effects of the war were not as catastrophic as previously argued. The idea of what constitutes a "catastrophic effect" needs further clarification since a sharp population decline did take place and is verified in Friedrichs's own researches. Friedrichs also contends that "real" economic recovery only took place in the eighteenth century, something the work of German agrarian historians like Abel also makes quite clear for almost all sections of Germany. Since the later seventeenth century has been little researched, the clarity with which Friedrichs shows that some economic recovery did take place after 1648 but that the cycle of wars towards the end of the century caused further setbacks, is welcome. Taxes increased sharply and a heavy burden

of indebtedness resulted. The chapter on "Municipal Finance" shows the author at his best and also makes it clear that Nördlingen was able to pay off the debts of the seventeenth century and prosper during the eighteenth until the cycle of wars after 1792 brought new burdens. The town was annexed by Bavaria in 1803.

One must also single out the exceptional way in which the author can present a series of biographical vignettes to illustrate the social processes at work. Certainly it is not easy to locate such material for so many provincial characters. Contained in these sketches is an analysis of the rise and fall of the Wörner family who dominated the woollen weaving-and-export industry of Nördlingen in the seventeenth century. In the rise of Daniel Wörner, Friedrichs detects the beginnings of modern entrepreneurial capitalism. However he contends that it was "defeated" in the 1690s after a rebellion of the weavers who had become dependent on "boss Wörner" for the marketing of heavy woollen cloth. The city council fined the Wörners for their dumping practices and protected the complaining weavers. Friedrichs considers this to be a "traditional" policy and contrasts Nördlingen with neighbouring Augsburg (about 100,000 inhabitants) where, he argues, the town council supported capitalist entrepreneurs against the craft guilds. A further examination of Augsburg's history might have brought to Friedrichs's attention the fact that in the mid-eighteenth century the Augsburg town council protected the local guilds against the entrepreneurship of Schule, who failed to establish a cotton printing industry there as a result. Just as Nördlingen council fined the Wörners, Augsburg fined Schule, and at a later date. One might also challenge the generalizations about the nature of capitalism that Friedrichs derives solely from his study of the Wörners. Corrupt practices characterize all eras of history and ought not to be equated with free-enterprise capitalism. If Nördlingen experienced unrest during the 1690s, and one wishes the author had elaborated on it, then it is not necessarily because a stage in the development of capitalism had been reached.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the prosperity of the linen industry had also affected Nördlingen. Only this time the major entrepreneur who controlled the trade, von Troeltsch, also dominated the town council, a feat the Wörners had not achieved. Perhaps the relative size of the town had something to do with that, for in the populous free cities (Augsburg and Hamburg had populations of over 100,000) the town council continued to protect the interests of the craftsmen or the merchants against the power of the dukes and princes in the surrounding countryside.

On the whole, this monograph provides a welcome addition to the growing English-language literature on early modern German history.

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