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## (Review) A Negotiated Settlement

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### **Comments**

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interesting and useful, but does nothing to change the basic story of the empire's history. Furthermore, all of the positive contributions of the empire to strengthen and perpetuate German ideas of freedom under law and to create and sustain a national consciousness have been dealt with at length in histories of the empire written over the last thirty years or so. Karl Otmar von Aretin's magisterial three-volume *Das alte Reich 1648–1806* (Stuttgart, 1993–97) is the best recent example; it is mentioned by Schmidt in some of his forty pages of endnotes and in his lengthy bibliography and, of course, covers a shorter time period than the volume under review. My own *Reich and Nation: The Holy Roman Empire as Idea and Reality, 1763–1806* (Bloomington, Ind., 1980), of which Schmidt is apparently unaware, covers an even shorter period of time. But both these works deal extensively with the same themes as Schmidt's work. Thus, his volume is perhaps most valuable for its excellent coverage of the period from the Diet of Worms (1495) to 1648. Otherwise, it is a solid and readably short account of the empire's fortunes over the most critical period of its long history.

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*A Negotiated Settlement: The Counter-Reformation in Upper Austria under the Habsburgs.* By Joseph E. Patrouch. Boston: Humanities Press, 2000. Pp. xi + 283. \$75.00. ISBN 0-391-04099-5.

This book is a study of social, political, economic, and religious change in the Traunviertel district of Upper Austria between 1560 and 1640. Patrouch's admirable goal is to advance our understanding of the Counter-Reformation by providing "an analysis of the specific constellations of social, economic, and cultural factors which characterized the societies of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." Like any such ambitious project, this book makes several important contributions to the field, but is also only partly successful.

Like many scholars, Patrouch uses the term Counter-Reformation in several different ways. This is particularly problematic in the Upper Austrian context where Catholicism had many faces. A large and powerful Protestant community meant, for example, that Catholicism there developed a strong anti-Protestant program. Patrouch explicitly states that the Counter-Reformation also included the effort to introduce reformed Catholic practice as defined by the Council of Trent, into this region. Finally, in the Austrian context under the influence of R. J. W. Evans's *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, the "Counter-Reformation" is also considered a process of state-building led by the monarchy, the Catholic Church, and the aristocracy. Patrouch frequently engages this complex of issues as well.

Indeed, this book forcefully and persuasively argues that all changes promoted by authorities, whether from within the Habsburg state or by the Catholic Church, could not be effectively imposed from above. The author emphasizes the institutional fragmentation of the Traunviertel. As elsewhere in the German-speaking lands, Austrian officials had to deal with a complex maze of legal, ecclesiastical, and administrative jurisdictions. In particular, powerful secular and monastic lordships dominated the countryside, while the bishops of Passau, nominally ecclesiastical overlords, were quite weak. Patrouch demonstrates how any reforms, whether religious or administrative, had to be instituted at the level of the seigneurie. Using records created by the monasteries of the region, he shows how local officials and judges, village leaders and landholding householders, abbots and local nobles, all participated in deciding how reforms would be applied in the towns and villages. This book thus reinforces the growing tendency of scholars of early modern Europe to emphasize negotiation and compromise in both state-building and religious reform. All change was necessarily inconsistent, uneven, and political: "Politics are more complicated than imposition" (p. 9).

Patrouch explains the process of administrative change most persuasively. We see new kinds of monastic officials at work, finding and exploiting new sources of income and expanding legal jurisdiction. He presents in considerable detail this process, demonstrating the new methods these bureaucrats employed, as well as the limits imposed on their work by local and regional conditions. He even gives us the stories of several individual administrators and judges, emphasizing the role of personalities, family background, and education in determining the effectiveness of reforms at the local level. Here again, compromise with local realities was the hallmark of the "new" bureaucrats' activities.

Readers expecting to learn about more strictly religious issues, like the conversion of Protestants or the reform of religious practice, will be somewhat disappointed. Patrouch's sources have apparently less information about these issues. Tridentine reform in Upper Austria in the sixteenth century was generally limited to the reform of monasteries and the elimination of clerical concubinage. Other measures, such as the promotion of new devotions, the reform of religious practice, or conversion (forced or otherwise) of Protestants, seems to have really begun in the later part of the period covered in this study. Reformed Catholic parish priests and administrators only began to arrive in the Traunviertel after 1600 and the first Reform Commission, which was supposed to convert Protestants, was appointed in 1625. Ultimately, the book has more to tell us about administrative reforms than about religious change.

In the final chapter, Patrouch presents the experience of women in the Counter-Reformation. He argues that an important aspect of the Counter-Reformation in the Traunviertel was a new alliance of male householders, local administrators, and the Catholic Church aimed at controlling women, in

particular their bodies. As evidence of this trend, Patrouch points to the enforcement of clerical celibacy, new legal codes that reduced women's rights, and courts that increasingly regulated the social and sexual conduct of subjects, especially women. The conclusions fit well with other research on legal and religious reform in the countryside, especially that of Tom Robisheaux on Protestant Hohenlohe, yet the evidence is very thin. Court records are quite limited, and proscriptive sources like the customals (*Weistümer*) are difficult to interpret, especially since they were created very sporadically. In this chapter, Patrouch's argument remains at a level of generality that does not fit well with his stated goal of analyzing reforms in a dense local social context.

This book is unevenly argued and executed. Its central point, however, is persuasively demonstrated and an important contribution: change instituted from above — whether religious, administrative, or political — had to be negotiated by local administrators with the local people and the outcome was a compromise that depended on the dynamics of local politics.

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*Socialist Darwinism: Evolution in German Socialist Thought From Marx to Bernstein.* By Richard Weikart. San Francisco: International Scholars Publications, 1998. Pp. viii + 253. \$80.00. ISBN 1-57308-290-8.

Karl Marx's *Critique of Political Economy*, made its appearance in 1859, the same year as the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*. Marx soon became aware of Darwin's book and reacted to it with his usual penetrating insight and ironic wit, alternately crediting the book's importance while paradoxically mocking Darwin's naive application to evolutionary theory of the Malthusian strain in classical economics. While clearly heartened by Darwin's nonteleological materialistic approach to nature, and after commenting to Engels that Darwin's "book contains the foundation in natural history for our view," Marx turned reticent when it came to deciding the real importance of Darwin for the economic interpretation of history. After all, since history was not nature, and nature was not history, Darwinism was a noteworthy scientific doctrine, but highly ambiguous as a model for Marxism to emulate.

By the closing decades of the nineteenth century, however, as Weikart points out, Marxism and Darwinism drew closer together, so that frequently among Social Democratic authors in Germany, one could not easily distinguish where one doctrine left off and the other began. Engels, for example, was much more enamored of Darwin than Marx had ever been, and he communicated