

then traces in the fascinating relationship between Marie Antoinette and her favorite *marchande de modes*, Rose Bertin. The relations of credit (and fashion) between elite women and mostly female fashion merchants, she argues, enabled at least some working women to transcend traditional social barriers and fostered a consumer revolution that helped empower women as a whole, even while ultimately undermining the authority (or credit) of the monarchy itself.

Full of fascinating insights and narrative detail, Crowston's book is deeply learned and admirably ambitious. But while the evidence that credit was an important structuring concept that transcended various dimensions of Old Regime society is compelling, the full implications of this finding remain somewhat murky. It is not clear how precisely the various (economic and non-economic) credit relations that Crowston describes differ from the intersecting relations of gift and sales that, as shown by Natalie Zemon Davis, characterized sixteenth-century France. To the extent that gift-giving structured social relations across numerous spheres of sixteenth-century society, including not only practices of noble patronage, but also, *inter alia*, peasant courtship and marriage, religious rituals, apprenticeship contracts, and loans, how (if at all) did credit mark a departure? Crowston emphasizes the continuity in credit practices extending back centuries and comments that "credit and the gift were two ways of talking about, engaging with, and understanding reciprocal forms of exchange." But in noting an "affinity" between credit and gift, she suggests that the two were nonetheless distinct (p. 63). At one point, she hints at the possibility that the credit-based society she depicts might have functioned as a transition between older gift-based and modern market societies: "[C]redit revealed problems in the intersection of gift and market economies" (p. 69). Yet, she definitively rejects any such linear account of the relationship between gift/credit, on the one hand, and the market, on the other. She insists that within the Old Regime itself, non-economic and economic modes of credit coexisted (and were regularly exchanged), observing that the same remains at least partially true today. The precise content and social function of credit (as compared with the more familiar categories of gift and market) thus remain elusive. That said, the very fact that Crowston's remarkably synoptic book has raised such important questions is itself a tribute to her achievement.

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DAVID GARRIOCH. *The Huguenots of Paris and the Coming of Religious Freedom, 1685–1789*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. xii, 296. \$95.00.

As the global resurgence of religious violence and the difficult adjustment to the presence of new faiths in the West have bestowed urgency on understanding confessional conflict and coexistence, Europeanists have fruitfully rethought what used to be called the "rise of tol-

eration." Recent work has shown that making sense of the volatile and often changing mix of tension and cooperation that marked medieval and early modern situations of religious pluralism requires more than a history of ideas about toleration. Everyday patterns of interaction between those of different faiths, the images they hold of one another, and the pertinent laws and their enforcement must all be reconstructed. "Religious liberty" must be parsed into its component parts: freedom of conscience, freedom of worship, and the civil rights accorded members of different religions.

David Garrioch has absorbed these methodological lessons, and his wide-ranging study of the Huguenots of Paris from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to 1789 adds substantially to our understanding of inter-confessional relations in early modern Europe. Both halves of this book's title receive attention. The work examines the social profile, networks, and religious practices of the roughly 4,000–7,000 Reformed Protestants who lived in France's capital at any given moment in this period. It also traces and seeks to explain the growing margin of religious freedom afforded them over time. By religious freedom Garrioch means *de facto* toleration of abstention from Catholic rites or attendance at Protestant services, easier everyday relations with Catholic neighbors, and the opening up of access to previously closed trades or honors. *De jure* rights of worship and legal equality only came with the Revolution.

Studying the Huguenots of Paris presents both challenges and opportunities. The capital's vast size and un-indexed ocean of notarial documents make it hard to reconstruct the life course and behavior of representative individuals. Necessarily, the social portrait of Paris's Reformed Protestants offered here is broadly statistical. We learn that one-third of the capital's Huguenots were born outside France, with the percentage increasing over time. Most worked in a limited range of specialized manufacturing trades and in finance. While they lived throughout the city, displaying only a weak tendency toward residential clustering, they were connected by kinship ties and chains of information that steered newcomers to landlords and employers who were co-religionists.

At the same time, the concern of the authorities with maintaining order in the capital generated exceptional police records, which in turn enable Garrioch to follow the enforcement of anti-Protestant legislation in detail. By 1708, scarcely 20 years after the Revocation, the authorities had made it their policy to look the other way when *nouveaux convertis* abstained from Easter communion or buried their dead without Catholic ritual. Imprisonments for violations of the anti-Protestant legislation spiked briefly after the Peace of Utrecht of 1713, but Paris did not witness the further crackdowns that occurred elsewhere in France in 1748–1750 and 1754–1756, nor were punishments as harsh as those meted out elsewhere, notably in the old Huguenot crescent, where pastors who officiated at Protestant services were put to death as late as 1762. Parisian guild

statutes demonstrated less concern for the Catholicity of prospective members from mid-century onward. Elite intellectual sociability, always accessible to visiting Protestant savants, opened up to resident Calvinists around the same time. Freemasonry followed in the late 1770s. The first public funeral of a wealthy Protestant went off without trouble in 1777. By the 1780s even some clerical authors began to defend civil toleration.

What lay behind the growing acceptance of this legally proscribed religious minority? Beyond the usual importance ascribed to the Enlightenment's new valorization of toleration, Garrioch's final chapters identify at least six further contributing factors: recognition of the economic contribution that Protestant artisans and bankers could make; a desire on the part of the authorities to avoid visible arrests and public incidents that might suggest a loss of control over the capital; the spread of Jansenism with its emphasis on individual conscience and concern lest the Eucharist be profaned by unworthy communicants; broader shifts in theology that downplayed the theological and liturgical issues separating Catholics from Protestants while emphasizing personal morality and their shared opposition to atheism; a growing secularization of both public space and private identity revealed by symptoms such as fewer religious processions and a modest tendency to name children after literary or classical figures rather than saints; and growing numbers of foreign and non-white visitors and residents who "challenged Parisians to think about other cultures and religions and relativised their own experience" (p. 254). One may wonder if these last two trends were as important as Garrioch suggests. Nobody can question the ambition and importance of this book.

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MICHAEL KWASS. *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014. Pp. 457. \$49.95.

Michael Kwass's *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* is a book about smuggling in early modern France. Much of it is a micro-history of Louis Mandrin, one of the Old Regime's most charismatic criminals. Neither of these descriptions, however, does justice to this ambitious volume, which places Mandrin into several larger contexts. *Contraband* argues that eighteenth-century debates over smuggling transformed French legal and political culture and helped cause the French Revolution. On a global scale, it describes how France's consumption of Indian-manufactured calicos and slave-grown Chesapeake tobacco helped change Europe's relationship with Asia and the Atlantic world. The illegal trade in these two products, Kwass maintains, was integral to the so-called Consumer Revolution in France. In this way, smuggling prepared the way for the Industrial Revolution. In short, *Contraband* connects the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and Europeans' pur-

suit of pleasure through material consumption: three of the ways in which the eighteenth century helped create the modern world.

The book starts on the global stage. Kwass points out that phenomena we associate with twenty-first century globalization—sharp upticks in transoceanic trade, mass consumption of foreign-made products, and violent international trafficking in banned substances—began in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The introduction and first two chapters describe the global and national contexts of Mandrin's smuggling operations. By the 1750s, Europe's aggressive maritime trading in Asia and the horrors of the Atlantic slave trade made tobacco, calico, sugar, coffee, and tea affordable to many French subjects, including working men and women. The popularity of these products not only reshaped global power relations but also changed domestic politics. In order to compete with its European rivals on land and sea, France relied heavily on consumption taxes. Taxes on tobacco, farmed out to a private consortium called the Farmers General from 1681 to 1791, produced 7 percent of France's budget in 1788. These taxes, along with a protectionist ban on the sale of Indian cottons from 1686 to 1759, created profitable smuggling opportunities, especially along the kingdom's eastern frontier. With judicial help from the Crown, the Farmers General fought contraband, creating Europe's largest paramilitary force to police the borders. The violence of this campaign generated widespread criticism of "the Farm" (p. 43) and the royal state that depended on it.

Chapters 3 through 9, the core of the book, focus on Mandrin, the scion of a once-comfortable merchant family in southeastern France. Kwass contends that Mandrin turned to smuggling not only to rebuild his family's honor and wealth. Analyzing a series of daring cross-border raids in 1754 and 1755, Kwass argues that Mandrin also sought to demonstrate the injustice of the indirect taxation system. Once his large armed gang descended on a town or village, Mandrin and his men sold their wares openly in the market. As he grew more confident, the contraband captain developed tactics that were more explicitly political, like publicly forcing local officials to buy large shipments of his illegal tobacco. He issued them receipts on the spot, making it clear that he expected the Farmers General to compensate them.

Mandrin is not the exclusive focus in these chapters. *Contraband* illustrates that smuggling touched every level of French society and every province of the kingdom. Desperate peasant men and women worked as couriers, nobles and merchants provided financing, and the middling classes eagerly bought and sold this illegal tobacco and calico cloth, as well as salt and other domestic products. But Mandrin, because of his fame, is Kwass's most powerful illustration of how smuggling came to symbolize the need for reform. His capture, trial, and bloody execution show how the "war against contraband" (p. 179) changed the French judicial and penal system. The Crown's reliance on tobacco revenues led them to make smuggling a capital crime judged