

Borinage miners (pp. 270-76). Furthermore, the study focusses on production but gives technology surprisingly scarce attention, at least relative to industrial organization; whether this reflects the actual situation or the author's choice and limitations of research is unclear. Finally, the author judges De Gorge's labour policies moderately but with ambiguous second thoughts, largely negative, about De Gorge's concern for his workers. The author notes appropriately De Gorge's conformity to the Marxian type of capitalist, financing expansion and innovation out of surplus-value, and therefore holding down wages of workers more than was necessary for him. De Gorge still provided an exceptionally generous social enterprise and paid his workers above the norm; proletarianization in his firm was a less brutal process than in his neighbours'. To expect more from an entrepreneur whose whole career went against the current, at the service of innovation and advance, may be excessive. Notwithstanding these reservations and questions, this is a remarkable study which could serve as a model of its kind.

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MICHAEL L. KENNEDY. — *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution. The First Years*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982. Pp. xii, 381.

The study of the Jacobin clubs in the French Revolution is hardly new. Besides the well-known general histories of Brinton, De Cardenal and Walter, there are, as Michael Kennedy's formidable bibliography shows, an enormous number of local studies of particular clubs and a mass of untapped archival material. Yet simply because no one has attempted a general study for over thirty-five years and methodology has changed considerably since, another synthesis is welcome. Kennedy intends this to be the first volume of at least four and since this period in Jacobin history is relatively neglected, there is much here that is new. The existence of women's and young people's societies, the clubs' role in promoting local economic interests or lobbying for their towns as the site of the many new administrative organs in 1790, and their minimal role in the dozens of military mutinies of 1790-91 are all quite original or unfamiliar. Most illuminating of all are the concluding chapters on the crisis following the king's flight to Varennes and the subsequent schism of the Paris club into Jacobins and moderate Feuillants. Most historians believed that this split the provincial clubs seriously as well, but Kennedy's careful count shows that only seventy-two clubs (out of over nine hundred) followed the Feuillants and most of these drifted back to the fold shortly thereafter. The mother society was able to retain or reassert its influence over the provincial clubs so easily because of the energetic propaganda of Pétion and Robespierre (whose growing popularity in the provinces before the schism is one of the more interesting findings) and because most of the newspapers most popular in the provinces stayed with the Jacobins.

Yet the fact that more deputies to the Legislative Assembly adhered to the Feuillants than to the Jacobins in October 1791 underscores a theme which is only implicit in the book, namely, the Jacobins' lack of influence at the local or national levels up to the summer of 1791. It would be difficult to prove that the provincial societies, as opposed to the Paris club, had much influence on the major pieces of legislation of the Constituent Assembly. Their successes at the local level were

more impressive and they were able in some places to mobilize electors to vote for Jacobin administrators in the districts and departments and for "patriotic" bishops and *curés*. Yet this could only be done when turnouts were apparently very low, and for all their clamouring for repression against refractory priests, most departments tried to be neutral in the religious schism at least until the flight to Varennes taught them that the king and the ministry could no longer be trusted. One also wonders how extensive or how unified the "network" (the word is used constantly) was. Kennedy does not attack this question directly, but a glance at the index seems to indicate that the large cities contained the most active clubs. How many clubs adhered to the barrage of petitions generated by those societies could have been undertaken more systematically. Where it has been done, in the examination of the clubs' attitudes following the flight to Varennes, only two clubs (Montpellier and Strasbourg) specifically demanded a republic and fewer than ten percent demanded the king be put on trial. This weakness and confusion makes the subsequent rise of the Jacobin clubs all the more interesting.

If the book does not place the clubs in the broader context of the national and local political process as well as it might, it ought to have delved much further into the sociology and geography of Jacobinism. The map of the number of clubs per department (p. 363) is never discussed, yet the relatively high number of clubs in the Midi cries out for explanation. Kennedy concludes that about 70 percent of the members were "middle class" without ever defining that category. No doubt many of them were wealthy since, as his fine study shows, somewhere between one-fifth and one-third of the buyers of ecclesiastical property at Aix and Marseilles were Jacobins whose bids were often considerable. Yet Kennedy considers comparing tax rolls and lists members a "waste of energy" (p. 83). This is a pity since Taylor showed long ago that the proprietary bourgeoisie was the backbone of *roturier* wealth in the kingdom and these groups do not appear to have been well-represented in the clubs. A detailed analysis of what kind of "middle class" joined the clubs could have made a significant contribution towards understanding the composition of the coalition which made the Revolution, something which historians have been singularly negligent at doing. Moreover, recombining Kennedy's figures (removing "shopkeepers and master artisans" from the "middle class" and including them with "artisans and petty trades" [Appendix F] indicates that nearly 40 percent of the club members comprised what later became the *sans-culottes*. This suggests that the enrolling of passive citizens and the purges of 1793-94 did not alter the nature of the Jacobin movement as significantly as was once thought. Certainly the early clubs were often as extravagant in their language and as desirous of repression as their successors under the Terror. No doubt this problem of continuity will be a major theme in Kennedy's later volumes. He has certainly made a good start.

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RHYS ISAAC. — *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982, Pp. xxxii, 451.

Rhys Isaac has put forth an original interpretation of eighteenth-century Virginia society and the changes it underwent during the evangelical "Great Awaken-