

his account and construct a yet more satisfying synthesis. Indeed, however convincing Dean may be, one cannot help but suspect that in imparting the "message" some violence has been done to the analysis. What is to be made, for instance, of the assertion that the planters gave up their experiments with immigrant labour in the 1850s "because they could not deal on a purely contractual basis with a real proletariat." Dean deals with the problem by stating that this behaviour was paradoxical for in their other affairs the landowners were altogether capitalistic. Which leads him to suggest that they feared the destruction of their society to such a degree that they behaved irrationally. But did nineteenth century capitalists welcome joint action by their workers? Individual and collective bargaining are not mere variants of the same thing. If they were, workers who wished to improve their lot would have less need of labour unions. The tendency, even in the heartland of capitalism, was for employers to attempt to impose contractual terms, often with the aid of legislation similar to that Brazilian Employment Law of 1837 which Dean finds so unprogressive. Since the imperial government refused to use enough violence to repress the disorders, the planters reverted to slavery, which was violence in another form. How did Brazilian planters differ from European capitalists? Was it not in having chattel slavery as an alternative?

The fundamental problem with Dean's work lies in his view of the élite. They are presented as self-thwarting because their racism and retarded social ideas produced economic inefficiency. But their aim was clearly to prolong, and preserve a social system which they found most convenient. The measure of their success is to be found in Dean's denunciation of the myths their successors perpetuate. Finally, one has the impression that the real sin of Rio Claro was in not becoming another Iowa or Saskatchewan. At such a level, however, criticism become puerile. More balance would have existed if Dean had cast his net further. Were the bureaucrats wrong to believe that the swidden farmers were incapable of commercial agriculture? Were the abolitionists such a passive element in the extinction of slavery? The great estates of Rio Claro, produced by the planners of one Atlantic economy, and successively transformed by the masters of another, are here made to bear witness as to the character of Brazilian society to a degree that is far beyond their capacity.

Jacques BARBIER,
University of Ottawa.

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Peter H. AMANN. — *Revolution and Mass Democracy: The Paris Club Movement in 1848*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.

As Professor Amann reminds us in the introduction to his monograph, most histories of the French revolutionary year of 1848 tend to stress the failures and achievements of the Provisional Government and Executive Commission as administrative bodies during the first months of the nascent Second French Republic. Only recently have several historians made major contributions to the social history of France in 1848, establishing what Amann refers to as "a history from below movement" in the historiography of the Second Republic. Amann's analysis of the Paris club movement is a welcome addition to the list of outstanding social interpretations of the French Revolution of 1848 which have appeared within the last twenty years. His book will join the ranks of works, such as those by Adeline Daumard, André-Jean Tudesq, Rémi Gossez, and Roger Price, which have opened up new perspectives on this important period in modern French history. Like those

of his predecessors, Amann's study also attempts to place French social phenomena in 1848 within its wider historical context. In other words, Amann's monograph not only provides historians with an astute analysis of the 1848 club movement, it also affords keen insights into the "overall dynamics" of nineteenth century revolutionary movements as a whole.

In the opening chapters Amann furnishes his readers with the background material necessary to understand the development of the Paris club movement in 1848. Beginning with a human and physical topographical survey of mid-nineteenth century Paris, the author shows how the demographic, social, and economic breakdown of the French capital influenced the formation of specific revolutionary clubs. In examining the social composition of club membership, for example, Amann points out that among the 50,000-100,000 Paris club members in 1848, two-thirds of the club presidents were from middle class backgrounds while eighty per cent of the total membership was of working class origins, a discrepancy attributable to the predominance of intellectuals and neighbourhood notables in the club leadership structure. The author also explains in some detail why clubs were formed, where they met, and how they operated. Throughout this introductory portion of his work Amann makes penetrating observations on the very nature of the club movement. Parisian clubs in 1848 clearly emerge from this study as local power centres challenging a weakened revolutionary government, as "mass organizations through which ... thousands of revolutionaries expressed themselves."

Having defined the scope and nature of the club movement, Amann devotes the major part of his book to analysing the inner functioning of the clubs and their relationship to the existing power structure. Parisian clubs, at the height of their popularity and influence during the period immediately following the February Revolution, played a three-fold role on the political scene of the French capital. For one thing, clubs strove to educate and indoctrinate politically their constituents and the Parisian populace as a whole, expending time and energy debating moot political issues or discussing the relative merits of Robespierre's proposed Declaration of the Rights of Man. For another, clubs struggled to exert pressure upon the moderate French Provisional Government and Executive Commission in a vain attempt to persuade them to follow a more revolutionary path. Finally, Parisian clubs made every possible effort to influence the electoral process by nominating, campaigning for, and electing club candidates for the National Assembly. Contrary to what the historian might expect, Paris clubs pursued few social and economic goals, their objectives being almost exclusively political in nature.

The tragedy, of course, is that the clubs failed dismally in all of their endeavours. Ideological disunity and internecine squabbling prevented them from launching any meaningful attack on the education-propaganda front; their awkward attempts to sway or intimidate the government were counter-productive and led to further alienation between the authorities and clubs. The popular societies were unsuccessful even in the electoral arena, the sphere in which they had concentrated most of their efforts, for few club-supported candidates won seats in the April 24th election for the Assembly. Furthermore, Paris Clubs were so election-oriented that their failure in this area tended to disillusion their followers and sap their strength. At the same time the worsening economic situation induced many club members to divert their attention from club activities to the mere struggle for survival. The clubs were in marked decline as of late April, their number falling from over two hundred in March and April to less than sixty in May and June. The club movement was dying. It would be interred after the forces of order crushed the proletarian uprising of June 1848, an insurrection in which the clubs played a relatively minor role.

The reasons for the failure and ultimate extinction of the Paris club movement are clearly enunciated by the author. Although Amann obviously is sympathetic to the clubs' cause, he is pitiless in attributing responsibility for their debacle. The clubs were disorganized and their leaders "naive"; their efforts were "mismanaged," ineffective, and marked by "political incompetence." As Amann tersely remarks in his conclusion, "anarchical mass movements may be exhilarating for the participants, but they are rarely effective instruments for achieving limited, practical goals." The demise of the clubs, in sum, was due more to their own failings and insufficiencies than to any conscious efforts by the authorities to suppress them.

Amann's history of the clubs is remarkably solid in most ways. It is written in an engaging, sprightly style; it is exhaustively researched and extremely perceptive. Unfortunately, however, its excellence is marred by some minor but irritating shortcomings. It is a pity that the author plays somewhat loosely with statistics when calculating club membership, and that he overwhelms the reader with unnecessarily elaborate footnotes which are often longer than the text itself. Moreover, it is regrettable that this work appears to be designed to appeal only to the specialist; it fails to provide the background material on the Revolution of 1848 which would make it easily intelligible for anyone unfamiliar with mid-nineteenth century French developments. Finally, the author's indictment of the Paris club movement for loose organization could also be turned against him, for he fails to integrate fully the massive amount of information which he has assembled into as cogent and powerful a study as this could have been.

Lawrence C. JENNINGS,
University of Ottawa.

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PETER BROCK. — *The Slovak National Awakening: An Essay in the Intellectual History of East Central Europe*. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Divided by religion, deprived of their own governing class, and isolated from each other — and from other peoples — by geography, the Slovaks were for centuries among the least visible of European peoples and were exceptionally slow in attaining national identity. Lacking an adequate self-image, they could hardly hope to project a self-confident image to the rest of the world; as a result, the world could and did steadfastly ignore them. This neglect is now being overcome and to this rendering of historic justice Professor Brock of the University of Toronto is now making a contribution. In the preface, the author defines his topic closely: his job involves intellectual history, no more, no less. Political or economic history are outside his purview as he candidly says. Chronologically, his account spans the period from 1780 to, but not including, the year 1848.

Until recently, scholarly history of the Slovaks was the domain of Protestant Slovak writers. Their conception tended to slight the part played by Roman Catholics, in practice this meant Roman Catholic clergymen, in the evolution of Slovak nationhood, and this viewpoint was adopted by historians in the West. Brock broadens this conception and adds realism to Slovak history by writing the Roman Catholics into the script. His is, in effect, a "revisionist" history albeit one written without the distorting passions revisionist historians often display. He is content to "tell it like it was." He demonstrates that not only did Roman Catholic clergymen play an important role in the development of Slovak nationhood but supplied