

people at the time experienced as the present” (p. 3) and tries to overcome its deficiencies by combining the broad perspective of what Le Roy Ladurie called “parachutists” with the rich variety provided by such “trufflehunters” as Theodore Zeldin. The problem, however, is that the “individual tales of joy and sadness” (p. 279) which help to humanize social history lose their phenomenological status when they serve the historian’s analysis of “the ways in which people in the past expressed themselves” (p. 3) in a world which “was too rarely ... of their own making” (p. 279). The author attempts to bridge the distance between structures and perceptions by relating them to “the social relations of power”, which he defines as “the unequal base from which people acted to change or consolidate their world” (p. 3), but that subordinates social history to political history (as is evidenced by the chronology and chapter headings McPhee has chosen) and undermines social history’s claim to autonomy on the basis of a rejection of the primacy of elites by making the way in which elites resolved questions of power central to the experience of daily life. The problem becomes clear when McPhee assesses the social consequences of the French Revolution and the Revolution of 1848 not by citing well-known statistical data — the author distrusts statistics as too condescending toward the people and too minimalist in the changes they reveal — but by examining shifts in political culture and the “increase in the powers and claims of the state” (p. 98). There is nothing wrong with studying the impact of political upheaval on practices and assumptions, but this is not necessarily the province of social historians alone: the new political and cultural historians are concerned with the same thing. The results yielded by McPhee’s attempt to write a “social history of politics” (p. 3) suggests that scholars who look to political culture and the history of ideas to examine the causes and consequences of the French Revolution are on the right track. McPhee’s own work clearly implies that revolutions create not social change but memories and representations of the political and social world that prefigure the concrete but belated alterations in material reality which social historians have so successfully recorded quantitatively. The category “bourgeois revolution” is not an explanation of the French Revolution but a symbol of the power of revolutions to anticipate the subsequent march of social development.

In bringing together an impressive variety of recent scholarship, McPhee has not only enriched our knowledge of “revolutionary France”, but has raised important questions about the identity of social history *per se*.

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W. Scott Haine — *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability among the French Working Class, 1789–1914*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. Pp. 13, 325.

Scott Haine, editor of *The Social History of Alcohol Review*, offers an exhaustively researched, broadly focused, yet intriguingly nuanced history of the plebeian Paris

café. Compensating for destroyed government records during the Commune in 1870, he utilizes quantitative analysis and exploits extensive legal records, poetry, literature, paintings, and other sources. He penetrates the anonymity of those who transformed this institution into an integral part of working-class leisure, creating a third sphere that complemented the public (work) and private (family) spheres.

Into the Parisian café went a broad spectrum of people. To cope with extremely dense urban living which caused a perpetual housing crisis, they resorted to these taverns for sociability. It was there that proletarians, in fact, often uninhibitedly divulged their innermost private feelings to spouses, lovers, and relatives, behaviour which a century earlier would have been unthinkable. As Haine makes clear, this intimacy partly reflected the way in which labourers regarded the café as an extension of their homes. It also reflected how they preferred to socialize: occupation, ethnicity, even friendship ranked below neighbourhood when choosing a café. Animated arguments and fights naturally became commonplace, but in bystanders' resolute refusals to intercede, Haine detects another subtle development, the emergence of new attitudes about comportment.

Parisian working-class cafés appealed primarily to those employed not in factories, but in workshops. One of Haine's striking findings is that workers in the construction, metal, clothing, furniture, and printing trades were far more likely to get arrested for insulting the police and to occupy the vanguard in shopfloor militancy than unskilled and marginal day labourers. Unlike tailors and shoemakers, two other skilled groups earlier renowned for heavy drinking, they had resisted employee attempts to impose labour discipline. Some skilled and semi-skilled labourers thus successfully perpetuated the long-standing association between work and sociability. Haine emphasizes this point's broader implications: "we see a refutation of the commonly held thesis that proletarianization brought an impoverishment of leisure" (p. 177).

The status of café owners equally testified to the café's critical importance. As Haine rightly observes, "their relationship frequently broke through the boundaries separating public and private life and the usual interaction between patron and customer" (p. 49). Café owners served as witnesses in about a quarter of all working-class marriages in the second half of the nineteenth century. By integrating different types of legal records, Haine carefully delineates the café's clientele and the contrasting role of its proprietor. He finds class, drunkenness, and the choice of a café owner as witness at a wedding to be closely related: day labourers — at the base of the social pyramid — accounted for much drunkenness but infrequently relied on café owners as witnesses at weddings, whereas white-collar clerks — the elite of the working class — seldom got arrested for drunkenness but chose café owners as witnesses nearly as often as relatives or friends.

The background of café owners, ironically, diverged in several key respects from this segment of customers. Without much education, training, or capital, they typically began careers as unskilled workers, accumulating savings over several years or perhaps a decade before buying a café in the suburbs or outer districts of Paris. Eventually, they would, if lucky, acquire bigger premises more centrally located, though this last step was by no means a predictable pathway to vast riches.

Running a café was precarious, just as likely to bankrupt as to enrich its proprietor. From bankruptcy records, Haine extracts statistics indicating that in 1895 failed café owners accounted for one of every three Parisians filing for insolvency. Such financial insecurity acted as one key catalyst in promoting a conservative political mentality among this group of the *petite bourgeoisie* in the 1880s and 1890s.

In analyzing this vibrant social institution over more than a century, Haine uses abundant quantitative data to pinpoint subtle changes in drinking habits. During the Second Empire, collective weekly drinking binges gave way to individual daily consumption. According to judicial incidents, workers were also socializing in much smaller groups (2.7 persons from 1870), compared with the late seventeenth (3.8 persons) and mid-eighteenth (3.3 persons) centuries. Both these long-term trends help to explain the shift from large-scale brawls to small-scale fights.

Haine's examination of women in the café contributes materially to our understanding of the concept of respectability. In the eighteenth century the café was an exclusively male preserve: women defying this pervasive social custom incurred insults, hostility, and a stigma. Remarkable changes ensued in the following century. Haine identifies the French Revolution and, from the 1820s, the introduction of the zinc counter together with soaring numbers of private dining rooms as factors attracting women to cafés. Their presence has been slighted by historians who relied too heavily on statistics of drunkenness, which suggested women comprised a negligible amount — about 5 per cent — of the café's patrons after 1870. Haine corrects this view with compelling evidence from legal records. He uncovers the fact that Parisian working-class women, far more likely to be arrested for civil insults or defamation than for drunkenness, represented a significant minority of café customers. Women frequented cafés without sacrificing respectability, demonstrating, for the proletariat at least, that space and gender did not segregate men from women at leisure in nineteenth-century Paris. In stressing that these respectable women could be found in cafés along with prostitutes, Haine underlines that the concept of respectability was more flexible, more dependent on class perceptions, and less durable than historians had previously assumed. "Openness and tolerance of café space", he concludes, "permitted women a facile adjustment of moral behavior to economic conditions: they could engage in prostitution if necessary and relinquish it when expedient" (p. 205).

Thoroughly researched and intelligently organized, Haine's monograph, given its broad chronological span, cannot be definitive. He readily acknowledges its more modest but nevertheless important role, the provision of a broad survey aimed at stimulating further research. There is scope, for example, for detailed investigation of why drinking habits changed, especially the rising popularity of absinth and beer, and of the lives and politics of café owners. What Haine has accomplished so superbly for Paris must now be emulated for the provinces, so that his arresting findings about sociability, comportment, gender, and respectability can be placed in a national perspective. Those scholars responding to the challenge will have high standards to meet but ample signposts to follow. This is a first-rate, imaginative, and provocative study which establishes the café as the central social

institution of the French working class and Haïne as its able interpreter. One eagerly looks forward to his next book when he resumes the café's history since 1914.

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Ronald Aminzade — *Ballots and Barricades: Class Formation and Republican Politics in France, 1830–1871*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. Pp. xiv, 321.

The main argument of this book appears to be straightforward: “that the outbreak and defeat of revolutionary communes in certain French cities in 1870–71 was a product of prior local histories of Republican party formation” (p. 10). Ronald Aminzade's intentions go beyond proving this assertion, however. He begins by outlining the trend among historians of nineteenth-century France to emphasize the role of state structures, political discourse, institutional mechanisms, and gender over that of class in shaping political orientation. “This abandonment of class analysis”, the author maintains, “makes it impossible to explain local political differences in a context of similar national political cultures and discourses” (pp. 6–7). To remedy this problem, Aminzade proposes a “nonreductionist” form of class analysis. He believes that by taking into account the complexities of class relations themselves, as well as changing political conditions and the importance of contingency, it can be shown that class is still a useful analytical category.

Aminzade demonstrates the utility of his method by studying Republican party formation in three French cities — Toulouse, Saint-Étienne, and Rouen — during the period between the upheavals of 1830 and 1870–1871. In all three cities, he notes, we see that economic change, while varying in impact, created a fragmented working class with diverse interests. Yet in spite of this a working-class solidarity developed — albeit not always strong or consistent — which transcended craft boundaries. In explaining how this often imperfect sense of unity came to exist, Aminzade does not believe that it was the logical result of proletarianization, as classical Marxism would have it, or of pre-existing corporate legacies, as argued by William Sewell. Instead, to the extent which class consciousness existed in mid-nineteenth-century France, it was a result of active political mobilization, particularly on the part of socialist-oriented Republicans. But there were other kinds of French Republicanism as well, namely the liberal variety, as well as the radical synthesis which attempted to reconcile elements of both liberalism and socialism.

The dominant brand of Republicanism in a given city was the result of a number of factors. These included the nature and timing of economic change and class formation, how the various political formations interpreted and exploited these various divisions between and within classes, and, finally, changes on the national scene, or, as the author puts it, “the national political opportunity structure”. In Toulouse industrialization was limited, but the nature of economic change worried local artisans enough to make them responsive to a message of social change. In