institution of the French working class and Haine 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

the 1830s and 1840s, however, the Republican party was dominated by liberals largely unsympathetic toward the workers, who turned to the Icarian communist movement. By the 1860s the situation had changed. Renewed strike activity, possible because of liberalizing reforms made by Napoleon III, now provided opportunities for socialist and radical Republicans to appeal to the working class, allowing this wing of the movement to become dominant. In Saint-Étienne radical Republicanism consistently dominated working-class politics, but over time it evolved from a quasi-socialist outlook to a more reformist position which rejected notions of class struggle. This development was the result of changing economic structures. Under the Second Empire the silk and hardware workers, ''who embraced cooperative socialist visions'' (p. 172) and had dominated republican politics before 1848, found themselves in crisis. Concomitantly, the miners and steelworkers of the area grew in political stature; lacking traditions of cooperative socialism, they tended to support radical Republicans. National politics also had a role to play. The repression which followed Napoleon III's seizure of power displaced the old Republican leaders and allowed the rise of a new radical leadership, many of whom were industrialists and rejected socialism. In Rouen things were different yet again: it was liberal Republicanism that had triumphed by 1870, even though its dominance had been challenged by radicals and socialists in the late 1840s. This outcome was the result of political repression which weakened the radical wing of the party in the 1850s and the growing wariness of middle-class radicals towards the local working class, which by the 1860s was attracted to the First International.

Aminzade concludes his book with a discussion of the revolutionary period following the collapse of Napoleon III's regime, noting ''[t]he continuity of republican electoral politics of the Second Empire with the revolutionary agitation of 1870–71'' (p. 246). In Toulouse an alliance of radicals and socialists forged during the period of the Second Empire captured control of key municipal institutions. After the outbreak of the Paris commune in March 1871, however, the radicals became increasingly hesitant about defying the newly elected government of Versailles, and eventually the whole episode was ended by a negotiated settlement in which liberal Republicans played a prominent role. The Saint-Étienne commune was disrupted by the tensions between socialist and radical Republicans which had arisen in the 1860s as the latter gradually rejected notions of class struggle. Here the communards had to be militarily defeated while radical Republicans retained control of the city council, although the latter's relationship with the conservative Versailles government was sufficiently acrimonious for them to be dismissed soon afterwards. Rouen did not experience an attempt to establish a revolutionary commune because liberal Republicans prevented radicals and socialists from controlling either the city council or local units of the National Guard. The municipality refused to arm Rouen's workers in defence of the city, and it was occupied by Prussian troops without a fight.

Ballots and Barricades is an ambitious book. It will be of interest not only to historians of nineteenth-century France but also to those interested in the consequences of democratization for the working class and the continuities between non-revolutionary and revolutionary politics. The book also highlights some other intriguing issues for scholars to explore further. As Aminzade points out, republican

ideology was ''fraternal'' in nature, and this could have damaging consequences. In Rouen, for instance, an increasingly feminized textile work force became alienated from a socialist republican movement whose platform dictated universal male suffrage. The author does not make this problem a central theme in his argument, however. One is also left wondering how his model of nonreductionist class analysis would apply to other political movements mentioned in the book, such as Legitimism. Still, Aminzade's arguments are clearly expressed and convincing; his book is a significant contribution to our understanding of the nature of nineteenth-century French Republicanism.

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Geoffrey Tyack — *Sir James Pennethorne and the Making of Victorian London*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Pp. xviii, 336.

James Pennethorne, who combined the obscurely titled post of Architect and Surveyor for Metropolitan Improvements to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests with that of Surveyor to the Crown estate, was in effect mid-Victorian London's government architect. Through these posts he could influence a wide range of urban and architectural developments: he planned parks, of which Victorian Park in northeast London is the most striking, constructed to provide space for leisure and fresh air for east London's growing working-class population; he planned new central roads, most notably New Oxford Street and Cranbourn Street; he designed public buildings, including the elegant Geological Museum which backed onto Piccadilly, the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane, additions to Somerset House and Buckingham Palace; and he was an active if largely disappointed participant in the long efforts to concentrate government buildings in a development on the grand scale in Whitehall. Yet Pennethorne has remained a little-known figure, with no major study of his work until Geoffrey Tyack's informative, well-researched, and beautifully illustrated book.

Tyack's story takes us from Pennethorne's early training with Nash, and for a briefer time Pugin, in the late 1820s and early 1830s through to his retirement in 1870. We learn little of his life or personality, for no diaries and few letters have survived to flesh out the man who appears only through formal and official papers, though one suspects that a historian with a greater interest in biography than architecture might have made more of the Pennethorne who emerges from these sources. Instead, we are presented with the distinct spheres of responsibility of a Victorian public servant as each dimension of his career is examined in thematic rather than chronological chapters, organized around such subjects as Metropolitan improvements, parks, public offices, museums, buildings for the Royal Family, and the rebuilding of Whitehall.

If the book makes an informative but somewhat unchallenging read, it is as much the fault of the limited urban ambitions of mid-Victorian government and the