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The Glassworkers of Carmaux: French Craftsmen and Political Action in a 19th-Century City, by Joan Wallach Scott

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of a complex subject. He almost falls into the trap toward the end of retelling the revolution story, which Pinkney has recently done more thoroughly. His principal resources are the newspapers themselves and the standard secondary works and memoirs. This is a sober, thoughtful, and rewarding analysis of a complicated period of modern French history.

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JOAN WALLACH SCOTT. *The Glassworkers of Carmaux: French Craftsmen and Political Action in a Nineteenth-Century City*. (Harvard Studies in Urban History.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 239. \$10.00.

In the continuing debate on the origins of working-class politics in Europe, those viewing the phenomenon from below, as an outgrowth of social change, seem to be winning out over those viewing it from above, as the result of the spread of socialist ideology. That, at least, is the message of this thoughtful study of French glassworkers in which Professor Joan Scott seeks to explain the rapid rise and decline of the labor movement in Carmaux—centered on the famous glassworkers' strike of 1895—by reference to changes in the "structure of work" at the Verrerie Sainte Clothilde in the 1880s and 1890s.

Deftly manipulating an array of statistical evidence on recruitment, residency, and mobility, Scott shows how, as technological innovation transformed the Carmaux bottle industry after 1884, the glassworkers who had previously constituted a highly skilled, highly paid elite controlling both production and labor recruitment within the factory were reduced to—or were replaced by—a class of lower-paid, semi-skilled laborers controlling neither production nor employment. The analysis of this occupational and social change provides, in turn, the necessary basis for understanding the labor activism of the 1890s. For Scott contends that it was the "occupational crisis" of the glassworkers, not socialist ideas or leadership, that produced their militancy. This militancy, moreover, was fundamentally conservative; it represented "the last stand of artisans in the face of mechanization" (p. 191) wherein the workers sought to regain, through organized political action, the control over their livelihood previously assured to them simply by the possession of skill.

This is an important thesis and Scott argues it persuasively. Less persuasive, however, is the

contention, running through the book, that the urban locale provides the best framework for studying the glassworkers. Considering their mobile elite status, should one view their socialism primarily as a response to local conditions? It may be correct to say of the home-grown coal miners of Carmaux that "the local experience . . . was the context within which . . . [they] defined their values and from which notions of social status derived their meaning" (p. 16), but is the same to be said of the glassworkers? In point of fact, the occupational crisis in glassmaking was a national one, and the glassworkers responded by organizing nationally—in the *Fédération du Verre*. Must not the situation in Carmaux ultimately be placed in a national perspective? Depending mainly on materials in local archives, as she did, Scott does not really develop this perspective. However solid, her work thus needs to be complemented by a study of the glassworkers as a national, or even international, socioprofessional group. Perhaps, having now established her expertise on this subject, Professor Scott will eventually provide such a study.

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MAURICE LARKIN. *Church and State after the Dreyfus Affair: The Separation Issue in France*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. viii, 294. \$21.50.

The effect of the Dreyfus affair on French politics was to prevent a regrouping of forces around economic and social issues. In the eyes of many politicians the regime was once again in danger from the Right necessitating a program of Republican defense that included more stringent anticlerical measures. Like others before him, Maurice Larkin attributes the separation of Church and state in France to the anticlerical campaign launched by successive Republican ministries after the affair. Basing his instructive study on substantial archival material including the private papers of Emile Combes as well as materials from foreign archives, Larkin makes the important point that separation was the result of miscalculations on the part of the French government and on the part of the Vatican. Neither Combes nor his successor Rouvier wanted to abolish the Concordat by which the government was able to regulate religious activities in France. Combes believed that by threatening separation, he would force the Vatican to comply with the wishes of his government. Unlike Leo XIII and