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*The Alliance of Iron and Wheat in the Third French Republic,  
1860-1914: Origins of the New Conservatism*, by Herman  
**Lebovics**

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combine between two volumes an enormous amount of information.

There are some very good essays indeed, such as David Troyansky's entry on aging, which touches on regional variations, demographic trends, and the social and legal implications of the fact that France was the first nation to experience a significant aging of its population by the beginning of the twentieth century. Kathryn Amdur provides as succinct a summary of anarchism and its influence on the French labor movement as one could have hoped for. Gary Cross offers an excellent entry on immigration, and Michael Marrus adds one on France's Jews. Patrick Bidelman sums up the major trends of French feminism in four dense but highly readable pages, and Karen Offen provides solid surveys of the women's movements for political and civil rights, attitudes toward women, and women in the labor force. In addition, there are twenty-four long interpretive essays treating the economy, society and social stratification, literature, the labor movement, architecture and urban planning, and music, to name a few.

As might be expected in any work of this breadth, the essays are uneven in quality. R. L. Williams's portrait of Gustave Courbet is disappointing in its assertion that Courbet's ideas about art and politics merely reflect an "extended childhood," especially for anyone familiar with T. J. Clark's *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the Second French Republic, 1848-1851* (1973). The main points of the Charte d'Amiens should have been spelled out in the entry on that subject (or in the entry on revolutionary syndicalism). And there is the occasional error. Ernest Ferroul did not attempt to unionize winegrowers; his run-in with Clemenceau occurred because of his leadership of the winegrowers' revolt of 1907, which just might have been the largest peasant rebellion of the Third Republic, if not in French history.

Although it would be unfair to condemn omissions in a work of this already enormous scope, one is nonetheless struck by the presence of an entry on industry but not on agriculture, one on Madeleine Pelletier but not on Louise Saumoneau (who is nonetheless mentioned in Biddleman's entry on feminism). Whereas women in the labor force and the attitudes of French socialists toward women are noted by Offen, there is no entry for women in the labor movement, nor do the entries on those subjects mention women at all, despite the fact that there is now a burgeoning literature on both. In spite of this, Hutton's historical dictionary is arguably an invaluable reference work that will be useful not only to French historians who have forgotten what the Rif rebellion was, or who want a quick bibliography of recent work on Paul

Lafargue, but also to French scholars in language, art, and literature and, of course, to students.

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HERMAN LEBOVICS. *The Alliance of Iron and Wheat in the Third French Republic, 1860-1914: Origins of the New Conservatism*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1988. Pp. 219. \$25.00.

In this book, Herman Lebovics explores what many historians now view as the key event in French politics in the late nineteenth century: the creation of a stable, conservative "Republican consensus" that blocked working-class revolution and preserved the social and economic supremacy of the upper classes. Drawing on his expertise in German history, Lebovics takes pains to show that what happened in the early Third Republic was similar to what happened in Otto von Bismarck's Second Reich in that the "great depression" of 1873-96 generated a resurgence in protectionist sentiment that brought republican industrialists and monarchist landed aristocrats together in an "alliance of iron and wheat" comparable to the "iron and rye" alliance in Germany. In seeking higher import duties, both parties to the alliance, Lebovics argues, were motivated as much by social goals as by economic hardship. The aristocratic landlords were seeking to head off radicalization of the peasants; the industrialists were seeking to defuse the growing militancy of their workers. Both, Lebovics believes, got what they wanted—and more—in the Méline tariff of 1892. The republican-monarchist rapprochement forged in the battle for tariff protection became a permanent ruling coalition whose parliamentary power was subsequently reinforced by the Catholic church's *ralliement* to the republic, while the policies of Jules Méline's government of 1896-98, which Lebovics dubs the "Ministry of Social Pacification," solidified the coalition's hold over the rural and urban masses.

Sound in its overall contours, Lebovics's argument is open to question in some of its parts, for example, his use of the "social protectionism" concept, so prominent in the current historiography of the German empire, to explain why French industrialists favored a return to high protection. By stressing the industrialists' fear of rising labor militancy in the early 1880s, Lebovics ignores the fact that certain manufacturers had always been protectionists and had been seeking to end the trade treaties and to restore a high legislated tariff throughout the 1860s and 1870s. Moreover, while the French industrialists doubtless wanted to curb labor unrest and the threat of socialism from the

early eighties on, it is also true that higher import duties offered at best a circuitous route to that end. Only if the industrialists had in some way passed their gains from higher duties on to their workers, perhaps in the form of higher wages, would tariff protection have served the purposes of social pacification. To be sure, Méline and his friends talked of this linkage in parliamentary speeches, but this was just talk, designed to win support for a policy that was going to benefit a few manufacturers at the expense of many consumers (including the workers). To really make his case, Lebovics needs to draw on the company files and prefectorial reports in the Archives Nationales to show that increased protection in 1892 did in fact allow specific firms to give their workers higher wages and other benefits, thereby turning them away from socialist politics. Without such evidence, his assertion that French industrialists sought higher import duties mainly as a solution to labor troubles remains largely unsubstantiated.

Despite shortcomings in his handling of the tariff question, Lebovics presents a forceful argument on the origins of the "new conservatism" that unquestionably enhances our understanding of the convoluted political history of the Third Republic. For that, the book deserves the attention of scholars.

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DAVID JAMES FISHER. *Romain Rolland and the Politics of Intellectual Engagement*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 378. \$32.95.

In the first work on Romain Rolland to be published in English since 1971, David James Fisher reintroduces an almost forgotten author. Fisher has a complete command of the vast corpus of Rolland's writings and analyzes them judiciously. His biographical treatment is admiring yet nuanced, a balanced and scholarly study by a trained historian, not hagiography in the manner of Stefan Zweig's 1920 portrait.

For a half-century Rolland was intensely involved with social and political actuality. His commitment went far beyond the single act for which he is usually remembered, the publication of "Above the Battle," his impassioned appeal calling for an end to the slaughter of the Great War, penned from self-imposed exile in Switzerland in 1914. Rolland knew personally and frequently debated publicly with practically every major intellectual of his day. He had private contacts with an extraordinary range of political figures, from Gandhi to Stalin.

Rolland's energy was prodigious and his imagination fertile. His fascinating proposal for an "Intellectual's International" and his "Declaration of Independence of the Mind," both drafted in 1919, are carefully discussed by Fisher. In some areas Rolland set precedents for future intellectual engagement, as in his refusal of the Goethe Prize in April 1933, probably the first case of a writer renouncing a literary award as an act of protest against the regime or organization offering it.

What is most original in this patiently researched and clearly written intellectual biography is the way Fisher employs the case of Rolland to provide new understandings of the much-debated question of the political engagement of intellectuals, which has been especially controversial in France. Fisher never neglects the rapidly shifting historical contexts that surrounded and to some degree impelled Rolland's activity. He argues convincingly that the trajectory of Rolland's intellectual engagement involves five discernible "languages" or positions, from the "oceanic sensibility" that inspired his involvement in the People's Theatre movement of the 1890s to his uncritical fellow-traveling of the late 1930s. At this point in his career Rolland was a strong supporter of the French and Spanish Popular Fronts. Unlike André Gide, he never publicly articulated his private doubts about developments in the Soviet Union, including the Moscow purge trials. Rolland did intercede discreetly on behalf of individuals and was able to obtain the release of Victor Serge from a Soviet prison camp.

Although Fisher does not take his argument quite this far, the evidence that he assembles, much of it gleaned from Rolland's voluminous correspondence, suggests that Rolland was perhaps the quintessential engaged intellectual. He experimented with every imaginable variety of liberal and leftist activity except for actual membership in a Communist party (which some would construe as no longer engagement but rather *embrigadement*).

This work of impeccable scholarship contains an openly admitted polemical thrust. Fisher believes that there is still a place in our world for the politically committed writer, and he uses the case of Rolland to demonstrate his conviction. In an age of *dégagement*, such a position is refreshing.

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LUC BOLTANSKI. *The Making of a Class: Cadres in French Society*. Translated by ARTHUR GOLDHAMMER. New York: Cambridge University Press and