

Philip G. Nord — *Paris Shopkeepers and the Politics of Resentment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986. Pp. vii, 539.

Although the Third Republic was a regime rooted in the lower middle class, at the end of the nineteenth century it confronted an assault from an urban segment of the petite bourgeoisie. Philip G. Nord provides a detailed exposition of Paris shopkeepers who took the lead in lower middle-class militancy and anti-parliamentarism and who ultimately embraced the new right. With a thorough investigation of organized shopkeepers, Nord questions both the circumstances that provokes protest and the political evolution of this protest. Central to the author's study is the radical republican *Ligue syndicale du travail, de l'industrie et du commerce*, a defense association of small shopkeepers, which rocketed from 6,000 members in 1888 to 148,000 six years later. The *Ligue* in Paris claimed about half of the membership and drew its strength from center-city retailers concentrated in the clothing and luxury trades.

Although the *Ligue syndicale* identified the department store as its principal enemy, the author rejects this simplistic thesis as a satisfactory explanation of shopkeeper mobilization. Similar to "anchor" stores in malls today, *grands magasins* actually generated business for nearby small shops. The roots of shopkeeper mobilization, Nord argues, are partially in the urban transformation of Georges Haussmann and Napoleon III. Cheap and rapid transportation allowed people to escape neighborhood stores and dash off to shop in another part of the city. The metamorphosis of Paris from a city of picturesque *quartiers* into a centralized metropolis resulted in small businesses being crushed.

Professor Nord's term "Haussmannization," a complex of urban transformations, includes renewal projects from prefect Rambuteau under the July Monarchy to the early years of the Third Republic. A network of boulevards and avenues created a new downtown that eclipsed old shopping districts in Montmartre, Vivienne, and Palais-Royal, where the *Ligue syndicale* recruited most successfully. The department stores, established on new streets of "Haussmannized Paris," became the scapegoat for the *Ligue*. However, the impact of Haussmannization alone was not enough to generate the explosion of retailer anger.

The economic crisis of the 1880s produced winners (manufacturers of cheap consumer goods) and losers (the *petit artisanat* of central Paris who produced luxury merchandise). Establishing a link between shopkeeper mobilization and the crisis of the 1880s, Nord identifies the losers as being in the same trades and neighborhoods that rallied to the *Ligue syndicale* and who resented the winners — department stores, ready-to-wear manufacturers, and costume jewelers. A widespread commercial transformation, a consumer revolution, developed from changes in the structure of French industry imposed by foreign competition and technical innovation. According to Nord, the transformation of commerce was not the cause of, but the response to, the slump of the 1880s, the ultimate origins of the *Ligue syndicale*. Although Haussmannization sketches the peculiar geographical and professional profile of the *Ligue*, the catalyst of the break-up of central Paris' commercial community was the economic crisis of the 1880s. With illustrations, figures and tables, Professor Nord details the depression in the Palais-Royal quartier. He concludes that Haussmann's *Avenue de l'Opéra* overshadowed but did not obliterate the old shopping district; the end-of-century Great Depression, however, reduced it to a semideserted backwater.

The focus of Part II of the book is the politics of retailer activism in Paris. The *Ligue syndicale* perceived the *grand magasin* as the driving wedge of a new feudalism that endangered the communitarian basis of the Republic. Hostility against Paris *nouveau* also included animosity towards attractions for provincials and foreigners: the subway, the 1889 Universal Exposition, and the Eiffel Tower — that "pasteboard bastille," that "metal asparagus." *La camelote*, cheaply produced luxury items, overwhelmed merchants of old Paris who served the lower reaches of the luxury market. Could one expect "crude Chicagoans who spent their lives gutting pigs" to distinguish between vulgar products and "works of pure Parisian taste?" (278). German goods aroused suspicions of a "commercial Sedan" and a chilling economic anti-Semitism flourished.

Shopkeepers identified with citizens of republican Rome. If drastic measures were not taken, only a tyrant, only Caesar could restore order. The *Ligue* wanted the 1875 Constitution revised; direct elections and active citizen participation would assure popular control. Although the author classifies the *Ligue syndicale* as a radical republican movement, he qualifies this by noting the period of flux and uncertainty of the radical republican tradition in the 1880s and 1890s. Boulanger, for example, appealed to the Parisian working class buffeted by unemployment and foreign competition. Boulangerism, according to Nord, can be seen as a movement of the left, social and democratic in its concerns, instead of the forerunner of fascism. The embryo of a French populism can be recognized in the *Ligue syndicale*, which combined moral conservatism and a faith in small ownership with a genuine radicalism that focused on citizen participation and issues of social welfare.

Although shopkeeper militants still stood on the left in 1890, within ten years they passed into the camp of the far right. Politics shaped its right-ward trajectory. Insufficient *patente* reform (a tax levied on all business enterprises), the ignoring of commercial defense, and efforts of the far right — Anti-Semites, Nationalists, and Christian Democrats — partially explain this move. The socialist movement's evolution toward militant collectivism alienated *ligueurs*. The Dreyfus Affair publicized how far *petit commerce* had evolved from its Radical past. Divided and in transition at the time of the Dreyfus Affair, the Parisian shopkeeper movement almost unanimously supported the new right, the Nationalist cause. "It was not so much that shopkeepers had changed as that the left and right had changed, the left proving itself increasingly unreceptive and the right increasingly sympathetic to small-owner politics" (492).

Through the *Ligue syndicale* Professor Nord examines lower middle class mobilization from which the new Nationalism drew its strength. The *grand magasin* and the new right, both extensively researched, appear in a fresh light when evaluated through the Parisian shopkeeper movement. Nord's work presents a case study, a specific instance of the larger phenomenon of petit-bourgeois protest, that contributes to the debate on the problem of the lower middle class.

Nord rejects "relative deprivation" and its variation "status anxiety" theses as inadequate to describe the crisis of the shopping district in old Paris in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Other interpretations are also dismissed for obscuring the role played by politics in channeling the *petite bourgeoisie* towards political reaction. Non-French examples of small-owner protest in Germany and America support the author's argument that a sequence of rapid, uneven expansion and abrupt collapse provided the motor force behind the politics of resentment.

Nord argues complex issues with precision and forcefulness in this thought-provoking book. His illustrations and tables are helpful and pertinent. He has given us a carefully-researched study that opens new avenues for investigation and reveals new dimensions to the Parisian economic life in the late nineteenth century.

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R.R. Palmer, ed. — *The Two Tocquevilles: Father and Son, Hervé and Alexis de Tocqueville on the Coming of the French Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987. Pp. viii, 252.

Coincidence and irony are the hallmarks of this remarkable volume. That both the Tocquevilles, Hervé and Alexis, father and son, wrote on the coming of the French Revolution is a fascinating coincidence that has remained largely unnoticed; but R.R. Palmer has done much more than bring this fact to our attention. Besides translating and editing what the two men had to say about the immediate origins of the Revolution, a task done with his usual professional competence, he has also provided a generous introductory essay in which, with the wisdom born of a lifetime of research and