

ceded it. Racially defined nationalist parties were ascendant all over Europe in the late 1920s. Slavin's emphasis is on the films the shift produced, not the reasons behind the shift. This last point leads to the matter of organization. The organization of the book is thematic and based on particular films. Slavin is at his best when discussing details of the plots and political messages of films and novels. The book serves as an encyclopedic treatment of French *cinéma colonial*, including details of writers, filmmakers, actors, and audiences. Yet at times the thematic emphasis changes and a chapter may appear to deal with a chronological period, and the films within it. Despite the periodic chronological framework, the historical context of given films is not always clear. Additionally, the alternating emphasis between themes in popular films and periods of time is sometimes confusing. For example, should multiple remakes of a single film over the decades be discussed within one thematic chapter, as Slavin seems to prefer, or should chronological chapters revisit re-makes of classic films as illustrations of political change over the decades? The emphasis on films and themes rather than on a historical narrative of change illustrated by popular culture, serves to lessen the connections between culture, politics, and history.

These minor concerns aside, this book will surely serve for a very long time as an indispensable guide to French colonial cinema. Slavin shows how film culture popularized a world view that facilitated colonial rule and served to make racial "blind spots" ubiquitous in France. At a time when films such as *Black Hawk Down*, are made with massive free US military assistance, the power of popular film to advance certain worldviews demands attention. David Henry Slavin has contributed a book that accomplishes this task with meticulous research and refreshing passion.

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S. A. Smith — *Like Cattle and Horses: Nationalism and Labor in Shanghai, 1895–1927*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002. Pp. x, 366.

An historian who has published three books on early twentieth-century China and Russia, Steve Smith has now added another contribution to social and labour history with *Like Cattle and Horses*, a title that derives from the self-conceptualization of Chinese workers and peasants in reference to their harsh life. Smith's primary objective is to probe the "performative nature of national discourse" (p. 7) of nation and class, and of human agency, in the context of labour activism in Shanghai from Japan's defeat of China in 1895 to the destruction of the Communist-dominated General Labor Union in April 1927. He argues effectively that the labour sector, as represented by the men, women, and children factory workers, coolies, rickshaw pullers, and some small shopkeepers and traders who associated with their workers, reconfigured its identity and place in a changed social, economic, and political order primarily through nationalism rather than through class consciousness.

From a massive array of archives, newspapers, periodicals, police records, and

secondary sources in Chinese, Japanese, and western languages, Smith weaves an exciting, intersecting narrative of nationalist sentiment and labour activism that shaped Shanghai, a treaty port created in 1842 which became a key manufacturing centre with a large foreign community. Smith indicates that from 1895 to 1930 Shanghai's population almost quadrupled to over 3 million, mostly due to the migration of rural families. By 1928 the city had 600,000 workers (including the self-employed), most of them illiterate, only 2 or 3 per cent skilled, and women and children comprising the majority of the factory work force.

Networks based on native place origins, sisterhoods, and guild associations provided the workers with social identity and mutual aid protection. In addition, secret societies established fictive kinship over the membership; the largest, the Green Gang, became a power structure in the city with business and political connections to Nationalists, Communists, and International Settlement and French Concession areas.

Smith is interested in tracking the course of nationalism, once this notion of a republic with a participatory citizenry extended beyond the intelligentsia and reached broad sectors of society, in particular the workers of Shanghai, who participated in such collective action as strikes and boycotts to respond to national events as well as to address specific concerns such as wages and currency depreciation. Between 1895 and 1913, industrial workers in Shanghai launched 51 strikes, and it is notable that the largest, with 4,000 women on a wage protest in 1911, was not related to the national revolution of 1911 that forced the Qing dynasty to abdicate and produced the republic that existed only in name until 1928. As Smith demonstrates, nation-building required more than a mere change of political form. The May 4th Movement of 1919, along with the new culture that preceded it several years earlier, heightened the involvement of workers in saving the nation from foreign domination and thereby brought labour organization and workers' economic rights into the discourse of the nation. The general strike and stoppage by students, merchants, and workers in 1919 against the pro-Japanese government in Beijing has been observed by some historians as the birth of class consciousness, but Smith argues convincingly that it was, rather, a nationalist movement that forged national identity, marking the entry of workers into nationalist activism.

The discourse of class, appealing to workers as members of the exploited class rather than as citizens of an oppressed state, arrived after 1919, as evidenced by publications such as *Labor World* that circulated images of awakening labour organizations issuing manifestos to improve the life of workers. Smith asserts that, while propagandists urged the raising of class consciousness and solidarity to counter defeatist sentiments, the discourse of class was divided, with Nationalists and anarchists equating the notion to nation-building, and the Comintern-supported Communists advocating class struggle and proletarian revolution. The Communist effort to organize labour ran into difficulties with secret societies and native-place networks, but had better success between 1923 and 1927 under the Nationalist-Communist united front. The Nationalists' Sun Yat-sen, although rejecting class conflict, still recognized labour organization to be important to the national struggle, and he allowed the Communists to organize labour. After the May 30th Movement of 1925,

which involved 200,000 strikers, including workers and students supported by businessmen, the Communist-dominated General Labor Union experienced a surge in unionization with its rhetoric of awakening and liberation targeted against foreign-owned companies and rampant warlordism.

When the Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek launched a successful Northern Expedition to wipe out warlordism and his National Revolutionary Army entered Shanghai on March 22, 1927, the General Labor Union welcomed the Nationalists. The Union called for a general strike to remove the warlord forces that controlled Shanghai and to assist in creating a government that would protect popular interests and labour reforms. Thus 420,970 people in Shanghai went on strike against warlords and in support of the National Revolutionary Army. But on April 12, 1927, with instructions from Chiang Kai-shek, Shanghai's largest secret society, the Green Gang, attacked the General Labor Union; although 240,000 workers responded with a general strike the next day, by the end of the month, 2,000 labour activists and Communists had been executed, and both unionization and the General Labor Union had collapsed. Smith reads this event as indicative of the serious barriers that secret societies and native-place networks constructed to undermine labour organization along class basis. The 1927 outcome also supports his contention that the discourse of nation played a greater role among Shanghai's workers in from 1895 to 1927, as they recognized their interests to be tied to the destiny of the nation; although not the dominant factor, class, in Smith's words, was a "significant fault line around which competing conceptions of the nation crystallized" (p. 267).

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Alain Thillay — *Le faubourg Saint-Antoine et ses « faux ouvriers ». La liberté du travail à Paris au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, Champ Vallon, 2002, 400 p.

Le faubourg Saint-Antoine naît au début du XVII^e siècle autour de l'abbaye du même nom, à l'est de Paris. En 1657, par décision royale d'apporter un secours aux pauvres ouvriers qui l'habitent, il devient un lieu de travail privilégié où règne dès lors la liberté d'exercice pour tous les artisans et gens de métier qui y vivent, à une enjambée des portes de Paris où le système corporatif impose au contraire le diktat des statuts et domine les activités de la production et des échanges. Dès ce moment, et jusqu'en 1791 qui marque l'abolition définitive du régime corporatif, les corporations parisiennes, chargées de la police économique par la monarchie, ne cessent de dénoncer la médiocrité et la déloyale concurrence de tous ces « faux ouvriers » qui, à l'encontre de l'intérêt du public, prétendent-elles, se raillent de leur autorité et des exigences de qualité prévalant à Paris. Relayées par les mémorialistes qui voient dans le faubourg un peuple ouvrier insoumis et prompt à la révolte (la prise de la Bastille en serait la plus flagrante preuve), les corporations considèrent le quartier comme le refuge d'une engeance sans règle ni maître, sans cadre ni patrie, qui suscite méfiance et surveillance. Voilà posé le contexte de l'ouvrage d'Alain Thillay,