

reluctant to delve into the quagmire of interpreting electoral results, Levine states that "support for the Republican party grew significantly among German working people between 1850 and 1860", and that "most organized German craftworkers and other radical democratic organizations evidently supported Lincoln in 1860". The radical nature of German-American views over slavery expansion and land reform helped to solidify Republican platforms and electoral success.

Levine makes a brief and rather unconvincing effort to explain the experiences of German working men during the Civil War. Although he notes correctly that about one-tenth of the Union army were German-born soldiers and that many served in all-German ethnic regiments, he does not adequately explain how war-time experiences were tied to pre-war beliefs. He could have benefitted from reading William Burton's recent book, *Melting Pot Soldiers, The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (1988), that succinctly demonstrates how the German regiments were an outgrowth of partisan politics and were led by some of the more radical German-Americans. Levine's concluding chapter attempts to assess the impact of the Civil War upon working-class militancy and ethnic identity through and after the war, but this discussion is much too brief to be informative or persuasive.

In his concluding comments, the author complains that the militant, pre-war craft traditions of German-born individuals were erased by previous "sanitized" treatments in which "German-American history became a sort of ethnic Horatio Alger tale". Bruce Levine has undoubtedly resurrected the German-born radical democrats of the antebellum period, and he has certainly fleshed out the rhetorical and ideological dimensions of their lives. In the end, *The Spirit of 1848* is more successful in depicting a *Zeitgeist* than in describing the workers who created it. Perhaps, in his next book, the prolific Bruce Levine will render a more complete account of the actual lives of German-born craftworkers who helped to transform American politics during the turbulent nineteenth century.

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Liquor and Labor in Southern Africa. Ed. by Jonathan Crush and Charles Ambler. Ohio University Press, Athens; University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg 1992. xvi, 432 pp. Maps. \$39.95.

This is an important collection on a neglected theme in southern African (and African) labor history, covering the period from around the onset of the "mineral revolution" in the 1870s to the recent past. It brings together fourteen well-documented case studies, plus a solid introduction by the editors laying out the major issues around which the struggle between capital and labor over alcohol has revolved. The contributors range from more seasoned students of the subject like Paul la Hausse, Patrick McAllister, Christian Rogerson, Steven Haggblade and the editors themselves on the one hand to younger scholars (or at least scholars newer to the field) such as Pamela Scully, Richard Parry, Julie Baker, Ruth Edgecombe and Sean Redding on the other. The three other contributors, Dunbar Moodie, Philip Bonner and Helen Bradford are well-known students of South African labor history who are basically expanding on their previous and ongoing research.

However, the element of novelty, which the editors rightly claim for the volume, is undermined to some extent by the fact that not all the contributions are entirely new. Modified versions of the chapter by Bradford on women beer protests in Natal, as well as McAllister's essay on beer and labor migration in the Transkei and Crush's on the Havelock asbestos mines in Swaziland have all been published previously. There is also some repetition of sources and geographic unit of study, especially between the chapters by Baker and Moodie on the Witwatersrand, but overall there is probably less of this than might be expected in a volume of this nature. In this connection one might also point out that the editors have done a good job of arranging the essays, both chronologically and thematically, so that they flow smoothly and complement one another.

To a large extent, as the editors themselves note, the present collection owes much to the conceptual framework outlined over a decade ago by Charles van Onselen in his pioneering work, *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand* (London, 1982). According to this view liquor, far from being "an autonomous social problem", was used by capital, and backed by the state, as an instrument of labor mobilization and control. From the beginning of the mineral revolution in the region, therefore, liquor and labor have been closely linked. However, as Scully's essay in the volume under review shows, the linkage between liquor and labor – or more to the point, the use of alcohol as a means of recruiting and managing labor – antedated the mineral revolution and was not confined to urban and mining centers. Under the notorious "tot system", she asserts, the wine-growers of the Western Cape also made wide "use of liquor in the creation and reproduction of a rural working class" (p. 56).

As the editors argue in their introduction, the individuals who historically wielded power in southern Africa, that is, white employers and government officials, saw alcohol as "a source of revenue and profit and as an effective tool of social engineering and control, but they often viewed drink also as a dangerous source of disorder, indiscipline, social deterioration, and human degradation". However, the story of liquor and labor in the region, as told in this collection, is not just another sad tale of white domination and black subordination; it is also a rich tale of resistance, autonomy and community. In the world colonized Africans, especially wage laborers, made, alcohol played an important role, but one different from that envisaged by employers and state officials. Thus, while a small minority of Africans, principally members of the emergent petty bourgeoisie, agreed that drinking was socially dysfunctional, most workers regarded it as vital to sociability and as "a continuity in social and ritual life between the countryside and the town" (p. 2).

The main story of liquor and labor in southern Africa has a great deal of similarity within and between the various colonial territories turned nation-states. The starting-point in many ways is the South African port city of Durban where, as la Hausse's foundational essay shows, the municipality in the first decade of this century established a "singularly repressive system of urban control", including residential segregation and strict control over the movement of black urban residents (p. 79). Importantly, this system was maintained at virtually no cost to either the public treasury or employers, the financial burden being borne by its victims, the black workers. The crucial institutions in this connection were the municipal beerhalls, which were given a legal monopoly on the sale of beer within the city and its environs. (The beer in question was a commercialized version of the traditional

sorghum-based beer, not European-type alcohol, which colonial regimes everywhere in southern Africa banned Africans from drinking, though this ban was widely flouted.) In addition to providing funds to maintain the municipal "native administration", the beerhall system had two objectives. First, it sought to control the drinking habits of workers so as to minimize the effect of alcohol on production and social stability. And second, the beerhalls had as one of their primary objectives the elimination of the redoubtable women beer brewers, better known as "skokiaan queens", who were blamed by employers and officials alike for everything from drunkenness to absenteeism among workers.

Known as the "Durban System", this model of black worker control soon spread to other parts of South Africa and beyond, adopted not just by city governments but to a large extent by mine operators as well, as demonstrated in the chapters by Perry on Salisbury (now Harare), Ambler on the Northern Rhodesian copperbelt, and Crush on the Swazi asbestos mining complex of Havelock. Indeed, the Durban System was perhaps embraced most fully and with greater alacrity in Southern Rhodesia than anywhere else in the region, both in Salisbury and the second city of Bulawayo.

Nowhere was the struggle between capital, labor and the state over alcohol more intense than on the Witwatersrand, the industrial heartland of South Africa and the hub of the entire South African-dominated regional political economy. Already in 1896, fourteen years before the Union of South Africa was formed, mine owners, after concluding that it was causing more harm than good, had prevailed upon the authorities to ban the sale of "European" alcohol to Africans. But, as Baker points out in her essay on the Witwatersrand, "It was one thing to declare prohibition; it was quite another to enforce it" (p. 140). Black workers were going to drink, and there was no shortage of people, white and black, who were prepared to break the law and supply them with as much liquor as they could afford.

Dunbar Moodie, picking up on this point, argues for the importance of drinking in the "moral economy" of black mine workers, both as a form of resistance and in the creation and recreation of ethnic identities among the workers themselves. Also writing on the Witwatersrand, Bonner, in an excellent chapter, brings to life the very crucial part played by Basotho (from Lesotho) women beer brewers in the making of a working-class culture, a culture of resistance which, under the pressure of police repression, eventually sought an alliance with radical political movements. This issue is fundamental, for as much as anything else the liquor question was a struggle between employers and the state on one side and the skokiaan queens on the other: a struggle to determine how, where, when and what black workers would drink. This point is very ably elucidated by Bradford, writing on beer protests in rural Natal and in Redding's essay on Umtata in South Africa's Transkei. Haggblade, too, brings into sharp relief the ability of skokiaan queens to adapt to changing economic and social circumstances in Botswana's sorghum beer industry. The changing nature of official policy toward liquor, in this case the beerhalls, is also the subject of Rogerson's essay, which shows how in the 1950s apartheid social engineering led to the removal from "white" Johannesburg of the centralized beerhall system, which was then broken up into smaller units and relocated to the African townships.

The vast majority of the essays in this collection are centered on urban areas and mining districts. Pamela Scully's chapter on the Western Cape, which has already been mentioned, and McAllister's essay on returning migrants in the Transkei countryside are the notable exceptions. The latter shows the important part

played by liquor in the process of reincorporation into rural society. Similarly, Edgcombe, in a welcome chapter, brings the rural and the mining together by looking at the colliery beerhall as a factor in the recruitment and control of labor in Natal's coal-mining industry.

All in all, this collection does an excellent job of bringing to center stage the importance of alcohol in the labor history of southern Africa. Still, it remains very much within the historiographical paradigm that has evolved over the past quarter century. This is evident, for instance, in the geographical area it covers. Like most books with "southern Africa" in the title, this one is actually heavily weighted toward the Republic of South Africa. Ten of the fourteen case studies deal with South Africa, and seven of these are centered on the Witwatersrand and Natal regions, the veritable "burnt-over" districts of South African historical studies. The heavy focus on urban areas and mining centers is also in keeping with the dominant scholarly tradition. Twelve of the fourteen case studies are based on urban areas or mining complexes, or both. Only one essay, Scully's, is concerned with agricultural laborers, historically one of the largest categories of workers in southern Africa. Nor is there anything on domestics, another large group of workers. On the other hand, this volume pays more attention to women than is traditionally the case in southern African historiography, though this is now beginning to change.

For this reviewer, one of the greatest weaknesses of the present collection, as of South African historiography generally, is the extent to which many of the essays, particularly the ones on South Africa, remain cut off from the broader flow of events in the rest of Africa north of the Limpopo River. It bears emphasizing, however, that this does not extend to the editors themselves. Their introductory chapter demonstrates considerable catholicity as far as the literature on liquor and labor is concerned, not just in Africa but in the North Atlantic world as a whole. But, alas, too many of their contributors came up short in this regard. Still, there can be no gainsaying the overall significance of the collection. It will remain a standard reference for many years to come.

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BOLL, FRIEDHELM. *Arbeitskämpfe und Gewerkschaften in Deutschland, England und Frankreich. Ihre Entwicklung vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert.* [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Sozialgeschichte Braunschweig, Bonn.] Verlag J. H. W. Dietz Nachf., Bonn 1992. 685 pp. Ill. DM 198.00.

Books on the German labor movement are legion, but studies of that topic from an international comparative perspective are rare. That is one reason for welcoming Friedhelm Boll's recent publication. Its historical point of departure is the great outbreak of strike activity which swept across Europe in 1889 and 1890, and which may be seen as a major discontinuity in the history of the labor movement – especially, though not only, in Germany. Boll interprets this as a special case of the broader phenomenon of "strike waves" (following Shorter and Tilly's book on French strike history), but also employs it as an entrée into the comparative history of labor union development in England, France and Germany from the middle of