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The Story of an African Working Class: Ghanaian Miners' Struggles, 1870-1980. By Jeff Crisp. London: Zed Press, 1984. Pp. 200. Intro. (xv-xviii), notes, index, bibliography.

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at Duke University, is an eminent authority on Twain. He puts his knowledge and research to work in his brilliant dissertation about the public persona of Twain. Budd's book explores the complex personality of the many-faceted author, humorist, and public person. What is different about Budd's work is that he delves into the reasons why Twain needed to become famous, and he examines the legends which Twain himself created. For example, Twain once described his decision to become a writer in his book, *Roughing It*: "What to do next . . . It was a deliberate offer to me of twenty-five dollars a week to be the city editor of the ENTERPRISE."

However, Budd shows, as with most things in Twain's life, this was not quite the chance happening which Twain described, but a cognizant effort on his part as a way of becoming a known figure. Budd sets out, then, to analyze "not merely Twain's status as a culture hero but his constant effort to shape and protect it and to raise it higher" (p. xii).

Our Mark Twain gives the reader an in-depth analysis of how Twain became the "architect of his own reputation" (p. 19). It depicts a man who "hungrily sought applause" (p. 20) and it discloses the reasons why Twain needed this constant adulation.

Budd tries "to catch that rounded uniqueness, which serves us better than the flattened mold that the mass or elitist media keeps manufacturing" (p. xv), and he does accomplish this. If his book merits any criticism it would be that it was written for scholars more than the fans who love Twain's work. It is a relatively short book, but it is not the type of work which can be read in one sitting.

With all of his faults, Twain was a great and an enthralling writer who gave to the world Huck Finn, Tom Sawyer, and innumerable other characters who will live forever. Their creator will also "live on as a personality until American character and underlying human nature have changed more than we can imagine" (p. 229).

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The Story of an African Working Class: Ghanaian Miners' Struggles, 1870-1980. By JEFF CRISP. London: Zed Press, 1984. Pp. 200. Intro. (xv-xviii), notes, index, bibliography.

In *The Story of an African Working Class* Jeff Crisp attempts to analyze the development of workers' consciousness in the gold mines of Ghana and to clarify the limits of that consciousness. This is not a new topic in

African historiography, but his approach, although borrowing much from Robin Cohen's work on hidden forms of resistance, has several unique qualities. While previous works sharing the same leitmotiv have concentrated on the more obvious expressions of worker protest (strikes, unionization, and overt political activity) Crisp has taken another approach. Asserting that these previous works tended to be "narrowly elitist perspectives" focusing on "union and party leaders" (p. 11), Crisp, utilizing a Marxist methodology, concentrates instead on the activities of rank-and-file workers.

While not themselves Marxist terms, Crisp uses the theoretical concepts of *labor control* and *labor resistance* "to illuminate the dialectical nature of the struggle between labour and capital" (p. 12). Through the use of these concepts he hopes to illustrate "[t]he methods used by capital to assert its authority over labour, and the means whereby labour asserts its autonomy of capital" (p. 3). In the context of this struggle, the book explores the origin and development of the Ghanaian rank and file mine proletariat, examines the roots of its militancy and solidarity, and shows how its struggles conditioned its consciousness—and the limitations of that consciousness.

Throughout the book Crisp reinforces his major thesis, that the distinctive character of mine workers' struggles was often determined more by their "occupational" consciousness than by their "class consciousness." He illustrates this by pointing out that mine workers (unlike railway workers, for example) failed to unite with other members of the working class in the struggle for political freedom and were often at odds with their own representatives in the Mine Employees' Union. This is supposed to explain, as Cohen observes in the preface, "why mine workers have been unable to assume the role of what Marx called 'general representatives' of their society" (p. xvii). But, except at the level of assertion, Crisp never demonstrates conclusively why this is the case.

In his conclusion Crisp states that "[t]he mine workers' consciousness of common interest has been strengthened by the steady process of labour stabilization in the mining industry since the 1930s." He says further that by the 1970s "the mine workers *are becoming* increasingly proletarianized, a self-reproducing sector of the Ghanaian working class, separated from their rural origins and fully committed to wage-earning employment" (p. 182, emphasis added). The indication here is that the proletarianization process has not yet been completed. Therefore, Ghanaian peasants (most from the labor reserves in the North) who provided labor-power to the mines were not necessarily proletarianized. Thus throughout most of the period Crisp describes mine workers were closer to peasant-workers with a peasant class consciousness, than to true proletarians with proletarian class consciousness. This, in turn, would help explain their apparent

failure to unite with other "proletarians" and becoming the "general representatives" of Ghanaian society.

The problem of conceptualizing the process of proletarianization in economies which, like Ghana's, are based on the "coexistence" of both capitalist and non-capitalist production is of great concern to Africanists today. Unfortunately Crisp has only briefly touched upon this topic in his book, and then only at an empirical level.

The Story of an African Working Class is a well documented and well argued work which makes an extremely important contribution to the historiography of the African working class and the development of workers' consciousness. Crisp combines original sources and a keen insight to produce an excellent narrative; however his theoretical framework could have been strengthened by a more rigorous attempt at theorizing the process of proletarianization in relation to the development of class consciousness. The book is, nevertheless, valuable reading because it provides the careful reader with much of the data from which to understand these processes.

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Domestic Enemies: Servants and Their Masters in Old Regime France. By CISSIE FAIRCHILDS. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984. Pp. vii + 325. Figures, tables, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.50

A profound shift occurred in the relationships between masters and servants in *Ancien Régime* France. Cissie Fairchilds has presented us with a carefully researched and analytically sound study of this shift and of the whole broad subject of domestic servitude before the Revolution. Drawing primarily upon the archival material in Paris, Bordeaux, and Toulouse, she sets up models of households for the years 1727-29 and 1787-89 to illustrate how the patriarchal household of the earlier period gave way to the modern nuclear family, and how the place—and function—of the servant changed along with this basic reorientation of familial relations. Fairchilds' book not only tells us much about servants and masters, but also offers a valuable supplement to Lawrence Stone's pioneering work on the family.

The first half of the book describes the life and *mentalité* of domestic servants. Fairchilds gives us a credible sense of what it must have been like to be subject to the slightest whim of the master classes. Servants had