

impression, voiced by Milani, that “instead of searching for one ‘Script,’ we are faced with myriad scripts, some aborted, some begetting unexpected consequences, and some falling prey to their own illusions-turned-nightmares” (p. 323).

Unlike the practitioners of the sociological approach to the comparative analysis of revolutions whom they critique, the contributors to *Scripting Revolution* thus renounce any ambition to identify a set of parameters by which the occurrence of revolutions can be explained and their course and outcomes compared. Indeed, questions of origins and outcomes, which were central to the analyses proposed by Moore, Skocpol, and Goldstone, play virtually no role in this volume. Although the notion of “script” and Baker’s emphasis on revolution as “act” suggest a certain predictability to the course of revolutions, the volume’s various contributions reflect a mostly pessimistic judgment on the results of the movements under discussion, which regularly seem to have escaped from their protagonists’ control and ended in failure.

The call for a renewal of comparative revolutionary studies is a welcome one, and Baker, Edelstein, and their colleagues have provided some intriguing suggestions for the directions future study might take. These essays remind us that participants in revolutions inevitably act in part according to understandings and expectations developed before their start, even if these lack the coherence suggested by the notion of “script”. David Bell, in his afterword, notes the emotional intensity that is a common element in revolutionary crises and suggests that the current interest in the history of emotions might productively be integrated into their study. Taken as a whole, the contributions suggest a history of the phenomenon of revolution, from the religiously oriented movements of the seventeenth century through the political revolutions of the late eighteenth century, the social revolutions of the first half of the twentieth century, and the cultural revolutions of an era that may now be drawing to a close. The year following the appearance of *Scripting Revolution* saw major political candidates in several Western democracies campaign on the slogan of “revolution”. For better or for worse, the meaning of the term may be about to take a new turn.

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BALL, JEREMY. *Angola’s Colossal Lie. Forced Labor on a Sugar Plantation, 1913–1977*. [African History, Vol. 4.] Brill, Leiden 2015. xvi, 199 pp. €49.00; \$63.00.

CLEVELAND, TODD. *Diamonds in the Rough. Corporate Paternalism and African Professionalism on the Mines of Colonial Angola, 1917–1975*. Ohio University Press [etc.], Athens, OH, 2015. xv, 289 pp. Ill. \$32.95.

*Angola’s Colossal Lie* by Jeremy Ball and *Diamonds in the Rough* by Todd Cleveland present to the scholarly world two different but rather complementary narratives on forced

labour and African workers' responses to the colonial enterprise in twentieth-century Angola. In addition, these two studies offer important insights into the approaches of the colonial state and private entrepreneurs to labour recruitment and management. The three main groups of historical actors analysed are, therefore, African workers, private entrepreneurs, and the colonial state. The storyline, in both studies, revolves around the relationship between these three actors and their visions, strategies, and experiences of the world of labour in Angola during the colonial and early post-colonial period.

The two books deal with four main questions. Firstly, the authors examine the relationship between the colonial state and private enterprises by studying the privileged output, consumption, and labour market conditions offered by the colonial state to two private companies to develop their businesses in sugar plantation agriculture and diamond mining in the regions of Catumbela (south-central Angola) and Lunda (northeast Angola), namely the Sociedade Agrícola do Cassequel and the Diamang, respectively.

Secondly, Ball's and Cleveland's studies analyse in detail the relationship between the state and its African workers by examining the forms of recruitment to meet the state's own labour demands as well as those of private enterprises – as an allocator of labour. As the authors clearly explain, this was achieved through three main coercive mechanisms. First, the imposition of taxation in the colony to force Africans to work for a wage in order to pay their taxes to the colonial state. Secondly, the criminalization of those “fit to work” found out of work, who would be compelled to work (forced workers or *compelidos*). Thirdly, the imposition of a regime of coerced contract labour (*contratados*). Under this labour regime, every man or youngster declared “fit to work” was coerced by the colonial state with the assistance of colonial officials (*chefes de posto*) and African village chiefs to sign a contract with the colonial state to work, either for the state or for a private enterprise, for a specific number of months each year, in exchange for a salary, accommodation, and rations.

The third central question in these two studies focuses on the relationship between private colonial enterprises and their African labour force. It is in this respect that the comparative analysis of both books offer the academic community two different, but rather complementary, narratives on forced labour, colonial business culture, and African workers' attitudes towards the colonial private enterprises. Although the exploitative nature of private businesses in Angola is evident in both studies, they clearly demonstrate that private enterprises developed different strategies towards their labour force. In the case of Diamang, scarcity of labour and difficulties in labour replacement led the company to create infrastructures and take measures to safeguard the well-being of their workers, as a means to encourage them to continue working for the mining company or to return later, either as *voluntários* (free-wage workers) or *contratados*. These strategies contrasted with the situation at the Sociedade Agrícola do Cassequel, where poor working conditions and meagre salaries dominated, and the interests of the *contratados* were rarely taken into account.

The comparative reading of Ball's and Cleveland's case studies also reveal contrasting attitudes among African workers (in particular unskilled workers) with regard to their colonial employers. On the one hand, Cleveland argues that, in response to the more social- and health-friendly measures adopted by Diamang towards their workers, African workers adopted a “professional” attitude, adjusting to the work schemes and schedules imposed by the Western work model, contributing to the productivity of the company, while regarding the company as an entity that would, to a certain extent, protect them, even though working conditions were hard and forms of punishment for misconduct could be employed if deemed necessary. In contrast, in Jeremy Ball's study the *contratados* of the Sociedade Agrícola do Cassequel appear to have been busy mainly devising forms of

resistance in the face of poor labour conditions and abusive treatment on the part of employers, and simply conforming with the status quo. Differences in attitudes among workers towards their colonial employers are also rather evident when comparing coerced and free-wage workers. Thus, combined, these two studies offer a more nuanced history of coercive labour in Angola in its multiple forms, as well as of the business culture among colonial private enterprises.

The last main question addressed by Ball and Cleveland deals with the impact of decolonization and the independence process on the relationship between the three main actors being analysed – state, private enterprises, and labour force – in which the latter two appear to have been the main losers, with nationalization, economic crisis, and worsening labour relations.

For all the above, Ball's and Cleveland's studies are important contributions to various fields of history. On the one hand, both books are crucial to moving forward the study of twentieth-century Angola – a rather understudied period of the country's history, and one to a great extent dominated by the MPLA's narrative, which emphasizes liberation from the oppressive colonial forces and the construction of a free and better future for Angolans. In addition, these two case studies clearly show the importance of looking into the transition between colonial and post-colonial periods and of assessing its impact on the political, economic, and social history of the country.

Furthermore, these two books are important additions to the scholarship on Lusophone Africa, in particular concerning the study of coercive labour in its multiple forms, and colonial private businesses. Together with the recent studies by Allina, Havik, Keese, and Santos, they offer the English-speaking scholarly community a more comprehensive and balanced understanding of the system of coercive labour in the former Portuguese African colonies, as well as of the relationship between state and private companies. More importantly, they give voice to workers' experiences with colonial employers.<sup>1</sup>

*Angola's Colossal Lie* and *Diamonds in the Rough* are also significant contributions to business history, especially if we look at the study of colonial private enterprises, their investment strategies, and their attitudes towards their labour force. These appear to have varied among enterprises. Cleveland's study, in particular, makes clear that our view of colonial private enterprises as being only exploitative and abusive needs to be nuanced, at least, to a certain extent.

These two studies also offer important inputs to labour history, especially when it comes to the attitudes of skilled and unskilled workers towards the colonial state and colonial private enterprises. The comparative reading of Ball and Cleveland reveal contrasting attitudes among African workers (both skilled and unskilled) with regard to their colonial employers. Thus, the dominant image of the African worker only as resilient towards colonial exploitation also needs to be nuanced up to a point. Both authors also give important insights into the participation and role of women and children in the world of labour. In *Angola's Colossal Lie*, the author focuses mainly on the experience of women in charge of households and family livelihood during their husbands' temporary absence to comply with their coerced labour contracts; in *Diamonds in the Rough*, on the other hand, the author examines both paid and unpaid female and child labour in the mines and the mining compounds.

1. Eric Allina, *Slavery by Any Other Name: African Life under Company Rule in Colonial Mozambique* (Charlottesville, VA, 2012); Philip J. Havik, Alexander Keese, and Maciel Santos, *Administration and Taxation in Former Portuguese Africa, 1900–1945* (Cambridge, 2015).

Cleveland's study also offers two other important contributions to the field of labour history. On the one hand, the author emphasizes the importance of studying workers' forms of sociability outside regular working hours and workplaces as a means to fully understand and capture forms of unpaid labour, but also of studying mechanisms of collaboration and mutual aid developed among workers. On the other, *Diamonds in the Rough* provides a significant addition to the historiography on labour and business culture in the mining industry of southern Africa. Cleveland's research findings in what concerns both the behaviour of African workers and of Diamang, as a mining enterprise, contrast with the situation described by other studies on other southern African mining regions.

Finally, from a methodological point of view, these two books clearly demonstrate how historical studies benefit from combining written and oral sources. Ball's and Cleveland's works also illustrate how historians can make an effort to reconstruct the historical past by giving voice to "those from below" (skilled and unskilled workers) and relating their memories with the narratives of "those at the top" (colonial officials and the owners of private enterprises).

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RUEF, MARTIN. *Between Slavery and Capitalism. The Legacy of Emancipation in the American South*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2014. xvii, 285 pp. Ill. Maps. £24.95.

The failure of the post-bellum Reconstruction era (1865–1877) to effectively challenge the political and economic dominance of the cotton planters, and to provide a firm social basis for the political and social equality of African-Americans, has led many historians and sociologists to emphasize an almost *inevitable continuity* in the region's basic social relations and institutions before and after the US Civil War. On the one hand, many analysts of Reconstruction downplay the shift from centralized plantation agriculture using slave labor to sharecropping tenancy because the planter class maintained legal possession of the most fertile lands in the South. On the other, persistent racism in both the North and South purportedly made the restoration of "White Rule" in the former Confederacy inevitable.

Martin Ruef, a historical sociologist at Duke University, challenges the notions of both *continuity* and *inevitability* that mark some studies of the Reconstruction era in his *Between Slavery and Capitalism: The Legacy of Emancipation in the American South* (2014). Ruef emphasizes the profound social and institutional transformations wrought by the war and Reconstruction, arguing that "the New South that resulted after Radical Reconstruction evidences a more capitalist and market-driven society than its antebellum counterpart" (p. 2). He cites not only the end of chattel slavery and the rise of short-term tenancy and wage labor, but also the expansion in the number of financial institutions in the South, the shift from subsistence to commercial agriculture among small white farmers, and the rise of new urban and industrial centers in the interior of the region. While recognizing that both African-American