of relief designed to encourage self-reliance rather than the acknowledgment of social dependence. Andrew also points out that philanthropists took some pride in their role as "community builders", preserving and extending links between classes in a sphere not serviced by the market (p. 196). It would be interesting to know in addition how far she sees enthusiasm for systematic charity as an admission by middle-class philanthropists themselves that the labouring masses needed assistance in withstanding the temptations to imprudent consumption offered by market capitalism. Was philanthropy sometimes carried out to counteract the market as well as to supplement it? Whatever the answer to this, Andrew's central point is firmly established: it is indeed necessary to any adequate understanding of the dynamics of social change in eighteenth-century England that the achievement of "the voluntary sector" be taken into account.

M. J. D. Roberts

GAILUS, MANFRED. Strasse und Brot. Sozialer Protest in den deutschen Staaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Preußens, 1847–1849. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 96.] Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1990. 546 pp. DM 112.00.

Gailus's book is a study of social protest in Germany covering the turbulent period from January 1847 to the middle of 1849. Historiographically speaking, it has two main addressees: (1) that species of social history which analyzes social protest and especially food riots; and (2) the literature on the German Revolution of 1848–1849. It has important documentation and commentary for both fields, though it assigns more weight to the former.

The book's empirical core is a collection of contemporary reports on 1,486 disturbances (or protest actions) taken from 5 major newspapers published in different parts of Germany in the period. This new collection – based on a day-by-day reading of the sources – represents the most comprehensive "protest" data set for these years now available. Most of the more detailed analysis in the book, however, is based on case studies of actions within *Prussia* (Germany's largest state). These studies draw on Prussian government archival materials as well as newspapers, they offer depth as well as breadth.

Gailus works with a definition of "social protest" which is quite similar to that employed in previous studies (including those of this reviewer). It stresses the *collective* character of the actions (e.g., at least 10–20 persons), their episodical nature (with beginning and end), the presence of conflict, and the importance of physical action, as opposed to intellectual argumentation. This is very close to the concept of "collective action", for Gailus, very much like proponents of the collective action view, sees social protest as a form of political behavior appropriate to the needs and resources of the poor and working-class population. He calls these actions "street politics" *(Strassenpolitik)*, stressing the importance of the street as public space in which popular demands and resources could be articulated and registered, space whose control was contested. "Bread", in turn, represents not simply the

"people's" right to freedom from hunger, but the more general demand that institutions maintain a certain balance between the interests of private profit and collective needs of the poor. Thus, the book's title, *Strasse und Brot*.

Strasse und Brot does not attempt to develop or test an explicit model of the determinants and consequences of social protest. Its methodological stance stresses, instead, the need for comparative macro and micro description. The former means the construction of broad typologies and rough use of correlations between protest and other dimensions of social change, the latter draws on anthropological concepts and "thick description" (Geertz). Of course this approach does lead Gailus to test, at least implicitly, the models and theories of protest developed by other studies. Moreover, Gailus does construct a partial, "historical model" of the German Revolution of 1848–1849, so the book is not without theoretical orientation.

What's new about *Strasse und Brot*, one may ask. "Many things", I would answer. A few examples must suffice. First, and most obvious, the book significantly enlarges the sample of evidence on German "social protest" in 1847–1849 (by 1,486 − 269 = 1,217 events more than an earlier study of mine, to take one crude measure); and Gailus devotes much space to describing his evidence. That helps.

Second, he makes a good case for the autonomy *(Eigensinn)* of crowd protest, as opposed to the "larger political" themes motivating the elites, particularly within the context of the Revolution of 1848. Nevertheless, like Volkmann before him (for the 1830–1832 protests), Gailus concedes that bourgeois groups (his "New Elite") were able to "instrumentalize" protest, i.e. to exploit the threat which the lower class posed for the Old Elite to extract concessions from the latter and realize important elements of their own political program. Third, he identifies more evidence of cooperation between the lower-class protest bataillons and representatives of the Old Elite – described in connection with "Church and King" riots – than our inherited picture of German society at this time would have suggested. These were predominantly East Elbian, to be sure. Which identifies a fourth new finding: Gailus documents much more "social protest" in East Elbia in this period than I thought existed (over half of all Prussian events, excluding Berlin (in Gailus) as opposed to about 10% (in Tilly, 1975)). *Ad hoc* explanations spring to mind, to be sure, but such "new facts" do throw up a challenge. Finally, despite some corroborative evidence, *Strasse und Brot* casts doubt on the generality of the "moral economy of the poor" as an interpretative instrument for analyzing food riots, for his samples do contain frequent references to pure opportunistic behavior difficult to square with the "moral economy" argument.

The foregoing should suffice to indicate some of the book's strengths. I did find some weaknesses, however. First, Gailus makes no attempt at explicit systematic quantitative analysis of his data. A Poisson distribution or two comparing random with historical distribution of events would have been helpful, I should think. And surely his data set contains more "protest characteristics" (such as size, duration, use of force, etc.) than have been tabulated here. Second, he does not systematically link protest with other socio-economic indicators of change. This is most evident in his treatment of food riots, where the discussion of food prices and harvest conditions is extremely terse. This leads him to ignore the indirect economic effects of food shortages which operated via the demand for non-agricultural products, indeed, the whole "entitlements approach" as expounded by Sen. There may also be a

tendency here to neglect one important factor: the extent to which local elites, either inofficially or through local government machinery, were willing to provide emergency relief. This may have been a significant variable which helps explain the geographical distribution of food riots and which Gailus has underestimated.

Nevertheless, *Strasse und Brot* is an interesting book, one which belongs in any good collection of nineteenth-century social history and which specialists on the German Revolution of 1848–1849 will ignore at their peril.

Richard Tilly

MARSLAND, STEPHEN E. The Birth of the Japanese Labor Movement. Takano Fusatarō and the Rōdō Kumiai Kiseikai. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu 1989. ix, 271 pp. $ 27.00.

In the field of Japanese labor history, comparatively little has been written in languages other than Japanese. New publications in English are therefore to be welcomed, and as far as this latest English language addition to the field is concerned, one receives a strong impression that talent and hard work has gone into it, especially when one learns that the author is not a specialist in the field, but rather is active within the business world. It is unfortunately the case, however, that as a work of research, the book cannot be evaluated very highly. This review will clarify the reasons for such a conclusion.

Of the book's 280 pages, the text accounts for only 157 pages; the rest is taken up with appendixes, notes, bibliography and index. The text is made up of eight chapters: (1) The Setting, (2) Takano Fusataro, (3) Birth of the Labor Movement, (4) The Metalworkers' Union, (5) Growth of the Labor Movement, (6) The Turning Point, (7) Crisis and Collapse, (8) Legacy of the Movement.

The first chapter, The Setting, which accounts for fully one third of the entire text, gives a general description of Japanese politics, law, economics, labor markets, labor relations and the labor movement. Just from a reading of this one chapter, it is clear that the author's knowledge of Japanese history is neither very wide nor his understanding very deep.

The second chapter describes the life and activities of Takano Fusataro, the founder of the Japanese trade-union movement, but already here in his discussion of this individual whom he considers to be so significant, the author makes a number of errors in connection with the elementary but vital details – the when, where and why – of Takano's biography. For example, Takano's date of birth, the very beginning of any biographical consideration, is given incorrectly. Takano Fusataro was born on 6 January 1869, and not on 24 November 1868. This simple error results from the author's ignorance of the fact that the lunar calendar was in use in Japan until 1872. Marsland also implies that Takano moved from his birthplace, Nagasaki, directly to Yokohama where he spent his youth, but this is his own invention. In fact, in 1877 the Takano family moved to Tokyo where young Fusataro lived until he finished higher elementary school in 1882 and went to work for his uncle in Yokohama.