

REVIEWS

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION IN EASTERN AFRICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702218411

People, Contact(s) and the Environment in the African Past. Edited by FELIX CHAMI, GILBERT PWITI and CHANTAL RADIMILAHY. (Studies in the African Past, 1). Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 2001 (distributed by African Books Collective, Oxford). Pp. vii + 182. £17.95; \$29.95 (ISBN 9976-60-344-4).

KEY WORDS: Eastern Africa, Central Africa, archaeology, pre-colonial, environment.

These 14 essays address later archaeology – and related issues of environmental history, cultural landscapes and pottery production – in Tanzania (the southern interior and coastal hinterland, as well as a cave on Zanzibar), in Madagascar (the opposite ends of the island) and in Zimbabwe (with an excursion across the Botswana border). They vary considerably in both substance and presentation. The Zimbabwean papers display a conversance with current concepts of landscape evolution and of both climatic and human factors in environmental change – not to overlook the responses of farming populations, past and present. They include the two most polished contributions, by Innocent Pikirayi on the environmental factors in settlement distribution across the plateau before, during and after the flourishing of Great Zimbabwe (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries), and by Weber Ndoro on the cultural landscape around that site and its periodic redefinition from antiquity till the present – and doubtless into the future too, as popular perceptions as well as the physical environment evolve.

The contributions from Madagascar (by Rakotoarisoa at the south-east and Radimilahy at the north-west) are even more steeped in ecology (and biodiversity) in analysing human exploitation and ‘over-exploitation’ of resources. In these exercises a range of documentation has been absorbed, from modern agency reports to seventeenth-century descriptions, although the authors seem to have been shielded somewhat from the current Africanist critique of twentieth-century ‘degradation narratives’.

In the Tanzanian chapters – two of them by Felix Chami, and four others which revolve around issues of the regional archaeological sequence with which he has been grappling – the environmental theme is less dominant. Instead, the accent is on ‘cultures’ and contacts, argued from trade items and pottery comparisons. Despite this traditional approach, Chami’s inclination is to challenge received wisdom at every turn. Following the thrust of his recent articles, he envisages continuity of the coastal and hinterland population alongside commercial contact with both the deep interior and the wider world over three millennia. This innovative line is worth examining, although the reasoning behind other scholars’ preference for expansion by farming populations – not to be characterized as old-style ‘migration theory’ – might repay more patient evaluation than is afforded here.

Chami demands patience of his own readers, his arguments being frequently complex or dependent on intriguing titbits of evidence. In particular, two potsherds excavated near Lake Nyasa – illustrated in Bertram Mapunda’s paper – may relate to the well-known TT (Chami’s TIW) wares of the coast and

hinterland in the late first millennium AD. The implications for inter-regional commerce – or, as others might argue, for a secondary Iron Age population expansion – are extremely exciting; but we need more context and controlled comparisons. No less sensational is Chami's discovery, south of Dar es Salaam and on Zanzibar, of glass beads of early Roman Empire provenance; these help corroborate the information of the trade of Azania in the first century AD as documented in *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. But they hardly upset the view that substantial and sustained maritime trade in the western Indian Ocean, and the emergence locally of Swahili communities, began in the Abbasid period of the ninth century (contemporary with the TT/TIW pottery).

Chami, however, has a vision of East Africa playing an integral role in world commerce during Roman times – and even before that, in what he calls the 'neolithic'. But the argument rests on random archaeological finds, not always accurately cited, on secondary literature, uncritically followed in places, and on eccentric reading of classical texts. For instance, in the African section of the *Periplus*, the supposed mention of coconuts – so anomalous in context – has been adequately expunged by Casson, and it is unhelpful to resurrect discredited scholarship at whim; while Pliny's *Natural History* – if one checks the text (or standard translation) – has no information on the region (whatever a confusing recent commentator may imply). Foreign involvement may, so Chami surmises, have extended to direct exploitation. For he turns to one of the famous rock-paintings in central Tanzania, showing a row of people who – expanding on a fanciful aside by Mary Leakey – could be interpreted as chained captives being led away by 'cloaked' Middle Easterners. These putative prisoners may have been destined for the port of Rhapta (as documented in the *Periplus*), thence to be transported to Arabia, or perhaps to Nubia 'where East African bowmen were set to fight against northerners'. Geographical and chronological objections apart, those archaeologists who have been struggling to purge African rock-art interpretation of the White Lady syndrome will be horrified.

The argument for a 'neolithic' presence near the coast and in the southern Tanzanian hinterland is based on potsherds found with worked stone flakes (in presumably undisturbed situations). Some of this pottery is compared with that from Narosura, a highland pastoral site of the first millennium BC in south-western Kenya. On grounds of distance and of environmental and cultural contrasts, such a connection seems definitely surprising; if it proves genuine – and that requires methodical reexamination of the collections in the museums – it will have revolutionary implications for our understanding of East Africa in the millennium before iron.

Equally unexpected is the idea of a 'chicken neolithic' on Zanzibar at that time, the evidence being bones found in Chami's excavation of a limestone-solution cave. These, he believes, are the oldest known chicken remains in Africa; and, since this species originated in south-eastern Asia, the discovery implies very early trans-oceanic traffic. But the stratigraphy and dating of the cave layers, as presented, look definitely problematic; moreover, 33 of the 37 chicken bones recovered occur with mid-late Iron-Age pottery. If necessary, the specimens should be checked and AMS-tested for date.

Certain questions notwithstanding, this book articulates renewed intellectual enthusiasm combined with sustained field-archaeological research. These achievements, including the Zimbabwean and Malagasy endeavours, deserve proper scrutiny as contributions to the study of the broader region, transcending national boundaries. This has been a central intention of the large-scale project on 'Urban Origins in Eastern Africa' in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and of its current successor 'Human Responses and Contributions to Environmental Change in Africa', both sponsored by SIDA/SAREC in Sweden and coordinated by Paul

Sinclair. In fact, most of the contributors to the volume under review have been involved in one if not both projects, and it appears from the Preface (and allusions to a meeting in Bagamoyo) that this is in effect a project publication. Moreover, the opening chapter, by Gilbert Pwiti, combines a biographical sketch of Paul Sinclair with a summary of the projects' achievements and of Sinclair's contribution to the development of the study – and equally the profile – of archaeology on this side of Africa. It is a tribute to the training aspect of those projects and to the methodological, technical and conceptual considerations which Paul Sinclair has inculcated among those he has encouraged and supervised, and whose dissertations have been published in the Uppsala series, *Studies in African Archaeology*.

Oxford

J. E. G. SUTTON

NIGERIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702228418

Historical Archaeology in Nigeria. Edited by KIT W. WESLER. Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 1998. Pp. xx + 356. \$79.95 (ISBN 0-86543-609-6); \$21.95, paperback (ISBN 0-86543-610-X).

KEY WORDS: Nigeria, archaeology.

Historical Archaeology in Nigeria covers a variety of aspects of Nigerian material culture and archaeological remains, dating from the beginning of the second millennium AD to the colonial period. This is 'historical archaeology' defined very broadly, as Wesler points out in his introductory essay. It includes not merely studies informed by European or African documentary evidence, but also those that use ethnohistorical data and those where historically known artefacts – European imports, but also cowries, beads imported across the Sahara and so on – are discovered on archaeological sites. The focus is southern Nigeria and the Middle Belt, with no coverage of the northern part of the country. It is particularly heartening to see a widely available text on Nigerian archaeology where most of the papers are actually written by Nigerian archaeologists.

The papers vary widely in approach and content. Ogedengbe's work on the colonial settlement of Zungeru most closely approaches traditional North American historical archaeology, while Anozie's analysis of the decline of a local iron-working tradition at Umundu emphasizes the impact of colonialism and the import of European iron goods on indigenous practices. Darling provides an updated survey of the earthworks between Benin City and Ekpoma, in a paper that covers a variety of topics including local environments, linguistic and ethnohistorical data and the available archaeological information on these remarkable structures. As Darling notes, these earthworks should not be thought of as results of state formation at Benin, but rather are the legacy of a wider phenomenon of settlement and land partitioning. Mangut's article supplies interesting data on ethnohistorical and archaeological research in Ron territory on the south-western margins of the Jos Plateau. Unfortunately, the author has not been able to assign absolute dates to the cultural remains that he has located.

Allsworth-Jones and Wesler's paper examines the characteristics of sites located on the Badagry coast of south-western Nigeria, and reports on experiments undertaken to test the hypothesis that those sites are the remains of a large-scale salt production process – an hypothesis that appears to have been confirmed. A number of the papers are accounts of indigenous production traditions: Aremu's article on Yoruba metal-working in Kwara state, the similar article by Anozie

noted above, Ajekigbe's examination of Yoruba ceramic production in Ilora and Ogundele's article on Tiv architecture. There is little specifically archaeological analysis reported in these articles, which probably in part reflects changes in recent research emphasis in Africa, as resources available for labour- and funding-intensive archaeological fieldwork have dried up. That being said, they supply valuable ethnographic data in their own right, and their uses in interpreting the results of future research are obvious. Wesler provides general essays on historical archaeology in West Africa and on cross-cultural comparisons between West African and American research as introductory and concluding chapters to the book.

Historical Archaeology in Nigeria will appeal primarily to specialists in the recent prehistory of the West African forest and forest-savanna zones. For the most part, it helps demonstrate the archaeological potential of these areas rather than answering questions we might have about African prehistory, but that potential is obviously very great indeed.

Bowdoin College

SCOTT MACEACHERN

ETHIOPIAN HISTORY FROM THE CENTRE

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702238414

Layers of Time: A History of Ethiopia. By PAUL B. HENZE. London: Hurst and Company, 2000. Pp. xxiv + 372. £40 (ISBN 1-85065-522-7); £16.95, paperback (ISBN 1-85065-393-3).

KEY WORDS: Ethiopia, kingdoms and states, pre-colonial, post-colonial.

Paul Henze has written a thorough, well-researched and up-to-date general history of Ethiopia. It is informed by his extensive experience and travel in the country, both as a United States government employee and as a private individual. It is based on an exhaustive reading of the secondary literature with some reference to internal chronicles.

The book fits into the venerable tradition of state-centered history, an approach that makes for a readable account with a strong narrative line. On the other hand, local regions and peoples tend to be covered as epiphenomena of the central tradition rather than as essential pieces of the historical puzzle.

The book begins with an excellent geological and paleontological overview, very unusual in history books, but quite effective here. As one of the principal sites for the origin of humanity, the Ethiopian region, indeed, has an ancient record of human activity. This study contributes usefully to undermining the traditional but increasingly irrelevant academic distinction between 'prehistory' and 'history'.

Chapter 2 on the Aksumite period benefits greatly from the recent expansion of numismatic and archaeological work and publications. Henze places Aksum in its world context, showing in a balanced synthesis how it was able to weave external influences and indigenous elements into a coherent whole. The Aksumites developed writing, a monumental stone architecture, Christianity and international trade using locally minted coins, and, in general, laid the basis for a centralized political and cultural continuity for the next 2,000 years.

The central tradition continued, but turned inward during the Zagwe interlude, while the 'Solomonic Restoration' in 1270 created a dynasty that lasted – with challenges and interruptions – until 1974. Henze's account of the 1270–1855 period is thorough, though told essentially from the perspective of the central state and culture. The Christian artistic, literary and architectural achievements are outlined, including a century of 'Renaissance' during the Gondar era after 1636.

In contrast, other peoples or groups such as the Muslims, Beta Israel (Falasha) and Oromo are relegated to a 'regions and borderlands' (pp. 110–18) summary, or are described only in the context of threats or objects of concern to the central state. The fascinating socio-ethnic internal histories of these groups are not discussed, nor are they well integrated to the main narrative except when they were threats to the state.

With the breakdown of central government in the mid-eighteenth century, the country went through the divisive 'era of the princes' (Ch. 5) ended by the rise of Tewodros II (1855–68), the controversial and erratic king who attempted to unite the northern and central regions by force, but ended up committing suicide. Henze argues that 'his energy, ambition and intemperate nature plunged him into continual internal conflict' (p. 135), and sees him as more similar to the recent ruler, Mengistu Haile Mariam, than to the moderate traditional kings of Ethiopia.

Henze narrates clearly the story of Yohannes IV (r. 1872–89) and Menelik II (r. 1889–1913), particularly their defense of the country against attempted foreign manipulations (British and French) or invasions (Egyptian and Italian). His account includes an interesting speculative section on the significance of Menelik's victory over Italy at the 1896 battle of Adwa, and what might have happened if Ethiopia had not won (pp. 180–5).

The rise and rule of Haile Selassie dominates the twentieth century, as he was designated Crown Prince in 1916, became emperor in 1930 and was deposed in 1974 (Chs. 7–8). The crucial period of creating national unity began with the emperor's restoration in 1941 after Italy's five-year occupation of the country. Capitalizing on the failed credibility of the old regime undermined by Italy, the emperor was determined to remold national institutions. He led the creation of a national army, a modern police force and pushed for reform of provincial administration, the church and the financial system (p. 237). Though Henze argues that the emperor led 'a quarter century of economic development' (pp. 269–73), he also notes that 'Haile Selassie was less concerned about the rapidity of reform than about consolidating his own power and creating a government structure amenable to control and manipulation' (p. 238). The contradictions in the period, 1941–74, could have been further clarified by the author. On the one hand, most of what occurred in educational, governmental and military reforms as well as economic development during this period had their impetus in actions by the emperor. On the other hand, these changes resulted in frustration on the part of those new elites who realized how much more was still to be done to transform and develop the country. Thus by the late 1960s and early 1970s, the dominant characteristics were stagnation and the inability of the eighty-year-old emperor (in 1972) to keep pace and manage the new internal and external forces affecting the country in 1973 and 1974.

Henze's account of the 1974–91 period is aptly titled 'Revolution, war and "socialism"' (Ch. 9). The military committee or 'Derg' that increasingly took over power arrested (1974) and murdered (1975) the emperor, claiming to be acting in the name of 'Ethiopian socialism'. After an initial period of optimism and enthusiasm for change early in 1974, the revolution became increasingly bloody in late 1974. Shootouts within the Derg, stepped up war with Eritrea throughout the period, a bloody war with Somalia (1977–8), massive famine in the 1980s, forced villagization and resettlement, and the general failure to create any movement toward economic development characterized this period. In a brief account of the country since the end of the Derg (Ch. 11), Henze may be too sanguine about the efforts to achieve democracy and development, but such a perspective is understandable in the light of the horror that preceded it.

In general, Henze's book is a readable narrative despite the high level of detail and the sometimes argumentative footnotes. Its strength is a coherent analysis of

the problems and achievements of the country from the center; such centrism is also its weakness as we get little sense of the impact of change in the provinces unless it was manifested in violent uprisings or wars. A general history of Ethiopia that includes all the regions, peoples and religions remains to be written, but Henze's work provides an excellent beginning for a more comprehensive perspective.

Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

JAMES QUIRIN

CAPITAL HISTORY

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702248410

Cairo. By ANDRÉ RAYMOND. Translated from the French by Willard Wood. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2000. Pp. 436. \$35 (ISBN 0-674-00316-0).

KEY WORDS: Egypt, urban, Islam.

This book, a translation from the original French edition of 1993, is divided into four main parts: Foundation (642–1250), Medieval Cairo (1250–1517), the Traditional City (1517–1798) and Contemporary Cairo (1798–1992). There is also a chronology of major events and a glossary.

The first chapter describes the Arab conquest of Egypt and the foundation of al-Fustat, which became the nucleus of the expanding Egyptian capital. The second chapter discusses the history of the Fatimid foundation of al-Qahira, in the tenth century, as the residence of the caliphs, referring to the architecture of its ramparts and mosques. It also describes the simultaneous zenith of early medieval Fustat as a thriving centre of international trade. The third chapter deals with the Ayyubids, Salah al-Din's foundation of Cairo's Citadel, his unification of the economic capital al-Fustat with the residential al-Qahira and his introduction of the *madrasa* and *khanqah* institutions to Egypt. In Part Two Raymond discusses the urban schemes and building initiatives of the Mamluk ruling establishment in al-Qahira, with emphasis on urban growth and demographic structures. The first two parts are a compilation of all available primary and secondary sources, including travellers' accounts, on the material history of the Fustat-Qahira urban complex, with glimpses into related social history.

With Part Three the author enters his own research domain which is Ottoman Egypt or rather Cairo. Due to the existence of a different and more exact type of documentation, based on the court archives which previous periods lack, Raymond's approach takes a new direction and the book acquires a new dimension, with statistics on demographic, social and economic history known to the specialists from the author's earlier monumental book *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle* first published in 1974. Raymond has always emphasized the positive aspect of Ottoman rule in the Arab provinces against the traditional Egyptian attitude (especially ever since Husayn Fawzi's epoch-making *Sindbad Misri*, published in 1961), that views this phase of Egyptian history as one of decline and obscurantism and considers the Mamluk period as Cairo's golden age. In this book Raymond reiterates his position which in the meantime has led to a more discriminating Arab view of the Ottoman period. He stresses the expansion of Cairo under Ottoman rule (pp. 216ff) as a result of the thriving coffee trade and the common market created by the Ottoman empire. His notion of expansion is based more on the wealth of information available on Ottoman Cairo from the archives and from the material provided by the scholars of the French expedition in the *Description de l'Égypte* rather than on an exact comparison with Cairo's

expansion in the Mamluk period. It is a view with which not all historians of the Mamluk period would fully agree. Recent studies (among others, by Husam al-Din Isma'il) have shown that buildings attributed to the Ottoman period were in fact 'recycled' Mamluk foundations. It should also be noted that the *Khitat*-like extensive description of seventeenth-century Cairo by the Ottoman civil servant and traveller Evliya Celebi – not included in this study – is mainly an account of the inherited Mamluk city. Especially when it comes to the quarters south of Bab Zuwayla (p. 219), Raymond underestimates the density of Mamluk urbanization there.

Part Four which deals with contemporary Cairo is largely based on recent French scholarship, thus happily updating this aspect of Cairo's history beyond Abu-Lughod's monograph of 1971. Although there have been a number of important studies on Cairo's medieval and post-medieval history, this is the first comprehensive and general urban history of the Egyptian metropolis since Abu-Lughod's. Raymond's *Cairo* is extremely well documented, incorporating all research done on Cairo's urban history until 1992, including his own gigantic contribution on Ottoman Cairo. The text is highlighted with citations from travellers' and other accounts, the thirteen maps clarify every stage of Cairo's development and the notes are substantial. With all the density of information, the book is easy and agreeable to read. It is a succinct and lucid synthesis of the material history of a city that has been glorious since its foundation, spared great catastrophes, and uninterruptedly enjoying the status of the capital of Egypt, and, at times, that of an imperial capital too.

A shortcoming of the American edition, however, is the fact that the otherwise comprehensive notes and the bibliography have not been updated beyond 1993 when the book first appeared in French. Between 1993 and 2000 a number of important studies on Egyptian Mamluk and Ottoman history and on Cairo's history were published, stimulated by Raymond's pioneering work and quoted by him in his subsequent publications, which have not been taken into account in this edition. Because Cairo's history has ultimately, rightly or wrongly, been identified with Egypt's Islamic history, André Raymond's *Cairo* is valuable for the non-specialist as well as for students working on Egypt and for the historian of Islamic civilization who needs to know about Egypt.

*School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London*

DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF

HOW *TARIQAS* EMERGE

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702258417

Saints et société en Islam: la confrérie ouest-saharienne Fadiliyya. By RAHAL BOUBRIK. Paris: CNRS Editions, 1999. Pp. 207. No price given, paperback (ISBN 2-271-05695-0).

KEY WORDS: Sahara, Mauritania, western Sahara, Islam, resistance.

Considering the wicked press received by Ma' al-'Aynayn at the moment of the French conquest of the Sahara, it is surprising that neither he nor his equally celebrated brother, Sa'd Buh, have been the combined subject of a major work. Rahal Boubrik is the first researcher to unpack the story of these two, and it is done in tandem with their father, Muhammad Fadil, the holy man who gave birth to the brotherhood shared by his sons, known as the Fadiliyya. Boubrik uses this case study to pose the larger questions of how *tariqas* emerge. How is religious capital transformed into social and political capital? And how can we best understand the

very different attitudes of Muhammad Fadil's sons toward the occupying forces of France? The story of the founder, Muhammad Fadil, is very much a story of his tribe, the Ahl al-Talib Mukhtar, and its role in competition for religious authority in the region of the Hawd, modern-day south-eastern Mauritania. For Boubrik religious authority must be considered as a part of local social and political structures, and in this case he finds the founder's career to be built on a combination of cultural and mystical capital, Sharifian pedigree and charismatic power.

The study leads off with an impressive and thorough bibliographic study of source material that any student of Saharan history during the past 200 years will read with profit. He then leads us through the complex and problematical literatures and self-representations that make up the models of the hierarchical social structure(s) of Saharan society, and he reviews the emergence and dissemination of brotherhoods that led up to the time of the Fadiliyya – the Shadhiliyya, the Qadiriyya, the Tijaniyya and the urban 'badiya' Sufi activity in Walata and Tishitt. In the conclusion to this section is an intriguing and convincing discussion of the tension between the study of mysticism and juridical practice in the Hawd, which suggests (contrary to my own observations) that the learned men of the Hawd were typical of other parts of the Islamic world where mysticism and law represented two poles of Islam.

From these preliminaries, Boubrik begins the story of Muhammad Fadil's Sharifian lineage, traces the chain of authority that certifies the Fadili litany and describes the *baraka*/holy essence of the founder that affirmed his religious role. Boubrik argues that Muhammad Fadil, in effect, refounded the Ahl al-Talib Mukhtar much as Sidiyya al-Kabir did for the N'tishait in Trarza and Sidi al-Mukhar did for the Kunta in the Azaouad. Indeed, this initial act of reinventing the corporate unit, reestablishing the status of a shaikh's tribe, seems to be a pattern common to the early years of many of the Saharan brotherhoods. Phase two, then, involves the incorporation of outsiders into the social and economic system(s) the tribe represents, via the *tariqa*. The easy accessibility of this formula for turning good social and economic engineering into spiritual authority logically invites rivalries, and in the Hawd Boubrik thoroughly dissects the details of the Kunta–Ahl al-Talib Mukhtar confrontation.

In the third part of the study the heritage of Muhammad Fadil is spelled out in biographical and political sketches of Sa'd Buh and Ma' al-'Aynayn. For political historians this may be the most critical part of the book, since these brothers (of the forty-odd male descendants of Muhammad Fadil) both struck out on their own at some distance from home and played such diametrically opposed roles *vis-à-vis* the French colonial authorities. Sa'd Buh wrote and preached against *jihād* in Trarza (south-western Mauritania); his brother championed holy war in the Smara region in today's western Sahara. In spite of this, the relationship between the two appears to have been cordial albeit complicated by family succession disputes back in the Hawd. The oral tradition Boubrik collected in 1995 about Muhammad Fadil's designation for his successors 126 years earlier smacks of post hoc rationalization, but it does document the extent to which the controversies within the Hawd that followed Muhammad Fadil's death are part of a living political reality today.

In conclusion, Boubrik takes issue with a somewhat wooden structuralism, as he understands it, that has become associated with Ernest Gellner's writings and my own importation of those concepts into Moorish society. Boubrik's holy men are saint-mediators who are deeply invested in the social and political issues of their societies and who were playing those issues, consciously or unconsciously, to their own advantage. There may not be as much distance between his saints and Gellner's (or my own) as this suggests, but Boubrik is certainly correct in

underlining the dynamic interrelation between a changing social environment and religiosity in Moorish society. This is a study long overdue and well done that will remain a dependable reference point for some years to come.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

C. C. STEWART

EGUAFO, MATRILINY AND THE EUROPEANS

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702268413

Eguafo: un royaume africain 'au cœur français' (1637–1688): mutations socio-économiques et politique européenne d'un Etat de la Côte de l'Or (Ghana) au XVIIe siècle. By GÉRARD CHOUIN. Paris: AFERA éditions, 1998. Pp. 286. FF 140, paperback (ISBN 2-910707-02-9).

KEY WORDS: Ghana, kingdoms and states, kinship, pre-colonial.

Eguafo is a town and kingdom in the hinterland of the Elmina on the Gold Coast. According to historical tradition, Eguafo was the founder state for Elmina and several smaller coastal settlements, which were to gain importance as Portuguese, and later Dutch, footholds on the Gold Coast. Whereas the history of Elmina and other coastal towns has been analysed and written from a multitude of viewpoints and for several periods of contact with Europeans, the history of Eguafo had received considerably less attention from modern historians until the publication of Chouin's book. In this respect it is an important addition to the corpus of texts on Gold Coast history in the era of the European trading companies. However, the study has more to offer than being simply an interesting Gold Coast town history.

Chouin separates his treatment of Eguafo history into two parts: the economic and political context of Eguafo, 1637–62, and the relations between Eguafo and France, 1662–87. Each part is divided into three chapters. Although the chronological focus of the book is rather narrow, an extensive first chapter treats the very important period from 1600 to 1637, in which the Portuguese still ruled in Elmina, and the Dutch were continuously challenging their presence on the Gold Coast. In it, Chouin shows convincingly how important the hinterland town of Eguafo was in the European interplay and competition for trade in gold in the area, siding with the Dutch 'interlopers', and providing harbour facilities at Akitekyl (the port of Eguafo), trade advantages and eventually political support in the overthrow of the Portuguese. In the light of the ensuing Dutch effort to monopolize trade along the Elmina coast, several years later, the relationship soured. Combined with internal socio-political fissures, this eventually led to a political turnover in the early 1640s. A feature of this process, it seems, was a shift from a patrilineal to a matrilineal system of succession. On the basis of solid contemporary documentary evidence, Chouin argues that the political culture of the Akan culture group (now solidly matrilineal) underwent radical changes in the context of changing relations between European and African states on the Gold Coast.

For two decades, the relationship between the Dutch and Eguafo was marked by crises. Eventually the commercial and political relationship collapsed completely, and Eguafo went in search of new allies. They found these in the French, who were trying to establish a foothold on the Gold Coast in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. In effect, Eguafo took sides in a European conflict between France and the Netherlands, thereby alienating itself further from the Dutch. In the period from 1662 to 1672, France was positively interested in Africa and the connection with Eguafo stood firm. In the latter year, European continental interests got the upper hand in French politics. It was only in 1685–8 that the

French tried to re-establish their political and economic links with Eguafó. By then, the kingdom was again in political disarray, and the French retreated. The king of Eguafó was toppled, and the Dutch won their monopoly among European traders in the area.

Chouin's study is well written and topical in its treatment of the dynamics of politics and economy in the Gold Coast in the seventeenth century. While it lacks theoretical depth, the narrative and the use of French source materials provide new viewpoints, and a host of information for further – comparative and theoretical – study.

University of Groningen

MICHEL R. DOORTMONT

COUNTING SLAVES

DOI: 10.1017/S002185370227841X

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM. Edited by DAVID ELTIS, STEPHEN D. BEHRENDT, DAVID RICHARDSON and HERBERT S. KLEIN. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £125; \$195 (ISBN 0-521-629-10-1) CD-ROM. CD-ROM (for Windows systems) and print guide, pp. xii, 89. KEY WORDS: Slave trade, quantitative sources.

This pathbreaking assembly of data on transatlantic slaving voyages serves as a capstone to a generation of research and debate, and may serve in turn to launch another era of research and debate on what is, in some respects, humanity's best-documented great migration. The editorial team included David Eltis and David Richardson, who had each collected and analyzed substantial datasets on the Atlantic slave trade, and Steven Behrendt and Herbert Klein, who have each performed significant analysis on slave-trade data. Together, this team has sought out and systematized the data on as many Atlantic slaving voyages as they could locate. The statistics are organized with the 'voyage' as the basis for each case, though many users will hope to extract from the CD information about slaves as individuals and groups, rather than as boatloads. Supplementing the data are an excellent range of resources – all the details of the coding scheme, a glossary and a detailed introduction. The very newness of the work of creating such a resource leaves it with some rough edges, but its value is unmistakable.

The wide interest generated by the project became manifest when several hundred registrants showed up at a 1998 conference, at the College of William and Mary, intended to launch the CD. The depth of interest in the topic may have led some enthusiasts to believe that the CD would provide a definitive census of the Atlantic slave trade. The editors, though emphasizing the positive side of their achievements, do not make exaggerated claims for their product. They estimate that they have records on some 70 per cent of all voyages, but this does not mean that they have records on 70 per cent of the captives. The CD reports primary data on some 2 million captives embarked on the African coast, and some 4 million captives disembarked in the Americas. For some of the voyages, captives are categorized by sex and age group. Through judicious techniques of estimation, the editors have projected that some 7 million captives were aboard the vessels in the database. The editors have not attempted to make an overall estimate of the volume of the Atlantic slave trade, though the results of the CD are consistent with other recent estimates of the total. Comparing the CD with Curtin's and Lovejoy's estimates of the total trade, I conclude that the CD gives data on about 10 per cent of the voyages for the sixteenth century, 25 per cent for the seventeenth century, 85 per cent for the eighteenth century, and 80 per cent for the nineteenth century.

Statistics on the British, Dutch and French trades are relatively complete, but available data are far more meagre for the Portuguese, Spanish, North American and other trades.

Actually using the CD, and extracting the desired information from it, requires patience and practice. The visual interface remains complex and unwieldy for lack of enough coordination between the editors and the designers. The visual interface displayed at the William and Mary conference was abandoned and replaced by another structure for the published CD. The second effort, while improved, leaves much to be desired. Through a system of menu-generated queries, the user may select data and perform correlations among different types of data, though one must get used to many rejected queries before finding the right combinations. In addition, the user may download the full dataset and analyze it through SPSS (a well-known statistical package). While the ability to select information using the queries on the CD improves with practice, I found it easier to explore the dataset through SPSS.

Yet the patience of the user in working through this immense dataset with imperfect tools is amply rewarded. The most striking advantage of aggregating the data into this format is what it reveals on the specific ports visited by slavers in embarking and disembarking their cargo. In addition, a great deal of information on the tonnage of ships, on their owners and officers, on the number of voyages of each ship and some information on the crews should lead to substantial improvement in the interpretation of the slave trade. Establishment of this consistent format for analyzing all known voyages will make national comparisons (Dutch *v.* French) and regional comparisons (Angola *v.* Bight of Biafra) much more solidly based.

Publication of this database is sure to encourage new lines of research. One may hope to link these data to information on the movement of African captives from their homes to the African points of embarkation. Work has already begun on developing series of slave prices to link to the dataset. We may hope for more analysis of further migration of slaves, after delivery to the Americas, to their final point of residence – these additional travels could be substantial, as for slaves going to Peru. And the data provide an improved basis for assessing the place of the Atlantic slave trade in global economic history.

The editors are to be congratulated for their imagination in designing this project and for their energy in carrying it to completion.

Northeastern University

PATRICK MANNING

WEST INDIANS IN EARLY COLONIAL SIERRA LEONE

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702288416

West Indians in West Africa, 1808–1880: The African Diaspora in Reverse. By NEMATA AMELIA BLYDEN. Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press; Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2000. Pp. xi + 258. \$75; £50 (ISBN 1-58046-046-1).

KEY WORDS: Sierra Leone, West Indians, migration, colonial.

For several hundred years there was a large-scale transatlantic movement of people from Africa to the Americas. From the late eighteenth century onwards a smaller migration took place in the reverse direction as people of African origin and descent crossed the ocean to West Africa. The best-known settlement on Africa's west coast was at Freetown, a colony of freed blacks planted in the 1780s, which then expanded with the arrival of further African Americans plus African slaves liberated from slave ships by British naval vessels. Another small group of free

black people who played an active part in helping to form the nascent colony of Sierra Leone were West Indians, the subject of this study by Nemata Blyden.

In London, and also among the few European officials and traders in the Colony, there was a difference of opinion as to the capacity of black settlers to govern themselves. Few Europeans were willing to risk their lives in a settlement that already had a reputation for being a 'white man's grave' and thus, from the 1830s onwards, senior administrators were sought in the West Indies among black people who, it was believed, were better conditioned to resist the harsh diseases of West Africa. Nevertheless, throughout the history of colonial administration in Sierra Leone, black men were discriminated against even when they were better educated and more highly skilled than their white colleagues.

The 1840s and 1850s were the high point for employment of West Indians in senior posts such as governor, acting governor and chief justice in Sierra Leone. Many minor posts in the colonial administration in the Colony were also held by West Indians. Men such as Dr. William Fergusson, from Jamaica (governor 1845–6), John Carr, who described himself as 'a person of colour born in the island of Trinidad', and Robert Dougan administered the Colony in ways similar to their white colleagues. At the same time their actions were often closely and critically watched by whites who, conscious of their subordinate position to black men, sought to demean their roles. They also faced the ire of various black settlers jealous at the preferment of foreigners from the Caribbean. Freetown might have been a small town but as a society it was both complex and litigious. As Blyden shows, Dougan's dismissal in 1855, following his mismanagement of the disastrous Malaghea expedition, was crucial in aligning sceptical officials in London with local critics in the Colony and led to a reversal of the policy of hiring black men for senior posts.

In two later chapters, Blyden looks at the fortunes, and misfortunes of two West Indians in Sierra Leone, Alexander Fitzjames and William Rainy, both of whom had been born in Trinidad. Fitzjames served as Queen's Advocate, a post which put him directly in line to become acting governor when the governor went on leave. In the contentious and race-bound politics of Freetown, Fitzjames incurred the dislike and wrath of the Governor Stephen Hill who labelled him an agitator and troublemaker. By manipulating colonial officials and black settler sentiment he succeeded in getting Fitzjames dismissed in early 1862. This was the heavy price paid by a black official for pointing up the racially discriminatory practices pursued in Sierra Leone. Thereafter no West Indian was appointed to a senior post in the colonial administration, although a number of men from the West Indies continued to hold, and be appointed to, minor official positions in the Colony.

William Rainy was a lawyer critical of the judicial system within the Colony and a campaigning newspaper editor who agitated for self-government. In a climate of growing scientific racism, and with the fallout from the Morant Bay rebellion further poisoning the Colonial Office, the ideas entertained by Murray in the 1830s for a black-governed West African colony were now not to be achieved. Rainy, whom Blyden describes as a 'defender of the African race', denounced Richard Burton's crude racist diatribes against black people in his *The Censor Censured, or the Calumnies of Captain Burton on the Africans of Sierra Leone* (London, 1865). This foreshadows the better-known attack launched more than two decades later by a fellow West Indian, J. J. Thomas, whose *Froudacity* savaged an equally outrageous book on the West Indies by the distinguished historian J. A. Froude. By then a belief in white superiority was well established and in Freetown racial segregation was being slowly imposed. Rainy left the Colony he had served so long and emigrated to Australia.

The title of Blyden's ably researched book is somewhat misleading; the focus is only Freetown. Although most significant in Sierra Leone, there is a wider history

of West Indian involvement in administration, mission and commerce in West Africa yet to be written. In places this book is repetitive and it is an irritation to have to turn to the end of the volume to consult the often lengthy notes. Given the relatively small number of people from the West Indies involved in prominent positions in Sierra Leone in this seventy-year period, the reader could have been helped by short biographical portraits, perhaps as an appendix. And, I wonder, are there not more photographs and illustrations of these fascinating men than the lone copy that is the frontispiece? However, this book provides a useful if minor dimension to the history of Sierra Leone in the nineteenth century.

Goldsmiths College, University of London

DAVID KILLINGRAY

GROWING UP IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY ASANTE

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702298412

Our Days Dwindle: Memories of My Childhood Days in Asante. By T. E. KYEI. Edited with an introduction by Jean Allman. Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2001. Pp. xxiii + 240. \$69.95 (ISBN 0-325-07042-3); \$24.95, paperback (ISBN 0-325-00251-7).

KEY WORDS: Ghana, colonial, culture, memoirs.

Because memoirs are often the unconscious defences of the author's ego, historians are suspicious of them. *Our Days Dwindle* by the late T. E. Kyei, edited by Jean Allman, is however different. Here the author focuses memories on his childhood days instead of yielding to the temptation to elaborate on a very impressive resume (Appendix 6) and his long career as an educator. In this nine-chapter recollection, Kyei presents a vivid picture of growing up at his home-village of Agogo in the Asante-Akim district of Ghana.

Born in 1908, just seven years after formal colonization of Asante by the British, the author saw the spread of the activities of the Presbyterian mission and school to his hometown. Today, the church at Agogo (with a teachers' college and a well-respected medical facility) is among the most important Presbyterian educational sites in the country. In the early days, however, the mission at Agogo was small, visited from time to time by white missionaries from their station on the Kwahu Ridge. As Kyei remembered, the European missionaries visited the congregation without much fanfare. On the other hand, a planned arrival of a British colonial official was announced weeks in advance so the village could organize labour for the necessary tasks associated with the visit. Though these subjects are introduced in passing, a clear distinction between local perceptions of European missionaries and their political counterparts was made.

The above aside, *Our Days Dwindle* is a wonderful account of Asante culture and stories of everyday life during the first half of the twentieth century. The central ethos here is work. The comment of the author's mother at the close of Christmas festivities best sums up this preoccupation: 'Christmas is ended. Christmas is past, Christmas is gone. It is now time for work' (p. 149). The activities that engaged the villagers' attention included keeping productive food-crop farms, organizing fishing expeditions, hunting, and cultivating cocoa farms. Labour was also organized to keep the village physically clean. On the religious side, local people made food sacrifices to ward off evil, the local elders poured libations to communicate with the ancestors and the members of the new Christian church also performed services at Salem (the Christian quarters) to bring peace to the people.

While a relationship between the sacred and the profane was demonstrated clearly, it was the nature of work associated with the physical environment that the

author remembered best from his childhood days. Of particular interest was information on the differing grades of fishing and hunting. Knowledge of fishing and setting fish traps in small streams is commonplace, but the strategies of large river fishing without the benefit of fishing nets was new to this reader. The organization and supervision of labour for deepwater fishing was modelled along lines of the Asante military structure. The lead entrepreneur was described as the *osahene* (commander), and his sub-commanders aided him. They all received varying shares of the catch (p. 79). But unlike expeditions such as fishing, the work of the master hunter was done alone. Yet when big game such as elephants were killed, the whole village shared the meat. The respect for the hunter as provider of sustenance in lean times is thus explained.

Whether addressing farming, hunting, common illnesses or even trees of the Agogo forest, Kyei felt the need to provide the reader with lists of the names of items in identified categories. Having lived into his eighties, he had observed the introduction of timbering as an industry, and even seen new crops introduced and old varieties of yam become scarcer. A memoir dedicated to the author's children and grandchildren must contain such information to inform them of times past. Thus, it was important also that the author's audience knew of the time when Agogo had no roads other than the bush paths that connected the village to its neighbours: to the various cocoa farming and hunting cottages, to Effiduase and Asokore where the British produce-buying agency, Cadbury & Fry, had set stations to buy cocoa, or to the Kwahu market towns to buy goods.

T. E. Kyei's *Our Days Dwindle* is a wonderful recollection of how life used to be. For those of us who had the opportunity to experience such village life, a new appreciation of the past is to be found in this volume. While the editor describes Kyei's memoir as an attempt to trace life from the 'opening decade of the twentieth century through Ghana's independence in 1957', there are no comments on the military recruitment of young men from Agogo during the Second World War, nor does the author mention the nationalist movement that swept the Gold Coast (Ghana) in the late forties and fifties. Could these have been subjects reserved for later in what was to be a four-volume memoir? Such observations notwithstanding, this is a wonderful addition to sources on the Asante past and should be read by all with interest in Akan history.

James Madison University, Harrisonburg

DAVID OWUSU-ANSAH

THE KRIO DIASPORA IN SOUTH-EASTERN NIGERIA

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702308417

A Saro Community in the Niger Delta, 1912–1984: The Potts-Johnsons of Port Harcourt and their Heirs. By MAC DIXON-FYLE. Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 1999. Pp. xv + 279. £35; \$49.50 (ISBN 1-58046-038-0).

KEY WORDS: Nigeria, Sierra Leone, ethnicity, migration, colonial, decolonization, post-colonial.

Mac Dixon-Fyle's study of the Krios in the Niger Delta is an important work. It focuses on one segment of the larger Krio diaspora that has been largely overlooked by scholars. Organized in six chapters, *A Saro Community in the Niger Delta* offers a social and political history of this Krio community. Like many other migrant communities, the Krios of the Niger Delta kept one eye focused on local developments and one eye toward home. They also made note of developments in other parts of Nigeria where Krio communities existed. For those Krios resident in the Niger Delta, Lagos, Calabar as well as Freetown were key reference points. The Krio communities in these towns set the standard by which Niger Delta Krios

judged their progress, while continued contacts with Freetown reinforced notions of home and belonging. For many, Sierra Leone was ultimately the place of origin to which they paid homage, but never returned. For others, it was the place to retire to in the twilight of a life spent abroad, or sanctuary to which one could return if unable to create a viable existence in the Niger Delta. Dixon-Fyle's attention to their social networks allowed for comparative discussions of Krio groups in multiple locales.

In the Niger Delta, the Krios were one of several immigrant groups in a newly forming urban center. Educational attainment gave them a distinct advantage in the early colonial economy of Port Harcourt. Krio men came to dominate the clerical field in the government and private sector, and to play influential roles in the schools and churches. Dixon-Fyle traces the Krios' increasing social presence before the Second World War as they participated in local churches, clubs and political organs such as the Township Advisory Board. Leaders in the Krio community, like Rev. Potts-Johnson, came to speak for the entire African community. Educated in London, Potts-Johnson pursued many careers over the course of an extremely active life. He was an ordained minister in the Methodist Church, teacher, founder of the Enitonna High School, vice-president of the Sierra Leone Union, founder of Port Harcourt's first newspaper, the *Nigerian Observer*, and Port Harcourt's representative to the Eastern House of Assembly. From his editorial pulpit, he championed pan-ethnic unity, education, defended polygamy and questioned the rising hemlines of women's dresses. Not all Krio men enjoyed the social and economic success of Potts-Johnson. As Dixon-Fyle notes, they came from all social classes and some lived on the economic margins. Krio women, many of whom were educated, were by and large dependent on their husbands. Nonetheless, many carved out some autonomy by trading home-made goods, especially baked items.

Krio identity was simultaneously a source of unity as well as a source of conflict and tension. Some of the tension could be attributed to Krio exclusivity. Krio families often resisted efforts by daughters to marry into indigenous families. Women who tried to marry outside of the Krio community were accused of 'dragging the family name in the mud' (p. 108). Tensions also resulted from the sometimes precarious nature of their social location. As 'strangers', Krios like other immigrant groups were especially exercised by their insecure access to land. African residents in the township were not allowed to have freehold land, only leasehold. As a result, they were subject to evictions that often appeared arbitrary. However, indigenous groups were uneasy as the Krio community agitated around land. Tensions increased as nationalist politics rose across the country, and new Igbo and Ijaw political leaders began to emerge. The leadership role that Krio men like Potts-Johnson had played before the Second World War was eclipsed and Dixon-Fyle argues that with Potts-Johnson's death in 1949 Saros lost their prominence on the political stage. The movement toward independence also produced new dilemmas. Krios had to choose whether to become naturalized Nigerian citizens or to remain immigrants. Most of the first and second generation Krios opted to retain their immigrant status in an independent Nigeria. Within this new context both those who elected to keep their immigrant status and those who chose Nigerian citizenship seemed to place a greater premium on their Sierra Leonean heritage. Hence despite a century in their adopted country, Krio culture had not disappeared.

Dixon-Fyle aptly demonstrates that the strength with which a group maintains and reinvigorates its identity is contingent on a host of factors including class, gender and generation. He also captures the dynamic relationship between this evolving Krio community and broader changes in Nigeria. The book would have been strengthened by a definition of Krio culture and a discussion of how its

defining characteristics also changed over time. The numerous sub-sections make the chapters a bit disjointed. Nonetheless, the study refines our understanding of diaspora identity formation. It also challenges us to explore other émigré groups in Nigeria, such as West Indians, who still remain under the scholarly radar.

Dartmouth College

JUDITH BYFIELD

GORDON IN SUDAN: MORE REVISIONISM REQUIRED?

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702318413

Gordon and the Sudan: Prologue to the Mahdiyya, 1877–1880. By ALICE MOORE-HARELL. London: Frank Cass, 2001. Pp. xv + 286. \$54.50; £39.50 (ISBN 0-7146-5081-1)

KEY WORDS: Sudan, imperialism.

Sound scholarly work on Turco-Egyptian Sudan is scanty and any addition to it is welcome, as Gabriel Warburg points out in his introduction to Moore-Harell's book. The literature on Gordon himself is, on the other hand, extensive, and much of it otiose, and it is perhaps regrettable that *Gordon and the Sudan* is in many respects more about Gordon than about the Sudan. Moore-Harell's work is, however, unusual in dealing at length with Gordon's first period as governor-general – most writers having preferred to concentrate on the drama of his second stint in the post and its bloody denouement – and it is undoubtedly the result of extensive and unusually comprehensive work in a range of archives. As a result, Moore-Harell adds to our understanding in a number of areas: the functioning of administration and communications, the prolonged negotiations with Yohannis's Ethiopia, the state of the Sudan's finances. But all this comes from a very particular perspective, for Moore-Harell yields little to Gordon's nineteenth-century hagiographers in praising her hero: he was honest, loyal and hard-working; devoted to the well-being of his subjects and unfailingly dutiful to his employer, the Khedive Ismail. Surrounded by corrupt and incompetent Turco-Egyptian officials, locked in struggle with slave traders, Gordon succeeded in making major improvements to the finances and administration before intrigues in Cairo, and the European-inspired deposition of Ismail, forced him to resign, his task incomplete – leaving the Sudan back in the hands of the Oriental tyrants who would soon drive the hapless populace to support the Mahdi's revolt.

In presenting the story thus, Moore-Harell's aim is explicit. She wishes to exonerate Gordon from charges laid against him by some Egyptian and Sudanese historians, who have suggested that he was complicit in the schemes of European imperialists, and that his support for Christianity and insensitivity to Islam were the real cause of the Mahdist revolt which was, in the long run, to mean that Egypt lost the Sudan for good. But surely it is not necessary to resurrect the late nineteenth-century British myth of Gordon to counter these accusations? If the vast literature on 'Chinese Gordon' does show anything, it is that the man was too vain, egotistical and unreliable, too prone to fantasy and abrupt changes in plan, to have been an effectively knowing tool of expansionist schemers; and that his work in the Sudan may well have been too unfocussed and ineffectual to change anything very much, one way or the other. In presenting him as effective and dynamic, Moore-Harell repeatedly cites accounts which were, most evidently, part of the propaganda of empire. Yet she does not even refer to Gordon's contemporary role as model and exemplar in the spinning of mythic imperial yarns. Instead, she draws these yarns unquestioningly into her own version of history. One may tire of the reflexive scholarship which treats the study of Europeans in Africa simply

as a study in European attitudes to the 'other', but surely it is appropriate to acknowledge the role of these processes in producing the stuff of historical evidence?

Moore-Harell's treatment of Gordon's own writing is also a little incautious: the long and interesting chapter on Sudan's finances relies very largely on Gordon's own figures, which show a remarkable improvement – indeed, a leap from deficit to surplus – under his care. But do these figures reflect actual income and expenditure? It seems in fact that they are a blend of guesses, estimates and projections: proof principally of Gordon's ability to fantasize (and his inability to add up). Similarly odd is the treatment of Gordon's notes on 'Foreigners in the service of oriental states'. This is offered by Moore-Harell as evidence of his ability to offer unstinting loyalty to any employer, and to adjust to circumstances. Yet the real burden of that remarkable document was quite different: that the 'foreigners' should act primarily in the pursuit of universal principles of right and in the interest of 'native peoples' – which they, of course, would be far better able to judge than would any 'oriental state'. This was a bold assertion of the objective righteousness and moral power possessed by people like himself – not, as Moore-Harell suggests, an expression of willingness to 'subordinate his own western values, beliefs and culture'. All in all, this book is welcome for its detail, and admirable as an exercise in archival research; but it is written from a perspective which, to put it mildly, seems rather quaint.

University of Durham

JUSTIN WILLIS

SCHOLARLY EDITIONS OF MISSIONARIES' WRITINGS

DOI: 10.1017/S002185370232841X

Fernand Allard: Journal du Congo (1905–1907): un apprentissage missionnaire.

Edited by DANIELLE GALLEZ. Brussels: Institut Belge de Rome, 2001. Pp. 338.

No price given (ISBN 90-74461-41-7).

Emeri Cambier: correspondance du Congo (1888–1899): un apprentissage missionnaire. Edited by ANNE CORNET and FRANÇOIS BONTINCK, Brussels: Institut

Belge de Rome, 2001. Pp. 478. No price given (ISBN 90-74461-40-9).

KEY WORDS: Democratic Republic of Congo, missions, text edition.

Much controversy has swirled around the role of Catholic missionaries in King Leopold's Congo and their impact on the Congolese, including the Jesuit technique of founding Catholic *fermes chapelles* – where Allard worked – and the militant behaviour of Scheutists such as Cambier in Kasai. Because scholarly text editions of their writings, as opposed to contemporary accounts in missionary journals and later publications by sympathizers, have hitherto been rather scarce, these two volumes are welcome and the more so because their editors have written substantial introductions which place the texts in their historiographical contexts.

At the time it was common practice for family members to make manuscript copies of documents sent to one of them. In both these volumes the majority of texts used for the edition were such manuscript copies as most of the originals have been lost. In Cambier's case the manuscripts have been compared with the versions published in the Scheutist missionary journal at the time, and divergences have been annotated. But the editor does not further investigate the interpolations and suppressions introduced by the journal editors. Still, the notes allow readers to draw their own conclusions. It is regrettable, though, that both editors bowed to common usage in French text editions by seeing fit to correct the spelling and grammar of the manuscripts to conform to modern French usage thereby deleting

some useful information about the authors. While the annotation is both competent and instructive, the reader is warned that nearly all the etymologies provided are pure fancy.

Primarily, these volumes, which could be labelled as another *Gesta Dei per francos*, contribute to the social and religious history of Belgium itself. Indeed one may feel that it is precisely this quality which induced editors from Louvain la Neuve to prepare two volumes about well-known missionaries from Hainaut, even though the texts do not seem to contain any new revelations about the overall political or economic history of Congo. Still they are quite useful as concrete 'case studies' which underpin the more abstract and more official texts that have been available hitherto. This is especially so for the Allard journal with its unfolding of tranquil daily routines, including the continued induction of 'orphan' children raided by state agents from elsewhere and the ravages of the sleeping sickness epidemic. Unlike Allard, who was himself inconspicuous, Cambier became the most notorious of all Scheutists missionaries of the time. His style of writing was so graphic, and sometimes sensational, that many of his letters were partially published at the time. Once he arrived in Kasai, where he was his own master, he could give freer rein to his narcissistic and combative tendencies so that he played a major role in the very turbulent events which led to the subjugation of the province and the birth of the Lulua and Luba Kasai ethnicities. This turned him into a missionary paradigm rather than a further 'case'. In addition Cambier became a major protagonist in the construction of a popular image of Congo and the Congolese for Catholic Belgians, an image that would only begin to fade during the Second World War. Hence while the content of most his letters was already known, a major point of this text edition lies in showing how they, and the editorial policy of the Scheutist Journal, helped to shape this image.

Moreover, as Gallard points out, these text editions restore the full flavour and density of history as it is lived – with 'everything going on at once'. They show by implication which choices scholars have made to construct their narrative arguments and thus they shed new light on the relevant historiography. In addition this reviewer at least finds them precious as testimonies to cultural history. They directly document the particular kind of devotional fervor and commitment which was then the norm in many Belgian bourgeois milieux and which informed all missionary observations, interpretations and actions. This long vanished mentality, which strikes some of us now perhaps as a ruthless intolerant fundamentalism, was ill suited to confront Congolese ways of life. As the texts show, this mentality, allied to an aggressive colonial situation, explains to a large degree why the cultural misunderstandings between missionaries and 'their' Africans became as huge as they were. A closer reading of both books, and particularly of Cambier's letters, reveals moreover that while many missionary misinterpretations were clearly accidental, some at least stemmed from a conscious refusal to understand African points of view or even to communicate about certain topics.

These two books show that well-edited text editions can add significantly to historical understanding. Let us hope, then, that they will induce others to prepare further scholarly editions from among the plethora of papers still in private hands and known to be available. It would be especially valuable to track down private records emanating from Africans, whether kept in European collections or still existing in Congo itself. Such texts are sorely needed, if only to tell more about life on the other side of the colonial ledger.

WOMEN IN THE HISTORY OF PASTORALISM

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702338416

Rethinking Pastoralism in Africa: Gender, Culture and the Myth of the Patriarchal Pastoralist. Edited by DOROTHY L. HODGSON. Oxford: James Currey, 2001. Pp. xii + 272. £14.95 (ISBN 0-85255-912-7); £14.95, paperback (ISBN 0-85255-911-9).

KEY WORDS: Animal husbandry, gender.

Rethinking Pastoralism in Africa is an important contribution to the scholarly literature on gender relations in cattle-keeping communities. This volume, in fact, is the first book-length work on the subject, which perhaps explains its tendency to overstate some points. Dorothy Hodgson, an anthropologist whose previous work has focused on gender roles in Maasailand, is notable for her attention to the historical roots of culture, and the essays she has collected for this volume largely share her insistence on revealing the dynamism and impermanence of many cultural phenomena that previous scholars may have glossed over as 'inherent' features of pastoralist society. The eleven chapters are divided into sections on material culture, domains of power, social relations and negotiating modernity, but they all contribute to the book's central thesis that scholars who rely on, and often valorize, men as both informants and 'true' pastoralists, have consistently overlooked women's roles in pastoralist society. For this point alone, *Rethinking Pastoralism in Africa* is welcome, as it will surely provoke fruitful debate and further inquiry.

In her introduction, Hodgson outlines the 'myth of the patriarchal pastoralist', which she intends to challenge with this volume. The myth rests on four assumptions which Hodgson sees as prevalent in the scholarly literature: that men own and control all of the cattle; that men control politics while women remain in the domestic sphere; that pastoralist communities are patrilineal and patrilocal; and that men view themselves, and are seen by others, as the 'true' pastoralists. This broad characterization of previous scholarship is something of a straw man, as Hodgson is drawing here from older writings (1951–79) by E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Paul Spencer, Harold Schneider and John Galaty; while these works remain influential, they are hardly state-of-the-art in pastoralist studies. At the same time, Paul Spencer himself, in two contributions to Spear and Waller's volume *Being Maasai* (London, 1993), offers specific evidence, including the autobiography of a Maasai woman, to support the idea that Maasai society *is* in fact patriarchal. None of the authors in Hodgson's volume mention, much less challenge, Spencer's chapters from *Being Maasai*. So, at the outset, Hodgson's myth of the patriarchal pastoralist must be seen on the one hand as a model drawn largely from outdated sources, and on the other as a myth that contains elements well supported by evidence.

With these reservations in mind, *Rethinking Pastoralism in Africa* nonetheless provides a wealth of rich case studies, advancing our appreciation not only for women in pastoralist societies, but for pastoralism in general. The first section, dealing with material culture, offers two nicely complementary essays on the meanings and uses of women's material production. Barbara Bianco details the symbolic aspects of cowhide belts made by Pokot women, while Corinne Kratz and Donna Pido present a revised version of their chapter from *Being Maasai*, providing further elaboration on the uses of beadwork as ethnic markers among Okiek and Maasai women. The third essay in this section, by Andrew Smith and Lita Webley, takes on the more precarious challenge of reading gender relations into the archaeological record for the Khoekhoe of South Africa. The second section of *Rethinking Pastoralism* is loosely organized around the idea of gendered

domains of power, although 'power' here is reflected quite differently in each chapter. Hodgson delves into the effects of colonial intrusion on Maasai gender relations, detailing the ways in which European attitudes condoned and often exacerbated patriarchy. Asha Hagi Elhim, Dekha Ibrahim and Janice Jenner discuss the accomplishments of women as mediators in Somalia and north-eastern Kenya, and Sian Sullivan examines women's knowledge and management of the environment among the Damara of Namibia. In the book's third section, chapters by Vigdis Broch-Due and Susan Rasmussen probe the ethnography of Turkana and Tuareg women respectively, to offer subtler models of social relations and women's lives in these communities. The final section offers three richly informative case studies of pastoralist women's encounters with, and negotiations of, development and modernity. Solveig Buhl and Katherine Homewood describe milk-selling among Fulani women, Bilinda Straight examines entrepreneurship among Samburu women and Mario Aguilar details the ways in which Boorana women have provided a bedrock for cultural continuity during the past half century.

If there is a weakness to the original scholarship on display in this volume, it can perhaps be found in the heavy reliance in some chapters on ethnography to do work that in many instances begs for historical methods. While Hodgson and many of the other contributors laudably insist on tempering their ethnology with constant references to historicity, the opportunity still stands to produce work that makes use of the invaluable stores of oral tradition, linguistic history and even archival sources available to scholars who seek a deeper understanding of gender relations in pastoral societies.

University of Texas–Austin

CHRISTIAN JENNINGS

AN ISLAMIC TEACHER IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY MALI

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702348412

Almamy : une jeunesse sur les rives du fleuve Niger. By ALMAMY MALIKI YATTARA and BERNARD SALVAING. Brinon-sur Sauldre: Editions Grandvaux, 2000. Pp. 448. €22.71 (ISBN 2-909550-23-0).

KEY WORDS: Mali, Islam, social, political, colonial, post-colonial.

I first met Almamy Maliki Yattara in 1977 in Mali when I was embarking on the research that would result in my book, *West African Sufi*. Like so many colleagues who have worked on the history and culture of this region, I found his assistance and support invaluable. And, again like so many others who worked with him, a friendship developed between us that was sustained during the ensuing twenty years until his death. I am very aware of how much I owe my own understanding of Islamic religious culture in Mali to Almamy's openness and willingness to share his knowledge and experience with me. And I could not help but feel touched, even a bit chastised, by the words of Adame Ba Konaré, in her Preface when she describes this book as a homage to a man who has 'provided material for the publication of so many books, but who has nowhere been named as the author of a book' (p. 9).

That Almamy's published authorship has now come to pass we owe to the labours of Bernard Salvaing, who describes in his Postface how this project of autobiography was conceived and executed. Salvaing also paints an evocative portrait of Almamy that rings true for me in every detail; here, the reader can meet

the author as he was in his later life and gain some appreciation of what Salvaing describes as his human warmth and the strength of his personality. I would strongly advise readers to begin the book by reading the Postface, which serves as a useful introduction to Almamy's own story of his youth as told in his own words.

I shall offer no apology for the hagiographic overtones of the preceding two paragraphs of this review. But I will now try to balance them by saying that Almamy was a complex man who held strong views about many things and, although he was exceedingly polite in most social circumstances, he was not given to 'political correctness'. This aspect of his personality may not be so evident to readers of this first volume of his autobiography, since it deals with his youth. But in the 1950s, when this volume ends, Almamy's life was to take a dramatic new turn. Having moved to Mopti to teach, he would meet Amadou Hampâté Bâ, who would subsequently take him to Abidjan and eventually obtain for him a post in the Institut des Sciences Humaines in Bamako, where I and many other researchers would later meet and work with him. It will be interesting to see what Almamy has to say about his relationship with Hampâté Bâ in the second volume of his autobiography (or what Salvaing decides to put into print!); suffice it to say here, that this relationship was deeply fraught with ambivalence.

The relevance of this fact to the present volume is the extent to which Almamy's life story might be read, as Salvaing suggests (p. 409), as a kind of riposte to Hampâté Bâ's widely known popularization of his teacher, Cerno Bokar Saalif Taal. Like Hampâté Bâ, Almamy places his own teacher, Alfa Amadou Gidaado, at the centre of his life story. However, a careful comparison of the two autobiographies, and of how the authors represent their teachers, can be a very instructive exercise. For example, both Cerno Bokar and Hampâté Bâ were convinced Sufis. By contrast, neither Alfa Amadou nor Almamy were Sufis; although Almamy took the *wird* of both the Qadiri and Tijani orders, he did not persist with either. Almamy was able to pursue a classical itinerary of Islamic religious studies only in the face of considerable difficulty and opposition, in part because he was not from a scholarly lineage. Hampâté Bâ never received such an education, but was a product of the French-language schools of Soudan. Almamy was protected from the allegedly anti-Islamic influences of French schooling by an amulet, fabricated by Alfa Amadou, that rendered him mute in the classroom. Cerno Bokar convinced Hampâté Bâ's mother to allow him to continue in the French school, because that is what God had ordained for him. Alfa Amadou's and Almamy's lives were filled with interactions with the *jinn*, and replete with numerous miracles; no such references are ever found in Hampâté Bâ's accounts of Cerno Bokar.

The interest in these contrasts lies in the fact that these persons were contemporaries living in the Fulfulde-speaking cultural zone of the Niger inland delta. Alfa Amadou and Cerno Bokar both experienced the European conquest and lived during the early decades of colonialism. Almamy and Hampâté Bâ were born in the early colonial period and lived several decades into the independence period. And yet, their life stories and their varying engagements with Islam took quite varied paths. On the other hand, we find fascinating parallels and common themes in their lives, particularly in the fact that all of them expressed and lived a kind of religious tolerance that is not often attributed to Muslims. Alfa Amadou's views on tolerance are presented at the end of the book, and they make a striking contrast to his defiance of the Europeans at the time of the French conquest of Jenne, presented at the beginning of the book.

These kinds of contrasts and even contradictions are what make life stories such lively and animated documents. This review has focused primarily on some of the Islamic themes that run through the book. However, *Almamy* offers readers much more than that; it is an engaging text that offers considerable insight into the

complexities of society and politics in the Niger inland delta during the colonial period, as well as into the richness of the everyday lives of the inhabitants of the region.

*School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London*

LOUIS BRENNER

EDUCATION, *EPISTEMES* AND POLITICS

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702358419

Controlling Knowledge: Religion, Power and Schooling in a West African Muslim Society. By LOUIS BRENNER. London: Hurst & Company, 2000. Pp. xv + 343. £45.00 (ISBN 1-85065-411-7).

KEY WORDS: Mali, education, Islam, colonial, post-colonial.

This book offers a sophisticated analysis of the relations between education, knowledge and power in a Muslim society in twentieth-century West Africa. It focuses on *médersas*, Muslim primary schools, in the colony of Soudan Français and its successor state, the Republic of Mali. These Muslim schools were established in the 1940s, expanded dramatically during the last quarter of the century and now educate over a fifth of Malian children attending primary school. Brenner bases his study on a thorough reading of documentary evidence and a systematic effort to collect oral reminiscences.

Médersa is a Malian French term based on *madrasah*, the Arabic word for school. The first *médersas* were colonial institutions, later disbanded, which were founded in the early twentieth century with the aim of teaching the French language as well as Islamic topics to the children of the Muslim elite in French West Africa. Brenner is most concerned with *médersas* that local teachers established as 'modernized Muslim schools' (p. 1). These *médersas* broke with Qur'anic schools by emphasizing effective methods for the teaching of the Arabic language and by adopting many institutional features of colonial schools, including, eventually, a broad curriculum. Muslim *médersas* produce graduates who can read and write in Arabic (instead of merely repeat Qur'anic verses) and cope with changes in the Malian social context.

The first Muslim *médersas* opened in Bamako, Kayes and Segou during the 1940s. The teachers were young men whose life experiences led them to question local norms and to reform Arabic language instruction. In Bamako and Kayes, the *médersa* founders had traveled to Cairo and the Hijaz and returned with new pedagogical ideas, but, as Brenner reveals, Segou's *médersa* founder, Saada Oumar Touré, had not traveled outside West Africa and was inspired instead by his experiences in French colonial schools. Here and elsewhere Brenner demonstrates that the Muslim *médersa* movement was a complex phenomenon shaped by multiple influences.

French colonial authorities and local Muslim leaders viewed Muslim *médersas* with suspicion. The French prevented them from qualifying for government subventions, and *médersa* founders endured closings and even imprisonment for allegedly disrupting public order. Brenner provides a lucid analysis of the broader campaigns against new Muslim initiatives during the closing years of the colonial period, demonstrating how the current discourse about Muslim difference reflects late colonial power relations in which new initiatives were reified as dangerous 'Wahhabi' innovations against the 'traditionalism' of *Islam noire* or 'black Islam'. Equally insightful is Brenner's critical reading of Amadou Hampâté Bâ's writings in defense of local Muslim praxis.

Médersas grew rapidly in the three decades after Malian political independence. Connections to the Middle East, especially after the oil boom of the 1970s, provided *médersa* teachers with opportunities to harness sources of wealth outside of Mali to expand these schools. Malian governments largely ignored *médersas* during the early years of independence, but during the 1980s they changed course and tried to incorporate them into the national school system. Brenner reveals the heavy-handed interventions of government officials and astutely suggests that these state actions have contributed to the politicization of the school's constituencies and the expansion of Islamist rhetoric in Mali.

Brenner sustains a fruitful engagement with several social theorists, such as Jean-François Bayart and Michel Foucault. Drawing on the latter's view that power is inherent in all social relations, Brenner understands *médersas* as sites for the exercise of power relations, such as the French effort to domesticate Muslim subjects in the *médersas* of the early colonial period and the Muslim effort to escape state interventions while appropriating aspects of the new pedagogical order. 'Controlling knowledge' refers both to the Muslims' effort to control the knowledge that they pass along to students and to the ways the new pedagogical style and literacy in Arabic imbue *médersas* students with a 'rationalistic' *episteme* (or world-view) that breaks decisively with the 'esoteric' West African Muslim *episteme* of the past. Brenner perceptively grasps the main trajectory of change in Malian Muslim communities and links it persuasively to the *médersas*, but he might have developed more fully, as Brinkley Messick does for Yemen in *The Calligraphic State*, the precise features of the various styles of Muslim literacy.

Controlling Knowledge provides an insightful and probing analysis of Muslim *médersas*. Brenner situates them within the currents of Malian social change and discusses the complexities and contradictions inherent in the historical transformation of Muslim educational institutions. Anyone interested in contemporary West African Muslim communities and the influence of the colonial past on them should read this penetrating study.

Indiana University–Bloomington

JOHN H. HANSON

ANCESTOR CULTS IN IMERINA

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702368415

Madagascar : les ancêtres au quotidien – usages sociaux du religieux sur les Hautes-Terres Malgaches. By MALANJAONA RAKOTOMALA, SOPHIE BLANCHY and FRANÇOISE RAISON-JOURDE. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001. Pp. 522. No price given, paperback (ISBN 2-7475-0019-5).

KEY WORDS: Madagascar, religion, social.

This study of ancestral cults in Imerina, highland Madagascar, combines historical and anthropological perspectives to shed welcome light on an issue of great contemporary relevance: the resurgence of cults of (principally) pre-colonial royal ancestors and their present-day appeal to all social strata. Since being condemned by nineteenth-century missionaries as 'pagan survivals', ancestral cults have existed largely as the clandestine and unofficial local ritual practices of peripheral groups. This pattern is now changing. The book gives a useful historical overview of how national political fluctuations have been reflected in local cult practice at various sites in Imerina. Using recent ethnographic documentation, it also attempts to show how these cults articulate the concerns of a population living in a country that has lately become dramatically impoverished. As history, the book succeeds, as anthropology it is less convincing.

The book's main contribution lies in the historical analysis of the micro-politics of identity as played out in the rise and fall of cult practices and cult sites. For example, while a law of 1881 stigmatized non-Christian ritual practices as 'sorcery', there was nevertheless a resurgence in these practices amongst Merina soldiers fighting for the government in the Franco-Malagasy war later that decade. Similarly, the noble *andriana* caste, having neglected their ancient tombs during times of political dominance, re-established their connection when their privileged socio-economic position was threatened by Ratsimandrava's rhetoric of land reform ('la terre à ceux qui la cultivent') in the 1970s. After years of ritual marginalization the sacred hills surrounding Antananarivo have lately become pre-eminent sites for social rivalry stimulated by contemporary reformulations of political identity.

The authors admit that their subject matter is nebulous and its meanings ambiguous. There is no 'church', no evangelism and there are no imposing edifices; rather, cults are unostentatious, simple, 'living in the unsaid'. While this is undoubtedly true, it raises something of a methodological problem: how to research the unsaid and how to analyse it. Moreover, although the authors are right to point out that cult practices are expressed by dominated, voiceless people through the language of the body (principally spirit possession and its treatment), their analysis of what *is* said is frequently over-literal, failing perhaps to recognize that one informant may simultaneously hold contradictory beliefs. Nor does the discussion of the nature of *vazimba* do justice to the complex range of meanings inherent in the word, or to the tangled history of its debate in academic writings.

One particularly valuable chapter (Chapter 6) describes how descendants of slaves may invoke earth spirits in order to legitimate their access to the land they cultivate but do not own. This is an important point to make, for studies of Malagasy ritual have tended to concentrate on how the more public tomb rituals of the free legitimate *their* access to land. It might even be argued that historical and anthropological writings on Madagascar have not simply echoed this orthodoxy, but have been complicit in recreating it.

Wisely avoiding the term 'syncretism', which perpetuates the notion of polarized and static official and unofficial discourses and practices, the authors are sensitive to the agency and initiative of cult practitioners in creating ritual practice anew from a continually changing bricolage of elements. At times, however, the wealth of detail is overwhelming, and the chapters on urban healers and cult membership are too detailed to be of use to the general reader, maybe even meriting a study of their own. The book is at its best in its documentation of the wider historical importance of ancestral cults and their ambiguous and fluctuating relationship with the establishment. Chapter 10, on the relationship between the Church, the state and ancestral cults is particularly good in this respect.

The book contains much fascinating material. But it is too long, which leads to it sometimes losing its focus. In keeping with the nature of ancestral cults, the authors' conclusions are (intentionally?) ambiguous, and this some readers may find unsatisfying. The book's contribution to Malagasy studies lies in thorough, meticulous and nuanced historical research. However, it is regrettable that this interesting, under-studied and highly relevant material is presented in such a way that it is unlikely to attract the wide readership it deserves.

THE ACTIVIST AS CREATIVE WRITER

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702378411

Alex La Guma: Politics and Resistance. By NAHEM YOUSAF. Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2001. Pp. xii + 164. £54.95; \$64.95 (ISBN 0-325-00189-8).

KEY WORDS: South Africa, apartheid, intellectual.

Alex La Guma was an intensely political person who devoted his life to the anti-apartheid struggle. It is thus not in the least surprising that he subordinated his endeavor as a creative writer to his work as a political activist. Not only is his œuvre relatively small but the bulk of it was produced during periods of enforced political inactivity while in detention or under house arrest. This probably also explains his preference for the short story and novella as forms of literary expression. More pertinently, La Guma regarded writing as a means of furthering his political ideals, of struggle by another means. In his study Yousaf explores the ways in which 'La Guma describes the role of the writer in the same terms as the revolutionary freedom fighter' (p. 139), making this explicit convergence of 'fictional and political praxis in La Guma's apartheid narratives' (p. x) the central theme of his book.

Devoting a chapter to each novella, Yousaf, in chronological order, subjects La Guma's five works of longer fiction – *A Walk in the Night* (1962), *And a Threefold Cord* (1964), *The Stone Country* (1967), *In the Fog of Season's End* (1972) and *The Time of the Butcherbird* (1979) – to intense critical scrutiny. At the same time he develops a range of overarching themes introduced in an opening chapter that explore issues of writing and resistance in the context of apartheid South Africa. In the conclusion Yousaf briefly considers the significance of La Guma's fiction for post-apartheid South Africa. Throughout the book he also engages in debate with a wide range of critics and commentators on La Guma's work, contesting interpretations, refining arguments and defending La Guma's intentions.

Drawing on Bakhtin and Fanon, Yousaf argues that La Guma's novels represent 'a concerted effort to write marginalized communities back into resistance discourse' and that La Guma 'succeeds in demonstrating how resistance is endemic to oppressed communities' (p. xi), no matter how inchoate or stunted their political consciousness may be. Yousaf shows in addition how the intransigence and violence of the apartheid state influenced La Guma's writing, which 'painstakingly bears witness to the atrocities of the long night of apartheid' (p. 145). He traces a growing realization in La Guma's novels that it was only through violent resistance that liberation could be won, reflecting the shift within the liberatory movement, and the African National Congress in particular, from non-violent protest to armed struggle. In addition, each novel progressively tracks the development of a political consciousness among the black oppressed who, in response to the institutional violence of apartheid, become increasingly militant and united in their struggle against white supremacy.

While Yousaf defends La Guma against the accusation that 'the greater the revolutionary fire inspiring (it) the weaker it is aesthetically' (p. 3), my own reading of the novels raises a parallel criticism of La Guma's work. As with each succeeding novel La Guma's political agenda of promoting black unity and resistance to apartheid intrudes more overtly into his writing, so the complexities and nuances of racial identity in South African society become blunted and the social and political analysis that informs his writing loses its incisiveness. The problem is clearly exacerbated by La Guma's exile from South Africa.

Yousaf is to be congratulated on producing a nuanced, sensitive and persuasive analysis of La Guma's work. I do, however, have one serious criticism of the book. Although he provides an authoritative literary analysis of La Guma's novels and

is confident in his handling of competing interpretations, Yousaf is far from sure-footed when furnishing political and historical context to his study. The problem, as attested by his bibliography, is one of a lack of sufficient research in these areas. As a consequence, the social context provided for La Guma's writing lacks depth and Yousaf commits a number of factual errors, the most egregious of which is the claim that the Communist Party of South Africa had a membership of 100,000 in the 1920s (p. vii).¹

Having highlighted this one fault, I would nevertheless strongly recommend this book to anyone interested in La Guma's fiction. It is the most stimulating and compelling of all the appraisals of La Guma's work that I have read.

University of Cape Town

MOHAMED ADHIKARI

FRANCE AND TWO ALGERIAN REVOLUTIONS

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702388418

France and Algeria: A History of Decolonization and Transformation. By PHILLIP C. NAYLOR. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. Pp. xvii + 429. \$49.95 (ISBN 0-8130-1801-3).

KEY WORDS: Algeria, decolonization, post-colonial, international relations, politics.

Frantz Fanon proclaimed that the Algerian war of liberation represented the vanguard of the African revolution. Because the French power in Algeria had lasted so long and had been so extreme, Fanon argued, the Algerian masses had no wish to compromise with the former colonial power. Furthermore, unlike in Morocco and in Tunisia, the bourgeoisie was non-existent and this inevitably meant that independence would lead to a radical transformation of society in a socialist direction. Fanon's untimely death in 1961 at the age of 36 meant that he was unable to test the revolutionary credentials of the FLN regime himself but during the 1960s and 1970s his insights quickly came to assume the status of invulnerable truths. As Algeria took up the leadership of the non-aligned movement the country stood out as the most radical champion of the Third World.

July 2002 marks the fortieth anniversary of independence and for this reason Phillip Naylor's book is a timely intervention. The crux of his argument is that with hindsight independence did not mark, à la Fanon, a repudiation of France. Rather it led to a reformulation of the relationship. Formally colonialism might have ended but the French presence still persisted in numerous ways. As Naylor puts it this 'resulted in a complex, protracted transformation for both countries rather than a simple transfer of power and identity'.

The focus of Naylor's book is Franco-Algerian relations since 1962 and by any measure it is an impressive achievement. All the relevant journals and books have been read; all the key archives have been consulted. Above all the book has a genuine interdisciplinary dimension. Thus Naylor is equally at ease with film and literature as well as political science and international relations.

Although Naylor concentrates on the contemporary, one of the strengths of the book is the historical context. Beginning with the invasion in 1830 French rule lasted 132 years and therein lies many of the clues to the present relationship. In theory it was supposed to be an easy victory but soon France was bogged down in what appeared to many contemporary commentators to be senseless overseas

¹ Yousaf confuses the Communist Party with the Industrial and Commercial Worker's Union (ICU) which had a membership of comparable size in the late 1920s. Communist Party membership was no more than 2,000 at the time.

conflict. Only after 17 years of fighting was Algerian resistance finally suppressed at which point the country was annexed not as a colony but as an integral part of France whose status, in theory, was no different to that of Normandy or Brittany. This was a fateful move which more than anything explains why the Franco-Algerian relationship continues to be so intense. The Mediterranean, generations of French people were told, divided France like the Seine divided Paris and this provided the logic to one of the most brutal examples of colonial domination. Military subjugation led inexorably to the expropriation of land and to the arrival of 1 million colonial settlers. Between 1830 and 1930 Algerians lost 3,445,000 hectares of land and the impact on the native population was devastating. Ironically, given the Muslim proscription of alcohol, much of this land was given over to viticulture and this fuelled a deep-seated hatred which eventually culminated in the war of liberation.

Four of the chapters examine the experience of independence until October 1988 and here Naylor explores the paradoxical nature of Algerian attitudes. Algeria might have proclaimed a revolutionary discourse but in practice the regime became involved in a series of delicate and pragmatic compromises with the former colonial power. For France meanwhile, Naylor continues, policy towards Algeria became wrapped up in the attempt to redefine itself as a post-imperial power. Eager to present itself as a supporter of the non-aligned movement France seized upon Algeria as the gateway to the Third World. By privileging relations with Algeria the intention was to enhance France's reputation within Africa and Asia and extend its influence as a great and independent power.

In October 1988 the Algerian army gunned down 500 rioters on the streets of Algiers. Naylor rightly identifies this as a turning point in post-independence Algeria. Immediately the regime's legitimacy was in tatters ushering in a period which has been described as Algeria's 'second revolution'. Naylor's remaining five chapters deal with this 'second revolution' in detail and he carefully charts how democratization went hand in hand with the rise of political Islam. In January 1992 the Islamists were poised to win national elections at which point the Algerian army, with the tacit approval of France, carried out a *coup d'état*. Ever since, Algeria has been embroiled in a cycle of violence and counter-violence which has cost over 100,000 lives. This present Algerian crisis is a murky, complicated story and Naylor tells the story with great skill even if the prose is densely theoretical at times. As an example of post-colonial history it is exemplary.

University of Portsmouth

MARTIN EVANS

(DE-)INDUSTRIALIZATION AND FREE-MARKET IDEOLOGY

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702398414

Zimbabwe: A History of Manufacturing, 1890–1995. By A. S. MLAMBO, E. S. PANGETI and I. PHIMISTER. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2000 (distributed outside Africa by African Books Collective, Oxford). Pp. v + 132. £12.95, paperback (ISBN 0-908307-84-5).

KEY WORDS: Zimbabwe, industrial, colonial, post-colonial.

The industrialization of Zimbabwe is a remarkable phenomenon which is little known, and indeed mysterious, especially for believers in the need for and efficacy of free markets. Despite the country being landlocked, drought-ridden, possessed of disappointingly modest mineral resources, and subject for long periods to economic, political and military hostility from either South Africa or the rest of the world, it achieved a balanced economy, with manufacturing industry contributing

28 per cent at its peak. By the late 1980s Zimbabwe had the characteristics of a semi-NIC (newly industrialized country), and with the improving geo-political situation could have taken off into full NIC status. Instead, internal and external pressures and a failure of will led to the country ignoring all the lessons of its own history and embracing the then free-market orthodoxy in 1990. The consequence was a predictable and uninterrupted process of de-industrialization over the next ten years. By 2000, manufacturing accounted for under 17 per cent of GDP in an economy that had hardly grown over the decade; furthermore its structure had worsened, with 'dynamic' sectors like engineering losing out relatively to 'traditional' sectors like food processing.

This experience, and to some extent my analysis of it, is the subject matter of this book by three Zimbabwean scholars. Unfortunately, with one major exception, it adds little to our understanding of it. Although the authors would probably agree with this type of analysis, it emerges only patchily in their chapters and any intended message or lesson for the future is obscured, both by uncritical lapses into more orthodox explanations and by a failure to test the analysis against available statistical data.

Ian Phimister's chapters on the period to 1965, however, provide the most significant advance in understanding the period since the pioneering work of Arrighi¹ in the early 1960s (interestingly, and almost unprecedentedly, not even referred to in the present volume). These chapters involve a detailed study of a range of parliamentary, trade negotiation and commission reports, which are significant for understanding both the early history and also the tension between the ideology of conservative politicians and businessmen, and the actual experience of the impact of external economic forces, not least South African economic interests. The culmination of this tension came about after UDI (unilateral declaration of independence), when the need to resist sanctions over-rode any further application of free-market ideology, and state planning, investment and regulation oversaw a manufacturing growth rate in double digits for about eight years.

By contrast the methodology of Alois Mlambo largely neglects any study of primary sources; for instance he refers to unsubstantiated claims concerning the 'uncompetitiveness' of manufacturing, but does not even mention two World Bank reports which suffered great embarrassment at finding it so competitive, let alone detailed analyses of them.² Instead he favours exhuming ephemeral documents such as commercial bank reports whose data are both secondary and preliminary. On p. 90, for instance, he references a contemporary bank report for a GDP decline of 4.4 per cent in 1982, but nowhere gives the true (or at any rate, revised) figure of a *growth* of 1.4 per cent. It is not perhaps therefore surprising that he contradicts himself, describing the 1980s manufacturing record as 'a dismal performance' on p. 93, while saying on p. 102 that, given the multiple disadvantages, it was 'a wonder' that a 3 per cent growth rate was achieved. This is too reminiscent of the World Bank analyses which remained incurious as to how Zimbabwe could break all their rules and yet do better (three times the African average growth rate) than almost all other countries in Africa's 'lost decade'.

Evelyn Pangeti's chapter on the industrial experience under sanctions does give

¹ G. Arrighi, *The Political Economy of Rhodesia* (The Hague, 1967).

² D. J. Jansen, *Zimbabwe: Government Policy and the Manufacturing Sector*, a study prepared for the Ministry of Industry and Energy Development, Harare: mimeo, April 1983; *Zimbabwe: An Industrial Sector Memorandum* (World Bank Report No. 6349-ZIM, of a mission to Zimbabwe in October–November, 1985, led by Pedro Belli) (Washington: World Bank, 1987); C. Stoneman, 'The World Bank and the IMF in Zimbabwe', in B. Campbell and J. Loxley (eds.), *Structural Adjustment in Africa* (London, 1989), 37–66.

many salient facts, but it is repetitive, unfocused and, most regrettably, has no subsectoral analysis or microeconomic data. Many interesting firm studies could have been given, contributing to a greater understanding of the dramatic macro-economic experiences of the decade.

University of Leeds

COLIN STONEMAN

CONTEMPORARY LABOUR HISTORY IN ZIMBABWE

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702408419

Striking Back: The Labour Movement and the Post-Colonial State in Zimbabwe 1980–2000. Edited by BRIAN RAFTOPOULOS and LLOYD SACHIKONYE. Harare: Weaver Press, 2001. Pp. vii + 316. £14.95; \$24.95, paperback (ISBN 0-7974-2286-2).

KEY WORDS: Zimbabwe, post-colonial, labour, politics.

In recent months Professor Raftopoulos, co-editor of *Striking Back*, has become a household name to many Zimbabweans. He has featured prominently in current debates on the political crisis in Zimbabwe in the months leading up to the March 2002 General Elections. As a political analyst his views are familiar to academics, politicians and the public at large. This new publication (one of three books on the workers' movement in Zimbabwe) charts and analyses the main trends which constitute the growth and achievements of the labour movement since independence.

This well-structured collection is panoramic, offering a wide range of contributions from an array of disciplines: historians, social scientists and lawyers among them. In their introductory chapter, which provides the thread linking subsequent chapters, the co-editors familiarize readers with the major issues in the debate on the role of labour in economic and political transformation in Zimbabwe. They also give a brief synopsis of the main themes of each chapter. Each contributor enhances the richness of this volume by providing a unique vision of specific aspects of labour in the post-colonial dispensation.

The initial chapters cover developments in the labour movement within a national and global perspective. They trace the emergence and consolidation of a strong trade union movement that at independence was subordinate to a state that sought to perpetuate this *status quo*; and they investigate the methods employed to reverse this situation.

Also under scrutiny is the struggle for autonomy by the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions and its consequent transition from the economic into the political arena, culminating in the formation of the MDC in 1999 in the midst of increasing state-sponsored violence and repression. The politics of ZANU(PF) and MDC and the contradictions therein are explored and then evaluated in a broader international context, especially the demise of socialism in Eastern Europe and the penetration of the Third World by IMF-sponsored economic reforms. Both parties stand accused of lacking the radical dynamism needed to rescue an economy tottering on the brink of collapse, and in the grip of civil strife; and both are shown to be opportunistic, using radical politics to their own ends. More overtly in the mid-1980s, ZANU(PF) quickly realigned itself away from the working class and peasantry towards capitalism, culminating in the adoption of Structural Adjustment in 1991. For its part, the MDC's tactics raise the tantalizing question: 'What is, and will be, the balance of power within the MDC when the obvious choice between free education and free markets must be made?' (p. 46). The ruling party is also revealed to be in a quandary, with its leadership 're-radicalising official discourses' (p. 47) in a last desperate attempt to curry favour.

The success of the trade union movement is evaluated in the light of disadvantages facing it. Also highlighted is the question of unions and the law, the impact of collective bargaining and the ability of unions to make their demands heard: as against the state's paternalism and its interventionist policy of the early 1980s.

The second half of the book explores particular instances of worker confrontation with the state and capital, in groups such as women, miners and farm workers. These case studies give substance to the broader issues covered in the first part of the collection. The findings are not dissimilar, viz. that despite some strides forward these marginalized groups have not benefited meaningfully since 1980.

The chapters on farm workers consider worker confrontation historically, before and during the two decades since independence. The virtue of these chapters is that the worker is heard. Unfortunately this was not the case in the chapter on women, and the lingering impression is that women have virtually no voice in society; ironically, they have no voice here either. A greater sense of immediacy would have been obtained generally had the workers been allowed to speak themselves instead of the authors speaking on their behalf. Given that this is a book about labour one would like to hear the workers' voice more frequently. On the contrary they are sadly conspicuous by their absence in much of the book, relying as it does largely on documented primary material and secondary sources, and very little on oral interviews.

These reservations notwithstanding, *Striking Back* makes a valuable contribution to scholarship on labour movements. It is highly recommended for policy makers, for the layman and for teachers and students of labour history in Zimbabwe, Africa and the Third World generally. Its clear enunciation of the rise of the trade union movement may serve as a launch-pad for researchers charting the experience of labour from its own perspective, something that may prove to be vital in the stormy period following March 2002.

University of Zimbabwe

EIRA KRAMER

THE MOSES OF NIGERIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702418415

Tradition and Change in Africa: The Essays of J. F. Ade Ajayi. Edited by TOYIN FALOLA. Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 2000. Pp. xliii + 468. No price given (ISBN 0-86543-768-8); paperback (ISBN 0-86543-769-6).

KEY WORDS: Historiography, Nigeria.

This volume of essays by Jacob Ajayi – prefaced with an introduction by Toyin Falola – comprises 29 items spanning four decades, gathered under six headings: the past in the present, mission studies, perspectives on colonialism, the national question, development and the legacy of slavery and African historiography. They fall in a markedly bipolar distribution. Four key papers date from the 1960s: two each on Christian missions (including the classic 'Nineteenth century origins of Nigerian nationalism') and on colonialism (including the much-quoted 'Colonialism: an episode in African history'). With the exception of a brief address given at the Festac Symposium in 1977, the rest are from the mid-1980s onwards: mostly named lectures, addresses to international audiences or to bodies like the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. Their main interest for *JAH* readers is less likely to be what is said about African history itself – and inevitably there is a fair deal of overlap among them – than what they reveal of the historical mind of one of the most eminent members of that generation of African historians who created their subject and made it central to the social mission of the nationalist university.

Several of the essays have almost an elegiac quality: an address of 1992 on 'Mortality and change' moves from an account of the funeral of a leading Ibadan professor during the Civil War to an extended reflection on the historical relevance of African concepts of time, generation and succession. In these essays Ajayi stands above all as witness, alike to the concerns of African historiography and to the vicissitudes of African history over the decades of his professional life.

Ajayi's radicalism in some matters rests firmly on a certain conservatism. Throughout he insists on the continuing relevance of the values of the pre-colonial past to Africa's present and future. As he said in his valedictory lecture at Ibadan in 1989, 'I have preached the doctrine of continuity in history almost as an article of faith because I really find it difficult in my conception of the flow of time to know where to draw the line between the past and the present, and between the present and the future'. Here the religious cadences suggest how faithful Ajayi has also remained to his initial interest in the links between Evangelical humanitarianism and African development. This is most strikingly evident in the essays on the heritage of the slave trade and colonialism for Africa's stalled development. For what comes over here, particularly in a paper written for the OAU in 1993 entitled 'The crusade for reparations', is the essentially moralistic, rather than pragmatic or economic, nature of his case – strongly reminiscent of the language of the abolitionist movement of the early nineteenth century. A 1998 essay that begins with the 'African God-consciousness' present in the National Congress of British West Africa concludes by asking what a 'Christian politics' might be in contemporary Nigeria: a question whose intense relevance (granted the demand for *shari'a* that is the main focus of Muslim politics) is only hinted at.

This takes us to Ajayi's struggle with Nigeria's 'national question', where again his moralism is fundamental. In several lectures given in the early 1990s, he argues that what the Nigerian state lacks above all is legitimacy, because of the rupture from the past brought about by colonialism. Ethnicity is not the main problem (though it may be exploited by unscrupulous people to selfish ends), since ethnic communities are the repository not just of the totality of the cultural traditions of Nigeria, but of values vital for development, such as honesty, industry, public-spiritedness and so forth. (One is reminded here of the contrast employed in Peter Ekeh's well-known paper on 'The two publics'.) In fact Ajayi now rejects the distinction he drew in the 1960s debate about the nature of primary resistance to colonial rule between 'traditional patriots' and 'modern nationalists', for he sees nationalism and ethnicity 'not [as] opposing concepts from which to choose, but two levels of group consciousness that need to be reconciled'.

Nothing speaks more forcefully of just how difficult a historical subject Nigeria is than Ajayi's comment (in a paper originally presented at a Nobel Symposium in 1990) that 'thirty years after independence, no Nigerian has produced a one-volume Nigerian national history'. The history of the Nigerian Civil War remains virtually untouched. Yet while Ajayi is right to note that too much of the history of the post-colonial *state* has been left to social scientists, the real question is whether a history of Nigerian *society* is yet possible. Here Ajayi himself has shown a promising way towards it, with his advocacy (and example) of writing the history of Nigeria's professional associations. Dike was surely the Abraham of Nigerian historiography; Ajayi here confirms his position as its Moses; but who, after these years of wandering in the wilderness, will be its Joshua?

*School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London*

J. D. Y. PEEL

INTELLECTUAL CREATIVITY AND EAST AFRICAN HISTORY

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702428411

African Historians and African Voices : Essays Presented to Professor Bethwell Allan Ogot. Edited by E. S. ATIENO ODHIAMBO. Basel: Schlettwein Publishing, 2001. Pp. 166. No price given (ISBN 3-908193-08-7).

KEY WORDS: Eastern Africa, Kenya, historiography.

Seven innovative essays by friends, colleagues and former students celebrate Bethwell Ogot's seventieth birthday in this slim volume; the frontispiece shows him in enigmatically good heart, in full academic rig. The tributes paid cover a suitably wide range of topics in eastern African history over the past five centuries, from archaeological method, to cultural and philosophical histories, masculinities, maternity and colonial public health. Chaparukha Kusimba reminds us, with a full bibliography, how the archaeology of East Africa's coast has changed in tune with European images of Africa generally. The Kirkman and Chittick generation assumed the coast's sophisticated urban architecture was external, Arab and Persian, in origin. Coastal history was not then African history. It has become so since. In the next generation Kusimba gives pride of place to Horton's digs at Shanga, which showed that local architecture built on indigenous foundations. An archaeologist himself, he claims his discipline to be a more reliable source for cultural history than often-contaminated oral traditions.

Christopher Ehret presents a characteristically clipped but wide-ranging survey of the eastern Kenya interior, from 1500 to 1800, this time from linguistic evidence. The sixteenth was the most mobile century. The most creative transactions occurred between the Bantu-speaking Thagiicu, the southern Kalenjin and the southern Cushitic 'Gumba' – whose traditional dwarfishness, Ehret suggests, is a Bantu memory three millennia old, brought from the Congo forests. There is much hard evidence here to correct the more romantic tradition-chasers. David Cohen then reflects on the authority of the African voices that historians meet 'in the field'. Africanists first had to establish their verifiability to a generally sceptical profession. Ogot was a pioneer of the more subtle view, that unlettered African intellectuals were not so much accurate informants as fellow interpreters of the past. Atieno Odhiambo follows, with what is clearly the beginning of an enquiry into the history of Luo philosophy. He takes off from the first written sources for Luo thought. From these, he argues, one can infer belief in a transcendental universe of power that was regional rather than ethnic in its reach. Such study rests on the methodological assumption that truth-telling, or at least honest speculation, could pass between native subjects and the first colonial officials and missionaries. Luise White, in an equally short and sharp discussion, makes welcome sense of the abstractions of 'mimicry' with concrete observation. African working men used new clothing to assert human equivalence, where fathers and colonial officials were keen to maintain difference and distance.

Two longer pieces, both tributes to the riches of the Kenya National Archives, occupy the second half of the volume. Tabitha Kanogo shows how colonial Local Native Councils – once interpreted as means to divert African political attention from the centre – were arenas of impassioned debate on the issue that mattered most to their almost entirely male councillors: how to negotiate colonial and missionary modernities without weakening female discipline. Chiefs and 'progressive' Christians were almost equally likely to associate female Nairobi with 'looseness' between the wars, and thus be reluctant to fund the Pumwani maternity home. Christian and conventional views were most at odds in Kipsigis over how to find a substitute for the infanticide of children born to uncircumcised

young women. Women themselves did not regain their former control over childbirth until training in nursing skills raised their certificated status in line with modern medical practice. Appropriately, and movingly, Kanogo ends with the intimate cultural struggles that Grace Ogot had to win before she could use a missionary scholarship to complete her midwifery training in Britain.

Milcah Amolo Achola, now head of the University of Nairobi's history department, makes an important contribution to the still patchy social historiography of Nairobi. Her history of the city's public health policy and practice makes a dismal read. The health department always complained about the squalid conditions of the African slums. Until the 1950s the municipal, then city, council always found it impossible to redirect its segregated health spending in favour of the poor, non-white, majority. When some amends then began to be made, the Emergency and then decolonization in their different ways meant that the morbidity and mortality rates of the poor – Africans and the poorest Asians – remained high. Amolo Achola looks especially at the history of VD and TB treatments, and of maternity facilities, to make her well-substantiated case. It seems entirely appropriate that Nairobi's new mortuary, opened in 1957, was one of the colony's first multi-racial public facilities. This book advances our understanding of Kenya's cultural and social history in so many ways that testify to the creative leadership offered by Ogot over the last forty years.

Trinity College, Cambridge

JOHN LONSDALE

SHORTER NOTICES

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702438418

Historical Dictionary of Pre-Colonial Africa. By ROBERT O. COLLINS. Lanham MD and London: The Scarecrow Press, 2001. Pp. lv + 617. £88.65 (ISBN 0-8108-3978-4).

KEY WORDS: Bibliography, dictionaries, pre-colonial.

This work comprises over 2,000 entries, plus a chronology and introduction giving a summary narrative of African history, a brief appendix listing 'pre-colonial African dynasties' and 165 pages of bibliographies, mainly organized by geographical region. 'Pre-colonial' history (by implicit distinction from prehistory) is taken as beginning from c. 500 BC (or alternatively, 350 BC). 'Africa' includes northern as well as sub-Saharan Africa, although the former seems to be treated (presumably deliberately, in the interests of regional balance) less fully in relation to the amount of detailed data available, and also in a way that privileges the Maghrib over Egypt (the only 'Ptolemy' who gets in is the geographer) and the pre-Islamic over the Islamic period: there are thus entries for Masinissa, Jugurtha and Juba II, but none, for example, for Uqba ibn Nafi, Khair al-Din (Barbarossa) or Ahmad Bey of Tunis.

The entries overwhelmingly relate to individual persons, peoples and places. Entries for general subjects or themes are few, and seemingly somewhat haphazard: for example, there is an entry for 'yam', but none for palm oil, maize or groundnuts; one for 'obeah', but none for voodoo, candomblé or santería. The persons honored with mention include a fair number of non-African explorers and missionaries (e.g. Bruce, Park, Livingstone, though not Heinrich Barth) and colonial conquerors (e.g. Kitchener, Rhodes, Lugard), and even some subsequent scholars of pre-colonial history (Leo Frobenius, Joseph Greenberg); not that their inclusion is not defensible, but the space that they occupy might perhaps better have been liberated for the inclusion of more locals. It is not made explicit who is the intended audience of this work: the general public, persons in the media

reporting on Africa, academic Africanists needing information outside their specialisms, students, all of the above? In any case, its value as a work of reference depends upon the reliability and completeness of its detailed contents, and in the nature of things this has to be taken by most readers on trust.

Any work of this level of comprehensiveness, however, is bound to contain its share of omissions, errors and infelicities. To use the area of my own recent research interest, the kingdom of Dahomey, as an illustrative case, the dictionary does well to the extent that no less than nine of its eleven pre-colonial kings are recognized (though those left out include Dakodonu, the founder of the dynasty); the misdating of King Agonglo's accession to 1776 (*recte* 1789) is probably merely a typographical error, but the discrepant datings of Agaja's accession, in different entries, to 1708 and 1716 represents a failure to integrate or choose between information from different sources; the statement that the office of Yovogan, the Dahomian viceroy of the coastal port of Ouidah, was created in 1728 is certainly wrong (the actual date being either 1733 or 1745); and the description of Archibald Dalzel, author of the pioneering *History of Dahomy* (1793), as having lived over 30 years in Dahomey conflates him with his principal European informant, Lionel Abson. The point of these observations is not to criticize this work in particular, but rather to illustrate that the reach of any work of reference of this sort, certainly if produced by a single scholar, is bound to exceed its grasp. Probably the section of it which will prove most valuable is the extensive bibliography.

University of Stirling

ROBIN LAW

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702448414

A Reliable Account of the Coast of Guinea (1760). By LUDEWIG FERDINAND RØMER. Translated from the Danish and edited by Selena Axelrod Winsnes. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2000. Pp. xxx + 290. £35 (ISBN 0-19-726218-X).

KEY WORDS: Ghana, pre-colonial, text editions, slave trade.

Rømer was a slave trader employed by the Danish chartered company on the Gold Coast. He served two periods there, covering most of 1739–49, based at Christianborg Castle. After what turned out to be his final return to Denmark he wrote two published accounts (a 1756 booklet, a 1760 book), with some overlap. The Danish originals and/or German, French and partial English translations have been used by various recent scholars, but Selena Winsnes has provided not only the first full English translation, carefully and explicitly conflating the two originals, but also a dense apparatus of critical explication and commentary. This edition – beautifully bound and produced – will assist future research and could provide thought-provoking material for teachers and students.

How reliable is Rømer? As always, each passage, each remark, needs to be assessed in context. Here Winsnes's notes, drawing on advice from a range of specialists on the period, are an excellent starting-point. I cannot comment directly on the accuracy of the translation, but it is clear that is animated by the same spirit of multiply-checking meticulousness as is evident in the notes. A reassuring feature is Winsnes's willingness to let an incoherent sentence (of which there are a few) stand, while commenting on its most plausible interpretations.

Several constituencies of historians will find valuable material here. Much of Rømer's writing was intended as an intervention in a contemporary national debate over Danish trade policy. Thus he devoted many pages to the operation of the slave trade, from the European posts on the Guinea coast to the Caribbean plantations. He says much about the respective practices of the British, Dutch and French as

well as the Danish companies. But he also offered his readers a detailed narrative of the military and political history of the African states with which he dealt, plus description of some of their institutions and beliefs. Besides the Danes' Ga neighbours, the text has much on Akwamu and Akyem society and politics, and on Asante's military, diplomatic and commercial policies.

For historians of inter-continental trade there is considerable evidence here for the growing literature on the difficulties that company directors in Europe encountered in trying to induce their employees to work consistently in the company interest. For historians of southern Ghanaian societies there is much material, often gruesome, for critical examination. For historians of the slave trade, perhaps the most striking feature of the text is the insight it provides into the mentality of European slaving. Describing the sale of slaves to planters in the Caribbean, Rømer uses the word 'unchristian': not for the auctioning of humans, but for the hypothetical attempt of one planter to bid for slaves already 'branded' as 'belonging to another' (p. 252). This edition includes a foreward to Rømer's 1760 book by a leading Lutheran theologian, Bishop Pontoppidan, who justified the Atlantic slave trade as giving Africans the opportunity to learn about the Christian God on the plantations: to be 'liberated in Christ, even though servants of man' (p. 8). It is not that Rømer declines entirely to express moral disquiet about his and his colleagues' activities. But where he admits to shame it is not for buying slaves from African intermediaries who had themselves paid gold for them, but only for buying captives from people who had kidnapped them illegally from within their own polity. In the latter case 'we could be called "fences", and accomplices to murder and robbery' (p. 145). This book is not pleasant reading, but it does require the attention of historians. Selena Winsnes is to be congratulated for making it more widely accessible, and easier to assess critically.

London School of Economics

GARETH AUSTIN

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702458410

An Annotated Bibliography on the Southern Sudan, 1850–2000. 2 vols. By TERJE TVEDT. Bergen: University of Bergen, 2000. Pp. xviii + 1091. No price given (ISBN 82-7453-018-7).

The River Nile and its Economic, Political, Social and Cultural Role: An Annotated Bibliography. By TERJE TVEDT. Bergen: University of Bergen, 2000. Pp. xiii + 541. No price given (ISBN 82-7453-017-9).

KEY WORDS: Sudan, bibliography.

In the late 1980s, the centre for Development Studies at the University of Bergen persuaded representatives of the World Bank that an annotated bibliography of the available literature on the Southern Sudan would be more useful than just another outside study of the constraints and opportunities of development. Dr. Tvedt had previously worked in the area, and he wanted to protest against 'the fetishism of the present'. He hoped to persuade any future aid consultants not to operate 'as if the area was a tabula rasa'. The result is a magnum opus. Anyone from a range of academic disciplines who wishes to undertake research touching on the area would be very unwise not to consult it.

Authors are listed in an index of 170 pages. This alone suggests the comprehensive character of the enterprise. There is, however, no subject index, indicating for example ethnic groups or places. Instead the contents are divided into thematic sections, but inevitably the allocation of items to a particular section is somewhat arbitrary. Consultants concerned with development issues will presumably turn first to the seventy pages listing items under this heading,

together with the numerous reports by governments and other organizations listed in part 2. Even if uninterested in the cultural, historical or political contexts, they would still have to search other sections such as those on agriculture, fisheries, health, natural sciences and water. Similarly, historians and anthropologists, when researching a specific community, problem or area, if they do not want to overlook a useful item, will have to make a search of the two volumes page by page. One of the bonuses of such a search is the occasional discovery of previously overlooked unpublished manuscripts (e.g. Uberbacher's papers in Vienna on p. 277). There are a fair number of uncorrected repetitions and a few errors and omissions, but overall this is an extremely useful guide.

The wider historical and contemporary significance of the Southern Sudan derives of course from the Nile waters, and Dr. Tvedt's separate bibliography on the River Nile again lists a very wide range of disciplines dealing with its physical characteristics and the use and management of its waters. The principal focus in the short historical section is on works dealing with rivalries for control of the river, and there is a major section listing projects and reports mainly concerned with the Sudan. Taken together these three volumes notably add to the distinguished contributions made by the University of Bergen to Sudan studies.

SOAS, University of London

RICHARD GRAY

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702468417

The International Impact of the Boer War. Edited by KEITH WILSON. Chesham: Acumen Publishing, 2001. Pp. vi + 214. £40 (ISBN 1-902683-18-8); £14.95, paperback (ISBN 1-902683-19-6).

KEY WORDS: South Africa, imperialism, international relations, military.

The centenary of the South African War or Boer War has given scholars of this bitter colonial conflict a nice opportunity to turn the historiographical wheel. Since 1999 we have had, if not quite a flood, certainly a fair splash of new or republished war narratives, edited interpretative essay collections and reference works on the conduct and experience of armed hostilities between Boer republicanism and British imperialism. The present volume seeks to give the wheel a further turn by tackling the international dimensions of the war. In that sense, its context is more the impact of the war upon Port Arthur than upon Pretoria.

The result is a diverting set of essays which set out to frame the Boer War through the lens of international relations at the end of the nineteenth century. Keith Wilson and his fellow-contributors explore a large field, if anything almost too large – if truth be told, can Archduke Franz Ferdinand's view of Paul Kruger ever have mattered? Still, general examination of the varying effects of British crisis in South Africa upon state, society and opinion in imperial Germany, France and Russia makes for some interesting reading. Even the smaller fish, Portugal, Italy and the Netherlands, provide useful material on such factors as popular pro-Boerism, press perceptions of the South African problem and European ruling class attitudes towards Britain's military difficulties on the highveld. At one level, there is little that is new here – several rival states relished an opportunity to gloat at Britain's southern African troubles while nursing their own imperialist or other expansionist impulses. And internally, whatever their differences in character, they had one feature in common: whether heroic or tragic, in the eyes of popular opinion the elusive Boers were Africa's swiftest lions, fighting the good fight for their rightful civilized place in the sun. But, at another level, several of these essays chip away at the gap between what was possible and what was wanted. Martin Bossenbroek's chapter points to the rise of anti-Dutch feeling among Transvaalers, once they discovered that Netherlands support of their republican war effort was

long on rhetoric but short on hard cash. Similarly, William Tilchin shows that whatever the strength of pro-Boer sentiment in the US Congress, the Anglo-American partnership guaranteed a policy of distinctively pro-British neutrality throughout the war. When it came to understanding the manifest destiny of a British Africa, Roosevelt might as well have been Kipling.

One selection oddity amongst these otherwise closely linked nation-state essays is Peter Henshaw's evaluation of the origins of the war. This is a cogent exposition of the power and prestige imperative behind imperial intervention, and for scholars of the South African War is probably the most engaging contribution to this thematic collection. Yet, alongside Imperial Germany, French foreign policy and the like, it appears almost as an aside.

University of Cape Town

BILL NASSON

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853702478413

Guardians of Empire: The Armed Forces of the Colonial Powers c. 1700–1964.

Edited by DAVID KILLINGRAY and DAVID OMISSI. Manchester: Manchester

University Press, 1999. Pp. x + 259. £47.50 (ISBN 0-7190-5734-5).

KEY WORDS: Colonial, military.

An edited collection of ten essays covering most but not all nineteenth- and twentieth-century Western empires, this book is concerned not with imperial military acquisition, but with 'watch and ward', that is, the need to protect what was gained from both internal and external threat. Brian McAllister Linn's essay on the US in the Pacific from 1902 to 1940 draws an appropriate classical analogy. Cerberus was the multi-headed, dog-shaped, monster guarding the entrance to Hades who faced danger both from intruders and his unwilling wards.

In an effort to address 'new' history, the editors have included four essays that focus on social issues affecting the rank-and-file: gender in African colonial armies (David Killingray); alcoholism and venereal disease among British troops in North India (Douglas M. Peers); family life in the King's African Rifles (Timothy Parsons); and on demobilized African soldiers after 1945 (Frank Furedi). The majority, however, deal with military themes from the command perspective: recruitment of Indonesian soldiers for the Dutch colonial army (Jaap de Moor); the Royal Navy's efforts to curtail the South Pacific labour trade (Jane Samson); military domination of German colonial policy in Africa (Kirsten Zerkel); British attempts to control India's North-West Frontier between the two World Wars (Tim Moreman); the US Army's attempts to do the same in the Pacific in the same period (Brian McAllister Linn); and the spread of French military operations in Algeria from 1954 to 1958 (Martin Thomas). Half the ten case studies cover Africa, two India, two the Pacific and one Dutch East Asia. The contributors are equally pluralist, with British, Dutch, German, American and Canadian backgrounds.

The collection is useful, not least because the articles provide thorough recent bibliography for the colonial literature in English on war and society. The chapters are concise, clearly written and reasonably free of error. Two exceptions are the dating of the battle of Adwa as 1895 (p. 8) instead of a year later, and French 'Bordes' (brothels, p. 165) for *Bordels*. Since the co-editors are established scholars in British colonial military and social history (David Killingray for Africa and the Caribbean, and David Omissi for India), it is understandable that British case studies predominate. Yet many readers of this journal will be disappointed at the omissions. The editors clearly could not satisfy all tastes, yet they chose to include the American empire in the Pacific, but not the Portuguese in Africa. Disappointingly, the single French case study concentrates on French tactics rather than on North African military personnel. Another shortcoming is that none of the

authors (with the exception of Killingray on gender) draws comparisons with other imperial military systems. This suggests, perhaps, that a workshop of draft papers never took place.

The book provides several valuable insights. In his introduction to the essays, David Killingray reminds us that British India was a veritable garrison state even in peacetime, with 40 per cent of government expenditures eaten up by defence. Colonial peoples bore most of these costs, in blood as well as in taxes. Even the Dutch in Java, who had the highest contingent of Europeans in their colonial armies, relied on locals for two-thirds of their forces. Finally, and somewhat ironically, 'watch and ward' remains an issue today, often in the same regions addressed in this book. Belligerent Pashtuns in Afghanistan and fractious Filipinos in South-East Asia represent challenges to the Pax Americana, just as they once did to the Pax Britannica.

McGill University

MYRON ECHENBERG