

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Survival on Meagre Resources: Hadendowa Pastoralism in the Red Sea Hills.** Leif Manger, with Hassan Abd el Ati, Sharif Harir, Knut Krzywinski and Ole R. Vetaas. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet (The Nordic Africa Institute). Pp. 244. 1996. \$52.50 paper.

**Development among Africa's Migratory Pastoralists.** Aggrey Ayuen Majok and Calvin W. Schwabe. Bergin & Garvey. Pp. 285. 1996. \$65. cloth.

*Survival on Meagre Resources* is based on interdisciplinary research conducted by a Norwegian and Sudanese team under the auspices of the Red Sea Area Programme (RESAP), a project funded by the Norwegian government. The program's goals were to improve local food production and food security and to improve the natural ecological base in order to develop sustainable production systems. The authors imply that this Red Sea Hills study was originally conceived as a long-term project, however, because of political changes and tensions between the two governments the program stagnated, and was finally terminated in 1993. As a result, this study has a preliminary tone, as though the authors were laying the groundwork for a large development project from which a more comprehensive and in-depth analysis could emerge. Nevertheless, their book makes several important contributions to the study of contemporary pastoralists and to the reconceptualization of pastoral development.

One of the book's greatest strengths is its demonstration of a sophisticated analysis of human ecology, using a holistic approach that integrates findings from geology, botany, geography, and social anthropology. Thus, we get excellent, succinct information on the dynamics of soils, rainfall, vegetation, herding, agriculture, land tenure, kinship, world view, population, social stratification, political organization, urbanization, labor migration and the impact of the larger political economy. Much of this data and analysis is supplemented with useful tables, figures, and maps. The research team, under the intellectual leadership of Leif Manger, who authored four of the eight chapters and co-authored two more, makes clear that in the Red Sea Hills the adaptation process, as exemplified by the Hadendowa, is not a matter of maintaining some ideal equilibrium, but is rather a struggle to secure basic resources in an environment in which unpredictability and sometimes irreversible change is the norm.

Their case study is a useful addition to the analysis of the crisis in African pastoralism. Like research findings in other pastoral societies, these authors establish that environmental degradation is not the result of overstocking and overgrazing; rather, it is being generated in large part by deforestation to create open land for agriculture and to produce charcoal for the urban markets. Government sponsored agricultural schemes have closed off land that in previous generations was available for grazing, especially in times of drought and poor pasture. Indeed, deforestation contributes to increasing frequency of drought, reduction of herds, famine

<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v2/v2i4reviews.pdf>

and the uncontrolled cutting of trees to produce charcoal for cash for food, i.e., a classic destructive ecological feed-back pattern.

Population growth, aided by immunization campaigns and famine relief, has necessitated the "sloughing off" of excess people, especially during severe droughts, causing more migration to burgeoning urban areas. Many people have become permanently impoverished, but some successful entrepreneurs have increased their wealth and political influence, creating new forms of social inequality. Women, who have become detached from their husbands because of labor migration, death, divorce or abandonment, must take up new roles to provide for their children, and the changing gender relations are especially challenging in a culture that is founded on maintaining male-dominated honor and avoiding shame. Manger makes the crucial point that pastoralists are not simply trying to manage physical resources, they are trying to maintain a way of life that has profound meaning for them personally and as collective groups.

The Hadendowa have been increasingly marginalized as political and economic elites continue to insist that the only course of development for pastoralists is sedentarization and farming. Failure to follow this course is characterized as resistance born of ignorance and stubbornness, the old shibboleth of "pastoral conservatism". In contrast to these stereotypes, Manger and his colleagues make a persuasive case that pastoral life requires a high degree of flexibility in adapting to ever-changing circumstances and frequent crises. Indeed, most Hadendowa make ends meet through a combination of pastoralism (if they have any livestock), farming (if they have access to land), wage labor, and sometimes small trade. Much of the trouble that Hadendowa have experienced in the last several decades has been the result of larger forces in the political economy of the Sudan which are completely outside of their control. The authors argue that planning for the future of these people and their area must concentrate on providing an "enabling environment" for pastoral life, drawing upon local knowledge and strengthening local institutions of social control and administration, especially in the protection of resources in "the commons". Unfortunately, the behavior of the government, the logical candidate for conducting and implementing such enlightened planning, does not inspire confidence, neither among these researchers nor among the Hadendowa. Turning the problems over to NGO's, which has been the government's de facto strategy, is not a viable long-term alternative. So, the book ends on an indecisive and rather discouraging note. Still, in spite of the unavoidable shortcomings of this project, the authors make a strong case for the research model and the planning ideas they advocate.

Development among Africa's Migratory Pastoralists is an excellent complementary volume to Manger, et. al. The co-authors, both veterinarians, the one Sudanese and the other American, have for many years been extensively involved in efforts to improve the lives of pastoral peoples in Africa, and their research is informed by the depth of their field experience. Although their prose is measured and plain, one can sense a passionate commitment to pastoral peoples and a clear-eyed appreciation for their way of life. This underlying tone is evident in the following summary statement: "our approach envisages provision of realistic, high-priority services and amenities to pastoralists at the literally "grass roots" where they normally live, efforts which will help them live more securely in their accustomed manner."

As the first portion of the book makes clear, this approach is quite different from, indeed, almost antithetical to, the one typically and historically taken by "Northern" (read European and

North American) development planners operating in Africa. According to the authors, these Northerners fail to understand the "fused" (a la Fred Riggs) nature of African pastoral societies and instead assume that the values of Northern "diffracted" societies can be found or engendered among African pastoralists. These huge "cultural-communications gaps" have been at the root of the failure of pastoral development policies, failed policies that have often been quite damaging to pastoral peoples.

Development policies and programs for African pastoralists must be infused with a strong component of knowledge gained from anthropological and veterinary epidemiological research, and Majok and Schwabe demonstrate in several chapters the relevance of such information. They also lament the inaccessibility of much of this work--many of their own sources are unpublished or in limited circulation. Thus, mistakes are repeated as the same faulty wheel is reinvented, and corrective information is not available or ignored.

What new and different insights would such information provide to those who are planning and implementing development programs for African pastoralists? First, the local circumstances of pastoralists are quite changeable and the margin for error is often quite narrow. Pastoralists have developed social and cultural practices that make it possible for them to adapt rapidly to changing fortunes; in other words, they know what they are doing and why, and thus, they are the first and best source of knowledge about how to be productive in their dynamic circumstances. Therefore, secondly, pastoralists at the local level must be involved at all stages in the planning and implementation of development programs. Thirdly, veterinary services have been the most successful in reaching mobile populations and have been well-received and valued by pastoralists. Therefore, veterinary services are the most viable vehicle upon which other necessary services and programs can be developed and delivered. Finally, this kind of planning and delivery requires intersectoral cooperation and coordination, a challenging proposition in the typical circumstances of competing ministries, donors, etc.

Majok and Schwabe's approach to development planning and implementation is a radical departure from existing practices, and is based on the pragmatic recognition of several major problems. Current development practices are simply making life more precarious for pastoralist peoples, and appear to be based on the assumption that pastoralism as a way of life and as a mode of production will and should disappear. Yet, central governments and their donor patrons do not have viable economic and social alternatives for pastoral areas or peoples. Since resources for pastoral development are and will continue to be severely limited, they must be mobilized and administered in the most efficient and effective manner. The authors devote four chapters to detailed description and analysis of the specific means available to implement the kinds of development programs they advocate. Their book should be required reading for the development elite, both Northern and African, who claim to be acting in the best interests of migratory pastoral peoples.

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**Susan M. Vogel. *Baule: African Art/Western Eyes*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1997 313pp., 197 color and 62 b/w, 2 maps, glossary, bibliography, index. Hardbound \$65, Softbound \$35.**

This is a welcome addition to the growing list of in-depth studies now revolutionizing the scholarship of African art. The book is unique not only because it is, so far, the most comprehensive study of the sculptures of the Baule of Cote d'Ivoire, but also because it charts a new course by examining issues seldom raised by previous researchers.

The central thesis of the book is that the Western idea of "art" as something created for its own sake does not exist among the Baule. According to the author: "To approach art from the Baule perspective entails speaking of experiences that are not primarily visual, and of art objects that are animate presence's indistinguishable from persons, spirits, and certain prosaic things. Even when Baule people are clearly talking only of a wood sculpture, they may describe it as capable of volition and action that most Western reader will find incredible" (p. 83). Equally significant is the fact that many of the Baule sculptures now displayed in European and American museums for "Western Eyes" were once concealed from public view by their original owners. For the "more important a Baule sculpture is, the less it is displayed" (p. 108). Why is this so? What are the cultural factors underlying the creation and uses of Baule sculpture?

Susan Vogel examines these questions and several others by focusing not only on the context and significance of carved objects in Baule culture, but also on how the people relate to them. The book is divided into two sections of four chapters each. In her introduction, the author explains how more than two decades of research among the Baule have taught her to appreciate and to write about Baule art from the perspectives of the people for whom it is created. In the process, she has also learned to separate her conclusions from theirs. The first chapter introduces the reader to the history and social geography of the Baule, in addition to highlighting the formal characteristics of Baule art such as the "subtle rhythm," "balanced asymmetry," and "peaceful containment of form"-- characteristics that influenced many modern European artists, most especially the Italian Amedeo Modigliani.

The second chapter offers a detailed account of Baule world-view, drawing attention to Baule perception of nature as an interaction of opposing yet related elements such as the spiritual and material, the visible and invisible, the human and non-human, the male and female, among others. Perhaps the most conspicuous aspect of this dualism is the dichotomy between the village and wilderness to which almost all Baule works of art are related. The village signifies the ordered, social and human, and the wilderness, the bush, savage and non-human. In the words of the author, "many works of Baule art are classified as either women's or men's; male art forms ... are associated with the wilderness, women's, with the village" (p. 46). Also discussed in this chapter are the Baule concepts of power (*amuin*), bush spirits (*asye usu*) and otherworldly spouses (*blolo bian/bla*) as well as how sculpture is used to localize and manipulate them.

The third chapter deals with the ontological function of sculpture. So important is this function that a representation and what it represents are perceived as one and the same. In other words, a signifier is as potent as the signified. This explains why certain carved objects, especially masks, are thought to cause death if seen with the naked eye or by the uninitiated. The author then discusses the various modes of looking/seeing different categories of objects.

The fourth chapter focuses on the Baule concept of visibility, that is, the ways members of the culture learn to interpret what they see, as well as the secrecy and the taboos that govern the gaze.

The fifth chapter concentrates on masks used in entertainment dances (Mblo and Goli) and intended to be watched and appreciated by the general public. Here, the author throws more light on the Baule tradition of portrait masks (ndoma), first described in some detail in the 1930s by Hans Himmelheber. One significant aspect of this tradition is that, because less emphasis is placed on physical resemblance, a given mask can easily be identified with a new person--usually a relative--after the death of the original subject, thus enacting the drama of decay and renewal (pp. 166-7).

The sixth chapter deals with assorted gold plated objects, stools, staffs, men's sacred masks, and human figures associated with the spirits of the wilderness. This category of sacred objects is described by the author as "Art that is Seen Without Looking" because they are not meant to be stared at on pain of death.

In chapter seven, the author discusses miscellaneous personal objects associated with hunting spirits (bo usu) and otherworldly spouses (blolo bla/bian), while in the eighth, she focuses on various utilitarian items such as divination vessels, ancestral stools, weaver's pulleys, spoons, wooden fans, carved doors, pottery and drums which are decorated to enhance their appearance and fulfill the desire for beauty. As a result, these articles are often displayed for all to see.

In her conclusion, the author notes that Baule sculptures have many things in common with those of their neighbors (such as Wan and Yaure) and with those of the Akan to the east in what is now present-day Ghana, whence came, according to oral tradition, some ancestors of the Baule led by the legendary Queen Abla Poku.

The author has taken great pains to separate her own observations, interpretations, and conclusions from those of her Baule field informants. She nevertheless highlights points of agreement and disagreement, thus deepening our understanding of Baule sculpture and its reception both among the Baule and in the West. Her discussion of Baule etiquette of the gaze (Chapter 4) is one of the most interesting sections of the book because it challenges the premises of recent Western discourse that associate the gaze with power, desire, manipulation and, sometimes, scopophilia (erotic pleasures derived from looking). For the Baule, on the other hand, the act of looking at a work of art, or at spiritually significant objects, is for the most part privileged and potentially dangerous. Even an inadvertent glimpse of a forbidden object can make a person sick, can expose them to huge fines or sacrifices, or can even be fatal.

The power and danger of looking lie in a belief that objects are potent, capable of polluting those who see them (p. 110). In other words, the nature, context, function, importance and power of a given work determine whether or not it can be looked at closely or from afar. This explains why certain sacred objects are secreted in shrines and private rooms, accessible only to the initiated. As a result, the author regards as somewhat exaggerated the widely held view that African art is inseparable from life, since, judging from the Baule evidence, "little art used to be actually seen by most people most of the time" (p. 291). Unfortunately, Vogel does not provide the statistics from other parts of Africa to corroborate this hypothesis. Even then, the Baule evidence points in the opposite direction. For while it is true that sacred or awesome objects

such as the num amuin bo masks are rarely seen "by most people most of the time," the fact remains that such restricted objects are few compared to the entertainment dance masks (Mblo and Goli), as well as the carved doors, stools, spoons, weaver's pulleys, drums and divination vessels, among others, that may be seen by all. Indeed, Hans Himmelheber, who conducted fieldwork among the Baule in the 1930s, reported that the entertainment masks were used in performances almost everyday. Moreover, many Baule commission sculptures for personal or family uses. For example, "Infants and small children are given miniature carved wooden stools ... or small figures that they may wear as amulets ..." (p. 247). Baule adults, on the other hand, keep statues embodying bush spirits (asye usu), hunting spirits (bo usu) and otherworldly spouses (blolo bla/bian). In Susan Vogel's words, the latter "are probably the most abundant and among the most completely realized art works the Baule make ..." (p. 249). Not only that, these statues receive regular sacrifices, so that they are inseparable from the daily lives of their owners who see them most of the time.

Although the author asserts that the concept of "art for art's sake" does not exist among the Baule, Hans Himmelheber reported several cases in the early 1930s. The fact that Vogel does not dispute Himmelheber's account but merely describes it as "ironic" (p. 83)--without further comments--leaves the reader to wonder what happened between the early 1930's and the late 1960s when she began her own fieldwork among the Baule. Could the cases of "art for art's sake" reported by Himmelheber in the 1930s be possibly due to French colonial influence, as Adrian Gerbrands surmises? Incidentally, the late Philip Ravenhill has drawn attention to the impact of colonialism on Baule statues representing otherworldly spouses (blolo bian/bla). For many of them now wear European dresses to reflect fashion, aspiration, prestige and modernity. Susan Vogel illustrates some (pp. 71, 83, 253, 254, 257): one female spirit spouse figure (blolo bla) wears a yellow brassiere, while a male spirit spouse figure (blolo bian) is dressed in a blue French suit. The caption for the female figure (p. 83) indicates that such works might be made either for sale to foreigners or to modern Baule to decorate their houses. The male figure (p. 254) wears "city clothes" because "he had a salaried job" (p. 255). In the absence of any other information or contextual analysis, one is left with an impression (which may very well be erroneous) that the author is more interested in the traditional, so-called "classical" Baule pieces and less in the modernization process within the canon.

According to Ravenhill, the modernization of statuary form by the introduction of Western clothes and the attendant accessories of shoes, hats, watches, and the like has distressed some art critics in the same way that the use of Western clothes by the younger generation has distressed some Baule elders. The facile criticism of modern Baule statuary in pejorative terms of degeneration finds an echo in the attitudes of some irascible old men who assume that young men, for example, wear modern dress simply to hide their physical faults, saying of them "they take their skinny scrawny legs and put them in pants...." Both these attitudes--of the art critic and of the social critic--demonstrate a basic conservatism which would deny innovation and changing social realities; but the similarity of views points out the relation between the aesthetics of art and the aesthetics of the artist's patrons. It is my contention that the development of Baule statuary art throughout this century shows an increasing preoccupation with modern fashions that is part of a wider social movement toward the exploitation of new cultural and technical forms introduced by the crisis of colonization--in brief, that Baule art exhibits the same emulative processes as the wider society.

In short, from the illustrations published in this book, it appears as if Baule sculpture has remained relatively unchanged since pre-colonial times--contrary to what we already know about the Baule and their response to increasing Westernization and urbanization. Admittedly, it would be unfair to expect the author to squeeze into a single volume all the results of more than two decades of fieldwork and museum research on Baule sculpture. Let us hope that she will fully address the issue of modernization in a future publication. But, given the richness of the materials and the rare insights of the author, *Baule: African Art/Western Eyes* is a groundbreaking work. It is a monumental contribution not only to the art history and anthropology of the Baule, but also to the study of African and non-Western art as a whole. Despite its intimidating size, the book is a pleasure to read; it is written in a very simple yet sophisticated language, free of academic pretensions and jargon. Both the text and illustrations complement one another. The field photographs are superb; the author's interpretations, remarkable. The book is extremely useful, well conceived, well produced, and highly recommended.

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**Rebel and Saint. Julia A. Clancy-Smith. University of California Press, 1997.  
Pp. 370, \$16.95 paper**

Julia A. Clancy-Smith's *Rebel and Saint* was published by the University of California press in cloth in 1994 and in paperback in 1997. This highly detailed study of several nineteenth-century scholars and resistance leaders in Algeria and Tunisia has already received several excellent reviews, and deservedly so. Its availability in paperback renders it a potential book for assignment in graduate or undergraduate courses, so this review will analyze its strengths and weaknesses to determine its usefulness in courses on the history of North Africa, Islam and colonialism.

*Rebel and Saint* is a well-researched book which makes an important contribution to the history of colonialism and resistance, and the role of Islam in both. *Rebel and Saint* follows what Clancy-Smith describes as "a biographical case study approach" (p.5). It focuses on "religious notables" such as Bu Ziyān (d. 1849), Muhammad ibn Abd Allah (d. 1863), Mustafa ibn 'Azzuz (c. 1800-1866), Muhammad Ibn Abi al-Qasim (1823-97) and his daughter Lalla Zaynab (c. 1850 - 1904), as well as the key figures associated with these individuals. The quality of these narratives makes *Rebel and Saint* a very useful resource for any historian of Islamic Africa, and the Maghrib in particular.

Clancy-Smith's text contrasts two anti-colonial rebels, Bu Ziyān and Muhammad ibn Abd Allah, with later, more circumspect religious leaders from the same region. Bu Ziyān led a small and ill-fated rebellion that ended when the French executed him and his family in a Saharan oasis named Za'atsha in 1849. Muhammad ibn Abd Allah, who also claimed to be the Mahdi, led a rebellion from Warqala, attacking the French and their supporters at Tuqqurt, Zab Qibli,

Wadi Righ and al-Aghwat between 1851 and the end of 1854. In 1855 Muhammad ibn Abd Allah took refuge in Tunisia. Later he retreated into the central Sahara, and was eventually captured by the French in 1861 after moving north again to Warqala (176-212). Clancy-Smith compared these rebellions with the subsequent, non-violent "resistance" of Mustafa ibn 'Azzuz, Muhammad Ibn Abi al-Qasim and his daughter Lalla Zaynab. In this regard Clancy-Smith's analysis is informed by the work of E. P. Thompson, James C. Scott and the other scholars of subtle resistance. *Rebel and Saint* makes an important contribution to this growing body of literature, which seeks to reevaluate the political behavior of colonized peoples who apparently accommodated or collaborated with their colonizers.

Although *Rebel and Saint* achieves very much, it does suffer from two main limitations. The first is that Clancy-Smith relied almost exclusively on French sources. She was keenly aware that her reliance on colonial sources did not allow her to do a "history from below", so she compensated by working very hard to read these sources from a North African point of view. The second limitation derives from one of the book's strengths. Clancy-Smith included so much narrative detail for so many cases that she left herself little space to deal with the complexities of any particular case. While *Rebel and Saint* is innovative and imaginative on several fronts, it is nevertheless a somewhat "traditional" historical narrative.

Clancy-Smith does manage to weave into her stories elements of rumor, collective memory, and gender (p. 9), but these issues are largely tangential to her main argument, and become lost in the broader narrative. Indeed, in regard to a succession dispute between Muhammad Ibn Abi al-Qasim's daughter and nephew, Clancy-Smith argues that gender was irrelevant for the Algerians, although extremely relevant for the French (pp. 235-40). This unpersuasive argument seems to result from her reliance on French sources and her understandable sympathy for the colonized. Similarly, *Rebel and Saint* does not explore the other social variables that complicated resistance and collaboration in the nineteenth-century Maghrib. In particular, it does not examine the politics of ethnicity between Berber and Arab North Africans, which the French colonial policy tried to exploit. Nor does it examine race, slavery, or servility-- all of which were important aspects of Saharan and North African societies, and all of which received colonial attention. Finally, although most of the stories that *Rebel and Saint* recounts take place in the Sahara, Clancy-Smith does not give serious attention to the relationship between settled and nomadic peoples. In fact, she generally uses the word "tribes" to refer to Saharan nomads, a word that obscures more than it reveals.

The principal contribution of Clancy-Smith's work is in the history of culture and resistance. *Rebel and Saint* also challenges the "conventional periodization" of Algerian history by dating the beginning of non-violent protest to the 1849 revolt in Za'atsha, rather than to the 1870s-- but this is a relatively minor argument (pp. 248-60). By contrast, the phenomenon of non-violent cultural resistance is relevant to the history of every place and time. The colonial sources hint at the power of Islamic ideas and symbols, and the informal and formal ways that non-elites used Islam to influence the local elite, as well as the French. But colonial sources are inadequate to elaborate these processes, and as Clancy-Smith points out, the indigenous sources that are readily available in state archives do not reveal much about these subtle politics either. Thus *Rebel and Saint* indirectly suggests the necessity of using other sources to elaborate this history, in particular local oral literature and family libraries. Oral history will provide clues, if not specific evidence, about the intimate politics of Islam and resistance. Much of the poetry and

song mentioned in Clancy-Smith's colonial sources are no doubt still remembered and performed today, and often by women. A potentially richer source will be found in the family libraries of descendants of the nineteenth-century resisters, many still living in the region. If the libraries in the northern Sahara are like those that I know in the southern Sahara, they will often be disorganized, stored in trunks, or the corners of storerooms. And the owners will be protective of them, not just against the intrusion of foreigners, but also of local people. It certainly will not be easy to win the trust of family archivists and local poets, but the potential reward is great.

*Rebel and Saint* is an important contribution to the history of Northwest Africa, and I recommend it to all scholars interested in Islamic, Saharan, or North African history. It would also be appropriate for assignment in graduate courses, although it is too detailed and narrow for most undergraduate courses.

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**Ade Ajayi, ed., *General History of Africa, Volume VI, Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s*. Paris, Oxford, Berkeley: UNESCO, James Currey and University of California Press, 1998, pp. xxiii + 356. Paper \$16.95.**

This is an abridged edition of Volume VI of the much-acclaimed *UNESCO General History of Africa*. Conceived in the 1960s, the last volume was published in 1993. Since then, the project continues to be pursued in the publication of abridged editions, with volumes 1, 2, 4 and 7 now in print. Some volumes are also being translated into a number of African languages. There is no effort to update the research, with the result that many findings and approaches reflect the thinking of the 1960s and 1970s.

The abridged edition under review shares the good qualities of an ambitious edited volume. It covers a number of subjects. Arranged mainly by regions, developments in the history of Africa are reviewed, with a focus on the leading historical themes. The Mfecane and the occupation of South Africa lead the themes in Southern Africa; jihads, warfare, and trade dominate the treatment of West Africa; trade and religion are the focus for East Africa; internal development and European contacts are treated in the north. Two overview chapters by the editor, consisting of an introduction and conclusion, summarize the major events. A chapter on the African diaspora and another on the world economy are the two major free-standing themes. The period covered is from ca. 1800 to the mid-1880s.

The abridged edition ignores footnotes, but the wide range of sources in the bibliography provide the reader with additional literature to consult. Unlike the preceding volumes in the series, however, the sources for the nineteenth century are more numerous and reliable, a fact reflected in the assured statements and interpretations in many of the chapters. As the bibliography is not arranged by subjects or chapters, beginners may find it difficult to use. Those seeking evaluation of the sources may have to consult the original edition. All the authors

are respectable and distinguished scholars, with many of them using this opportunity to repeat the findings of their previous studies. If the intention is to simplify history, the book achieves its stated goal. It is readable, although the overall picture remains somewhat unclear, in spite of the editor's summary of the events of the nineteenth century. Many of the illustrations are well produced and useful, although more maps would have enhanced readability and presentation. As a classroom text, teachers would have to work many of the chapters into individualized syllabi. Following the arrangement in the book could provide an excessive amount of information that students may find either boring or cumbersome. The general reader will profit from reading the chapters, as they are more detailed than those found in most recent encyclopedias. For specialists, it would be best to read the original volume. The chapters are written from what may be called, for want of a better term, an "African perspective." African societies and the activities of their leaders dominate all the chapters, in spite of the great interactions with European traders, explorers, missionaries and colonizers. The intention is to use the chapters to show that African societies were not static, and that the changes of the period owed much to African initiatives rather than to contact with Europeans. In the introduction, the editor points out that many of the changes of the nineteenth century represent the continuation of events in earlier historical periods. Among the notable events of the century were demographic and population movements in different parts of Africa, an increasing European encroachment, improvements in agricultural systems, and a tendency toward centralized power structures, which promoted the emergence of many warriors and new states. It is indeed hard, if not impossible, to underestimate the European factor. The book closes on the eve of European conquest, but it shows the trends toward the incorporation of Africa into the world system. European commercial activities had profound effects on domestic production, slavery, competition for trade routes, and the supplies of guns and gunpowder, which in turn affected the nature of domestic warfare. An African elite benefited from the trade contacts by making, amassing, and gaining access to firearms to consolidate their hegemony. As chapter two shows, commercial relations led to the restructuring of many African states. While it appears a bit out of place, chapter 28 on the African diaspora examines the migrations out of Africa before and during the nineteenth century and the implications of these migrations for other parts of the world. The chapter offers a fascinating discussion of the back-to-Africa movement by blacks in North America.

This is an important book. The authors perceptively outline the major events in nineteenth century Africa, and they also excel in providing useful details and perspectives on a variety of issues. Advocates and critics of an Africa-centered approach will find more ammunition here to support their conflicting positions. The student audience will find the book comprehensive enough, while specialists will benefit by having a readable book to recommend for the pursuit of comparative studies. Above all, the book justifies itself as a worthy example of international collaboration, a great meeting of minds of Africanists located in different continents.

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**Historical Dictionary of Chad. 3rd ed. Samuel Decalo. Lanham, Md. Scarecrow Press, 1997; \$95 Hardcover.**

**Historical Dictionary of Zambia. John J. Grotper, Brian V. Siegel, and James R. Pletcher. Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 1998; \$95 hardcover.**

**Historical Dictionary of Burkina Faso. Daniel M. McFarland and Lawrence A. Rupley. Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 1998. 95\$, hardcover.**

There are currently seventy-five titles in the African Historical Dictionaries series published by Scarecrow Press. Jon Woronoff, the series editor, appears recently to have undertaken a concerted effort to update some of the older titles in the series by releasing a significant number of second and third editions. Given the decade or two that has passed since the earlier editions were published, and given the many important changes that have occurred in the politics and economies of these countries since that time, Woronoff's efforts are well warranted. While these updated volumes are expensive (at \$95 each hardcover, academic libraries are likely to be the primary market), they represent an important informational service to the scholarly community. The improved legibility of the new editions over the small, serif typefaces popular in academic publishing during the 1980s is in itself much appreciated. In short, these titles will be useful for Africanist scholars as well as others who may need a source they can consult to quickly place their readings about Africa into an understandable context.

These are not sexy titles. They are not written on the cutting edge of academic theory, nor are they likely to be cited with any frequency by one's colleagues in heated discussions over coffee or beer. Rather, this series provides a valuable if unassuming set of reference tools. Each title is the result of a painstaking collection of facts by one or more committed scholars who will not often be cited for their efforts. Nevertheless, each title brings important background information to anyone willing to spend a few moments to learn the meaning of an unfamiliar term while reading about the history, politics, or economy of a relatively unfamiliar place.

Individual volumes are conveniently arranged. Included with each dictionary is a variety of supplementary sources that assist the reader in becoming oriented to the country of interest. There are introductory tables of common abbreviations, acronyms, and basic demographic patterns. Notes on transliteration and spelling issues are included where required. Maps also are included to orient the reader geographically and to demonstrate the approximate boundaries of historical states, agricultural regions, bureaucratic divisions, ethnic distributions, transportation corridors and important towns. One may find a list of major ethnic groups, a chronology of major political and historic events, an extensive (although not annotated) bibliography for further reading, and several appendices as the author deems necessary.

To provide a few examples, in the case of Burkina Faso, the volume lists the ministers and other important members of the government through fifteen regime changes from 1978-1996. Samuel Decalo's bibliography of Chad is more than 150 pages long (the other two volumes reviewed here include bibliographies of close to 100 pages each). Even so, Decalo explicitly concentrates on the English language literature (which, he notes, has become available only since the 1970s), rather than on the much more numerous French language sources, and he omits much of the ephemeral literature included in the second edition. His introductory

bibliographic notes provide a useful overview of the specific quality and research utility of various sources to particular fields of inquiry. He then outlines the topical sections into which the bibliography itself is divided. A final example is the Zambia title's chronology, which begins in 123,000 B.C. It runs over eighteen pages long, with entries most thoroughly covering the time period since the early nineteenth century (there are forty pages of chronology in the Burkina volume, with a similar concentration on the past 200 years). Included are entries ordering in time the various missionary and explorer activities, changes in political organization, political parties and offices, wars and other conflicts, treaty signings, economic events, and vital dates of associated individual's lives.

While these volumes are not intended as sources for looking up basic facts or statistics, the dictionaries, along with all of the supplementary sections, are designed to help readers become familiar with the relevant context in which facts must intellectually be placed. They are particularly good as companion resources to other works. For example, if one is reading about Chad and runs across a reference to SONASUT, this source provides more than a simple definition of the acronym; the entry also includes a short summary of the history, industrial capacity, and financial background of this Chadian national sugar enterprise. Military, economic, historical and political personalities, organizations, resources and events are all similarly described and placed in an understandable context to make one's reading about an unfamiliar place less tedious and more informative.

What makes this series unique is that it is directed not at users searching for particular facts, but rather at readers of other works who wish to understand unfamiliar terms within a particular historical, political, and economic context. I recommend these titles, together with the critically annotated Clio Press (Oxford, England and Santa Barbara, CA) World Bibliographical Series titles, to anyone conducting research in any discipline who is not thoroughly familiar with the specific country addressed in their research. Together, these reference tools provide the intermediate level researcher with a context for understanding current readings, as well as a wealth of suggested paths to additional readings. While the quality surely varies somewhat over the seventy-five titles published in this series over the past twenty or more years, its usefulness as a whole is firmly established, and the current effort to update older titles will be welcomed by a new generation of Africanist scholars.

Published critical response to the African Historical Dictionaries series is by no means all positive. For two alternate views, see Henige (1979) and McIlwaine (1997).

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**Multi-Party Politics In Kenya. David Throup & Charles Hornsby. Athens: Ohio University Press. 1998. Xii+660pp. Paper, \$29.95; cloth \$39.95.**

David Throup and Charles Hornsby tell a sad and depressing story beautifully. Multi-party politics in Kenya is after all a story of murder, mayhem, gerrymandering, financial scandals, election rigging, unprincipled calculations of tribal and self-interest, defections, political resurrections and reincarnations. There are no heroes. It is a tragic farce in which none of the actors possesses the moral courage to do the right thing.

Focusing on the historic multi-party elections of December 29, 1992, the authors give a very capable history of Kenya's experience with pluralism. They rely on their first-hand experience in Kenya during the 1992 elections, the reports of domestic and international observers, and the Kenyan dailies. If it is true, as the authors insist, that relatively little scholarly attention has been given to multi-party politics in Kenya and Africa, then this book is a trailblazer. The sources are solid, the analysis rigorous, and the conclusions are consistent with the evidence.

The picture that this book paints of President Moi is not likely to be confused with the African statesman Andrew Morton describes in his recent book. Moi has described himself as a Professor of Politics, and in this book he indeed comes off as a professor, although in the tradition of a Machiavelli rather than an Einstein. From the earliest days of his presidency, Moi and his ruling party KANU were opposed to a multi-party democracy. They used every means at their disposal to derail the formation and registration of opposition parties-- detention without trial, the provincial administration, the registrar of societies, the attorney-general and courts of laws, even the police and hired KANU youthwingers. Only in December 1991, under intense domestic and international pressure, did Moi and KANU reluctantly agree to the legalization of opposition parties.

If Moi and KANU were reluctant converts to pluralism, the new opposition politicians all had their faults. When Kenneth Matiba and Charles Rubia launched the campaign for multi-party democracy in May 1990, there was much hope. Predictably, they were detained without trial. Their efforts, however, resulted in the formation of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) a year later. Within another year this broad coalition (and later, opposition party) would disintegrate into FORD-Kenya (led by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga) and FORD-Asili (led by Kenneth Matiba). The Kenya National Congress (KNC) would spin off from FORD-Asili and Kenya's erstwhile Vice President Mwai Kibaki would form his Democratic Party (DP). Eight political parties nominated presidential candidates for the 1992 election. The opposition politicians did not, and maybe would not and could not, cooperate to fight a common enemy.

Throup and Hornsby make three main arguments. The first is that Kenyan voters have always rewarded politicians who could guarantee *maendeleo* (literally, development, but usually understood as patronage of state resources). The second is that in the minds of voters and politicians alike, ethnic calculations have always outweighed any ideological considerations. Lastly, the euphoria of pluralism created unrealistic expectations of change in the era of multi-party competition. The authors convincingly argue that Moi and KANU were determined to cling to power by any means, while the opposition politicians lacked any guiding political principle on the basis of which they could unite to unseat the ruling party. In the

manner of a tragedy, Moi and the opposition deserve each other. The citizens, too, come in for blame because of their blindness to the common good and for voting strictly along ethnic lines. In dedicating the book to the people of Kenya, the authors hope the people may find the leaders they deserve. One may conclude by the end of the book that, despite all the evidence the authors adduce about KANU's manipulation of the polls and rigging the count in the 1992 elections, the people indeed got the leaders they deserve.

This book is an indispensable record of Kenyan history. The authors have succeeded in providing a detailed background for understanding not only the 1992 elections, but also post-1997 Kenya. The proliferation of parties has continued. In the December 1997 general elections, 27 opposition parties took part. More than a year later, Moi is yet to choose a Vice President. Dr. Richard Leakey, founder of the SAFINA party, resigned his seat in parliament to take back his old job as Director of Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS) under the KANU government. Raila Odinga, leader of the National Development Party of Kenya (NDPK), is leading his party in a near-formal cooperation with KANU. There was a historic parliamentary debate on a "no confidence" motion against Moi and KANU in 1998. Raila Odinga led the vote against the motion. Paul Muite is under a cloud for extorting millions of shillings from Kamlesh Pattni of the Goldenberg Scandal. KANU is stronger than it was before pluralism. The authors are right in their assessment that this state of affairs is not going to change in the foreseeable future.

The book has no major faults. There are a few misspellings of people and place names. None of this detracts from the cogent analysis and sound conclusions. This is a book that will be invaluable to Africanists, and indeed anyone with an interest in African politics. More importantly, it is a historical record that should be examined by Kenyans interested in the future of their homeland. Kenyans deserve better leadership. This book should remind them.

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**Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History. Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997, 480pp. Cloth \$50, Paper \$25.**

This impressive book has much to recommend it. A collection of papers drawn from a conference held in South Africa in 1992, the book gives empirical information on the history of different churches and the history of Christianity in various communities in South Africa. More importantly, the book jolts the standard narrative of South African twentieth century history which has tended to be conceptualized as a story of the rise of racial capitalism, as a story of the triumph of Afrikaner ethnicity, or as a story of the mobilization of black nationalism and the radicalization of black South Africans. In accordance with the editors' claim in their introduction, some chapters convincingly make the case that in order to fully grapple with politics (perhaps especially in twentieth century South Africa) one has to appreciate the

important role Christianity played in the lives and beliefs of politicians and their followers, both black and white.

The book is divided into five sections: The Transplanting of Christianity; The Churches of Modern South Africa; Christianity in South African Subcultures; Christianity and the Creative Arts; and Christianity, Power and Race. Since this is an edited collection, various sources are used including architecture, musical scores, indigenous poetry and oral tradition, as well as primary and secondary missionary and other written archival sources. The first section recounts the establishment of Christianity from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century in what became South Africa. Chapters deal with the rise of Xhosa prophets, Christianity among the Tswana and Sotho, the Zulu and Swazi, as well as the spread of Christianity in Transorangia.

Jonathan N. Gerstner's chapter offers insights into the ways in which the theological underpinning of reformed Christianity helped foster white ethnicity. He argues that the Dutch Reformed Church drew on a belief in "internal holiness" which conceptualized all children of believers, that is Europeans, as being redeemed but which viewed indigenous inhabitants as unredeemed, indeed possibly beyond redemption. The chapter by Elizabeth Elbourne and Robert Ross examines different strands of missionary activity in South Africa. The authors demonstrate the success of the mission enterprise to the descendants of slaves and Khoi in the Cape, but point to the failure or inability of the missionaries to offer more than spiritual incorporation. Irving Hexham and Karla Poewe's discussion of Transorangia interestingly discusses the similarities between Boer folk religion and some indigenous African religious concepts. This consideration of the influence of indigenous religion on Christian communities, rather than only the imposition of Christianity on African communities distinguishes this chapter from others in the book and points to very fruitful areas of further enquiry.

Part Two discusses different churches and theological tendencies in twentieth century South Africa. Its chapters cover the Afrikaans churches and apartheid, English-speaking churches and their imperial cultural heritage, Lutheran activity, the Roman Catholic Church, the African Initiated Churches and, finally, the Pentecostal churches. All provide solid and useful empirical information on the specific church under review, but Johann Kinghorn's excellent chapter does more. It most fully realizes the aims of the editors to demonstrate the intersection of Christianity and wider political culture in South Africa. Kinghorn argues and demonstrates through consideration of various Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) texts that the DRC adopted a "racially defined nationalism" which helped unify different "currents of thought: nationalism, the neo-Calvinism of Abraham Kuyper, and racism" (p144; p142).

Part Three draws the reader into fascinating discussions of Christianity in mining communities, Indian communities, women's Christian organizations, and of relations between Jews and Christians. Robert Shell discusses slaves and freed peoples' relationship to Islam and Christianity in the Cape Colony during slavery and under emancipation. Shell's sensitive study draws careful distinctions between the experiences of slaves and free in town and countryside and argues that while Islam was a prime site of resistance to slavery, it declined in importance as emigration and Christian proselytizing successfully made South Africa a Christian country.

In a chapter on white and black women's Christian organizations, Deborah Gaitskell demonstrates that even within patriarchal religious organizations, women could forge organizations which gave them much autonomy. Tshido Maloka's chapter, which starts Part Three, illuminates both the cultural worlds of the mines and the reasons why miners responded

ambivalently to missionaries: on the one hand some miners resented missionaries' attempts to ban liquor and dancing; on the other, learning to read at a missionary literacy class promised a better job and greater security on the mines.

Part Four is short, only three chapters. Jeff Opland discusses the potency of Christian symbols within poetry in South Africa. While Opland might over stress the "unfettered" quality of African oral speech, the chapter introduced this reader to poems and literature I intend to introduce into my African history courses.

In Part Five the stated aim of the book to show the centrality of Christianity to a study of South African history and politics is most fully realized. Wallace Mills asserts that postmillennial thinking--the optimistic belief that the world is progressing and getting closer to God--significantly influenced the non-racial and liberal trends within African nationalism, at least until the shock of Sharpeville.

In what is probably the best chapter in the book, Richard Elphick argues along similar lines, that belief in the ideology of the Social Gospel--the belief that elites should actively work for social justice in the service of eventual equality between people--powerfully shaped African nationalism and white liberal politics for much of this century. Elphick demonstrates that the ideas of Booker T. Washington of the Tuskegee Institute, which asserted black people's power to organize and educate themselves as well as the importance of cooperation between the educated black elite and liberal whites, influenced both the African National Congress and white liberals, although the power of the Social Gospel had waned by the 1970s. Elphick argues, convincingly, that the philosophy of the Social Gospel "did inspire a dissenting tradition of faith in human equality ... that, once purged of its paternalism, inspired powerful strands of resistance in the era of apartheid" [p369].

Elphick and Davenport should be proud of their achievement. They have produced nothing less than a standard reference book on Christianity in South Africa as well as an excellent academic discussion of the significance of Christianity to South African history. Certainly there are other ways such a book might have been organized. This reviewer found the organization of some of the chapters around seemingly unproblematic or ahistoric ethnic categories of Indian/English-speaking whites etc. a little too simplistic. Chapters which analyzed how Christianity helped produce certain ethnic identifications and communities, or could borrow from indigenous religious concepts pave a way forward. But this is a very good book, well suited to both a popular audience interested in religious life and history as well as students and scholars of African and South African history.

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