local chiefs and wealthy merchants to establish their ascendency, and they used their authority to spread Islam and control trade routes. Subsequent chapters examine Massawa's cosmopolitan, polyglot, and also distinctly Islamic identity, with its strong Sufi brotherhoods. Miran also examines the 'Ad Shaykh holy family (a perceived Mahdist threat to Italian colonialism in the 1880s) as well as the expression of Islam in Massawa's sacred spaces.

Among the most important contributions of this book is its discussion of Massawa's role in the global and regional economy. The author argues convincingly that, with respect to trade, the growing penetration of Europe in the Indian Ocean was not disruptive. Instead, the transformation of indigenous trade networks was characterized by "continuity, adaptation, and adjustment," as demonstrated by the success of merchant-entrepreneurs. Massawa's residents became connected to the hinterland through caravan routes and the wider world economy through its port. Local merchants and pearl fishers engaged global markets while resisting colonial meddling. (Chapter 2 includes a fascinating and original discussion of pearling in the Dahlak archipelago.) Miran also demonstrates how the commodification of the regional economy transformed social relations among Massawa's inhabitants.

Red Sea Citizens would be a welcome addition to advanced courses in urban, African, Indian Ocean, Red Sea, or world history. Miran is careful to explain that his sources do not permit him to expand on Massawa's significant role in the slave trade, which is not a focus of this study. This original and thoroughly researched book breaks new ground and makes valuable contributions to a growing field.

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William Storey. *Guns, Race, and Power in Colonial South Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. xvi + 380 pp. Tables. Maps. Figures. Photographs. Bibliography. Index. $85.00. Cloth.

The superficially self-evident statement that colonial South Africa became a "gun society" is actually surprisingly difficult to prove. Even if one accepts the notion that a "gun society" is one in which a high percentage of persons have access to guns (a working premise that not all historians accept, with the debate focused not only on the concept itself but also on the definition of "high percentage"), the statement itself does not automatically hold true. This is because whatever technology is available does not necessarily define the social order. After all, as William Storey observes wryly, nineteenth-century South Africans owned many iron pots, but we do not say that they lived in an "iron-pot society."

Storey's stimulating study explores the pre-twentieth-century history of gun-ownership in what was to become South Africa and Lesotho. While it is true, as other historians have also demonstrated, that the deployment of guns influenced larger sociopolitical and environmental changes, it is hard to make the case for guns as a fetish of the masses. Storey makes the more subtle and interesting claim that guns were sufficiently prevalent to be important to cultural and political changes that developed over time.

After dealing deftly in a chapter with the first hundred and fifty years following the introduction of guns, Storey discusses the next century in greater depth in the next eight chapters. He shows how guns were significant in the shifting and overlapping spheres of trade, settlement, trekboer, and hunting frontiers. Despite desperate efforts, there was no possibility of keeping the new technology in the hands of its original European owners alone, and as early as the 1670s, after a Khoi professional hunter and some others bought guns, providing weapons to any native was declared a capital offense to. Such ur–gun regulation left a shadow on subsequent developments, especially the tension that existed between the desire to keep power in white hands and the need to arm Africans to assist with hunting, trading, and fighting as allies in frontier wars. Consequently, when it proved expedient, indigenous groups were armed; whenever it was no longer expedient, guns were restricted. These tensions persisted until the late nineteenth century.

Certainly guns helped transform the Eastern Cape frontier in the wars of the early to the mid-nineteenth century, when firearms rearranged trade and settlement on the northern frontier and revolutionized how humans interacted with their natural environment. Within fifty years guns had proliferated from the Cape to the entire region south of the Limpopo, becoming significant revenue generators and a fundamental technology of security for the burgeoning states (Boer republics and African chiefdoms). Storey does not sees hunting and war as two separate arenas, but rather as allied pursuits. He says that "ecological degeneration put pressure on people to migrate into other people's territory, which generated conflict, while the hunt was often the training ground for war" (78). Simply put: guns made killing animals and people more efficient.

By the 1870s contestation around who could possess guns was central in struggles over land and citizenship. Technological advances made guns more lethal and their owners more powerful. This happened in the context of a mineral revolution, which turned covetous imperial eyes to South Africa and drew more Africans into the capitalist system, making it easier for them to acquire firearms. The threat of armed Africans allowed politicians to insist on tighter control. Primary evidence from the so-called Langalibalele Affair of 1873–75 (which focused settler fears about the gun trade and African migrant labor) illustrates how changing gun control policies came about amid ideological and industrial shifts in the metropol, but also shows that local circumstance played a significant role.

Clearly Storey cannot discuss guns within every polity, so he selects distinctive or representative examples. Chapters 9 and 10, for example, discuss the Sotho struggle for security and autonomy, considering some elements that are similar to those of other African chiefdoms and others that are distinctive. The author explores several significant battles in which the superiority of firearms (coupled with suitable tactics) was evident, like Blood River or Ncome River (where gun-wielding Boers opposed spear-brandishing Zulu). It is disappointing that Storey hardly addresses the largest colonial conflict, the South African War of 1899–1902, and the debates that took place then about arming Africans. But the omission is perhaps understandable: the vast literature on that war might have overshadowed the less explored material that Storey does examine.

In some cases, the works of historians who have written on firearms and "gun culture" have received a controversial reception. Michael Bellesiles, for example, was accused of academic fraud in his *Arming America* (Knopf, 2000), a book that precipitated a media storm and a barrage of both hostile attack and defensive support, culminating in findings of methodological deception aimed at bolstering the gun-control agenda. Indeed, as J. Wiener remarked in *Historians in Trouble: Plagiarism, Fraud, and Politics in the Ivory Tower* (The New Press, 2005), Bellesiles received the "academic equivalent of lethal injection" (73): dismissal from a tenured professorship. But Storey is unlikely to provoke South Africa's much less vocal pro- or anti-gun lobbies. Moreover, he does not sermonize or assume normatively that guns were necessarily or inevitably always a bad thing.

This ideological neutrality allows Storey to delve into the ironies of settlement. For example, free trade was an article of faith for liberal humanitarians intent on a civilizing project, yet the gun trade (and auxiliary liquor trade) seemed to threaten that civilization. From mid-century onward, civilization was closely linked to commercialization, but it was unclear how firearms fit in to this goal. Were they a progressive or potentially revanchist technology? Guns certainly played a role in changing social identity, as in the case of the Mfengu, for example, who, in the decade after 1835, patrolled the land between Xhosa and white settlements mainly without guns (despite the urgings of the diplomatic agent Theophilus Shepstone). At the outbreak of the 1846 war, however, the Mfengu men were armed, and as time went on they assumed roles previously performed by the Khoi. Guns also became integral to the negotiations around shifting loyalties and new social power arrangements, since for many, to "buy a gun was to become modern"(79).

The author is at pains throughout to locate his work in a wider context. One gets the sense of a historian not only in conversation with the past but also self-consciously engaged in debates with other historians. In dissecting the interpenetration of ordinary lives and "things," he draws on John and Jean Comaroffs' work on the connection between material changes and ideological shifts. Thus Storey is concerned not only with material history, but also with emotions and self-identity. For example, loyalty, which he claims is an underexplored emotion, is a key theme in the book, and he shows how the politics of skill, such as respect for marksmanship, shaped clientship relationships. He also discusses hunting as the "violent expression of masculinity" (38) and the relationship between hunting and religion in the case of the San and Khoi. He makes the important point that mimeomorphic firearm actions that appeared universal on the surface were in reality locally adapted by those who still relied on spears to fight new enemies armed with guns—as at eTaleni in 1838, where the Zulu defeated well-armed Boer commandos. Moreover, just as guns were materially "naturalized," beliefs about guns were adapted rather than simply adopted. The Sotho, for example, called firearms *tladi-ya-matsoho*, "lightning of the hands," referring to the Sotho belief that death comes not from a distant deity but from the hands of witches. So, as Storey says, "in the gun, there could reside more than one understanding of the material world" (95).

Storey is a rigorous and serious historian with an unpretentious methodology. The structure of the book is logical and clear, and chapters are broadly chronological but thematically distinct. The first five chapters are derived largely from secondary sources, and the subsequent five chapters are largely from primary sources. There are some flaws in the editing (e.g., a whole paragraph is repeated on pages 81 and 83), and occasionally, Storey's secondary sources seem inadequate for the point he is making. But such imperfections are minor and to be expected in a work spanning several centuries and based on several different sets of archives and an immense historiography. Such a historical project demands intellectual boldness, agility of mind, and dexterity in juggling secondary and primary sources. These qualities are clearly manifest in William Storey's *Guns, Race, and Power.*

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Timothy Scarnecchia. *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe: Harare and Highfield, 1940–1964.* Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2008. Studies in African History and the Diaspora Series, no. 35. xvi + 224 pp. List of Abbreviations. Maps. Figures. Photographs. Notes. Selected Bibliography. Index. $80.00. Cloth.

Tim Scarnecchia's book is about the death of a democratic tradition. It argues that, with the ebbing of colonialism in southern Africa, struggles to control the state became struggles between African nationalist movements even more than struggles against intransigent white settlers. Factionalism destroyed a tradition of reciprocal democracy (largely undervalued in pre-