

shared in one way or another. After he had obtained his Diploma in Education at Makerere College (Uganda) in 1945, Nyerere returned to Tanganyika where he joined the staff of St Mary's College, a new Catholic secondary school in Tabora, as a teacher for English and Biology. Soon he became secretary of the local branch of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) and thus gained some experience in political practice. However, Nyerere still felt the urge to continue his studies and was awarded a scholarship. He enrolled at Edinburgh University for a general arts degree in 1949. The three and a half years he spent in the United Kingdom were, as Molony shows, extremely critical in further forming his political attitudes. Back again in Tanganyika, Nyerere took a teaching position at St Francis's College at Pugu near Dar es Salaam, a secondary school run by the Roman Catholic Church. He soon resigned and entered into full-time politics. At this point Molony's account ends. The book presents a complex and human portrait of Nyerere as a young man and offers most welcome facts and reflections about one of the most remarkable politicians of twentieth-century Africa.

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## INVENTING TRADITIONS: BRITISH SAFARIS

*Hunting Africa: British Sport, African Knowledge and the Nature of Empire.*

By Angela Thompsell.

New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Pp. xiii + 229. \$100.00, hardback (ISBN 9781137494429).

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**Key Words:** South Africa, southern Africa, hunting, imperialism, exploration, women.

*Hunting Africa* explores the history of British big game hunting in Africa between the 1870s and 1914, tracing its origins as a commercial enterprise and its transformation into an upper-class sporting holiday. Angela Thompsell's analysis of hunters' diaries and letters, importation records, contemporary newspapers, and sporting journals situates changes in big game hunting in complicated discourses of gender, imperialism, and landscape. Thompsell teaches us that the 'intrepid' men so firmly associated with big game hunting did not create or sustain its symbolic power alone: British readers, Africans, and British huntresses were also important players in this story.

It bears stating at the outset that the volume is published in the British Scholar Society's 'Britain and the World' series. Thompsell is clearly writing for an audience interested in the history of the British men and women who traveled to Africa as part of the British imperial project, even as she incorporates Africans' experiences into the narrative. The imperial perspective framing the book is both an advantage and a disadvantage for the arguments she wants to make. By focusing on British hunters traveling in eastern, southern, and central Africa, Thompsell is able to accumulate enough evidence to track the development of novel forms of hunting by women and their impact on ideas about the civilizing power of the imperial project in British territories imagined to be 'extra-colonial' (6). With a

narrower focus on a particular expedition, career, or region of the continent, she may not have had enough evidence to make this fascinating argument.

Yet, the broad geographical scale also means that Thompsell's arguments about the role of Africans in big game hunting are quite generalized because they are largely divorced from the specifics of local African hunting histories and cultures. Thompsell introduces African leaders controlling white hunters' movements, African porters revolting against British employers, and guides adopting new technologies. These important examples of African agency reveal interesting details about portage and early colonial labor laws. But we learn few specifics of the 'African knowledge' invoked in the title: what hunting looked like in particular times and places before big game hunting and, therefore, the local or regional impacts on African societies as African hunting practices changed with the advent of new kinds of hunting expeditions. This is not a missed opportunity; we can easily look, as Thompsell does, to others' work on interactions between European and specific African hunting traditions.<sup>1</sup> But there may be other kinds of questions (and sources) that better fit the scale of Thompsell's story. For example, how did widespread ideas in eastern and central Africa about hunting grounds as 'places apart' articulate with British hunters' and readers' imagining of big game hunting grounds as 'extra-colonial' spaces? And, with what feedback on the kinds of ethnographies, such as Victor Turner's work, that Thompsell employs as sources of expertise about traditional African hunting (90)?

The scope of the project also affords Thompsell the opportunity to tie the story of big game hunting to other contemporaneous forms of imperial knowledge making. Thompsell uses hunters' discoveries of physical features and new species to illustrate their engagement with the fields of geography and biology and to argue that hunting was an important site for the production of imperial knowledge. But this reader also wondered whether or how the knowledge hunters 'discovered' was different from other forms of knowledge-making involving expeditions and close collaborations between Europeans and Africans in fields like anthropology, ornithology, linguistics, and so on, all of which were implicated in the kinds of civilizational discourses and 'scientific' knowing with which Thompsell credits big game hunters. Indeed, Thompsell's arguments about the relationship between big game hunting, gender, health, imperial might, sportsmanship, and civilized comportment resonate in interesting ways with contemporaneous ideas about the role of hunting in the origins and evolution of mankind. In the period of Thompsell's study, hunting was hotly debated: was hunting the great adaptation that separated humans from apes or an instantiation of man's most depraved, animalistic instincts? Many of these ideas can be traced back to the Scottish Enlightenment and were revived in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by British philosophers and scientists.

In sum, *Hunting Africa* buttresses many current arguments in Africanist scholarship about imperial knowledge and the agency of African collaborators. It shines, however,

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1 Consider C. Mavhunga, *Transient Workspaces: Technologies of Everyday Innovation in Zimbabwe* (Cambridge, MA, 2014) and E. Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (Athens, OH, 2005).

in bringing to the fore fascinating arguments about the relationship between hunting, gender, nature, and the limits and successes of imperial power in the British imagination.

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## INTELLECTUAL HISTORY FROM BELOW

*Doing Conceptual History in Africa.*

Edited by Axel Fleisch and Rhiannon Stephens.

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**Key Words:** South Africa, Uganda, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, intellectual, linguistics, method.

*Doing Conceptual History in Africa* seeks to recover intellectual contributions of non-elite actors as part of various African historical processes. The regional, thematic, and methodological focuses of this book are broad, covering western, eastern, and southern Africa from 1000 CE through present ongoing processes, and addressing poverty, wealth, work, marriage, circumcision, land, *ujamaa* (African socialism), and decolonization. The volume coalesces around social and economic narratives, and around decidedly linguistic and, specifically, semantic approaches. By treating language as an active intellectual space the authors ‘acknowledge linguistic relativity without essentializing languages and without attempting to corral historical actors into ethnolinguistic boxes’ (6). This is a move that allows contributors to center their narratives on human agency, identify continuity where rupture is usually taken for granted, and account for competing historical perspectives.

Each chapter offers a conceptual historical narrative, as well as insights into the methodological or theoretical aspects of the conceptual approach. Chapter One focuses on wealth and poverty in Uganda from 1000 CE. Rhiannon Stephens uses diachronic semantics to move beyond a narrative focus on material indices of economic practice to consider concepts of wealth and poverty through word histories. This allows her to contextualize ‘Wealth in People’ as a recent phenomenon and one of many categories of wealth. She also identifies notions of social benefit around the presence of wealthy people capable of aiding those in need, and the gendering of wealth.

Chapters Two and Three take on the concept of ‘work’ among Nguni speech communities of South Africa. Axel Fleisch parses the existence of competing terms for ‘work’ in isiXhosa and Southern isiNdebele. He argues that continuities in ideas about work shaped local responses to the colonial labor landscape, and he identifies processes of maintaining distinctions between work based on motivations and setting. Fleisch also raises important points about the linguistic long-term, showing that evidence of continuity can be used to counter the perceived weight of significant events, including colonialism. Anne Kelk Mager focuses on ‘work’ among isiXhosa-speakers, but with an eye to overlapping and intersecting interests of missionaries. Competing efforts to define ‘work’ took on a