passively "hugged the coast," showing, to the contrary, their enterprise in production and trade further inland, on both sides of what became the Anglo–French frontier. The work on entrepreneurship partly overlapped with, and partly followed upon, his pioneering investigations of the elements of the commercial expansion in Ghana, especially in rubber and mahogany, that immediately preceded the cocoa boom.

Most of the later chapters examine the intersections of British imperialism and British capital in relation to Ghana: for example, with reference to Anglo–French border rivalry and railway construction and management, and the largely unsuccessful official attempts to promote cotton growing for export. These essays are well documented, and brief as some of them are, they bring out well the complexity of the contexts surrounding colonial decision-making.

The one blemish on this intellectually rich and nicely bound collection is seriously insufficient copyediting. It is a pity that, in reprinting papers that were already in electronic form, the opportunity was missed at least to correct typos, as with chapter 9 on Nzema entrepreneurship, which has the same glitches as the 2003 original. It is worse with chapter 5 on Wassa goldmining, which was evidently rekeyed for this volume. In the process, a number of errors were introduced that are absent from the 1987 original (including two separate paragraphs on p. 147 in which words have dropped out and irrelevant words have been pasted in from somewhere else, seemingly at random). However, it is the new introduction that has the most typos, including missing words. One hopes that this problem does not recur in the preparation of later books in this impressive series.

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John Laband. *Zulu Warriors: The Battle for the Southern African Frontier*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014. xv + 345 pp. Illustrations. Maps. Terminology. Bibliography. Index. $40.00. Cloth. ISBN: 978-0300180312.

In *Zulu Warriors: The Battle for the Southern African Frontier*, John Laband integrates forty years of scholarship shaped by his own prolific work in the field of military history. Eloquently written and deeply researched, his new book is arranged into six sections, which cover theaters of conflict in the Transvaal, the Eastern Cape, Griqualand West, and Zululand. This structure enables the author to assess the links between (flexible and inflexible) indigenous military strategies, African reactions to imperial and colonial invasions, and the complex outcomes of white conquest in late nineteenth-century southern Africa.

Laband begins with a novel idea: that there was an obvious, if unnamed, War of South African Unification between 1877 and 1879, which culminated

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in the destruction of the Zulu kingdom. During this "concerted span of three years" the British, sometimes in league with the Boers, conducted campaigns to "neuter the military capabilities of the residual independent black states . . . , disarm them, and break their political power" (7). Yet it was the global British Empire (more than the local Boer republic) that sought to impose its influence over all of southern Africa. To blunt this determined military aggression, African polities such as the Swazi aligned with the British. However, other kingdoms such as the Zulu, as is well known, fiercely resisted external interference. One of the notable strengths of *Zulu Warriors* is that it explores a huge range of armed African responses to encroaching white rule.

One might assume that Laband's analysis is most convincing when he elaborates on the military capacity of King Cetshwayo kaMapande's state in the 1870s. This is certainly true, but it must be mentioned that the author compellingly explains other patterns and practices of warfare in southern Africa, including the use of muskets by non-Zulu African polities procured during the Mineral Revolution. These muzzle loaders were among the few goods enticing young men from chiefdoms (beyond Zulu control) to sell their labor to the diamond mines. In other words, the title of Laband's latest book should not suggest that the author unquestioningly promotes a Zulu-centric view. Far from it, his findings illustrate that the rituals of honor and masculinity as well as idioms of vengeance during Cetshwayo's reign were not unique. They were shared customs that animated southern African martial traditions more broadly. With regard to this point, Laband makes a crucial distinction. Zulu martial culture, which he sees as an overly hyped phenomenon, was not the dynamic force that legend claims. Other traditional military systems in southern Africa were more dynamic, Laband writes, if we define martial dynamism in terms of continually updating strategy and materiel in the nineteenth century, certainly as firearms circulated in frontier zones of contact between African and settler societies.

As Laband makes clear, the gun-infused, evolving martial tradition extends back to the 1820s, when specific African polities started to consider the acquisition of firearms as indispensable to their security arrangements. The modernizing efforts of Bathlaping people (in Tswana territory traversed by the missionary Dr. Livingston and Boer traders), who learned that "firearms were essential for warfare," offers a prime example (160). The independent Xhosa and Pedi polities also shot guns in battle. During the third quarter of the nineteenth century, firearms enabled them to capitalize on asymmetrical warfare with strategies such as setting up a fortified perch in precipitous landscape, waiting to ambush, and aiming lines of fire at their enemy. Laband reveals that commanders of Zulu *amabutho* (regiments) were loath to adopt such tactics, preferring instead to deploy soldiers with spears, clubs, and axes—the repertoire of edged weapons—in set-piece confrontations. This strategy meant that Zulu warriors would remain disadvantageously "hidebound by [their] established military thinking" (10). The mixed consequences would become clear in two related

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outcomes: the now infamous January 1879 Zulu slaughter of British imperial soldiers at Isandlwana and the total devastation of King Cetshwayo's army seven months later on the Ulundi plain. These fateful clashes unfolded in open terrain. The first became a Phyrric victory; the second heralded the Zulu death knell.

In conclusion, *Zulu Warriors* is an excellent work of scholarship that will make a lasting contribution to a number of fields, not least the history of Southern Africa, African warfare, and the British Empire. Most important, Laband's examination of changing indigenous martial practice through the acquisition and use of guns should encourage future scholars to investigate the customary applications and maintenance of firearms in southern African societies actively seeking to erase the battlefield advantage of their global and colonial enemies.

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Tiffany Willoughby-Herard. *Waste of a White Skin: The Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2015. xviii + 171 pp. Illustrations. Endnotes. Appendixes. Bibliography. $65.00. Cloth. IBSN-978-0-520-28086-1.

This book examines an important interdisciplinary study of white poverty conducted in interwar South Africa that was funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Although the book focuses on this report, the 1928–32 *Carnegie Inquiry into the Poor White Problem in South Africa*, and the Carnegie Commission of Investigation that wrote it, Willoughby-Herard creatively invokes a wide range of analytic concepts now associated with African diaspora studies, comparative politics, and whiteness studies. Building on the work of Cedric Robinson, Ann Stoler, George Lipsitz, Cheryl I. Harris, and many other scholars, she coins the term "global whiteness." Instead of examining philanthropy and race science as if they were nationally bounded, she argues that white fears about racial degeneration, social science research, racial uplift schemes, public health discourses, and, perhaps most crucially, the kind of white-on-white violence that she says prefigured cross-racial violence were not exceptional to South Africa, but were shared widely across settler colonial territories.

Chapter 1 presents E. G. Malherbe, a prominent member of the Carnegie Commission, as part of a global cadre of race-relations technicians trained in South Africa and the United States to promote segregation. The author suggests that the Carnegie Corporation directly promoted Afrikaner nationalism (a claim that is not as well supported as other claims in this book). Chapter 2 discusses the Carnegie Commission's stark photographs of poor

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