

based were shaped and redefined by changing circumstances. He draws on earlier historical studies to contextualize and deepen his argument. Ambler and Jackson had looked at the gradual emergence of Kamba communities; Tignor and Munro had placed them in a colonial context. But none of these studies looked directly at the core values, nor did they see them as internally contested. This book not only offers a subtler understanding of the making of identity but also raises new questions about the Kamba experience more generally. Osborne has interesting things to say about “martial races” and the construction of “loyalism,” about the local roots of the de-stocking crisis of 1938, and about the rather overshadowed history of Ukambani during and after the Emergency of the 1950s and the move to Independence.

Ethnicity, as Lonsdale has argued, has both an exterior architecture—how the community defines itself in relation to others—and an internal architecture—how the community sees itself. *Ethnicity and Empire* looks particularly at the latter while still addressing the former. It may be that the study of ethnicity, which has been so central to African studies for so long, now needs the stimulation of new perspectives. This book is one of a new generation of histories that are attempting to reinvigorate the debate.

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**Michelle R. Moyd. *Violent Intermediaries: African Soldiers, Conquest, and Everyday Colonialism in German East Africa*.** Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014. xxii + 328 pp. Maps. Photographs. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. \$32.95. Paper. ISBN: 978-0-8214-2089-8.

German rule in East Africa rested on recruiting and empowering African soldiers (*askari*) to serve in the colonial defense force (*Schutztruppe*) from the beginning of conquest in the 1890s through World War I, when the *Schutztruppe* was disbanded and askari ceased to have a historical role. *Violent Intermediaries* centers the role of the askari in the construction and maintenance of the German colonial state, not only in asserting German power in wars of conquest and anticolonial rebellions, but also in the day-to-day activities that constituted colonial rule. In so doing, Moyd treats askari as agents, not just tools, of colonialism, who acted with their own interests in mind, particularly seeking to become power brokers in local communities surrounding colonial garrisons, where they served alternate roles as husbands, fathers, patrons, traders, and cultural intermediaries. Typically treated as a faceless backdrop in other histories, the askari are embedded here in the daily performance of colonial power, and Moyd

portrays them with a sensitivity to how soldiers in any historical period, such as our own, transition from combat to family life.

Who were the askari, and what were their motivations? Unlike other histories of colonial soldiers that can tap into the voices and memories of men who served until independence in the 1950s and beyond, this volume could not make use of oral evidence, which does not exist in the German case. Moyd traces the few surviving fragments of askari testimonies, often in European-mediated life histories, and in a wealth of archival and published sources. Many askari were recruited from unemployed soldiers in Cairo—Muslim veterans of the wars of the Mahdi in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan who brought with them a professionalism that German commanders valued highly. Briefly, “Zulu” Shangaan mercenaries were part of the early German colonial forces in the 1890s before being demobilized and sent home. They were replaced by soldiers recruited from various localities of German East Africa, particularly Nyamwezi and Sukuma, following common colonial identifications of “martial races.”

Much of this account focuses on the interaction between askari and East African subjects that stemmed from nineteenth-century patterns of violent accumulation during the era of the caravan trade. In this sense, askari shaped tactics of warfare with German complicity. Yet as colonial agents, askari were not just soldiers, but also prison guards, tax collectors, escorts for traveling Europeans, chain gang and corvée labor overseers, and messengers, projecting German power daily. Moyd highlights the role of askari wives as power brokers in local communities. Family life was fundamental to askari aspirations, and wives accompanied their husbands on caravans and even in military expeditions. The influence of askari traditions of hierarchy, order, and ceremonial performance on Tanzania *ngoma* dance traditions created a social and cultural space that was beyond the ken of colonial authorities and observers. Although Moyd argues that the askari disappeared as a social group after 1918, I wonder if in communities established for retired askari, such as Boma la Ngombe near Moshi, oral methods might not have discovered askari descendants or a community memory of their past social roles.

Moyd ably balances the two poles of askari treatment in past scholarship. One, emerging after World War I, was the myth that all askari remained loyal to German rule to the end, surrendering to British forces in 1918 alongside their German commanders after almost four years of desperate struggle. While this myth fed German nostalgia for the colonial past, it also projected Germans as model colonizers rather than abusive oppressors. Moyd shows that many askari in fact deserted to the British when they perceived the opposing force as offering a chance to recreate their prewar roles as local big men and patrons. A second view, representing nationalist historiography, was that askari were mercenaries and collaborators, perpetrators of shocking levels of violence against fellow East Africans. Moyd emphasizes that grasping the conflictual role of askari and other colonial intermediaries is key to understanding how colonialism worked in practice.

There could be no colonial state without the actions of such men in warfare and everyday life.

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**Meredith Terretta. *Nation of Outlaws, State of Violence: Nationalism, Grassfields Tradition, and State Building in Cameroon*.** Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014. xiv + 367 pp. Maps. Acknowledgments. Abbreviations. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. \$32.95. Paper. ISBN: 978-0821420690.

In 1956 the southern part of Cameroon entered a period of popular unrest followed by an armed rebellion and a ferocious repression by French and Cameroonian troops. The violence lasted until the late 1960s. This territory had been part of a German colony placed under French trusteeship by the League of Nations in 1919. It achieved independence in 1960 under the French-controlled government of Ahmadou Ahidjo.

The armed rebellion of the Union des Population du Cameroun (UPC) developed mostly in two areas: the Bassa country in the coastal hinterland, and the so-called Bamileke, in the western highlands, or Grassfields. Meredith Terretta's book focuses on the latter. The rebellion here had been variously interpreted as a revolt of the rank and file of the chiefdoms against their leaders, a communist-led movement in a Cold War context, a nationalist endeavor to achieve true political independence, a local manifestation of the Pan-African movement, or a mix of everything in various proportions.

Several excellent studies have been published on this popular rebellion, both in English and French. Terretta remarks, however, that the many studies, both scholarly and popular, that have proliferated since the democratization movement of the 1990s have produced a narrative that is too plural and fragmented to serve as a coherent expression of Cameroon's national history. Hers is a timely endeavor, and the book achieves a thorough discussion and synthesis of all the components of the UPC movement. The author also expands the narrative by including the local spiritual, political, and cultural content of the nationalist movement as well as the contributions of subaltern actors, thus bringing to fruition a turn that has been taken by several scholars in the 1990s.

The book's argument develops in three parts of two chapters each. The first part is a tentative synthesis of Grassfields political traditions and Bamileke identity, including an account of the settlement of Bamileke migrants in the Mungo valley from the 1920s. The second part presents a historiography of local politics in the Bamileke and Mungo regions, based on the notions of independence (*lepue*) and chiefdom/nation (*gung*). The author then presents a discussion of the role played by the chiefs in the rebellion—a topic that had been hotly debated right from the origin of the unrest.