

records and contains numerous errors. But it is puzzling that the introduction says nothing about the more modest and equally abortive Dutch attacks of 1603, 1606 and 1615; and even when he describes the successful conquest in 1637, one wonders whether he might not have explored in greater depth why this last attack succeeded where the previous four had failed. He argues, plausibly, that in 1625 the Dutch underestimated the importance of having African allies; yet, later in the century, most commentators pointed to tactical mistakes, notably the need to gain command of St. Jago Hill. The famous Dutch map of 1629, reproduced as an illustration, might also have been discussed. Drawn only four years after this expedition, it indicated quite remarkable knowledge of the whole interior of the Gold Coast at a time when most of the coast was, in theory, still under Portuguese control.

Nevertheless, considering how many Africanist historians are happy to produce research based on British Parliamentary Papers, it is a relief to find someone willing and able to transcribe and publish well over 100 pages from seventeenth-century documents. In terms of value for money, this publication is difficult to beat: €25 for a beautifully produced, well-illustrated, scholarly hardback which must have taken ages to prepare and will be used by many generations to come – if, that is, anyone still does precolonial African history.

University of Leipzig

ADAM JONES

ACADEMIC ANTHROPOLOGY AND COLONIAL RULE

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Ordering Africa. Anthropology, European Imperialism, and the Politics of Knowledge. Edited by HELEN TILLEY with ROBERT J. GORDON. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007. Pp. xiv + 390. £60; \$84.95 (ISBN 978-0-7190-6239).

KEY WORDS: anthropology, colonialism, knowledge.

This volume addresses questions about the relationship of academic anthropology and colonial rule that have been in circulation since the end of the colonial era.¹ But it is distinguished by its broad coverage, including essays treating Belgian, British, French, German and Italian colonial situations. Indeed, it stretches the definition of its purview to include a paper by Patrick Harries that analyses Swiss anthropologists, whose country was not a colonial power, who saw parallels between Alpine peoples and African ones – a form of projection (analogizing the lower orders in metropolitan society and subject peoples) that, as Harries observes, was also prevalent in colonizing countries. And Tilley suggests that its contributions will serve to help ‘scholars to avoid misleading binaries – black/white, colonized/colonizer, African/Western and tradition/modernity being the most obvious’ (p. 13).

¹ Full disclosure: I participated in a conference held at the University of Oxford in March 2000, organized by Helen Tilley, the proceedings of which were the basis of this collection; my assistance is acknowledged in Tilley’s introduction. That said, however, I should note that most of Tilley and Gordon’s impressive array of contributors did not attend the conference. And Tilley’s judgements are her own, of course, not those of her pre-publication readers.

Considerations of allocated space prevent me from treating all of the aspects of this collection that will interest readers of this review, and so I give only some examples of the book's compelling material. Holger Stoecker shows that, in inter-war Germany, Africanists were able to make successful academic careers by adopting a research program suited to anticipatory colonialism (or at least making claims to do so in their grant proposals), doing work justified as likely to be useful if the state won the Second World War and regained colonies it lost after the First World War. Jean-Hervé Jezequel describes ethnographies produced in Francophone Africa by Africans, many (if not all) of them schoolmasters, whose analyses could be 'used to pursue fairly localized and personal family objectives' (p. 165), such as claims to inherited rights to traditional offices that colonial rulers found plausible. Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale explain why studying anthropology with Bronislaw Malinowski at the London School of Economics served the political purposes of Jomo Kenyatta, a hero of Kenya's liberation struggle and the country's first president, whose postgraduate diploma thesis was published as *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938), a book that was not a success as such (it sold few copies and was not well reviewed); Malinowski's functionalist anthropology was an instrument that Kenyatta used to reveal, 'with scientific authority, the logic of Kikuyu civilization, and its right, therefore, to a modernity it could call its own' (pp. 184ff.). Nancy Rose Hunt identifies colonial societies' 'eugenic and labor anxieties about "dying races" and infertility' (p. 270) as origin points of the specialty of medical anthropology, paying particular attention to a Belgian planter who undertook research and practical action in the Belgian Congo after the Second World War and a French physician with anthropological training whose first employment in Africa was with a diamond mining company in Gabon in 1953, both of them working within what equatorial African colonial rulers understood to be the 'Central African infertility belt'; though their circumstances were very different, both of them were notable for their attention to biomedical factors, resisting the long-dominant interpretation of infertility as some function of psychological and social pathology, which had considerable appeal for officials and had been sanctioned by earlier social scientists. And Douglas H. Johnson summarizes the considerable literature on the relationship between anthropology and colonial rule in the Sudan (to which he has previously contributed).

A greater degree of editorial intervention might have been exercised in the production of this collection. The essays ought not to presume knowledge readers may not have. For example, Stoecker describes the development of the system of scientific peer review by the German *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaften* (Emergency Society for German Science), founded in 1920 (renamed the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* during the Third Reich, when it also came under political control), but readers unfamiliar with this episode in the history of science may not fully appreciate his narrative. And readers ought to be reminded of the perennial conflict between proponents of assimilation and those of association – a recurrent theme in French colonial history that figures in Emmanuelle Sibeud's chapter in the collection (its first) – in Gary Wilder's discussion of French regimes' criteria for granting Africans full citizenship (in the collection's last chapter). Furthermore, the editors ought to have translated into Standard English the occasional stylistic infelicities of their non-Anglophone contributors. For example, Benoît de L'Estoile quotes Henri Labouret, a colonial official turned academic who became a director of the International African Institute for African Languages and Cultures (IAILC), and who in 1927 exhorted the IAILC's Executive Council to undertake compilation of a 'complete repertory on people that may be useful to our work' (p. 101); decoding this statement depends on the text following L'Estoile's quotation, which explains that Labouret

wanted to create a network of knowledgeable correspondents in Africa, indigenes as well as Europeans, who would provide information useful to European colonial rulers intent on developing enlightened administrative policies. With more rigorous editing, this collection might have been made more accessible. Nevertheless, it represents a valuable scholarly contribution.

University of Pennsylvania

HENRIKA KUKLICK

SWISS MISSIONARIES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT AFRICA

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Butterflies & Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries & Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa. By PATRICK HARRIES. Oxford: James Currey, 2007. Pp. xviii + 286. £55 (ISBN 978-085255-984-0); £19.95, paperback (ISBN 978-085255-983-3).

KEY WORDS: Southern Africa, anthropology, knowledge, missions.

This wonderful, complex study of missionary thought in action is probably best described as an extended meditation on the intricacies of cultural encounter on the imperial frontier. Adopting an uncompromising constructivist perspective, Harries illuminates the extent to which the production of knowledge in and about early colonial Africa was the fruit of a drawn-out process of interchange between European and African cognitive systems. In this sense, and despite the author disavowing any aim to write a comprehensive history of 'subaltern experience' (p. 2), *Butterflies & Barbarians* is no less a celebration of African 'agency in tight corners' than was Harries's earlier study of Mozambican migrant labourers at the outset of southern Africa's mining revolution.

Not the least arresting feature of this breathtakingly erudite volume is the author's command of the nineteenth-century intellectual history of French-speaking western Switzerland, whence the missionaries of the Swiss Romande Mission to south-eastern Africa originated and to which the book's first two chapters are dedicated. While Chapter 1 traces the Mission's origins in the revivalist movement that swept across western Switzerland in the first part of the century, Chapter 2 is especially concerned with the influence of missionary images of Africa on the metropole's social life. Through a painstaking analysis of an impressive array of missionary publications, Harries is able to establish a convincing correlation between the popularity of the Mission's African propaganda and the divided Swiss people's quest for unity and identity. But early missionary portrayals of Africans were not monochromatic. To be sure, the depiction of the evil, dark forces confronted by the missionaries provided home supporters with a 'measure of their own level of evolution and civilization' (p. 40). Yet missionary imagery also embodied the germ of an anti-modernist critique. The Africans of missionary propaganda were thus both the 'contemporary ancestors' whose very existence confirmed Europe's position 'at the summit of an ineluctable line of progress' (p. 48) and the simple, naive souls whom missionaries felt duty-bound to protect against the vices and materialism of capitalist modernity.

The book's overarching theme – the discursive interaction between knowledge systems – begins to unravel in Chapter 3, which takes the reader to the Swiss Mission's field of operation in north-eastern Transvaal and southern Mozambique. By examining the missionaries' efforts to rein in an African-led