Oral history and ethnographic observations could have added fascinating detail and personal experiences that extend beyond the records of the British Empire. Moreover, some South Asian doctors built long-term relationship with African families. These Africans, like those students who were taught in schools by Indian teachers, are less likely to see these professionals as 'strangers'. And if the doctors as well as their patients were interviewed, a picture of South Asian history in East Africa would emerge that is less dominated by European perceptions. I am aware that such evidence would help to illuminate only the latest period of the research under review, such as the decades after the 1930s. Nevertheless, oral sources would have made even more complete this fascinating history.

Overall, this study is well written and embedded in a rich variety of records. The authors have seen the available sources in London, the British Library, India Office Records, National Archives in Kenya, as well the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi and the Maharashtra State Archives in Mumbai. In addition, they make extensive use of newspapers, like the *East African Standard* and the *East African Chronicle* and *The Times*. The result is a painstakingly well-researched and detailed description of the history of Indian doctors in East Africa. The book aims at an academic audience, but I am convinced that it will be similarly well received by the professional classes in East Africa as well.

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LAND AND THE STATE

Population, Tradition, and Environmental Control in Colonial Kenya.
By Martin S. Shanguhyia.
Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015. Pp. xiv + 323. No price given, hardback (ISBN 978-1-58046-539-7).
doi:10.1017/S0021853717000585

Key Words: Kenya, East Africa, environment, colonial, agriculture, oral sources.

Martin S. Shanguhyia's book joins a canon of environmental histories that examine colonial efforts to manipulate Kenya's landscape. *Population, Tradition, and Environmental Control in Colonial Kenya* is a valuable addition to the literature in how it reveals the experiences of local Africans most affected by colonial agricultural and soil erosion policies. In Vihiga, a region that was, and remains, one of the most densely populated areas in Kenya, the Abaluyia (the ethnic group that predominates in the area), grappled with ecological problems caused by intensive agriculture. Shanguhyia argues that land shortages and the misuse of local tradition led to tensions between the Abaluyia and colonial government. These tensions manifested themselves in various ways, but they often took the form of passive resistance through the 'weapons of the weak' – for example, sometimes Abaluyia farmers feigned work when government officials were nearby. At times, farmers drew upon traditional social mechanisms to more actively and openly protest burdensome conservation measures.

This book traces the interactions between the colonial government and Vihiga's local inhabitants from 1900 to independence in 1963. As with other regions in Kenya, colonial

policies toward agriculture, soil conservation, and land management were highly politicized; what set Vihiga's experience apart was its history of land management and the role the Abaluyia played in land politics. This is a well-researched book and the oral histories are a vital complement to the archival sources. However, the Abaluyia accounts should have played a more prominent role in the narrative or been given a separate section in the bibliography, rather than hidden in the endnotes. Nevertheless, these stories, interwoven with the colonial record, tell of the government's efforts to develop a robust rural economy and motivate the local population to engage in agricultural production to the detriment of the environment and the autonomy of the local community.

One of the strongest contributions Shanguhyia makes in his examination of colonial Vihiga is to center Abaluyia traditions of the *lisanga* ('communalism') and the *maguru* (the local land elders). These traditions, which were important in making decisions regarding land use, were caught between colonial concepts of 'modern' and what Shanguhyia termed 'indigenous'. This dynamic shows that in Vihiga, the Abaluyia's knowledge of the land and land use practices were both conscripted into colonial policy and rejected as counterproductive to agricultural practice in the region.

Shanguhyia's analysis begins in 1900 and establishes the methods employed by the colonial government to order the land and its people. With the creation of the Local Native Councils, traditional Abaluyia *maguru* elders lost their ability to mediate land tenure, as Chapter One explains. At the same time, gold mining attracted migration to the region, increasing land insecurity. Chapter Two focuses on the intensification of maize production, leading to an economic boom but instigating environmental problems. Vihiga was also vulnerable to global economic fluctuations, but incentivizing Africans to grow more crops to advance the colony's agricultural market proved difficult. Vihiga experienced a dust bowl in the 1930s due to poor soil management, as discussed in Chapter Three, and American ideas were sought to mitigate soil erosion. In Kenya, the government placed the blame on overgrazing, overpopulation, and lack of bush fallowing. Chapter Four describes the coercive nature of wartime production. The Local Native Councils and local elders were given the responsibility to enforce the resulting conservation efforts, and locals resisted the policies because the ideas were poorly communicated and they were not compensated for their work. The final chapters focus on the postwar years during which time the tensions between modernity and tradition assumed an environmental focus. The *maguru* councils, which were supposed to revive African traditions, in fact diminished local agency over land access. Those men who returned from the war and others with missionary educations pursued more individualized approaches to agriculture and cash crop production. Shanguhyia points out that as maize declined as a viable crop in the region due to diminished soil fertility and the increased demand for land, coffee emerged as a possible alternative for many. The growing population problem caused land holdings to be subdivided further. In order to encourage farmers to resolve the land problem, coffee allotments were only granted to those farmers who would consolidate their land. This proved a less than desirable option for most, as many farmers in Vihiga opposed the consolidation rule because they did not have enough land to combine and they found the soil conservation and management schemes burdensome.

Shanguhyia points out that the land insecurity that plagued the Abaluyia during colonialism endures today, as do the difficult decisions as to which crops to grow. This book

interrogates the role of tradition in the colonial landscape and the ways that both government officials and local people grappled with its meaning and place. As the conversations continue in the same communities today and among scholars, this book is a valuable contribution to the literature on the relationship between 'indigenous knowledge', 'tradition', and 'modernity', and how these processes shaped natural resource management and conservation policies in colonial Africa.

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MASKS AND PERFORMANCE

In Step with the Times: Mapiko Masquerades of Mozambique.
By Paolo Israel.
Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2014. Pp. xviii + 329. $32.95, paperback (ISBN 978-0-8214-2088-1).
doi:10.1017/S0021853717000597

Key Words: Mozambique, Central Africa, ritual, arts, political.

Mapiko are masks depicting humans, animals, and fantastical creatures carved from the wood of wild kapok trees and worn by male dancer-spirits (*lipiko*) on the Makonde Plateau of northern Mozambique. *Mapiko* are danced to the furious pace of a drum orchestra and embody not only spirits of the dead and of the bush, but changes experienced in this somewhat peripheral part of the country from times of slavery and colonial oppression, to the war for liberation, subsequent civil war, and the uncertain terrain of the postsocialist present.

In this beautifully crafted analysis of *mapiko* performances, Paolo Israel interweaves the history of Mozambique with close readings of hundreds of song lyrics and detailed microhistories of events and individuals that gave rise to this performance tradition. In so doing, he brings clarity of understanding to both political history and *mapiko* performance, offering a counterweight to analyses of Mozambique focused on spirit possession or class conflict. Israel deploys *mapiko* as a means of uncovering political action, historical consciousness, and subjectivity among one section of the rural peasantry, who are typically disparaged as political 'others' by cosmopolitan urban elites and Frelimo party cadres. Danced typically during sex-segregated initiation rituals, *mapiko* are motors of innovation and change that fuel rivalries between lineages, generations, and villages through *schismogenesis*, the generation of social difference (a concept Israel borrows from Gregory Bateson). During the war for liberation, *mapiko* went underground, silenced by the need to protect and not draw unwanted attention to rural communities. Yet after independence, we learn that Frelimo appropriated *mapiko* as 'a collective investment in a socialist utopian subjectivity' even as Makonde performers 'used the symbols and aesthetics of socialism as weapons of competitive rivalry, to bolster specific local identities' (11).

This book is a great achievement, written with elegance and an engaging style that successfully travels across time periods marked by the rise and fall of different *mapiko* genres,