the interlacustrine region, notably Buganda; and the area south of Lake Victoria and east of Lake Tanganyika where Mirambo sought hegemony. Reid makes a good case for restricting his coverage, but his approach has drawbacks nonetheless. The detailed examples inevitably focus attention on state-directed warfare and commercial considerations. Buganda was, as Reid sees it, an expanding mercantile state; Mirambo in central Tanzania wished to create a commercial network under his control; and Ethiopian rulers were concerned with access to the Red Sea and its trade. All used war to build or consolidate state power, and in Ethiopia and Buganda at least, military power was shaped by the existence of the state. The two were inseparable. But most of East Africa's communities were not organized as states. What of non-state warfare? While Reid does acknowledge this omission, and attempts to make up for it with references to other areas, in a book which otherwise makes bold and stimulating comparisons it is an opportunity missed—particularly to address commonalities, rather than the obvious differences, between state and nonstate warfare.

Reid argues that other books can be and should be written on African warfare. One hopes that African military history will now return to the scholarly agenda—not least because of the need to trace current military traditions and tendencies back beyond the colonial period. If so, Reid's reconnaissance will be invaluable. Like John Thornton for West Africa, he has given a lead for others to follow and set a benchmark that they must heed.

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Benjamin N. Lawrance, Emily Lynn Osborn, and Richard L. Roberts, eds. *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006. viii + 332 pp. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Contributors. Index. $45.00. Cloth.

Historians of Africa have long recognized the significant role of African clerks and interpreters employed by the state. Because they occupied the point of contact between colonizer and colonized, and because they controlled and translated the exchange of information between them, they actually deployed colonial power. More than three decades ago, Ronald Robinson highlighted the complexities of their "bargain of collaboration" and Monica Wilson remarked on how deeply these "cultural brokers" shaped colonial relations. But in more recent times powerful tendencies to celebrate resistors—and thus to dismiss state employees as mere collaborators and assume that African employees simply enacted state intentions—prematurely closed such interpretative openings. This volume returns to

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them, and adds more recent ones (from Frederick Cooper and William Worger, among others) to set an agenda for a new and nuanced understanding of how Africans figured in the making of colonial Africa.

The collection is structured around a "formative" phase to about 1920, and a subsequent "maturing" one. Interpreters were at their most powerful in the first, able more freely to invent their roles in a still fluid environment. After the 1920s the spread of shared languages and thickening bureaucratic boundaries reduced interpreters' roles and imposed increasingly definite rules, but in return, African clerks now wielded more comprehensive state powers. The eleven studies included in this volume—all on French or British territories—augment stories of the accumulation and abuse of power formerly available in scant sources like Amadou Hampâté Bâ's 1973 autobiographical novel *L'étrange destin de Wangrin* (Union générale d'éditions). Emily Lynn Osborn, for example, argues effectively that the twenty-year partnership in French Guinea between Ernest Noirot and his African clerk empowered Boubou Penda to determine who Noirot deposed and appointed in the process of reconstructing local administration. Ruth Ginio provides a clear account of how the paradox built in to French courts (empowering African assessors to define the customary laws used to sustain foreign control) opened spaces where such assessors aroused French fears of losing control. Thomas McClendon's study of Theophilus Shepstone as a European interpreting African culture highlights the political powers of interpreters more generally.

Most studies also reach beyond tracing the deployment of state power to suggest how the study of these actors can inform colonial social history more widely, not least because in colonial written sources their actions—and personalities—are often more prominent than those of most colonial subjects. For example, Roger Levine analyzes the evangelical ambitions of Jan Tzatzoe, an African interpreter for missionaries in the early nineteenth century Eastern Cape, as a strategy of "triangulation" that kept him at the nexus between Xhosa, colonial, and mission politics. Maurice Amutabi compares Kenyan native court transcripts with litigants' memories to illuminate the means by which clerks and translators advanced the solidarity of the emergent class of Western-educated Africans. By situating the colonial career of Usen Udo Usen in the shifting flows of southeastern Nigerian politics and within rival forms of knowledge, David Pratten reveals profound constraints on clerks' potential abilities. Jean-Hervé Jézéquel highlights how Ibrahima Diaman Bathily wrote accounts of Senegalese customs not to accumulate power but to prompt social reform.

These studies not only establish the agency of African intermediaries but also narrate, assess, and contextualize it. More enticingly, many chapters reveal the richer social history that awaits scholars who move past the binary of collaboration and resistance toward the full complexity of colonial employees' lives, and by extension of colonial Africa. Martin Klein's afterword helps situate the findings, and usefully highlights how further

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research into the many topics left largely aside—female intermediaries, nonstate employees, Portuguese and German colonies—could build on the insights and questions set forth here.

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Michael W. Casey. *The Rhetoric of Sir Garfield Todd: Christian Imagination and the Dream of an African Democracy.* Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2007. Studies in Rhetoric and Religion 2. xiii + 389 pp. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $49.95. Cloth.

Michael Casey's book approaches the life of Sir Garfield Todd (1908–2002, prime minister of Southern Rhodesia [Zimbabwe], 1953–58) through the lens of Christian rhetoric—not "rhetoric" in the popular sense of hollow verbiage, but in the older sense of effective communication and argumentation. Casey contends that Todd, a New Zealander who was the product of a Protestant divinity school and the first missionary to head a government, cannot be understood apart from his faith and his efforts at oral and written persuasion—he "remained a preacher at heart" (13).

In 1934 Todd and his wife Grace, ages 25 and 23, were sent to Dadaya Mission in Southern Rhodesia, which they revitalized and greatly expanded—by 1949 Dadaya employed 116 persons and its schools had an enrollment of three thousand students. In 1946 he entered politics, winning a seat in the all-white Southern Rhodesian parliament as part of the ruling United Rhodesia Party. When the longtime head of the party and government, Godfrey Huggins, moved up to become prime minister of the new Central African Federation, Todd—partly because of his widely admired eloquence—was chosen as Huggins's replacement. As prime minister, Todd cautiously advocated a variety of advances for the African majority, which earned him the ire of conservatives in his party; they ousted him in 1958. Relegated to the political wilderness, Todd had cast his lot with African nationalists by 1960—an astonishingly rapid turnaround. As the Federation collapsed and Ian Smith severed ties with Britain, the nationalists turned to an armed liberation struggle. Todd remained outspoken and paid the price: Smith imprisoned him on one occasion and essentially kept him under house arrest for a total of six years. After independence the victorious nationalist government led by Robert Mugabe showed its gratitude by appointing Todd a senator. Positive at first—"I would a thousand times rather be a Senator in a free Zimbabwe than be Prime Minister of... Southern Rhodesia" (336)—Todd in his last years became a sharp critic of Mugabe's increasingly repressive regime.

It is a remarkable trajectory, and Casey provides us much material to reflect on. The book is divided into two sections. In the first, Casey offers his

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