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The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300-1589

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 366 pp., 4 maps, 2 tables, index, bibliography. ISBN: 9781107014367)

Toby Green

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Toby Green is an accomplished travel writer, journalist and historian. His travels in Guinea have inspired within him an avid professional interest in the history of Western Africa. Green was awarded a Leverhulme early career Fellowship at King's College, London, in 2010. He currently lectures on the history of Portuguese-speaking Africa at King's College. Green is the author of two history books: *Thomas More's Magician* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004) and *Inquisition: The Reign of Fear* (Macmillan, 2007). His most recent offering, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300-1589* (hereafter *Rise of Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa*), questions traditional approaches to histories of the Atlantic Slave Trade in the 15th and 16th centuries from the perspective of culture.

“West Africa”, according to Green, is the area connecting the Cape Verde Islands to the African coast between the river Gambia and present-day Sierra Leone. Green examines the slave trade in Western Africa and the emergence of the “Pan-Atlantic”: a region involving the Americas, the Iberian regions of Europe and Western Africa. His cultural reading of travellers’ accounts, oral traditions, inquisitorial trials and cultural evidence from linguistics, religion and ritual is original. His interpretation marks a departure from the orthodox literary canon on the slave trade which is based on quantitative data, mercantile activity and one-sided European political involvement. Green’s contribution to knowledge is the argument that culture was a significant driving force behind the Atlantic Slave Trade and the various diasporas of Western Africa.

Green’s challenge to accepted understandings of the 15th and 16th century relations between Africans and Europeans and creolised groups is imparted by *Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*. His argument of cultural diversity in the emergent Pan African sphere is based on extensive fieldwork and almost a decade of research in archives in Africa, South America and Europe. Much of this research was done for his PhD thesis on New Christians in West Africa. Green contests that African culture and African participation in the slave trade have been portrayed in a stereotyped way by historians. Examples of this tendency are portrayals of “predatory African kings” selling their neighbours into slavery and European merchants engaging in unequal exchanges on the African littoral. Green articulates a complex development of culture based on encounter, cultural interaction, ritual, religion and commerce both before and after the entry of Europeans into Western Africa.

Green’s maps, glossary, footnoting and indexing are highly professional, although there are no illustrations. His approach eschews a numerical forensic audit of the slave trade, preferring an interpretive approach. Green draws heavily from the secondary literature for his historical background. He, nonetheless, adds fresh insights to the secondary literature in terms of culture and the political developments of the region. *Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa* consists of two parts. Part one traces “The development of an Atlantic creole culture in Western Africa, circa 1300-1550” and part two focuses on slavery in relation to creolisation from 1492 to 1589. He defines “creole” as “language of mixed African and European roots developing as a vernacular in Western Africa during the sixteenth century” and “creolisation” as “the cultural and linguistic processes through which creole evolved” (glossary:p. xxii). Green follows a linear “decade-by-decade”

(p. 26) chronology of the history of the slave trade in Western Africa circa 1300 to 1589.

Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa begins with a discussion of African agency in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (p. 20), especially in terms of its “socio-cultural context.” Green’s account of movements of Jolof, Kassarke and Maringo people blends seamlessly with his description of cultural and political changes in a shifting geography. In Chapter 2, he establishes that the Atlantic Slave Trade spread via cultural transmission brought on by religion, ritual, and trade. Chapter 3 plots the settlement of Cabo Verde c.1460 and the development of the Creole world which emerged as a result of cultural “fusion” between Europeans and Western Africans (the Creole culture of Cabo Verde was still fairly new c.1500). He goes on to describe the history of the New Christians and their arrival in Western Africa in the early 16th century. The violent persecutions of the Spanish Inquisition influenced the New Christians’ dealings with West Africa and the later violence of the slave trade. Green’s in-depth cultural reading of Inquisitorial records adds substance to his argument for creolisation from the 1520s to the 1530s (Chapter 4). Green also explores cultural fusion and creolisation as a forerunner to the expansion of the Atlantic Slave Trade (Chapter 5). He corroborates this thesis with case studies of cultural interchange between the Kassarke and the New Christian peoples, demonstrating how: “as these New Christians plied back and forth between the islands and the coast, they took both mixed Caboverdean forms to Africa and African cultural forms to Cabo Verde, and the shared culture of the region emerged” (p. 165). Language was also vital to the development of “the Atlantic cultural and linguistic framework” (p. 103) and “the new language was used as a means of communication and adoption of mixed cultural and ritual forms became a means of social advancement.”

Part two introduces us to Western Africa’s early involvement in early globalisation and the emergent Pan African space that linked Europe, the Americas and West Africa (Chapter 6). Green demonstrates how the “institutionalisation of violence” impacted on nascent Creole culture (p. 90). An account of the rapid expansion of the slave trade and the slave economy that emerged out of it follows from the 1550s to the 1580s (Chapter 7). He also pays attention to the development of caste consciousness in Cabo Verde c.1550-60 as a result of racial mixing brought on by the slave trade. Green’s argument on creolisation is summarized on page 259: “Thus the Atlantic Creole society which had originated in Cabo Verde and became solidified in

a Kriolu language and mixed cultural framework did come to influence West Africa itself, but the nature of this influence depended on other factors. Where worlds of cultural exchange and creolisation opened up, they were predicated on the expansion of trans-Atlantic slavery and dependent on the cultural and social frameworks of African societies, the labour demands of America and the consumer demands of Europe. Over the next two centuries, it was to be this world which would come to characterise the Atlantic as a whole.”

Green’s account of the history of the slave trade in West Africa is necessarily complex because of the complex cultural dynamics between the various groups, European and African, in “pre-Atlantic West Africa” – a geography that would later expand develop into what Green calls the Pan Atlantic. The dust-jacket of *Rise of Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade* proclaims that “Toby Green challenges current quantitative approaches to the history of the slave trade.” To his credit, Green does not harp on the “narrow focus” of numbers, but rather builds on his cultural interpretation of the historical events that predicated the later development of the slave economy of the Pan Atlantic region. Green’s arguments on cultural and political developments are persuasive and articulate.

Green criticises Philip Curtin’s “quantitative approach”, arguing that Curtin’s 1969 census of the slave trade presents a static view of culture.¹ Curtin’s pathfinding study was one of the first to highlight the demographic consequences of the slave trade and the significance of slave mortalities on the Middle Passage. Green makes the following disparaging observation on page 197: “An egregious problem with the quantitative approach to the early trans-Atlantic trade therefore is that it has made many historians obsessed with numbers and encouraged them to forget the social, cultural and political implications in Africa of the trans-Atlantic Slave Trade – it is also that, having encouraged them to focus on numbers, it has encouraged them to focus on the wrong ones.” This is re-emphasized 18 pages further on p. 215, “A touching faith in the reliability of surviving official documentation in forging quantitative data and the data themselves have blinded historians to the considerable evidence which show this data to be extremely incomplete”. He questions the accuracy of the constantly updated Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, Database: www.slavevoyages.org (1999; hereafter *Slave Voyages*). The *Slave Voyages*, begun in the late 1990s under the aegis of David Eltis and David Richardson, is a collaborative dataset of over 35,000 slave voyages based on

1 PD Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A census* (Madison and London, University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

the research of distinguished scholars like Stephen Behrendt, Jose Capela, Herbert Klein and Manolo Florentino. All things considered, the omission of the *Slave Voyages* from Green's bibliography is irresponsible. Is the passage of millions of slaves from West Africa to the Americas not significant from a cultural point of view? Eltis, after all, wrote in *The Rise of Slavery in the Americas* (2000) that: "An inquiry into deep-seated cultural attitudes on the part of both Europeans and non-Europeans provides just as much insight into the creation of the new Atlantic world as a simple search for the quest of profits",² and that "economic impulses operated within a cultural framework." This cultural framework is explicated by Green. Eltis's focus is different. Why is Green so averse to quantitative approaches to the slave trade? He is of the opinion that quantification of the slave trade is prone to numerical inaccuracy, which he proves in his section on contraband slave traffic in the Cabo Verde. Green argues in favour of a cultural and political interpretation of history, saying "changes in social organization may be better indicators of the impact of the slave trade than the game of guesstimating export figures" (p. 87).

Any historian would admit that it is impossible to give an *exact* numerical count of the forced human exodus of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade on the basis of the *Slave Voyages* and official shipping data. The data of the forced migrations of the *Slave Voyages*, however, is an invaluable historical resource. The gathering of quantitative data about specific slave voyages, from whatever sources are available, is a painstaking task. The *Slave Voyages* provides detailed information on slaves, specific voyages, crews, ships, contractors, slave merchants, companies, slave mortalities, duration of voyages, ports of arrival and departure and dates, etc. David Eltis and Herbert S. Klein are two scholars, amongst others, who have demonstrated the usefulness of the database. Green's arguments hold weight because they prove, beyond doubt, the importance of culture in the history of the slave trade. They analyse the pre-European social dynamics which gave rise to creolisation and influenced the development of Western Africa's slave economy. Green provides evidence of a considerable slave trade in western Africa before 1700 (standard histories begin after 1680). The prolific contraband slave trade in 16th century West Africa cannot be traced by the *Slave Voyages* database because contraband slave traffic was not recorded in official port registries. I am certain that a fusion of Green's ideas with data from the *Slave Voyages* would reveal that both historical methodologies are complementary and not mutually exclusive. Green makes

² D Eltis, *The rise of slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 2.

us aware of the necessity of a cultural discourse in the study of the slave trade and the societies involved in the slave economy. He is not only concerned with the buying and selling of human beings, based on numerical data; he is interested in subtler developments of culture and cross-cultural exchange in relation to the business of slavery.

Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is intellectual and theoretical. The language Green uses is complex. We come across many historico-anthropological words and concepts such as: “diaspora”, “creolization”, “accommodation”, “flexibility”, “transnational”, “complex patterns”, “conceptual confusions”, “cycles”, “new cycles of violence” and “cultural exchange”, to name a few. The arguments of *Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade* are speculative and Green often uses the word “may” before presenting an argument. He then makes certain “factual” statements on the basis of these inferential arguments which, although persuasive, is a form of false logic. Here are two examples: “Although as Brooks argues, climatic stresses were key, a part of the success of the Pullo migrations *must have* stemmed from divisions among the Jolof triggered by the Atlantic trade” (p. 83) and “‘the fact’ that this evidence derives from the Kassanke trading port at Bugendo and the denunciation of Garcia as living with the Kassanke King offer strong support for ‘the idea’ that the Kassanke lineage heads had welcomed these traders to Casamance and that the influence and exchange was reciprocal” (p. 157, emphasis added). In conjuring up one specific scenario – De Las Casas’s arrival in Hispaniola in 1499, where the sailors rejoiced at the news that local wars had yielded a good number of slaves – Green writes, “It is not too ahistorical to imagine that exchanges similar to this one observed by Las Casas may have taken place [in West Africa]” (p. 94). This places us in the realm of conjecture (and anachronism) again. Quantitative historians will find it hard to take some of these specious arguments seriously.

Herbert Klein’s *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (2010) is a practical demonstration of how the *Slave Voyages* database can be used as a resource in the study of the Atlantic Slave Trade.³ He even refers to specific voyages in his general survey – while giving a broader picture of the Atlantic Slave Trade from the voluminous data he draws from the *Slave Voyages*. Klein challenges some of the prevailing stereotypes in the historiography of the slave trade. Furthermore, his arguments for the origins, perpetuation and abolition of the slave trade – with specific reference to the data of the *Slave Voyages* – are cogent. Klein

3 H Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge University Press, 2010). 2nd ed.

demythologises some of the stereotypes that have arisen as an emotional response to the atrocities of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. One of these is African agency (Africans were major participants in the slave trade) and the other is the perceived idea that Africans were privy to unequal exchange with Europeans (sophisticated trade networks and markets were in existence before Afro-European trade took shape). Green looks at the cultural implications of slavery and the slave trade in his analysis of the inquisitorial trials and creolisation (Chapter 4) and the relatively large-scale contraband slave traffic between the African mainland and Cabo Verde and other Atlantic islands (Chapter 6). Green, unlike Klein, makes little mention of the culture of slavery and enslavement that prevailed on the Iberian peninsula before European contact with Africa.

Green has a point to prove and, despite a narrative loaded with rhetoric and conjecture, proves it well. His readers should agree that the “activities of individuals were structured through the formation of local and transnational patterns of diaspora trade which did not necessarily fit with the stated philosophies of the new European empires” (p. 283). He demonstrates how the development of these patterns – in conjunction with the cultural and political worlds of African societies – has been grossly underestimated in their relation to the slave trade (pp. 283-284). Histories such as *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa* are important. They indicate a move away from the technicalities of demographics, commerce and political hegemony to individual human experience and collective culture. Toby Green, therefore, brings us closer to the heart of the West African experience in its relation to the Atlantic Slave Trade.

Image 1: ‘Chafariz del Rei on the Lisbon Waterfront’



Source: The Berardo Collection, Oil on panel, 93x163cm, Unknown Dutch artist, c.1570-80.

Inside African Anthropology: Monica Wilson and her interpreters

(London: African International Institute; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 2014, xv, 356 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index. ISBN 978-1-107-02938-5 (Hardback); 978 -1-107-64382-6 (African edition paperback))

Andrew Bank and Leslie J Bank (eds.)

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By line three of Andrew Bank's wide-ranging 34-page introduction I realized I was indeed "within African anthropology", where I don't belong.

South African-born ethnographers played a leading, perhaps "the" leading, role in what has nostalgically been called "the Golden Age of South African Ethnography" within the British functionalist tradition.

Functionalist? A "Golden Age"? This must be a book about social anthropologists for social anthropologists, presenting Monica Wilson as a "prominent figure in that pioneering generation". But be of good cheer, non-anthropologist readers, this is more than yet another book for one faction in a discipline to savage another. Old unhappy far off things are brought to light in the great shift from the male-dominated, "tribal" anthropology of the 1920s and '30s to the world of Monica Wilson's interdisciplinary studies which recognize the importance of the work of their interpreters, the "ethnographers within an ethnography". It is partly the product of the Monica Wilson Centenary Conference held in 2008 at the Wilsons' country home in the Amatolas, Hunterstoun, Hogsback, now the Creative Writing Centre of the University of Fort Hare, but has been broadened in its long gestation, not least in presenting a portrait of the remarkable woman whose life and work inspired it.

Born in 1908 to Scottish missionary parents at Lovedale, her earliest perhaps happiest days were spent there. She had the African children of the mission as her friends, spoke their language and knew their parents as family friends. Despite a year at school in Edinburgh and matriculating with the daughters of Port Elizabeth merchants and prosperous sheep farmers at the local Collegiate

School, she trailed clouds of Lovedale glory with her for the rest of her life. A deep interest in eastern frontier history, a love of Xhosa and Mpondo customs, language and culture, a hatred of colonial overlordship, and worse still, apartheid, moved her to close friendships with such as the Rubusanas and the ZK Matthews in the eastern Cape, Mary Dreyer (daughter of AK Soga) in Pondoland and Archie Mafeje, co-author of her *Langa: a Study of Social Groups in an African Township* in Cape Town (1963).

She seems to have had few close friends from within the white community beyond her days at Cambridge and her happy, but ultimately tragic marriage to the brilliant and attractive fellow anthropologist Godfrey Wilson, which ended in her thirties. Girton, where she took her first degree in 1930 and her D.Phil., back from South Africa, in 1933, made her a radical liberal, with friends like the young Egyptian nationalist Munir Sadek, also of Girton, and the then-Communist Eddie Roux, later a committed liberal like herself.

The field work in Pondoland that led to *Reaction to Conquest. The Effect of Contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa* (Oxford, 1936) brought her fame beyond the realms of academia. The very title makes clear her stand in social anthropology: it is a study of development in society, not simply analysis of a static way of life. This was defined in *The Analysis of Social Change. Based on Observations in Central Africa* (Cambridge, 1945), written with Godfrey at the end of their two years with the Nyakyusa in what is now Tanzania. Published after clinical depression led to Godfrey's suicide in May 1944, it was slow to win support for Monica's belief in her subject but has done so over time. It has taken Andrew Bank and his collaborators Sekibikakiba Peter Lekgoathi and Timothy Mwakaseke to give full credit to the Wilsons' interpreter, in the widest sense, Leonard Mwaisumo, an outstanding example of "an African research assistant who played such a pivotal role at field-sites in translating local cultures and histories".

Her years at Fort Hare University College, as it then was, were fruitful, not least in her work with three major "research assistants", who were so much more: Livingstone Mqotsi, Godfrey Pitje and Nimrod Mkele. Frustrated by colour bar exclusion, by custom and not law – this was before the catastrophic 1948 election and the enforcement of apartheid – none of them achieved the careers in anthropology at which they would have shone.

Mqotsi's case was different. A major block to his academic future was his active membership of the Non-European Movement, a product of the All

African Convention. This had grown out of mass opposition, side-lining the ANC, to Hertzog's "native bills" which lost the Africans their common roll vote in the Cape Province in 1936. It fell among Trotskyites, which paralysed a part of the African elite, committed only to boycotting every move towards liberation. Professor AC Jordan, IB Tabata, Nathaniel Honono, WM Tsotsi and others of real calibre were lost to the main stream of the struggle.

The second half of Monica's career was highlighted by her friendship and collaboration with another, younger member of the Unity Movement (as it had renamed itself). It could not have been only Mafeje's political allegiance that barred him from the lectureship at the University of Cape Town which Monica urged and he richly deserved, but, of course, his skin colour.

It is a minor weakness of the book that the editors' offer so little of the political background of those years of struggle. The 1952 Defiance Campaign is called a "rebellion", though Leslie J Bank treats it more seriously in his account of Mqotsi's involvement. If the Treason Trial or Sharpeville are mentioned they are not indexed.

Monica's membership of the Liberal Party was a source of pride to fellow members. Your reviewer recalls a visit to her house with a group of young Liberals to meet her house guest, Professor ZK Matthews, and meeting her socially with Patrick Duncan, the radical Liberal "par excellence". On both occasions she was more as Pamela Reynolds describes her with her students, than in the relaxed friendly relationship she enjoyed with such as Mqotsi and Mafeje, late life recurrences of her Lovedale childhood. The latter became almost a member of the family, a brother to the Wilsons' two boys, Francis and Tim, who was born a few months before his father's death.

Pamela Reynolds recalls her as "a formidable figure".

On the dot of eight in the morning she would glide into the lecture hall... with her black gown flapping ominously. Her stern demeanour silenced us all, even the newspaper readers at the back of the hall. ... I was fascinated by the clarity and confidence of her exposition. There was no obvious attempt to entertain and little interaction with us.

Eleven years later and well into her career, Dr Reynolds stayed at Hunteranstown, where "we overcame our mutual shyness to enjoy long walks and hours of talk".

Her Rhodes years as the university's first woman professor are scarcely sketched in, with little beyond the sad experience of her friend and protégé Mqotsi. Her successor was Philip Mayer, whose *Townsmen or Tribesmen* (Oxford, 1961), written with his wife Iona, was one of those rare essays in anthropology that, like *Reaction to Conquest*, caught the imagination of readers outside, not only inside, African anthropology. Mayer was much impressed with Mqotsi as applicant for a vacant post at Rhodes, and, to Mqotsi's and Monica's delight, offered him a higher one.

To his dismay he was suddenly informed... that Rhodes University had now decided to rescind its job offer. The vice-chancellor, Alty, had vetoed his appointment because ... Rhodes had been threatened by the government.

Leslie Bank suggests a comparison "with the later and much more widely known case of Archie Mafeje's rejection by the University of Cape Town in 1968". Andrew Bank, in a later chapter on Monica Wilson's and Mafeje's 'co-production of *Langa: a Study of Social Groups in an African Township*, records "the infamous rescinding of his appointment as senior lecturer in the Department of Social Anthropology by the UCT senate in 1968, in what has become known as 'the Mafeje affair'". There follows a tiring 27-page narration of Mafeje's work with Monica and much about his career with no further mention of the "affair". The curious will find four pages about it in the admirably succinct *1968 Survey of Race Relations* (Johannesburg, 1969), mass student protests, the resignation of the Dean of Humanities, Professor Maurice Pope, and Prime Minister Vorster's threats. We are told nothing of Monica's role in this.

The lengthy treatment of both Mqotsi and Mafeje has its relevance 'inside African anthropology' but is sleep inducing outside it. The editors cannot be blamed for excluding so much biographical material and we must await the forthcoming life of Monica Wilson by a contributor, Sean Morrow, to learn of such key matters as her profound and enduring Christian faith, her family life with her two remarkable sons, her friends and shared intellectual and political interests with them. Instead *Inside African Anthropology* rehearses, somewhat repetitiously, the "unofficial history" of the subject in central and South Africa, the move away from functionalism, "the tribe", "anthropology's hidden colonialism", all of them male-dominated, to the promotion of the "native clerks" of old to enablers of the "co-production of scientific knowledge", the interdisciplinary character of the research exemplified by Monica Wilson's work, and the emphasis on "social change" in it.

The penultimate chapter views Monica Wilson as historian. The authors, Sean Morrow, adjunct professor of history at Fort Hare, and Christopher Saunders, professor emeritus of historical studies at Cape Town, show how Monica came from history, with her strong sense of the Eastern Cape past from childhood, and her first months at Cambridge, until she grasped that “the anthropological approach was the only possible way of attempting to write the history of African societies”. It was this that cut her adrift from Malinowski’s static functionalism. Her association with Leonard Thompson led them jointly to “decolonize” South African history.

To Monica, as to Thompson, showing that African societies were as worthy of study as white-ruled ones, and writing the country’s history with the black majority always in mind, was a project strongly opposed to apartheid.

We are shown that it was she and not Thompson, the historian, who took the lead in the production of the two-volume *Oxford History of South Africa* (1969, 1971) which they jointly edited. Morrow and Saunders (the latter having been a research assistant on two of Wilson’s four chapters in vol. 1) are particularly able to tell its story. They make the case for the *Oxford History*’s value in South African historical studies, with its constant projection of the black majority from the pre-colonial to the early industrial past. Wilson had already made an important contribution in destroying the apartheid myth that Europeans and Bantu-speaking Africans had reached South Africa simultaneously, in the west and east respectively. Her paper, “The early history of the Transkei and Ciskei” (*African Studies* 18.5, 1959) presented the unanswerable case, based on the 16th and 17th century accounts of Portuguese castaways, that African Bantu-speaking African settlement predated the Dutch by several centuries.

It is ironic that the *Oxford History*, having been mercilessly attacked by the new Marxist and neo-Marxist wave of South African historians on publication, has had to wait for the virtual disappearance of their ideas from the scene to get past the obstacles their concentration on capital and racism put in its way. The publication of the in-part regrettable *Cambridge History of South Africa* (2008, 2011) may have been the swan song of some of them.

This study of “Monica Wilson and her interpreters” shows her to have been both a dominant force in African anthropology and a major contributor to a history of South Africa of which she was the chief editor. What better case could be made for the interdisciplinary characters of anthropology and history which she asserted throughout her career?

Angels of mercy: Foreign women in the Anglo-Boer War

(Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2013, 246 pp., bibl, index. ISBN: 978-1-77022-499-5)

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In terms of historiography, the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) continues to fascinate both historians and the general public. Serious studies on the war are undertaken annually, while popular books and documentaries proliferate. The latter, of which Chris Schoeman's *Angels of mercy: Foreign women in the Anglo Boer War* forms part, is valuable not because of the information they add to our knowledge of the war, but for recruiting a new generation of readers. This, in turn, fosters a wider understanding of Afrikaner nationalism and Southern African history.

The book details the experiences of twelve women who sacrificed their time and energy for their fellow human beings in the Anglo-Boer War. It can be described as a study in altruism. In general, historical writing about the active role of women as shapers of human destiny has been neglected. While the suffering of women in the war is well documented, it is safe to say that women played no passive role in the war.

There is no concluding chapter, and this is perhaps the greatest reason why this book cannot be said to be a serious study of history. Given the limited recognition of women, a concluding chapter could well have augmented an appreciation of the active role of women in history. The reader is left only with the introduction stating that literature on the war "focused largely on the men who fought on either side" (p. 2). What this study also alarmingly highlights is the way in which the careers of teaching and nursing are perceived in our society.

The text is based largely on secondary sources, to which some primary sources have been added. Of special importance are the endnotes. Because of the potential to cultivate a greater interest in our heritage, the endnotes in

this work, despite not being very detailed, provide just the right amount of credibility to the text. They also demonstrate historical methodology to those interested in further studies but who are unfamiliar with the subject.

Much of the detail can be said to be a bit trivial, or, as the old accusation against history writing states: “just one thing after the other”. Only one of the twelve women can be said to be a truly noteworthy historical figure. That honour belongs to Mary Kingsley, who was a very successful author. Kingsley’s restless, defying and often anti-colonial spirit provides pleasure for the reader and certainly stands out in the text. However, despite each one of these twelve women living remarkable lives, the sheer volume of factual information lacks proper interpretation, resulting in these accounts not being as memorable as they ought to be.

The book is not set entirely during the course of the war. Following the war, numerous teachers sailed for the new colonies in order to provide their services to the children of the two defeated Boer republics. The dedication of these teachers parallels those of the nurses who served during the course of the war, as the circumstances in which they worked left much to be desired. That these women sacrificed so much for the upliftment of their former enemies forms the greatest part of the rationale behind this study, and the text certainly celebrates the human spirit and its ability to endure hardship in search for the greater good of mankind.

Another important observation that can be made and could have added to a proper conclusion of this work, is the fact that the knowledge that nurses gained during the Anglo-Boer War would prove instrumental during what was once known as “the Great War”. The year 2014 marks a century since the outbreak of the First World War, and it is fitting to reflect on the role that nurses played. Using the lessons learned in the Anglo-Boer War, nursing professionals were able to plough back their expertise and skills, empowering others to follow in their footsteps and to render their services during the course of the 20th century.

The text is written in an easily digestible style. This is exactly what the publication requires, as it assists the leisure reader. If Schoeman’s exploration of these foreign women and their role in the Anglo-Boer War is viewed through the lens of serious scholarship, it may be deemed a failure. This would, however, be missing the point of publications of this kind. It is safe to say that this book is successful, as its role is clearly not one of serious

scholarship, but rather that of stimulating an interest in the Anglo-Boer War. With just the right amount of research to give it credibility, Schoeman has succeeded in producing a work that has one foot in leisure and the other in scholarship, and that is easily accessible to the layperson.

From Diaspora to Diorama. The Old Slave Lodge in Cape Town

(Cape Town: NagsPro Multimedia, 2013, 40 pp. CD-ROM. ISBN: 978-0-620-55581-4 (booklet) ISBN 978-0-620-55582-1 (CD-ROM))

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This is an unconventional work to review. It consists of an introductory booklet and a CD containing “a new completely revised *Diaspora*, several books, two revised theses, video snippets and a revised *Bibliographies of Bondage*. 9,000+ pages and 200+ illustrations”. The introductory booklet frames the intellectual parameters of the work and there is an introduction to the use of the CD.

As the title indicates, the Cape Slave Lodge at the top of Adderley Street provides the structure through which to enter the lives of Cape slaves. In his introduction Anthony Holiday explains the objectives behind the work. Noting that the building was transformed from slave lodge to judicial court, he observes that “The symbolism of the Slave Lodge did not strike them [the court officials], because the evils of slavery, servility, sexual abuse and madness had so poisoned their being as to quite literally blind them to the meaning of symbols of that kind”. Slaves, he suggests are negated as people and the Lodge, too, cannot “symbolise the condition of slavery” until its inhabitants are seen in a different light.

This is what the “E-book”, as Shell defines it, sets out to do. It aims to remove slave history from the academic world in which the subjects of history “do not recognise themselves”. The people, thus, are cheated of their own past and of their identity. The CD, on the other hand, provides ordinary people with

the tools to explore their own past without being oppressed by the “master narratives” of elitist professional historians.

It is not entirely clear that Shell achieves this objective. He has been meticulous in recording every researcher who has contributed to the work, and the many sources that have been used. In that sense the E-book is thoroughly reputable academically. The fact that it includes two theses and a substantial amount of other formal academic writing means that the presence of elitist professional historians is certainly present.

Having said this, the CD (in fact a pdf file with a downloadable Adobe Reader) is a wonderfully rich work to explore. The navigation is clearly explained both in the booklet and on the CD so that it is easy to move backwards and forwards, to progress from page to page or to locate the variety of articles, graphs, illustrations and lists. Adobe provides a search facility should the menus prove inadequate although, given the scale of the work, it is a little slow. With the selection tool it appears to be possible to copy both text and graphics should a student wish to illustrate a project.

This E-book is enormously thorough. On the left is a menu providing alphabetical navigation and on the right the menu lists the variety of themes and subject. The scale is huge. There is a considerable amount of text. There are graphs, illustrations, maps and video clips. There are census lists, manumission lists, lists of ships, of baptisms, voyages and cargoes. Because of the paucity of illustrations of slavery at the Cape, Shell commissioned John English to provide illustrations based on archival sources. Peter Laponder's model of the Slave Lodge has been used in a video to explore the geography of the Slave Lodge.

It is not easy to describe a work which is both visual and interactive. I felt some parts worked better than others. The graphs, for instance, are impressive, ranging from demography and mortality rates to the ration of horses to free adult males. The video clips, on the other hand, are rather slow and I should have preferred more explanatory voice over and less music. One suspects that young users might not be particularly attracted by organ solos. But that is carping. The reality is that a large portion of the records on Cape slavery, together with text to interpret them, are contained in this single CD. It is a quite remarkable resource.